

Communication for Sustainable Agriculture

Edited by
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About IITA

The goal of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) is to increase the productivity of key food crops and to develop sustainable agricultural systems that can replace bush fallow, or slash-and-burn, cultivation in the humid and subhumid tropics. Crop improvement programs focus primarily on cassava, maize and cowpeas. Yams, soybeans and plantains are also major research concerns. Research findings are shared through international cooperation programs which include training, information and germplasm exchange activities.

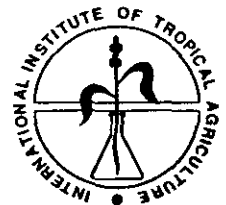
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Communication for Sustainable Agriculture

Proceedings of a workshop sponsored by the
International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)
under the auspices of
the *Media Forum for Agriculture*
Ibadan, April 10, 1990

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ISBN 978-131-066-9

Printed by The Caxton Press (West Africa) Limited, Ibadan

Acknowledgments

The personal interest, encouragement, and support of Dr. Laurence D. Stifel, Director General of IITA, in this process of exploring the potential of the media to support sustainable agriculture, which culminated in the workshop, is most highly appreciated.

The group discussions were led by Mr. Ade Adekunmbi of the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (electronic) and Mr. Bisi Olawunmi of News Agency of Nigeria (print); while Mr. Femi Ajayi of the *Daily Times* and Mr. Idowu Ajibola of Ogun State Television were the rapporteurs.

Musa Usman of IITA's Audiovisual Unit took all the photographs appearing in this publication.

Special appreciation goes to Miss Bukola Oyetoro of IITA's Information Services Program, who typed the scripts and produced the camera-ready copy of this publication.

Finally, the enthusiastic response of media organizations to the workshop is appreciated.



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Preparing Media Personnel to Support Agricultural Development*

Stephen M. Lawani, Director of Information Services
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This workshop on "Communication for Sustainable Agriculture" is the first formal activity of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*. Although the decision to establish the *Media Forum for Agriculture* was taken on November 7, 1989, the Forum came into formal existence with its inauguration on April 9, 1990; an inauguration ceremony witnessed by most of the people present here today.

To appreciate the aims and objectives of this workshop, and future ones, let us remind ourselves about the answers to the following questions: Why the Media Forum? What will it do?

There are communication gaps among the key players in agricultural development and agricultural production. Agricultural scientists do not always know the real problems and constraints that farmers face, and farmers are often not aware of what scientists have to offer them. Scientists get frustrated that their research results are not applied; while farmers and the general public become equivocal about the relevance and value of agricultural research.

The relationship between the extension officer and the farmer is similar. Quite often the farmer does not appreciate the wisdom of extension recommendations. "Why are farmers so reluctant to change?", some extension agents wonder. And the farmer often shakes his head and muses at the quaint ideas of "these bookmen". One should add, parenthetically, that the farmer is not averse to change. But his perspectives and priorities are simply different from those of the extension personnel — and this should not be the case. What to do? Get extension personnel and farmers to talk to one another on equal terms. Not as a teacher to a pupil. Not as the guru to the uninitiated.

Effective communication between the researcher and the extension agent should theoretically be easier to accomplish. But, in practice, this is not always so. For many reasons; including the fact that they do not have enough opportunities to discuss, and their professional goals may be divergent.

Policymakers do not always understand how researchers work and what their constraints are. Nor do they necessarily take into account the real needs of farmers. Quite often, the attention of policymakers is monopolized by the views and interests of articulate urban dwellers — interests that may be in conflict with those of the generality of peasant farmers, or that may even conflict with the long-term interests of the entire society.

In short, every category of key players in agriculture is living almost exclusively in its own world; doing its own thing! And society loses the advantages that come from that union of efforts, that synergy that makes the whole greater than the sum of its individual parts.

* An address on the aims and objectives of the Workshop

We need "interpreters" to facilitate mutual understanding among policymakers, farmers, agricultural scientists, extension workers, and consumers of agricultural products. Such interpreters will help explain the accomplishments and contributions of one party to the other parties, the challenges, opportunities and frustrations of one group to the other groups, and the modus operandi and perspectives of one category of players to members of other categories. The march to agricultural development can then proceed with surer steps and greater strides. And, above all, guarantee equity and justice to all. It is this role of interpreters that the *Media Forum for Agriculture* has assigned itself and its members.

But those of us in the media and information professions would readily admit that it would be presumptuous of us to think that we can play such a role in our present state of knowledge and level of skills. Our members must become better informed. Workshops and seminars are one mechanism that the Forum has adopted to impart the necessary know-how to its members.

For this first workshop, we have chosen a broad topic, and invited representatives of the key players in agriculture. The objective is to set the stage for the future activities of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*.

Specifically, we seek to start the process of necessary dialogue among the parties concerned with long-term, sustainable agricultural development in Nigeria; and to educate media practitioners on the issues of agricultural development as perceived by researchers and farmers. We also seek to take advantage of the knowledge and experience of senior colleagues in the media to formulate appropriate strategies for the future program of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*.

Thus, we have four presentations. The first is by a most seasoned media practitioner and administrator, Mr. Bankole Balogun, Director General of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). He has, over the years, been professionally concerned to make the media increasingly effective tools of development. It is, therefore, not surprising that his address as the chairman of the workshop is of a substantive nature. Entitled "The Media and the Food Crisis: a Professional Challenge", his paper provides rich food for thought for all media practitioners. We feel particularly privileged to have the Director General of FRCN as chairman of this workshop because the radio reaches by far more people than other media, particularly in the rural areas.

The second is by the President of the National Council of Nigerian Farmers, an authoritative voice of Nigerian farmers; he is Alhaji Aminu Tijjani, *Turakin Zazzau*. The third paper is by a highly distinguished research scientist, Dr. Dunstan S.C. Spencer, who is versed in both the social sciences and the natural sciences, and is, therefore, uniquely qualified to present the issues of agricultural development as perceived by research scientists.

The fourth presentation is by Dr. Olatunji Dare, who has taught journalism for many years, and who has become a most distinguished practitioner, and a columnist of immense renown.

The four papers should provide abundant materials for the strategy sessions, for which we will break into two groups — the Print Media group and the Electronic Media group.

It is hoped that each group, guided by highly experienced senior media practitioners and administrators, will come up with strategies that will guide the future work of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*, especially the production, distribution, and utilization of the **Food Action Media Service — FAMS**.

I believe that we are all committed to ensuring that the Forum does not become merely a talking shop. We want to make it an "action forum". It is for this reason that the proposed **Food Action Media Service** (simply FAMS for the print media; FAMSTEL for television, and RadioFAMS for radio) is so important. We hope that concrete suggestions for actions to make FAMS a success and a sustainable reality will emerge from the strategy sessions.

I have stated that this first workshop is deliberately broad in scope. Our future workshops will be more focussed. Elements of focus might include agricultural zones, particular crops, specific agricultural issues, categories of farms (large-scale, smallholders, backyard farms etc.). And of course, future workshops may be limited to particular types of media (such as a workshop for producers of farm programs for the radio).

With the establishment of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*, I believe we have opened a new chapter in Nigerian journalism. The Forum offers tremendous possibilities for those who desire to make a real contribution to the all-important area of sustainable food and fibre production in Nigeria.

Let us get down to business.

The Media and the Food Crisis: A Professional Challenge*

Bankole Balogun, Director-General of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN)

It is a great pleasure to be invited by Dr. Laurence D. Stifel, Director General of this great Institute, to chair this very important workshop on "Communication for Sustainable Agriculture."

The workshop could not have come at a better time than now when the Government and people of Nigeria are making more demands on agriculture to meet the challenges of our national aspiration for self-sufficiency in food production. Moreover, the realities of the Structural Adjustment Program have forced Nigerians to look inwards for their food as well as raw materials needs; a new phenomenon which has increased the demand for agricultural products in the face of unequal increase in supply.

The problems which have militated against desirable increase in supply of agricultural products are well known to most of you. I will limit myself to two of them which have communication implications, namely: low productivity of the farmer, and low level of acquisition of new and improved methods of production.

Low Level of Productivity

In the case of low productivity of the farmer, evidence has shown that lack of information has aggravated the situation. It is common knowledge that crop yields are much higher on research farms than on farmers' fields, even when the same crop variety is planted on both farms.

This shows that there are some production techniques used in research farms which are not available to, or not properly applied by, ordinary farmers. This is an area where effective communication between the farmer and the researcher is needed to improve productivity.

Technology of Production

In the case of improved technology for production, there is no doubt that our research institutes, including IITA, have developed a formidable array of improved production techniques in the areas of cropping systems, improved seed varieties, and fabrication of hand tools and simple machines. It is one thing to amass this knowledge and another to get the farmer, who should be the ultimate user and beneficiary, to adopt the knowledge. Thus, the role of communication in forging this linkage cannot be over-emphasized.

Inauguration of the Media Forum for Agriculture

In view of the enormous impact which effective communication can make on agricultural production, one cannot but feel happy about the inauguration of the *Media Forum for Agriculture* which we have just witnessed. I wish to thank IITA for the role it has played in nurturing the Forum to its present stage. It is worthy of note that as far back as 1984, when

* Chairman's Opening Address

many Nigerians were not sure whether to emphasize agriculture or oil in the economy, the IITA foresaw the need to design a mechanism such as the *Media Forum for Agriculture*, in line with the need to invigorate Nigerian agriculture.

Your Institute has blazed a trail in the promotion of agricultural development in the country; and I believe that with the increasing emphasis on this sector of the economy, many more organizations, particularly in the private sector, will identify more with our national aspirations, come forward and contribute their quota towards giving agriculture a pride of place in the economy. Giving agriculture a pride of place will not only require the support of all concerned but support on a sustained basis. This underscores the aptness of the theme of your workshop — "Communication for Sustainable Agriculture."

Challenges before the Media

The challenges of the *Media Forum for Agriculture* and indeed this workshop are enormous, considering the role they are required to play in bridging the information gap between the research institutes and the farmers.

The challenges can be made easier if the various practitioners in the communication chain will co-operate with the Forum. Communication is a two-way system; the custodian of information, i.e. the research institute, must be prepared to part with his research findings, while the recipients, i.e. the farmer, must be receptive to the information. On its part the vehicle of communication, i.e. the media, must be disposed to understand, analyse and deliver the information in the manner and language the farmers will understand.

As a media practitioner, I cannot but reflect a little bit on the media aspects of agricultural information dissemination. It is necessary to emphasize the need for media houses to recognize their various virtues and limitations. This will enable communication impacts to be made where they will be most felt as the media can zero in on those areas. Information in the print media obviously appeals to the small literate community, but has the advantage of being retrievable for future reference. The television has the advantage of presenting information in sound and pictures, but its audience is confined to the urban areas where there exists the necessary infrastructure such as electricity; while it also has the handicap of being limited to the segment of the society whose income can accommodate its acquisition.

The radio segment of the electronic media has by far the largest audience of all the media. It is affordable by a large segment of the society and can be used in rural areas that do not have electricity. It is common to see a radio set tucked away at one corner of a farm as the farmer tends his crops. It is also common to see a radio set hanging from the shoulders of a cattle rearer as he traverses the grazing fields with his cattle. Such is the power of radio that places it in the dominant position in grassroots information dissemination.

In recognition of these features, the Lagos National Station of the Federal Radio corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) packages grassroots agriculture programs for the rural farmers. This program is called "Let's Go Farming." It is transmitted twice a week. A regular listener to the program will agree that we really farm with the farmer. We are also mindful of other practitioners of agriculture who are not grassroots farmers. The needs of this group of people are also catered for in the program. Our Stations in Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan also broadcast agricultural programs for the benefit of farmers within their linguistic zones. Our Educational Service also transmits agricultural science programs for secondary schools. Our News Department strives to incorporate as much of agriculture news as possible in its bulletins. I believe that the other state media houses have their own agriculture programs or desks.

This being the situation, this workshop will have been worthwhile if it succeeds in:

- drawing on the experiences of the various media houses in agricultural information dissemination;
- finding ways of fostering inter-media cooperation through the exchange of programs and news items;
- getting the practitioners in agricultural communication to co-operate with one another to enhance free flow of information;
- addressing the issue of how to get research findings out of the shelves of research institutes and guarding the information so collected against adulteration;
- recognizing the need to run periodic seminars such as this to acquaint media practitioners with the subjects they report on since they may not necessarily be trained in agriculture;
- getting farmers, students, agricultural extension workers and other agricultural practitioners involved in the *Media Forum for agriculture* and making material contributions and sharing experiences.

The list of expectations of this workshop could be endless considering the fact that this is a pioneer event. However, looking at the profile of the participants and the enormous resources placed at its disposal by IITA, I have no doubt that the workshop will fulfil the aspirations of the Forum, IITA and other interest groups who wish to see an effective communication system established for a sustainable agriculture.

Once again, I thank the IITA for its initiative in establishing this noble Forum whose commitment is to sustainable agriculture, and I look forward to very successful deliberations.

Thank you.

What the Peasants Want: A Grassroots Perspective on Food Production

Aminu Tijjani, Council of Nigerian Farmers*

Introduction

The various Nigerian trade associations such as the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and the Chambers of Commerce, which today receive so much public attention, especially through media exposure, do so mainly because they have an enlightened membership which makes them vocal. The prominence they receive, therefore, in most cases is out of all proportion to the actual contribution they make to the overall economic development or social advancement of the society. Indeed, in comparison to the farming community, the publicity and public concessions they enjoy can be said to be at the expense of the farmers whose sweat provides the take-off for the trade and industrial groups.

I have often been intrigued by the notion harboured by people, especially personal friends and business colleagues, who either suspect some political motive or business naivety for my involvement in agriculture, especially with small-scale farmers. Such people often ask: "What have you achieved in this business?" Of course in the Nigerian context the achievement is expected to be substantially material, especially when such taunting enquiries end with "How many hectares do you have under cultivation?" or "How many heads of cattle do you own?"

I assert that my leadership in the business of farming is not a testimony to the size or magnitude of my farming. It is rather a measure of my commitment to the overall effort at developing agriculture through the small-scale farmer. And I am grateful to find an amplification to this in a paper presented by Alhaji Chief M.K.O. Abiola on 4th March 1990 at a symposium organized by the Agricultural Trade Group of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce & Industry, titled "The Ideal Agricultural Policy". In the matter we are considering now I find it very appropriate to quote a substantial portion of Chief Abiola's paper:

It was the great American President and constitutional philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, that once noted that "the cultivators of the earth are the most important citizens."

Like Jefferson, I believe in according recognition to the millions of farmers who daily till the land, harvest the farms, enrich our dining tables and supply our industries, cottage and otherwise, with their raw material requirements.

My intention is not to criticize our present agricultural policy, but to stimulate debate on what I conceive as the ideal agricultural policy towards attaining self-sufficiency in agricultural production, considering the following constraints: 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

* Alhaji Tijjani has, since making this presentation, ended his five-year term as President of the Council of Nigerian Farmers.

the prevalence of subsistence agriculture. Others are unfavorable climatic and geographical factors occasioning desertification in the north; soils which are fragile and deficient in organic matter, and an extremely rapid population growth, estimated at over three percent per annum.

At present, we are told that 75 percent of all Nigerians live in rural areas. Farming alone accounts for 75 percent of all jobs, with three-quarters of it done on patches of less than two hectares. These peasant small-holder farmers account for about 95 per cent of our agricultural output. This group is today the back-bone of our agriculture and must therefore be encouraged at least in the short run.

Three things make the above quotation relevant to us. The first is Thomas Jefferson's assertion that "the cultivators of the earth are the most important citizens" which is as valid today in Nigeria as it was in the US many years ago. It therefore tallies with my opening remarks. Second, Chief Abiola has summarized the main constraints militating against our effort to reach self-sufficiency in food production: a weak human resource base lacking in technical and managerial skills; political instability and its attendant interrupted policy blueprint, etc. Third, and most important, the brief statistical illustration of the size of the farming community, vis-a-vis the total population of Nigeria, to me, should be our take-off point.

Education, Encouragement and Consumption (EEC) Blueprint

If we go by the statistical data outlined earlier and use a backward integration approach, we may succeed in achieving the EEC Blueprint both in spirit and in form. I believe the philosophy behind the EEC (European Economic Community) is to effectively boost production and encourage trade through information and education of the member states. Similarly, we can only hope to increase our overall agricultural production if we create a sustainable market, and educate, through established information media, our peasant farmers and give them the moral and material encouragement that will attract them to and keep them in farming for sustained growth.

Education. What do we mean by education in the field of agriculture, particularly as it relates to peasant farmers? In this context, we apply education in its widest sense to include all there is to know, in theory and in practice, about farming. Thus, while acknowledging that the peasant farmer is, in most cases, expected to, and often does, learn through "sitting by Nelly" method about the practical aspects of farming, we should also appreciate the need to bring and keep him up to date by punching into him the theories and new developments in practical agriculture.

Once again, I would like to refer to Chief Abiola's paper in which he emphasizes the need to educate the smallholder farmers "on how to use and apply chemicals and fertilizers" to increase yields. At present this kind of service is supposed to be provided by certain government agencies, mostly the World Bank-assisted Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs). How many of these are seen to be doing this, and, even where there may be a genuine claim for doing it, how well is it being done? These organizations see themselves more as contract managers for equipment or fertilizer distributors to all but the peasant farmers.

Indeed, it is necessary to re-emphasize the extension aspect of the ADPs' functions. They should draw up programs to suit local needs (language, customs, and climatic conditions). The ADPs should link the research institutions and their research findings with farmers. Educating

farmers can lead to a lot of savings in our national economy. For instance, every year, the Federal Government spends well over ₦1 billion on the purchase and distribution of fertilizers. More than half of the fertilizers that the peasant farmers apply on their farms have no bearing on the soil composition and crop needs. Thus, if such farmers can be educated on how to obtain and use simple soil analysis data, we can reduce wastage and increase production.

Encouragement. By far the greatest insult that I have ever received in this business of mobilizing farmers was echoed recently when someone suggested that the elite (talking about people like me) have hi-jacked the peasant farmers. A few others and I are, without regrets, investing a lot of personal resources into this business in order to give practical and moral support to the toiling tillers of the soil. And I believe we are winning by uplifting the status of farming in the society. A few years ago, if you asked any seemingly educated Nigerian if he was a farmer he replied with an emphatic "No!" I am happy to note that the incidence of fraud, in regard to those who claim to be farmers other than what they actually are, is on the increase. Thus, each according to his means and capability should endeavour to give encouragement to peasant farmers to improve and increase their productivity.

Since I assumed leadership of the Council of Nigerian Farmers (CNF), my constant prayer and advice to farmers has been that they turn to government for assistance only after they have exhausted their own means. Even then, farmers should only look out for a "bridging facility" rather than a grant.

Perhaps we should dwell a little more on the way the government, in particular, should encourage peasant farmers. While I have acknowledged, publicly and privately almost to the point of sycophancy, the positive efforts this Administration has made to improve agriculture, I cannot shut my eyes or my mind to the obvious defects in some aspects of recent agricultural policy measures. The main areas where government can demonstrate its desire to encourage peasant farmers are: easy access to cheap loans, inputs, simple implements (hand and animal drawn), and properly designed subsidy packages that reach the farmers.

Can we honestly say that, despite all the efforts of the government, the loan funds being shared to farmers will make the impact required to boost our national food production to self-sufficiency? Why are the various World Bank loans not targeted directly to farmers, through producer co-operatives and groups? How is the Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank (NACB) expected to reach any appreciable number of farmers with its meagre human resources and narrow base in relation to the country's geography? There are many more questions that will agitate the mind of the honest and anxious Nigerian. But we do not need as many answers to solve our problems. However, the few answers need some vision to perceive and a lot of courage to voice them.

For instance, in distributing fertilizers, elementary logistics should dictate to us that the most effective way to ensure that they get to farmers is by involving them (through their organs) as near to the procurement point as possible. The more tiers (state government, local government, ADPs, etc) are put between farmers and fertilizers the more expensive the overhead and the higher the risk of diverting the subsidy benefit before it reaches the target — the farmers.

Consumption. In order to give the full picture and real effect to our EEC prescription we must now assume that the farmers, by the grace of all concerned, but most of all by the grace of the Almighty Allah, will have been educated and given the right encouragement. Normally the

end result is a sharp rise in the production. There could then be a slight problem. The market for the agricultural produce may be saturated to the point of a glut! The creation of a market for the produce is therefore very important. We must here quickly appreciate the effort of the Federal Government through such bodies as the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Council (NEPC) and the various measures which have been taken to encourage the use of our local raw materials, particularly the establishment of the Raw Materials Development and Research Council (RMRDC). Thus, our policy should aim to stimulate consumption (human, industrial) at local levels while export markets are established for our finished or semi-finished goods.

In this process, it is necessary to take steps to ensure that the interests of the weak and uninitiated peasant farmers are protected. Right now the situation is one of "the survival of the fittest". Normally post-harvest facilities, such as grain dryers and grain storage chemicals, are very expensive and beyond the reach of any but a few large-scale farmers. The Federal Government policy in providing national strategic grain reserves and encouraging state governments and private investors to provide storage facilities is only slowly coming into effect. Meanwhile, peasant farmers remain at the mercy of either the merchant who buys early in the harvest season at rock-bottom prices or the pests which destroy the grains.

Once more the solution to these problems would seem to lie in the collective effort of farmers acting as members of co-operatives. The Council of Nigerian Farmers (CNF) has been making desperate efforts, with very little success, to establish outgrower schemes for industrial users of agricultural produce. The industrial users are reluctant to entrust their fate to the "undisciplined" peasant farmers and insist that they will only pay for what is delivered at their factory. The farmers, on the other hand, cannot raise enough money to take up the challenge. The whole thing then becomes a vicious circle.

We in the CNF see the possibility of such schemes becoming feasible under a tripartite arrangement between the industrial user organizations (such as MAN and the Chambers of Commerce), the farmer organizations (such as the CNF and co-operatives) and the finance institutions (banks and finance companies). Under this scheme it is envisaged that all the parties concerned will take every step necessary to make it work by strictly fulfilling their obligations collectively and by ensuring that individual members of their organizations also comply.

Conclusion

I hope that by now we have drawn the picture clearly of "What the Peasants Want." As members, nay proud members, of the society they want to maintain their pride by contributing to the overall development of the society. They therefore need to learn continuously about new technologies and improved techniques and inputs. Because of their weak financial resources, they need to be given assistance to acquire appropriate knowledge and technologies to increase their productivity. Thus, to give the whole scheme a free-wheeling effect, peasants should be assured of a ready and viable market for their produce. In short, the bottom line is to adopt the EEC principle of Education, Encouragement and Consumption.

Research Priorities for Sustainable Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa

Dunstan S.C. Spencer, Director of Resource & Crop Management Program,
International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)
Ibadan

Introduction

I must first of all express my thanks to Dr. Lawani and the Organizing Committee of this workshop for inviting me to make this presentation. I must admit that I am a little nervous at this prospect. I read newspapers all the time and see what you as media practitioners and journalists write. I have always wondered about the correlation between what people say and what you write. Now I have the opportunity of finding out. I hope my fears would be dispelled.

In this paper, I will first of all talk about the problems of agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa and the challenge we face in feeding the masses. Next, I will describe what we mean by sustainable technologies and why we need such technologies. In the third section, I address the question as to why we need additional research to develop such technologies. In research institutes, we usually take the need for research for granted. However, this is not the case with the wider audience. Next, I will address the question as to the type of research that is needed to develop sustainable technologies and finally would give some examples of such potentially sustainable improved technologies emanating from our research here at IITA.

Problems of Agriculture and Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in the world where per capita food production has declined over the past two decades. Declining food production exacts a high price in both human and economic terms. In most African countries, calorie intake is below the minimum recommended nutritional standard. The demand for food imports is increasing while imported grain prices are rising. Many African governments face acute balance of payments and foreign exchange problems as the terms of trade have turned against the traditional African exports of primary commodities. There is much need to increase food output in order to:

- Feed the increasing population of sub-Saharan Africa. For example, Nigeria will become the third most populous country in the world by 2035, after India and China, with a population of half a billion people — equal to all of sub-Saharan Africa today!
- Earn needed foreign exchange to import non-food needs.
- Generate savings (capital), for investment in other sectors.
- Preserve and conserve the natural resource base, to enhance its productivity.

Growth in food production in the past has depended primarily on increases in cultivated area at the expense of restorative bush fallows. As we know, many tropical soils are fragile, losing organic matter and nutrients quickly if exposed or cultivated intensely. Thus, soil productivity is declining. Since most food production still occurs in the subsistence sector, there is little use of commercial inputs which might improve yields. Most labor for cultivation is provided by people working with relatively simple hand tools. The scarcity of such labor puts constraints on the additional acreage which could be cultivated. Adverse weather, pest damage, and crop diseases aggravate difficulties in the production of food using existing technologies.

There is therefore an urgent need for new or improved technologies and systems of land development and management that will permit increased productivity and prevent resource degradation.

The Need for New and Improved Sustainable Agricultural Technologies

The small-scale sector of agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa produces about 90 per cent of the food and employs 50 - 80 per cent of the people. The small-scale farmer usually has less than 3 hectares, and his own labor and management is the major input into his farming system. Such farmers have very little cash or capital for purchased inputs.

The predominant farming systems in the humid and sub-humid tropical Africa are based on shifting cultivation and related bush fallow systems with minimal reliance on cash inputs. Traditionally, African farmers have allowed farm land to revert to natural vegetation after a few years of cultivation because of the rapid decline in soil productivity. Fallow periods ranged from 5 to 20 or more years, depending on demand for land and the rate of fertility restoration. As long as population and agricultural pressures on the land were not excessive, there were little problems of degradation in the system.

The vegetative cover during the fallow period stops wind erosion and virtually eliminates water erosion. The multi-layered network of roots and the build-up of organic matter reduce erosion and leaching by slowing downward movement of nutrients, intercepting and recycling the major portion of the potentially leachable components. The deeper roots of the trees absorb minerals that are not available to the shallow roots of annual crops and deposit them on the surface soil through leaf litter. This not only establishes a greater reservoir of available nutrients upon which the crops can draw, but enlarges the volume of soil in which weathering steadily makes more of the total minerals available for crop use. Also, shade, surface mulch and competition in the root zone combine to eliminate weeds that normally occur in cultivated fields. These farming systems remained productive also because smallholders used complex cropping patterns and sequences, mixtures of tree crops and annuals, and intensive compound gardening techniques. These replicate the protective and fertility-restoring effects of the original forest cover.

However, the countries of sub-Saharan Africa can no longer rely completely on traditional farming systems to cope with current food demand. Serious soil degradation has already occurred in areas of both high and low population densities as a result of considerable pressure on available arable lands. In densely populated areas, fallow periods have become very short, resulting in soil exposure to rain, heat and sunlight, and consequent erosion. Many new areas have been cleared for cultivation to meet the growing food demand using mechanical techniques that seriously degrade the productive capacity of the land.

In areas with low-population densities, the necessary labor to clear trees from land that has been under fallow for long periods and to carry out other important tasks such as weeding is lacking. This lack of labor results in the repeated use of the same land, elimination of restorative fallows, and the neglect of tasks needed to maintain the resource base.

Characteristics of Improved and Sustainable Technologies

To be classified as improved, a new technology must be able to improve the productivity of the small farmers' labor, scarce capital and land without leading to degradation of the natural resources (soil, vegetation, water, etc) on which his livelihood and that of the nation depend. Since labor and capital are the most limiting factors generally, it is much more important to increase their productivity, i.e., to increase returns per person per day and returns per naira invested than it is to increase yield per hectare. I believe that this holds true even in areas of relatively high population density such as the eastern states of Nigeria.

The second essential characteristic for a technology to be regarded as improved is that it must be adoptable by small farmers. To be adoptable, a technology must be within their resource endowment and management capacity.

Let me illustrate what I mean with a couple of examples that I gave at a recent seminar here in IITA. I have always wanted to own a Ferrari car right from my youth. The Ferrari, no doubt, represents the best of improved transportation technology as far as cars go. However, when I graduated, if the Volkswagen Beetle did not exist I would not have been able to own a car. As far as I was concerned, (and I'm still concerned unfortunately!) the Ferrari is not an improved transportation technology since it is well beyond my means to acquire. Also, air freight is obviously the most effective way of getting vegetables from African producers to important markets in Europe. Many farmers usually stand by the river to watch planes go overhead. As far as they are concerned, such transportation technology does not exist. If the canoe did not exist for their use, they would have to walk wherever they went or swim across streams!

If a new technology does not meet the above criteria, i.e. does not increase labor and capital productivity; degrades the natural resource base; and is not adoptable by small farmers in the sense that it is within their means to acquire and manage, the new technology, in my opinion, is not an improved technology, and those producing such technologies are wasting their time. The farmers who are very intelligent people and know what is best for their livelihood are not likely to pay any attention to them!

The Need for Research into Sustainable Agricultural Systems

There is an on-going debate in the international development community as to whether sufficient improved technologies exist for smallscale farmers in sub-Saharan Africa. One view is that relevant technology is readily available "on the shelf" and it only requires more effective extension services to deliver it to farmers. Proponents of this view argue that there has already been heavy investment in agricultural research both by national and international organizations. The present rate of investment in research as a percentage of agricultural gross domestic product in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, is higher than that of any other region. Supporters of this view urge that funds currently allocated to research would have greater impact if shifted to finance marketing and extension services. The great emphasis by institutions such as the World Bank in funding the Training and Visit System of extension is in part, a reflection of this view.

The contrary view, to which I subscribe, is that there is not a sufficient stock of relevant technologies that smallscale farmers in sub-Saharan Africa can efficiently and effectively adopt to attain the level of output needed to feed the growing populations of sub-Saharan Africa. A few years ago, a colleague and I examined some of the current stock of technological innovations in terms of their appropriateness to smallscale farming (Matlon and Spencer, 1984)¹. We concluded that response of new production technologies to the continent's evolving needs was inadequate and that, to a large extent, failures stemmed from two causes:

- inadequate understanding of the goals and resource limitations of small farmers. For example, the emphasis on producing monocropping technologies while the vast number of our small farmers are using intercropping systems; and
- the over-reliance on the importation of improved technologies into sub-Saharan Africa from other continents where physical and socio-economic conditions are completely different from those in Africa.

In a recently completed review for the World Bank (*Technologies for smallscale farmers in sub-Saharan Africa*), Stephen Carr also points out how little of the vast array of the so-called improved technologies actually perform adequately under farmers' conditions.

Moreover, we only have to look back at the numerous examples of unsuccessful attempts to get farmers to adopt improved technologies in Nigeria to see that there is something wrong. We could either conclude, as some people have done in the past, that the farmers are stupid, backward, unintelligent people who do not know what is good for them, and therefore are not able to use the technology offered to them, or we have to conclude as I do that there is something wrong with the technologies they are trying to get farmers to adopt. If you come to the second conclusion, then there is much need to re-orient our research systems to produce technologies which farmers can adopt.

Research to produce such appropriate technologies needs to be intensified to address the problems of Africa relating to the diversity of farming systems, the harsh climate we have, the fragile soils and the limited ability of farmers to make major capital investments. We need increased attention and funding for research into sustainable agricultural systems for the small farmers of sub-Saharan Africa.

General Guidelines in Developing Technologies for Sustainable Agriculture

The essential principle for preventing or retarding soil degradation in the tropics during cultivation is to maintain a crop cover or a continuous layer of organic residues on the soil surface. The cover mimics and replaces the effects of the forest ecosystem in protecting the soil from structural damage by rain and from excessive temperatures. The cover also supplies organic matter to replace that lost by microbiological processes; it stimulates the activity of soil organisms, in particular earthworms, and it minimizes nutrient leaching and acidification.

¹ Matlon, Peter J. and Dunstan Spencer, 1984. Increasing food production in sub-Saharan Africa; environmental problems and inadequate technological solutions. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 66(5): 671-676.

Other important principles and recommendations for minimizing soil degradation and increasing productivity include the following:

- any equipment used should be designed to exert low pressure on the soil;
- when soil compaction occurs through the use of machinery or natural processes that cause breakdown of soil structure, measures should be taken to loosen the soil and restore the structure;
- cropping patterns should avoid continuous monocropping in favor of crop mixtures that maximize active plant cover of the soil — mixtures of shallow and deep-rooting crops make use of nutrients efficiently;
- fertilizers and other soil additives may be needed to balance soil nutrients and replace nutrient losses, but these should be used judiciously to avoid generating problems of acidification and toxification; and
- the subsistence pattern of the lives of resource-poor farmers must be transformed by technologies which stabilize output. Such stability requires varieties resistant to diseases and insect pests and tolerant of adverse environmental factors; biological approaches that reduce dependence on chemicals and that work with nature to solve farmers' problems; and management practices that save labor and raise productivity.

What Type of Technologies should Research Institutes Emphasize?

The answer to this question depends on how we assess the prospects for creating the conditions that will allow farmers to adopt the technologies the research institutions produce. Some technologies require massive structural and institutional changes if small farmers are to adopt them. Changes required would include: massive investment in irrigation systems, setting up of new input delivery and output marketing systems, changes in traditional land tenure systems to allow freehold titles to land, etc. If these conditions exist, then farmers could adopt high-yielding, input-responsive varieties, and would be able to purchase and apply the high doses of fertilizers, chemicals, sprays, etc, that are necessary.

However, it is possible to produce another type of technology which requires little or no structural changes for adoption by farmers. These technologies are usually referred to as low-input systems and might result in much less increase in output than the first type. Such technologies include crop varieties that do not need larger amounts of fertilizers to produce than are required by traditional varieties; agroforestry systems, such as alley farming, that allow exploitation of the benefits found in traditional shifting cultivation systems; etc.

You can make your own assessment of what you think are the prospects of bringing about the needed structural changes in the next 20 to 30 years in sub-Saharan Africa. We should, however, remember that much of our efforts in the past failed. Despite all efforts, irrigation schemes are still very few and far between and many of those that were set up are no longer functional. Improved input delivery and marketing systems are not in place and there have been very few changes in land tenure systems.

Furthermore, even if our governments have the will, many of our economies do not have the needed domestic capital resources for the massive investment in irrigation and other

infrastructures that are needed. To bring about such structural change would need a "Marshal Plan" for Africa; that is, provision of massive doses of investment capital from the developed world. Given the changes in Eastern Europe, and the attitude towards aid to Africa in the developed world today, what are the prospects of such a "Marshal Plan"? And even if we had the funds transferred, can we ensure that it will be used effectively and efficiently for the needs for which they were provided?

I believe that research systems in sub-Saharan Africa will have a much better chance of having their technologies adopted if they concentrate on producing technologies that do not require massive structural changes as prerequisites for adoption by small farmers. Our first priority should be on producing low input sustainable technologies. Such technologies have a better chance of being widely adopted by our farmers and would lead to increases in production that will be sufficient to meet the food needs of the region in the next 10 to 20 years.

Examples of Sustainable Systems from IITA Research

To round up this talk, I would like to briefly describe three innovations on sustainable systems that are emerging from IITA research: improved, disease-resistant cassava varieties; alley cropping; and biological control of the cassava mealybug.

Improved Cassava Varieties. Cassava is the most important root crop grown in the forest zone of Africa. It is intercropped usually with maize, rice, other cereals and legumes. Over the last 20 years, IITA breeders have developed cassava varieties that are resistant to the major pests (cassava mosaic disease and cassava bacterial blight) and achieve substantial increases in yield when cultivated under farmers' conditions, even without any fertilizer. TMS 30572 and related varieties that are used for gari production in West and Central Africa can certainly be regarded as improved technology which meets the needs of small farmers.

Biocontrol of the Cassava Mealybug. The story of the biological control of the cassava mealybug is well known to many people. Biocontrol utilizes an insect, which is harmless to the crop, to control the activity of another, the pest. Effective biocontrol is one of nature's alternatives to using pesticides.

The cassava mealybug threatened to completely destroy cassava crops across the African continent. IITA scientists, in collaboration with colleagues at CIAT, a sister institute in Cali, Colombia, did an extensive exploration in Latin America for insects which attack or feed on the mealybug. Such beneficial insects keep mealybug populations so low that the damage done to cassava is not economically significant. The most effective beneficial insect found was a tiny wasp, *Epidinocarsis lopezi*.

These beneficial insects are bred in huge numbers using sophisticated methods and equipment. They are then released from an aircraft, or from the ground. Releases have been made in virtually all the cassava-growing countries of Africa.

The method of biological control is also being used to combat cassava green mite, and the mango mealybug. Studies are underway to apply biological control against the dreaded locust, and the larger grain borer that destroys maize in storage.

Alley Farming. One highly promising sustainable system of food production is the alley farming system. Food crops are grown in alleys formed by hedgerows of shrubs. The shrubs are cut back periodically and used as mulch on the alleys. Because of the regular replenishment of

organic matter and minimization of erosion, the land no longer needs to be left fallow after two or three years of cropping. Crops can be grown year after year on the same land.

These shrubs provide farmers with valuable bonuses: fuelwood and staking materials for other crops, and even nutritious fodder for livestock. Research is determining the most suitable shrub species for different crops and cropping patterns as well as for different soil types and ecological conditions. Alley farming is being evaluated by scientists in national programs through participation in the Alley Farming Network for Africa — AFNETA.

Mass Communication and Food Production

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Introduction

The relationship between mass communication and food production does not seem immediately obvious. Mass communication conjures up the mass media — radio, television, newspapers and magazines. It conjures up journalists producing news bulletins, stories, articles, columns about the immediate surroundings as well as the most far-flung areas of the globe and beyond. Food, on the other hand, is what farmers produce, for the sustenance of the entire population, including journalists, or, as many of them now call themselves, "media practitioners."

The mass media are devoted in a large measure to entertainment and leisure. Food production, on the other hand, is a serious, exacting business. The mass media are ever so concerned about all the glamorous people, the jet set. On the other hand, the glamorous farmer is almost a contradiction in terms. So: where is the connection between the mass media and food production?

During the planting and harvesting seasons, the news media are replete with stories of farming activity. We see pictures of giant combine harvesters at work and huge stacks of produce. Sometimes, agricultural activity is the focus of national media attention, such as when President Ibrahim Babangida launched the wheat harvest last year in Kano. We read from time to time about how the lateness or the sparseness or superabundance of the rains could spell trouble for the crop. One advertisement that has been running on national television for more than a year urges the viewer, whatever his or her profession, to take to food production.

But coverage of agricultural news by the news media and televised exhortations to produce food do not establish any vital link between mass communication and food production. In this paper, I try to establish this vital link, drawing substantially from the literature on media and development, pointing up, first, the great optimism and then the sober realism with which media scholars have regarded the role of communication in national development. Subsequently, I suggest what contributions the news media in Nigeria can realistically be expected to make in the area of food production.

The Media and Development

About three decades ago, media scholars and policy makers alike were almost unanimous that information constituted the critical variable in the calculus of national development. Some of the leading experts in the area, among them Everett Rogers,¹ Daniel Lerner,² Lucian Pye³ and, to a lesser extent, Wilbur Schramm,⁴ saw communication as an independent variable, indeed as the causal agent, in a game called development.⁵ Through their influence, Unesco came to assign the news media a pivotal role in national development. The philosophy at the time was that "more and more media are a good thing." And in keeping with this orthodoxy, Unesco communicators tried their hands at postulating a theory of development by communications.

Possession of radio sets, access to newspapers, television sets, and cinema seats, were seen as positive indicators of development. Little or no attention was paid to the *content* of the media and how such content was used by the audience. Access to the media was taken as proof

of exposure to the media, which in turn was regarded as an attribute of the "mobile personality", the type that could accept new ideas and thus help promote development.

But access is not the same thing as exposure. Many people have radio or television sets which, for one reason or another, they hardly use. The sets may have broken down. Because of the nature of their work, some people may be away from home most of the time. Entire towns have been known to have no electricity for weeks, may be months at a stretch, with the result that those who depend on the municipal supply are unable to watch television during the period.

In any case, even those who are exposed to the media: what kind of *content* do they concentrate on? Let us relate a true story to amplify this point. In 1962 or thereabout, a man was arrested and charged to court for operating a radio receiver without a post office licence, an offence of which at least 99 per cent of Nigerians who own radio sets are probably guilty, even today. He did not contest the charge. Rather, he told the court that his set was tuned permanently to a radio station in the Congo from which he listened rapturously to his favourite hit tunes by O.K. Jazz, Rock-a-Mambo, Negro Band, African Jazz and all those orchestras that made listening to Congo music an addiction for so many Nigerians at the time. The accused insisted that he had never tuned his radio to any Nigerian station — not even accidentally. The court was unimpressed and ordered him to pay a fine and to obtain a post office licence without further delay.

There is a woman who buys a certain newspaper that shall remain nameless just to find out who among her friends and contemporaries has died, or indeed to find out whether she herself would be reported to have died, as sometimes happens. One law professor buys a certain newspaper because it runs a column on body fitness. Some people buy some publications because of some features such as pools forecasts, recipes, beauty hints, etc.

The point, really, is that it is impermissible to conclude that because someone has access to or is exposed to some kinds of media fare, he or she is likely to possess certain attributes that are conducive to national development. People use the media for information. But they also use them for gratification.⁶ Such gratification may not always be in consonance with the goals of national development. Sometimes, they may even be subversive of national development. Thus, it is useless to find out whether someone attends to the media without finding out what programs or content he or she attends to.

Nor did the concept of "development" itself pose any difficulty to media or development scholars. As used by its protagonists, development meant modernization, which was really a euphemism for Westernization. To be developed was to have huge factories churning out consumer goods, iron and steel industries, giant mechanized farms, automated hydro-electric schemes and, of course, to have a high rate of urbanization: in short, to be like the West.

This model of development is dangerously flawed. It is ahistorical.⁷ It is based on the premise that the industrialized countries were once like the developing countries and, through hard work, thrift, and inventive genius, became what they are today. But we should never forget their unconscionable pillage of our cocoa, timber, groundnut, palm oil and palm kernel, beniseed, cotton, tin, columbite, rubber, etc. These raw materials, which they obtained virtually free, by subterfuge or by force of arms, helped to launch them on the road to prosperity. We should also never forget their pernicious traffic in slaves, mainly from Nigeria and other parts of Africa, to provide cheap labor. Re-worked, these raw materials came back as manufactured products, at prices dictated from abroad. Thus, a vast supply of cheap raw

materials, slave labor and access to a captive seller's market, formed the basis of the prosperity of the imperial powers.

Today, the price of raw materials is still dictated primarily from abroad. Even if they are so minded, Third World countries cannot go and capture slaves to provide cheap labor. They have no guaranteed access to foreign markets for whatever goods they can manufacture. The result is that, even in their relative poverty, more wealth flows from the developing countries than in the other way round.

The price of the Western model of development, as its protagonists posited, was nothing less than the destruction of traditional life and its replacement by so-called modern values. Lost on them is the example of Japan which has remained wedded to its ancient traditions even as it has become one of the world's leading industrial nations. Lost on those who made urbanization a pre-condition for development is the fact that the Yorubas rank among the most urbanized people in the world.⁸ And yet, by conventional measures, they are not even on the threshold of "development."

The wilful destruction of existing industries in the colonial territories to create a monopoly for similar industries in the metropolis was also another strategy by which the imperial power achieved their economic dominance. A case in point was the paralysis of India's thriving textile industry by the British colonial intruders to keep the mills of Manchester spinning.⁹ Anyone who would understand the despoliation of the Third World that undergirds Western prosperity would find Rodney¹⁰ and Onimode¹¹ highly instructive.

The experts also failed to take into account the fact that China has chosen a different route to development: one that stresses self-reliance, locally-developed intermediate technology rather than imported hi-tech machinery, and a labor-intensive rather than a capital-intensive strategy, to take advantage of its enormous manpower resources.

Communications and Development: The Vital Link

A great deal of communication for rural development was defined within the paradigm of the diffusion of innovations. This approach took some account of the prevailing social structure but, according to Emile McAnany,¹² one of the more progressive scholars in the field, drew no policy implications from the consistent finding that farmers who were already better off in the rural environment (the so-called "progressive farmers") were the early adopters. The innovations being diffused were often created in a hi-tech country — mainly in the United States — and were usually not appropriate to the areas where they were being introduced. Thus, such innovations could only deepen the level of dependency of their recipients. Emphasis was on adoption. What happens thereafter received scant attention.

In light of these shortcomings, the role of information and communication in development has had to be re-examined. In the process, the unbounded optimism of the 1950s and 1960s has given way to a great deal of doubt and even some pessimism.¹³ Before discussing the role that communication can realistically be assigned in the development mix, it is necessary to attempt to provide a working definition of what development is all about. Here it would be useful to adopt the "basic needs" approach, taking off from a series of searching questions posed by Dudley Seers on the subject. According to Seers:¹⁴

The questions to ask about a country's development are: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What

has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled.

The basic needs approach, then, emphasizes the provision of basic necessities to the largest section of the population. These necessities are food and shelter, clothing, access to health facilities and to education, and greater employment. How do the mass media fit into this scheme? The mass media are in a significant way also educational media. This means that they can be used to impart ideas, to teach new skills, to reinforce desirable attitudes and to discourage undesirable ones. They can also be used to focus attention on a given goal, and thus to mobilize the populace for the attainment of that goal.

This capacity for teaching skills and focusing attention on a given goal makes the mass media potentially a valuable asset in agricultural production.

In the area of agricultural extension, for example, local farmer participation, credit, marketing, etc, information can play a very important role in raising the productivity of farmers. The extension worker or agent is basically the source of new information. These agents are few and reach only a fraction of the farmers. The same information can be distributed to a much larger area using the mass media. Demonstrations of new techniques on television can make them graphic and splendidly real to farmers. Information about the availability of credit can help farmers take greater advantage of this under-utilized resource.

Information is therefore a crucial variable in the development calculus. But it must be seen for what it is: a dependent rather than an independent variable. It cannot be a substitute for other resources.

A farmer may know that the use of fertilizers can improve his yield; he may know of the existence of miracle seeds that can boost his output many times over. But such information is of little use unless he can somehow acquire the fertilizer and the miracle seeds. A farmer may know that rural credit is available, but if he does not have the almighty collateral, he cannot take advantage of such knowledge. If one half of his harvest perishes every year because there is no assured market and no storage facilities, he is unlikely to react positively to an information campaign designed to get him to produce more.

Planners also have to show some realism with regard to the impact that information can make on agricultural productivity and income, as well as on knowledge, attitudes and behaviors of rural people. In many projects for rural people, the rate of expected change is often not specified. Information, training, credit, etc. may result only in a slight increase in the income of farmers because they may already be working at near maximum efficiency on their small plots of land. Without major changes in land tenure or cropping patterns and market structures, they cannot significantly change their productivity or their income. This is the context in which we should examine the role of the Nigerian news media in food production.

The Nigerian News Media and Food Production

Perhaps for the first time in the nation's history, the rural poor are high on the government's priority list. The location of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures in the Office of the President is a dramatic indication of this welcome development. In light of the

presentation thus far, what role can the news media realistically be expected to play in food production in particular and rural development in general?

To answer this question, let us consider the media resources available to the farmer who, typically, has little formal education and, for the most part, rudimentary reading skills in, and comprehension of, the English language.

Whereas the average urban dweller can read as many as 20 or even more daily newspapers if he is so inclined, the rural dweller not literate in English is not so well served. Practically all national language communities are served by only a weekly newspaper, with the exception of those literate in Hausa who can have *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* three times a week. Again, where the educated urbanite has available to him at least a dozen weekly news magazines, only those literate in Hausa have the good fortune of being served by any periodical that can be called a magazine of news and opinion.

The range and quality of media fare in English are far superior to those of the indigenous language media, which are for the most part devoted to the sensational and the bizarre, the kind that rural folk are presumed to prefer. The mobilization potential for these publications is thus very low. The level of education of new workers in the English language media is far higher than that of new workers in the indigenous language media. The bulk of newspaper advertising goes to the English language newspapers. Consequently, the indigenous language newspapers are for the most part a miserable adjunct to the English language press. They are locked into a vicious circle.

Because it is presumed that there is only a small audience for them, they are produced for the most part on weekly basis. As a consequence, they attract little advertising. Thus, they are not self-sustaining. And because they are not self-sustaining, because they are held to constitute a drain on resources, little effort is made to develop them and broaden their appeal. And because such effort is lacking, the indigenous language newspapers continue to stagnate.

Nor must we lose sight of the prestige that attaches to literacy in English. In Kenya where Swahili was made an official language in addition to English, Peter Mwaura¹⁵ has reported that many Kenyans lost interest in reading in Swahili as soon as they acquired proficiency in English. The same phenomenon may well be at work here.

As with the print media, so also with the electronic media. The electronic media do break down the literacy barrier to a significant extent. But again, programming in English is far superior in range and quality to that in indigenous languages. English news bulletins are more frequent and more comprehensive than indigenous language bulletins, which have the additional disadvantage of frequently being mangled in the translation.¹⁶

Over time, those who attend to the English language media and those who attend to the indigenous language media may well come to develop divergent perceptions and definitions of "reality." This would be inimical to the national development effort.

News reporting is urban-centered. It is almost as if rural people are invisible or idle. When the rural areas are reported, it is mainly because an authority figure is visiting in connection with some ceremony or another.

A community mobilizes itself, raises funds, and builds a project that could make a significant difference to the quality of life of its members. Then, the community invites some dignitary to "commission" it. From then on, the project becomes a footnote to the dignitary's presence. Thus, the beneficiary of the media's capacity for status - conferral is the dignitary, who already had a lot of status to start with. Again, this is not good for the national development effort.

The news media themselves are victims of the "bigger-is-better" syndrome that has vitiated much of the thinking and planning for development in Nigeria. Every newspaper wants to be seen as "national." A journalist I know actually lost his job as editor because he described his own newspaper, accurately in my view, as "provincial." Resources are dangerously over-extended in an ambitious and probably misguided effort to cover the entire country. Giant radio and television networks providing little autonomy for affiliate stations take the place of smaller community stations that the public can relate to or even participate in programming for. The outcome of all this is the alienation of the public from the media.

To restore a sense of proportion, some "community" newspapers have lately been set up. Though well-conceived, many of them are poorly executed. Published mainly in English as weeklies or monthlies, they are local or zonal digests of the metropolitan newspapers. Their potential for rural development is hardly better than that of the English language newspaper. No serious thought is being given at present to community radio or television stations, the electronic media being considered too sensitive to permit of public access. This official position ought to be re-considered.

To those constraints must be added the fact that a significant section of the mass media lack credibility. Given decades of neglect and broken promises, the rural poor, perhaps even more so than the general public, have come to develop a built-in bias against information from a government source. Media that have been used routinely to deceive or mislead the public: how can the same media now be employed to mobilize the same public for national development?

The foregoing, it is necessary to insist, does not in any way imply that the Nigerian mass media cannot play any significant role in the effort to achieve food self-sufficiency. To achieve the desired impact, however, they will have to be decentralized. They will have to embrace a definition of news that goes beyond what the high and mighty are doing, one that pays attention to process and is alert to trends. They will have to provide greater access and greater opportunity for public involvement in all facets of media operations, including feedback.

The range and quality of media fare in the indigenous languages will have to be broadened. The training of news workers in indigenous languages will have to be improved. Indigenous language newspapers, with their potential to reach the grassroots, will have to be specially subsidized through government advertising and other kinds of support, as is the case in India.¹⁷ Literacy is a key factor in rural and national development. Therefore, reading materials for the newly literate will have to be provided, so that they do not relapse into illiteracy.

Conclusion

It would be unrealistic to place the burden of food production or of any other aspect of development for that matter on the news media. Information, however skilfully delivered, can hardly make much difference if the structural constraints of the environment are not tackled or at least kept constantly in focus.

For example, information on agriculture may be irrelevant or even useless to the burgeoning number of landless peasants, since any increased productivity resulting from applying new knowledge will only go to their employers. Careful planning is necessary in using the mass media for mobilization. A radio project in agriculture, for instance, must not proceed on the assumption that the rural populace have enough radio sets and listen in great numbers. It

must not assume that the information, once applied, can lead to increased productivity, regardless of the land size of most of the farms in the area.

In any serious effort to improve the conditions of the people, the mass media have a role to play. The mass media can be used to keep people thinking *about* development, to make them recognize and accept the need for development, to mobilize and make them predisposed toward development. They can serve as a vehicle for non-formal education to impart knowledge and skills.

But, as has been argued here, their role can only be supplementary. As McAnany *et al* insist, the mass media are, more realistically "an auxiliary variable in a complex set of relationships with social, economic and political structures and processes."¹⁸ Without changing those structures and processes, no amount of mobilization, and certainly no amount of information, will lead to any significant improvement in food production or in any other area of development. Information and communication strategies have a good chance as long as the adoption of new behavior is not foreclosed by lack of resources.

Perhaps we should leave the last word on this matter to Brown and Kears¹⁹ of the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center. "Skillful communication," they warn, "can change a peasant's perception of his situation but it cannot, acting alone, change that situation very much. It can help a farmer see opportunities he might otherwise have missed but if few opportunities exist, information will not create them."

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5. Unesco, for example, prescribed as minimal media requirements 10 copies of daily newspapers, five radio receivers and two cinema seats for each 100 persons in the population. See Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*, p. 113.
6. For an elaboration of the Uses and Gratifications approach, see Elihu Katz, Jay G. Blumer and Michael Gurevitch, "Uses of Mass Communication by the Individual" in W. Phillips Davison and Fredrick T.C. Yu (eds) *Mass Communication Research: Major Issues and Future Directions* (New York: Praeger, 1974), pp. 11-35.
7. For critiques of this model, see Peter Golding, "Media Role in National Development: Critique of Theoretical Orthodoxy", *Journal of Communication* (Summer 1974), pp. 39-53; Claude Ake, *Social Science and Imperialism* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1982).
8. See, for example, William Bascom, "Urbanization Among Yorubas", *American Journal of Sociology* 60 (1955).
9. See, for example, William Hansen and Brigitte Schulz, "Imperialism, Dependency and Social Class", *Africa Today* 3 (1981), pp. 35-36.
10. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972).
11. Bade Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: the Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (Ibadan: The Macmillan Press, 1983).

12. Emile McAnany (ed), *Communication in the Rural Third World: the Role of Information in Development* (New York: Praeger, 1980). See especially Chapter One.

13. For evidence of this new realism, see Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (eds), *Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years and the Next* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

14. Dudley Seers, "What Are We Trying to Measure?" *Journal of Development Studies* 8 (1972), pp. 21-36.

15. Peter Mwaura, *Communication Policies in Kenya* (Paris: Unesco, 1980), p. 27.

16. In an actual case, the election of a prominent attorney as President of the Nigerian Bar Association was reported as if he had been voted chairman of a beer parlour.

17. As much as 56 percent of the government's financial outlay on advertising goes as a matter of policy to Indian-language newspapers. See Desai, *Communication Policies in India*, p. 71.

18. McAnany, *Communication in the Rural World*, op. cit. p. 20.

19. Cited in McAnany, *ibid.*

Strategy Session

At the end of the presentations, interspersed with questions, answers and comments, the issue was not whether communication was essential to the efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, but rather the challenge of evolving appropriate strategies by which the media could provide the necessary impetus for these efforts.

To ensure that these strategies addressed the requirements of each of the two broad categories of mass media — the print and electronic — participants at the workshop were broken into two groups and were required to submit reports accordingly.

Both groups agreed that the "Food Action Media Service" (FAMS) project, which had been launched the previous day, was an appropriate instrument for disseminating agricultural information and popularizing new agricultural technologies. Both prescribed an editorial board to give the multimedia service thematic harmony and assure quality. They also agreed that the bulletins and other products of FAMS would not be a substitute for the overall responsibility of the media to agriculture, but would complement their regular operation and programming.

Agreeing that IITA provide the operational base for both the *Media Forum for Agriculture* and its FAMS project, both groups also highlighted the critical need for a professional coordinator of the activities of the Forum. The coordinator would constantly review strategies, develop new ones, and liaise regularly with media organizations to keep their involvement in agriculture in the front burner, and spearhead the production of FAMS bulletins. They emphasized that, without a full-time coordinator, the Forum would likely flutter and flounder.

Both groups also stressed the need to involve information personnel in agricultural establishments in the preparation of FAMS materials.

Considering the high costs involved in the preparation and dissemination of materials, both groups noted the need to seek the assistance of interested agencies, in addition to IITA, in the forms of materials and funds, in support of both the Forum and the FAMS project. In this regard, both groups also hoped that certain categories of end-users of FAMS materials would eventually be persuaded to make payments for the service.

In addition to the above, the two groups respectively highlighted the following:

Print Media Group

FAMS bulletins and programs should be distributed to

- media personnel and organizations
- state ministries of agriculture
- farmers' cooperatives
- agricultural development programs
- educational institutions running programs in agriculture
- ministries of information and other agro-based institutions.

Electronic Media Group

This group recommended that a delegation of the Forum should attend the conference of the Broadcasting Organizations of Nigeria (BON) scheduled for Sokoto in August, 1990 to acquaint participants (chief executives of electronic media organizations) with the program of the *Media Forum for Agriculture* and secure their support for the production and dissemination of FAMS materials.*

* IITA's Director of Information Services, Dr. Stephen M. Lawani, who has been coordinating the Forum for the Institute, and Mr. Tommy Cdemwingie, Secretary of the Caretaker Committee, were in Sokoto during August 5-7 on the occasion of the BON General Assembly, where the latter made an extra-agenda presentation on the *Media Forum for Agriculture* to the participants.

Faces at the Workshop



Dr. Laurence D. Stifel,
Director General of IITA.



Dr. Stephen M. Lawani,
Director of Information Services,
IITA, explained the aims and
objectives of the Workshop.



Mr. Bankole Balogun,
Director-General of FRCN,
chaired the Workshop.



Alhaji Aminu Tijjani,
then President of the Council of
Nigerian Farmers, presented a
paper on "What the Peasants
Want: A Grassroots Perspective
on Food Production."



Dr. Olatunji Dare,
Chairman of Editorial Board of
The Guardian, presented a paper
on "Mass Communication and
Food Production."



Dr. Dunstan S.C. Spencer,
Director of Resource and Crop
Management Program, IITA,
presented a paper on "Research
Priorities for Sustainable
Agriculture in sub-Saharan
Africa."



Representatives of the different types of media organizations from all parts of the country (left) had the rare opportunity of interacting with representatives of policy makers, farmers' organizations, national and international agricultural research institutes, development agencies, banks and private investors in agriculture and related businesses (right).

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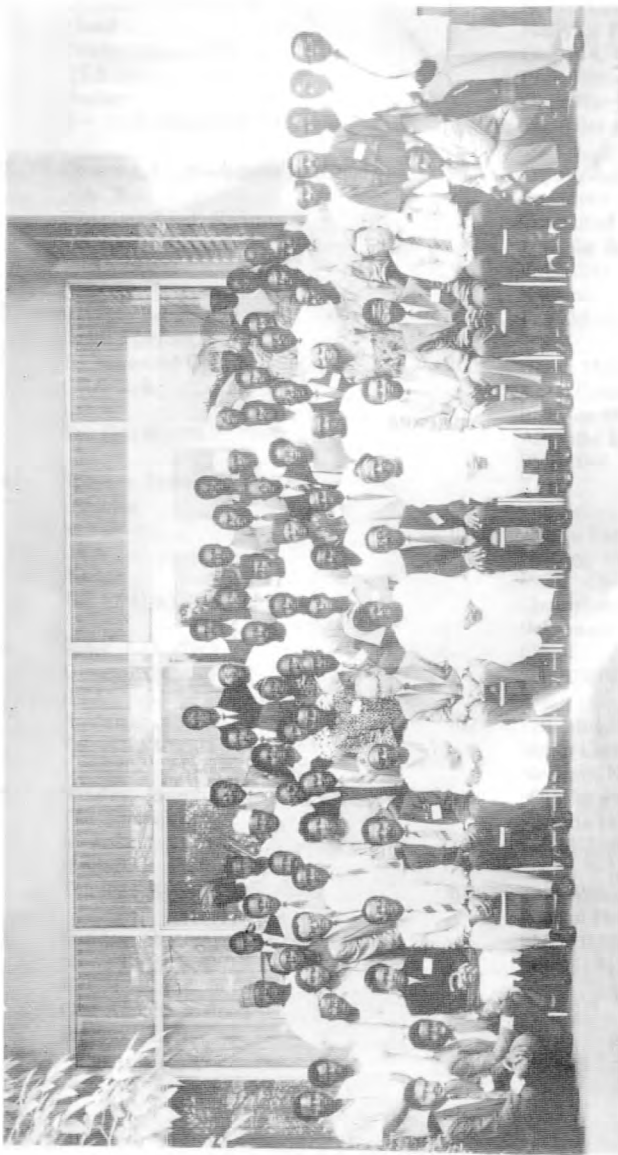
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Annexes



Participants at the inauguration of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*
at IITA on April 9, 1990 pose for a group photograph shortly after the ceremony.

**"The Forum offers tremendous possibilities for those who desire to make
a real contribution to the all-important area of sustainable food and fibre
production in Nigeria."**

Media Forum for Agriculture

Inauguration

The inauguration ceremony of the *Media Forum for Agriculture* at the H.R. Albrecht Conference Center, International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) on April 9, 1990, was chaired by Dr. Michael Omolayole, a management consultant and industrialist, who unveiled a banner showing the logo of the Forum, and also launched the "Food Action Media Service" (FAMS) by which the Forum will complement the effort of the different components of the mass media — FAMS Bulletins for the print; FAMSTEL for television; and RadioFAMS for the radio. Attending the inauguration ceremony were representatives of the media, local and international agencies, ministries, agricultural research institutes, farmers' organizations, and private investors in agriculture.

The large audience was addressed by IITA Director General, Dr. Laurence D. Stifel; Dr. Michael Omolayole; chairperson of the Steering Committee of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*, Mrs Jumoke Adeniji-Soji; Dr. Leonard S.O. Ene, Director of National Root Crops Research Institute (NRCRI), Umudike; and the Representative in Nigeria of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Dr. P. Atang. Mr. Tommy Odemwingie, Secretary of the Steering Committee of the Forum, gave the vote of thanks to round off the Inauguration Ceremony.

The participants were then taken on a tour of IITA's experimental fields.

Organization

Having agreed at the November 7, 1989 meeting to establish the *Media Forum for Agriculture*, "to foster regular interaction between media practitioners, scientists engaged in agriculture and related activities and the key actors in the nation's agricultural sector," participants at this meeting who were drawn from different media organizations from all parts of the country, set up a Steering Committee to plan its inauguration, produce its draft constitution and develop the concept of a collaborative media support system that can ensure wider, more spontaneous and accurate coverage of agriculture and related activities in the media.

The Committee was made up of three representatives of the print media; five representatives of the electronic media and a representative of the news agencies and comprised: Mrs Jumoke Adeniji-Soji (Science Editor, *Nigerian Tribune* — Chairperson); Femi Ajayi (Science Editor, *Daily Times*); Parchi Umoh (Features Editor, *Daily Champion*); Bashir Isma'ila Ahmed (Controller, Programs, FRCN, Kaduna); Layi Onigbogi (Senior Editor, BCOS, Ibadan); Bisi Olawunmi (Editor, Business News, NAN Lagos); Kayode Williams (Senior Reporter, NTA Network News Lagos); Idowu Ajibola (Principal Editor, OGTv, Abeokuta); and Mrs Bisi Kasumu, Manager Programs, FRCN, Ibadan). Mr. Tommy Odemwingie, media consultant to IITA, was appointed Secretary to the Committee.

Following its formal launching on April 9, a general assembly of the Forum was held the following day; at which the Secretary of the Steering Committee presented a report of the Committee's work, covering design of the Forum's logo; draft constitution of the Forum; the

efforts to propagate the formation of the Forum and secure support from media leaders; and production of FAMS Bulletins.

The draft constitution of the Forum was debated and appropriate amendments made; whereupon it was adopted. The issue of constituting an executive for the Forum was discussed. It was resolved that rather than elect a substantive executive, the Sub-Committee be transformed into a Caretaker Committee with a wider composition to reflect the country's geography. The following members were then coopted into the enlarged committee:

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Mr. Adamu Badejo (NTA, Maiduguri)
Kaduna)

South Eastern Zone

Adiela Onyedibia (NTA, Port Harcourt)

North Western Zone

Ms. Dupe Motojehi (*New Nigerian*,

Middle Belt

Aliyu Barau (NTA, Abuja).

Constitution of the *Media Forum for Agriculture*

Preamble

Under the auspices of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Ibadan 41 representatives of media organizations drawn from all parts of Nigeria met on November 7, 1989 to discuss the potential of the media to provide effective support for agriculture in the country.

Participants at the meeting recognized the dominant position of agriculture as an occupation in Nigeria, but noted that such dominance had not attracted commensurate media attention.

Participants also noted that the quality of coverage of agriculture in the media needed to be improved significantly for greater impact of their operations on the situation of food production in the country.

Particularly, participants noted the wide gap between research findings and farming practices in the country, especially among rural populations, and recognized the role which the media could play to redress this situation.

Participants therefore resolved to establish a *Media Forum for Agriculture* to enable them interact more closely with the key actors in the nation's agricultural sector; which forum shall also foster collaboration among the media for more productive coverage of agriculture. Subsequently, the Forum was inaugurated on April 9, 1990.

Name

The name of the body shall be *Media Forum for Agriculture*, also hereinafter referred to as the *Forum*.

Aim

The *Media Forum for Agriculture* shall strive to foster interaction between media practitioners and key players in the development and practice of agriculture to ensure more extensive and improved coverage of agriculture and related activities for increased food production in the context of sustainable development in the different channels of mass communication in Nigeria.

Objectives

1. With the support of interested institutions and agencies, the *Forum* will develop and maintain the infrastructure to provide the necessary impetus for increased agricultural production, including the development, exchange and dissemination of news and news materials on farming and related activities.
2. The *Forum* shall maintain contacts with agriculture desks and programs in the various media of mass communication.

Membership

There shall be four categories of membership, namely:

1. *Regular Membership* : shall be open to nominees of media houses whose interest span agriculture and activities that have impact on agriculture.

2. *Corporate Membership*: shall be extended to institutions and agencies involved in the development of agriculture and related activities.

3. *Associate Membership*: The status of Associate member shall be ascribed to a person who has ceased to be a regular member by reason of redeployment or, a person who, not being nominated by his/her organization to the *Forum*, has manifest interest in agriculture and related activities.

4. *Honorary Membership*: This shall be conferred upon any individual who, in the reckoning of the *Forum* or its agent, is deemed to have made, or has the potential to make an important contribution to the development of agriculture.

Activities

The *Forum* shall carry out two broad categories of activities namely:

1. *Educational*:

(a) This shall relate to activities aimed at enhancing the **capacity** of the media to provide wider and more effective coverage of agriculture such as **seminars**, symposia, lectures, workshops, field trips, etc.

(b) Other activities of the *Forum* shall be of **public nature** by which the *Forum* shall draw attention to issues in agriculture with a view to **generating** solutions to such problems. A schedule of these activities shall be set out **annually** at a general meeting of the *Forum* or at any other forum so empowered by the *Forum*.

2. *Special Projects*:

The *Forum* shall undertake special projects relating to the operation of the media, such as will sustain the active interest of its members in the *Forum*. Such projects shall also enable the media provide more extensive coverage of agriculture in the mass media towards greater awareness about agriculture for self-sufficiency in food production.

Secretariat/Headquarters

The Secretariat/headquarters of the *Forum* shall be located at IITA, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Organization

There shall be five zones, namely,

Southwest Zone, comprising Bendel, Ogun, Lagos, Oyo and Ondo States.

Southeast Zone, comprising Anambra, Imo, Cross River, Akwa Ibom, and Rivers States.

Middlebelt Zone, comprising Abuja, Kwara, Plateau, Benue, and Niger States.

Northwest Zone, comprising Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto, and Kano States.

Northeast Zone, comprising Gongola, Bauchi and Borno States

Officers

The affairs of the *Forum* shall be run by an *Executive* made up of the *President*, 5 *Vice Presidents*, 4 *Project Leaders*, a *Secretary/Coordinator* and a *Financial Secretary*.

There shall be two (2) *Technical Advisers* who shall advise the *Forum* on its overall strategies. These shall be drawn from agricultural research institutes.

Duties:

1. The *President* shall, in constant contact with the *Secretary/Coordinator*, see to the overall administration of the *Forum*.
2. The *Vice presidents* representing the zones shall assist the *President* in encouraging and coordinating state and local level initiatives by the media in support of agriculture in their areas of operation.
3. A *Secretary/Coordinator* shall be appointed to man the *Forum's* headquarters administration and keep members and the general public informed about its activities. The appointment of such an officer shall be made by a sponsoring agency. The *Secretary/Coordinator* shall be a professional media person who shall also serve as coordinating editor of the "Food Action Media Services" (FAMS)
4. The *Project Leaders* shall represent the print, radio, television, and news agencies.
5. The *Financial Secretary* shall be the accounting officer of the *Forum*

Tenure

Persons elected into the executive shall be in office for one year but shall be eligible for re-election for one more term.

Meetings

The *Forum* shall meet at least once in a year at venues and on dates appointed by members sitting in council or by the *Secretary/Coordinator*, in consultation with the *President*.

Election

Election of members of the *Executive* shall be through secret balloting at an Annual General Meeting attended by at least half of the total registered regular members of the *Forum*. Only

regular members shall be eligible to vote and be voted for. The conduct of elections shall be the responsibility of an ad-hoc *Election Committee* appointed at the said general meeting.

Status

The *Forum* shall be registered with the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the Land (Perpetual Succession) Act as a voluntary association to enable it maintain an independent account. For this purpose it shall appoint trustees comprising persons representing the interest of the *Forum*, the media, agricultural research and any other group so determined by the *Forum* or its appointed agent.

Funding

The *Forum* shall raise funds from the following sources:

1. regular members
2. corporate members
3. institutions and corporate bodies and members of the public who may wish to support its activities.

Loss of Membership

Any member of the Forum shall cease to be recognized as such where the activities of such a member are determined to be against the interest of the development of sustainable agriculture following the adoption of a motion of withdrawal of membership by at least ten (10) registered members of the Forum. The affected member shall have the opportunity of self-defence.

Amendment

Amendment to this Constitution shall be effected subject to the approval of at least two thirds of registered regular members of the Forum present at the meeting.

Abbreviations

AERLS:	Agricultural Extension Research & Liaison Services
BCOS:	Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State
CBN:	Central Bank of Nigeria
DFRRI:	Directorate of Food Roads and Rural Infrastructures
FACU:	Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit
FAMS:	Food Action Media Service
FAMSTEL:	Food Action Media Service (Television Component)
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations
FRCN:	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
GTV:	Gongola Television
IITA:	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
NACB:	Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank
NAN:	News Agency of Nigeria
NARS:	National Agricultural Research System
NRCRI:	National Root Crops Research Institute
NTA:	Nigerian Television Authority
NVRI:	National Veterinary Research Institute
OGTV:	Ogun State Television
RadioFAMS:	Food Action Media Service (Radio Component)
RCMP:	Resource and Crop Management Program
TRIPP:	Root, Tuber and Plantain Improvement Program
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund

