DIFFUSION OF DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION IN 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES: A MIX-GRILL MEDIA APPROACH

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Abstract
This paper "Diffusion of Development Information in 3rd World Countries: A Mix-Grill Media Approach" is a qualitative discourse investigating the problem of language choice in the diffusion of development messages to the grassroots in Africa. With roots in Development Communication, Democratic Participant and Diffusion of Innovations theories of Mass Communication, the paper aimed at postulating a workable policy framework in the creation of communication strategies for policy makers, governments and change agents to supplement the broadcast media as vehicles for the diffusion of development messages. Data collected and analysed from Nigeria and other African countries threw up the following findings: against the backdrop of the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and a multi-cultural texture of Nigeria and with the high level of illiteracy, especially among the rural dwellers, government message distributors and the broadcast media face a knotted problem of finding a generally accepted language of use in development-oriented broadcasting and in search of a solution have preferred some languages as 'national' over others with this choice creating more problems than it solves; several suggestions made to find a way around the language problem have been found to have inbuilt shortcomings. The paper advances among other measures, the following recommendations: cultural communication, otherwise oramedia should be blended with the new mass communication media in addition to exploring pictorial communication as a complement to broadcasting; media infrastructure and extenders such as community viewing centres and discussion groups should be put in place in rural areas to increase the probability of audience exposure to media messages, especially as couched in their own languages and dialects and in the same vein government must enhance the educational competence relative to the major language of broadcast, in this case, the English Language in the form of training and re-training teachers of the language; government should urgently grant broadcast licences for community radio/rural broadcasting to individuals and groups as this would democratize the media space and confer on the media the status of a familiar messenger with a message bordering on development.

Keywords: Broadcasting, Development communication, Diffusion, National development, Oramedia, Multi-lingualism, Cultural communication.

Introduction

In the milieu of mass media channels that are in proliferation in every society, the broadcasting channels are rapid, instantaneous, personal and participatory, while at the same time cut through barriers which other channels find as brick walls. The definite peculiarities of the broadcast media have made then the easier choice over other media in different situations. There is no doubt that the broadcast media are adequate contributors to national development and growth. As Aniebona (1990, p. 111) notes, "that broadcasting is a powerful and effective instrument for achieving national development and national goals has been recognized all over the world." Earlier, Mackay (1964, p. 169) had noted that "the broadcast

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media- radio and television- do perform very crucial roles in shaping the destiny of the Nigerian audience, (or any audience at all)." "It is this vital role", he notes, "that has led to heavy reliance of the masses on the apparent 'credibility' of the broadcast media. While agreeing with Mackay, Nnamdi-Okenwa (1990, p. 167) notes that "such confidence-carrying remarks like 'I heard it on radio' and 'I saw it on the screen' go a long way to unveiling the extent to which the masses look up on the media for guidance".

Finally in his own contribution, Abdulkader-Tash (1983) had commented thus:

The press (especially broadcasting) is significantly a purveyor of information. What the press and other media present to their audiences frames their windows on the world. In effect, the media possess an influential power of constructing the social and political realities of the audience (p.133).

In agreeing with the foregoing, we must point out that the mass media are not enough and adequate causes of attitudinal and behavioural changes in national life (Innocent, 2008, p. 124), rather, they function through a nexus of interacting factors, which interplay effectively to mould national culture and development. In particular, the overall effectiveness of broadcasting especially in developing countries, is most times coloured by factors which range from inadequate technology to language multiplicity. These challenges were born when the mass media birthed in our shores. For instance, Schramm (1964) as cited in Ndimele and Innocent (2006, p. 156) had pointed out that a look at the broadcast sector in Africa shows it as one struggling in a context of poverty and technological lag. According to him:

Africa has less than one-sixth of the world's per capita average of radio receivers, one-fourth of the world's average of cinema seats, one-sixth the world's average of

television, … one-twentieth as many daily newspaper copies per hundred persons as does North America and one-five-hundredth as many TV sets in proportion to its population.

The picture above is only different when we add the birth of the internet whose indices are even worse compared to the figures we have above.

As noted earlier, the broadcast media take a shade of the context, including language and culture, in which they exist. Aniebona (1990, p.111) profiled the Nigerian context thus:

A typical developing country (like ours) today has a citizenry with a multiplicity of ethnic groups, language, dialects, cultural patterns, religious beliefs, and traditional institutions that tend to defy the best of intentions in national integration. Usually, only a small percentage of the people - ten per cent or less in the worst cases- are literate in any language, indigenous or foreign.

The existence of "at least 250 languages groups in Nigeria" (Okoro, 1990, p.149) does not in any way help broadcasting on the road to engendering national development. However, we cannot afford to give up on the broadcast media. The problem then is if broadcasting must offer the citizenry, especially the grassroots, a vehicle to national development, what language would the national public media employ? Can we find complementary vehicles (to broadcasting) to carry development messages or education to the population? Is it possible to have the broadcast media (public and private) offer their messages to the people in all the at least 250 languages we identified above? Can we, by way of policy-making, find solutions to the problem of multilingualism in national development via broadcasting in Nigeria? These are the questions that this paper will attempt to find answers to.

For the purpose of this paper, we will define broadcasting as radio communication

service in which the transmissions (sound, television or other types) are intended for the direct reception of the general public. We will also define national development as a positive change in the individual, which enables him to take charge of his environment and to contribute positively to the growth and progress of his society. Finally, multi-lingualism denotes the speaking or using of many languages

Theoretical foundations

This work is hinged on 3 theories of the mass media, viz:

1. Development Communication Theory

According to Okunna (1999) as cited in Ebeze (2002, p.278), the theory stands for the positive uses of the mass media and other society-specific communication processes in national development. The purpose of the media (is) to co-ordinate information and communication efforts so that they are geared towards national development. Supporting the above, Ndimele and Innocent (2006, p.273) maintain that "the development theory holds that the media in developing and third world nations should be used exclusively for the development of society, especially in the areas of agriculture, health and social mobilization."

2. Diffusion theory

According to Ochonogor (2005, p.14), "this media theory was developed by Everret Rogers in 1962. Ochonogor further maintains that the theory is often referred to as "the multi-step information flow", which by definition "is (a communication flow model) based on a sequential relaying or passing on of messages that seem to occur in most societal communication settings" (Ndimele and Innocent, 2006, p.136). This theory assumes that the mass media and other communication channels in society combine to ensure that

information about change and development "trickles" down from a source (eg. a government ministry), through the media to other "relay or re-diffusion points', to the last man who adopts the change in the message (Innocent, 2008, p.59).

3. Democratic participant theory

This Theory advocates that "…greater attention should be given to the needs and interests of the receiver; that small scale media enterprises should co-exist with media conglomerates to ensure media channels in a given society do not represent just one voice or interest (Daramola, 1997, p. 75).

Prospects of the Broadcast Media in National Development

In x-raying the role of the mass media in national life in Nigeria, Ugboajah (1986) believes that the functions of watching the horizon and making available information on which decisions are based have been taken over by the media of communication which include the press, radio, television, the cinema, and books. These also help in the work of socialization formerly the preserve of the elderly and the wise (p.213)

Before development policies of the government can get to the grassroots in any context, the awareness must be created first before the people can start imbibing these development oriented information. The mass media have been found to be the sole creators of this initial awareness (Innocent, 2008, p.5). Other studies also show that the broadcast media shoulder the bulk of this creation venture. For instance, in a study on "Diffusion of mass media messages among Brazillian farmers, Schneider and Fett (2008, p.495) noted that 68% of the rural farmers sampled claimed they received the information from the broadcast media. In his own study on the sources of information by Lagos metropolis

dwellers on the Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI) campaign, Bakare (2008, p.26) noted that 26% of the people claimed to have received the messages from the radio while 53.1% claimed they got theirs from television. The figure for TV represented 80% of the sample. Newspapers sources accounted for 13.8% of the sample, while posters, friends and other sources accounted for 6.1% of the sample.

Other than awareness creation, the broadcast media perform other diverse roles aimed at overall development of society. In an attempt to categorize these other roles, Hornik (1994, pp.330-345) described the broadcast media as: a low-cost loudspeaker, an institutional catalyst, an organizer and maintainer, an equalizer, an improver of life quality, a legitimator and motivator, an accelerator of interaction, a feed-forward and a magnifier of dependency/integration

Earlier, Moemeka (1991, p.223) had claimed that the broadcast media contribute to national development through content in the following sectors: local news and commentary, government, civics, culture, folklore and history, farming, the family, health, schools, etc. For Aniebona (1990, p.98), the broadcast media contribute towards development by providing education (formal/formal, political, social, cultural, health, technological), information, entertainment, efficiency and effectiveness in message delivery, audience penetration and a platform for unity.

The barrier of language multiplicity

The crux of this paper is the resolution of the dilemma which faces developing nations in their bid to exploit the inherent potentials of the broadcast media for national development. This dilemma is language-oriented and comes against the background of heterogeneity of languages and multiplicity of socio-cultural contexts in the country, which incidence offers

innumerable challenges to policy makers. Okoro, (1990, p.151) says that "apart from religion, … the greatest cause of wars is perhaps language differences." Moemeka (1995, p.331) notes that "numerous languages in a country like ours encourages ethnocentrism, whereby speakers of one language see themselves as superior to people who do not. This leads to mutual hostility among diverse tribes." Again Adesaonye (2001, p.45) rightly points out that "the multilingualism among the countries of recent nationhood or peoples' striving for nationhood not only separates the different regions and segments of the population but also frequently maintains dissociation". Earlier Okoro (1990, p.150) had captured the implication of the above for Nigerians thus, "at present, every literate Nigerian must be a bi-linguist. He must speak his native language in addition to the English language. The result is that he spends more time in language learning than his counterpart in other parts of the world who use only his mother tongue at school, at home and for all the communication he has to do throughout his life-time."

However, the language problem is not even peculiar to Nigerian alone, or even 3rd world countries for that matter. For instance, "to translate into the five official languages used at the United Nations Organization (UNO), the 20 million words spoken in the course of a 7-week meeting of the General Assembly, 100 million sheets of paper has to be used. A 1-hour English speech made by a delegate is estimated to require 400 man-hours, put in by 24 different persons before it can be permanently recorded in English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese" (Okoro, 1990, p.157)

If the above picture for the United Nations is shocking, the African scene almost strikes fear in the minds of policy makers. In Benin republic for instance, the national broadcasting languages, according to

Ugboajah (1986, p.13) include: Fon, Gun, Adja, Aizo, Yoruba, Bariba, Pila, Penl, (fulfude). Dendi and Hausa. In Cameroun, broadcast languages include Fulfude, Ewondo, Basaa, Douala, Hausa, Bakweri, Mungaka, Maka, Gbaya, Bafia, Choa, and of course French and English (both official languages), Guinea has 19 "national languages", 8 are used on the air, Cote d' Ivoire has 13 "national languages", Mauritania broadcasts in Hassaniya (Arabic) Wolof, Pulaar and Sonike, together with French (official with Hassaniya), Togo has 2 "national languages" used for radio from a total of 41 local languages, Burkina Faso has 49 indigenous languages out of which 3 languages are used for national radio networks. They are, Moore, Gunmtche and Dyula. These are in addition to the other minor languages used on radio which include Senufo, Bisa, Bobo, Bioamu, Samo, Songhay and Gouir.

The foregoing clearly shows that most languages in Africa countries are not given recognition. The implication of this is that the rural populations who fall into this category, and who by the way, are not literate in any other language except their own, are simply left out in our development march. Then comes broadcasting to the rescue, or so we hoped, and at once is caught up in the language web too. The questions that face broadcast policy makers are:

i.   How do we reach the grassroots with development-oriented messages?

ii.   If we are to use the broadcast media (specifically radio and television), in what language shall we couch our messages?

iii. Given the avalanche of language groups in the country, can we adequately allocate broadcast time to every language group, in order to ensure that the messages geared towards development reach the greatest percentage of the population possible?

iv.   If we are to allocate time to every language group, what will happen to other non development-oriented progammes that compete for time on radio and television?

v.   If we decide to choose and use the English language and the 3 major national languages in the broadcast of national development-based information, what will happen to the other language groups and illiterates in society who might not fall in the category of the language groups of choice?

Against the foregoing, the question now is, given the language problem, what other avenues can policy makers and professionals exploit to supplement the broadcast media in our quest for development?

To circumvent the language impasse in broadcasting, most African countries resort to giving a fair representation to a majority of their language groups. Good as this may seem, Ugboajah (1986, p.15) has noted that "the danger of this trend is the fragmentation of programme time in favour of a large number of languages without adding the number of channels, as well as a corresponding loss of quality especially in education broadcasting. Besides, most of these broadcast-endolects have no written forms and are thus being developed haphazardly." With an estimated 250 language groups, the Nigerian broadcast language challenge is most knotted. Many questions at one begin to agitate our minds:

i.   Do we give broadcast time to all the language groups and therefore lose quality in broadcast programming, or do we choose some major national languages for broadcasting, and invite the risk of isolating some minor groups from our drive towards development?

ii.   Can we find a lingua franca which everybody can understand?

iii.   If we choose to broadcast in every language in the country, every language group will have a single slot in days that will last 5 minutes, 7 8 seconds.

And this will mean continuous broadcast for 24 hours. Do we have the resources to support this? Even if we do, which type of development-oriented programme can be adequately sent across to the audience in 5 minutes, 78 seconds? How effective will it be? Moreover, if we are to adopt this option, then we will have to hire skilled manpower to broadcast in all the languages. In addition, it means that any language group audience that misses the opportunity to be exposed to such programmes during their own slot will have to wait for 24 hours to get another chance. Such message may not be the same every day. It also means that as one language group is having its slot, the others will definitely remain redundant. It is then a whole exercise in futility.

In a bid to address the above problems, some radio stations in Nigeria have come up with policies and peculiar programming styles. For instance, African Independent Television (AIT) Lagos has time slots for programmes in English, Igbo, Hausa and the Yoruba languages. The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) does the same. Federal Capital Territory (FCT) TV broadcasts the news of the day in the English language and the 3 national languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. In Rivers State, the news of the day is presented in the six major languages that constitute the state; Radio Delta, in 5 languages and Cross River State radio in 3 major state languages. Even with these attempts, 2 problems arise at once. First, what of other language group dwellers in these places whose languages are not among the "major"? What do we do with the poor quality presentation that trail these presentations, especially in synchronizing picture and sound for TV? The questions refuse to bow out

unsolved.

The way forward

To many scholars the problem of language in Nigerian broadcasting is a lost battle, nothing can be done. "The language area is one in which we have lost a major battle. If we concede the language war, we can at least win the technological battle and be able to feed our teeming population" (Okoro, 1990, p. 158). However, some other scholars refuse to share the above view and have therefore put forward several options to tackle the language problem in broadcasting. Let us consider the following:

1   Adopt the Pidgin English

Scholars have argued that since many Nigerians understand the Pidgin English, it should be adopted for broadcasting development-oriented messages to the exclusion of every other language in the country. The argument for the use of the Pidgin is because of its popularity and neutrality. But Okoro (1990, p.158) holds and I agree with him that pidgin is "regarded with scorn the world over because of its crude elementary process and simplicity". Moreover, it is a near general agreement that the pidgin of the Hausa man differs from the Yoruba, the Igbo and even the traditional Deltan. It therefore boils down to the same multiplicity, this time, of pidgin variants in the country.

2   Allow a National Language to Develop Unconsciously

The proponents of this view hold that a national language should be allowed to develop unconsciously from all the forms of communication prevalent in the country. In other words, no conscious attempt should be made at uniformity. The problem with this position is that language being an aspect of culture dies hard. If a mix-grill national language must evolve, there must be a

concerted attempt and this is where the problem begins yet again.

3 Adopt the Three Major Languages

This proposal seems to be operational in Nigeria today as exemplified in the 6-3-3-4 (9-3-4) system of education where every Nigerian child is expected to study one of the 3 major languages. However, the proposition is pregnant with its own myriad of problems. First what happens to the other language groups in the country? In addition, if we must adopt this proposal, then every mass media development message, must be translated into the 3 "national" languages. What happens with cost and efficiency? The adoption of the above option also means that every Nigerian must become a "tri-linguist" in order to keep in step with the development strides of the nation. This is in addition to having a mastery of the English language. Finally, this option will further classify citizens along ethnic divides.

4 Adopt one of the Indigenous Languages

The proponents of this position believe that the adoption of one of the languages spoken in the country to the exclusion of others will give us a national identity internationally and cohesion internally. However, as Okoro (1990, p.159) opines, "the greatest obstacle this proposal faces is the choice of the language itself". What with the ethnic hue each choice will definitely have in a country in which the tongue is mightier than the head.

5. Adopt the English Language

The argument for this viewpoint rests on 2 planks: our day-to-day activities and interactions are mainly in English and the rising rate of literacy will eventually make the use of vernacular unnecessary in future. Critics are however quick to point out the psychological attachment between a language and a people's culture arguing that no matter what degree of development the use of the English language will bring, we cannot choose it to the exclusion of other languages indigenous to the country.

So, the question re-echoes again: what shall we do?

In recognition of the inadequacy of mass media channels to function as adequate causes of attitudinal change, and social growth, and with the language dilemma not abating, Nwuneli (1986, p.19) has suggested mixing the mass media with other culture-specific complementary communication activities. This he argues is because while people with high socio-economic status make use of radio, television and newspapers for information, people in the low socio-economic cadre make use of radio and word-of-mouth communication. These complementary communication activities would include:

I. Use of special commissioned songs to get information across. Nigeria and India have used this approach with telling success. The language problem is minimal because the measure is only complementary.

ii. Use of radio plays (which can be done in local languages) accompanied with excellent sound effects information on social change.

iii. Discussion groups are just as effective, but the discussion should be carried out as simply as possible. The local people as well as experts should participate in such radio programmes. In support of this view, Rogers and Svenning (1982, p.385) had earlier noted that what is needed are alternative media and messages that decentralize and de-

institutionalize communications, thereby democratizing information. This process depends on the organization of small groups at the local level. The real interactive, participatory communication process takes place as a small group of people work together in direct contact on various problems, discuss them, find solutions and pass decisions… those smaller units are s m a l l enough to be able to preserve the individual role of their members, to create and impart information to their members.

Most social change programmes in Nigeria have according to Ugboajah (1986, pp.31-33) seemingly failed because of an "entirely mass media approach." He further argues that:

Successful diffusion or transfer of innovations in Africa - agriculture, health, science and technology… depends on the priority given to strategic planning within the cultural context. Therefore to facilitate a horizontal and holistic socio-economic development, attempts should be made to locate the various groups along the line of what can be described as "concentric cultural diameters".

The foregoing point to the fact that before policy makers develop tactics, including broadcast language choice, for media programmes to reach the rural and urban populations, a crucial strategy element is to determine the characteristics of the target communities. In other words, local conditions including interpersonal influences must determine strategies which will be effective for introducing and maintaining innovations. Regrettably, policy makers seem not to be aware of this as Adesanonye (2006, p.5) has rightly pointed out "the people's favoured media forms (oramedia)- are completely

ignored in any policy formulation regarding communication matters in the country."

iv. The formation and use of a multipurpose club association for family planning and other social development programmes in the rural areas could be another effective forum. While the club's main purpose could be family planning, it could embark on other development projects.

Finally, the power of pictorial communication cannot be overemphasized. Surprisingly though, this communication avenue has been neglected by communication policy makers. A picture is more powerful than a thousand words. So to overcome this language problem, we could as a supplement to broadcast messages, put these messages in pictorial forms. Of course, this would be dome side by side with the broadcast media as exemplified in the WAI, (and later KAI Campaigns), Census 2006, and the anti terrorism (Boko Haram), etc campaigns in Nigeria. In addition, we believe we will well be on the way to solving the language problem if change agents and policy makers find an effective balance between broadcasting and other cultural methods of information specific to target rural dwellers. This way, the weaknesses of each system and process would be eliminated by the strengths of the other

Summary/Conclusion

This paper has been a journey, albeit a tortuous one, on the road to dealing with the issue of an appropriate and convenient language choice in broadcasting that will effectively meet the need of carrying development-oriented messages to the grassroots in a 3rd world country like Nigeria. On this journey we encountered some prominent landmarks which include but are not limited to the following:

a. Nigerian is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and cultural society, having approximately 250 language

groups.

b.   Government development-oriented information distributors like the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) are in a dilemma in their bid to find a n effective language for diffusion of development information, leading them to prefer some languages as 'national' over others, which preference has created more problems as revealed in this paper.

c.   Several attempts at combating the language problem have been made, but each measure had, embedded in it, inherent problems and shortcomings.

We proposed, as a solution to the problem of language choice in broadcasting development messages in Nigeria, the following:

a)   Interpersonal channels in society, otherwise cultural communication apparatii should as a matter of policy be employed in complementary fashion to the broadcast channels.

b)   Pictorial communication should also be examined as channels to reach the rural audience (marked by a high level of illiteracy) with messages on development which by the way, must have been first transmitted by the broadcast media. We agreed that while some messages and programmes may not lend themselves to easy pictorialization, those that can, could complement effectively the broadcast channels.

Finally, in whatever language or language combination that the broadcast media might choose to employ to reach the grassroots, there is an underlying concern having to do with the issue of educational competence relative to the language of the mass media. Since "the English language is the dorminant language of Nigerian broadcast media, when compared to other languages in the country", (Connolly, 1996, p.16), government effort is required to enhance the study of the language by the citizenry. Of course, enhancing the study of the language would automatically presuppose the training and re-training of teachers of the language. With time, a greater percentage of the rural dwellers would have the most basic of the language requisite to be able to extract meaning from broadcast content bordering on development issues. Once this happens, the proposal to adopt the English language as broadcast lingua franca in the country would solve the language problem once and for all.

In addition to the above, infrastructure or mass media extenders must be provided in the rural areas to enhance the probability of audience exposure to such development messages as carried by the broadcast media. Community viewing centres, formation of discussion groups, etc, hold promise and therefore deserve consideration. And of course, government must at once stop its foot-dragging stance and grant community broadcasting licenses to private operators. This measure would grant us the liberty of using our languages as much as we decide while at the same time ensuring that no group is left out in the race to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and overall development.

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THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS) IN AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN FARMERS ADVANCEMENT NETWORK (WOFAN).

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Abstract
This Paper examines how Women Farmers Advancement Network (WOFAN) contributes to the agricultural and rural development in Nigeria by mobilizing women and youths to engage in agriculture and related activities. The paper contends that the local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) can play a pivotal role in agricultural and rural development as supplement to the efforts of government. The success of WOFAN offers several lessons in agricultural and rural development that can serve as a role model for all states in Nigeria. The purpose of the research is to evaluate the contribution of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to agricultural and rural development in Nigeria. The methodology involves the use of primary and secondary data sources, which entails questionnaire administration and documentary analysis on related matters. The paper concludes that for Nigeria's rural societies to benefit maximally from the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), government will increase funding to their activities to ensure sustainable agricultural and rural development. This paper recommends that government should involve the rural populace especially rural women in formulation and implementation of its policies amidst funding of relevant NGOs in order to achieve sustainable development goals.

Keywords: *Non-Governmental Organizations, Women Farmers Advancement Network, Rural Development, Agricultural Development, Sustainable Development, Development Strategy.*

Introduction

Agricultural development is the bedrock of rural development in developing countries, without it all efforts of rural development will be futile. A large majority of the farmers operate at the subsistence, smallholder level, without intensive method of agriculture. A characteristic of the agricultural production system in developing countries including Nigeria is that a disproportionately large fraction of the agricultural output is in the hands of smallholder farmers whose average holding is about 1.0 - 3.0 hectares (C.T.A, 2000:49).

In Nigeria most agricultural and rural transformation policies and programmes that have been initiated were in line with the capitalist ideology, as most of them determined and designed by the world capitalist countries and international financial institutions, specifically World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). For example the state-wide Agricultural Development projects (ADPs) that was implemented from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. They were executed under the tripartite agreement between the World Bank, Federal government of Nigeria (FGN) and state governments. Under the agreement, the World Bank was to provide 50% of the total cost as a "soft loan", technical and expert support, while the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) and the state governments were to provide 25% each of the total cost (Nwulia,1986:16

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