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ABSTRACT

A discussion of the current state of education in Nigeria looks at two systems of education introduced in different post-colonial administrations (universal primary education and the 6/3/3/4-year scheme) and examines language policy in education, particularly the provisions concerning use of native language as the medium of instruction under the latter system. The discussion focuses on whether the current policy fosters an educational system that can bring about change and progress by ensuring stable policy, efficient public service, rule of law, and accelerated and sustained economic development. A brief history of Nigerian education is provided. Political, economic, and social factors in the rise and subsequent decline of education, particularly for literacy, are outlined, including inadequacy of instructional materials, shortage of science and technical equipment, deferred maintenance of schools, teacher shortage in technical subjects, policy formation/implementation gap, inadequate resources in many areas to keep up with enrollment gains, underfunding, placement of responsibility for education on local government, inadequate job opportunities, and use of the vernacular as medium of instruction. The importance of addressing these problems as Nigeria struggles to catch up with more developed nations is emphasized. (MSE)

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TOWARDS A DYNAMIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOR CHANGE  
AND PROGRESS: LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRAXIS IN  
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA.

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## ABSTRACT

The year 2000 AD (ie 21st century) has become a catch-phrase in government parlance to give a sense of urgency to its development drive and catching-up syndrome. So that we have: Health for all by the year 2000; Housing for all by the year 2000; Food for all by the year 2000; Education for all by the 2000.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s government mounted the popular Adult Literacy Campaign aimed at eradicating illiteracy; the Fourth National Development plan (1975-80) included such Literacy Programme. There were chapters - for the Armed Forces and the Police; Market women; the Rural populace and urbanized working class citizens. School drop-outs and prostitutes were to be absorbed/reabsorbed into the School System. Government in 1976 introduced Universal Free Education Scheme (primary level and post-primary, in the first instance). School enrolments tripled; there were huge investments in education, consequently.

The second Republic (1979-83 marking the 2nd Civilian administration in Nigeria) introduced Universal Free but not compulsory Education. Education was to be free at least at primary school level. The point in all this is to educate Nigerians. However, the bubble burst. What went wrong? dwindling oil resources, government practice syndrome rather than policy, gap between planning and implementation, lack of enthusiasm/motivation by beneficiaries, changes in administration (civilian - military - back to civilian)?

Government did not help matters. Not only did she vacillate on the extent of application of Free Education (primary only; primary to University?); worse still, she changed gear by introducing MTM (mother tongue medium) policy. the anvil of instruction changed from English to a vernacular (defined as the child's mother tongue or language of immediate environment). This change introduced new difficulties and attendant problems with devastating consequences.

Lack of Instructional materials, irregular payment of teacher's salaries added to the toll.

This paper proposes to assess and evaluate the state of Education/literacy efforts generally in Nigeria today. Here we isolate two systems of education introduced by post-independence administrations: Universal Primary Education (UPE) Scheme of the Obasanjo regime; and the 6:3:3:4 System introduced by the Babangida administration. Second, we examine the language policy provisions as contained in the National Policy on Education, NPE (1977, revised 1981). We specifically X-ray the Mother Tongue Medium, and its implementation under the 6:3:3:4 system.

The question we pose is: Can they guarantee a dynamic education system which can bring about change and progress through ensuring a stable policy characterized by an efficient public service, the rule of law and an accelerated and sustained economic

growth and development? For these are the essential ingredients of "A National Agenda for Nigeria in the 21st century" the sure way to guaranteeing a place for our youths in the 21st century (the year 2000 AD)!

#### The state of Education Today

1. Writing under the caption "Education for all by 2000; How realistic?" (mini-Concord Newspaper, Friday, December 20, 1991 pg IV) Master N.K. Nodi claimed that:

The year 2000 is actually becoming to most Nigerians a dream year, but the big question is: How many are going to have their dreams and aspirations fulfilled? ... We are barely a decade away from this year and yet the promises it holds for most people are still a long way from being realized.

The year 2000 AD has become a catch-phrase in government parlance designed to give a sense of urgency to its development drive and catching-up syndrome. Consequently, government vocabulary is dominated by such attractive phrases as: Health for all by the year 2000; Housing for All by the year 2000; Food for all by the year 2000; Education for All by the year 2000. There have been attempts by government to "wipe out illiteracy completely from every nook and corner" of Nigeria. Campaigns were mounted to educate citizens about the dangers of illiteracy especially its negative effects on national development efforts. More and more

people began to respond to these campaigns by sending their children to School and by attending evening classes (Adult Literacy Classes).

Then the decline. Master Nodi identified "high cost of sitting for examination as well as increase of school fees as a major factor military against the realization of these "dreams and aspirations." In its "1991 Budget Review (4): Education," the Guardian Newspaper in its focus column dated Friday, December 20, 1991 under the title "Education in a peculiar mess" (pg 19) added other factors to those mentioned in the Mini Concord. In the view of the Guardian, "parents are withdrawing their children from secondary Schools in large numbers ... teachers in the Schools were not doing any teaching ... Schools were turning to ludo parlours. These factors, which were highlighted by the Honourable Minister of Education, Professor Aliyu Babatunde Fafunwa in his address to the first forum for Post Primary Teaching Service Commission at Abeokuta, include:

1. that the nation's three million secondary school pupils study without adequate text books.
2. the shortage of science and technical equipment.
3. the lack of maintenance of School buildings, materials shortage and shortage of technical subject teachers.
4. the yawning gap between policy decisions and implementation of those polices.

5. (According to the honourable Minister, policies were well laid but implementation was poorly done. The then Lagos State Commissioner for Education, Mr. Waidi Sansaliyu cited some instances of such gaps to include those identified at the 40th meeting of the National Council on Education in September 1991. These decisions taken at the 39th NCE meeting the previous year had not been implemented by the time of the 40th meeting a year later! They include: books procurement in Schools and Colleges; the Federal promise to give N450m to repair 450 old and famous Secondary Schools; indiscipline and lack of motivation in Schools; NCE distance learning programme; mass illiteracy; education for the handicapped; the proposed compulsory nine-year schooling and poor academic facilities in polytechnics and technical colleges; increased subjects in the 6-3-3-4 curriculum vis-a-vis the fixed 40 periods a week; problems of continuous assessment; lack of intro-tech workshops; the production of Nigerian language teachers; computer education; the 72,000 untrained teachers).

5. As pointed out by the Guardian Newspaper in its preview of the 1991 national budget as it concerned education: "While enrolment figures at all levels

of the educational ladder have increased astronomically, teaching and support personnel as well as research and infrastructural facilities lag far behind."

6. Explosive growth coupled with austerity have resulted in the non-implementation of the objectives of the first rolling plan in the area of projects and programme. Consequently, educational standards have gone down drastically for teachers as well as students. (This is evidenced by "the half-literate graduates which many of the institutions sent out" - Guardian 20:12:91). The projects and programmes include: rehabilitation of primary Schools and the provision of instructional facilities; procurement and installation of workshops and laboratory equipment in junior and senior secondary schools under the 6-3-3-4 system; computer literacy scheme in selected Federal and State secondary schools; and the completion of ongoing projects in Federal Government Colleges, technical colleges, colleges of education and Universities.
7. Governments' diminishing (continued underfunding) budgetary allocation - ie capital grants - for education. The total vote for education in the 1990 Budget amounted to only 1.5 billion naira. Whereas in the 1990 rolling plan for education, the sum of 800m naira was granted as capital vote for primary education fund alone! Federal Government



contributed N1.66m in paying primary School teachers' salaries in 1989 & 1990!

8. The Local Government Education Authority Decree 3 of 1991 which placed responsibility for primary education (its funding including payment of teachers' salaries) on the shoulders of Local Government Councils. This decree which was published on January 2:

a) repealed Decree 31 of 1988 which established National Primary Education Commission and had made primary education funding the shared responsibility of Federal, State and Local Governments. This was in accordance with the 1989 National Policy on Education.

b) The promulgation also on January 2, of the related constitution (Suspension and Modification) Amendment Decree 2 of 1991. Its import was to amend some sections of the 1979 Constitution and effectively transfer the burden of funding and managing primary schools to local governments. a - b have continued to generate confusion and despair.

This amounted to an abrupt volteface.

The problems enumerated so far can be categorized into political and economic. In addition, there are social problems such as issues of post-graduation relevance e.g. job opportunities; printing and publishing of relevant text books; and the Switch to MTM (vernacular medium). The problems

fundamental were explosion in enrolment, inadequate facilities and lack of trained and committed teachers. Put differently, these problems included number (of institutions and students) and the resource gap ("Newswatch" Magazine, January 18, 1988; see Table Overleaf).

**TABLE**

Nigeria has 14m Children in 19,000 primary Schools under 350,000 teachers.

Before the commencement of the UPE Scheme in 1976, government had projected class one enrolment of 2.3m children and a total primary school enrolment of 7.4m, rising to 14.1m in 1982. It was envisaged that 60,000 classrooms would be required in the first year and that this figure would go up to 281,190 by 1982. The number of additional teachers required to implement the programme was projected at 8,155.

On Monday, 6 September 1976 when the UPE Scheme was launched, class one enrolment was 3m children. Total enrolment in primary schools was 8.2m, 48,780 teachers had been trained. One year later, number of teachers rose to 195,750 but only 70,000 of them were trained. In 1970, there were 3.9m pupils in 14,900 primary schools in the country. Ten years later (1980), the figure shot to 13.8m children in 36,700 schools. By 1983/4 session the figure had reached 14.4m children in 38,211 schools.

In 1976 Nigeria had 17 Universities. In 1988 the number rose to 24. Thus the Universities had expanded from FIVE (in 1969) to 24 (in 1988). This was during the oil boom years, oil provided the funds. Today there are 31 Federal Universities in addition to which there are State-owned Universities, Polytechnics, advanced Teachers Colleges and Colleges of Education.

From University student enrolment of only 50 in 1947/48 academic session in the University College, Ibadan, Universities enrolled 146,000 students in the 1986/87 session.

Government's budget for education has been fluctuating since 1980. £49,122,000 was provided in 1969-74 plan period. In 1980 the Federal Government spent 820.5m naira and upped it the following year (1981) to 1.316 billion naira only to come down to 826m naira in 1982. The lowest budget for education in six years was in 1987 when government voted 653,511,490 naira. In 1988 it voted 1.08 billion naira to improve services at all levels of education. The total vote for education in the 1990 budget totalled 1.5 billion naira.

Newswatch's (a weekly news magazine) opinion about health-care service in Nigeria aptly summarizes the state of affairs with the nation's educational literacy efforts. (In what follows, for "Healthcare Service, read Education/Literacy Campaign efforts).

Healthcare service in Nigeria is a well known game of statistics. Progress in it is measured in arcane figures designed to impress: the number of hospitals under construction, the amount of money voted for health-care services, the number of trained medical personnel and even the amount of money voted for the purchase of drugs. Yet impressive and seemingly convincing as the figures are, they do not in themselves tell the full story about the nation's healthcare services.

Statistics in this ... are a false guide to the truth or even the bare facts ... governments and people generally regard 'statistics as the emblem of reality', they are not altogether dependable indices of human progress or achievement. Statistics ... because they mask the facts and mislead. And in the case of Nigeria, the statistic have always been false.

'What has seemed persistently wrong is the structure of investment in the sector and the rate of physical implementation of projects.

Nigeria's health-care service is a victim of the country's peculiar malaise: planlessness ... Nigeria does not have a national health policy; no national health goal. Development is dictated by political interests. Consequently, there is more noise than achievements; more promises than fulfilment ... There are no patterns, no goals, no ends, save cheap political ends. (Newswatch, October 6, 1986: 46).

### 3. The 6.3.3.4 System and the Mother Tongue Medium Policy.

#### 3.1 "The Mother Tongue Assumption

In those days, it seemed obvious enough. It was axiomatic that the best medium for Children to start their education

in was their mother tongue - the axiom was among those set out in the 1953 UNESCO monograph, The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education. To the authors of this monograph:

It seemed clear to anybody trying to cope with education problems in the post-colonial world that mass literary in the languages of the former colonists was not a viable alternative - it could at best be an elitist programme. Having therefore described the vernacular in a phonology, grammar and dictionary and provided it with a writing system you then devised teaching materials and used the vernacular in the classroom. It was an apparently clear-cut way forward to which the Ford Foundation and the Summer Institute of Linguistics among others contributed vast funds and efforts.

You may say Q.E.D. or Amen! But, why, over forty years on, has so little been achieved in education in spite of MTM?

### 3.2 Nigeria's National Language Policy.

Nigeria's (unstated?) Language Policy can be found in the following documents:

- a) National Policy on Education (1977 revised 1981) at paragraph 15(4) and Section 19(4);
- (b) The Report of the Political Bureau (1987) pp 62-3);
- (c) The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979) Sections 51 and 91.

#### **Language Policy Specifications in the NPE**

in 1977 the Federal Military Government under General Obasanjo issued a White paper. Known as the National Policy On Education NPE the document remains the most comprehensive and forthright in Nigeria's educational history and development. It constitutes the first attempt at policy formulation on education

at all tiers of government - national (Federal). State and Local Government (Community).

Section Two of the NPE specifies the following provision on language use at primary school level.

The medium of instruction at the primary school must be initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community and later English.

And more to the point the following additional provision:

In addition to appreciating the importance of language, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother tongue. The Gvoernment considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba (section 1 par 8) (my emphasis).

As we pointed out elsewhere (Odumuh 1990, 1994a) aside from the impreciseness of definitions of such linguistic terms as mother tongue among linguists, there is the added difficulty of attempting to specify a mother tongue in linguistically diffuse communities such as obtains in many of Nigeria's settlements - e.g. urbanized areas, GRA and State Capitals. To take an example what is the mother tongue in Jos metropolis - Birom or Hausa? A study by Professor Adekunle has shown that it is Nigerian Pidgin. So is it in Warri and Sapele. More importantly, it must be pointed out that the policy seeks to promote national cohesion-cultural integration and political stability (Ferguson's nationism and nationalism, respectively) through the development of trilingualism: mother-tongue one of the three major languages other than one's mother-tongue and English. And herein lies the danger signal. First official

indication which deliberately promotes the three major languages on a nation-wide basis. Given Elugbe's (1990) geographic spread or location as an index of "national" in National Language (Elugbe argues that one way of becoming a national language is by being national in outlook - ie geographic spread) and with this provision backed up through the educational system (as language of instruction in primary and secondary schools) soon these languages may subsume the minority languages. At any event the wisdom of promoting any Nigerian language at the expense of others has often been assumed by apologists of MTM. It must be remembered that linguistic colonization does not have to be promoted through a non-indigenous language. Hausa is as foreign (perhaps more foreign) to an Idoma just as English is. If preliminary observations are anything to go by, Nigerian TV viewers tend to resent programmes presented in Nigerian vernaculars/cultures other than their mother-tongue than they do those in English. Moreover, as Adekunle (1985) has demonstrated, English has become in his words "a modern Nigeria's cultural artefact". Besides, the experience of the Rivers State House of Assembly during the Second Republic when proceedings were abandoned and the House sent on recess is yet fresh. The House was debating the possibility of adopting Hausa as one of the languages to be taught in the schools in River State in consonance with the provision in the NPE document.

#### **LANGUAGE SPECIFICATION IN THE CONSTITUTIONS**

Nigeria has come a long way in Constitutional development:

The Richards Constitution; The MacPherson Constitution; the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979) and the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1989). However the most far-reaching document and that which Nigerians identify with as their constitution is the 1979 document. The 1979 document contains the following language policy documents.

Chapter V. Section 51 states that:

The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made thereof.

Chapter 5. Section 91 provides that

The business of a House of Assembly shall be conducted in English, but the House may in addition to English conduct the business of the House in one or more languages spoken in the state as the House may be resolution approve.

Chapter 5. Section 51 (relating to the language of business of the National Assembly) thus bequeaths to the three major languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, the all importance status of "national language" (never mind the provision, "when 'adequate arrangements have been made thereof"). Indeed, some people have referred to this clause and insisted that Nigeria has a National Language Policy. And that this Policy recommends the three major languages as "national". Some over-zealous protagonists have accused Government of a lack of will to implement this Policy. Others have seen this policy as lame duck in view of its ambiguity. It ought to have specified one language (probably Hausa) as national language and thus putting the debate to rest. But a National Language cannot be imposed by executive (even military) fiat. The experiences of India. Algeria and Sudan are still fresh reminders which

call for caution. A National Language ought to evolve and in doing so take into cognizance local social and linguistic conditions.

Section 91 provides for language policy formulation at states level. In relatively homogenous States (culturally monolithic and linguistically mono-lingual States) this provision may not encounter difficulties in implementation. Thus in States such as Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ondo, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto respectively local (state) languages have been adopted alongside English for use in State Legislatures. But in Edo, Delta, Kwara, Gongola, Rivers, Benue, Plateau, Kaduna, Bauchi the "choice of an official indigenous.

#### 4. Language and National Development

National development should not be narrowly defined as economic development only. National development is basically human development: this includes, in the words of Professor Bamgbose (1993), "the cultivation of a literate citizenry that can participate in socio-economic, political and cultural life of the nation". Prof. Bamgbose's concept of national development is thus human-based.

The implication of a human-based concept of development is that the language chosen for the purpose must facilitate access. This means that in education literacy must be made available in such languages as can reach the widest possible segments of population. Public enlightenment programmes must be packaged in as many languages as are spoken by people at the grassroots level, and community rural development projects must be carried out with the active participation of the local people concerned and in a language that they can readily understand.



#### 4.1 Implementation Strategies by Government of the MTM Policy in our Present-day Educational System.

Structurally the only organ established by the federal Government for the implementation of language-related policies at the national level is NERDC, National Educational Research and Development Centre located at Sheda (Abuja). Established in 1971 as NLC. National Language Centre, it became operational only in 1979 when it was restructured into a distinct unit known as the Educational Service Division of the federal Ministry of Education. Today, NERDC has four divisions-Language Development, Curriculum Division, Library Services and Computer Services each headed by a Director. The Statutory responsibilities outlined for the Language Development Centre amount to a tall order given the impression of a "large and well equipped complex with high level professionals to provide required initiative and expertise in the execution of its programmes. In reality however, the NLC lacks, not only the internal resources, human and material ... but also the appropriate structural link with local organizations" for the implementation of its impressive range of functions and programmes. The Language Development Centre has a Foreign Languages, Division, English, and Nigerian Languages Divisions. Yet the main focus of its attention has remained English (the official language) and the three major languages.

Professor Agheyisi lists local agents of implementation to include Departments of Languages and Linguistics in Universities and other tertiary institutions. states Councils for Arts and Culture, Committees and Agencies of state Ministries of

Education, Voluntary Language and Culture Association and Working Groups.

Organisations and institutions working on the development of minor languages include the Kanuri language Development; the Local Language Committee of Niger State; the Rivers Committee; the Benue State Council for Arts and Culture; the Kaduna State Council for Arts and Culture etc.

Notable among the achievements of these organizations are the Kanuri Language Board which has produced a standard Kanuri orthography. Kanuri-English bilingual dictionary and Readers and Primers; the Local Language Committee of Niger state has on-going research on Nupe, Gwari, Kamuku and Kambari; the Rivers Readers Committee has projects on 28 of its languages. There are similar projects on Idoma, Tiv, Edo and Efik. Thus far the concerns have been aspects of language policy planning: codification (defined as standardization of writing systems, lexicon and grammar), elaboration (development of metalanguage i.e. technical and other specialized vocabulary), and vernacularization of literacy (development of texts and literary materials for literacy).

#### **MINORITY LANGUAGES VIS-A-VIS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MOTHER-TONGUE MEDIUM (MTM)**

Many scholars have tried to demonstrate the wisdom in the MTM policy. But few seem aware of the huge human and material resources necessary for its successful implementation. First, mother-tongue education (the pivot of the policy) in a linguistically complex nation such as Nigeria requires a lot of planning. We need to define and specify the various languages

of the immediate community in many areas. We must avoid a situation where a colonial language (English) is replaced by an equally foreign (albeit "local" Nigerian language). Second, excepting the three major languages the minority languages in their present state are "ill-equipped for use in domains defined outside the value cluster of traditional life"

If the country's policy of "providing equal educational opportunities for all citizens at primary, secondary and tertiary levels is to be taken seriously, it would seem that massive efforts at developing these minor languages would have to be made, in order to protect the rights of linguistic minorities.

Third, if language is accepted and recognised as a resource in national development (which is what it is), then language planning for educational development must take cognizance of the considerable sociolinguistic situation which exists in the various multilingual minority Middle Belt area. In the multilingual states which comprise this area e.g. in Plateau, Gongola, Bauchi (to a lesser extent, Benue) there exists widespread biligualism in Hausa and the language indigenous to these states. Language policy and planning here must thus seek to promote and maintain this biligualism through the educational system.

An implication of the MTM policy is the institutionalization of the promotion of all languages, major and minor. Yet Agencies in charge of education are promoting just the major/so-called national languages. Voluntary Agencies, Christian Missions at the onset of their evangelizing mission had zoned the country into three, each with a language of instruction

in schools and churches. In the South-West, this language was Yoruba in the South-East, Igbo was the choice: while in the North it was Hausa. This has meant an enhanced status (albeit acquired) and prestige for these languages. Worse yet it has meant almost sole attention, for, standardization purposes, to these languages almost to the total neglect of the minority languages in these communities. This trend must be reversed if minority languages are not to be endangered. On its part the Federal Government has directed through the National Educational Council the compulsory teaching and learning of the three languages in addition to English. Financial investments, teacher training programmes, provision of facilities for teaching - learning all emphasize these chosen few. This can not augur well for cultural integration and political stability-national development. Such skewedness cannot be said to be fair, just and equitable.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Our focus in this paper is the future of education in Nigeria. The present trend appropriately tagged "education in a peculiar mess" has brought education (the search for and acquisition, and dissemination of knowledge) and literacy efforts to their knees. Education is in a parlous stage characterized by frequent policy changes (resulting in shifts in education system), dwindling Federal funding, a harsh economic environment resulting in an uncondusive learning atmosphere, poor remuneration or lack of it for teachers resulting in frequent strikes, general apathy and lack of respect for teachers and the teaching profession, lack or inadequate (where they can be found) obsolete teaching equipment. The malaise is legion.

To turn things around for our Children, and their Children, we must stop paying hip service to education. Perhaps it can bear repetition for the umpteenth time that EDUCATION is the bedrock of a nation. Without it there can be no growth, let alone development.

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