ARE THINGS FALLING APART AGAIN? A DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN NIGERIA

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Today's globalized world presents challenges for formulating language education policies in multilingual countries, and postcolonial Nigeria presents a dramatic illustration because of ongoing colonial influences as well as neocolonial factors. This study focused on dialectical relations over time among languages in Nigeria's National Policy on Education (NPE), published in 1977, 1981, 1998, 2004, 2013, and 2014. The title of the study harks to Chinua Achebe's novel, *Things Fall Apart*, which described the disruption of tribal cultures and languages when Europeans brought their culture and language to Nigeria. Attention in this dissertation, which examined Nigerian education policy over four decades, was also on things falling apart, being resolved in some way, and then falling apart again.

Four major dialectical tensions can be seen as the NPE went through revisions in language of instruction and language of study. First, relations between English and indigenous languages showed the increasing importance of English despite ostensible attempts to promote indigeneity through language. Particularly important was the influence of globalization, which emphasized neoliberal values and initiatives associated with global English. Second, relations among the various indigenous languages showed three languages—Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—to be privileged over 522 other languages that were marginalized but retained as "mother tongue" or "language of immediate environment." Third, relations between French, which became the second official language, and English revealed that, although both now have the same "official" status, the two are by no means equal. The addition of French was largely a political move that had little effect on language education policy. Fourth and finally, relations between Arabic and

other languages showed Arabic, which had been largely ignored in the policy, gaining some visibility in later versions but remaining in the role of "other." Of particular significance in the policy over time has been English, which was the colonizers' language and is now the world's global language, Dialectical relations between languages of education in Nigeria, including English, can also be seen as tensions between global and local, colonizer and colonized, and privileged and marginalized.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

W. B Yeats's (1920) "The Second Coming" begins with these lines:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre,
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. (p. 466)

With the poem, Yeats, an Irishman, was describing the chaos of European society following World War I. More than three decades later, Chinua Achebe (1958) borrowed the clause "things fall apart" and used it for the title of a novel set in about 1900 in his homeland, Nigeria. The novel depicted how the entry of the Europeans transformed tribal people's way of life. Achebe portrayed cultural imperialism associated with colonialism as he said about the "white man," "He has put a knife on the things that held us together, and we have fallen apart" (p. 79). Achebe's novel illustrates changes in culture, including language, that began with the arrival of the Europeans. The colonizer's language became the superior and preferred language, and it diminished the status of indigenous languages.

Nigeria and Its Language Issues

Nigeria, like many other African countries colonized by the Europeans, has struggled with the relationship between the colonizer's language and what is variously called "indigenous language," "national language," "mother tongue," "native language," and "local language." This conflict is an enduring result of colonization, and it continues as a postcolonial issue. The introduction of European languages during colonial times meant more languages for the African people and the beginning of threats to the African indigenous languages (Ericka, 2005; Ogunwale, 2013; Owu- Ewie, 2006). In this section, I review the history of Nigeria under three

different periods: precolonial times, colonial times, and post independence. I then provide a summary of the current status.

Precolonial Times

Before colonization, Nigeria did not exist as a “country”: instead, there were different ancient kingdoms that tended to be bilingual and multilingual because of tribal migration, trade interactions, and conquests in civil wars. Multiple indigenous languages facilitated communication, governance, and teaching of the people. The various kingdoms had their unique ways of life—religious, historical, social, political, and education. For centuries though, there had been a European presence in Africa. Portuguese traders were the first Europeans who had found their way in 1470 to the part of Africa now known as Benin. For a long time, Portugal and Benin maintained close ties; and, by the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese established Catholic missions. By the mid-16th century, the Dutch came and were later followed by the French and British. The latter gained dominance, which they maintained from the 17th century. For economic reasons, many Europeans traveled to the African continent, which was rich in natural resources, and they engaged in trade. As is well known, the trade included the slave trade.

Comprising the Yoruba (Yoruba-speaking) and Igbo (Igbo-speaking) people, the southern kingdom peoples embraced an indigenous education centered on the tribe’s cultural, social, and political ways of life. Education was a central part of the culture and history of the community, and it was transmitted from one generation to another. Emphasis was on developing a child’s physical and intellectual abilities and moral values. Accordingly, these valuable forms of indigenous education were based on goals and objectives useful for both the individual and society (Mkpa, 2010). Children acquired the knowledge required for day-to-day experiences, survival, and adaptation in their environment based on instructions provided in the indigenous

languages. Oral traditions comprising repetition and imitation formed much of the educational training of the southern region before the arrival of the Europeans. Methods of teaching included the use of songs, stories, folklore, proverbs, myths, dance, riddles, jokes, and cultural activities that would support learning. Education also incorporated religious beliefs, which were polytheistic and pantheistic with references to ancestral beliefs suited to each tribe (Hassan, 2015).

Yoruba and Igbo tribes both promoted traditional education, conducted in indigenous fashion with each child being prepared for self-sustenance and contribution to the society. For the Yorubas, education was a life-long process, and each child was expected to go through transitory training from birth to adulthood per customs and practices. Seya (2005) points out that the Yoruba traditional education was aimed at developing a virtuous individual who would invariably become a useful representative of the community. For that reason, the education provided for the Yorubas emphasized collectivism and respect for elders but also individuality and diversity. So there were no failures or dropouts, and the end product was “functionalism, progressivism, and moralism” (Fayemi & Adeyelure, 2009, p. 50).

According to Mbakwe (2015), the Igbos considered education as a process of making a human being out of a newborn child. As a result, the Igbos' indigenous education was comprised of teachings of knowledge needed for social and moral ideas as well as duties to self, others, family, and the society. All teachings were done orally and practically with an end product that Mbakwe (2015) has called “internalization of law”: “the need for the maintenance of a status quo: elder-junior relationship for the stability of the social system” (p. 63). An Igbo child was expected to be integrated into the customs, traditions, proverbs, folklore, and accepted demands of the traditional social system.

Early on, the ethnic group known as Hausa, whose language was also called Hausa, inhabited the Northern kingdom. However, there was another group known as Kanuri, whose language was also called Kanuri, who occupied the northeast corner. Movement of Jihad from the North brought the Muslim religion, which also meant the Arabic language, and by the 14th century, the North had become a Muslim territory. Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, became important in formal teaching and learning, but indigenous languages continued to be used in other realms of life. Also contributing to the mixture of cultures and languages were the Fulani, who invaded the region in the early 19th century but eventually created an amalgamated society with the Hausa that was rooted in Islam. The Islamic Sokoto Caliphate, which included Northern Nigeria, was established in 1809, and it lasted almost a century. Qur'anic education in Arabic has predominated for centuries in the northern region of the country.

The major Christian—and Western—influence was in regions other than those inhabited by the Hausa. In 1842, the Wesleyan Christian Missionaries arrived in Badagry, and this started Western education in Nigeria. According to Falola and Heaton (2010), about ten different denominations of European missionaries came to Nigeria between 1842 and 1882. Thus, there was the dawn of intensive missionary activities and formal schooling—and the introduction of another language in an educational environment based on the European model. Although the curriculum consisted of the 4Rs (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion), educating Africans was not the primary focus of the missionaries. They were more focused on converting Africans to Christianity, and, for conversion, they needed a language medium (Adedimeji, 2006; Blij & Muller, 2003). The quest for the language medium necessitated the missionaries translating the Bible into local languages. The missionaries emphasized Western religion, languages, and

cultural values and tended to depict the Nigerian lifestyle in the negative. They had little understanding of the traditional ways of life (Mayowa, 2014).

The Christian missionaries had much control of the education sector for almost four decades. During this period, indigenous forms of education were diminished, as many communities were forced to adapt to the European model of education that prepared people to have positions as clerks, teachers, messengers, and interpreters—jobs that were not available to those without formal training.

Colonial Times

After the 1855 Berlin Conference, Britain, as one of the colonial powers, gained formal control over the part of Africa that would become Nigeria, and, through a sequence of moves, merged some of the former protectorates. For administrative purposes, the British needed people who were educated to a greater degree than that provided by the missionaries; and so the British introduced various educational ordinances that initiated church-state partnerships. The 1882 Education Ordinance ushered in a partnership of almost eight decades. The ordinances controlled usage of local languages in schools, which, as Ocho (2003) claims, was one of the subtle ways the Europeans diminished the importance of indigenous languages. The 1882 Education Ordinance (Clause 10, section 5) provided grants only for the teaching of the English language, which was said to be "the language of commerce and civilization" (p. 19). Thus, Africans were receiving a mimicked version of Western education. Bhabha (1994) has described "colonial mimicry" through which the colonized are a "reformed, recognizable Other"—"a subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite" (p. 86). The teaching and learning of indigenous languages did not enjoy financial support from the colonial government. The exclusion of

funding for indigenous languages caused divisions among the local people and further assimilated the colonized (Fabunmi, 2005).

The division of Africa resulting from the Berlin Conference created a chaotic situation in the continent since the Europeans had divided Africa without recourse to linguistic and ethnic boundaries. According to scholars, including Lüpke (2010) and Zsiga (2014), the partitioning strategy of the Western colonizers that occurred in the last years of the nineteenth century did not acknowledge the multi-ethnic complexities of Nigeria during the scramble for the continent. When the part of Africa that was eventually called Nigeria became a British protectorate in 1901, there were hundreds of indigenous languages. Regions with different cultural viewpoints and beliefs were forced together as the continent and her people were exploited (Mushi, 2009). With colonization, the different kingdoms of North and South retained their separate identities until 1914, when Lord Lugard, the first British Governor, combined them to form modern-day Nigeria—an act that Mosweunyane (2013) maintains was driven by the desire to control the amalgamated regions more efficiently and more profitably.

Language problems from the partitioning of Africa constituted a significant issue that has not been resolved several decades after independence, and most former colonies continue to struggle in the (re)construction of the African imaginary and the search for relevance in today's global world. Like the missionary education, the colonial education policy provided limited space and use for indigenous languages in school. The 1926 Education Ordinance under Lord Lugard had native languages as the language of instruction only at the lower levels of education. Indigenous languages were marginalized, and so were the Nigerian people. The colonized individual became a "marginal man," to borrow a term from Stonequist (1935) for someone who does not have full participation. The former kingdoms' educational ideologies had mirrored the

region's socio-cultural realities. However, the British desire to subdue and dominate the amalgamated territories resulted in inferiority status for Nigerians—a "black tagging" of the Nigerian way of life (Mayowa, 2014). The British agenda was focused on developing local people who could serve their interests.

Exclusion or inclusion based on language is a significant issue of former African colonies. Fanon (1952) has argued that "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture" (p. 25). This point about language is supported by Achebe (1958), who has his novel's central character Okonkwo say, "It was humiliating to have to speak to one's Countryman in a foreign language, especially in the presence of the proud owners of that language. They would naturally assume that one had no language of one's own" (p. 214).

Colonial ordinances recognized English as the country's lingua franca except for in the northern region, where the Hausa language was allowed. The British endorsed the use of the Hausa language in the North because of the rooted position of Hausa in the region and its usefulness for governance. However, promoting the Hausa language has spurred crises, ethnic misgivings, educational gaps, and conflicts in the country (Alebiosu, 2016). Also in the North was Arabic, which was—and still is—the principal language for education there. According to Launey (2016), the Qur'anic schools were antithetical to the Western colonizers' concepts of progress, and in sub-Saharan statistics, the ability to read and to write in Arabic was not considered "literacy." The British attempted to manipulate the local Islamic schools to justify Western education, but, despite some small success, there was resistance. As noted by Omolewa (2001), adults in the North were concerned that the Christian missionaries who taught in the schools would use the opportunity to convert their children and were thus resentful of Western education.

It can, therefore, be summarized that formal education in Nigeria was the product of both the religious drive of the missionaries and the trade interests of colonists. The education structure would not change until the country became an independent nation; and, even then, the colonizers' influence was and still is active. Although it provided some opportunities for the country and its people, Western education was not suited for homegrown development. Instead, it promoted a segregated population with a structured caste system.

Overall, the practice and policy of colonial education created oppositions among the English, Arabic, and the indigenous languages that were tied to differences in beliefs and norms of the different geopolitical zones in the country. Anyanwu (2010) ties the educational imbalances between the regions to the problems of past colonial administration and history, while some scholars, including Ikoya and Ikoya (2005), point to an enormous educational gap between rural and urban schools.

Post Independence

In 1960, Nigeria gained independence from the British and operated a region of three areas: northern, western, and eastern. The government was parliamentary, and each region had some degree of self-government. There is some controversy about the name *Nigeria*—whether it came from Flora Shaw, the British journalist whom Lord Lugard married, or from Kirk Greene, who wrote it in the *London Times* on January 8, 1897 (Akindele, 2002; Akinwumi, 2002). At independence, the country had a population of 45.2 million citizens, and that population continued to increase and made the country the most populous nation in Africa.

When the Nigerian republic was established in 1963, an additional region was created bringing the total number of regions to four—northern, western, eastern, and mid-western. With the ascension of the military in 1967, 12 states were created out of the former four regions, and it

was only the former mid-western region that was not divided. In 1976, seven additional states were established, making 19 in total.

After independence, most African nations, including Nigeria, desired nationalism and total decolonization. To this end, some argued that the continuous use of English in an official capacity maintained the master-servant relationship model of the colonial period, thus creating inequality in society (Bamgbose, 1971). Others argued that using English did not mean losing one's identity. Achebe (1965), for instance, claimed that Africans could adopt English and use it in a *new* way—an *African* style. Although he referred to written language, the point can be applied to oral language too:

> The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience. However, it will have to be a new English, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings. (p. 26)

Later Achebe (1975) repeated his perspective, saying that English would be "a new voice coming out of Africa, speaking of the African experience in a worldwide language" (p. 93). The elites wanted the continuous official status of English, similar to what obtained during the colonial period, thus maintaining the boss-employee relationship left behind by the Europeans (Bamgbose, 2001; Muthwii & Kioko, 2004; Oyetade, 2001).

After Nigeria gained independence in 1960, English maintained its dominance and was the language of governance, administration, education, and commerce as well as in the media. However, much recognition was being given to indigenous languages. In promoting a nationalist movement in Nigeria, the federal government organized the first National Curriculum Conference in 1969, which was attended by a cross-section of professionals from Nigeria. The

Nigerian government was beginning to advocate for educational policies that would reflect and accommodate the multilingual nature of the country and support indigenous languages. A book titled *Philosophy for Nigerian Education* was one of the outcomes of the conference. Other conferences organized for the promotion of indigenous languages and education in Nigeria were held between 1967 and 1977. The desire to promote nationalism and distinction from the colonial past led the federal government of Nigeria to recognize three indigenous languages in the 1977 National Policy on Education (NPE) and to incorporate them in the language education policy.

In this heterogeneous society, there was a need to assign roles to languages. Which language or languages would be *official*? English received that status. In an attempt to foster development, growth, and unity, the new Nigerian government in its 1979 constitution designated Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—the three dominant indigenous languages—as the country's "national languages." These three languages did not receive the label *official* but being described as *national* gave them superior status to other indigenous languages. Sections 51 and 91 of the 1979 Constitution and sections 55 and 97 of the 1999 Constitution state: "the business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English and Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made, therefore. Things continued to fall apart with the designation and adoption of three out of over 500 indigenous languages as "official." One may wonder why, in the name of unification for nation building, the government did not designate a single indigenous language instead of three as official. An answer is that none of the three major tribes had both the numerical and political influence to make endorsing its language a logical and defendable choice. Myers-Scotton (2006) has pointed out that this situation, which exists in other African countries too, precludes identification of one particular indigenous language to the

exclusion of others. Today the complexity of Nigeria's language issue is heightened by globalization, which some, including Mooka (2015), consider a new form of colonialism.

As shown in subsequent chapters, English has maintained a dominant role, but dialectical shifts between English and indigenous languages are apparent in the six NPE editions published between 1977 and 2014. Also, to be noted is the inclusion of French and Arabic in the 1981 NPE. Both languages were categorized as non-vocational electives. However, in 1998, French acquired the status of "official," even though its role was minor. French, which had an optional second language status prior to this, was recognized for political and geographical reasons owing to a large number of surrounding French-speaking countries and various international alliances. Arabic, on the hand, maintained the non-vocational elective status with little space in the policy. Declaring French as a second official language in Nigeria raised some criticism. One might see advantages such as communicative, interactive, diplomatic, and informative functions (Fayomi, Chidozie, & Ajayi, 2016); but Aliyu (2006), among others, has questioned the rationale for designating another international language when most citizens had not become fluent in English.

Current Status

Presently, the country operates a federal system of 36 states with Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory. The country has a population of 185,989, 000 people, according to figures from the World Bank (2016). With this population, Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa and, according to International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2015), is the wealthiest country in Africa with GDP of almost $600,000 billion. Nigeria tops the list of oil-producing countries in Africa and has the third largest manufacturing sector in Africa. With these resources, the country is on the pathway to developing into a significant nation in the world.

Our times are, of course, *post-independence* and I might have included "current status" in the previous section. However, it seemed best to create this separate "current status" summary of the situation regarding language education policy in Nigeria. Nigeria is a multilingual (more than 520 languages), pluralistic, and heterogeneous country. With its diversity of customs, practices, and languages come ethnolinguistic, ethnocultural, and political pressures that the country has not been able to resolve since independence. The country has continued to struggle with this complicated language situation—and its contradictions. Sustaining a single policy is difficult and has far-reaching consequences for both the education of Nigerians and development of the nation.

From the preceding, it is clear that issues of language with their complexities and oppositions constitute a core problem for language policy and planning in Nigeria. Coming up with an answer to the question of the language of education is one of the challenges that educational stakeholders have continually faced in post-independence developing countries. Of the hundreds of indigenous languages in Nigeria, three—Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—are national languages that join the official languages, English and French, in having special status. Hausa, which has more first language speakers than other African indigenous languages, is also a second language for many Nigerians other than those considered Hausa. It is recognized as a minority language in the United States. Igbo, which has several dialects, is still a primary Nigerian language, but it is thought to be in decline, mostly because of preference for English (Azuonye, 2002). The reader should note that Igbo was a first language for Chinua Achebe, who grew up in an Igbo-speaking village and set his novel *Things Fall Apart* in an Igbo village. Yoruba is not only predominant in Nigeria, but it is also the most widely spoken African indigenous language

outside of Africa. It is associated with some religions in the Americas, such as Santeria in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Despite the recognition of five languages, one language, English, still dominates most facets of life and daily activities in Nigeria, and this dominance of English has subjugated indigenous languages. Ibrahim and Gwandu (2016) underscore the overwhelming influence of English on educational policies in the NPE. There is some fear that, if this practice is not checked, Nigerians may become monolingual speakers of English despite the multiplicity of languages in the country (Mustapha, 2014). A complication is presented by Arabic, which although found in the policy, has been overlooked for a decade in educational policies, even though it was employed for Islamic education in the northern region. Despite this increasing visibility of Arabic, the major issue continues to be between English and indigenous languages—an issue that has been heightened by what is being called “global English.”

The Focus of This Study

For this study, attention was on the six versions of Nigeria’s NPE, which were published in 1977, 1981, 1998, 2004, 2013, and 2014. Using a dialectical approach, the study attempted to reveal the complex relations among languages and also to discern some of the contemporary ideologies influencing language positioning in the country’s educational system. This issue is crucial for postcolonial Nigeria because of ongoing colonial influences as well as globalization, which can take the form of neocolonialism. The question of language policy in Nigeria and most former colonies is an on-going debate which is always pronounced and contested in the educational sector. As noted by Phillipson (1997), schools represent one of the critical avenues of transmitting social and linguistic reproduction; consequently, African countries are at a cross-road regarding the choice of suitable language(s) that would best serve the continent’s economic

and social development. Today's world trend has fostered language hierarchy with the former colonizer's language (English, French, Portuguese, and German) extolled as the most significant language serving the role of official status and language of prestige over local and national languages.

My focus was on the dialectical relations between languages, which can also be seen as between the global and local, between the empowered and the marginalized, or between the colonizer and the colonized. Language issues entail both macro and micro dynamic interplay between policy and the practice especially in a multilingual country like Nigeria. Attention in this study was on opposing but interrelations among languages. O'Connor (2003) explains:

> Dialectic is a mode of thought, or a philosophic medium, through which contradiction becomes a starting point (rather than a dead end) for contemplation. As such, dialectic is the medium that helps us comprehend a world that is racked by paradox. (p. 1)

In essence, a dialectical analysis investigates the dynamics of ever-shifting relations.

The Language Policy Issue in Nigeria

A critical analysis of language policies requires attention to struggles and compromises—the dialectic—between indigenous and global languages. Languages are infused in the political, cultural, and social life of a postcolonial African country. Attending to this struggle is crucial because language is a principal source of individual identity and a means for social-political interaction across different cultural and political boundaries. In considering these tensions, one must consider the ideologies that undergird language policy. In Nigeria, where English dominates most spheres of life and continues to be the language of education, governance, and media in most parts of the country, Osoba and Alebiosu (2016) have found that many Nigerian parents disallow their children from speaking indigenous languages. Ouédraogo (2000) points to people's belief that indigenous languages are "counter-productive" because English and French

are the languages of knowledge, particularly science and technology. The colonial languages are positioned as languages of prestige while African languages remain devalued (Makalela, 2005; Prah, 2005), and English has even more power because of its global status. As a result, indigenous languages are neglected and are at risk of extinction in some places. The language policy dilemma centers on tension between the indigenous language and the colonizers' language, especially English. There seems to be a hierarchy: mother tongue, least value; the language of wider community or the three dominant indigenous languages, mid value; and English, most value.

Today the problem persists as African countries are (re)constructing their identities. Are they to be seen as English-speaking actors on the world stage or are they to be seen as members of unique indigenous societies with long and rich histories? The identity construct oscillates between global and local factors that are continually changing across time and space. Relative to this struggle, the Education for All 2010 Report (UNESCO, 2010) underscores the role language plays in access to social and economic mobility:

> Language policy in education raises complex issues and potential tensions between group identity on the one hand, and social and economic aspirations on the other. Parents in many countries express a strong preference for their children to learn in the official language, principally because this is seen as a route to enhanced prospects for social mobility. (p. 25)

Language ideologies shape policies regarding the language of instruction, and they are communicated by discourses. By examining policies, one can discern ideologies and ideological shift, as Bamgbose (2001) suggests, regarding policies in African countries.

In essence, the United States' wide-reaching socio-political and economic impact has significantly boosted the leading position of English in today's global world This new development initiated another type of inequality in Africa, which Carmody (2013) described as a

case of “old wine in new bottle” (p. 23) and which is reminiscent of Achebe’s (1958) claim that “things fall apart.” The imbalance necessitates a critique of educational language policies, particularly now that globalization is so influential.

Given the dominance of English, what is the place of indigenous languages, which are so much a part of local cultures? The central issue in Nigeria’s language policies is the tension between the dominant global language, English, which is the language of status and power, and the indigenous languages, which are the languages of home, family, and community. The issue is dramatically illustrated in the educational policies regarding language, where the relation between the two is unsettled and has shifted over the years. Although there is a worldwide movement toward English, many educators and scholars (e.g., Erastus, 2013; Prah, 2009) and organizations including UNESCO, the World Bank, and the IMF have advocated strong support for sustaining indigenous languages and mother tongue education in young people’s education.

In 2007 the United Nations adopted its Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states in Article 14 that “indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning” (p. 7). It is easy to understand the rationale for the preservation and use of indigenous languages, but one must consider the matter of power associated with language, particularly English. Some policy analysts have pointed out that policies prescribing indigenous languages through mother tongue education can perpetuate inequality by keeping students from gaining fluency in English—and thus maintain the dominance of the few people (typically the elites) who are proficient in English (e.g., Ricento & Wiley, 2002). Prior studies (e.g., Adegbite, 2003; Dossoumou, 2017; Ogundimu, 2015) have pointed to the complications within the shared space of English and indigenous language in

Nigeria. Alebiosu (2016) has claimed that the sorting function of language is the main legacy of neocolonial education. The tension between supporting one's ethnic heritage and employing a world language, according to Rodney (1972), causes "mental confusion and the development of the underdevelopment" (p. 264).

The study reported here examined the complicated status of languages in Nigeria as reflected in language education policies after it became a republic in 1963, mainly the relation between the indigenous languages and English. As mentioned above, the documents studied were versions of the NPE issued in 1977, 1981, 1998, 2004, 2013, and 2014. When one is interested in language policy in a particular setting, it is crucial to examine language policies for education because, as Tollefson and Tsui (2010) point out, such policies reflect "tensions between the educational agenda and other underlying social and political agenda (p. viii). Alidou (2003) argues that economic, political, and pedagogical factors are the most compelling factors determining and controlling the African continent's language policies. She helps us understand that the language-of-instruction problems persist in postcolonial Africa because most African leaders are not prepared for, and are not committed to, critically examining and addressing the discourses of "African-based linguistic, cultural, and economic hegemony" (p. 213).

A sub-Saharan African country provides an interesting and challenging context for studying languages because of the multiplicity of native languages as well as the languages of colonizers. Critically examining educational policies is germane, especially now that globalization and global English have a propelling influence everywhere in the world.

Ideologies and Language

Any study of language policy must attend to ideologies, since the language policy process is politically shaped by deep-rooted beliefs and values of the dominant group (Tollefson, 2006).

This means analyzing the systems of beliefs, values, and norms—the *isms*—through which the world is seen. A language ideology includes shared beliefs about languages, which are socially reproduced (Vassey, 2017). It is a shared form of cultural viewpoint about the structure, usages, acquisition, and values of languages (Kroskrity, 2004; Riley, 2012). Conflicts between ideologies involve power relations and attempts by the dominant or powerful group to perpetuate linguistic hegemony (Oyetade, 2001). Language choice and usage are not neutral. At this point, I highlight ideologies that seem particularly relevant to the language policy of an African country.

An overarching ideology central to a study focused on Africa today is postcolonialism, which points critically to the enduring impact of colonialism. Postcolonialism is the recognition and critique of the dominant influence of the West through colonization and its consequences on colonized nations. Although scholars, including Lazarus (2004) and Parry (2004), claim that postcolonialism emerged in the 1970s, African scholars like Fanon drew attention to it earlier. In his book *Black Skin, White Masks,* Fanon (1952a) points to the feelings of dependency and inadequacy that blacks tend to experience in a white world. The black subject appropriates and mimics the culture of the dominant white society, as his or her own culture has been diminished. In *Peau Noire* Fanon (1952b) argues that, by adopting the white man's language, one also subconsciously accepts the assumption of the superiority of the culture. As mentioned earlier, Bhabha (1994) also considers mimicry as he claims that "the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence" (p. 122). The colonized subject is no longer colonized "other" but is something *in between* colonized and colonizer.

Postcolonialism underscores not only the unsolved social, cultural, and political effects of colonization on former colonies (Fischer-Tiné, 2011) but also the possibility of liberation for the previously silenced voices. In addition to critique, postcolonialism promotes emancipatory

discourse concerned with advancing support for decolonization and empowering the subaltern, the marginalized, and the minorities (Hammer, 2004). Postcolonial theories, according to Rizvi (2007), have emphasized how present-day social, political, economic, and cultural practices replicate Western domination propagated through the implementation of power structure and imperialism. In analyzing social changes, globalization tends to emphasize neoliberal economic interests. Smith (2001) posits that globalization gives “scant attention to the discursive and material practices by which people create the regularized patterns that enable and constrain them” (p. 11). In most developing African countries, one easily recognizes the particularities of globalization occasioned by the furtherance and reinforcement of Western hegemonic relations. One of the main ideas of postcolonialism is its consideration of the dialectical relationship between the colonizers and the colonized. As Szeman (2001) observes,

> Both of these concepts exist at the intersection of imperialism, capitalism and modernity, and both deal with the effects and consequences of the unequal relations of power between different sites on the globe, as these are articulated economically, politically, and especially culturally. (pp. 215-216)

Nation-Building

Underlying efforts for unity following years of colonization one sees a desire for nation-building, which entails creating governmental structures and functions. It also means creating a collective identity, which can be challenging in a multicultural society. According to Emerson (1960), the sociocultural construct of “nation” is “a community of people who feel they belong together in the double sense that they share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and that they have a common destiny for the future” (p. 95). Especially relevant to the ideology of “nation” is Anderson’s (1983) well-known constructivist notion of the nation as “imaginary community,” which includes having a perceived uniqueness and a common history and in which a shared language plays a crucial role,

Indigeneity

As with other ideologies, there is complexity associated with indigeneity. In the mid-20th century, *indigenous*, along with other terms such as *native* and *aboriginal*, referred to people who were both "original" but formerly or currently subjugated by colonialism. For African nations, nation-building has tended to be "an indigenous process that often draws on existing traditions, institutions, and customs, redefining them as national characteristics in order to support the nation's claim to sovereignty and uniqueness" (Von Bogdandy, Haubler, Hanschmann, & Utz, 2005, p. 586). It has often meant reclaiming and repositioning indigenous languages. In recent years, across the globe, indigenous people have been asserting themselves and have become more visible—a move that has been marked by the United Nations' Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. A related term is *autochthony*, which can be a synonym. For example, the French version of that declaration says "peuples autochtones" instead of "indigenous peoples." Some distinctions have been made, as *autochthony* is often used for people who may be dominant but fear marginalization, and *indigenous* generally refers to those who are marginalized.

Globalization

Language issues in Nigeria are also impacted in significant ways by the ideology of globalization. This contested term *globalization* has many definitions. Among them is Clifford's (2013): "the multidirectional, unrepresentable sum of material and cultural relationships linking places and people, distant and nearby" (p. 6). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) claim that globalization is both "an ideological formation and a social imaginary shaping education policy" (p. 23). Political interests and power differentials are tied to ideology, and identities and shared aspirations are related to the social imaginary. Alebiosu (2016) posits that the tie between

attitude and domination of the African mind is further heightened by globalization and internationalism, resulting in devaluing of local languages. The sorting function of language use in Nigeria's landscape is the main legacy of neocolonial education, and Nigerians are torn between supporting their ethnic heritage and a world language. According to Smith (2001) postcolonialism is

> deconstructive and liberatory, and globalization acts as a justification and as an ideological screen for the rapid, global spread of pernicious neo-liberal capitalism intent on reversing the social gains of the past five decades and in introducing an economic rationality into the public sphere. (p. 211)

There is thus, a rooted equivalence between globalization and postcolonialism. It is important also to note the relations between global and local. For instance, Giddens (1990) defines globalization as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away" (p. 27). Harvey (1989) describes it as "time-space compression" (p. 15), and Robertson (1992) explains it as "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 19).

Globalization has fostered a world economy and competition in developed and developing countries, and it has been facilitated by the spread and hegemony of English (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Smith, 2008). As Crystal (2003) has pointed out, English has become the world's lingua franca with a span bigger than previous lingua francas, Latin and French, which historically had that position. The global spread of English, which began with the territorial expansion by the British, is now associated with the cultural, political, and economic dominance of the United States, sometimes considered *neo-imperialism* (Munyaradzi, 2008). This is a close synonym for *neocolonialism,* a term used at several points above. Both connote exploitation since previously colonized people's dependence continues.

Neoliberalism

Another of the *neo*-terms is *neoliberalism*, which is a major ideology associated with some facets of globalization. A neoliberal lens emphasizes the market economy, economic growth and development, and competition. According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism "seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (p. 3), and competition is "held to be a primary value" (p. 65). In education, one can see the neoliberal emphasis on measurement, competition, ranking, and privatization (Apple, 2001; Spring, 2009). It can be seen too in language policy. Piller and Cho (2013) have shown how neoliberalism is a "covert language policy mechanism pushing the global spread of English" and how English is a privileged "terrain" (p. 23.). As the world continually changes, it becomes unavoidable to "focus resolutely on the structural transformation that globalization represents, without recognizing the role that political agencies play in the creation of discursive and material practices associated with education policy" (Dale, 2006, p. 189).

Vocationalism

According to Coulter and Goodson (1993), the ideology of vocationalism posits that "state-supported education ought to do more to prepare young people for employment and be more oriented towards the full range of occupational destinations" (p. 1). In other words, vocationalism alters the school curriculum to focus more on applicable work skills and employment than the learning of academic contents. Based on this rationale, Purdy (2004) argues that neoliberalism, which is at the core of vocationalism, promotes "a list of policy measures held to produce economic stability and growth" (p. 3). Competition is a major element, and Bragg (2001) argues that "vocationalism emphasizes career clusters or pathways integral to the new economy" (p. 7). It is important to acknowledge that vocationalism must be examined

from a critical perspective. As noted by Amenge, Ukuma, and Tiough (2016), a vocational oriented education is often viewed as a lower form of education—one that is appropriate for those who are less academically inclined.

Approach to the Study

The present study was an analysis of language policies included in six versions of Nigeria's NPE. This study extends language policy discourse focused on ideologies and power by employing a dialectical approach to examine the dynamics of policy issues in the multicultural and multilingual country of Nigeria. It is intended to increase awareness and to broaden perspectives regarding language complexities in sub-Saharan African countries, specifically Nigeria.

A Focus on Dialectics

Theories of dialectic, which date back to the philosophy of the ancient Greeks, have often been associated with Hegel (1807) and Marx (1867). Dialectics is also a critical element in some theoretical work in educational studies. This includes Vygotsky's (1986) influential theorizing of human development, which centers on relations between the individual and society. His psychology is well known for considering and attempting to resolve the dialectic relation between thought and language. Cultural historical activity theory (Engeström, 1987; Leontiev, 1978), grounded in Vygotskian thought, focuses on contradictions—opposing but interdependent tendencies within one realm. Educators would also be familiar with the dialectic thinking of Freire (1972) regarding "complexes of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites, striving towards fulfillment" (p. 73). According to Freirean theory, which emphasizes liberation, dialectical relationships can be seen in history, society, human agency, and education. Also relevant is Bakhtin's (1986) account of language,

which describes contradictions and clashes between opposing forces that are centripetal and centrifugal.

For this study, attention was on oppositions and contradictions in language education policies, which are impacted by politics and history. I focused mainly on the shifting relation between languages, especially English and indigenous, and the rationales that were provided for positioning a language in a particular way. My attention was thus on relations that seem to "fall apart," to be resolved in some way, and then to fall apart again. Although dialectical analyses are not commonly used in studying language policy, dialectical analysis has been used for examining various kinds of conflict and contradictions. For example, it has been employed in communication studies (e.g., Cheney & Ashcraft, 2007; Dhanesh, 2014) and in studies of special education (Clark, Dyson, & Milward (2004).

Studying the dialectic relations within Nigerian language policies seemed timely given the desire of Nigeria and other previously colonized nations to move away from the colonial legacies of domination perpetrated by the languages used in public education. A dialectical approach revealed the interactions that legitimate some activities and actions over others, some modes of participation over others, and some thoughts, philosophies, and ideologies over others in determining what stands and what "falls apart." Two research questions guided the analyses: What changes have occurred in the English-indigenous relation over time as suggested by the policies? and What ideologies have guided the various versions of the language education policy?

The National Education Policies that were Analyzed

The first six published versions of the NPE, which range in length from 35 to 55 pages, all include some preliminary elements: "Introduction," and "Philosophy of Nigerian Education,"

which was retitled “Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria.” Some of the later versions also include “Foreword,” “Preface,” and “Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement.” The major portion of each policy is devoted to provisions for specific levels and forms of education. As the following summaries show, there were some changes over time in the configuration of the sections and what was included in the provisions.

National Policy on Education, 1977

The first version of the NPE (35 pages) has an “Introduction,” and following that is a statement of “Philosophy of Nigerian Education,” which includes a subsection on “Importance of Language.” The sections that follow are Pre-Primary; Education; Secondary Education; Higher Education Including Professional Education; Technical Education; Adult and Non-Formal Education; Special Education; Teacher Education; Education Services; Administration, Planning, and Financing of Education; and Financing of Education.

National Policy on Education, 1981

This 1981 version (49 pages) is, for the most part, a reprinted version of the 1977 edition except that the preliminary pages now include a “Table of Contents” and that some provisions are more detailed in certain sections. These specifics are in the Secondary Education Section with respect to subjects students are supposed to study. This edition distinguishes among subjects considered as core subjects, pre-vocational, non-vocational electives, and electives for secondary schools. In the Technical Education section, the provisions for the development of technical education increased from 16 to 31, and the provisions for Adult and Non-Formal Education increased from 15 to 32.

National Policy on Education, 1998

The 1998 version (47 pages) has the same preliminary pages as the previous versions. However, there is a change in title for one: “Philosophy of Nigerian Education” is changed to “Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria.” The sections with educational provisions have some relabeling and restructuring. For example, the Technical Education becomes Vocational Education, and Adult and Non-Formal Education becomes Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education.

National Policy on Education, 2004

The 2004 version (55 pages) has the same preliminary pages as the previous versions, but it also has a list of the various editions from inception till 2004. This edition introduces new educational provisions and restructuring under new labels. Basic Education and Open and Distance Education are the newly introduced provisions, and Pre-primary Education becomes Early Childhood/Pre-Primary Education. Vocational Education becomes Science, Technical and Vocational Education.

National Policy on Education, 2013

The 2013 version (47 pages) is a major revision and update of Nigeria’s educational policy. The rationale for restructuring curriculum areas and for adding new elements is presented in a “Foreword” by the Minister of Education and a “Preface” by the Executive Secretary of National Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) who served as the Chair of the High-Level Policy Committee on the Review of the National Policy on Education. The “Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria” remains, but it no longer has the subsection on “Importance of Language.” Some curricular areas that previously had their own sections are now in more inclusive sections and some new

curricular emphases are added. Sections now include Basic Education (Early Child Care Development and Education, Pre-Primary Education, Primary Education, and Junior Secondary Education); Post-Basic Education and Career Development (Senior Secondary Education and Technical and Vocational Education and Training); Mass and Nomadic Education (Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education and Nomadic Education); Tertiary Education (University Education, Teacher Education, Technology Education, and Innovative Enterprise Institutions); Open and Distance Education; Special Needs Education, Educational Support Services; Planning and Administration of Education (Planning and Administration, Quality Assurance, and Assessment); and Funding and Partnerships.

National Policy on Education, 2014

The 2014 version (72 pages) has the same labels for the preliminary pages as the 2013 version, although there are some changes in authors and contexts. The "Foreword," now written by the Minister of Education, increased from a single page document to two pages. The "Preface," written by another new official, the new Minister of State for Education increased from three and a half pages to six pages. This version introduced an additional preliminary page labeled "Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgment," which was written by the Executive Secretary of National Educational Research and Development Council.

Approach to Analyses: Analysis of Relations between Languages

Major attention in the study was on relations between languages in the policies: how they would be positioned relative to one another. Of particular interest was the relation between English (as colonizer's language and now the global language as well as the official language of Nigeria) and indigenous languages. How would they be positioned in terms of *language of instruction?* How would they be positioned as *language to be studied?* The two—English and

indigenous languages—would, it seems, be in a dialectic relation characterized by shifting power relations and contradictions. When one assumed a position of power, what happened to the other? In addition to the relations between English and indigenous languages, there would also be dialectics between and among the various indigenous languages, since three of the hundreds of languages—Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—were designated as "Nigerian languages" and others were resigned to "mother tongue" or possibly "language of the immediate environment." Nigeria's complex linguistic situation also includes two languages other than English and indigenous: French and Arabic. French was added as an official language and was designated as a language to be studied, but Arabic was mostly ignored or marginalized in the policy. How would these relate to languages in the education policy? My attention was on how these various languages related to one another and how these relations changed over time.

Analysis of ideologies. To understand the "why" of these shifting relations, attention had to go to the ideologies that influenced them. I looked for evidence of those ideologies described above that one would expect to be influential during this critical and postcolonial era in Nigeria, 1977 to 2014: nation-building, indigeneity, globalization, neoliberalism, and vocationalism. I analyzed both the preliminary pages and the actual policy sections that presented provisions but did so separately, since the former tended to have minimal changes over time and the latter did have notable changes that indicated shifting beliefs and values. I studied the NPE versions with attention to words or phrases that suggested these ideologies. For example, for nation-building, I looked for terms like *unity*. For neoliberalism, I looked for terms like *standards*. For the sections with provisions, more so than the preliminary pages, I could discern evidences of ideological values associated with global movements and initiatives that characterized the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of 21st century. It was interesting to see, in some cases, how the

"philosophy" expressed in the introductory section conflicted with the ideologies that were reflected in the provisions.

Conclusion

Relevant to any study of language policy in Nigeria is the enduring influence of colonialism and new forms of power often called neocolonialism. Eng and Han (2002) claim that some policies lead to "racial melancholia," which Koh (2011) defines as the "process whereby racial self-knowledge becomes a site of psychological trauma for colonized subjects" (para. 1). In this postcolonial contest, many post-independent African countries, including Nigeria, review and revise educational policy with an eye not only to their historical heritage but also to the dominant influence of the West through (neo)colonialism and its consequences. With this recognition, this study explored the ideology, rationale, and positioning of language policies in Nigeria focusing on dialectical relations. It offers some perspectives on language complexities in this sub-Saharan African country by looking at the challenges and opportunities imposed by globalization and English as well as moves to preserve indigenous languages.

This chapter has provided an overview of Nigeria's complex language issues, the focus of the study and a description of the approach taken in this study. Chapters Two, Three, and Four report analyses of the six versions of the policy: the 1977 and 1980 versions in Chapter Two; the 1998 and 2004 versions in Chapter Three; and the 2013 and 2014 versions in Chapter Four. When reporting findings, I give attention to contextual factors that have shaped, and are still shaping, Nigerian education policies. The fifth and final chapter presents a summary and discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST TWO NIGERIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICIES: 1977 AND 1981

In linguistically heterogeneous societies, language planning is often directed toward fostering social cohesion as well as maintaining cultural identities (Joseph, 2004; Tollefson, 2002). With the emergence of modern nation-states and the rise of state-run mass education in twentieth-century Africa, language and planning, especially in education, has been an essential element of public policymaking (cf. Ricento, 2006; Williams, 2008). When first initiated, language-for-education policies were influenced by the desire for an educational policy that would reflect Nigeria's independent identity but were characterized by ambiguity regarding the role of English, the colonizer's language. In 1969, the National Curriculum Conference made significant recommendations and issued support for indigenous languages in Nigerian education and decolonization of curriculum and policy contents. Eight years later in 1977, the government issued its first NPE. Then it published a similar version in 1981 with minor changes. My attention in this chapter is on the historical background of the first two versions of the NPE, the relations between languages that are portrayed there, and the ideologies that seem to influence these relations.

Background for the 1977 and 1981 Policies

Chapter 1 presented a general history of Nigeria. Here, I provide more details about the major events and actions that preceded and influenced both the 1977 and 1981 NPE.

Background to the 1977 Policy

After gaining full independence from the United Kingdom in 1960 and becoming a republic in 1963, Nigeria experienced many developments that influenced the creation of educational policy. The amalgamation of Nigeria had joined together different people with

different historical and sociocultural identities. The result was conflict, and civil war ensued. First, there was a coup in 1966 and later genocide within southeastern Nigeria in 1967. The southeasterners sought to secede from Nigeria to form the Republic of Biafra, and this led to the 30 months war from July 1967 to January 1970 with over two million deaths. The "Biafran War," as it was generally called, had much international support from foreign powers. Both the US and the British governments supported Nigeria with military aides and ammunition, and France provided some support for the Biafran rebels. Korieh (2012) describes the war as the first "black-on-black" genocide in postcolonial Africa. During the war, most schools were closed and education was impossible, especially in the southern and eastern parts (Gould, 2011).

Clearly, there was a need for stabilizing Nigeria's political terrain, which was destabilized during the 30 months that the war lasted. The ethnic conflicts that initiated the war were not completely resolved, and the country experienced economic, social, political, and educational setbacks. Investment in education and other sectors had plummeted owing to the loss of infrastructure and the lack of trained teachers (Amaghionyeodiwe & Osinubi, 2006). Rebuilding the nation, therefore, became necessary for resolving the aftermath of the civil war when different communities competed for control.

The desire to build the nation began to take a central place in many discussions; and nationalism, patriotism, and unity became matters of concern and urgency. Education was seen as a means for promoting nationhood. In addressing some of the political and ethno-cultural differences, some approaches and policies were introduced (Amali & Jekayinfa, 2013). In 1969, the year before the civil war ended, that National Curriculum Conference meeting mentioned in the chapter's introduction was held, and it laid the foundation for reviewing the curriculum and identifying new national goals for Nigeria's educational system. Okoroma (2006) has described

this conference as the first significant effort in indigenizing Nigeria's educational policy. A cross-section of professionals attended the 1969 meeting, and one of the outcomes was a book published by the Federal Government of Nigeria titled *Philosophy for Nigerian Education,* which was mentioned in Chapter One. Further colloquia and workshops were held between 1969 and 1977, including the Conference on High-Level Teacher Training in 1970 and the National Workshop on Primary Education in 1971.

In 1970, there was an experimental launch of the Yoruba Six-Year Primary Project in Ile-Ife, one of the towns in the western part of Nigeria. The project used Yoruba as the only language medium in the six-year project, and English was taught as a second language. The program, which contrasted with the colonial model of education, emphasized Nigerian languages and culture, and it had textbooks written in Yoruba (Tucker, 1989). Preserving indigenous languages and using them in education were longstanding initiatives of UNESCO, which sponsored many conferences emphasizing local or mother tongue language in education. UNESCO has also funded work focused on orthographies of some Nigeria languages since 1951(Akinnaso, 1993).

Another important move was the government's takeover of schools from the missionaries in 1970. In the bid to separate education from religion, the government took over primary and secondary schools from the missionaries (Okorosaye-Orubite, 2002). The most relevant issue during this period was the continuing desire to use schools as an instrument of nation-building in a country characterized by multilingualism and multiculturalism. Language was becoming an increasingly important facet of education.

In 1975, the Intergovernmental Conferences and Languages Policies, organized by UNESCO and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), was held in Ghana, and minutes from

the conference documented the attention to the role of African languages in development (Pelican, 2009). At that time, the Nigerian government, as part of its efforts in promoting indigenous languages, established the Nigerian Language Center in 1970 (Akinnaso, 1993).

Also of major significance as background was the initiative known as the Universal Primary Education, which was launched in 1976. With this scheme, children between the ages of six and 12 were expected but not mandated to attend school. The project introduced free primary and secondary schools with the intent of increasing school enrollment, particularly in educationally disadvantaged states. Financing the free education policy seemed possible for the federal government with the oil boom that increased Nigeria's fortune. However, due to the global drop in the price of oil in 1980, the Nigerian government could not continue with the free education policy. The federal government consequently moved the responsibility of financing primary education to the state and local governments. The result was unpaid teacher salaries and dilapidation of education facilities at all levels resulting in declining literacy rates in the country (Odukoya, 2009).

The publication of NPE in 1977 was Nigeria's first attempt to document an official educational policy for the country after independence. Before the publication, the country was following the British model despite being independent for almost 20 years. The policy projected a route for the country's educational system by highlighting educational aims, objectives, and philosophy of education in Nigeria as well as specifications of curricula for various levels and forms of education.

Background to the 1981 Policy

Four years after the first publication, the policy was revised to some extent. The revision originated from the mandate for regular review of educational policy included in the country's

constitution. At that time, African nations were making efforts to design a more modern Westernized educational system. Nigeria was acting in accordance with a global movement in developed and developing countries to reform education, particularly science education for national self-reliance and manpower for its economy. In Kano state, for example, the state government launched “Science Secondary School Project” in 1977 with the intent of developing inclined science students for the development of the state (Adamu, 1991).

A significant change from the 1977 version to 1981 came in the form of specification of subjects beginning from the secondary school with labels like “core subjects prevocational, and non-vocational.” Changes regarding language of education included the addition of French and Arabic languages as subjects to be studied in the school curriculum. With respect to the latter, it should be noted that when Nigeria gained independence, the government realized that one of the ways of promoting national development and unity was through Western education especially in the North. According to Aguolu (1979) the North had the highest number of Islamic schools but lagged behind other states regarding educational development. The educational imbalance was not unconnected to the indirect policies of the British that accorded separate educational policies for the north and south parts of the country. The North rejected Western education due to fear of being converted to Christianity. However, with independence, the need to reduce the educational imbalance necessitated the inclusion of Arabic into the NPE to encourage active participation from the North. As we will see in the following sections, continuous provisions have always been made in the policy beginning from the 1981 version to include Arabic, Islamiyah, and Koranic schools in the country’s education system.

Ideologies Reflected in the Prefatory Materials

In this section, my focus is on the prefatory materials of both the 1977 and 1981 policies.

The prefatory materials in both policies, which were identical, had two elements "Introduction" and "Philosophy of Nigerian Education." One subsection of the "Philosophy" section is "Importance of Language." These components were analyzed for prevalent ideologies.

"Introduction"

From the first paragraph of the "Introduction" and, throughout the remainder of the policy, a significant ideology suggested by the language is that of nation-building. The "Introduction," which has no author indicated, is the same in these two versions of the policy. It portrays education as an "instrument par excellence for effecting national development" within "the realities of the modern world" (p. 3) and lays out three concerns for the Nigerian educational system: (1) the central role of the government in the operation and administration of the education system as opposed to the earlier private enterprise, (2) the inevitability of delineating guidelines regarding the philosophy and objectives of the education system, and (3) the government's intention of establishing a National Education Policy Implementation Taskforce for translating the policy into a workable blueprint. The primary emphasis is on nation-building to foster unity, peace, and development after the civil war.

The second paragraph of the "Introduction" states the need for unity in the Nigerian "imaginary":

> It is the Government's wish that any existing contradictions, ambiguities, and lack of understanding in educational practices in the different parts of the Federation should be removed to ensure even and orderly development of the country. . . .The Federal Government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development. (p. 3)

"Philosophy of Nigerian Education"

As in the "Introduction," the "Philosophy of Nigerian Education" focuses on nation-building—fostering unity. An essential element of this conception is based on correcting

disparities. “To foster the much-needed unity of Nigeria, imbalances in interstate and intra-state development have to be corrected” (p. 5). It further states:

> For the policy to be in harmony with Nigeria’s national objectives, it has to be geared towards self-realization, better human relationship, and individual and national efficiency, effective citizenship, national consciousness, national unity, as well as social, cultural economic, political, scientific, and technological progress. (p. 4)

The “Philosophy of Nigerian Education” presents the educational medium as a significant way of achieving national objectives.

As to the nature of the nation, one sees a Western and global influence. The “Philosophy of Nigerian Education” centers on democracy as it attempts to answer questions regarding a desired and intended Nigerian society. National objectives are based on “a free and democratic society,” “a united nation,” and “a land of bright opportunities for all citizens” (p. 4). There is attention to liberal democracy in support of citizenship and equity (e.g., “full opportunities for all citizens”). The Constitution itself had followed the US model. As in “modern” Western” societies, there is to be differentiated education targeted to people’s “needs.” The policy underlines educational opportunities for all. One can also see this facet of nation-building as a manifestation of postcolonialism in terms of breaking ties with the former colonial education. However, one might apply a contrasting postcolonial notion—mimicry (Bhabha, 1995; Fanon, 1952). Nigeria was Westernizing its schools—making them similar to those in powerful nations of the world.

Specific reference is made to religion. The “Philosophy of Nigerian Education” asserts that “no child will be forced to accept any religious instruction contrary to the wishes of his parents” (p. 5). Here, one sees an effort to break from the previous religious control applied in missionary-run schools, which Otaki (2006) has described as subjugation to foreign religious values. In the new Nigeria, there was to be a space for indigenous religions as well as

Christianity and Islam. As with conflicts associated with languages, there had been and there continued to be conflicts associated with religion. Nigeria's structural divisions included the Muslim population in the North and the majority Christian population in the southern and eastern parts of the country. Vaughan (2016) has provided a detailed history and discussion of "religion and the making of Nigeria."

Nigeria, like most postcolonial countries, wanted to preserve its indigeneity and cultural heritage including language. Owing to this desire, the subsection on "The Importance of Language" depicts language as an element of nation-building and unity. Building a unified nation entails creating some unity in language and culture which compelled the space provided for indigenous languages and cultural heritage in the section. The document states:

> In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the education process, 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. (p. 5)

Akinnaso (1990) has pointed out that the inclusion of regional and Nigerian languages in the policy supports claims of nationalism and patriotism while recognizing the nation's diversity. This conception of national unity includes attention to indigeneity as well as the valuing of multiple languages and diversity.

Given the attention to the multiplicity of indigenous languages, one can see that an element of Nigeria's identity is its multilingualism. Africans, in general, and Nigerians, in particular, are multilingual with many languages in the repertoire of an average African child. This linguistic multiplicity in education, according to Dada (2005), signifies an attempt to retain this societal identity. Concerning nation-building, there is an interesting relation between unity and diversity, both based on indigenous languages. The three favored languages (Hausa, Igbo, and, Yoruba) are portrayed as contributing to unity, even though no single one would be used

generally in the country. Beyond promoting unity and patriotism, the specification of the three major indigenous languages implies altered interactions. Struggles against linguistic hegemony would remain due to the privileging of the three main languages and the marginalization of other indigenous languages.

Another interesting facet of "The Importance of Language" subsection centers on the unspoken discourse about English. In this section, the English language is not mentioned or alluded to, even though it is one of the major languages spoken in the country and at that time was the only "official language." One may wonder why it was not mentioned. A plausible explanation could be the intent of promoting the indigenous languages, which had been devalued with the arrival of the former colonial masters and the missionaries.

Language Provisions in the Policies

For this section, I focus on the language specifications in both the 1977 and 1981 versions of the policies.

Language Provisions in the 1977 Policy

How would these ideologies be reflected in the actual policies for particular levels of education? In analyzing the policies, my attention was on the positioning of languages regarding how they were portrayed in the policy and were intended to play out in the school system. Language usage is a means that the school works as an ideological apparatus of the state promoting "ideological pacification" (Obanya, 2011, p. 23). Table 1 below provides language specifications in the 1977 version of the national policy on education. "Mother tongue" is the first language an individual acquires, which typically is the language spoken by a child's parent or guardian. "Language of the immediate environment" is the most commonly spoken language of the environment, which is the language of the dominant group in that place. Despite the

references to the use of mother tongue and language of the immediate environment, the policy does not provide detailed information on either. The latter can be partially confusing, when there are multiple spoken and recognized languages in the community. According to Akinnaso (1993), conventional wisdom is often applicable in the definition of mother tongue; and in 1990 the Minister of Education attempted to clarify what was meant by language of the immediate environment, which could be the dominant spoken language of a specific location. He explained that most often it is the language of the wider community. A decision about which language is to be used is problematic, and using the language of the wider community leads to linguistic and communicative inequality (Tsuda, 1998).

As shown in Table 1, the language of instruction is specified for pre-primary to the primary level. It is important to note that the indigenous languages are the languages of instruction for pre-primary and the early years of primary education before moving to English. The policy is advocating an early transition bilingual education program, which begins with one language, usually the mother-tongue, and later switches to the major language (Igboanusi, 2008). The policy states that "the medium of instruction will be principally the mother-tongue or language of the immediate environment" (p. 6) and that the "government will see to it" (p. 7) that this is the case and that English will come in the later primary years. The policy further considers developing orthography for many Nigerian languages and producing textbooks in local languages—a project that was already underway.

Table 1

Language Specifications in the 1977 Version

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Pre-Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment and English at a later stage	Mother-tongue or language of the immediate environment and English
Secondary Education	English	English, one of the three major Nigerian languages (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba)
Higher Education Including Professional Education	No specification	No specification
Technical Education	No specification	No specification
Adult and Non-Formal Education	No specification	No specification
Special Education	No specification	No specification
Teacher Education	No specification	No specification

The English language begins to feature as language of instruction from the later year of the primary education and spans throughout the higher education. The use of English as the language of instruction beyond the primary level is not documented in the policy, but it was generally accepted as the medium of instruction. The supporting argument stems from the provision highlighting the use of English as the medium of instruction at a later stage. There is no specific statement on the language to be used for technical education, adult and non-formal education, special education, and teacher education.

The language of instruction plays a major role in educational policy, but language to be studied is also critically important. Both exert much power in the society. The 1977 version has the mother tongue and language of the immediate environment as languages to be taught and learned in the early years of primary education. English, however, is a subject of study from the early primary school years along with the three main languages. This statement is made:

> Each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his mother tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba. (p. 5)

The 1977 NPE promotes trilingualism, though this is not stated in the policy. Respecting the presence of multiple languages in the country acknowledges the commitment to linguistic pluralism, which was not valued during the colonial time and which is the norm in most African countries. It is generally known that Nigeria's higher education uses English as the medium of instruction. For teacher education, it is interesting to see that there is no explicit information on the language to be studied or the medium of instruction for preparing teachers. The policy recognizes the constitutional responsibilities of teacher education vested in institutions like teachers colleges and universities, which would be places where English is the language of education and communication. According to Schiffman (1996), where there is no specific provision on policy, the linguistic status quo triumphs. However, some low socioeconomic areas might sometimes use the language of the immediate environment or mother tongue depending on what works for them. A study conducted by Ekpiken and Edet (2014) suggests that a walk into any Nigerian institution shows that English is the most commonly used medium of instruction except in foreign language classes.

One notices the absence of the Arabic language in the 1977 edition of the policy. Arabic was the language used in Koranic and Islamiyah schools in the northern region and had been used for in teaching and learning before the arrival of the missionaries and colonial masters. The policy includes Koranic and Islamiyah schools with intended plans of integrating both traditions in the primary school. Despite references to these schools, provisions are not made for the studying of Arabic language in the 1977 policy; nor is there mention of Arabic, which was the

medium of instruction in the Koranic and Islamiyah schools. The policy reads as if the only languages relevant to Nigerian education are English and indigenous languages.

Language Provisions in the 1981 Policy

Most of the language specifications from 1977 versions are repeated in the 1981 edition. Table 2 provides a summary of the language provisions in the 1981 policy. Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment continues to be the recognized and sole medium of instruction at the pre-primary level. The use of the mother tongue continues on to a later stage at the primary school level when instruction moves to English, with no exact grade level for the switch. Nigerian languages—Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo—along with English are recognized as subjects of study at the secondary school level with the two of the named Nigerian languages being mandatory. French, which besides English was the major colonial language in sub-Saharan Africa and was the major colonial language in countries surrounding Nigeria, is now considered as a subject of study beginning from the secondary school level. As discussed later in Chapter Three, it would become an official language.

Table 2

Language Specifications in the 1981 Version

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Pre-Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment
Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment and English at a later stage	Mother-tongue or language of the immediate environment and English
Secondary Education	English	English, one of the three major Nigerian languages (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba)

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Higher Education Including Professional Education	No specification	No specification
Technical Education	No specification	No specification
Adult and Non-Formal Education	No specification	No specification
Special Education	No specification	No specification
Teacher Education	No specification	No specification

Apart from the inclusion of the French language in the 1981 edition, the Arabic language is also included in the revised version. Arabic, the language of the Islamiyah and Koranic schools, is recognized as a non-vocational elective. Concerning Arabic, the language had long been the major medium of education in the North but was unrecognized in terms of policy not as a language of instruction but a subject of study. As mentioned earlier, the British colonists had considered those who used Arabic as illiterates. In the 1980s, multiple positions obtained on the role of Arabic in Nigerian society: Was it of use in nation-building? Was it a language to be learned and used only by Muslims or did it have utility for others? Jimba (2015) has referred to Arabic issues in Nigeria as "language and multiple dogmatic problems" (p. 275).

Ideologies Reflected in the Provisions

Nation-building seemed to be the dominant ideology guiding the preliminary materials. Indigeneity was valued and was portrayed as central to the Nigerian identity. However, when one looks at the actual provisions, a major emphasis can be seen on English as an enduring postcolonial influence as well as a global influence, taking the form of what is known as "global English."

Indigeneity and Nation-Building

In the policy provisions, indigeneity is influential particularly for children in the early years of schooling. The use of indigenous languages suggests an aspiration to retain ties to the past—cultural heritage and identity (Obiweluozo, 2011). This can also be seen in the reference in pre-primary provisions to developing orthography for indigenous languages and producing textbooks in local languages. Within other provisions, one gets a sense of the values that so defined indigenous tribal education in the past. Following traditional values, there is an emphasis on social development and morals (Okudo & Manuel, 2013). Specific wording includes "inculcating social norms" and "teaching good habits" (p. 6). Further evidence includes "teaching cooperation and team spirit" (p. 6). Social norms associated with cultural background are intended to create a sense of belonging.

Indigeneity remains central in policies for the primary level of education, including intent to document the various norms and practices of the different communities and disseminate them for better understanding and appreciation. The government is demonstrating a commitment to indigeneity and diversity across indigenous groups. Such attempts to protect indigenous beliefs and practices, according to Bakare (2006), are necessary for the survival of the nation.

In discussing the preliminary materials, I noted the link between indigeneity and nation-building. Indigenous identity is an essential feature of Nigerian character, and it seems to counter the colonial identity. This matter is highly complex. If nation-building requires unity, what happens to the diversity associated with indigeneity? Nation-building is portrayed as a matter of breaking the colonial ties and creating a new entity. The policy stipulates: "Education is the greatest force that can be used to bring about redress; it is also the greatest investment that the

nation can make for the quick development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources" (p. 8).

Interestingly, the two ideological elements, diversity and unity (or nation-building), are brought together in the secondary education section, where one stated educational objective to "foster Nigerian Unity with an emphasis on the common ties that unite us in our diversity" (p. 10). This recommendation addresses the unity in diversity (different tribes, different languages):

> [Y]oung people in their formative and impressionable years, from all parts of the Federation, with different language, ethic [sic] and cultural backgrounds are given the opportunity to work, play, live and grow together, to learn to understand and tolerate one another, and thereby to develop a horizon of our Nigeria. (p. 12)

The unity element is reinforced by frequent references to citizenship education. The policy refers to "preparation for useful living within the society" and "appreciating those values specified under our broad national aims and live as good citizens" (p. 10). This dual desire is reflected in the stated desire "to develop and project Nigerian culture, art, and language as the world's cultural heritage" (p. 10) and to ensure that secondary school's admission reflects the heterogeneous nature of the country. The oxymoron of *unity in diversity* is not limited to Nigeria; it is a theme of the European Union and Mandela's South Africa. It is also an element of the African code and, according to Langmia (2018), it represents an ethos of the Pan-African movement.

Globalization, Westernization, Neocolonialism

Complex ideologies, no doubt, converge to emphasize English in the provisions. Whereas English is not mentioned in the preliminary materials, it has a large role in the actual provisions. English, which for centuries had been the language of prestige and power because of colonization, was yet more important in the latter half of the 20th century because of

globalization and increased role of global English. Values associated with English include its hegemony in the past, the present, and the future. English is the language of globalization and Westernization.

In the secondary education section, one sees the profound influence of English, which is not only the language of education but also a subject of study. The domination of English as a universal language has primarily reduced the significance and space of indigenous languages for secondary school students. In the 1980s and 1990s, the English language was being seen as necessary for filling many practical roles and functions and this positioning can be seen in economic, political, and social realms and the globalized status of English characterized by hierarchization and hegemony (Jenkins, 2006).

Maintaining interconnectedness with the global world introduces some universal elements for the secondary education in Nigeria. The policy also outlines the necessity of preparing students for meeting modern-day science and technology requirements. There are other references to globalization, as, for instance, in specifying a scholarship policy "designed to enable a scholar to study anywhere in the world" (NPE, 1981, p. 17). Less explicitly, one can discern global and Western influences in such matters as changing from three years to four for a university degree, establishing a national literacy campaign, attending to special education and gifted education, and enhancing teacher education. These educational policies display the dynamic interactions of global and local practices supported by international organizations, such as UNESCO and World Bank that influence education (Spring, 2009).

Vocationalism

Certain provisions concerning technical and adult education reflect an ideology that is called *vocationalism* or sometimes *vocationalization* (Oni, 2006). It underlines efforts in Western

education to relate education to employment and to provide manpower for the workforce and the economy. Vocational education can be seen positively for its functional purposes: preparing individuals for productive lives. Yet it can be viewed negatively when viewed through the lens of vocationalism. Vocational education becomes a lesser form of education in contrast to college preparatory and university programs. It is viewed as primarily a means of providing trained workers for employers (Apple, 1993; Lewis, 2009). There are the privileged few who attend universities and are prepared for professions and leadership, and then there are those who need practical education training for them to acquire jobs or improve their performance in a current job. In the NPE, English, the language of power and authority, is specified for the former, but no particular languages are specified for the latter.

Dialectical Relations in the Policies

What dialectical relations might be seen in these two policies? Most apparent is the relation between indigenous languages and the colonizers' language which is, for the most part, English. The Nigerian government was requiring either the mother tongue or language of the immediate environment as the medium of instruction and subject of study for early education. Although these indigenous languages play an important role in early education, English outweighs them in the provisions. Whereas English was not mentioned in the preliminary materials, it achieves some dominance in the provisions. The indigenous languages are to be the language of education for young children, but they are to be replaced by English, which is not only the former colonizers' language but also a global language.

Concerning technical education, the policy does not explicitly underscore any language provision. However, some terms like *scientific knowledge* and *technology* (p. 25) suggest English might be used. A study by Okoye and Arimonu (2016) indicates that English was commonly the

language of instruction for technical education. The scholars draw attention to the dominance of foreign background and contents in the required texts.

Language, as maintained by critical theorists like Fanon (1986) and Foucault (1972), carries power. Like many other African nations, Nigeria has indigenous languages, which are usually called "mother tongue" and used for the initial years of education. Then, students move to the colonizer's language, which in Nigeria is English. Prah (2008) has commented on the conflicts between sanctimonious pronouncement of the importance of indigenous languages and the actual practice that privileges the language of global power. He says that the ostensible valuing of indigenous languages is "a lie which serves intimately the maintenance of neoliberalism" (p. 8). In the 1981 policy, French joins English as the language of study. This reinforces the power of colonial language, even though French had and has a minor role in Nigerian education and society.

This dialectic can also be seen as the global-local dialectic that has interested scholars for years. The global and the local are intricately related, since the growing influence of the global language, English, leads to efforts to maintain the local. Global and local forces are so interrelated that Robertson (2006) has coined the term *glocalization.* English is a facet of the global, and the indigenous languages are tied to the local.

A dialectical relation also exists between majority and minority indigenous languages. Among the indigenous languages, three were designated as "national languages" whereas numerous others were not. Despite the recognition of the three major indigenous languages in the policies, the languages are restricted to the early years of schooling and become less visible as students progress. This observation supports Crystal's (2004) claim that "social change always has a linguistic sequel" (p. 3). Also, Arabic is specified but in a minor role. This is interesting

because, when one takes a global view, Arabic is the major language of Islamic civilizations. It exists globally in the Arabic numbering system and is the language of much research in advanced medicine and science (Bello, 2015; Sanni, 2009; Zawaydeh, 2008).

Yet another dialectic is that oft-discussed dialectic between unity and diversity, both of which are depicted as elements of nation-building through diversity. As noted above, the unity through diversity theme is not unique to Nigeria, and many studies have underscored the need to have both unity and diversity (Akuupa, 2010; Sá & Aixelà, 2013). The continued conflicts among different ethnic groups in Nigeria and Africa, generally question the possibility of unity through diversity (Osewe, 2016).

As I have said earlier, the integration of its population was paramount for Nigeria immediately after independence, and this necessitated the publication of the NPE. Attempts to promote unity while respecting diversity dictated the need to acknowledge cultural and linguistic pluralism while endorsing individual and national identity. This relationship is crucial owing to the role of language in identity formation and the necessity of language for interactions across different cultural and political borders. This relationship plays out with intricacies from historical and cultural dictates, on the one side, and pragmatic efforts in meeting the national educational needs, on the other hand.

Summary and Conclusion

The 1977 NPE and its 1981 revision portray education as a means of nation-building. Of particular importance in this national imaginary is the dialectical relation between *traditional* indigenous languages and the *conventional* power language, English. Since colonial times, the linguistic power in Nigeria has rested in English, and, despite ostensible moves in the NPE to privilege indigenous languages, the power remains with English. Nigeria, like many sub-

Saharan African countries, *appears* to be participating in the move to privilege indigeneity by promoting "mother tongue" and other local languages, but the colonizer's language, English, maintains its status at the top of any hierarchy, and its global hegemony enhances the importance of the language in Nigeria.

For nation-building, a complex structure is presented for the nation of Nigeria, particularly regarding languages. One finds it easier to see diversity than unity. The education system, as portrayed in the policy retains a complex (and often contentious and confusing) multilingualism. Policymakers and language experts have not agreed on a common definition for "mother tongue" and "language of the immediate environment" which are recurring terms in the policy. Native language is the language used in the area where one grows up. It is used by most of the people there. Mother tongue on the other hand, is associated with family and it is the language of the family in which a child is raised. Often native language and mother tongue are the same, but that is not always the case. Given this lack of clarity, one begins to wonder which language should be designated as the mother tongue of a Nigerian child born in the United States. Comparable equivalence applies to language of the immediate environment discourse, and stakeholders are confronted with the dilemma of choices in an environment with more than one language. Generally, the language of the immediate environment favors the dominant language in the area, which gives it status over the others. Local languages are to be retained, but among them is a hierarchical relationship. Three languages—Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo—have the status of major "Nigerian" or "national" languages, in contrast to hundreds of other languages, which may be "mother tongue" or "language of the immediate environment." These three privileged languages are specified in the 1977 version as languages of study. They continue to be languages of study in the 1981 edition, but "language of the immediate environment" also

becomes a language of study in the 1981 edition. As mentioned above, the Nigerian educational policy can be seen as a transitional trilingual education which includes English as well as two indigenous languages.

To add further complexity, French and Arabic become languages of study in the 1981 version. These inclusions too may be seen as facets of nation-building. French—a major language in a global context but particularly in Nigeria's African context—connects Nigeria with its neighbors. These are countries where French, as another colonizer's language, plays much the same role that English plays in Nigeria. The inclusion of Arabic as a language of study gives some long-needed recognition—but not much—to the culture of the northern part of the country.

With the above analysis, one begins to appreciate the complexity associated with language policy and planning in a heterogeneous country like Nigeria. In the 1970s and 1980s, tensions were playing out among cultural identity, nationalism, and indigeneity, on the one hand, and global economy and relevance on the other hand. The colonial educational system had "fallen apart," but Nigerian education faced many challenges in reconciling the local and the global and creating unity in the face of diversity.

CHAPTER 3

THE THIRD AND FOURTH NIGERIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICIES: 1998 AND 2004

In the 1980s and 1990, the Nigerian government gave increased attention to education. To meet the evolving goals of the nation, the educational policy was reviewed in 1998, as the country saw changes in its socio-economic and political situation. The 1979 constitution was continuing to influence changes in education, particularly with respect to requirements like equal educational opportunities for all as well as the promotion of science and technology, free secondary education, and adult literacy programs. There were thus changes in the formulation and provisions of the national policy on education. It is, therefore relevant, to examine how the policies changed over time. My attention in this chapter is on the 1998 and 2004 versions of the national policy. In considering the language of education policies presented therein, certain aspects of educational history are significant. This chapter first focuses on the events that necessitated the revisions of these two policies before attending to the relations among languages and the ideologies that seemed to influence them.

Background for the 1998 and 2004 Policies

In this section, I review crucial events that occurred after the 1981 policy and preceded publication of the 1998 and 2004 editions.

Background to the 1998 Policy

Like its predecessors, the Nigerian government's new version of the NPE in 1998 has provisions that align with the 1979 Constitution (Fabunmi, 2005). It continued to specify education as a shared responsibility among the three tiers of government: federal, state, and local

government. However, as noted by Akumah (2005), major efforts at control were being exerted at the federal level.

Many political and social events necessitated the introduction of the 1998 policy, particularly the military coups and counter-coups that Nigeria experienced. From independence in 1960 to the late 1990s Nigeria was ruled by seven military heads of state. The 1980s became known as the" Lost Decade" in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria. This was a time when Nigeria was mired in debts to foreign initiatives, due, in part, to an agreement signed with the IMF and subsequent policy reforms that negatively affected many sectors of the country's economy (Olukoshi, 1990). Neoliberal reforms resulted in huge debts, and education and other social services suffered. With the military in control, schools were governed by educational decrees. A national Mass Literacy Campaign in 1982-1983 failed to accomplish much, given its low enrollments and lack of funds and materials (Okedara & Okedara, 1992). A revision of the NPE was made in 1983, but the military government canceled its issue. Decree 16 of 1985 was particularly important as it set national minimum standards.

The devaluation of the country's currency prompted subsidy removal in schools and other social sectors. The collapse of the economy generated unrest and disputes among the many labor unions in Nigeria that led to Decree 26 of 1988. The decree barred union activities for labor unions and Academic Staff Union of Universities. The last years of military rule between 1983 and 1999 were the worst in terms of their effects on education (Obanya, 2005). The Structural Adjustment Program agreed upon with the IMF and the World Bank, was a market-based approach that differed from the previous effort at development. To obtain loans, Nigeria had to make structural adjustments. Debt repayment became a huge burden, and social services were diminished with each military regime initiating different programs with varying degrees of

success and genuineness. The entrance of the military into the country's political arena created instability and had an adverse effect on the country's growth and development.

Besides the IMF and the World Bank, another global influence on Nigeria's education was the United Nations and its educational arm, UNESCO. In 1990, which the United Nations designated the "International Literacy Year," the Nigerian government adopted the "World Declaration Education for All," which set 2000 as the target year for establishing literacy for all, and established its National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education. Over the 1990s, the Nigerian government made efforts to implement education for all, mainly through initiatives in primary and secondary education but also through mass literacy, adult, and non-formal education.

The Nigerian government had established the National Commission for Nomadic Education to provide support to improve literacy especially for the people categorized by the absence of a stable abode. In 1991, educational commissions were established, including the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education. A number of initiatives were developed and different approaches were being employed, such as "Participatory Rural Appraisal/Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques." The government of Kano state already had established a highly-regarded agency for mass education, which won a UNESCO Literacy Award in 1983. In 1994, UNESCO became the advisor to Nigeria's monitoring of Learning Achievement Project in the development of measurement instruments for specific areas, including the learning of English. Emphasis was given to basic education, reduction of illiteracy, improvement of higher education, technical and vocational education, and teacher education.

Another significant occurrence came in 1996 when General Abacha, a military president who had come into power in 1993 and who was known for ruling with decrees, pronounced that French was an official language in Nigeria. Ensuing from the declaration of French as the country's second official language, accommodation had to be made in the NPE. Looking at it analytically, French occupied a critical position in Nigeria, and that compelled some actions from the government. The Nigeria French Language Village at Badagry had been established earlier. Arabic was also receiving some attention, for example, the establishment of Arabic Language Village at Ngala, Borno State.

Other changes were made as Nigeria sought to transform itself from the 6-5-4 educational system, provided in the 1977 and 1981 policies, to the American model of 6-3-3-4. Ostensibly, as Igwe (1988) has pointed out, the 6-3-3-4 would accommodate students interested in pursuing prevocational and technical training. With this educational model, students would spend six years in primary school, three years of junior secondary school, and another three years at the senior secondary school. Students interested in schooling beyond the secondary school had several options like technical education, teacher training college, or the university. The newly introduced system would give more attention to preparing individuals for manual-based occupations and non- academic careers but would maintain the university option for some with a four-year plan for a baccalaureate.

Background to the 2004 Policy

The publication of the 2004 policy represents the fourth attempt of the Nigerian government to revise the country's educational policy. The "Introduction" lists some developments that motivated the revision: the restoration of Open and Distance Learning Program, the expansion of the Mathematical Center, the formation of the Teachers Registration

Council, inclusion of Information and Communication Technology in the school system, introduction of minimum subjects for students, and giving more importance to science and vocational education. Especially relevant to this study of language policy are the following: "prescription of the French language in the primary and secondary school curriculum as a second official language" and "integration of basic education in the program of Qur'anic schools" (NPE, 2004, p. 5). The "Introduction" also announces the establishment of a National Educational Implementation Committee to "translate" the policy into action and to develop monitoring systems.

Some of these changes, according to Obanya (2007), were made in response to international policies of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals set in 2000. The proposed changes included gender equity, combatting HIV/AIDS, and developing global partnerships for development (economy, government). One of the major goals was to provide education for all by 2015. Nigeria was, however, experiencing problems in education related to access funding, infrastructure, facilities and learning environments, teacher supply and quality, and administration and supervision.

Millennial Development Goals (MDGs) agreed upon by world leaders included the following:

MDG 1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

MDG 2 Achieve universal primary education

MDG 3 Promote gender equality and empowerment

MDG 4 Reduce child mortality

MDG 5 Improve maternal health

MDG 6 Combat HIV and Aids, malaria and other diseases

MDG 7 Ensure environmental sustainability

MDG 8 Develop a global partnership for development

In meeting these goals, the Nigerian government relied, in part, on its National Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), which was launched in May 2004 to foster economic development and eradicate poverty. With respect to Nigeria's own development plans, Marcellus (2009) used the label "the era of the rolling plan" for the period of 1990 to 1998. Nigerian education was being influenced by global movements for peace education, education regarding HIV/AIDS, and education for girls and women.

The period between 1998 and 2004 was marked by interethnic and religious conflicts, some resulting from the establishment of Islamic Sharia law in the North. But there were also conflict in other regions. Boko Haram started its operations in northern part of Nigeria in 2001 and became well known in 2009. The label *Boko Haram* combines words from Hausa and Arabic. In the Hausa language, *Boko* means "Western education," and *Haram* is an Arabic term suggesting prohibited, forbidden, or banned. The insurgence of this group began affecting schooling, especially in the North, and resulted in killing and kidnapping of students and teachers, and closing down of schools in some areas. At this time, the educational gap was being noted between the northern and southern parts of the country (Ikoya &Ikoya, 2005). The educational gap, as pointed out by Yusuf (2003), led to the label of "educationally disadvantaged states" with most states in the North falling into this category. Opposition to Western education was seen in attacks on students, teachers, and schools, particularly non-Islamic schools in the northern part of Nigeria.

Ideologies Reflected in the Prefatory Materials

The 1998 and 2004 policies have the same prefatory elements—“Introduction” and “Philosophy”—as in the 1977 and 1981 policies. However, beginning with the 1998 edition, the “Philosophy of Nigerian Education” is retitled “Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria.”

“Introduction”

Most noticeable regarding the 1998 “Introduction,” when considered relative to the “Introduction” of previous policies, is its relative brevity. It is almost as if someone took the previous version and eliminated parts considered unnecessary. For example, the very first sentence of the 1977 and 1981 versions was cut: “Education in Nigeria is no more a private enterprise, but a huge Government venture that has witnessed a progressive evolution of Government’s complete and dynamic intervention and active participation” (NPE, 1977, p. 3). Despite the omission of the private enterprise sentence, there is emphasis on global factors. The first paragraph acknowledges nation-building by pointing to the participation of non-governmental organizations, individuals, and communities in the country’s educational system. Also gone are parts that seem outdated: some of the historical background leading to the 1977 policy and acknowledgment of particular people who participated in the seminars that preceded that policy.

Indigeneity is an ideology reflected in the prefatory statement though in a minor way as it is overshadowed by globalization. One might note the reference to “realities of our environment” in the following

> Government has stated that for the benefits for all citizens, the country’s educational goal shall be clearly set out in terms of their relevance to the needs of the individual and those of the society, in consonance with the realities of our environment and the modern world. (NPE, 1998, p. 5)

The “Introduction” of the 2004 NPE replicates the previous introduction and then adds

"policy innovations and changes" that required a new edition. These included establishment of such institutions as National Mathematic Center and the Teachers Registration Council and such programs as incorporating Information Communication Technology in schools and "repositioning science, technical and vocational education" (NPE, 1998, p. 5). Most relevant to this study are changes regarding French as a language in school curriculum and integration of basic education in the Qur'anic schools.

"Philosophy and Goals of Nigerian Education"

What might be indicated by the addition of "and Goals" to a section that was previous only "Philosophy." This renamed section, which is identical in the 1998 and 2004 editions, provides an explanation:

> A nation's policy on education is the government's way of realizing that part of the national goals which can be achieved using education as a tool. No policy on education, however, can be formulated without first identifying the overall philosophy and goals of the nation. (NPE, 1998, p. 7)

The inclusion of "Goals" in the philosophy statement suggests Nigeria's participation in a global movement for developing countries. Globalization reflects the MDGs—those goals established by the United Nations—the following subsequent section with the reference made to "*five main national goals"* and to national development plans (p. 8). Within the provisions for the various levels of education, the NPE now states goals for each level. For example, for secondary education seven goals are indicated, and then there is a general statement of how the goals will be achieved. In the later years of the 20th century and into the 21st century, various international organizations were attending to goals for education across the globe, and, as shown by Cohen (2006), international influences can powerfully impact the goals articulated by the government of a developing country. This emphasis on goals can be seen as a reflection of modern dictates of globalization.

Another change to note is within the “Importance of Language” subsection that concludes the “Philosophy and Goals of Nigerian Education.” French is specified as a second official language, and the rationale is the following: “For smooth interaction with our neighbors, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French” (NPE, 1998, p. 9). Thus, French is added to the curriculum and is compulsory in schools. As noted above, this addition of French, another colonizer’s language, was a political move on the part of late General Sani Abacha, the military head of State. It was an attempt at enhancing international relations with other African countries, influenced by the ideology of Pan Africanism as well as globalization, which will be discussed later.

Language Provisions in the Policies

In this section, I summarize and comment upon the provisions in the 1998 and 2004 editions that are related to language.

Language Provisions in the 1998 Policy

Although many of the language specifications are unchanged from the 1981 policy, there are some significant changes. Here, I focus on what remains the same and what changes.

Table 3 shows the continued emphasis on indigenous languages, including language of the immediate environment, at the pre-primary level. The uses of mother tongue or language of the immediate environment extend to the early primary school years, just as in the 1977 and 1981 policies. The notable difference regards the timing in the specification. The 1977 and 1981 editions both have the following provisions: “The government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community and at a later stage English” (NPE, 1977, p. 13). The 1998 policy provides more specificity regarding the shift to English. “From the fourth year, English shall progressively be

used as a medium of instruction and the language of the immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects" (NPE, 1998, p. 14).

Table 3

Language Specifications in the 1998 Version

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Pre-Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment
Primary Education	Language of the immediate environment for the first three years, English from the fourth year.	Language of the immediate environment, English, French
Secondary Education		
Junior Secondary	English	Core subjects: English, French, language of the environment taught as L1, one major Nigerian language other than that of the immediate environment
Senior Secondary	English	Core subjects: English, French, a major Nigerian language; non-prevocational elective: Arabic; non-vocational elective: Arabic
Vocational Education	No specification	No specification
Tertiary Education University Education Teacher Education Polytechnic Education Monotechnic Education	No specification	No specification
Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education	No specification	No specification
Special Education	No specification	No specification

With the above pronouncement, one sees a move from the unclear language provision to explicit provision for the use of language, especially English, in the policy statement. The lack of specificity in the earlier versions left educators in the dark as to the exact level when English would become the language of instruction, leading to several interpretations and manipulations. The specific language provisions on the exact grade level when schools are expected to turn to English indicate an attempt to standardize the country's educational system.

Table 3 also shows increased specificity in the 1998 policy provisions. Beginning from this edition, the NPE provides more detailed information on school subjects. This edition takes the regularization effort to a greater height by listing expected subjects of study as early as the primary schools and giving importance to English, French, and languages of the immediate environment. With respect to the language of instruction, vocational education has no language specified, and also in the tertiary education, references are not made to the language of instruction. In the policy, tertiary education comprises university, teacher training colleges, polytechnics, and monotechnics; and one can assume that English predominates, since for Nigerians, it has been the medium of instruction since the latter years of primary school. The continued dominance of English reflects its linguistic imperialism and its cultural domination of African education (Phillipson, 1992).

NPE 1998 makes the Nigerian Certificate of Education the required diploma for teachers in primary and junior secondary education. Admission to a teachers' college requires students to take the Senior Secondary School Examination or its equivalent with passes in English language and four other subjects. So it clear that English is a major requirement for teachers. At this time, distance learning is used increasingly for Nigerian Certificate in Education, and it is provided in English. Also, for secondary teaching, it seems that a bachelor's degree is required. In higher

education, English would be the language of instruction and also a subject of study.

Another important addition is the introduction of the "Mass Literacy" programs. None of the first two editions had mass literacy as a major focus; instead, they specified adult and non-formal education as one of the educational levels in Nigeria. In the 1998 edition, "mass literacy" is combined with adult and non-formal education, resulting in the new title "*Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education.*" Owing to the importance of functional literacy in the country and also the global attention to mass literacy, encouraged by the United Nations and fostered by UNESCO, the Nigerian government includes mass literacy in the NPE in the bid to "eradicate illiteracy at the shortest possible time" (NPE, 1998, p. 36) with an intent to make the program free for beneficiaries.

Despite this inclusion of functional literacy for adults, as stated in the policy, specific references are not made to the medium of instruction. Should a program be in an official language (English, which is also the global lingua franca)? Should it be in one of the national languages (Hausa, Yoruba, or Igbo)? Or can it be in one of the other regional languages as long as it has orthography? Many indigenous languages lacked a written form. As Okedara and Okedara (1992) point out, there was no clarity about "what it means to be literate locally, regionally, and nationally" (p. 91**).** Language usage is not politically neutral, and Parmegiani (2012) argues that its use is an avenue that institutes power relations among different ethnic groups and class. Also well known is Sapir's (1929) claim that "language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives" (p. 207) and that it is "a key to the cultural past of a society, a guide to 'social reality" (p. 209). These observations about language and cultures are relevant to language policy decisions and use.

Language Provisions in the 2004 Policy

When compared to the 1998 policy, the 2004 version has similar language provisions, although there are some changes to the status of the French language. While the 1998 edition recognizes French as a second official language and mandatory at both the primary and secondary school level, the 2004 edition introduces some specificity. French still maintains its second official language status, but no longer enjoy a mandatory subject status for primary and secondary school students. Beginning from the senior secondary school level, French becomes a non-vocational elective subject similar to its status in the 1981 version. There was no provision for the studying of French and Arabic in the 1977 edition of the policy.

Table 4 shows that four languages—English, French, language of the immediate environment—to be taught as L1, one major Nigerian language other than that of the environment—to be taught as L2 are recognized as core subjects at the junior secondary school level; and two languages—English and a major Nigerian language—are core subjects at the senior secondary school level.

Table 4

Language Specifications in the 2004 Version

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Early Childhood/Pre-Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment
Primary Education (included in Basic Education)	Language of the immediate environment, English	English, language of the environment, French, Arabic
Secondary Education		
Junior Secondary (Included in Basic Education)	English	Core subjects: English, French, language of the immediate environment to be taught as L1, one major Nigerian language

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
		other than that of the environment to be taught as L2
Senior Secondary	English	Core subjects: English and a major Nigerian language; non-vocational elective: French, Arabic, and any Nigerian language with orthography
Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education	No specification	No specification
Science, Technical and Vocational Education	No specification	No specification
Tertiary Education University Education Teacher Education Polytechnics Monotechnics	No specification	No specification
Open and Distance Education	No specification	No specification
Special Education	Braille and sign language	No specification

Like the 1998 version, the use of Nigerian languages as the language of instruction is still limited to the early year of primary education in the 2004 version. Limiting indigenous languages to pre-primary and early primary school, according to Moshi (2009), was—and continues to be—the norm in most African countries. Wolff (2017) says that African countries are trapped between "19th century European nation state-ideology' and '20th and 21st century African Renaissance-ideology" (Wolff, 2017, p. 1). But the situation is more complex than that when one considers language as a part of nation-building. An "African renaissance" for a country that seeks global status would need to have its citizens proficient in what was the 19th century European colonizer's language but is today a global language.

For pre-primary education, besides employing an indigenous language as the language of instruction, the government is also mandated to develop the orthography of more Nigerian

languages and produce textbooks in Nigerian languages. For secondary education, educators are also asked to “develop and promote Nigerian languages, art and culture in the context of the world’s cultural heritage” (NPE, 2004, p. 18), but English is to be the language of instruction as well as a subject of study. English has the prevailing function. A major global-local dialectic continues to be played out in the relation between English and indigenous languages that is likely due to the persistent belief that immersion and proficiency in international languages—English specifically in Nigeria but other international languages of the former colonial masters (French, Portuguese, and German) elsewhere—provide an edge and advantage in later life. This complex relation continues in the formulation of educational language policies in Africa, in general, and Nigeria, in particular.

Of major interest for the 2004 policy is the increased prominence given to Arabic. It is now a language of study in primary education and basic education. Previously in the 1998 policy it was label a non-prevocational and non-vocational elective. Varying position and takes on the inclusion and designation of Arabic in the policy. For example, Bariki (1999) has contested the treatment of Arabic as a foreign language in Nigeria, arguing that in parts of Nigeria, Arabic functions as an indigenous language.

Mass literacy (with no language specification) has more prominence in 2004 than in the 1998 policy. Reference is made to its benefits for various populations, including nomads, migrants, and disabled as well as people who did not complete formal education. Suggested for the national mass literacy campaign are various strategies, such as the following: "each-one-teach-one,” "fund-the-teaching-of-one," and. “Participatory Rural Appraisal (Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques” (NPE, 2004, p. 26).

As in the 1998 policy, no language specifications are given in the 2004 policy for

science, technical, and vocational education or the various forms of tertiary education. According to this NPE, science will promote one's quality of life and improve his or her knowledge of the world—but will also produce scientists who will contribute to national development. Vocational education is described as a means of preparing a person for entering the "world of work" and also for becoming a "responsible citizen" (NPE, 2004, p. 30). This policy provides lists of possible vocations that one might pursue educationally as well as the kinds of certifications that should be available. One provision addresses the gender issue: "More effort should be made to encourage women to embrace technical education" (NPE, 2004, p. 35).

Tertiary education is also described as a means of contributing to national development. A stated goal is to "contribute to national development through high-level relevant manpower training" (NPE, 2004, p. 36). Teacher education, which is one option in tertiary education, warrants special emphasis, since "no education system can rise above the quality of its teachers" (NPE, 2004, p. 39). One notes that institutions for teachers' educational training include not only colleges and institutes of education but also the National Institute for Nigerian Languages.

In reviewing the 2004 policy, one sees a new section: "Open and Distance Education." The inclusion of open and distance learning can be attributed both to global dictates and an authentic desire to make education easily accessible. It goes without saying that English will be the medium of instruction based on the use of media and technology. In providing rationales for this new educational emphasis, the 2004 NPE presents it as an attempt to "encourage internationalization" and to "ameliorate the effect of internal and external brain drain by utilizing Nigerian experts as teachers regardless of their locations or places of work" (NPE, 2004, p. 45). Support is given to liaisons with institutions already offering distance education programs and with "media houses, information and communication technology providers and other relevant

bodies" (NPE, 2004, p. 45). English is important here too, though there is no language specification. According to Usman (2017), language and technology are intricately linked. Much of extant technology exists in English.

In the 2004 policy, special education has its own section. This section is devoted to education of the disabled (people with impairments) and the disadvantaged (people, like the nomads, who do not have access to conventional education programs). The latter are said to need special education "to cater to their "particular/peculiar needs and circumstances" (NPE, 2004, p. 47). Also included are the gifted and talented. Reference is made to international organizations, including UNESCO and UNICEF, with which the Nigerian government was collaborating in coordinating special education. In terms of language matters, much attention is given to materials for the blind, especially braille, including Perkins brailler and braille textbooks, and education in braille reading and writing.

Ideologies Reflected in the Provisions

Both the 1998 and 2004 editions continue to emphasize indigeneity in Nigeria's national imaginary. But in contrast to previous versions, there is now a greater influence from global factor as Nigeria is positioning itself in Africa and the world as a country that is well on its way to development.

Globalization, Westernization, and Nation-Building

One sees Nigerian education as becoming more similar to what one would see in the "Western," "developed" world. *Development*, which seems to translate to *Westernization*, becomes a major theme in the policies. In the 1998 policy, one sees major global influences in the specification and standardization of school subjects. Consider, for example, the secondary school subjects, for which the list now indicates seven core subjects, one or two electives to

make a total of a minimum of eight or maximum of nine subjects and uses labels such as "core curricular" and "electives" that are similar to those seen in the US. Global influences can also be seen in the move from three years of higher education to four years. In making this change, Nigeria was aligning itself with the "American model," which had four years for a baccalaureate degree as opposed to the "[European] continental model," which had three. Ilchman and Ilchman (1987) have contrasted the two models in terms of values, expectations, and structures and have pointed out tensions between features of the two models. The American ideology was supported in Nigeria by U.S. NGOs and foundations, such as the United States' Fulbright Program, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the Ford Foundation. This change in the organization of higher education might be viewed as decolonization since Nigeria was moving from the model (and values) of its former British colonizers, but can also be considered as neocolonialism from a different Western power. Despite the ideological differences, the language of higher education remains unchanged, since English is the language of power.

This structure is changed, however, in the 2004 policy to provide a means of having the universal basic education which replaced universal primary education. The numbers for pre-primary and primary are added to junior secondary to make nine years for basic education. Ibrahim (2016) has described the influence on such initiatives not only of UNESCO but also of other organizations, including UNICEF, the World Bank, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The pronouncement of French—another international language—as the country's second official language is influenced by Pan-Africanism and the international networking that characterizes globalization. For many politicians, it made sense to give French this status, given Nigeria's geographical location, to foster mutual understanding and relations with surrounding

African countries and prevent isolation. As noted by Opara (2015), French was being viewed as a "unifying force" in Africa that had "influence in technological, diplomatic, commercial and trade relations among countries, world bodies and international organizations" (p. 559). It is an official language (along with English) of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States and also is one of the official languages of UNESCO. Globalization promotes the learning and acquisition of high-profile languages (Phillipson, 1996).

Mass literacy initiatives in Nigeria can contribute to nation-building—serving as one means of moving from "developing nation" to "developed nation." It is important, though, to see literacy campaigns also as global developments. Nigeria was not alone in conceptualizing and implementing its national mass literacy campaign; it was part of a global initiative supported by UNESCO that was being enacted not only in Africa but elsewhere throughout the world.

Distance learning also reflects alignment with global movements. According to Traxler (2017), distance learning is a channel of empowerment situated within the broader context of technology and economic trends with political, social and economic benefits. Sussman (1997) lends some critical perspectives to technology and distance education. He maintains that technology is not necessarily a means of serving the public good. Collins (1991) has called it a "vehicle for a kind of cultural invasion" (p. 99).

Neoliberalism

Both versions give more emphasis to a conception of accountability based on evidence of productivity that is so much a part of neoliberal education reforms across the globe. As mentioned above, the phrase "and Goals" was added to the "Philosophy" section And goals—their achievement and assessment—are important in the provisions. For example, there is the following statement:

> To attain these goals, the federal government established a National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education. To complement the efforts of the federal government, each state established a Mass Literacy Agency as part of the overall national effort to eradicate mass literacy in Nigeria. (NPE, 2004, p. 26)

One sees in the policy the following neoliberal words or phrasings: “diversified and core curriculum,” “excellence,” “universal,” “management,” and “private individual.” These terms reflect a neoliberal ideology that values standards, skills, competition, and productivity, which Ade-Ojo and Duckworth (2015) call i*nstrumentalism*. Giroux (2004) explains that neoliberalism, as the dominant public pedagogy, “uses the educational force of the culture to negate the basic conditions for critical agency” (p. 18). Attention is on effective workforce development for a competitive economy.

Vocationalism

Associated with neoliberalism is vocationalism, discussed previously, which continues to influence policy. In the 1998 NPE, much attention is given to the various vocations for which people might be prepared after they complete secondary education. Although the provisions seem to provide vocational opportunities, vocational education also creates or perpetuates classes within the society (Oni, 2006). Urevbu (1984) has said that trainees in vocational education are caught in an “ecological niche” (p. 225).

Indigeneity and Nation-Building

Like the first two versions, both policies continue to acknowledge Nigeria’s indigeneity in the country’s educational system with attention to the multiplicity of local tribes and “mother tongues” and to the three majority groups and their “national” indigenous languages. However, a complication is introduced with recognition now given in the mass literacy provisions to migrants and nomads. The term *indigenous* is used for people who originate in the place. So, in

contrast to indigenous people, migrants who come from elsewhere would be "the other," and people migrating into Nigeria have often been considered outsiders and have tended to retain their foreigner status. Also nomads, for whom there is no stability of "place," are also "othered." Thus there is a strong contrast between *indigene* and *nomad*. The assumption of sedentarisation that is made in most educational programs contrasts with the mobility of the nomad. This consideration of migrants and nomads relative to indigenous people provides an interesting shift in the postcolonial notion of otherness, as discussed by Bhabha (1994) and others. The formerly colonized indigenous people are "us," and the migrants and nomads are "them."

According to the country's 1989 Nomadic Education Decree, the effort to raise the literacy rate involves the inclusion of nomads' education. The emergence of nomadic education in most sub-Saharan African nations has been recognized as the continent's commitment to provide "education for all" and to tackle illiteracy and societal challenges (Omoyeni & Ajayi, 2015). The task of serving the many different ethnic groups in Nigeria and creating unity within diversity belongs, to a great extent, to the educational system. Schools have the job of preparing people to fill various roles in Nigerian society (Afolabi & Loto, 2012) and, according to Falade 2018) "to equip the learners and the entire citizenry with the necessary public values and traits" (p. 26).

Although mention of Nigerian indigeneity continues through the 2004 policy, its importance is lessening over time. The 2004 policy seems to be influenced more strongly by global factors, as discussed below. National development is considered within the larger global context through references to such highly specific matters as "brain drain."

Dialectical Relations in the Policies

For the 1998 and 2004 policies, the major dialectical relation continues between English

(as previous colonial and now neocolonial global language) and indigenous languages. However, there is a larger role for the additional colonizer's language—French—included in Nigeria's multilingual environment. It has the status of official language, the position previously held only by English. It does not, however, have the power that English has in Nigeria. The pragmatic importance of English is quite clear from its role as the language of instruction at almost all levels of the educational system in Nigeria. The roles of the English and French languages have a long history in Africa, and the uses of both colonizers' languages decades after independence are the foci of debate on the linguistic question posited by Afolayan and Falola (2017): whether Africans should continue using the colonizer's language, replace it with indigenous languages, or "indigenize" the colonizer's language (which is what Achebe argued).

Also continuing is the dialectic between the major indigenous languages (Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo) and the numerous indigenous languages that are positioned in minor roles. Somewhere in the mix, where it has a minor but increasingly visible role, is Arabic, which is a subject of study, but does not have a policy-specified role as the language of education as do English and the indigenous languages. This is the official policy, even though in actual practice Arabic has both roles in some parts of the country. It was the principal language of instruction in northern parts before the arrival of the Europeans and is the language used in Qur'anic and Islamiyah schools.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the 1998 and 2004 policies with special attention on provisions regarding language. As Nigeria developed its educational system and sought to accommodate its many languages and cultures, influences came from global patterns and the initiatives of international organizations, including UNESCO, as well as conflicts within the

country. The government continues to assign functions to different languages in the nation's multilingual educational system. As noted in this chapter, some languages are tied to indigenous cultural ways but other languages, particularly English, are tied to global culture and Western ways. Thiongo'o (1986) points to the influence that such conflicts have on African educational system. Although English maintains its hegemony, indigenous languages continue in pre-primary and early years of primary education. There is also an emphasis on the study of one Nigerian language apart from the language of the immediate environment.

Although one sees that English maintains its hegemony beginning with the later years of primary education, the fluctuating language positions become more complex when one considers the roles of French and Arabic. By 2004, French became a language of study at all levels, and Arabic became a language of study for primary and basic education as well as a non-vocational elective in secondary education. The Nigerian educational system existed, and continues to exist, in a political, social, and economic context that changed the status of French from foreign language to second official language in the 1998 and 2004 editions. Despite the pronouncement of French as the country's official language in both publications and its inclusion in NPE provisions, its educational role is often viewed as minimal and merely political. The overwhelming role of English was dwarfing not only the indigenous languages but even French despite the second official status of the language. Although Arabic becomes more visible in these two policies than in the previous versions, the minimal role of Arabic in the NPE is confusing. This is because, in actual practice, Arabic had long been, and continues to be, the language of instruction in many schools in the North. In the 2004 NPE, it became a language of study for primary education and basic education and continues to be a non-vocational elective in senior secondary education. But it was not recognized as a language of instruction.

With these two policies, Nigeria was continuing its project of nation-building—a project that included decisions about what to do about its many languages. Today we tend to avoid the term *nationalism* because of its connections with authoritarian regimes, but, as Zeleza (2014) argues, to understand Africa, one has to understand "the role and impact played by nationalism in all its bewildering complexities and contradictions, imperatives and impediments, victories and failures" (p. 124). While still asserting its indigeneity but privileging English, Nigeria's national imaginary was increasingly becoming more similar to *developed* nations in the global context. Language had a central role in that development.

Chinua Achebe had something to say about that. In addition to his novels, including *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe also wrote essays, including one titled "The Politics and Politicians of Language in African Literature." In that essay, published in 1989, he pointed out that English was not forced on Africans by British colonizers and rulers; instead, the demand for English came from Africans themselves. As a Nigerian, he argued that, by using English, he could communicate with a majority of Nigerians. If he were to use an indigenous language, he would reach only part of the country. Only English was unifying, not divisive.

CHAPTER 4

THE MOST RECENT NIGERIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICIES: 2013 AND 2014

As we move beyond 1998 and 2004 in considering Nigeria's complex language education policy, attention must go to developments and events necessitating further changes in the policy in 2013 and 2014. The 2014 version is the policy currently in effect. Although sometimes one sees references to a 2007 edition, it is important to note that it was never published. Like previous editions, the most recent versions in 2013 and 2014 are aimed towards meeting the educational needs of the Nigerian society, on the one hand, and also functioning effectively in today's globalized world, on the other hand. Language continues to play a major but conflicted role. As with previous chapters, I present important background leading to the revisions before providing my analysis of prefatory materials and relevant provisions. Major changes between the 2013 and 2014 were in the introductory materials, and, for that reason, I distinguish between the two when describing them. I provide a single description of provisions, since there were only minimal changes in provisions for the two versions.

Background for the 2013 and 2014 Policies

This section underscores some of the significant events prior to 2013 and occurring during 2013 and 2014 that shaped the revision of the most recent editions of the NPE. In the years following the 2004 NPE, Nigeria's political situation continued to be in flux with contention regarding administration, including the presidency. Religion-influenced violence continued and was marked by an uprising of Boko Haram in the North in 2009 and bombings from 2010 in various part of the country. The Boko Haram kidnapping of more than 200 school girls would take place in 2014. Nigeria, which received debt pardon in 2005 for a huge international loan, had an improved financial situation, and there were pledges that the money

the country kept by not paying the loan would be directed towards improving education, health, agriculture, water, and power. Although the country was continuing as a major oil producer and its financial situation was improving, its educational situation was seeing little improvement in the decade leading up to 2013. After 50 years of independence, this country had the largest number of children who were not in school and youth unemployment was a major challenge (Akinboye, 2010).

As to educational changes from 2004 to 2013 Nigeria engaged in the creation of various programs as the country sought to meet educational goals. Important influences continued to come from Nigeria's commitment to Universal Primary Education associated with UNESCO's, Education for All as well as to the country's MDGs set in accordance with the United Nation's Millennium Declaration, as discussed in the previous chapter. Nigeria's commitment was to reach its ambitious MDGs by 2015, and it put programs in place in attempts to meet goals. These goals set in 2004 were directed mainly at social services and economic growth. Each Nigerian state also instituted the empowerment program under the SEEDS Program. According to Donli (2004), the focus was to make poverty history by 2008 with the intention of creating employment opportunities for the people. With the status report issued in 2005, Onuoha (2008) submits that Nigeria was making some progress in keeping universal primary education but less progress in achieving gender equality.

In a bid to make the reforms relevant to national needs, the Nigerian government began significant changes in 2006 with many initiatives, which are reviewed by Ikoya (2007). These include the UNESCO National Education Support Strategy for 2006-2015. Also relevant was a "One Year Strategy Plan for the Development of the Education Sector" for 2010 to 2011 and a "Four Year Strategy Plan for the Development of the Education Sector" for 2011 to 2015. Also,

there were initiatives focused specifically on gifted education and HIV/AIDS and girls' education and gender equity. There was, in addition, the launch of the Seven Point Agenda by president Yar'Adua in 2007, which was meant to tackle the various problems facing Nigeria's economy with emphasis on seven areas; power and energy, infrastructure, food security, wealth creation, transportation sector, land reforms, security, and education.

Also influential was the development in 2008 of Vision 20:2020, which envisioned Nigerian as a major world economy. The document, published in 2010, stated: "By 2020 Nigeria will be one of the 20 largest economies in the world, able to consolidate its leadership role in Africa and establish itself as a significant player in the global economic and political arena" (Vision 20:2020, p. 12). Although Nigeria had considerable resources, the country's economy had been unstable and various initiatives had been taken to strengthen it. In 2011, after becoming the president, Goodluck Jonathan rolled out his Transformation Agenda. It was a strategy meant to speed up the progress of Vision 20:2020. Among goals of Vision 20:2020 was upgrading the skills of the manufacturing workforce.

Ideologies Reflected in the Prefatory Materials

In this section, attention is on the prefatory materials of both the 2013 and 2014 editions. The introductory materials in these most recent editions differ from those of the four previous versions—1977, 1981, 1998, and 2004. The preliminary materials in the first four editions had two elements: "Introduction," and "Philosophy of Nigerian Education," which had a subsection "Importance of Language." The 2013 edition has two elements: "Foreword" and "Preface," and the 2014 edition has three elements: "Foreword," "Preface," and Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement."

The most recent edition in 2014 is very similar to the 2013 version, although it has

changes and additions that occur mainly in the introductory materials. “Foreword” in NPE 2013 was written by Chief (Barr) Ezenwo Nyesom Wike, the Minister of Education; and “Foreword” in the 2014 edition was written by Mallam Ibrahim Shekerau, the new Minister for Education. For the “Preface,” Professor Godswill Obioma, Executive Secretary, Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council and Chairman, High-Level Policy Committee on the Review of the National Policy on Education wrote the 2013 edition, while Professor Viola Adaku Onwuliri, Minister of State for Education, wrote that of 2014. The statement on “Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement” in 2014 was also written by Obioma. An “Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement” statement was not included in the 2013 edition. The authors differ, and the arguments differ to some extent. I analyzed these texts for dominant ideologies.

“Foreword”

“Foreword” 2013

The brief “Foreword” to the 2013 edition, written by Wike, the Minister of Education, acknowledges global influences coming from education for all and MDGs but gives major emphasis to a transformative agenda resulting from NEEDS to meet the neoliberal goal of providing education that is relevant to the Nigerian economy through human capital development. References are also made to the One Year Strategy Plan for the Education Sector (2010-2011) and the Four Year Plan for the Development of the Education Sector (2011-2015), and references are also made to development of the “full capacities and potential of human resource” and a “competent workforce” (NPE, 2013, p. ii). The neoliberal theme of competition cannot be missed in the concluding portion. Minister Wike concludes with “We will NURTURE the MIND to Create a Good Society that can compete globally, YES; WE CAN (p. v). Yes, we

can, which was spoken by President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012 at an independence celebration, had become a slogan for Nigeria's development.

"Foreword" 2014

Nation-building is a major emphasis in the 2014 "Foreword," authored by Shekarau, Minister of Education, which portrays building the Nigerian nation in accordance with a global vision for a "developed" country. *Development* is a recurring word. Shekarau's opening sentences refer to changes that are needed for development that are called "rapid social, economic, and political reforms" (NPE, 2014, p. iv). The first paragraph provides a rationale for the revision of the national policy on education: "Given the tempo of development activities on-going in both the global and local contexts, a review of the National Policy on Education becomes imperative for aligning the nation's educational system with the prevailing developmental goals in global context" (NPE, 2014, p. ii). This is clearly a reference to the MDGs. Many of the changes being made are necessitated by global agreements and promises. The second paragraph also reiterates the hegemony of universal injunctions and their effects on educational changes:

> The impetus of these changes derive from the nation's commitment to the implementation of such international protocols as the Education for All (EFA), the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as her own home-grown medium-term development plan, the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), which commenced in 2004. (NPE, 2014, p. ii)

These statements show the influence of international prescriptions for the shaping of education policy and practices in developing countries that lead to shifts and modifications in attempts to respond to globalization and internationally visible educational reforms. These, of course, differed somewhat from country to country when recontextualized. There is always a

process of “translation and recontextualization involved in the realization or enactment of policy in specific national and local settings” (Ball, 1998, p. 1).

“Preface”

“Preface” 2013

The 2013 “Preface,” which was written by Obioma, Executive Secretary of Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council and Chairman, of High Level Policy Committee on the Review of the National Policy on Education, begins with an acknowledgment of the country’s “rich ethnocultural diversity of over 350 distinct ethnic groups and over 500 indigenous languages” (p. iii). Besides describing the country’s population and geography, Obioma presents a brief history and overview of the governmental structure, including the administration of education. The “Preface” highlights the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution concerning commitment to “free and universal primary education; free university education; and free adult literacy program as soon as practicable” (NPE, 2013, p.iii). It further bases the quest for nation-building on designing well-planned educational programs as one of the responsibilities of the Federal Ministry of Education and the National Council on Education. Reference is made to the nation-state when the national council on education is said to provide “a forum for consensus building on education policy directions to be implemented at the different level of education with varying degrees of adaptations to suit specific State and local peculiarities” (NPE, 2013, p. iii).

Another indicator of neoliberal nation-building is the inclusion of many stakeholders to contribute to implementation of the NPE. Reference is made to “public ownership of the National Policy on Education” and to “consensus-building” (NPE, 2013, p. v) and to assurances

“that the perspectives and inputs of the three tiers of government, development partners, and all other stakeholders are, as much as possible, accommodated and infused” (NPE, 2013, p. vi).

Globalization is an important element in the kind of nation-building described here. The seventh paragraph focuses on global initiatives, including Education for All and the MDGs with references to provisions of free and mandatory education for children. Alongside these influences are the country’s domestic development plans aligning with universal initiatives. Primary among these internal national development plans are the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, Universal Basic Education, and Home-Grown School Feeding and Health Programs. One sees neoliberal emphases on standards, quality assurance, and performance evaluation. The following statement shows the adoption of the neoliberal conception of monitoring: “Federal, State/ FCT, local governments shall establish and adequately empower Special Policy Implementation Monitoring Units with appropriate existing structures in their ministries of education” (NPE, 2013, p. vi).

“Preface” 2014

The 2014 “Preface” was written by Onwuliri, Minister of State for Education, who emphasizes the meaning, importance, and function of the NPE in the country’s educational system. One notices a shift in ideology with the “Preface” written by Viola. Her statement pays no attention to the ethnocultural and linguistic composition of the country that had marked the beginning of the preface in the 2013 edition. Preface 2014 puts even more emphasis on global prescription and neoliberal practices associated with Westernization and globalization. As in the 2013 edition, this preface underscores the contributions and influences of the Nigerian constitution, the three tiers of government, and other stakeholders in the provision of educational

services in Nigeria. Adaku reiterates the country's commitment to the provision of free primary and university education and also free adult literacy programs.

Similar information on the administration of education in Nigeria is provided with emphasis on home initiatives: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, Universal Basic Education and Home-Grown School Feeding and Health Programs.

"Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement" 2014

"Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgment" is a prefatory section in the 2014 NPE but not in the 2013 NPE. Neoliberalism is reflected in its emphasis on education as "an instrument par excellence for social and economic reconstruction of the nation" (NPE, 2014, p. xii). It looms large in the transformational agenda captured in various statements and can be seen in reference to Vision 20:2020. The "Introductory Remarks and Acknowledgement" written by Obioma, states:

> This transformational drive is encapsulated in the country's vision 20:2020, which aims at having a large, strong, diversified, sustainable and competitive economy that effectively harnesses the talents and energies of its people and responsibly exploits its natural endowment to guarantee a high standard of living and quality life to its citizens. (NPE, 2014, p. xii)

The third paragraph states that the government considers education "as key to the realization of Nigeria's collective aspiration of being among the top 20 developed nations of the world by the year 2020" (NPE, 2014, p. xii). This text further states that "possibilities of education in promoting the development of work-related skills, abilities, and life-long learning and empowering peoples' participation in all socio-economic processes for rapid transformation of the Nigerian nation" (NPE, 2014, p. viii).

Within these neoliberal ideologies, one sees an attempt at nation-building based on the use of education for integration and development.

> Given this strategic position of the education sector, it became extremely imperative to have a robust and broadened national policy for the educational sector that clearly specifies the roles and responsibilities of the various organs and agencies of the government in the context of the nation's vision and aspirations. (NPE, 2014, p. viii)

"Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria" 2013 and 2014

As earlier stated, the section labeled "Philosophy of Nigerian Education" in the 1977 and 1981 editions becomes "Philosophy and Goals of Education in Nigeria" in the 1998 and retains that title in 2004 as well as 2013 and 2014. The major change from previous versions is the omission of the subsection labeled "The Importance of Language." This omission is highly significant because that statement was a major statement of the country's valuing its multilingual and multiethnic composition. It emphasized indigeneity as central to nation-building. Despite this major change through omission, the text is the same except for formatting. Bold typeface is used to mark major items like "the overall philosophy of the nation" and "five main goals of education in Nigeria."

Language Provisions in the Policies

In this section, emphasis is on the language provisions in the 2013 and 2014 editions that are related to language, particularly those that differ from earlier editions. The 2013 and 2014 editions state that the language of the immediate environment with orthography and literature should be taught as L1. However, in situations where such opportunities do not exist, it would be learned as L2 with stress on oralcy. Language provisions in the 2014 edition are almost identical to those of the 2013 edition. For that reason, I consider them together.

Table 5 summarizes the language relations in the 2013 and 2014 editions of the NPE. Since the language provisions do not change between 2013 and 2014, the language requirements are presented in one table. However, it is important first to note a change in organizational

structure that occurred since the 2004 policy. A new level of education is added in 2013: Early Child Care Development and Education.

Table 5

Language Specifications in the 2013 and 2014 Versions

Level of Education	Language of Instruction	Language of Study
Basic Education Early Child Care and Development Pre-Primary Education	Mother tongue or language of the immediate environment	
Primary Education	English	Primary classes 1-3: English, one Nigerian language; optional: Arabic Primary classes 4-6: English, one Nigerian language, French; optional: Arabic
Junior Secondary Education	English	English, one Nigerian language, French; optional: Arabic
Post-Basic Education and Career Development Senior Secondary Education Technical and Vocational Education and Training	English	French, Arabic, any Nigerian language that has a curriculum
Mass and Nomadic Education Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education, Nomadic Education	No specification	No specification
Tertiary Education University Education Teacher Education Technology Education Innovation Enterprise Education	No specification	No specification
Open and Distance Education	No specification	No specification
Special Needs Education	Braille reading, sign language	No specification

All the previous versions began with the pre-primary level, with Early Child Care Development and Education level as the starting point in the most recent editions of the policy. The policy describes several purposes of the Early Child Care Development and Education which includes wanting to "effect a smooth transition from the home to school," "provide adequate care, supervision, and security for the children while the parents are at work" (NPE, 2014, p. 5). Global movements, including UNESCO's MDGs, had placed great importance on children's care.

It is stipulated that, for Early Child Care Development and Education level, the "medium of instruction is principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community" (NPE, 2014, p. 6). This provision is similar to what obtains at the pre-primary levels in the previous policies, though those policies reference language of the immediate environment as the medium of instruction. This addition of an "early childhood" year beginning in 2013 makes Nigeria's basic education ten years as opposed to the nine years of the 2004 version. Education provided for young people from the ages of 0 to15 now have the first ten years as mandatory. It includes the early child care development and education level which is expected to be from birth to four years plus ten years of formal schooling.

From the first publication of the NPE in 1977 to the 2004 edition, provisions stated that each child was expected to learn the language of the immediate environment and one of the three major Nigerian languages. However, there is a modification in the language provision in the 2013 edition. The policy states that "every child shall be taught in the mother tongue or language of the immediate environment for the first four years of basic education and expected to learn one Nigerian language" (NPE, 2013, p. 2). With the addition of the "early childhood" year, an extra year is added to the duration of the use of the indigenous languages in Nigeria's

education. The 2013 edition goes on to stipulate that "the medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the immediate environment for the first three years in monolingual communities, during this period, English shall be taught as a subject" (NPE, 2013, p. 8). With this provision, multilingual communities are prone to many experiments and self-decisions on language teaching and practices.

This edition also reduces the number of languages to be studied at the early primary level of education. While students are expected to study four languages (English, French, Arabic, and a major Nigerian language) in the earlier policies, the 2013 edition specifies the studying of two languages (English, one Nigerian language) at the first three years of primary education. Thus, students will not study the French language in the early primary classes, as specified in the 1998 and 2004 versions. Now, French is a subject of study from primary four to six and Arabic is studied from early primary classes, though it has an optional status.

Both the mother tongue and language of the immediate environment predominate in early childcare development and education (the new addition) and pre-primary levels. Most important beginning with the 2013 edition is that references are not made to French and the three major Nigerian languages. The policy only underscores English and a Nigerian language that is not clearly defined like the other policies making specific references to Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba as the three major Nigerian languages. It also designates Arabic as an optional subject of study throughout the primary and secondary levels.

In the upper primary grades, four to six, English replaces indigenous languages as the medium of instruction. The primary grades' language curriculum thus differentiates between grades one to three and four to six in terms of languages of instruction. English continues to be the language of instruction in junior secondary (which is included in basic education), and it is

the language of instruction in secondary education and the other post-basic education, technical, and vocational education. Specific references are not made to the medium of instruction and to languages expected to be studied beyond the post-basic level.

French is not designated as an official language in these editions, instead, it is a subject of study alongside English and a Nigerian language. Whereas, according to the 2004 edition, the study of French was expected to start from primary one, students are now to begin studying French in the fourth year of the primary education in both the 2013 and 2014 versions. Arabic, on the other hand, maintains its earlier position of language to be studied from primary one as provided in the 2004 edition in both the 2013 and 2014 versions of the policy. The Arabic language thus retains its position as subject to be studied from primary one in the last three versions (2004, 2013, and 2014) though it is an optional subject of study.

The 2013 and 2014 versions specify the learning of one Nigerian language but do not point to Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, as was done in the earlier versions of the policies. This unclear definition leaves a lot to question, and one can be tempted to ask which out of the hundreds of the Nigerian languages are to be studied. The English language continues to be a subject of study throughout the entire primary and secondary school years. With this provision, one can see that English is still the prevailing language in Nigeria's language education policy. The prestige accorded the former colonizer's language demonstrates the hegemony of Western culture while also showing the influence of English as the global language. The 2004 NPE had replaced indigenous languages with English as the language of instruction starting from the latter part of the primary education, and that pattern is maintained in the 2013 and 2014 editions.

"*Mass and Nomadic Education"* is a new addition to the NPE. Previous editions did not have this section, although references were made to the intention of providing literacy

opportunities for nomads and migrant families in the 2004 edition. The opening sentence in the "Mass and Nomadic Education" states: "Mass literacy, adult and non-formal education is the equivalent of basic education given to adults, children and youths of formal school age, outside the formal school system" (NPE, 2013, p. 20). The policy goes further to describe three goals of "Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education." One sees much emphasis on the provision of functional basic education to adults and young people who do not have access to formal education, with specific mention of groups like migrant folks, Almajiri students, and an illiterate and semi-illiterate public. It further includes information on some of the ways the government intends to eradicate illiteracy with a detailed account on the responsibilities of the Federal Ministry of Education, the National Commission for Mass Literacy, adult and non-formal education, the state agencies for mass education, and the local government councils.

Both editions define nomadic education as the "first six years of basic education provided to the children of the disadvantaged nomadic population in the country." Reference is made to three groups of nomads: "the nomadic pastoralists, the migrant fisher folks; and the migrant farmers" (NPE, 2013, p. 22). The policy underscores two goals of nomadic education: provision of functional basic education and improvement of skills so that nomads can participate in the socio-economic and political affairs of the country. No language specifications are provided, and one can assume that education would take place in the language specific to the particular tribal group, such as Hausa, or possibly Arabic owing to the centrality of Qur'anic education.UNICEF (2016) observes that although the children of nomads go without formal education, they should have access to some form of local education. As discussed below, some critics, including Amadi (2015), see the omission of English in nomadic education as keeping the nomads from being full participants in Nigerian society.

Ideologies Reflected in the Provisions

An analysis of the two most recent editions of the national policy on education reveals the changing system of socio-economic and sociopolitical development of Nigeria that influenced the formulation of the educational policies with the ideologies. As already noted in the previous chapter, beginning from the 1998 edition, changes are increasingly driven by global directives. Global forces, including Westernization and neoliberalism, continue to be influential in the 2013 and 2014 provisions.

Globalization, Westernization, Neoliberalism, and Nation-Building

The increasing influence of globalization and Westernization can be seen in the recurring use of such terms as *entrepreneurship*, *knowledge-based economy*, and *innovation* in the 2013 and 2014 policies. According to Otunla and Sanusi (2016), such notions are central to the changing structure of 21st century education. They were also relevant to meeting the MDGs of becoming one of the world's 20 largest economies. At the time of these two policies, nations belonging to the Africa Union were developing a vision of an Africa for 2023. A document titled *On the Wings of Innovation* (African Union, 2014) placed "science, technology, and innovation at the epicenter of Africa's social-economic development and growth" (p. 8) to make Africa "**a dynamic force in the international arena**" (bold in original, p. 10). The mission of the Science, Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa-2024 is "to **Accelerate Africa's transition to an Innovation-led, Knowledge-based Economy**" [bold and capitals in original, p. (10). Entrepreneurship education according to Gad (2016), is tied to deregulation and the privatization of public and state-owned initiatives. Included in the 2013 and 2014 policies are many references to technology and also a section on distance education, which can be provided by private and non-governmental entities.

Vocationalism and Neoliberalism

The 2013 and 2014 policies reflect vocationalism and neoliberalism in the treatment of career education. Within the Technical and Vocational Education and Training section, one sees the neoliberal emphasis on entrepreneurship and potential for wealth creation mixed with an emphasis on craft (*craftsman skills*, *craft courses*, *master craftsman*, *craft level*, *craftmanship areas*). The 2013 policy argues for “craftsman skills that empower [students] to compete globally” (p. 17).

In contrast to the detailed and promotional treatment of career and technical education, the policies provide very brief descriptions of university education. In fact, the section on university education is one of the shortest sections in the policy. As in previous policies, there is no need to say that education in the universities takes place in English. Vocational and technical education, despite its prominence in the NPE, is, according to Obimah (2006), considered a lesser type of education, and technical school graduates tend to be considered inferior to university graduates in terms of education. Educational discrimination “has taken the specific form of professionalism versus vocationalism, with the former educational ‘ism’ providing the dominant structure and style, both as it affects the education of society as a whole and the education of educators in particular” (Horowitz, 1975, p. 398). In Nigeria, stakeholders have expressed concerns over educational inequalities leading to discrepancies, gaps, and marginalization. These inequalities exist not only for graduates of the different programs but also for those who teach within them. According to Olibe, Eziuzo, and Enueme (2013), huge disparities exist between faculty of the universities and faculty of other educational sectors. If vocational education is to gain recognition and achieve excellence, there is a need to improve the treatment of those engaged in that educational area.

Indigeneity

Promoting cultural heritage and local values continues to some extent in these two editions with attention to the learning of indigenous languages. According to the 2013 and 2014 policies, students would be learning one Nigerian language, as opposed to the former designation of learning one of the three national languages or languages of the environment. The designation of one Nigerian language is confusing and subjective. While some may take it to mean one of the three major languages, there is also a temptation to interpret it as one out of the over 500 languages because all the other editions include Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba after the provisions for the learning of the indigenous languages. Both editions include one Nigerian language in the curriculum of both the primary and secondary school levels.

The provision for nomadic education may be seen as an effort to enhance unity in the nations. Although inclusion of nomadic education in the NPE can be seen as contributing to nation-building, the lack of any commonality in language specifications for nomadic education can also be seen as perpetuating the "otherness" of the nomads. Instead of unity, there is the preservation of divisions. Other students—but not nomads—are required to learn English, Nigeria's official language. English is a means of unifying the country. Amadi (2015), cited above, has argued this point:

> Without playing down on the importance of the local or indigenous languages, English as the lingua franca of the country has tended to give all the over 250 tribes and languages a medium of communication to freely interact without threats of domination. We may have to blame the centrality of the language on our past historical experience with colonialism, but the situation has become a permanent feature of our national life. (p. 17)

Dialectical Relation in the Policies

Within these two editions, one continues to notice the dynamic relationship between English and the indigenous languages. English gains more influence as the role of indigenous

languages diminishes. All previous editions pointed to the role of indigenous languages in fostering unity and nation-building, but this emphasis is missing in the 2013 and 2014 NPE editions. These editions stipulate the learning of one Nigerian language with no specific reference to which out of the over 500 indigenous languages is expected to be learned. Nor does the policy emphasize the rationale behind the learning of a Nigerian language. The policy provisions state that the language of the immediate environment with orthography and literature should be taught as L1. However, in situations where such opportunities do not exist, it would be learned as L2 with stress on oralcy. What is the rationale of teaching native speakers their language as L2? The policies state that "the medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the immediate environment for the first three years in monolingual communities" (NPE, 2014, p. 11). What should be the practice in multilingual communities? Scholars like Adegbite (2008) and Omoniyi (2007) have pointed out that such confusions reflect a lack of political will to implement the indigenous language policy.

How does French relate to English, the other official language? The role of French is being diminished in official policy. Now students are expected to begin to learn French starting from the fourth year of primary education—a provision that negates previous policy that specified the studying of French from the first day of their primary education. The change in this provision is not unconnected with the change in the status of the French language in the policy. As opposed to the 1998 and 2004 policies that recognized French as the country's second language, the 2013 and 2014 editions make no reference to the status of French in the policy.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the two recent editions of the NPE: 2013 and 2014. At that time Nigeria, having gone through a period of much violence and bloodshed, was a

participant in global efforts directed toward development of the country, including its economic and educational status. These included UNESCO's Education for All as well as the country's MDGs and NEEDs and various agendas and strategies designed to meet them. Also important was Vision 20:2020, which envisioned Nigeria as having one of the world's largest economies.

The NPEs of 2013 and 2014 reflect this intense global effort directed toward nation building. An ideology of globalization with neoliberal values dominates the prefatory materials. Although the "Philosophy and Goals of Nigerian Education" text remains much the same as in previous years, there is one major change: "The Importance of Language" section is omitted. That section, which appeared in previous editions, was a major statement of the value of indigeneity—the connection of indigenous languages to Nigeria's identity.

The influence of globalization is apparent in the dialectical relations between languages. English, the colonizer's language, which is now the global language, gains more power over other languages. Indigenous languages persist, but their role is mainly in the early years of schooling and in the kinds of education that have lesser status, like nomadic education. One notes that there is less specification regarding which indigenous languages will be taught. There is an attempt to be silent on the description of "Nigerian languages." While the other editions specifically recognize and listed Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba as the three major Nigerian languages, the recent editions do not specifically record any of the three languages.

The policy addresses nomadic education to meet the needs of itinerant children. The inclusion of nomadic education to formal schooling in most former colonies has been linked to the continent and global dictates of balancing educational opportunities for all, regardless of ethnicity, geographical origins, gender, or social class.

The official language, French, loses influence, appearing later in curriculum

specifications than it did in the past. It continues to have much less influence than the other official language, English. The complexity regarding indigenous languages, the unpredictable political environment, and institutional structures negatively impacted the status of the French language in the most recent editions of the policy. Despite the importance of French in sub-Saharan Africa and the world, the teaching and learning of French language in Nigeria is not well established. Some, including Moruwawon (2003), argue that proficiency in French is critical for Nigerians owing to the country's membership in the African Union and Economic Community of West African States, which have French as one of the working languages. The thesis here is language diversity is a significant factor in Nigeria with many languages competing for attention.

Nation-building with an emphasis on indigenous roots has, over time, been replaced by development with an emphasis on global positioning through adoption of neoliberal values. Nigeria, like many other former colonies, has made and continues to make an effort to maintain visibility of the indigenous languages in the continent. Unfortunately, the efforts have not yielded the expected result. The former colonizer's language—English in the case of Nigeria and other foreign languages in other African countries—retains a major position aided by globalization and today's global connectivity. Decades after independence, English continues to maintain prominence in the country's and continent's educational system. As noticed also in the 2013 and 2014 editions, the space for indigenous languages is reduced with mother tongue or language of the immediate environment designated as the medium of instruction for the early years of primary education. English continues to be the language expected to be used both as a subject of study and language of instruction beginning from the latter primary school years. The

learning of one of the three major Nigerian languages is maintained for secondary school students.

How is Nigeria presently responding to policy provisions especially those concerning indigenous languages? It is certain that the debate and the experiment on the position of indigenous languages in Nigeria and Africa are far from being resolved. As noted by Wolff (2017), policy and decision makers in Africa are caught between two antagonistic positions—the European historical-cultural tradition and the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist critique. Within the two antagonistic positions suggested by Wolff is a growing recommendation among scholars and policy planners to embrace a third option of mother tongue based-multilingualism. This option advocates the use of both indigenous languages of local and regional relevance with international languages of global reach.

According to Giroux (1992), politics of difference is one of the most common features of policymaking, and this perspective accurately describes dialectical relationship among the many languages in Nigeria. One tends to ask how the country's indigenous language policy provisions are responding to politics of differences originating from national and international platforms. Looking at all these efforts, one appreciates the rationale of Achebe (1958) about the division associated with the arrival of the Europeans that has not ended many decades after their departure. It is therefore not surprising that educational practices are interpreted through the hegemonic lens of globalization—a reinvented form of colonization. The all-encompassing character of globalization and its instructive influence have progressively demonstrated that educational policies are connected to the courses of contemporary global practices.

From the analysis of the six versions of the NPE, one sees the dialectic between the global and the local. The educational sector continues to experience a swing between preserving

local identity and gaining relevance at the international scene. The early years of the primary education, particularly in public schools, as recorded by Ibrahim, Shafaatu, and Yabo (2017), maintains the use of either the mother tongue, language of the immediate environment for teaching. However, private schools use English to teach all levels, and this sector enjoys more patronage. For public schools, the practice of switching to English at the latter end of the primary school years still obtains with English being the language of instruction at the secondary schools. Okonkwo (2013) notes that facilities and means of promoting the NPEs provisions for language practices differ in urban and rural areas with the latter having an upper edge.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) has pointed to "ideologies, structures and practices, which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (p.13). Nigerians are no longer governed by the Europeans, but the legacies of imposing language associated with their arrival still triumphs. The mandatory learning of one language over others creates "systematic inequality" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1989, p. 8) and "hierarchies of language" (Weber & Horner, 2012, p. 16). Hierarchies center on dominance originating from the belief that principal languages are superior and more prestigious. Consequently, the established status of Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba in northern, eastern and western parts of the country have accorded these three languages some degree of prestige and benefits.

As demonstrated in all the policies, till the most recent editions, competence in English is seen as an index of excellence, modernization, and development. The new policy demonstrates another form of discrimination, particularly against the minority groups, in presenting an avenue of "legitimization of linguistic superiority' (Hamel, 2005, p. 8). Besides, Nigerians considered the use of English as a unifying element and a suitable way of overcoming the multilingual

problems associated with the presence of hundreds of languages in the country reiterating Achebe's (1958) depiction of "things falling apart."

CHAPTER 5

FALLING APART?

This study has used a dialectical approach to analyze Nigeria's language education policy from 1977 to the present day as articulated in the NPE. Attention was thus on the dynamic relations associated with positionings of languages in this multilingual country. With this approach, the dissertation was an attempt to contribute to language policy scholarship by focusing on languages specified for education in Nigeria and by unveiling the ideologies framing language policy issues there and elsewhere. I analyzed the six editions of the NPE published between 1977 and 2014 to see how various languages interacted dialectically and what ideologies seemed to influence the positioning. This study, which analyzed language policy as a discursive subject, provides insights into the multidimensional aspects of Nigerian educational policies that established regulatory procedures for language education. Analyzing language policy discourse is critically important for postcolonial African countries, including Nigeria, since discourse does more than unfold reality. It is discourse that "both shapes and is shaped by society" (Teo, 2002, p. 12).

The dissertation is titled "Are Things Falling Apart Again?" The "again" invites the reader to relate current times to the historical period when the structure and tribal language systems of Nigeria began to fall apart as described by Chinua Achebe (1958) in his novel *Things Fall Apart*." The missionaries and the colonizers had introduced formal education in English and other foreign languages into the multilingual situation of most African countries, including Nigeria. The prolonged dominance of the African continent by the Europeans left Nigeria with education policies, theories, and frameworks meant for monolingual English speakers as opposed to the multilingualism of West Africa. Becoming a republic in 1963 seemed to be a time when

indigenous languages might be resurrected in language education. And there were efforts in that direction—marked significantly by a subsection in the NPE called "The Importance of Language." However, an indigenous identity for the nation has diminished over the four decades of the NPE with the increasing influence of global, neoliberal forces. One might even say that the multilingual "imaginary" inclusive of indigenous languages is losing out to an identity in a global context that is centered on the previous colonizer's language, English, which is also now the most influential language globally.

This chapter provides a summary of the NPE editions over the years before focusing specifically on the dialectical relations and the ideologies influencing those changes. I provide a conclusion at the end of the chapter.

The Six NPE Editions

With independence in1960, the country was concerned with nation-building and, like other African countries, was promoting nationalism advocating for reinstating its cultural heritage. Indigeneity was a major theme. In addressing the influence of colonization in Nigeria and the educational system, the National Curriculum Conference in 1969 began the process for reviewing the country's educational goals and curriculum and for publishing its first official educational policy document, the NPE, in 1977. Many have described the publication of the NPE as the first substantial endeavor after independence to indigenize Nigeria's educational system (e.g., Amaechi, 2013; Araromi, 2018). However, this indigenization has not materialized because of many postcolonial influences associated with globalization, neoliberalism, and vocationalism necessitating revisions in 1981, 1998, 2004, 2013, and 2014.

The first two editions of the policy were published in 1977 and 1981 with the 1981 edition as a reprinted version of the 1977 edition with only some minor additions and changes. In

the 1970s, there was a need to rebuild the nation owing to the effect of the Nigerian civil war that lasted for over two years and to the desire of indigenizing the country's educational policy. Of significance in these publications was the desire to project a Nigeria-centric educational system, which specified the learning of one of the three indigenous languages and included provisions of universal primary education. As mentioned above and discussed below, a major subsection labeled "The Importance of Language," which appeared first in the 1977 and 1981 editions, expressed the commitment of the Nigerian government to promoting indigenous languages. In the provisions attention went to three "national" indigenous languages—Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—owing to their dominance in terms of speakers in the country. However, this emphasis on indigenous languages was largely replaced by English in the curriculum from the fourth year of the primary class on.

Military coups and counter-coups in the country preceded the revision published in 1998. With the military in power, engagement in neoliberal international initiatives had driven Nigeria into debt that negatively affected education and other social services. The desire to reduce illiteracy and provide basic education for all also fueled the revision of the 1998 policy. Changes at the international scene contributed in no small measure to the revision. At the turn of the 21st century initiatives such as the Education for All Movement, the MDGs, and national development plans and goals influenced the 2004 revision, which was changing from a scholastic educational model to a multi-path educational framework (providing prevocational and technical training). It can thus be inferred that changes in both the 1998 and 2004 editions were influenced more substantially by global factors. Indigenous languages maintained their visibility at the pre-primary level but had a declining status after the fourth year of primary education. In streamlining the linguistic status, the policy still provided space for indigenous languages and

seemed to promote trilingualism. One can see some new attention to Arabic, which now had some visibility, and to French, which had become an official language in 1996.

Although an attempt was made in 2007 to publish another version of the NPE, it was not published. Nine years transpired between the publication of the 2004 policy and the 2013 version. During this gap, numerous neoliberal educational initiatives and reforms originated from global recommendations and their local interpretation and implementation. These initiatives gave attention to contextual factors that cut across many different subject matters that policymakers and stakeholders deemed essential in the formation of educational policies. These include enterprise education, vocational education, and the universal education planning programs. The neoliberal ideology of human capital development contributed in no small measure to the revision of NPE 2013.

As highlighted in the previous editions, indigenous languages maintained considerable space at the onset of formal education. An additional year for early childcare development and education was added to the mandatory years of schooling. While the 2013 and 2014 policies upheld the learning of indigenous language, some ambiguity was introduced by reference to "Nigerian language' instead of "national language." With the ambiguity regarding indigenous languages in the 2013 and 2014 editions, more barriers are introduced to the effective use of the indigenous languages in the educational system. While the previous policy had made a specific pronouncement on the official status of the French language, that status was diminished in the two most recent versions of the NPE. The space provided for the French language was reduced, and the study of that language began at a later date than the timing in the previous editions. Arabic on the other hand, was expected to be studied at all levels of education.

Dialectical Relations among Languages

This section highlights the dialectical relations among the different languages in the policies with emphasis on the ideologies influencing their positionings relative to one another.

Relations between English and Indigenous Languages

Over the past four decades of the NPE, the major linguistic tension has been between English and indigenous languages owing to the hegemony of English and the role of indigenous languages and culture in the national imaginary. The country has been prone to many challenges, particularly that of nation-building and national integration. With the first NPE in 1977, as Nigeria was engaging in nation-building, there was that subsection, mentioned above, on "The Importance of Language," in which "language" referred mainly to indigenous languages. Although English had long held the position of power in Nigeria's educational system, it seemed in the 1970s and the 1980s that the republic might enhance its indigenous identity through promoting indigenous languages.

Although the preliminary material emphasized indigenous languages, the language specifications themselves privileged English, which would be the language of an educated individual. One sees the dialectical relations between the two. While there is an emphasis on developing and promoting indigenous languages, the English language overshadows the indigenous languages, which would be the languages of people of lower status.

At the turn of the 21st century, English still dominated in Nigerian education, and its preeminence was becoming more explicit. According to the 1998 NPE, "from the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction" (p. 14). There were developments in 2004 that gave more importance to indigenous languages in some realms of education that would prepare Nigerians for the workforce. With more influence of vocationalism,

more emphasis was given to vocational education. Since the policy was silent regarding language of instruction in that education realm, one can assume that indigenous languages would be "allowed" because of the status differences between a scholarly academic education and a vocational education.

Global influences have further aided and expanded the use of the English language not only in Nigeria but all over the world. When Western education came to Nigeria, so did the colonizer's language. Today, English has maintained its status and is the most recognized and used official language of Nigerians. As described by Ogundimu (2015), English plays an "important role in the nation as the language of education, media, religion, the language of politics, governance, and law [and] the language of the elites and also the first language for some Nigerians" (p. 156).

Much attention in the scholarly literature has gone to the global hegemony of English, which Swales (1997) has called the "tyrannosaurus rex" of languages. English has taken over as an expansionist language that threatens not only the indigenous languages but other languages (Crystal, 2004). Cooke (1988) uses the representation of the Trojan horse to describe the entrance of English, and Phillipson (1992) posits that "globally, what we are experiencing is that English is both replacing other languages and displacing them" (p. 27). In this global context, indigenous languages are threatened, and many are "dying." In the case of Nigeria, according to the 2015 edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, out of the 525 languages documented for the country, eight languages are extinct, 81 are in trouble, and 42 are dying. Even the three major indigenous languages are affected. Kuju (1999) observes that language endangerment is not limited to the minority languages as the Igbo language is recording fewer speakers. Balogun (2013) submits that the Yoruba language is "potentially endangered" (p. 93).

In our interconnected world, English seems critical for Nigeria for facilitating trade and for becoming the major global economy envisioned in the Nigerian Vision *20:2020* document. Also, it is a means of providing some homogeneity of language within the nation. Achebe made this point in 1997 in his article, “English and the African Writer”: by using English, he could reach many, many readers but, if he wrote in an indigenous language, he would reach only a small number.

Relations among the Major and Minor Indigenous Languages

Dialectical tensions can also be seen among the indigenous languages with the presence of over 500 indigenous and only three—Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba—categorized as the major Nigerian languages. These three designated major languages have been privileged, while others have been marginalized. In the first NPE policy in 1977 those three were even given the specific title “national language,” which marked their special status. While they were not “official languages” like English, they were highly regarded and referenced in the constitution and the educational policy documents. Yoruba was the language of the Yorubas; Igbo was the language of the Igbos, and Hausa was the language of the Hausas. With the privileging of these languages, there was also privileging of the cultures of these peoples and their cultures.

Given their positioning, these three languages are used as a principal means of communication in their regions, filling complementary roles relative to English in both official and non-official communication and the influence of Yoruba and Hausa extend beyond Nigeria. In the Western parts of Nigeria, the Yoruba language has overshadowed minority indigenous languages, including Awori and Eegun. There are Yoruba speakers in Benin, Togo, Ghana, Gambia, and Brazil. In the North, Hausa is the primary language, and it has displaced minority indigenous languages. As one of the most spoken languages in sub-Saharan Africa, Hausa is also

used in international broadcasts, including the BBC, China Radio International, and Voice of Russia.

There is strong global support for early learning in the mother tongue, and, accordingly, references are made in the NPE to “mother tongue” as the language of instruction in the early years. However, there are many challenges to use of the mother tongue in education, some of which are outlined by Olagbaju (2014). They include multilingual challenges, negative attitudes of students and parents, lack of appropriate curriculum materials, and unprepared teachers. Also of major importance is the problem of ambiguity in the policy. For the early years, the NPE has said, since the 1977 edition, that education should be in “mother tongue” or “language of the immediate environment.”

Relations between the Two Official Languages, English and French

In West Africa**,** there have been two major colonial powers: Great Britain and France. In Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, it was British; and in Benin, Togo, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, and Niger, it was France. Thus, formal education in these places accorded with the language of the colonizer. During colonial times, French had much dominance in the world, and it was the language of trade, science and research, education, and medicine. But over the years, English has surpassed French in terms of influence, although French is still relevant as the third most spoken language in the world and the second most widely taught foreign language. French is one of the six official languages of the United Nations; the others are English, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish. And French is one of the three high-status “procedural languages” of the European Union; the others are English and German. In the African Union, all African languages are considered “official,” but

for the most part it uses four of the colonizers' languages—English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish—along with Arabic and the Bantus' language, Swahili

There are tensions between English and French in some places in the world. Some French-speaking countries, including France itself, have experienced contention and resistance regarding the encroachment of English and the diminishment of French. Sites of tension in Africa include Rwanda and Burundi. A contrary case has been Nigeria's neighbor, Cameroon, where French continues to be the language of power and politics, and anglophones are marginalized.

When Nigeria became an independent country in 1960, English had already become a global language. In Nigeria, English was the dominant language of formal education, but arguments were being made to give some attention to French. The Addis-Ababa Conference of November 1961, amongst other things, recommended that French be taught in the anglophone countries and that English be taught in francophone countries of Africa. Other developments followed, mainly in private schools. Then there was the declaration in 1998 edition that French was an official language in Nigeria and the subsequent inclusion of French in 2004 as a subject of study in the secondary grades.

It is clear that, even though English and French in Nigeria have the same ostensible status of "official language," the two are by no means equivalent. When a language is designated as an official language, there are some functions expected for, and associated with, such a position. However, this was not the case with French in the policy, school, and governance. If French and English were equivalent as official languages, provisions would have been made for French to be a medium of instruction like English. English would, therefore, cease to be the only international language used in teaching and learning, and French would be upgraded. But this was not the

case; provision was only made to use French as a subject of study and to be studied as a foreign language—a role that did not extend beyond the secondary school years. English, however, continues to be subject of study beginning from the early primary school years and to be the language of instruction for all subjects from the latter end of the primary school level to the university. This practice technically makes French a lesser language and subject to English both in the schools and outside of the school. Nevertheless, French has a role in diplomacy and in trade owing to a large number of French countries in West Africa, especially those that surround Nigeria.

The importance of French in Nigeria cannot be ruled out owing to the country's geopolitical position amid francophone countries. It can thus be best enhanced if provisions are made to teach the language to those living near the French-speaking border part of Nigeria. And there are other benefits to being multilingual in these languages (Bialystok, 2005; Caccavale, 2007; Turnbull & Hart, 2003, Stewart, 2005). Of particular interest, though is the change in positioning recorded for the French language in both the 2013 and 2014 editions, with the latter being the policy today. Specific mention of French as Nigeria's second official language is not recorded in these editions. Moreover, French as a language of study was moved down in curricular sequence. Students would be expected to study French starting from the fourth year of the primary education and would do so till the end of the junior secondary school. The diminished status further eroded the official language status and this corroborates the hegemony of English furthered by globalization and neocolonialism.

Relations between Arabic and Other Languages

In the NPE, Arabic has had little visibility, even though it was the language of education in Nigeria's North for over a century before the arrival of the European missionaries. Without

paying attention to linguistic and cultural differences, the colonial masters amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates for easy administration and governance. Despite the long existence of Arabic in Nigeria, provision was not made for the language in the first edition of the policy. It was as if the NPE states education policy for Nigeria *minus* the North. This contrast between the North and the South along educational, cultural and religious lines still exist today.

Arabic had long been the major medium of education in the North, and, according to Adeyemi (2016), in the Qur'anic schools "both Arabic and Islam were taught simultaneously" (p. 198). The omission of Arabic in the first edition of the NPE is not unconnected to the religious affiliation associated with the language, and "this dysfunctional configuration of state–religion relations is the persistence of religiously induced conflicts in the country since the early 1980s" (Sampson, 2014, p. 320). Jimba (2015) has referred to Arabic issues in Nigeria as "language and multiple dogmatic problems" (p. 275). In a sense there were—and are—competing educational systems: the Western education that has both governmental and international support and the Qur'anic schools with their religious connotations (Yesufu, 2016). The NPE privileges the former over the latter, and it privileges English and indigenous languages over Arabic.

A close look at the policies shows that French and the Arabic language shared the same entrance into the country's educational policy document. Both languages began to feature beginning from the 1981 edition and described as non-vocational elective and expected to be studied from the secondary school level. With the pronouncement of French as the country's second official language in the 1998 edition, French was no longer categorized as a non-vocational elective, leaving Arabic as the only language designated as a non-elective subject for secondary school students. On the other hand, the three major national languages continue to be

the language of instruction and subject of study, respectively. Unlike the other languages that had specific information on when and how to include them, Arabic was only listed among the subjects of study. Indigenous languages were specified as the medium of instruction for the first three years, with English taking over later. After the switch, indigenous languages would continue to be studied. That was not the case for Arabic; it continued to be listed as subject to be studied throughout the primary and secondary educational level.

Although there are challenges with the teaching, learning, and use of the Arabic language in Nigeria, Adeyemi (2016) has recorded some achievements for the language. For example, all the NPE versions except for 1977 allowed the studying of the language. Also, the emphasis laid on nomadic education and the political influence of Muslims, especially the Hausa, in the political arena has increased the visibility of the language. Whereas Arabic gained some status, French lost some, particularly in the last two recent NPE editions. Arabic can be studied beginning in the early primary years, but the study of French does not begin till the fourth year of primary education. Previously, French was to be a subject of study from the primary school**.**

These dialectics show English, the Western colonizer's language and now the major global language, occupying a central and exclusive position of power and authority in Nigeria. English serves as a crucial communicative link among the various ethnic groups, whose major indigenous languages are more prominent than French and Arabic.

Conclusion

In Yeats's (1920) poem "The Second Coming," the clause that follows "things fall apart" is "the center cannot hold." In the years preceding the first NPE, what was the center? In Nigerian society, the center still seemed to be the tribal culture—with multiple tribes having their own languages. However, one could argue that in education (as in government) the center was

located largely in English because of colonization, despite the continuance of indigenous educational patterns and languages. The first NPE policy attempted to affirm, at least in the prefatory materials, a central attention on indigenous languages and cultures. That policy highlighted the importance of language in the country's educational process and emphasized the contribution of indigenous languages to the preservation of culture and national integration. But, even then, limited spaces and roles were allocated for the indigenous languages.

Three editions that followed the first policy also attempted to uphold the commitment of the government to the promotion of indigenous languages in the country and the educational system. To that effect, the indigenous languages maintained their roles as the languages of instruction and subject of study, though their role was limited to the earlier primary school years. One would have expected them to build and to expand on the existing space provided in the policy for indigenous languages. Provisions for developing written forms were stated throughout the first four versions of the policy. That changed in the most recent editions. The 2013 and 2014 editions indicated that only those languages with written forms would be taught; for languages without, emphasis would be on oralcy. This shifting pattern and positions call into question whether or not the government is actually committed to the use of indigenous languages in the educational system or is paying lip service.

The present study has shown an enduring influence of English in Nigerian education despite attempts decades ago to give indigenous languages a more central role in language education policy. With today's global reality, it appears unhelpful for Nigeria or other English-speaking African countries to abandon the use of English in schools and socioeconomic life. However, for indigenous languages to function along with English, adequate planning and preparation are needed, and it seems that Nigeria is not willing and committed to do this.

Oftentimes the linguistic diversity of the country is presented as a hindrance and shortcoming for the formulation of an appropriate language education policy.

However, Nigeria and other multilingual African countries can benefit from the multilingual nature of the country. What can be done to uphold the multilingual nature of the country and the continent? As a preparation to maximizing the multilingual nature of the country, more visibility should be provided for the indigenous languages in schools than they currently receive. Due to the various functions and importance associated with languages in society, there is always the desire to learn languages either for communication or fostering unity and patriotism. The Nigerian government should, therefore, be more committed to the promotion of the teaching and learning of indigenous languages in the educational system. One of the ways of doing this is to make the indigenous languages more functional and relevant in their domains. This practice responds to the discourse of language-as-a-resource and further encourages the multilingualism and cultural diversity that most postcolonial countries are advocating.

This study focused on contradictions, tensions, oppositions, and reciprocity among languages in the policy and thus provides some guidance for formulating effective language policy by revising the grey areas within the highlighted tensions. There is the need to review the significance and positioning of indigenous languages for both national and individual development. Currently students are not only experiencing cultural and social issues but are also confronted with the problem of learning content that is presented in a language with which they are not very familiar or in which they are not proficient. It is consequently vital for language education policies in a multilingual environment to systematically integrate languages as opposed to the haphazard and ever-changing policy provisions.

There is no point in fighting the overwhelming influence of the English language not only in Nigeria but all over the world. The trend will undoubtedly continue given the continuous wave of globalization and interconnectedness. Nigeria and its people can promote a participatory approach regarding issues of language policy. Individual states and ethnic groups can promote their own languages as opposed to relying only on the federal government. On the one hand, it is no secret that functional policies require mutual assistance and participation from stakeholders. To that effect, collective efforts should be employed in promoting more visibility and relevance for the development and use of indigenous languages. On the other hand, the federal government should do more in supporting the use of indigenous languages in an official capacity. There is the need to use these languages more in governance than they are at the present time. To achieve this, the government needs to be strategic by acknowledging and providing more resources for language development and effective monitoring and implementation strategies. Aligning with this is the need to orient the citizens towards multilingualism as an asset against the present assumption that multilingualism is a liability.

As noted by Achebe (1958), the white man "has put a knife on the things that held us together, and we have fallen apart" (p. 79). Language, along with other cultural elements, were those things that fell apart. With an understanding of the complexity of Nigeria's language situation, as attempted in the study, it is clear that building a unified nation in such a setting demands respecting cultural heritage and providing adequate space for the indigenous languages. Nigeria's multilingual setting has both endoglossic and exoglossic languages that have served and do serve different purposes. Therefore, efforts should be made to accommodate these differences concerning socio-cultural, socio-political, and global dictates.

In 1975 Achebe said that he saw “a new voice coming out of Africa, speaking of the African experience in a worldwide language” (p. 93). He was referring to English but not to the colonizer’s English. Instead, he was referring to an English that could reflect the specific African context (the local) as well as function as a universal language (the global). Today, more than forty years after Achebe made his prediction, English has an increasingly hegemonic position in Nigeria, but Nigeria’s voice is not limited to a single language. The voice of Nigeria continues to be multilingual, including multiple languages with deep and complex historical roots, not only English but also indigenous languages, French, and Arabic—although it is English that dominates language education policy.

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