

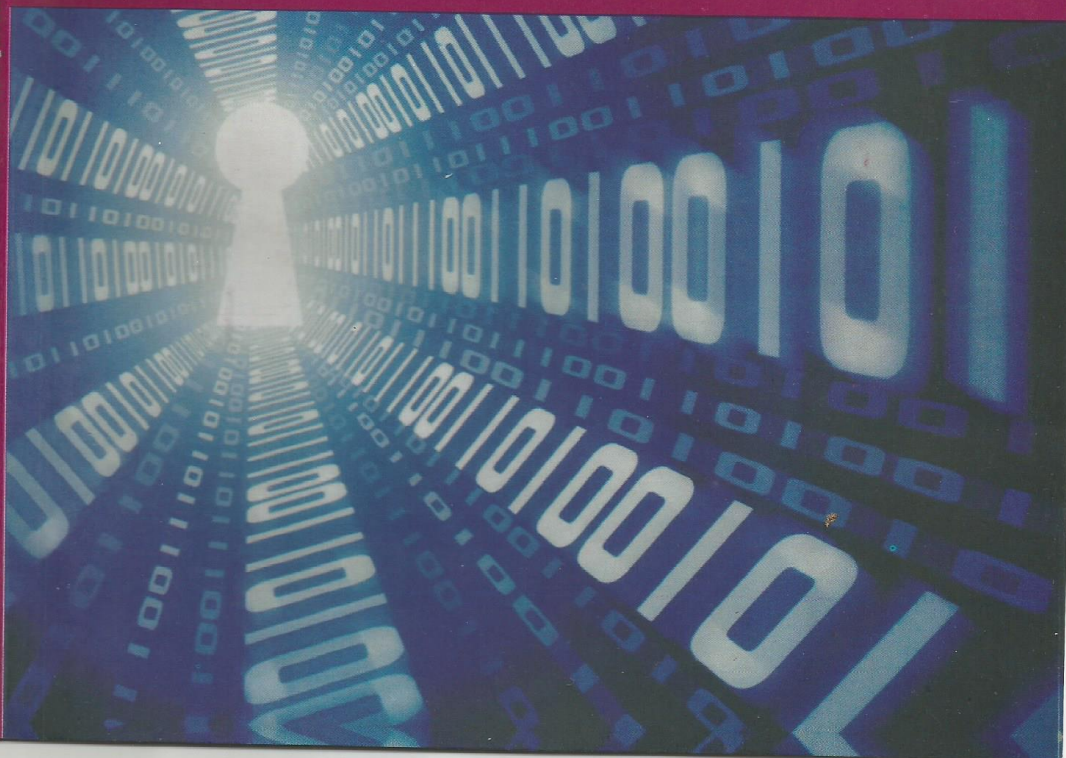
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The *Journal of Peace, Security and Development* (JPSPD) is published by the Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies (CPSS), University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria. It is dedicated to advancing knowledge, deepening understanding and disseminating research findings in all aspects of peace studies, conflict studies, security studies, strategic studies and development studies.

The journal places no restriction on the scope or dimensions that studies can cover but strongly expects prospective authors to show that their papers have academic and policy implications for peace, security and development in the world, in its microcosm or macrocosm. In essence, the articles of the Journal put issues, directly or indirectly connected with peace, security and development in perspectives in both theoretical and empirical models.

Though efforts will be made by the Editorial Board to ensure that no inaccurate or misleading data, opinion or statement appears in this journal, the data and opinions presented in the articles are the sole responsibility of the contributors concerned. Authors are thus strongly encouraged to duly verify the authenticity of their claims and adequately acknowledge the sources of their information.

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Contributors should note that only original works are published after a multi-staged blind peer review process. Also, contributors have the responsibility to ensure that all copyrights are secured before submissions and any act of plagiarism discovered leads to the immediate stoppage of the publication process of the article concerned.

Submission of Manuscripts

Manuscripts should be submitted in English. They should be typewritten and double-spaced, with wide margins, using one side of the page only. Authors may submit papers for consideration in two possible ways. They may send the paper to any of the editors. Alternatively, authors should submit two hard copies of their papers, directly to the Editor-in-Chief, *Journal of Peace, Security and Development*, Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. Email: cpssjournal@gmail.com and cpss@unilorin.edu.ng.

Authors may also submit their manuscripts via e-mail, in MS Word. A cover sheet should be provided with the following details: an abstract of not more than 250 words, with a sequence of not more than six key words suitable for indexing and abstracting services; a brief biographical note about each author and each author's areas of specialisation.

Articles are expected to be between 6,000 and 8,000 words. All submissions are treated anonymously and material identifying the author(s) should only appear on the cover page.

Referencing

Manuscripts should conform as much as possible to the referencing guidelines of the recent edition of the American Psychological Association (APA) publication manual of instructions for authors. This involves published works being cited in the text according to the author/date system and listed alphabetically in the reference section at the end of the manuscript. Examples of appropriate format for chapters, articles and books appear below:

Frempong, A. K. D. (2005). "NEPAD and the African Peer Review Mechanism", in I. O. Albert (ed.), *Perspectives on Peace and Conflict in Africa: Essays in Honour of Gen. (Dr) Abdusalam Abubakar*. Ibadan: Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, University of Ibadan.

Okosi-Simbine, A. (2003) "African Conflicts as an Albatross to Development: A Governance Perspective, *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 29, Number 1 and 2.

Turshen, M. and Twagiramariya (1998) *What Women do in Wartime*, London: Zed Books.

Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies

The Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies is the second to provide mainstream training in Peace Studies at Master's and Doctoral levels in Nigeria and the West African sub-region. The pioneer Director of the Centre is the face of Peace Studies in Africa, Professor Olawale Albert, succeeded by Professor F. A. O. Olasehinde-Williams, Dr. Joseph O. Fayeye and Dr. Mahfouz A. Adedimeji, who assumed office in 2013 as the current Director.

The Centre is indebted to Professor Is-haq O. Oloyede (OFR) during whose tenure as Vice-Chancellor the programme took off. His commitment to an intellectually led approach to the pursuit of Peace in a troubled country and world led to the smooth take-off of the programme and its first public convention of a stakeholders forum to pledge to a non-adversarial pursuit of peace and reconciliation from warring communities in Kwara State in 2012, among other laudable Peace initiatives.

Also, worthy of note is the unflinching support of Professor Abdul-Ganiyu Ambali (OON), the current Vice-Chancellor, whose tenure gave birth to this journal, previously known as the *African Journal of Peace and Security*, and other activities of the Centre.

The specific objectives of the Centre are to:

- (1) make the University of Ilorin a global Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security Studies;
- (2) make the University of Ilorin a Centre of Excellence in peace research and documentation;
- (3) train manpower in the field of Peace, Conflict, Security and Strategic Studies;
- (4) provide students with theoretical and practical skills in peace-making, peacebuilding, preventive diplomacy, strategic planning and management; and
- (5) contribute to security strategy and environmental sector management.

Academic Programmes

The Centre offers MA, MPhil and PhD degree courses in Peace and Development Studies as well as MA degree courses in Peace and Security Studies.

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This programme is interdisciplinary. It consists of Compulsory and Required courses for each of the specialisations, as well as Elective courses. Each student's course of study is customised to his or her interest.

Students are offered the opportunity of specialising in any of the following three academic areas:

- (1) Governance and Peace (GP)
- (2) Security Studies (SS)
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CFEAT and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Retreat

Towards ensuring that graduands of the Centre are well groomed, the Centre adapted the Community- Based Experience and Services (COBES) of Health Sciences of the University into one of the compulsory courses taught at the Centre - PDS 604 or Practical Skills in Conflict Management. This entails the identification of crisis-prone, post-conflict and negatively peaceful communities where students go to stay for empirical conflict analysis, collation of early warning signs and post-conflict impact assessment or peace building mechanisms depending on the phase of the conflict. This flows from Johan Galtung's description of Peace Studies as comparable to Medical Science which makes use of diagnosis, prognosis and therapy in restoring wellness to ill societies and relationships.

Also, one of the courses taught at the Centre is the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) and in honing the skills of our students, a week-long retreat is held outside the Centre where practitioners are brought in to train students and to share experience with them in order to merge theory and practice.

Town-gown Engagements

One of the core activities of the Centre is its constant engagement with critical sectors and stakeholders in the polity across all levels on issues of Governance, Development, Peace and Security sectors. Such engagements have informed the staging of Distinguished Personality Lectures of which two have been presented by His Excellency, Governor Rotimi Amaechi of Rivers State and the Chief Servant of Niger State, His Excellency Governor Muazu Aliyu Babangida.

The Centre also organises Special Public Lectures and commemorates important international activities related to Peace and Development such as the International Peace Day on September 21st each year.

DIVERSITY, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE LANGUAGE FACTOR

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Abstract

The paper critically examines the diverse nature of the Nigerian State in terms of language and cultural heritage in relation to the security challenges violently threatening its continued existence and the issue of the country's underdevelopment. It, through extensive literature review, examines the role of language in fostering national unity and development. The commonly held opinions about the role of the English language in the unification of the many ethnic nationalities that constitute Nigeria are also critically engaged. The Nigerian language policy is then juxtaposed with cases of multi-ethnic nations that thrive in unity in spite of their linguistic diversities and record impressive development through the multilingual policy implementation in education. The paper, therefore, while not disregarding the immense contribution of the English language to the welding of various nations to make the entity called Nigeria, advocates Government's commitment to the entrenchment of the multilingual policy in Nigeria's education system because doing so will not diminish but foster greater level of unity, better security and accelerated national development.

Keywords: Sustainable development, multilingual education, linguistic heritage, cultural heritage, poverty, religion

Introduction

Sound education for the citizenry is a sine qua non for sustainable personal and national development, peace, security and progress of any country. This assertion is obvious from the fact that the

countries of the world with significant manifestation of development are also the ones with very high literacy rates while the reverse is the case with the ones that have low literacy rates. The choice of the language to employ as the medium of school instruction in a multilingual and

multicultural country, especially at the early stage of education, is a serious issue with far-reaching consequences. Research, prominent among which is the Ife Six-Year Yoruba Project, has shown that education given in the mother tongue throughout the elementary level holds greater prospects than the one offered in a borrowed language for individual development of each recipient and the nation as a whole. This is why the national Policy on Education promotes mother tongue-based multilingual education up to the end of the third year in Nigerian primary schools. But the language stipulation has remained merely on paper without implementation.

This study therefore interrogates the prospects that committed implementation of a mother tongue-based multilingual education policy up to the end of the secondary school holds for the development, security and peace of Nigeria. Reference is made to nations that successfully implement a multilingual education policy to prove that it is not impossible and that its benefits outweigh the cost.

Methodology

The literature review of the meta-synthesis type was employed in this study. Available literature was consulted and the previous works found relevant to the current study are critically reviewed and used to support every thesis of the study.

Nigeria as a Cauldron of Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Entities

That Nigeria is one of the most heterogeneous countries of the world is a well known fact. Okediran and Olatunji

(2010) establish, from a review of literature, that the country has about 521 distinct languages. Obuasi (2007) puts the figure at 450. Taking cognizance of the established fact that language is culture-based and culture-bound (Mathews, 1998; Browne, 2008; Hashanat, 2012), it can be safely concluded that the country parades as many different cultures as the languages. The multiplicity of languages and cultures, according to Opara (2010), does not necessarily have to be a disadvantage if properly managed. In fact, it can be catalytic to peace and sustainable development. Owu-Ewie (2006), too, asserts that linguistic diversity should not be seen as a threat or agent of disunity but rather as a facilitating factor for education and development. Consequently, Heugh (2014) opines that linguistic diversity or multilingualism in itself is not the cause of underdevelopment and poverty but poor understanding and management of multilingualism.

The linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of Nigeria has been a constant source of political instability, insecurity and underdevelopment. The position of Chumbow (1987) quoted in Wolff (2008:13) that appropriate language planning must be ensured so that the multilingual condition of a society may not be "a source of strife in the body politic" is thus proved worthy of serious consideration. For example, ethnocentricity is a major factor behind the country's inability to agree on which of the many indigenous languages is most suitable to become a lingua franca (Obuasi, 2007). The federal character syndrome and quota system have been variously, and logically too, condemned as anti-development and inequitable (Dada, 2004) because they sacrifice

quality and best practices on the altar of pacification of all ethnic groups. The provisions originated from and are continuously fuelled by over-consideration of the diverse nature of the country's linguistic-cultural constituents. Nigeria's inability to conduct a really credible national census is not unconnected with the desire of every ethnic group to present itself as more populous than the others in order to appropriate more resources and slots than others. Fortunes have thus been wasted on national censuses that can be best described as double national tragedies. The funds set aside for the failed national identity card project in 2003 were grossly mismanaged (Eniayejuni and Agoyi, 2011). It is noteworthy that census figures have been reported to have been significantly falsified in previous exercises in Nigeria (Ahonsi, 1988) and it would be unrealistic to expect that the latter ones were any better because the motivating factors for such evils, among which ethnocentrism is, have not been eradicated.

Firstly, human, time and financial resources are wasted. It is recorded that more than N121billion was wasted on the 2003 national identity card project (*Desert Herald*, 2015). This is indisputably an amount that could have been invested to better the lots of many impoverished Nigerians through some other development projects. Secondly, the country is deprived of the benefit of vital statistics required for solidly founded and grounded materials for effective national planning. Nigeria is thus like a father that fails to ascertain the number of family members for whom he has responsibility to provide.

Nigeria's Security and Development Challenges: Perceptions on the Role of the Linguistic Diversity

Development has been variously defined and described but only one of them shall be adopted for the current study. Mustapha's (2010) definition of development as the improvement of people's lifestyle through improved, qualitative and functional education; incomes, skills development and fulfilled employment shall be one of the working tool for this study. While it is obvious that Nigerians' lifestyles have been markedly improved in some aspects, such improvements do not qualify the country to refer to itself as among those experiencing sustainable development because the improved lifestyles are products of consumerism but not through qualitative and functional education and skills development. Tangible technologies are imported wholesale instead of acquiring intangible technologies to enable people to customize life-improving technological products that are tailor-made for the nation and can be exported to boost the country's external reserve instead of depleting it with importation of every necessity as well as luxury of life.

Considering Mavesera's (2011) definition of sustainable development as a globally endorsed positive change that encourages ecological and socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions but with context-bound implementation strategies, it can be concluded that sustainable development cannot be said to have taken place where multilingual and multicultural identities are suppressed and repressed to achieve a forced monolingual and mono-cultural entity. This is because whatever is termed development in such a

situation cannot be generally context-bound linguistically and culturally.

Anyadike (2013:13) sees "security" as a cross-cutting, and multi-dimensional concept which, like many other social phenomena, has been explained from various perspectives. She then defines it as "as a situation where a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration." It should be noted that the scope of security transcends military defence of state's interest and territorial enclosures to include the provision of adequate welfare for the common citizen in a country (Paris, 2001). National security should, therefore, not be equated with military defence but must give adequate consideration to equality of political freedom, human rights, and economic opportunities for individual citizens as well the sovereignty of the state in its development and foreign policy.

Adequate security is a *sine qua non* for sustainable development. It encourages foreign investments into a country's economy. Employment opportunities are thus increased for the citizenry. This is without prejudice to many other direct as well as indirect benefits. Insecurity, on the other hand, discourages participation of foreign investors in a country's economy. The wanton destruction of invaluable lives as well as private and public properties resulting from national insecurity robs a country of much needed development. Financial resources and time that could have been invested in advancing development would then have to be spent on rebuilding or replacing the destroyed ones. Sanda and Tijani-Alawe (2008) thus

considered insecurity as one of the causes of Nigeria's underdevelopment.

Many cases of civil unrest that have claimed several thousands of precious lives in Nigeria were caused by religious and ethnic differences. The three-year-old civil war (1967-1970), the devastating effect of which the country is yet to completely recover from after forty-five years, was founded upon ethnic considerations. The havoc wreaked on Nigeria by the ethnic militia groups in Niger Delta region described to be among most violent (Oluwasuji, 2007) is a result of the fact that most Nigerians see themselves first as belonging to a particular tribe before they see themselves as Nigerians. Ethnocentricity is sure a threat to peace and security in Nigeria (Sanda and Tijani-Alawe, 2008).

Among the most pervasive components of a people's culture is their religion. Religion, which Karl Max described as the opium of the people, has been used by unscrupulous people to draw some parts of Nigeria centuries backwards from the path of development in matters of months. It is this "opium" that intoxicates Boko Haram members to mindlessly kill Christians and modest Muslims whom they describe as transgressors from the strict injunctions of Allah (Maiangwa and Uzodike, 2012). The same factor is responsible for Ansar's (*Jama'at Ansar Al Muslimin Fi Bilad al-Sudan*, a dissident group of Boko Haram with Abu Ja'afar as spokesman) declaration of Christians as prime targets of annihilation (Marc-Antoine, 2014). Sanda and Tijani-Alawe (2008), too, identify religious intolerance as one of the problems promoting underdevelopment in Nigeria. More than 13,000 potential contributors to the country's development

have been killed from 2009 to 2015 by the Boko Haram insurgency (Shuaibu, Salleh and Shehu, 2015). More people have been incapacitated permanently with loss of benefactors, displacement, and other avoidable evils. Initiators of religious wars usually have other motives and agendas. The adduced factors include inordinate craving for political relevance, ethnic motivation, religious bigotry, economic ambition and poverty. But the masterminds appeal to the sentiments and religious bigotry of impoverished illiterates who go on rampage, killing and maiming adherents of other faiths and destroying the victims' properties. The Boko Haram saga that has reduced some parts of the Northern Nigeria to shadows of their glorious past is a case in point.

Alozieuwa (2012) asserts that a general confusion about the actual causes of the terror movement contributes more than any other factor to its continued existence and growth. Some scholars (for example, Okoro, 2014; Ahokegh, 2012) play down the religious motivation, apportioning greater percentages of the blame on governance crisis including pervasive corruption, growing youth unemployment and poverty. Okoro (2014:108-109), however, identifies Boko Haram's membership composition as including "disaffected northern youths, professionals, unemployed graduates, Islamic clerics, ex-almajirai (children who constantly migrate for the purpose of acquiring Qur'anic education in the Hausa language), drop-outs from universities, plus some members of the Nigerian political elite. It also includes some members of the state security agencies". He also does not fail to cite other scholars like Buah and Adelakun (2009) and Boas (2012) that assert the religious origin of

the terror organisation. The facts that viagra, charms and condoms were found in the bombarded enclaves of the sect instead of copies of the Qur'an and most of the captured sect members could not read the Qur'an is another proof that most of those recruited into the lower cadres of the terror groups are ignorant.

But the afore-mentioned facts do not necessarily preclude religiosity. The sponsors of religious violence usually have motives that are non-religious but capitalize on the religious sentiments of ignorant adherents of their common faith to recruit the latter to execute their heinous plans. Other indicators of the strong religious undertone is the fact that the insurgents verbally and proudly admit it, spare those that agree to convert to their faith but kill those that refuse. It is also common knowledge that the misguided Boko Haram members are under a strong delusion of stupendous rewards in the hereafter for their present fight in support of the establishment of the supposed kingdom of righteousness on earth. Maiangwa and Uzodike (2012:6) expose Boko Haram's religious illiteracy by pointing out that its demands for total imposition of the Shariah legal system on the whole secular Nigeria and "the conversion of President Jonathan to Islam as *conditio sine qua non* for dialogue and ceasefire" have been condemned by better learned Muslims as not rooted in the Qur'an. The situation then calls for proper education of Nigerians in religious tolerance. The education system that would solve the problem must make the restoration of the cultural values that promoted mutual respect and love among various religious groups in the pre-colonial era Nigeria a top priority (Anyadike, 2013). This can be best done

in the original languages of such cultures. The fact that Boko Haram literally means "Western education is bad" (Omede, 2011:90) or Western education is an abomination or anathema proves that the members of the group that are recipients of Western education failed to grasp the essence of the education received, meaning they are functionally illiterate. It is also noteworthy that the almajaras constitute the major catchment area for recruitment into the violent religious sects.

Going by the findings by Ayeni, Ayenibiwo and Ayeni (2011), proper religious education and religiosity can be employed to improve people's mental health, fortifying them against depression, somatisation, anxiety, paranoid ideation and psychoticism – psychological disorders that can push people into anti-development acts. On the contrary, without facilities to adequately channel religiosity in positive directions, it can be a highly potent instrument for unimaginable destruction of development potentials and projects. This is corroborated by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's and Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola's recommendation of dialogue and enlightenment programmes for youths, community leaders, village heads, religious leaders, local government chairmen, traditional rulers as well as politicians as the sure ways out of the mess (Anyadike, 2013).

Opata (2010) acknowledges cultural heritage and value, cultural diversity as well as language and communication as core variables that can contribute either positively or otherwise to Nigeria's quest for sustainable development. But despite the fact that though English has been of immense good as a means of mutual understanding

among the various nations that constitute the country named Nigeria, the linguistic heritage from the former colonial masters has not been able to minimize or eradicate regional sentiments, suspicions and oppositions in the political arena and these have been capitalized upon by unscrupulous politicians to mobilize people against governments' programmes for selfish reasons (Ifionu, 1993; Bamgbose, 2006).

The numerous political problems facing Nigeria have been identified as contributory largely to the country's underdevelopment. Pseudo-democracy is practised. Most unfortunately, the electorates are not engaging the political class with critical questions (Igbafé and Offiong, 2007; Kolawole, 2015). The panacea recommended is functional literacy (Olatunji and Akintola, 2008; Olatunji and Kolawole, 2010). But the functional literacy programme should reach down to the grassroots level, in the languages they all understand.

Other crucial areas in which Nigeria's development is being seriously hampered are chronic poverty and hunger in contradiction to the first on the list of United Nation's Millennium Development Goals. According to the World Resource Institute (2007), over 70% of Nigerians live below the poverty level of \$1 per day. But Croppensted and Demeke (1997) as well as Atchoarena and Gasperin (2003) strongly recommend appropriate literacy as a means of empowering many local farmers to access information on how to increase their yields from the mere subsistence level to large scale production for tremendous personal and national economic growth.

The contribution of poverty to a country's underdevelopment is beyond

human comprehension. It grossly stunts personal development and pushes its victim into a lot of acts that result in large scale destruction of various segments of the society. Adebowale (2011) thus asserts after considering findings in literature that all social pathologies can be linked to poverty challenges in the Nigerian society. Poverty was very minimal in the pre-colonial era for a number of reasons. Firstly, the traditional system of education empowered beneficiaries early for economic independence unlike the present era that many people graduate after several years of "banking education" to start another protracted season of joblessness and suffering. Secondly, the communal lifestyle of the old days when everybody was his or her brother's keeper greatly reduced the propensity for poverty (Fasoranti and Owagbemi, 2012; Abolarin, 2013; Sesan, 2013). Nigerian leaders cannot rightly expect poverty eradication and consequently sustainable development while remaining carbon copies of their colonial progenitor whose primary goal was exploitation of the natives, their labour and natural resources. The system of education that fails to equip its recipients with skills required for entrepreneurship can only render them unproductive and dependent on the society. This view is corroborated by Batibo (2014) who recommends a policy that advocates the promotion of indigenous life skills for survival as an ideal national language and cultural policy, especially in the current situation where formal employment has become grossly inadequate. Ewetan and Urhie's (2014) description of economic factors as root causes of insecurity corroborates the impact that the promotion of indigenous

vocational education can make on the reduction of security problems in Nigeria.

The Theses for the Current Study

The theses for the current study are:

1. A high literacy rate is a *sine qua non* for true development to take place in any society, Nigeria inclusive;
2. A multilingual education policy which must be religiously pursued and rigorously implemented from the pre-primary to the senior secondary school level is a prerequisite for enabling the entire citizenry to understand government's developmental plans and fully cooperate towards successful execution of such plans; and
3. The implementation of the multilingual education policy is a possibility in Nigeria because there are countries as linguistically heterogeneous as Nigeria that have successfully implemented it.

This study agrees with Mustapha (2010) who observed that most of the problems that constitute impediments to development in Nigeria are traceable to high rate of illiteracy. He went on to state that the knowledge that the financial and other terrible consequences of vandalizing government properties would be tantamount to self-affliction and would prevent a well enlightened citizen from engaging in such an anti-development act. Similarly, a functionally literate person would be able to acquire information about healthy living and make a good use of same, thereby being strong and

mentally alert enough to contribute to national development. Opara (2010:94) thus observes that "Education is globally recognised as an instrument for social and economic reconstruction leading to sustainable development particularly in this age of globalisation". Allen (2012) corroborates this by asserting that education is used to solve the problems of poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, illiteracy, health problems, and so on.

Adedokun and Hastrup (2008) identify inadequate opportunity for maximum participation as the major reason people look with disdain at government-initiated development programmes and schemes and conclude that people could be gingered to joyfully contribute their best to the development of their communities if ignorance and distrust are removed through effective communication. This effective communication cannot be achieved on a large scale without a multilingual approach that recognises the potentials of both indigenous and imported languages. Mavesera (2011) too has observed that all other things being equal, indigenous languages are better suited to mass mobilization and organisation of labour for economic development than any linguistic heritage from colonial masters.

Rassool (2007) acknowledges that the beginning of the 21st Century signaled the advent of a consistently increasing interest in the study of the connection between education and socio-economic development. This could be rightly interpreted as a growing acknowledgement of the imperative of adequate attention to education if any sustainable socio-economic development is to be recorded in any society. It is, therefore, not surprising that the United

Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) recommends that a minimum of 26% of annual budget of every developing country should be devoted to education (Oseni, 2012). While the countries that have adhered to this have recorded increased development indices in several areas, it is on record that Nigeria never earmarked more than 14.9 % of annual budget to education from 1990 to 2006 (Shekarau, 2006). Allocation to education was as low as 4.1% in 1991. While it increased to 14.1% in 1994, it went back to 7.5% in 2002 and has since been moving back and forth. The analysis of budgetary allocations to education from 1960 to 2013 by Kpolovie and Obilor (2013) reveals annual budgetary allocations to education as pathetically and ridiculously low as 0.5%, further observing that Nigeria's score is significantly lower than the African average on the Education Sub-category of Ibrahim Index for African Governance from 2006 to 2012.

It is even common knowledge that much of what is earmarked for education yearly is merely official because it is often diverted to private purses (Azi, 2011; Kpolovie and Obilor, 2013). Sustainable development has thus remained elusive. Misappropriation of education funds has serious negative results in India (Jain, 2008) and in Uganda (Iqbal, 2004). So, Nigeria cannot expect a positively different result while plagued with perpetrators of the same crime against education funds. It is worthy of note that the negative consequences of education funds mismanagement has been so significant and worrisome that Transparency International has launched a programme tagged "Africa Education

Watch" to arrest the menace (Perry and Dolan, 2008).

That the developed nations of the world are those with high literacy rates while the underdeveloped ones, euphemistically referred to as "developing" countries, are characterized by low level of literacy is instructive. Therefore, the fact that the invaluable dividends of investment into the education industry do not manifest overnight seems to deter Nigerian leaders from committing heavy resources to the venture (Ajayi, 2004; Lochner, 2004; Chaaban and Cunningham, 2011). High level transparency and probity in the disbursement of funds allocated to education have not become a part of observed practices in the country (Iyoha and Oyerinde, 2008; Onuorah and Appah, 2012). Nigerians may therefore not look forward to a harvest of development in various aspects of national life.

An important factor to be considered in the planning and execution of the education programmes is the issue of the language of instruction. There is an obviously active interplay between language and national development (Ferguson, 1962). Studies have shown that students enjoy a better grasp of learning contents when taught in their mother tongues (Mavesera, 2011). The nations that have risen fast and high in development as a result of marked advances in science and technology are those that domesticate learning contents by using their mother tongues extensively while those that struggle with science and technology are the ones that make endeavours through the medium of imported or borrowed languages (Olanrewaju, 2000). Therefore, according to the Harare Declaration during the

Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policy in Africa, "The optimal use of African languages is a prerequisite for maximising African creativity and resourcefulness in development activities." (Mustapha, 2010:1). Lasting tailor-made development cannot be wisely expected as long as Nigeria sticks to the use of English language alone as medium of school instruction and enquiries into science and technology.

The vast linguistic diversity that characterizes Nigeria has been used by some apologists as an insurmountable obstacle to a successful promotion of indigenous-language-based education in the country. But according to Owu-Ewie (2006), linguistic diversity in a classroom can be managed to become a source of strength rather than disunity. Papua New Guinea (PNG) with a population of about 5 million in 2004 (Rushbrook and Wanigasekera, 2004) has 816 distinct languages (Literral, 2000). Unlike in Nigeria, it has been observed that "no other country in the world uses local languages as widely as PNG" because obviously successful efforts are made to ensure that no language is left behind in the assignment of instructional roles in schools (UNESCO, 2007:10). Since Papua New Guinea that is comparatively more linguistically heterogeneous than Nigeria could make headway in terms of multilingual policy in education, especially up to the end of secondary school level, Nigeria has no valid excuse for inability to do the same.

Similarly, Oyetade (2015:13) cites examples of Australia which he describes as a "multilingual giant" where no effort is spared in ensuring that children from all backgrounds are provided school

instruction in a range of languages, not leaving out some immigrant codes, at the primary and secondary school levels. Oyetade (2015:14) concludes:

Finally, language policy in Australia definitely facilitates public awareness and mass mobilization, and mass participation in national affairs. Perhaps we can add that the investment in linguistic resources of Australia has not had any deleterious consequences on the economy of the country as some people would want us to believe, rather it has boosted it.

Oyetade (2015) goes further to give the example of the far-reaching positive changes engendered by the introduction of the multilingual education policy newly introduced and diligently executed by the government of Burkina Faso. Among the tremendous benefits of the policy implementation are a significant drop in child mortality resulting from improvement in the quality of education and childcare services provided by parents; considerable improvement in pupils' knowledge of traditional practices; pupils' renewed interest in practical and manual activities like farming and gardening; expansion in families' means of livelihood; increased parental support for children's education; and improved social networking. Olatunji (2015) too lends a voice to the promotion of indigenous languages by the assertion that the growth and development of a linguistically heterogeneous nation will inextricably be predicated on the

utilization of the different languages in the development plans.

Genuine fear that Nigeria may not be able to cope with the demand that technological advancement in the world has placed on her if indigenous languages are promoted for school instruction up to the Senior Secondary level (Owolabi, 2006). Oderinde (1996) however describes most elites' opposition to mother tongue-based multilingual education policy as hypocritical. The success stories of India, China and Germany that thrive in science and technology while using their indigenous languages can be really instructive (Olanrewaju, 2006) to both categories of opposition. Secondly, the finding by Kpolovie and Obilor (2013) that Nigeria's allocations to education are smaller than those of unarguably less affluent African countries shows that it is not financial challenges but lack of political will to drive the education system that destroys the Nigerian education. Abayomi (2012) corroborates this by pointing out that Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, Kenya and Morocco had 31%, 30%, 25.8%, 23% and 17.7% respectively of their annual budget for education.

Also, approximately 13,190 technical terms in specialized domains such as Primary Science and Mathematics (760), Linguistics, Literature and Methodology (2,070 plus 860), Legislation and Politics (8,000) and Engineering Physics (1,500) had been translated into Yoruba language by 2006, for example (Owolabi, 2006). Sustainable development in science and technology would thus be facilitated as knowledge in such is domesticated through the

indigenous-language-mediated teaching and learning.

Though English language is the major medium through which Nigerian politicians acquire political education as well as the enhancement of the quality of their thoughts in their political engagements (Ezema, 2009), the conviction in the current study is that the acquired political education can be most effective with the grassroots people especially only if the politicians translate their knowledge and skills into practical use mostly through the people's indigenous languages. Otherwise, they make themselves complete strangers to a majority of the electorate and stand the risk of misinterpretation and message distortion. True and lasting development cannot be fostered in such type of political environment.

The initial refusal of Northern Nigeria to cooperate with the other parts of the country in the quest for independence can be rightly attributed to distrust of the other parts arising from misinformation and misconception. This case underscores the truism that people whose lot a development programme is meant to better can be determined to destroy such a programme in the absence of proper education about the programme.

It should be noted that the degree of multiculturalism and multilingualism advocated in this study transcends just the indigenous languages of Nigeria but includes any language that can be of benefit to the country's development. For example, French and any other world language like Chinese should be encouraged but not imposed. Just as the Federal Government of Nigeria has admitted in the National Policy on Education (FGN, 2004) that French

language could facilitate smooth relationships with neighbouring countries, the teaching and extensive use of such a language should be encouraged among those that choose to do so. The rate of development that can be engendered if a conducive linguistic atmosphere is provided French nationals in Nigeria can surpass expectation because French is a language of commerce, diplomacy, rich culture, science and technology, and industry (NERDC, 2007; Institut Francais Nigeria, 2015). In fact, the current global challenges demand the capacity to communicate well in at least two of the major international languages (Opara, 2010).

The huge financial requirements for implementing a multilingual policy in education up to the secondary school level may seem intimidating and thus make it appear practically impossible. But Akanbi's (2014:31) position should be instructive to such people:

It could be noticed that budgetary allocation to defense/security is always high. But maybe our leaders would need to be tutored that effective education could reduce crime better than uncountable personal security aides. There is a popular saying in Yoruba land that "Omo ti a ko ko ni yoo gbe ile ti a ko ta" (literally translated as "A child that we refuse to train will eventually sell off the house we built"). Some distinguished Nigerian educationists and I were at Rutgers University in

Newark, in the United States of America for an academic conference, and nobody knew the governor was there until he was introduced. He had no tension because education had played its role.

To people that may argue that bad governance is the sole bane of sustainable development in Nigeria, one can reasonably respond that those who misgovern Nigeria are products of the current English-Language-medium Western education system. The education system and its linguistic medium are a significant part of the legacies from the colonial masters whose aim was to exploit Africans and their resources in order to achieve self-enrichment (Ogunbado, 2012). So, what can we expect but people that have imbibed the unsavoury attitude that the colonialists manifested against the conquered colonies? This is not an attempt to disparage the English-medium Western education. It has been very much beneficial to Nigeria in some ways. But with a good touch of the virtues of respect for elders and others, chastity, non-violence, truthfulness and sobriety that the sages of yore bequeathed to Nigerians through indigenous-language-medium education (Vasudev, 2004), the people can hope to return to the kind of harmonious society that used to be filled largely with "omoluabis", albeit with the modern flavour befitting of the 21st Century global village. Vasudev (2004) predicts imminent disasters and dismal consequences from the collapse of the societal norms of respect for elders, non-violence, truthfulness and sobriety that were bequeathed to Nigerians by the sages of yores. He goes on to specifically blame

the collapse on the borrowed language-based modern education.

Nigerians cannot continue to blame their former colonial masters for any deficiencies observed in the system of education and the language of its delivery left behind by the latter over fifty-five years ago. Nations like Papua New Guinea and Australia have effected changes with far-reaching positive results in the language policy bequeathed to them by their colonial masters. Even Burkina Faso that is acknowledged to be one the poorest countries of the world with a GDP per Capita income of US \$1,200 invests in the provision of mother tongue-based multilingual education through the secondary school level and has recorded significant success (Oyetade, 2015). This is in line with Omolewa's (1996:105) that "It has become clear that any mistake in the decision on the language of instruction inevitably led to failure of mass literacy programmes". And mass education is a very potent instrument for enlightening the populace on good citizenship for security, development and sustainable development.

Conclusion

The gleanings from literature done so far in this study have shown that quality education has a significant role to play in setting Nigeria on the path of adequate security and truly sustainable development. The education system should be multidirectional (formal, informal and non-formal, and targeted to the various sections of the society) multicultural and multilingual in order to have widespread impacts. Proper education of the citizenry would empower the recipients to make meaningful living,

contribute constructively to social discourses, steer clear of activities that undermine security because they are gainfully engaged and thereby become drivers of development.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made towards achieving adequate security and sustainable development in Nigeria through appropriate education:

1. Government should take a cue from similarly multilingual countries of the world, some of them much more multilingual and some less economically buoyant than Nigeria, that have successfully implemented the multilingual policy in education up to the end of the secondary school. The benefits recorded in such countries should serve as good motivation.
2. Incentives should be given to people that decide to study as many indigenous languages as well as foreign ones.
3. Nigerian government should start to adhere to the recommendation of 26% of annual budget to education and all efforts must be geared towards probity in the disbursement of funds allocated to the education industry.
4. Government needs to intensify efforts at public enlightenment through indigenous languages in the electronic and print media in order to ensure greater participation of the masses in development projects.

5. Much of the public enlightenment should address the need to have an indivisible nation.

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