PROMOTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICIES THROUGH INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE-BASED SCHOOL CHOICE: EQUITY IN BOTSWANA AND NIGERIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Susan Olajoke Akinkurolere and Lovie Edwin Seru University of Botswana

Abstract

A number of African countries are revising their language-in-education policies to improve their educational systems. In 2022, Botswana and Nigeria revised their language-in-education policies to recognize more indigenous languages and extend their functions in education. Sequel to the above, this paper is a shift from the policies of the two respective countries to the gaps identified in the implementation of those policies at the primary school level. It has been identified that most non-public schools run contrary to the stipulations in the policy documents by using English as the only language of instruction. Allowing private schools to continue using English as the only language of instruction in primary schools is contrary to the principle of equity which democracy promotes. Premised on this, this paper proposes a school choice policy that could be adopted in Botswana and Nigeria to encourage privately owned primary schools to implement the revised language-in-education policies. Through school choice, children will be able to attend private schools without losing the benefits that accrue from the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction.

Keywords: education, equity, private schools, school choice, language policy, primary schools, democracy

Corresponding Author
Susan Olajoke Akinkurolere
Centre for Academic Development
Communication and Study skills Unit
University of Botswana
akinkuroleres@ub.ac.bw

Introduction

Botswana in Southern Africa has a population of 2,359,609 people with eight major tribes (Mokibelo, 2016; Suping, 2022; Statistics Botswana, 2022). Nigeria in West Africa, on the other hand, has the highest population in Africa which is projected to reach 239 million by 2025 (Vitalis & Oruonye, 2021). Despite these huge differences in the populations, Botswana and Nigeria share similar linguistic peculiarities as multilingual countries. Furthermore, the two countries share similar linguistic experiences as heterogeneous countries that were previously under the British rule (Ogunmodimu, 2015; Bagwasi, 2021).

A language policy is regarded as the stipulations, rules and mandates of linguistic use and it functions at different levels and spaces (Ramanathan, 2010; Mensah, 2019). A language policy could also be described as a form of public rule that influences linguistic practices of people in a country (Royles & Lewis, 2019). The two definitions of language policy as rules, mandates or a public rule, suggest that it is meant to be complied with by the public. However, evidence show that private schools do not comply with most language policies in their countries.

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has for a long time, encouraged the use of indigenous languages as languages of instruction in the early years of school (Omotade & Oluwafemi, 2018). National policies on education of many countries have sections that stipulate the languages of instructions at all levels of the education system; hence a language policy in education is described as the principles that have been adopted in the use of language(s) in the education system of a country (Mokibelo, 2015). The medium of instruction in primary schools is expected to promote equity in access to education in line with the UNESCO Declaration—"universal access to quality primary education" (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). The promotion of equity in this situation implies that all children should be able to access education through similar languages. No child should be denied the opportunity of learning in their first language or any language in their immediate environment. Children who are non-native speakers of English, but are made to learn through English as a medium of instruction, lose the quality and benefits derived from learning in indigenous languages as affirmed by UNESCO. This

is the reason Vision 2016 states that "no one will be disadvantaged in the education system as a result of a mother tongue that differs from the country's two official languages (p.5)"

The education systems in Botswana and Nigeria require a reflection and review towards improving current implementation practices at the primary school level. This is necessitated by the fact that public and private primary schools implement language-ineducation policies differently. This explains why the challenges that are associated with the implementation of language policies in typical multilingual settings have similar implications as the language policies' stakeholders need to address the issue of language choice among different indigenous languages (Owojecho, 2020). This justifies the review of language-in-education policies in the two countries. Even though the governments of Botswana and Nigeria review their language policies from time to time to suit the interests of their citizens, the reality at the privately owned primary schools in the two countries is still a far cry from the stipulations in the language policy documents.

Given the significance of the English language as a global language to learning and teaching in many countries of the world (Lipinge & Huddlestone, 2023), the pertinent question is how are the language policies in Nigeria and Botswana being implemented in primary schools? The debates around the implementation of language policies in Botswana and Nigeria's education systems have been ongoing for quite some time and specific experimentations have been carried out on both indigenous languages and foreign languages (Akinnaso, 1990; Mokibelo, 2016; Ogunmodimu, 2015; Bagwasi, 2021).

One of the key factors in the implementations of language-in-education policies in public and private primary schools in both Botswana and Nigeria is government funding. Private schools rely on the fact that the two governments do not fund private schools. This is the reason this paper considers funding as key to promoting the implementation of language-in-education policies at this level. Also, among the many recommendations by scholars and researchers is the fact that parents should be oriented to appreciate the dictates of the language-in-education policies for pre-primary and primary schools because parents' perceptions influence the choice of schools their children should attend, while policy

implementers should ensure compliance (Mawere et. al. 2015; Ajepe & Ademowo, 2021; Tom-Lawyer et.al. 2021).

Education is a learning system, whether it is formal, semi-formal or informal. To Bawa (2022), the primary function of a democratic government is the provision of education for its citizens. To this end, the political disposition of a country can be felt through its educational system. Thus, it is widely believed that the principles of democracy are relevant when they enhance education in line with best modern practices (Papastephanou, 2017). This is further premised on the fact that inclusiveness, as a significant feature of democracy, allows all citizens to have access to education when applied appropriately, thereby, providing a connection between education and democracy through policies, theories and philosophies of education. It is, therefore, a concern that at the stage of implementing language-in-education policies, neither the national language nor languages of the immediate environment are used for instruction in private primary schools. Such private schools are called English-medium schools in Botswana.

In a democracy, there are human rights. These are not limited to the right to association, education, life, freedom and equality. As one of the principles of a democratic government, education should equip learners and young citizens with the knowledge and skills required to live meaningfully in a society. Despite the argument for equity through encouraging parents to support the implementation of language-in-education policies, the parents of private schools' children could rely on the principles of freedom in liberal democratic countries as a basis for their choices (Mena, 2020). Therefore, they attempt to sacrifice equity on the altar of freedom.

It is evident from the past that the implementation of language-in-education policies in Botswana and Nigeria has had negative implications for children from minor ethnic groups such as the BaZezuru and San in Botswana, and minor languages in Nigeria due to the exclusion of minority languages (Mokibelo, 2016; Bagwasi, 2021; Ajepe & Ademowo, 2021). The governments of Botswana and Nigeria have reviewed their language-in-education policies to include more indigenous languages as media of instruction. Hence,

the concern has shifted to equity in the implementation of the revised language-ineducation policy.

The idea of equity when considering policies matters in education (Reimers, 2014). No doubt, a language policy in education matters for equity as there is a connection between education policy and society. This is the premise on which the matter of school choice is connected to equity in this paper.

An overview of language-in-education policies in Botswana and Nigeria Primary Schools

The key role of education on language of instruction in primary schools is the sustenance of such languages which later influences the lives of learners (Bagwasi, 2021). As pieces of evidence abound that students with bilingual education have better opportunities and their creativity is top-notch (Farhan, 2019). Teaching in languages on which students have already gained oral competences improves instructional quality and academic achievements. This is the reason immigrant children in the United States of America struggle with English as a second language (Dlamini & Ferreira-Meyers, 2023). It is noted that private primary schools still use English language as the sole language of instruction from pre-primary to the first three years of primary education. The existence of non-public schools can be traced to the British regime in Botswana as most schools were owned by non-governmental bodies — indigenous and religious groups (Suping, 2022). Commenting on language policy at the primary school level in Botswana, Mokibelo (2015) states that:

Setswana should be used as the medium of instruction for the first four years of the primary education course, with transition to English taking place in standard five, by which time children must have become fully literate in Setswana (National Commission on Education, 1977, p. 77)

This is contrary to the recommendation in the Revised National Policy on Education (1994) that endorses the introduction of English as a medium of instruction from Standard Two (2).

In Nigeria, the language-in-education policy for primary school postulates that:

The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first three years. During this period, English shall be taught as a subject. From the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects (National Policy on Education, 2004, p.16).

It is difficult to sustain indigenous languages if they are not utilized as languages of education. The post-British regime in Botswana experienced a modification from when the country was under the British administration as a policy document was first introduced in 1977 in which Setswana became a compulsory national language as well as the language of instruction (Botswana Government, 1977). Even though there is no accordance of Setswana as a national language in the constitution, it is referred to as such in the language-in-education policy document and in practice. Consequently, Setswana and English are media of instruction in both primary and senior secondary schools (Bagwasi, 2021).

Also, the recommendations of the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE, 1994) on the roles of English and Setswana languages in the Botswana educational system are quite crucial because the recommendations are both a shift and an evolvement from 1977 Education for Kagisano (Makwinja, 2017). In an attempt to promote industrial economy, RNPE (1994) recommends the use English language as a medium of instruction from Standard 2 or as soon as it is possible, unlike 1997's approval of Setswana language from Standard 1-3. With these provisions, it is highly improbable to consider the interests of minority groups who neither speak nor understand Setswana (Boikhutso & Molosiwa, 2019). Some shortcomings were later identified in RNPE 1994 (Tambulawa, 2009), and with Vision 2016 and Vision 2036, provisions are made for the considerations of minor languages as media of instructions under the aegis of 'towards prosperity for all' and 'prosperity for all'. This is stated in Vision 2016 that 'Botswana's wealth of languages and cultural traditions will be recognized, supported and strengthened in the education system' (p.5).

In Nigeria, the language policy on education at the primary school level indicates that the language of instruction shall be the local language or language of immediate environment while the English language is taught as a subject. This is different from Botswana's

language-in-education policy which recognizes one national language (Setswana) and a foreign language (English) as languages of education even though 28 local languages are spoken in the country (Mokibelo, 2016; Bagwasi, 2021).

Nigeria has about 500 indigenous languages in three categories (Class A, Class B and Class C). Class A comprises official major languages used in two or more states; Class B refers to officially-recognized languages in two or more local areas within a state; Class C refers to languages that are non-official and are used within local areas (Acheoah & Olaleye, 2019). Nigeria does not have a national language. It has three major languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. These languages are recognized as Class A and they serve as languages of instruction in schools with some languages of the environment referred to as Class B. An effort has been made to choose a national language among the indigenous languages and a derived national language through WaZoBia (three major languages). This has failed to be realized (Revised NPE, 2022; Ajepe & Ademowo, 2021; Ogunmodimu, 2015).

The revised National Policy in Education (2022) indicates that Nigeria is fast complying with the UNESCO standards on native languages as indigenous languages are fully recognized by the language-in-education policy. This is so because all public primary pupils learn in their own language. Teaching learners through only English language implies that such learners are robbed of their ethnic and social identities, which constitute their social status (Ogunmodimu, 2015; Wiley, Garcia, Danzig & Stigler, 2014; Owojecho, 2020). This is one of the implications of not following language in-education policies by private primary schools in Nigeria and English-medium schools in Botswana.

For years, continuous review of languages of instruction in favour of indigenous languages has been one of the demands of researchers (Akinnaso, 1990; Renganathan, & Kral, 2018; Chebanne, 2022). This has led to the introduction of 11 additional languages including a sign language (Sheyeyi, ThiMbukushu, Ikalanga, Shakgalagari, Chikuhane (Sesubiya), IsiNdebele, Afrikaans, Naro (Sesarwa), Shona, Otjiherero and Sign Language) at the level of primary school in Botswana and the insistence on using local languages as mediums of instruction in primary schools in Nigeria. These efforts have not impacted on the private primary schools in both countries, and this justifies the argument that NPE action plans do

not have any impact (Ajepe & Ademowo, 2021). It is, therefore, observed that the implementation of language-in-education polices in privately owned primary schools in Nigeria and Botswana.

The concern of this paper is on ensuring equity in the implementation of language-ineducation policies in all primary schools in the two countries based on the recent improvements in policies through school choice since compliance is not to be enforced but encouraged. Moreso, children continue to enjoy the benefits of languages acquired in their early years as they move through their lives, according to dominant language policies (Rickert, 2023).

A Review of School Choice in some Educational Systems

In the United States of America, issue of language as a critical factor in determining access and equity in education does not arise unlike in most African countries that are multilingual settings and in which language policies are used to explain access to education (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Countries such as the United States of America and some European countries practise school choice through school voucher programmes while other countries have a record of partial or full funding to support school children, especially, the less privileged. Indeed, Costa Rica falls into this latter category.

Finland and Sweden have a history of their government funding education fully in schools but Sweden allows parents to utilize school choice alternatives. Other countries that have embraced school choice are Netherlands, Chile, Ireland, Germany, England, and Belgium (Liverpool John Moores University, 2022b). Based on the pieces of evidence from countries that have successfully implemented school voucher programmes, the Punjab Education Foundation has been advocating for an education voucher scheme as a way of establishing partnership support between public and private schools. This is likened to the principle of equity which should be reflected in Botswana and Nigeria's educational system.

It is noteworthy that there are developing countries that are also embracing similar programmes to school vouchers such as Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon. The nature and

dynamism of each educational system determine policies that can influence new trends and innovations as Ben-Porath (2021) adumbrated that the "quality, reputation, resources, curriculum, instruction, and more; and multiple systems of schooling — public, private, parochial — offer options to parents." He argued that the United States educational system favours school choice. It is noted that parents are usually excited when they are provided with options or choices that align with "their children's educational needs" and there is competition that could improve the schools' "responsiveness" (Chingos & Kisida, 2022)

In the United States, the three common programmes of school choice tax credit scholarship, voucher programme and education savings account are voluntary in private schools (Egalite, Fusarelli, Seaton, & Stallings, 2020). This notwithstanding, assessments in New York showed that programmes that are meant to bridge the opportunity gaps including that of school choice hardly consider "distinctions in the degree of deprivation" (Cheng, & Peterson, 2021). This indicates that attention needs to be paid to the implementation aspect of any school choice programme.

Although the use of school vouchers in the United States has been criticized for diverting attention from other types of school choice (Ben-Porath, 2021), it is still regarded as one of the best programmes. This is despite the fact that some citizens have limited their understanding of a school choice to school vouchers and charter schools. It is noteworthy that other countries in Europe are more deeply involved in school choice than the United States. However, the beauty of US school choice in a multicultural setting is the fact that it enables parents to meet their different expectations and the needs of their children because they decide what suits their interests given that there is support in the form of government funding (OECD, 2017).

It is imperative to state that American school voucher is relevant for enforcing equity even though it does not have any significance for language policy implementation in the context of English as a first or native language. Therefore, transferring an equity-based language-in -education policy in primary schools is a way of promoting and preserving indigenous languages in Botswana and Nigeria. It is very clear that the adaptation of school choice to

indigenous language-based school vouchers is possible in Botswana, Nigeria and most African countries.

School Choice for Proper Language Policy Implementation in Botswana's and Nigeria's Primary Schools

There has been a focus on the implementation of language policies in recent times to explore the reality (King & Bigelow, 2018). Botswana's philosophy of education is premised on the concept of Kagisano literally translated as social harmony. This philosophy stipulates principles of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity (Makwinja, 2017; Suping, 2022). Also, Nigeria's Policy on Education is premised on five goals: a free and democratic society; a just and egalitarian society; a united, strong and self-reliant nation; a great and dynamic economy; and a land full of bright opportunities for all citizens (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2013). School choice is an educational innovation that allows public funds to follow learners to other schools apart from public schools. According to the current practice in the United States of America and some European countries, there exist schools like private schools, charter schools, homeschooling and other schools. Learners attending these schools enjoy government sponsorship.

Experienced scholars and researchers in education may advocate for policy transfer from time to time (Benson, 2009; Barabasch, Bohlinger, & Wolf, 2021). This is not limited to transfer policies alone but to trends and innovations as well. It is crucial to say that each society is unique. This is the reason; why educationists continue to study innovations that are relevant and beneficial to their educational systems with the consciousness that their educational contexts cannot import innovations as they are applied in other countries, but adapt them to suit their societies (Benson, 2009). This may lead to a crisis if the required factors are not taken into consideration.

No wonder, policy analysts and policymakers are charged with the task of studying wouldbe or current policies with the hope of solving some problems and comparing them to other options before finally adopting them as the best alternatives. The agenda, decision and implementation phases are the key stages identified by the linear model as the phases required in policy analysis (Liverpool John Moores University, 2022a; Ginsburg & Gorostiaga, 2001).

More often than not, educationists and politicians seem to pursue similar aims and objectives of education (Carr, 2003). Stable political systems have sustained favourable educational systems in Botswana and Nigeria. It is apt to posit that there is no educational innovation or policy that is fund-related and could succeed without appropriate political backing or framework that could sustain it. Education is an integral and crucial aspect of society just as the political system provides the framework for the running of government affairs. No wonder, Botswana and Nigeria have histories of strong public education for their citizens with free education for the pupils.

American public education in primary schools has a success story of "school choice" implemented through different types such as education savings accounts, school vouchers, tax-credit scholarships, individual tax credits and deductions, and so forth. It is posited that school choice even in the USA still has not reached a perfect state. Therefore, adopting school choice in Botswana and Nigeria may not be exactly the way it is practised in the USA. School voucher programmes as a type of school choice could be introduced as a "universal voucher system" practised in Chile since 1981 (Bravo et. al. 2010). This implies that all learners, whether they are in public schools or private schools, will enjoy school vouchers for the first six years in Nigeria and seven years in Botswana.

In Botswana and Nigeria, parents do have a choice. This choice is the liberty to register their children in private schools which serve as an alternative to public schools with financial obligations that rest solely on parents. On the other hand, "school choice" is an innovation in education that is trendy in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries (OECD, 2021; OECD, 2018). School choice allows public funds to be utilized by learners in preferred schools (Liverpool John Moores University, 2022b). This may not be an innovation to some countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America. But to a country like Botswana and Nigeria, which never practised school choice according to the history of their educational systems, it will indeed be an innovation since such could emerge either from a transfer of idea or a fresh idea.

To every parent who aspires to have a child in a private school in Botswana and Nigeria, school choice will not only be an encouragement but will also be a welcome development. In the past, most parents had one reason or the other for sending their children to private schools without any financial support from the government. It is pertinent to state that school choice as an educational innovation requires that its funding will have implications for the education budget of the country. Hence, the government also needs to understand that school choice is a politically inclined innovation that promotes equity in the implementation of language policy in education. Equity has a relationship with justice in schools and is considered the "social justice or social change" that we expect or experience in school systems (Groenke, 2010). For a social change to materialize, people need to just have the right mind-set and understanding to be fair to all. How else could we effect the social change of equity if we continue to allow private education to be solely for the children of the privileged in society with clear differences in language policy implementation?

Some of the pertinent questions that have been observed in the implementation of language policies in Botswana's and Nigeria's educational systems are whether lack of funding in private schools is affecting the implementation of language-in-education policies and whether there are parents who wish to send their children to private schools but are worried about the language policy situation? The answers to these questions are pointers to the concerns on the implementation of language policies in the two countries at the primary school level.

Indeed, one of the roles of a functional democratic government is the provision of education. Yet, so many expectations are attached to this. The most crucial factor is the "quality" of education that will be provided not only in line with the political orientation of the government but also ensuring education becomes a human right through appropriate language policies (Wiley, Garcia, Danzig & Stigler, 2014). Vouchers are "public funded with voucher funds following the child to selected schools" (Bravo, Mukhopadhyay & Todd, 2010). This can solve most of the language policy-related limitations experienced in both countries.

Evidence is a key matter in analysing any policy (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). Also, what is good and appropriate in one educational system may fail in another. Considering these facts, this paper is a reflection on the adoption of school choice in Botswana and Nigeria as an innovative means of entrenching equity and justice in the educational systems. This is informed by the fact that the two governments do not provide funding for learners attending private schools although learners that attend public schools enjoy free education.

Deploying vouchers of equal amounts to both public and private schools in Botswana and Nigeria will enhance equity and create healthy competition as schools, irrespective of type, are exposed to similar conditions while encouraging more private school children to be taught using local languages. This is without prejudice to the existing state control and monitoring of private schools. Also, there is evidence that some developments are required to improve the educational system, including the learning rate (Sorto, Marshall, Jeffery, Luschei, & Carnoy, 2009).

Without school vouchers or any programme of public funds for children attending private schools, most of the children will share similar socio-economic backgrounds. Then, where is the diversity or how do we create inclusive environments in those schools? Before diversity can thrive in private schools, there is a need for inclusion where children with different socio-economic statuses can attend. Therefore, school vouchers will bring an opportunity to break the class structure in the private education sector as children from disadvantaged backgrounds will also be able to enrol in private primary schools in Botswana and Nigeria.

Aside from this, some interests that are promoted in public schools may not suit the interests of children who may wish to attend private schools when there are school vouchers (Carr, 2003). For example, some parents may want their children to learn French in primary schools as an additional language which was recommended in 1994 by the Government of Botswana in the revised National Policy on Education documents (Kewagamang & Kaome, 2020). No wonder, it was recommended that examining "the educational gaps" is a means of arriving at results that could provide equal opportunities for school-age citizens (Fernández & Del Valle, 2013). This statement is relevant for the

implementation of language policy in Botswana and Nigeria. Further success of school vouchers is premised on the fact the government allocate more spending on education which would reflect that much premium is placed on education in each of the countries.

Conclusion

Do we say everything about school choice is perfect? No, it is still a developing innovation that could allow some flexibility, modification and dynamism depending on what suits a specific country's educational system. School choice using vouchers has a potential to succeed in Botswana and Nigeria because the two countries have similar implementation trend of language policies in public and primary schools. Hence, the use of the school vouchers programme can encourage parents who would want their children to attend private schools if not for financial reasons to do so, and these children will not be deprived of early primary education in local languages.

Also, private schools will have a place at the table in the education sector due to the funding benefits. Private schools will be able to improve the standard and quality of education provided for accountability in line with the language policies of the governments because it will be compulsory for them to implement the language-in-education policies. Currently, there is no public funding for the children attending private schools in Botswana and Nigeria. The purpose of having alternatives to public schools in any system is to have a healthy competition for positive outcomes. An innovation like school choice will sustain equity because parents will have the opportunity to send their children to private schools that meet their expectations and needs of their children.

The major resource for school vouchers is school choice funds. Public funding is needed to facilitate this innovation. The economy and political underpinnings are required for the allocation of substantial amounts in the budget in Botswana and Nigeria. The benefits of implementing language policy on education in primary schools through the school vouchers programme outweigh whatever may be the financial benefits. As Wolf, Witte & Kisida (2018) argue, school choice has some positive results on the academic achievements of students.

Recommendations

Children who attend public primary schools do not pay tuition and are taught in early years through the indigenous languages (Acheoah & Olaleye, 2019). For equity, school vouchers are recommended as a level-playing ground for all children who are either in public or private schools. Through this, governments would be able to influence the choices of languages of instruction in early primary schools through funding.

It will be a wise choice if funds for free tuition in public schools could be converted to a uniformed or "universal school vouchers" scheme for all children in both private and public schools that implement language policies on education effectively. Indeed, Botswana has adopted educational reforms such as government sponsorship for students in tertiary institutions and free education at public primary and high schools (Statistics Botswana, 2021). This places her in a position to further implement other reforms successfully. The country is also in a good position to execute the school vouchers programme because there is already some support for school-children. Nigeria also offers free education at the level of primary school in public schools (Olatunji, 2018). This gesture needs to be extended to private schools to enhance the implementation of language-in-education policy.

One of the dilemmas facing political leaders or administrators is how to "balance the budget" based on the economy, while at the same time providing quality or good education. No government will want to ground the economy on the altar of providing education even though parents who desire quality education still want it at a minimal cost (Carr, 2003). Therefore, the governments of Botswana and Nigeria need to devise additional means of raising funds if the current funds cannot accommodate the budget needed to execute school voucher programmes across the two countries. In addition to this, sensitization programmes through national orientation in newspapers, and on television and social media in both countries will be required to enable parents who belong to the elite group and feel that they can afford their children's educational expenses to accept the programme.

This interest will be pursued by submitting a proposal to Botswana and Nigeria's Ministries of Education on the need to replace free education at lower primary with school vouchers

that will encourage the use of indigenous languages for instructions in schools as an indigenous language voucher scheme.

Moreover, it is expected in such a situation that there will be much pressure on private schools to meet up with the language policy on education to continue to enjoy public funding. To avoid this pressure, some private schools may not subscribe to voucher programme if it is not made mandatory as constitutional law. There is the argument that location area, extreme rules, number of vouchers and managerial tasks are factors that could deter private schools from embracing voucher programmes and these could pose challenges to indigenous language-based school choice (Harvey, 2005), but with a proper management and for equity, the indigenous language-based voucher programme should be made compulsory for parents (Egalite, Fusarelli, Seaton, and Stallings, 2020).

References

- Acheoah, J. & Olaleye, J. (2019). Language policy and planning in Nigeria: The journey so far. *Bulletin of Advanced English Studies*, 2(2), 113-122.
- Ajepe, I. & Ademowo, A. (2021). English language dominance and the fate of indigenous languages in Nigeria. *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies*, 2(4), 10-17.
- Akinnaso, F. (1990) The politics of language planning in education in Nigeria. *Word*, 41:3, 337-367.
- Bagwasi, M. (2021). Education, multilingualism and bilingualism in Botswana. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 267-268, 43-54.
- Barabasch, A., Bohlinger, S. & Wolf, S. (2021) Policy transfer in vocational education and training and adult education. *Research in Comparative & International Education*, 0(0), 1-3.
- Bawa, B. (2022). Relationship between democracy and education, Accessed 27 November 2022, https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/democracy/relationship-between-democracy-and-education/76841.
- Ben-Porath, S. (2021). A broader conception of school choice, Phi Delta Kappan, https://doi.org/10.1177/00317217211043618. Accessed 2 Jan. 2023.
- Benson, D. (2009). Review article: Constraints on policy transfer, CSERGE Working Paper EDM, No. 09-13, University of East Anglia, The Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment (CSERGE), Norwich.
- Boikhutso, K. & Molosiwa, A. (2019). Improving quality education in Botswana schools: An "illusion" and "elusive" pursuit, *Mosenodi Journal*, 22 (1), 1-15.
- Botswana Government (1977). Education for Kagisano: Report of the Botswana National Commission on Education. Government Printer.

- Bravo, D., Mukhopadhyay, S. & Todd, P. (2010). Effects of school reform on education and labor market performance: Evidence from Chile's universal voucher system, *Qualitative Economics*, 1:47-95.
- Carr, D. (2003). Making Sense of Education: An introduction to the Philosophy and Theory of Education and Teaching, Taylor & Francis Group, ProQuest Ebook Central, viewed 27 November 22, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2131999267/\$N?accountid=188730.
- Chebanne, A. (2022). The prospect of languages in education in Botswana: A critical reflection, *Mosenodi Journal*, 25:1, 1-13.
- Cheng, A. & Peterson, P. (2021). Experimentally estimated impacts of school vouchers on educational attainments of moderately and severely disadvantaged students, *Sociology of Education*, 94:2, 159-174.
- Chingos, M. & Kisida, B. (2022). School vouchers and college enrolment: Experimental evidence from Washington, DC. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. XX, No. X, 1–15.
- Dlamini, P. & Ferreira-Meyers, K. (2023). First language instruction? Eswatini teachers' insight of the Eswatini language-in-education policy. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 41(2), 143-157.
- Egalite, A., Fusarelli, L., Seaton, L., & Stallings, D., (2020). Early adopters: private school leaders respond to the introduction of targeted school vouchers, *International Journal of Educational Reform*, 29(2), 123-151.
- Farhan, R. (2019). The benefits of bilingualism. Learning to Teach, 8(1), 20-25.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, (2004). *National Policy on Education* (Revised), Federal Government Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, (2013). National Policy on Education, NERDC.
- Fernández, A. & Del Valle, A. (2013). Inequality in education in Costa Rica: The gap between students in public and private schools. An analysis of the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)', *CEPAL Review*, 111:37-56.
- Groenke, S. (2010). Seeing, inquiry, witnessing: Using the equity audit practitioner inquiry to rethink inequity in public schools. *English Education*, 43(1), 83-96.
- Ginsburg, M. & Gorostiaga, J. (2001). Relationships between theorists/researchers and policy makers/practitioners: Rethinking the two-cultures thesis and the possibility of dialogue. *Comparative Education Review*, 45,173-196.
- Harvey, P. (2005). Cash and vouchers in emergencies, Overseas Development Institute.
- Kewagamang, P. & Kaome, B.W. (2020). Teaching French as a foreign language in Botswana junior secondary schools: Progress, challenges and prospects, *Lonaka Journal of Language and Teaching*, 11(1), 1-12.
- King, K. & Bigelow, M. (2018). The language policy of placement tests for newcomer English learners, *Educational Policy*, 32(7), 936–968.
- KOF Swiss Economic Institute (2015). KOF Factbook Education System Costa Rica, KOF Factbook Education System Series, ETH Zurich.
- Lipinge, K. & Huddlestone, K, (2023). English lingua franca as a language of learning and Namibia: A report Oshiwambo teaching in northern on teachers' experiences. Linguistics Southern African and Applied Language Studies, 41(3), 280-297.

- Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, (2022a). Week 3 Education and policy, An unpublished paper of Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool.
- Liverpool John Moores University, (2022b). Week 5 Education, school choice and privatisation, An unpublished paper of Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool.
- Makwinja, V. (2017). Rethinking education in Botswana: A need to overhaul the Botswana education system. *Journal of International Education Research*, 13(2), 45-57.
- Mawere, V., Tshabalala, T., & Mapolisa, T. (2015). Parents' perceptions on the use of indigenous languages as a language of instruction at early childhood development level in Harare Northern Central District Primary Schools. *Global Journal of Advanced Research*, 2(10), 1590-1602.
- Mena, J. (2020). Liberalism and democracy: Human rights and equality at the foundation of human development. *Journal of Power, Politics & Governance*, 8 (2), 28-41.
- Mensah, E. (2019). The new language policy of the Nigerian army: National integration or linguistic imperialism? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(3), 331–345,
- Mokibelo, E. (2015). An Implementation of the Language-in-Education Policy in Botswana Primary Schools. A PhD thesis in the Department of Language Education at the University of Botswana, Botswana.
- Mokibelo, E. (2016). Implementation of the language-in-education policy and achieving education for all goals in Botswana primary schools. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 4(1), 157-164.
- Ogunmodimu, M. (2015). Language policy in Nigeria: Problems, prospects and perspectives. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5(9), 154-160.
- Olatunji, M. (2018). The theory and practice of free education in Nigeria: A philosophical critique. *Journal of Education in Black Sea Region*, 4(1), 135-145.
- Omotade, K. & Oluwafemi, A. (2018). Language policy in Russia and Nigeria: A comparative study. *International Journal of Russian Studies*, 7(1), 36-52.
- Owojecho, F. (2020). Implementation challenges of national language policy in Nigeria: The roles of the indigenous languages. *International Journal of Language and Literary Studies*, 2, 270-279.
- Papastephanou, M. (2017). Learning by undoing, democracy and education, and John Dewey, the colonial traveller. *Education Sciences*, 7(20), 1-13.
- Ramanathan, V. (2010). Introduction to thematic issue: Language policies and health. *Language Policy* 9: 1-7.
- Reimers, F. (2014). Ideas matter for equity in education. Harvard Graduate School of Education, Accessed 28 December 2022, https://sowc2015.unicef.org/stories/how-ideas-matter-to-advance-equity-in-education/
- Republic of Botswana, (1994). Revised National Policy on Education: Government Printers.
- Renganathan, S., & Kral, I. (2018). Comparative analysis of language and education policies for indigenous minorities in Australia and Malaysia. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 20(1), 138-156.

- Rickert, M. (2023). 'You Dutch, not English': exploring language education policy in preschool through researcher-child-relationality. Ethnography and Education, 18(3), 280-298.
- Royles, E. & Lewis, H. (2019). Language policy in multi-level systems: A historical institutionalist analysis. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21(4), 709-727.
- Statistics Botswana (2021). *Tertiary Education Statistics* 2020, Human Resource Development Council.
- Sorto, M., Marshall, J., Luschei, T., & Carnoy, M. (2009). Teacher knowledge and teaching in Panam and Costa Rica: a comparative study in primary and secondary education. *Revista Latinoamericana de Investigación en Matemática Educativa*, 12(2), 251-290.
- Sperling, G. & Winthrop, R. (2015). What Works in Girls' Education: Evidence for the World's Best Investment, Brookings Institution Press.
- Suping, K. (2022). Political spectacle and the decline of public education in Botswana. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 00(0), 1–13.
- Statistics Botswana, (2022). Population & Housing Census 2022: Population of Cities, Towns, Villages & Associated Localities, Statistics Botswana.
- The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2011). Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing.
- The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2017). School choice and school vouchers: An OECD perspective: OECD.
- The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2018). "Costa Rica", in Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing.
- Tom-Lawyer, O, Thomas, M and Kalane, M (2021) Examining the Status of English as a Medium of Instruction in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Study of Botswana and Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 17 (36). p. 51.
- UNESCO International Bureau of Education, (2010). *World Data on Education* (7th Ed. 2010/2011): UNESCO-IBE.
- Wolf, P., Witte, J., & Kisida, B. (2018). Do Voucher Students Attain Higher Levels of Education? Urban Institute.
- Tabulawa, R. T. (2009) Education reform in Botswana: reflections on policy contradictions and paradoxes. *Comparative Education*, 45(1), 87-107.
- Tollefson, J. & Tsui, A. (2014) Language diversity and language policy in educational access and equity. *Review of Research in Education*. 38, 189-214.
- Vitalis, J. & Oruonye, E. (2021) The Nigerian population: A treasure for national development or an unsurmountable national challenge. *International Journal of Science and Research Archive*. 02(01), 136-142.
- Wiley, T., Garcia, D., Danzig A., & Stigler M. (2014). Introduction: Language policy, politics, and diversity in education. *Review of Research in Education*. 38, vii-xxiii.