THE SENSE OF IDENTITY OF WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS: AN
INTER-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS
STUDYING IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES AND IN THE UNITED
KINGDOM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE IMPACT OF
FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

by

Crispin Patric Robert Cross B.Sc(soc), M.Sc(econ)Lon

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Abstract of Thesis

A relatively large number of studies have been done on identity and its role in personality functioning. A similarly large number of studies have been carried out on foreign students from different countries in different host countries. But none has been undertaken on West African students in the United Kingdom nor has any study been made of the impact which foreign experience has on their sense of identity. The object of the work reported in this volume, then, is to explore this impact, to study the reactions which the students develop in response and to show that an inter-disciplinary approach - combining in this case sociology and psychology - can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the effect of different environments on the human personality. This research project was originally designed to lay the groundwork for future research into mental illness and concomitant personality changes among foreign students.

The main research instrument used was a questionnaire containing a constructed and validated measure of identity which was given to 422 West African students - 231 experimentals who are studying in the UK and 191 controls who are studying in institutions in their home countries. The material reported in this volume is based on their responses. In addition, we illustrate our discussion with material drawn from pilot interviews and validation pre-tests.

Our findings provide information on students' experience of social and psychological problems and the effect which these have on their sense of

identity, their reactions to these problems and the resultant effect of the sojourn experience on their attitudes. In addition, our findings indicate certain directions which personality changes take consequent upon an extended period of sojourn 'abroad'. In sum, the survey suggests that not all aspects of the sojourn and, indeed, pre-sojourn experiences of the students are significant for personality functioning in the host environment and that individual differences are as important in understanding the effect of foreign experience on the personality as are similarities. Finally, we outline (on the basis of our findings) some qualifications which future research on cross-cultural educational travel would have to take into account.

The thesis is organised into three parts. In Part I we discuss various preliminary considerations and go on to review previous studies pertaining to the work in Part II. We describe the experiment and results in Part III.

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A study of this nature could not, needless to say, have been undertaken but for the generous help which was given by many individuals. The author would like to take this opportunity of expressing his appreciation to them.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Gabriel Newfield and Roger Holmes, whose endless efforts guided this research from the early stages to the present point of accomplishment.

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"Everyone is three persons: what he thinks
he is, what others think he is and what he
thinks others think he is. The fourth -
what he really is - is unknown; perhaps it
doesn't exist".

Frank Jones

PART ONE

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM: THE OVERSEAS STUDENT AND INTER-CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL

The concept of the self and its related notions of self-identity, self-image and self-conception, refer to certain components of the human personality - attitudes towards the self - which are particularly dependent on the nature of the environment in which the individual finds himself. It is this interdependence of self-attitudes and environment which distinguishes these attitudes from other types of attitudes. Since this is so, radical changes in environment would be expected to have various effects on self-attitudes and consequently on the sense of identity since the latter refers to the awareness of personal continuity and integration in self-attitudes over time. Where this radical change in the environment involves moving across different cultural boundaries and residing in 'host countries' for extended periods of time, the self-attitudes (and with it self-identity) would be affected in specific ways. The prime purpose of this work is to investigate such effects.

Clinical and experimental studies in recent years have provided valuable insights into the nature of the self. But these studies have not proceeded to investigate either the distribution of self-concept among different populations or the conditions governing such a distribution. Neither have they investigated the conditions under which self-concepts change or remain resistant to new and different environmental pressures[1]. Similarly, these studies have not indicated whether the direction of change in self-concepts, when it does occur, has positive or negative consequences for the individual apart from

1. The work of P. Secord and C. Backman "Resistance to Change in the Self-Concept as a Function of Consensus Among Significant Others" Sociometry, Vol.26,No.1, 1963, pp.102-11, may seem to be one notable exception, but this study was located within a group setting where face-to-face inter-action is given.

creating some disjunction from the wider society e.g. as in the case of the psychopath.Yet we do know that the self-image plays a part in the psychological adjustment and general orientation of foreign students in a sojourn environment[1]. But again,very little is known about the precise contribution to adjustment which it makes nor do we know if,and whether,it has the same influence in all and different kinds of 'host' situations.

The main reason for this state of affairs,we may suggest,resides in the fact that few attempts have been made to place the self-image in some kind of classificatory context - the work of William James notwithstanding. Consequently,different 'types' of self-concepts proliferate in the literature.Some investigators talk of the 'empirical self',others talk of the 'professional self', the 'real self' and so on with no concomitant attempt being made to clarify the relationship between these 'types'. Clearly,for progress to be made in any research,such a classification (some have called it an "accounting scheme") is a prime necessity.

This study has not attempted to provide such a classificatory scheme though some logical systematization is involved in our discussion.Clearly,to be so ambitious is premature and would,in any case,require the services of a research department rather than the frail and solitary activities of an individual research student. Our objective in this study is much more modest, and that is to study the distribution of identity among a group of overseas students insofar as this is influenced by the various aspects of the 'host' environment in which they find themselves.

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1. M. Brewster-Smith and J. Casagrande "The Cross-Cultural Education Projects" in Items, Vol. 7, 1953 Sept., pp.26-32

The choice of overseas students is dictated by a series of factors. In the first place, overseas students have been a constant part of the population of students in many of the educational institutions of the United Kingdom, and in a number of other countries as well. That many overseas students tend to come from underdeveloped societies and study for extended periods of time in developed countries has given rise to the mistaken impression that inter-cultural educational travel is a one-way process[1]. In actual fact, the contemporary tendency reflects a two-way process with students travelling from underdeveloped countries to developed countries and vice versa. Indeed, there is evidence, to be reviewed later, which indicates that this stability in the pattern of educational travel is by no means a twentieth century phenomenon. Yet very little is known about the inner world of the overseas student while he is in the 'host' setting and this is in spite of the fact that the number of individuals involved in this kind of travel has increased tremendously. Thus, some research has been done on the foreign student in American and British society[2]. But much of this research was concerned with the political attitudes which the students hold towards the host country (in the case of American research) or with the disconnected series of problems which the students encounter in the host country[3]. This concentration on limited aspects of the life of the students while they are in the host country tends to inhibit research into the wider and more fundamental aspects of personality functioning in given structural settings, since it is the personality, after all, which is brought into play in the new environment. If, then, political attitudes change this is

1. Guy Metraux "Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education" Social Science Research Council Pamphlet No.9.New York,1952 and also his Introduction to the Symposium on "Cross-Cultural Education and Educational Travel" Intern.Social Science Bulletin Vol.VIII,No.4,1956 part 1.
2. Some research has been done in France, Germany and Sweden though the bulk has come from the USA and the UK.
3. With the notable exception of the work of A.K.Singh on Indian students in the UK.

probably because such changes constitute but a part of the total change in the sense of personal identity.

However, such over-concentration on selected and limited aspects of the life of the student is not completely without its justification. Much of the research in both Britain and America was sponsored by organisations which run various Exchange programmes and therefore have a vested interest in evaluating the extent to which their endeavours meet with success or failure. Such research, then, cannot but concern itself with the problems encountered by the students to the virtual exclusion of all scientific and theoretical interest because of the belief (as part of their objectives for sponsoring students) that the problems encountered by the students would influence their political or social attitudes to the 'host' country and all that it claims to represent. Undoubtedly, then, these limited orientations are justified in terms of limited objectives.

But the results of such research can only present the interested investigator of personality functioning with disjointed accounts of how different categories of students fare in Britain or America without his being able to see where they all lead to in terms of an accumulated body of knowledge about the overseas student in a foreign society or the contribution these accounts make towards understanding the nature and effects of inter-cultural educational travel on the individual personality. Yet it would seem that if inter-cultural educational travel means anything other than political conversion, it means the transfer of students from one country to another partly in search of education but also and more fundamentally in search of a change in their sense of identity[1]. Self-identity is thus the intervening variable which is usually glossed

1. See W. Goodenough's "Education and Identity" in F.C.Gruber ed. "Anthropology and Education" (Univ.of Pennsylvania Press) Philadelphia 1961,pp.86-87

over. To put it this way may sound pedantic, since identity is not a concrete physical entity but an aspect of personality functioning, but a brief review of some of the acclaimed objectives of educational travel would quickly convince the reader of the truth of this assertion.

It is widely held that under-development, for instance, is related to the absence of the adequate kind of motivation relevant for industrialisation. It is then implied that only certain measures such as education can serve to induce this kind of motivation and so encourage industrialisation. The work of McCelland[1] and Hagen[2] are the most notable examples of this viewpoint. Now, since the inculcation of the appropriate motivation cannot but involve a change in identity, those who maintain this view are, in fact, suggesting that an identity change, as part of a much wider personality change, is a prerequisite for industrial development in the underdeveloped parts of the world.

Secondly, it is frequently pointed out that foreign travel in search of education tends to instil a sense of purpose in the individual student – an attribute which is held to be essential for development. Such a quality would, undoubtedly, make development planning easier and the work of politicians easier still. There are a number of variations on this basic theme, all of them assuming that some kind of personality change is important for industrialisation to proceed. It is for this reason that (as one politician recently put it):

1. D.C. McCelland "The Achieving Society" (Van Norstrand) Princeton, 1961, also "The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth" in Bert Hoselitz and Wilbert Moore eds. "Industrialisation & Society" (UNESCO-Mouton) 1966, pp. 74-96 and his "Toward a Theory of Motive Acquisition" American Psychologist, Vol.20, No5, 1965, pp.321-333.
2. E. Hagen "On the Theory of Social Change" (Tavistock) London, 1964, esp. part 11 also his "British Personality and the Industrial Revolution: Historical Evidence" in T. Burns & S. Saul eds. "Social Theory and Economic Change" (Tavistock) London, 1967, pp.35-66

> "..it would be desirable for a good number (of East African
> students) to go overseas for further education. The example
> broadens their minds and helps them to be able to interpret
> the thinking of foreign nations to their own people when
> they return".[1]

On a more personal level he expresses the same idea when he adds.

> "I had not known what academic degrees I need take if I
> went overseas, I only felt I should go away and come back
> a learned man".[2]

So many examples of a similar kind can be quoted at will which (despite the

different ways in which they are all put) all assume that the overseas

student is a potential catalyst for an underdeveloped society and is,as such,

an essential element which cannot be ignored in the social and economic trans-

formation of these countries. Inter-cultural education,then,is seen to

provide one method of inculcating essential values into those who take part.

The second factor which dictated overseas students as the object of our

research is one which has been quoted extensively. It is widely acknowledged

that most of the leaders of many contemporary nations are individuals who are

more likely to have found themselves within the general category of the 'over-

seas student' at one time or another. While this may be more true of under-

developed nations,it is also true of many developed ones. Thus not only Mboya,

Kenyatta,Nehru and Azikiwe but also John F.Kennedy,Robert McNamara and others

are known to have been in this position. It is,of course,impossible to say

whether these persons would have attained their political positions because,or

in spite,of their periods of sojourn abroad and the effects which this may

have had on their identity. What is widely believed however,is that their

foreign experience played some part in their general career and political

orientations. For instance, one of them described his period

of sojourn in the USA as 'hard times' spent doing a variety of jobs

1. Tom Mboya "Freedom and After"(Andre Deutsch) London,1963, p.150
2. Tom Mboya ibid. p.27

ranging from Mess Waiter at sea to a factory-hand in a soap-making factory

having

> ".. to load as much as I could of this reeking and utterly repul-
> sive cargo (i.e. "the rotting entrails and lumps of fat of animals")
> into a wheelbarrow and then transport it, load after load, to the
> processing plant. As the days went by, instead of being steadily
> toughened, I had the greatest difficulty in trying not to vomit
> the whole time. At the end of two weeks I was almost fit to be
> transformed into a bar of soap myself".[1]

Another, after having to take a job in a coal-mine, was still in such dire

financial straits that he attempted to commit suicide by throwing himself

across a railway track as a train was approaching[2]. While experiences such as

these may not be typical of the majority of 'overseas' students, yet all

experiences in the sojourn situation would be expected to affect the indivi-

dual's identity and in this way shape his future orientations. We are interes-

ted, in this work, in investigating the nature of identity change as well as

the psychological and sociological correlates of this change.

One of the insights which previous research has provided concerns the

limits of variability in individual's responses to new cultural environments.

For instance (and drawing from these), identity change would be expected to

vary according to certain global as well as personality characteristics which

the individual brings to the situation. For instance, his possession or non-

possession of social skill (e.g. the ability to get on with other people)[3],

whether he is an only child or a first-born child in his family[4] and the

general nature of his family relationships[5], would all affect the extent of

1. K. Nkrumah "The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah" (Thomas Nelson and Sons)
   Edinburgh, 1957, pp.36-37
2. F.Chidozie Ogbalu "Dr. Zik of Africa: Biography and Speeches"(African
   Literature Bureau), Onitsha, 1961 edition, pp.24-25
3. A.K. Singh "Indian Students in Britain" (Asia Publishing House)London
   1963, chap.4
4. Stanley Schachter "The Psychology of Affiliation" (Stanford Univ.Press)
   1959, chap.5
5. Morris Rosenberg "Society and the Adolescent Self-Image" (Princeton Univ.
   Press) 1965, Part III, chaps. 6 & 7

identity change in the new situation. One of the most important global charac-
teristics which has been shown to affect students' reactions to the sojourn
situation is the national status of his country of origin. Where the student
comes from a country which is usually allocated similar level of international
prestige as that of the host country, his adjustment and overall reactions
tend to be easier and to involve less anxiety than where he comes from a coun-
try with a low national status position[1]. This implies that there is a scale
of national status of which both students and the people in the host country
are aware and can use to evaluate the various countries of origin from which
the students derive. Whether such a national prestige scale can be objectively
measured by social research instruments is another matter[2].

However, the awareness of such a system of national/international presti-
ge among both students and host population has been shown to affect not only
the individual student's psychological adjustment but also the nature of his
general social relationships. It determines whether the students would with-
draw from social participation or interact with the general population. Stu-
dents who come from countries which have a low national/international status
have been found to possess a 'sensitive area complex'[3]; that is a high sensi-
tivity with regard to certain areas of their life. The mere mention of any of
these areas is sufficient to evoke hostile and defensive reactions as well as
personal antagonism. These areas include, (in the case of Indian students on
whom the research was undertaken) areas such as the caste system, child marri-

1. R.T. Morris "National Status and Attitudes of Foreign Students" Journal of
   Social Issues, Vol.XII, No.1, 1956, pp. 2o-25
2. See the attempt at measurement in M. Shimbori et al. "Measuring a Nation's
   Prestige" Amer.Journ. of Sociology, Vol.69,No.1,1963, pp.63-68
3. R.D. Lambert and Bressler "The Sensitive Area Complex: A Contribution to a
   Theory of Guided Culture Contact" American Journal of Sociology, Vol.60
   1954, pp.583-592 and also Lambert's "Indian Students in the USA: Cross-
   Cultural Images" in Annals of Amer.Academ. of Political and Social Sciences
   Vol. 294-96, 1954 Sept. pp. 62-72

age, the inferior position of women, poverty, over-population and similar topics.

However, one might take issue with certain aspects of this research. For instance, the use of the notion of a 'complex' carries its usual connotations, while the author ignored the fact that it is only in the sojourn situation that the 'complex' would emerge. Indeed, the 'complex' probably emerged as a result of a conflict between aspects of the sojourn situation (in the USA) and the pre-sojourn aspects of life.

This issue notwithstanding, it is clear that sensitivity in these areas is associated with a low national status for the country from which the students derive. A similarly heightened sensitivity would therefore be expected to characterise students who share a similarly low national status position in the eyes of the American population. Here then is one global characteristic which would affect the extent of identity change in the new sojourn situation. Whether an opposite 'type' of 'complex' can be found among students from countries with relatively higher national status is at present an open question. Nevertheless, such sensititivity has not been noted among German[1], Norwegian and Swedish students in the USA[2].

Now, since low national/international prestige tends to be correlated with underdevelopment, one logical extrapolation from the above-mentioned research finding would be that the extent of identity change would be more pronounced among foreign students from underdeveloped societies than among those from developed societies. Such a relatively pronounced identity change would then reflect, in part, a disjunction between the cultural values of the

1. J.Watson and R. Lippitt "Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America" (Univ. of Michigan) Ann Arbor, 1955
2. S. Lysagaard "Adjustment in a Foreign Society: Norwegian Fullbright Grantees Visiting USA" Inter.Soc.Science Bulletin, Vol.VII, 1955, also F.D. Scott "The American Experience of Swedish Students" (Univ. of Minnesota Press) Mineapolis, 1956

home country and those of the country of sojourn[1]. For these students, then, inter-cultural educational travel would always involve some disjunction in cultural values.

Our investigation of the impact of the sojourn experience on the identity of West African students in the United Kingdom therefore implies (as the trend of our discussion so far has shown) that sociological and psychological insights cannot be separated in a study such as ours since both contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the research problem.

Statement of Research Intentions

As can be seen from our discussion so far, this work is essentially an exploratory endeavour into an area which is important for reasons other than the number of persons involved. Its primary aim is to trace and understand those systematic relationships which exist between the individual's self-identity and his immediate environment and from this to study the reactions of West African students to their sojourn in the UK. Our objectives can be stated, then, in terms of the following:

1. To obtain basic information about the attitudes and problems of West African students in the United Kingdom, and those who are studying in their own home institutions.

2. To measure, and study changes in, self-identity.

3. To study the impact of sojourn variables on self-identity by means of a comparative analysis and

4. To see whether there are sociological and psychological correlates of self-identity.

Some Practical Limitations

There are some limitations which impinge on the extent to which the above

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1. We describe the cultural background of West African students in chap. 5 and show how educational travel abroad tends to involve some element of culture conflict.

stated objectives can be achieved and it is the nature of some of these which account, in part, for the exploratory character of this research, not the least important of these being a limitation in financial resources.

The research design involves the use of an experimental group of West African students studying in the United Kingdom as well as a control group who are studying in institutions of higher education in West Africa. Ideally, there should be three samples, one consisting of West African students in the UK, the other consisting of West African students studying in their home institutions and the third consisting of British students against whom the characteristics of the experimental sample can be compared. However, to have carried out the study in this way would have involved a far larger outlay of money than the resources of a single researcher would have allowed. It is this which accounts, primarily, for the use of only one control group.

The second limitation concerns the sampling of West African students in their home institutions. In this regard, it would have been preferable to have travelled to West Africa to carry out the sampling, as the sampling frames available there are more likely to be precise and up to date. This would have involved travelling to the towns in West Africa from which the control sample students were drawn . However, such a venture would have been prohibitive. The compromise solution which was adopted involved using the available sampling frames - registration lists - without being able to check on their adequacy. We contacted various individuals in West Africa who agreed to be agents for the distribution and collection of questionnaires. While the author is indebted to these persons for the work which they did and for the thoroughness with which they did it, it is obvious that sampling bias could have entered the samples from this source as well as from inadequacies in the sampling frames.

We discuss various tests which we carried out to check on the representativeness of the samples in Appendix 1. The UK sample consisted of West African students in universities and technical colleges while the control sample consisted of students in one university and upper sixth-formers in two schools in West Africa. We shall henceforth refer to the two groups as experimentals and controls respectively.

A third limitation concerns the nature of the assumptions which we had to make at the planning stage of the research project. Ideally, the experimental variables should be completely manipulable. However, this is not usually possible in social research. In the context of this study, for instance, we were not in a position to control (except in a limited way) the composition of the two samples since we have not allocated the students randomly to the experimental and the control groups. We are studying an ex post facto situation in which some students 'find' themselves in the UK while others are in West Africa. In view of this limitation, we had to select our general methodological approach on the basis of what John Stuart Mill called his 'Method of Difference'. This involves studying the effects of variables in the 'home' situation as well as those in the sojourn situation and controlling for every variable that can apply to both situations, the presumption being that the resulting variables which do not show effects which can apply to both samples and situations, would have explanatory possibilities. This is the same as the argumentum per eliminationem which Durkheim used in his work on suicide.

However, this methodological approach implies that the researcher is at least aware of all the other variables that he has not studied but which could pose alternative causal connections with the phenomenon he is interested in. Such a supposition is usually out of the question since the researcher would

have taken these variables into account had he known about them. Our research, as indicated before, is exploratory and is designed to discover those variables which have effects on the students' self-identity while they are in the sojourn situation as well as to discover what these effects are. We can therefore not purport to have studied all the variables which could possibly have causal importance for the students' reactions. To this extent, the assumptions inherent in our approach may be unwarranted. Nevertheless, we feel that this has not impaired the theme of our argument, partly because our research was aimed at illuminating connections which were brought out by our pilot survey, and partly because of the inherent 'red herring' element in any criticism of the Method of Difference: 'red herring' in the sense that it could always be maintained at the end of every research that there may have been extraneous variables which may have alternative causal implications but which were not considered. Further research into these extraneous variables (assuming that they are known to the researcher) would still leave such a criticism un-affected.

The fourth limitation concerns mixtures of effects in the phenomenon we are studying due to the possible intrusion of _two_ extraneous variables of which we were aware at the very beginning of the research project. These are (a) maturation and (b) the effects on the personality of university higher education. Since both the control and the experimental samples are all involved in higher education, we assumed that that part of identity change which is induced by maturation would cancel itself out and would thus not create systematic differences between the two sets of students. In other words, since both sets of students are all 'growing up' while at university, there is no

a priori reason why maturation should affect one group and not the other. There is, similarly, no reason to expect that the fact of having been to university in a foreign country would affect the speed or the character of maturation vis a vis staying and studying in the home institution.

The same reasoning was applied to the effects of higher education. We know that the university does have some effect on students' personalities[1]; we also know that not only do the subjects studied by students while they are at college affect their general attitudes[2] but also that there are certain personality characteristics which predispose individuals to study certain subjects[3]. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to show that studying given subjects in a foreign university has any differential effect on students' attitudes vis a vis studying the same subjects in the home institution. Similarly, there is no evidence that university education in West Africa has

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1. See, for instance, Harold Webster et al. "Personality Changes in College Students" in Nevitt Sanford ed. "The American College"(Wiley & Sons) New York, 1962, pp.811-846; also Marvin Freedman "Studies of College Alumni" in Nevitt Sanford ibid. pp. 847-886 but more especially p.857 showing that changes induced during the college years can endure up to five years after leaving college.
2. See Harold Webster et al. ibid. pp. 836ff; also Webster's "Changing Attitudes During College" in Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 49, No.3, 1958, pp. 109-117 especially p.110; Philip Jacob "Changing Values in College"(Harper & Bros.) New York, 1957, pp.58-77; D.Thistlewaite "Development of Motivation to Seek Advanced Training" in Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.53, No.2, 1962, pp.53-64 esp. p.62.
3. Paul Heist et al. "Personality and Scholarship" in Science, Vol.133,1961, pp. 362-367; also C.McArthur "Subculture and Personality During the College Years" in Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol.33,1959-60, pp.260-268 esp. p.262; Morris Rosenberg "Occupation and Values"(Free Press) Illinois, 1957, chaps. 111 and 1V and Lawrence F.Douglas"Types of Students and Their Outlook on University Education" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London Library, 1964) chap. 8.

an effect on the personality which is different from that which university education in the UK would have on the personality even if we admit that the social valuation of being a 'university student' in West Africa, where there tends to be a relatively small number of graduates compared with the UK, may be higher than in the UK.

All these assumptions have been made in order to avoid mixtures of effects which cannot be controlled since the experimental design utilised was aimed at showing that there is a residual aspect of identity change which is related to the nature of the immediate environment in which the student finds himself. These limitations, inherent in our assumptions, should therefore be borne in mind when considering the findings of the survey.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

Travel for the purpose of the acquisition of knowledge has been a constant
factor in many societies, though its nature has tended to vary from time to
time and (to a lesser extent) from place to place. Educational travel in the
context of this work refers to "a social process of acquiring knowledge of an
intellectual or technical nature, under institutionalised conditions, outside
one's own social and cultural environment"[1]. In this sense, educational travel
is by no means a new phenomenon. When the history of this phenomenon comes to
be written, the historian will realise (1) the need to explain the relationship
between educational travel and various aspects of social life, (2) the extent to
which it changes in relation to changing historical circumstances and (3) the
extent to which it is related to economic development in different countries.
In this respect, the greatest embarrassment is likely to be the inadequate
nature of the documentary sources which are available. Nevertheless, for the
purpose of this work, enough evidence is available to show that educational
travel has not been confined to Western Europe but has also been a normal
phenomenon in West Africa and other parts of the world and that certain
patterns are discernible.

Some of the earliest evidence available of individuals travelling to other
countries for the purpose of education comes from Greece and Rome. While,
by the second century, many Romans had studied under Greek emigres, the
pattern was not, nevertheless, a one-way pattern. There were, in this early
period, some Romans of distinguished family connections who went to Greece for

1. Guy Metraux "Introduction: A Historical Approach" International Social
   Science Bulletin   Vol. VIII, No.4, 1956, p.577

the purpose of studying, though it is widely accepted[1] that the proportion of individuals involved was probably quite small at this time and that since many of them were grown-up individuals, that their travel may not have been connected only with the search for education. It is of course impossible to say when the pattern of two-way movement between Rome and Greece started. Nevertheless, the influence of Greek emigres, who came into Rome in increasing numbers after the Peloponesian War (431-404 B.C.), was an important influence on Roman education in general and higher education in particular.

Before this period, Roman education was essentially a household affair; it was, as it were, education domesticated in the sense that girls were taught the domestic arts at home and their education was in the hands of the mother while boys were taught by their fathers at home until the age of twelve when they were taken out to supplement their household education with visits to theatres, civic meetings, sports meetings and to listen to, and engage in, discourse. The idea of schools outside the home derived from the influence of Greek emigres,who also, much later on, stimulated the need for higher education among the Romans. Herein lies the origin of the Paedagogus - the individual who had the responsibility of tutoring the young Roman, first in the home and later in the schools. He was in the earlier period almost always Greek.

Similarly, many of the professors in Rome were Greeks,though Jews, Arabs, Syrians and others were also professors. These outsiders were instrumental in

1. Lloyd Daly "Roman Study Abroad" American Journal of Philology Vol.71,1950 pp.40-58; John Walden "The Universities of Ancient Greece" (George Routledge and Sons)1912,p.52; Prof. H.I. Marrou "A History of Education in Antiquity" (Sheed and Ward Ltd.) London, 1956, p. 186.
2. There are various accounts of the nature of this higher education - all more or less consistent with each other. See for instance H.I. Marrou ibid. pp.213 ff; John Walden "The Universities of Ancient Greece" ibid.. and Frank Frost Abbott "Society and Politics in Ancient Rome" (Charles Scribner's Sons) New York, 1909, particualarly chap. 10

stimulating the need for higher education among the Romans as well as in ful-
filling it. In this respect, individuals such as Crates, Panaetius, Carneades
and Polybius were as instrumental as were members of the Scipionic Circle. To-
wards the last century of the Republic, this urge for higher learning became
more widespread among the population[1],though it can be presumed to have remain-
ed the preserve of the upper sectors of society by virtue of the expenditure
involved[2].

There is some evidence, scanty though it is, that one of the earliest in-
dividuals to have gone to Greece specifically for the purpose of obtaining an
education was the African, Terence, who achieved eminence for his verse. It is
suggested that it was while he was on this trip that he died[3]. Cicero definite-
ly studied in Greece as did his son Marcus. The former studied philosophy un-
der Antiochus at Athens for about six months. He also studied under the
Epicureans, Phaedrus, Zeno the Stoic, and rhetoric under Demetrius of Syria.
He then moved on to Asia Minor where he studied under such orators as Menippus
of Stratonice, Dionysius of Magnesia, Aechylus of Cnidus, Xenocles of
Andramyttium and Posidonius of Rhodes. The latter, his son Marcus, left Rome
to study in Athens as a result of the conscious decision on the part of the
father that the son should undertake further studies in Greece after he had
completed his primary education and spent a short period of time in military

1. John Walden op.cit.p.54, described the gradual nature of this dispersion
   when he says:"More and more did the Romans resort to Grecian lands -
   travellers who were interested to see the works of art and the places
   associated with the famous names of history and song; students and men of
   culture and learning who wished to live for a time in the intellectual
   atmosphere of the country and to converse with the philosophers and orators"
2. According to the letters of Marcus to his father Cicero, the sums of money
   required were large. Apart from this, sending one's children to study in
   Greece took on the character of keeping up with the Joneses. Cicero, there-
   fore, had to put the income from two properties at the disposal of the son-
   a total income which the latter still found inadequate. (Abbott pp.191-214,
   Daly pp. 51-3, Walden chap. XIV)
3. Lloyd Daly "Roman Study Abroad" op.cit. pp. 42-43

training under Pompey[1]. This conscious decision to send the boy away to

Athens was partly an attempt on the father's part to prevent his son from

being embroiled in the civil war (51 B.C. to 46 B.C.) and partly a reflection

of the father's desire for his son to be properly educated under some of the

best brains available in the period. He studied philosophy and rhetoric under

a succession of tutors, his relationship to some of these being so close that

they all shared in the bacchanalian activities which characterised student

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1. Marcus since the age of nine, had a series of Greek tutors including the
freedman Dionysius as well as his father (ABBOTT, 195-6). During his period
of military training he was given command of a troop of cavalry under
Pompey - a life he enjoyed tremendously and wished to turn into his profes-
sion. However, there is no evidence that he actually went into action
against the forces of Mithridates (DALY, 5o-51).

life in the period[1].

There are a whole series of other individuals who went to Greece for the purpose of engaging in some period of study as distinct from undertaking a pleasure trip. Quintus Caecilius Numidicus, according to Cicero, studied

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1. Students' activities were hectic and the life of the foreign university student, highly interesting. Like other students they hired their teachers and paid them certain fees. However, if the student can cajole other fresh-ers into believing that his professor was the best in the region, then fees were remitted in his favour. (WALDEN Chap. XIV). Rowdyism was widespread and drinking was heavily indulged in. Sometimes, the professors cultivated such close relationships with their students that they arranged parties to which these students were invited, at which all kinds of pleasures were indulged in. Marcus was instructed by his father to sack one of his teachers Georgias, whom his father suspected was leading the young boy astray (DALY, p.53). The behaviour of students necessitated the use of the strap and the rod (WALDEN, p.324-5). The reports on Marcus Cicero show him to be most unprogressive. It was said that "Marcus could evidently pass a better judgement upon a bottle of wine than upon a system of philosophy" and Pliny, an acquaintance and contemporary student and also a heavy drinker, said of him that he robbed Mark Antony (a future enemy of his father's) of the reputation of being the hardest drinker of his time (ABBOTT, p. 2o8-9). They also, and perhaps consequently, gave their professors a hard time outside as well as inside the lecture-hall. One can understand the feeling of dejection of one professor when he says:" I send my slave out to all my scholars to summon them to lecture and he starts off at a run to do my bidding. But they are in no mood, like him, to hurry, though they ought to to be even more in haste. They stay, some of them to sing their songs, which we have all heard till we are tired or else they amuse themselves with foolish merriment and jesting. If their friends or bystanders remark at their delay... and at last they make their mind up to be off, they talk about their sweethearts as they go, or on the skill of some dancer at the Circus and they gossip even when they are inside, to the annoyance of the real students. This they do until the lecture has begun. And even when the subject is being discussed and explanation is going on, they keep whisper-ing to each other about the jockeys and the races or some comedians and opera singers: or about some scuffle past or future. Meantime, some of them stand like statues with their arms folded on each other; others go on blowing their noses with both hands; others sit stock still, unmoved by any of my strokes of brilliancy or wit. Some try to interrupt those who feel stirred. Others vacantly cast up the numbers in the room or stare at the trees that grow outside.. I had a different set of pupils once.. Each of them used to carry away something in his memory of what I said, and then they would put their heads together and compare notes and write my speech out fair. They were quite distressed if they lost any of the heads, although that seldom happened. But as for you, (to the students), you can only tell inquirers that I have been lecturing but cannot repeat a word of what I said" (ABBOTT chap. 1o, pp.2o5-6).my emphasis.

under the Greek philosopher Carneades at Athens[1]. Caesar, it is reported, was going to Rhodes to study when he was captured by pirates. Atticus, a close friend of Cicero, left Rome in 86 B.C. to go to Greece and returned twenty-one years later in 65 B.C. In this period in Greece, he cultivated a good relat-ionship with Antiochus, one of Cicero's teachers. It is, however, not absolute-ly clear that he spent all of the twenty-one year period in studying[2].

A much younger and more numerous group of men also travelled from Rome to Greece for the express purpose of obtaining higher education. Cassius, the friend of Brutus the assassin, studied philosophy and rhetoric at Rhodes. Brutus himself is said to have had a reputation for his devotion to Greek philosophy and literature. He spent some time studying philosophy under Aristus, the brother of Antiochus, and rhetoric under Parmennes at Athens and Empylus at Rhodes. Horace studied in Greece and was a contemporary and friend of Marcus. Mark Antony is also reputed to have studied rhetoric for a time in Greece[3]. These are only a few but they suggest that the practice of travelling 'abroad' for the purpose of obtaining further education had finally arrived.

The general effect of the widespread adoption of the practice of moving across frontiers in the interest of education was an increase in the distances traversed by these students, an increase in the opportunities to be involved in culture conflict situations, and also an increase in the mobility of teachers themselves. Foreign students came from as far as the western edge of the Empire to Rome and to Greece to study while teachers roamed just as far. Thus Virgil, born in a little village called Andes, a dependency of the city of Mantua, in the western part of the Italian peninsula, left home at the

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1. Lloyd Daly "Roman Study Abroad" op.cit. p.42

2. ibid. p.47

3. ibid. p.48 - 49

age of twelve and took his secondary education in Cremona. At sixteen, on

receiving the toga virilis, he went to Milan and there studied rhetoric; he

then left and went on to Rome to study under Maximus Epidius, who also had

Mark Antony and Octavian among his pupils later on. Virgil also studied the

sciences, particularly medicine and mathematics, and also philosophy. From

Rome he went on to Naples where he joined the Epicurean circle of philosophers

under Siro[1].

About four hundred years later a similar journey was undertaken by St.

Augustine who came from an even more distant land and provides another example

of long distance movement from an 'underdeveloped' to a 'developed' society

(if these concepts can be used in this context without stretching them); for

St. Augustine was another African who came from the western edge of the Medi-

teranean world - from a little town called Tragaete in the district of Numidia

(present-day Mauretania)[2]. He obtained his primary education in this town

and, like Virgil, moved out into a larger town for his secondary education as

well as his higher education, in this case to a town called Madaurus (also

in the district of Numidia). He then went on to Carthage (present-day Tunisia)

for further studies. These he was unable to finish since he was fatherless.

He ended up as a convert to philosophy and Christian theology.

Similar large-scale and long distance movements of students and teachers

took place to Rome and other educational cities as well as from Rome. The

Museum in Alexandria became an important centre for foreign students to con-

gregate from about the second century B.C. and was one of the important cen-

tres of scientific research in that period. It is reputed to have had the most

lavishly-equipped library in antiquity and to have had scholars from far and

1. Professor H.I. Marrou "A History of Education in Antiquity" op.cit.pp.296-7
2. H.I. Marrou ibid. p. 297

wide. Scholars were ministered to by a host of servants appointed by the king for this purpose. All they had to do was to pursue their scientific research interests in peace and comfort. As in Greece and Rome, there were no set courses of instruction to be followed; rather students congregated around a learned professor according to the reputation which he had in his field. The reputation of the professors of Alexandria was so widely dispersed and accepted throughout the ancient world that by the fourth century A.D. it is said that "the best way for a doctor to impress his patients was to let them know that he had studied at Alexandria"[1]. Hippocrates is reputed to have studied there. Galen studied his medicine partly on an apprenticeship basis in his native city of Pergamus for eleven years and then studied in Smyrna, Corinth and finally Alexandria[2]. In the same period students congregated in universities at Cairo, Fez and Damascus from various parts of the then known world.

Such widespread movement of teachers and students meant that (1) certain cities and towns became famous for their educational institutions and for their teachers; (2) it also meant that the fame of a place was liable to fluctuate as teachers and students move in or out of it. Certain emperors, knowing this, attempted to increase the attractiveness of their cities by either creating stipends for professors, as in the case of Vespasian of Rome, or supporting the known professors and providing imperial patronage as in the case of Pompey and the professors at Rhodes; (3) it meant also that though there was a certain amount of movement in between places, there was a tendency for Greece and Rome to be the main centre of gravity for such migrations; finally (4) this also meant that the emergence of certain more important centres of education was, in fact, a reflection of the unequal distribution of educational opportunities in the then known world. Indeed, such movement in search of

1. H.I. Marrou "A History of Education in Antiquity" op.cit. p. 190
2. H.I. Marrou ibid. p. 193

education followed the 'map of educational opportunity' as Marrou has called it. Accordingly, in the period up to the Middle Ages, many cities and towns in various parts of Europe served as educational centres for attracting foreign students - Limoges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, Marseilles, Arles, Lyons, Besancon, Rheims and Cologne, to mention a few.

The university, as it is known today, as an institution, emerged in the Middle Ages out of the trends in the movements of foreign students. The 'Universitas' was essentially a union of foreign students in a foreign land who banded together for their mutual protection. Whereas in antiquity it was enough for a group of students to collect themselves around a famous teacher or a glorified Paedagogus, in this period this became insufficient since it became necessary to protect themselves against the encroachment of the town officials, the populace, the church and in some cases the King[1]. This development reached its apotheosis in Bologna which became one of the earliest unions of students for their self-protection while the University of Paris was an association of university teachers also for their own protection. At the same time the amount of wandering scholars was augmented by a newer phenomenon, the travelling tourist who travelled abroad for the sheer pleasure of travelling[2], though some have made the mistake of assuming that such travel was the exclusive preserve of the English Aristocracy[3]. On the contrary, the phenomenon was

1. "In Bologna only the foreign students belonged to the university; local students from Bologna did not belong to this 'universitas'.Further the professors and teachers did not also belong to it because they were themselves citizens of Bologna". N.Schachner "The Mediaeval Universities" (Perpetua Books, E.S. Barnes & Co.) 1962, p. 159. For the same reason they lived in 'nations' or common hostels (op.cit.chap.VIII and chap.V on "The Genesis of Universities")
2. E.S. Bates "Touring in 1600" (Constable & Co.)1911 pp.25-6, pp.33-4
3. "The Grand Tour once symbolised a particular feature of English Aristocratic culture which no other national aristocracy could - or perhaps need to - boast" p.11 in R.S. Lambert ed. "Grand Tour; A Journey in the Tracks of the Age of Aristocracy" (Faber & Faber) 1935

widespread in Europe. Indeed, in West Africa, despite the flimsy nature of the evidence, a similar trend begins to be noticed from around the fourteenth century both in connection with travel as a means of obtaining education and the establishment of the idea of a university.

The idea of the university in West Africa, as in ancient Greece and Rome, emerged out of the congregation of groups of students, invariably foreign students, around a learned master. In the 14th through to the 16th centuries the predominant educational centre for the whole of West Africa appears to have been the city of Timbuctoo on the banks of the River Niger in the political complex of Songhoi. The middle regions of West Africa, at this time, were spanned by three large empires - with Ghana in the West and South-West, Mali in the middle region but east of Ghana and Songhoi(which became the largest by conquest) - and the Kingdom of Karnem-Bornu in the East.

Large-scale and long-distance migrations characterised the whole area as it still does and was a contributory factor in the spread of Islam since the eleventh century. Timbuctoo was in the Songhoi political complex;but whether it became the educational centre for West Africa because it was one of the most important seats of Islam or vice versa it is impossible to say. Neverthe- less, these migrations were influential in spreading the fame of Timbuctoo as an educational centre as well as carrying the message of Islam[1]. Scholars came from everywhere to study in Timbuctoo. This fame is manifested in an old West African proverb which says:

> "Salt comes from the north, gold from the south and silver
> from the country of the white man, but the word of God and the
> treasures of wisdom are only to be found in Timbuctoo".

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1. There were other educational centres,such as Gao and Kano, which provided
   Timbuctoo with new recruits. See Robert I.Rotberg "A Political History of
   Tropical Africa" (Oxford University Press) London,1965,pp.95 - 96 and p.104

The fame of the city derived from its university at Sankore' which consisted

of a group of learned scholars and their teachers. But the teachers, Marabuts

as they were called, also provided a ready source of talent for the adminis-

tration of the Empires. They were the religious leaders as well as the magis-

trates and political advisers. They were reputed to be as learned as the

Saints themselves:

> "The scholars of Timbuctoo yielded in nothing to the Saints
> and their miracles. During their sojourns in foreign univer-
> sities of Fez, Tunis and Cairo... they astounded the most
> learned men of Islam with their erudition"[1].

Felix Dubois, who undertook an expedition to the area, goes on to add

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1. Felix Dubois "Timbuctoo: The Mysterious" (translated from the original
French by Diana White and published in English translation by William
Heinemann, London, in 1897). Neither the date of publication of the
original French edition nor the dates when the expedition took place are
given. The above quotation is from pp.284-5. Nevertheless, his account is
more or less consistent with the accounts of other writers who visited the
region in earlier times. For instance, Ibn Batuta, describing a visit he
made to Timbuctoo in 1352/3 writes that the people "are seldom unjust and
have a greater abhorrence of it than any other people. Their Sultan shows
no mercy to anyone who is guilty of the least act of it. There is complete
security in the country. Neither traveller nor inhabitant in it has any-
thing to fear from robbers or men of violence. They do not confiscate the
property of any white man who dies in their country, even if it be uncoun-
ted wealth. On the contrary, they give it to some trustworthy person among
the whites until the rightful heir takes possession of it.." (Rotberg p.44).
Another writer, Leo Africanus describing Mali in the sixteenth century
reports that "... there were a great store of temples, priests and profes-
sours (sic), which Professours read their lectures only in temples bicause
(sic) they haue no colleges at all (sic)" (Rotberg, pp.46-47).

".. that these negroes were on a level with the Arabian
savant is proved by the fact that they were installed as
professors in Morocco and Egypt. In contrast, we find
that the Arabs were not always equal to the requirements
of Sankoré" (p. 285)[1]

The equipment of the Library at Sankoré was quite extensive and, according to

Dubois, is reputed to have included millions of manuscript rolls dating as far

back as the period of the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Dubois

claims to have examined some of the remains of that Library and was able to

pick out specifically a work which was written in 1160 by a noted Islamic

scholar in Grenada[2].

Such fame provided in part the motivation for students to undertake

arduous and extensive travels in the search for an education. Students came

to Timbuctoo from all parts of the Sudan and the North. The smaller towns and

the less important educational centres such as Gao and Kano served as the

'preparatory schools for Timbuctoo':

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1. Dubois described their enterprise in books thus:"Books are the most profi-
   table enterprise since the learned doctors were, to use an expression
   which may appear strange when applied to Negroes, bibliophiles. In the best
   sense of the word, they had no mania for collecting uncut books and manus-
   cripts, but were true lovers of books. We see them searching with a real
   passion for the volumes they did not possess and making copies when they
   were too poor to buy what they wanted" (Dubois, p.288). My emphasis. The
   destruction by the Moors and the Almoravids, the later the French, of a
   large part of the Library and books in the town left them sensitive about
   lending books. Dubois relates how they lent him some books with difficulty,
   frequently accompanying their refusals with a narration of "the histories
   of many a volume which was lent to a white man from the South" (Dubois,p.
   288). He then describes how they grudgingly allowed him to see some and
   were pleasantly surprised that he did not destroy them (ibid. p.288).
2. Felix Dubois ibid. p. 288

> "The sons of the Songhoi kings quitted their palaces..
> and the children of the Tourags (sic) deserted their
> great tents to receive an education at the University
> of Sankore' in Timbuctoo... Side by side with princes,
> and sons of chieftains came ppor wretches, eager for
> knowledge who were supported by the dignitaries of the
> town and by those merchants who liked to play the role
> of Maecenas"[1]

The subjects taught included rhetoric, diction, Arabic, logic, eloquence, oriental writing, philology, tradition, biography, sewing and medicine. Only mathematics, apparently, was not taught.

However, even in this geographical context, such movements in search of education were by no means a 'one-way-street' affair since many students and teachers from Timbuctoo and the Empire of Songhoi went 'abroad' to work and study in other universities such as Fez, Damascus, and Cairo. Indeed, we know that some students from the Kanem/Bornu Empire along the middle stretches of the Niger, went to study in Cairo and lived in special hostels built for accommodating them[2]. The extent to which such movements can be described in terms of movement from underdeveloped to developed areas depends on the economic and political dispositions of these areas about which little is known. In any case, the distinction is a rather recent invention. What is, however, true is that the element of culture conflict must have been present in many cases where long-distance travel was involved since long distances are more likely, than not, to involve crossing cultural frontiers. The exact dimensions of such culture conflict is difficult to determine.

Evidence from a later period (1700 to 1900), derived from the biographies of West African students who travelled to Europe for the purpose of education, suggests that the element of culture conflict was a real one for many of

1. Felix Dubois op.cit. p. 289
2. Robert I. Rotberg op.cit. p.49

them. Among the earliest group of West African students who went to various parts of Europe in search of education was Anthony William Amoo who came from the Gold Coast in 1725/26 and went to Germany. The circumstances surrounding his choice of Germany are not known. But while he was there, he was put in the charge of the Princess of Brunswick. He attended the universities of Halle, Saxony, and Wittenberg, doing so well in his studies that on his graduation, he was given a public oration by the Rector of the last-mentioned university. His knowledge, it is reported, was extensive, having studied Latin, Hebrew, Greek and German. He published an extensive doctoral dissertation in Latin in 1734 and returned home to the Gold Coast in 1753 on account of the death of his benefactoress. However, despite his apparent adjustment to the society in which he was living he constantly suffered from prolonged periods of depression and completely lost all knowledge of his original language[1].

Another such student in the same time period was Phillip Quaque who, together with two others, came to Britain, these two others being William Kodjo and Thomas Cobors. They all suffered uniformly from states of depression despite their apparent adjustment to the society. Phillip Quaque lost all knowledge of his original language. Indeed, when he returned to West Africa in 1766 he had to communicate to people in English through various interpreters and was thus of very little value to the missionaries who had sponsored his studies in England in the hope that he would become a bulwark of missionary endeavour in West Africa. The reactions of Kodjo and Cobors were different. Kodjo became mentally insane and was taken into Guy's Hospital where he died. Cobors died of an unknown disease in 1758[2].

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1. Abbe Gregoire "Anthony William Amoo" in "Memoirs of West African Celebrities (1700-1850)" ed.S.R.B. Ahuma (D. Marples & Co)Liverpool, 1905,pp.15ff
2. Attoh Ahuma ibid. pp. 45-53

It would seem, from the fact that Phillip Quaque arranged for his children to receive their education in Britain, that the practice of sending one's children abroad for their education was already firmly established in the West Coast by the middle of the eighteenth century, at least among the elites in society. Accordingly, quite a few princes and members of Royalty embarked on educational travels to Europe around this time - some of them with disastrous consequences[1].

Thomas Jenkins, for instance, was a Prince who was put in the charge of a Captain Swanstone to be taken to England to be educated. Shortly after his arrival in England Jenkin's patron died suddenly at an inn - at a time when he had not even learnt a single word of English. He was taken in by a friend of the deceased captain and had to serve him as a farmer's boy for a long time. During this time, Black Tom (as he was called in the neighbourhood) had a succession of experiences which undoubtedly affected his personality. He nevertheless always felt a sense of obligation to his parents and attempted as far as this was possible to educate himself. It is reported that "Tom began to have a strange liking for candle-ends. Not one about the house could escape him". It turned out that he used these for working in his attic when all the others were asleep in the house. It was in this way, that he educated himself and learnt enough to successfully compete for a job as a school teacher. Like

1. There is the famous case of Prince Sassarakoo, Prince of Anamboe, who at the age of 18 years was entrusted to a ship's Captain to be taken to England and be educated. On arrival, the base captain promptly sold the Prince into slavery and died. The Prince was eventually rescued from slavery (apparently by the King) and ransom paid to his parents by the British Government. See Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol.19,1749,p.89 and Vol.20,1750,pp.272-3. Similarly,the two brothers of Prince Gagangha Acqua, sons of the King of the Cameroons, were sent to England to be educated and placed for this purpose with a Liverpool merchant who,it is said, "used them as manual labour and sent them back ignorant" (Ahuma op.cit.p.107)

the others, he went through re-curring periods of depression though it would

appear that he solved his identity problems by becoming "a Scotch Peasant".

> "Having retained no trace of his native language,
> he resembled in every respect, except his colour
> a Scotch peasant, only he was much more learned than
> most of them and spent his time more abstractedly"[1]

After spending some time in the university of Edinburgh, he was appointed

and dispatched as a missionary to Mauritius.

The psychological manifestation of culture conflict is expressed

perhaps more vividly in the case of Prince Gagangha Acqua who was the third

son of the King of the Cameroons to have left his home country to go to Cuba

(why Cuba is not clear) in order, in his own words, "to see the white man's

country". However, he could not reach Cuba because the ship in which he was

travelling was intercepted and he was held prisoner on board. He eventually

arrived in England via Jamaica and was taken in by a London magistrate by the

name of Joseph Philips.

The effects of his experiences after leaving his home country suggest

that a radical change in his personality took place. When taken to see a

Cathedral in London, he is reported to have exclaimed "Ah, white man know

everything! I cannot speak what I think. On another occasion when he was

taken to church, he announced that the music produced no effect on him other

than an inclination to dance."[2] The letter adds that "in his own country when

anything of peculiar excellence was exhibited, he said it was common to view

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1. Jenkins was not his original name but was given to him in England and
   stuck with him. This was a common means of avoiding their otherwise un-
   pronounceable names. See "Thomas Jenkins: An African Prince" culled from
   Chambers Miscellany and reproduced in Ahuma op.cit.pp. 65 ff. The quote is
   from p. 69.
2. Letter to Wilson Armistead from John Burt, dated Feb. 1848 on pp.97-1o7.
   The above quotation is taken from p. 100 (Ahuma op.cit.)

it as the immediate workmanship of a divine hand; 'but now' he exclaimed
with evident delight 'I have myself seen such things made by men'. Similarly,
when, in the British Museum, he saw some art objects which had been used as
idols in his home town in Fernando Po he showed his sense of the absurdity
of holding them in reverence by emphatically remarking that if they were
Gods they would not suffer themselves to be taken captive and be there con-
fined within narrow precincts of a house"[1]. He left England in 1832 and
sailed for Sierra Leone.

The similarities in these few biographies suggest that all these indivi-
duals were subjected to similar environmental pressures while they were abroad.
That some of them lose all knowledge of their language is a reflection of one
reaction which these environmental pressures can produce. Similarly, it is
unlikely that the extensive periods of depression which some of them experien-
ced could have had organic foundations. If, on the other hand, they were or-
ganic in origin, there is still the fact of the close similarity among these
widely differing individuals which has to be explained.

Our discussion so far has shown that the oldest and singularly most im-
portant aspect of educational travel (irrespective of the geographical context)
is the search for education - pure intellectualism. From the period of the
Middle Ages, a new element which emerged was the search for proficiency -
an element which was undoubtedly brought to the fore by the expansion in
communications and new sources of competition which in turn increased the
opportunities for testing one's proficiency. Further,the rise of the industrial
revolution was beginning to turn proficiency into a criterion of social se-
lection and thus increase the public's respect for the proficient. Montaigne

1. Ahuma op.cit. p. 103

put it very succintly when he said that educational travel should be made an essential ingredient in the education of every individual. He wrote:

> ".. intercourse with men is wonderfully proper for it
> (i.e. education) and travel in foreign countries, not simply
> to bring back after the manner of the French nobility, the
> number of feet of the Santa Rotunda, or the eloquence of
> Signiora Livia's drawers; or like others, how much longer
> or broader the Face of New (sic) is in some old ruin then
> it is on some equally cold coin; but chiefly to bring back
> the characteristics of those nations and their manners of
> living and to <u>rub and file our wits against those of theirs</u>"[1]

For this reason he goes on to advise that in educating a child, it would be advisable to take him

> ".. among the neighbouring nations whose languages are most
> unlike ours, to which the tongue cannot be wonted unless
> you train it in good season"[2].

The same desire for   proof of proficiency can be found among present-day students who are involved in educational travel[3].

The Middle Ages also affected the nature of inter-cultural educational travel by (a) the localisation and nationalisation of universities and (b) the widespread acceptance of the idea of the 'scholarship'. The former meant that universities were gradually brought into the orbit of national and local politics, offering the members protection and financial assistance in order to win their social support. This was by no means a new phenomenon since Vespasian, as we have seen, had protected the professors at Rome for this reason. Similarly, Muhammed and Da'ud in Songhoi gave stipends to the Professors and offered them protection for a similar reason[4]. But these were the arbitrary and isolated actions of men who were desperate for political support in their

1. "The Essays of Montaigne" (Cambridge, Massachusetts)1925 translated by G.S. Ives, chap.XXVI "Of the Education of Children" pp.2o4-5. My emphasis
2. ibid p. 205
3. Guy Metraux "Introduction" op.cit. p. 579
4. Robert Rotberg op.cit. pp. 9598

various conflicts with their rivals. It was not, however, until the Middle Ages that the concatenation of these two factors led to the institutionalisation of educational travel, changing the university from a collection of scholars and teachers into the localised institution as we know it today with automatic protection for its members. This protection need no longer come from a political contestant for power (as in the case of the King offering protection to the University of Paris in the twelveth and thirteenth centuries, or at Oxford University during the conflict between King Henry VIII and the Papacy in Rome) but could come also from the officials of the town (as in the case of the university of Bologna). In other words, with the gradual elimination of personal risks and poverty on the part of the student[1], intercultural travel for the purposes of education was given greater social confirmation.

Another influence of the Middle Ages (apart from this institutionalising process) on inter-cultural educational travel was the increase in the expression of liberalist sentiments and the diffusion of such ideas which improved communications engendered. The increase in the number of travelling students increased their knowledge about other peoples and induced a less ethnocentric and more tolerant attitude into those who took part. Again, this element was not completely lacking in educational travel before the Middle Ages; nevertheless the conflict between the church and state before and during the

1. It is partly for the fact that such travel involved large expenditures that the Grand Tour as well as long distance educational travel was largely confined to the members of the European Aristocracy. One writer describes, for instance, the elaborate preparations of one such travelling scholar by the name of Sir Phillip Sydney who found it necessary to travel with a suite of servants as well as tutors in the languages of the various countries through which he would have to pass. See Monica Wilson "How all Began" in R.S. Lambert ed.op.cit. pp. 17-33

Renaissance and leading up to the Reformation, raised the need for re-empha-
sising liberal sentiments and ideas in all their glory. The travelling scholar
became a symbol of this need largely because the universities featured in the
struggles with, first, church and, then, state with these using them as puns
in their own games.

The twentieth century, far from reversing the above-mentioned trends,
accentuated them and added generically new ones as well. The earlier part of
the century accentuated educational travel by means of large-scale provision
of scholarships but (more importantly) also saw the beginnings of the tenden-
cy for agencies to lay down specific conditions which the beneficiaries of
scholarships had to fulfil. This meant that (a) sheer intellectualism was
pushed to the background and the student had to contend with the bureaucratic
tendencies of the sponsoring agencies; (b) it also meant that the students'
interests became submerged in greater collectivities with interests which
were not necessarily commensurate with those of the individual. When, for
instance, part of the Boxer Indemnity Fund was remitted by Roosevelt and
converted to provide scholarships for Chinese students, a fundamental change
was effected in educational travel. Scholarships were no longer given to stu-
dents but to <u>Chinese students</u>[1] for objectives which are specified by collecti-
vities rather than/by the individual student. Educational travel thus ceased to
involve a group of students with their teachers, but now involved nations
with other nations and government with other governments. In a sense, then,
nations stopped offering only protection. They began to offer and receive
scholarships and students instead.

However, such 're-nationalisation' of educational travel also required

1. Guy Metraux "Introduction" op.cit. p. 581

the channelling of the liberalist sentiment (which already existed) into specific political directions. This aspect becomes especially noticeable after the Second World War but was already there at the beginning of the century. By 1910, Andrew Carnegie was able to establish a Foundation whose expressed objective was political,this objective being enshrined in the name of the Foundation "The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace". Its expressed intention was to "cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other of the several nations"[1] with the understanding that this would help to promote peace. By 1929, there were over 700 such organisations in Europe and many more in the USA - in the latter case extending to school-children. Today, the American Programme for International Education and the Fullbright Programme are the two largest monuments to this objective while the emergence of UNESCO in the fifties is the apotheosis of this trend.

Today, many educational travel programmes are the results of bilateral arrangements between governments who have specific political intentions (including the promotion of peace) to pursue. In other words, that relatively generalised attachment to liberalist sentiments which was reinforced by the institutionalisation of universities in the Middle Ages has now led to the virtual subsumption of students involved in educational travel in the national and geo-political boundaries from which they originate and to which they travel. In order to cater for the deluge of students which has taken place (as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter) the administrative and bureaucratic frame-work of scholarship agencies have had to become larger and even more complex, thus signifying the permanent and institutional nature which

1. Nicholas Murray Butler "The International Mind" (Charles Scribner's) New York, 1912, p. 82

educational travel has come to assume in our time.

One delayed consequence of this greater stress on the national backgrounds of the students which became even more noticeable after the Second World War is the distinction between students coming from the underdeveloped world and those who come from the developed parts of the world. This distinction - originally an economic distinction between the countries from which students derive and to which they travel - began to be given greater political significance after the War. Nevertheless (and this distinction notwithstanding), there tends to be a correlation between coming from an underdeveloped society and being the prime recipients of fellowships(as we shall see in the next chapter) and, perhaps more importantly, there also tends to be a correlation between underdeveloped societies and societies which are relatively more culturally 'distant' from the 'host' societies to which many students travel. Students from such societies would then be expected to experience the effects of culture conflict since the opportunities for living in culture conflict situations have greatly increased. This fact, coupled with the overwhelming increase in the numbers of students involved, would increase the numbers of persons 'at risk' (so to speak) as far as identity changes consequent on educational sojourn are concerned. To what extent, then, do the statistical artifacts concerning student educational travel support the results of our analysis in this chapter? We turn our attention to the movements of students in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

INTER-CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL - QUANTITATIVE DIMENSIONS

The previous chapters have shown that a comprehensive study of the effects of foreign experience on the sense of identity of students has to proceed along two dimensions - the qualitative and the quantitative dimensions. Aspects of the former have already been discussed. It is to the latter dimension that we now turn our attention.

The distinction between the qualitative and the quantitative dimensions is an analytical one rather than a real one for in reality the two are closely inter-related. The extent to which inter-cultural educational travel can attain all the objectives claimed for it would depend on various factors, not the least important being whether 'returned' students constitute a minority or majority of a country's elite. If then a change in the sense of identity is a contributory factor in the attainment of the objectives of inter-cultural educational travel, the numbers of students who are affected is as important as the directions of change in their identities.

Another reason for the importance of considering the quantitative dimension is the additional fact that the intensity of the pressures towards changes in self-identity would be influenced by the existence or non-existence of other individuals in the host situation who can provide psychological support for the ego under pressure. The felt intensity of such a pressure would be high or low according to whether the individual can turn for 'refuge' to other individuals in a similar situation. His ability to resist these pressures would be influenced by the nautre of his group affiliations, while the

latter, in turn, would be influenced by the number of 'similar' individuals who exist in the person's life space.

Yet a third respect in which the quantitative dimension is of direct importance to this study has been mentioned already. If recent changes in the pattern of student movement has resulted in the subsumption of the individual student in the national background from which he derives and to which he travels, then the figures we are about to discuss would indicate the influence of such 'non-individual' factors especially the influence of policy decisions by both the countries of origin of the students as well as the host countries in which they study.

Our objectives in this chapter can then be summarised in simple terms to be (a) a demonstration of recent twentieth century trends in student educational travel in general, (b) the determination from these figures of the part played by students from those countries who are more likely to experience culture conflict and (c) an examination of the size and distribution of one specific group of such students in the United Kingdom (i.e. West African students) and of the extent to which policy decisions of West African governments affect these trends. We discuss trends in international education first and then turn to West African students.

International Educational Travel - Statistical Aspects

While study abroad has historical roots going back to the period of Imperial Rome and Greece, it was nevertheless recognised as a phenomenon of the modern world only after the Second World War when the need for interna-

tional understanding became paramount in the minds of many people[1]. This recognition was due in part to the experience of two World Wars and partly (perhaps more importantly) to the phenomenal increase in the numbers of students who were then, as now, involved in international educational travel.

Correspondingly, the range of perspectives involved in educational programmes has changed. While international educational travel was thought to be an efficient means of increasing international understanding among nations, this was (at the end of the Second World War) then interpreted to mean international understanding among various European nations. Accordingly, international educational travel then involved students from various European countries in exchange with each others' countries and with the United States of America. Today, a similar objective is maintained for educational travel but the range now includes several nations from the five continents of the world. Table 1 below shows the numbers involved in 1964.

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1. Nicholas Murray Butler "The International Mind" op.cit.;see also
   C.Arnold Anderson's "The Sociological Constraints Upon International
   Understanding" pp.67-82; J.Stoetzel "The Concept of Personality as a
   Factor in International Understanding" pp.147-160 and T.Rendall Davies
   "The Role of Educational Travel in International Understanding with Special
   Reference to Europe" pp.279-293 all in "Education for International Life" The
   Yearbook of Education (Evans Bros.) London, 1964.

Table 1

Totals of World Student Population Studying Abroad, 1955 - 1964

Year	Number of Students Abroad	Percentage Increase
1955	126,000	-
1964	290,000[1]	130

Notes: 1. This figure includes an estimated 21,000 foreign students in USSR for 1964 given by N. Sofinsky, Deputy Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education and published in Times Educational Supplement 1st Jan.1965, p.8

2. The figures given here are rough totals due to the lack of comparability*in the definition of a 'foreign student'. Some countries include refugees as well as immigrants.

Source: "Study Abroad-International Guide, Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange" Vol. XVI (UNESCO) 1966-68, p. 512

This table shows that in terms of aggregates as well as percentages the numbers of students studying in countries other than their own has increased by just under one and a half times since 1955. However, such an overall presentation conceals many factors. In order, then, to show that the increase is substantive rather than 'spurious' two such factors have to be considered. These are the increase in the world's student population over the same period of time and the corresponding increase in that part of the worlds population which normally provides the reserve for higher educational travel i.e. those between the ages of 15 and 19 years. To the extent that the increase in either of these two factors (or a combination of the two) is great, to this extent the 130% increase in 'foreign' students would be artifactual. Table 2

* This lack of comparability manifests itself at several levels - definitions of foreigner, student and academic sessions. All vary in different countries A foreigner is not necessarily 'abroad' if he is an immigrant nor is a person 'abroad' necessarily a foreigner if he has taken up permanent residence. Similarly while 'students' study, not all who study are students (e.g. secondary school pupils). Similarly, academic sessions begin in Sept. in some countries and October, December, January and February in others. Nevertheless, the figures for 1964 refer to session 1963/4. Our above totals are therefore approximate. Our definition of the 'West African student' is given later in the chapter.

below gives the figures of the world student population between 1955 and 1964.

Table 2

Totals of World Student Population Between 1955 and 1964

Year	Number of World Student Population	Percentage Increase
1955	7,447,000	--
1964	13,683,000	84

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1964, section on Education.

It can be seen from this that the increase in students studying abroad of 130% is more than proportionate to the increase in the world's student population by 46 percentage points. To this extent the 130% increase is substantive. However, the evidence of such a phenomenal increase becomes even more convincing after relating it to the world totals of 15-19 year olds. Table 3 below presents the position with regards to this group.

Table 3

Totals of World Population Between Ages 15 - 19 years (1955-1964)

Year	World Pop. 15 - 19 years	Percentage Increase
1955	255 mills.	-
1960	281 mills.	10.2
1964	302 mills.	18

Note: 1. For many countries the age group 15 - 24 would be more appropriate but unfortunately there is no information available for this span

Source: "Study Abroad" Vol.XVI (UNESCO) 1966-68, p. 513 and Table 2 on pp.22 of UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1963.

When the 18% increase in the world population of 15 - 19 years is compared with the 130% increase in the numbers of foreign students, the latter is readily seen to be significantly greater than the reserve of population supplying it by 112 percentage points - again indicating a phenomenal increase.

This increase becomes even clearer if we simultaneously consider the world student population (Table 2) and the world population of 15 - 19 year olds as we have done in Chart 1 below.

However, though the above picture may seem optimistic, its implications for higher education in the world are not so optimistic. This 281 millions of young people between the ages of 15 - 19 in 1960 would have reached the age of 19 -23 in 1964 (all things being equal) i.e. the ages at which most people can be enrolled in institutions of higher education. In 1964, the total number of students who were enrolled in the world was 13,683,000. This would, of course, include a minority above the age of 23 and a minority below the age of 19. Nevertheless, this would mean that in 1964 only 4.8% of the world's population of 19 - 23 year olds were in higher education (i.e. 13,683,000 against 281 mills. expressed as a percentage). Further since there were 290,000 foreign students in 1964, this in fact would mean that only 2% of the world's student population and 0.1% of the world's population of 19 - 23 year olds were being educated in countries other than their home countries (i.e. 290,000 against 13,683,00 in the first instance and 290,000 against 281 mills. in the second instance assuming that all foreign students in that year were between the ages of 19 and 23 years). There are no comparable figures for the years immediately following the Second World War of the proportion of the worlds population of 19 - 23 year olds but it could be presumed (from the above) to have been much less than 0.1% since international educational travel was in any case limited in scope to persons of the various European countries and the USA. While then there has been a phenomenal increase in foreign students between 1955 and 1964, they still represent a small but highly selected group of persons.

Chart 1

<u>Rate of Increase of World Foreign Student Pop., World Student Pop.</u>

<u>and Age Group 15 - 19 of World Pop. Between 1955 and 1964</u>

Notes: — — — — = World Foreign Student Population
———————— = World Student Population
— - — - — - — = Age Group 15 - 19 of World Population
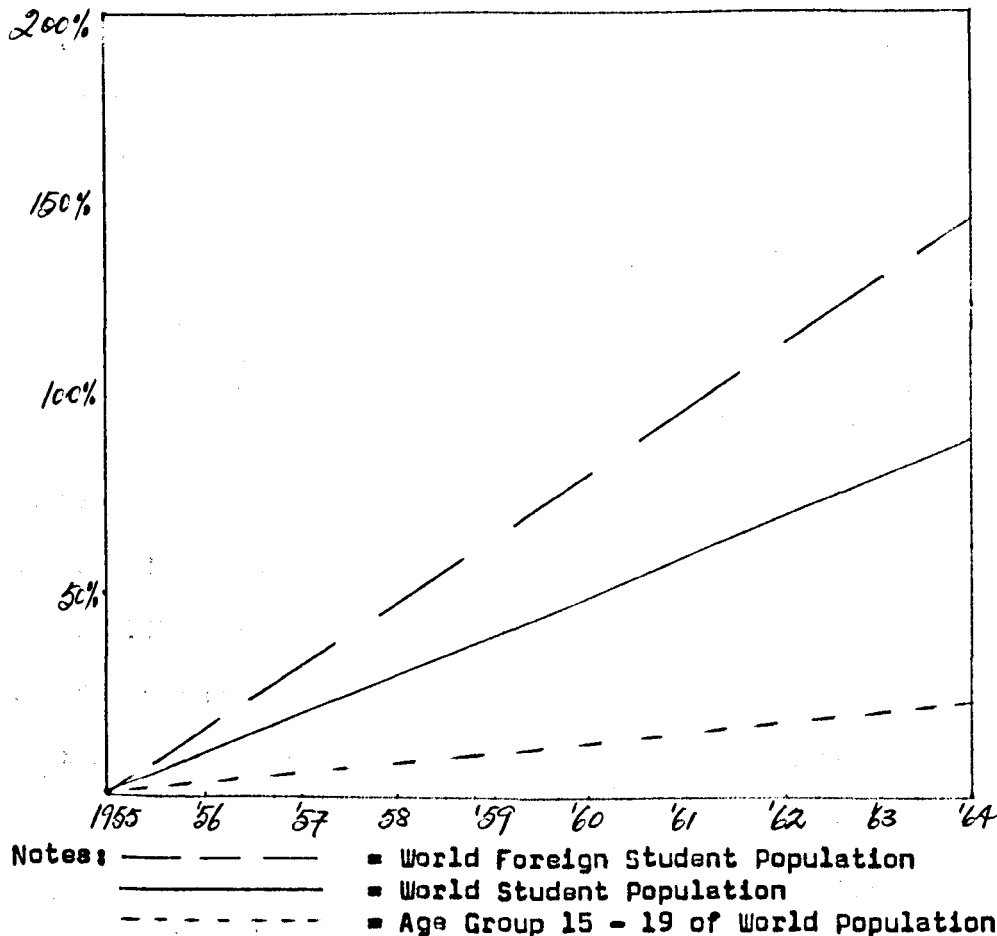
Source: "Study Abroad" Vol . XVI, 1966 - 1968 Diagram 2 on p. 514

A similar upward trend can be seen in the proportion of fellowships which
have been made available for international educational travel over the same
period of time for study abroad is dependent (to a large extent) on the
amounts and types of financial aid which are made available for its encourage-
ment. Table 4 below presents the situation concerning fellowships and scholar-
ship for study abroad between 1948 and 1964.

Table 4

Totals of Fellowships for Study Abroad between 1948 and 1964

Year	Totals of Fellowships	Percentage Increase
1948	15,000	-
1955	58,500	290
1964	170,000	1033 (with 1948 as base)

Notes: 1. The 1964 figure is an estimate derived from the 3,272 programme which are listed in "Study Abroad" Vol.XV,1964. There were in addition 475 programmes for which the number of fellowships was not specified, a programme consisting of a number of scholarships and fellowships.

Sources: "Study Abroad" Vol. XVI, 1966-68 especially the totals in Table 2, p. 556; also Alan J. Elliot "The Statistics of Study Abroad" International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO) 1956, Vol.VIII, No. 4, pp.604-614 "Study Abroad" 1951-52, Vol.3, p.27

It can be seen from this table that the total of fellowships available has increased more than ten-fold between 1948 and 1964 and just under two-fold since 1955 (with 1955 as base year the rate of increase is 190%). Now taking the foreign student totals as well as the totals for fellowships, we observe that whereas the former increased by 130%, the latter increased by 190% i.e. 60 percentage points faster. This means, in theory (taking one fellowship for one student as an assumption), that whereas in 1955 43.6% of all foreign students could have benefitted from an award, in 1964 this proportion had increased to 57%.

However, such a favourable situation did not obtain because many awards remained unused since the amounts involved were too small to be of much use to the students. Many fellowships cover only part of the individual student's expenses e.g. tuition fees and local expenses. Many do not cover travelling expenses to the host country. For instance, only 20% of the fellowships offered in 1964 covered all expenses while a further 22% included conditional

or partial payments for travel expenses. But by far the largest proportion
(58%) offered no travel expenses at all. Since travelling expenses represent
a large outlay, many students find it impossible to make use of these awards,
thus increasing the deficit in the figures between foreign students as a
whole and those foreign students who hold fellowships. Consequently, the
proportion of foreign students who do not enjoy the benefits of an award has
been increasing. The proportion was higher in 1964 than in 1952. This can
readily be seen if we examine the discrepancies between fellowships and
foreign student totals over the period 1948 - 1964 as in table 5 below.

Table 5

Differences Between Totals of Fellowships and Foreign Students 1952 - 1964

Year	Foreign Student Pop.	Totals of Fellowships	Net Difference
1948	-	15,000	-
1952	85,162	38,793	46,369
1955	126,000	58,509	67,500
1964	290,000	170,000	120,000

Note: 1. Gap indicates that no figures are available. Foreign student figures
began to be recorded in 1952 unlike Fellowship figures.

Sources: "Study Abroad" Vol.V, 1952-53, pp.22 and 23
"Study Abroad" Vol.VIII, 1956-57, p. 39

"Study Abroad" Vol.XVI, 1966-68, p. 515
Alan J. Elliot op.cit. pp.604-614

Hence the number of foreign students who did not benefit from the award of a
scholarship or fellowship has increased by 52,500 between 1955 and 1964
and by a much larger proportion over the period from 1948. The above con-
siderations give rise to two further questions. Firstly, is the increase in
the number of fellowships offered over this period substantive (as distinct
from being artifactual) in the sense that more money was provided for

fellowships in 1964 (irrespective of whether these were utilised or not) and secondly, is the increase in the numbers of students studying abroad without any awards substantive in the sense that this increase reflects an increased economic ability on their part to undertake further study from private sources? Clearly, these are two extraneous variables which can contribute to an upward trend in both the numbers of fellowships provided and in the number of 'private' foreign students.

The key for resolving both questions turns on the economic ability of the modern world to provide more economic benefits including fellowships and greater personal incomes. Movements in external trade can be considered as a useful operational indicator of the state of economic prosperity in the world. If this is accepted, we can then investigate the operation of the two extraneous factors mentioned above. To do this we have to compare world external trade figures with the figures for the provision of fellowships between 1948 and 1964 as in table 6 below.

Table 6

World External Trade Related to the Provision of Fellowships 1948 - 1964

Year	External Trade Totals	%age increase	Fellowships Totals	%age increase
1948	60,500 mills.	-	15,000	-
1955	96,050 mills.	base	58,500	base
1964	176,400 mills.	83.7	170,000	190

Notes: 1. The figures are in US dollars and are calculated by taking the mean of the relevant figures of imports c.i.f. and exports f.o.b. The external trade figure for 1955 is an estimate.
Sources: Statistical Yearbook (UN) 1965, Table 148, pp.390-391. The estimate of external trade in 1955 comes from p. 515 of "Study Abroad" Vol. XVI, 1966-68

This shows that the provision of fellowships (190%) has increased at a much

faster rate than external world trade (83.7%) by 1o6.3 percentage points. The increased provision of fellowships can therefore not be attributed solely to the increase in world external trade but to other factors. Indeed, it would seem that the proportion of world trade devoted to the provision of fellowships decreased as world trade increased. For example, at a rough estimation of $ 1oo per fellowship in both 1955 and 1964 (assuming constant values) only .oo36% of world trade was devoted to the provision of fellowships in 1964 compared to .12% in 1955. Clearly, then, the increased provision of fellowships has to be accounted for in terms of factors other than economic factors. What the figures in Table 6 show, then, is that since 1955 there has been a marked increase in the willingness to provide fellowships for foreign students - an increase which is more or less independent of world external trade - even if the fellowships provided are not always of such magnitude that they can be utilised by larger numbers of foreign students.

As far as the foreign students themselves are concerned, we have already demonstrated that changes in both the general student population and in the proportion of the world's population aged 15 - 19, cannot account for the increase in the numbers of students who are studying in countries other than their own. Nor can these two factors consequently, account for the increase in the numbers of foreign students who do not benefit from the award of some sort of fellowship. We can conclude from this, then, that the increase in 'non-fellowship-holding' foreign students is due to either an increased ability on their part to provide finance for foreign study out of private sources (which in itself could be a reflection of the upward movement in the economic well-being of the world) or to an increase in the desire for foreign study among the present generation of students culminating in an increasing tendency to discount the economic hazards involved and to resort to some

kind of part-time employment as a supplement, or indeed a combination of these two factors. It would be impossible to come to a more definite conclusion in the absence of more refined data.

Non-Individual Factors and the Provision of Fellowships

In order to investigate these factors, we analysed the provision of Fellowships and Scholarships with respect to (1) the donors, (2) the beneficiaries, (3) whether the nationalities of the beneficiaries are stipulated in the award, (4) whether the countries in which higher education should be undertaken are specified,(5) whether the fields of study are stipulated and (6) whether the sex of the recipients is stipulated as a condition for the award of the Fellowship or not.

The analysis of the donors of fellowships readily shows that, in terms of rank, governments are the most important source of funds and have been since 1948 when records began to be kept. Table 7 below shows the position as

Table 7

Donors of Fellowships for the Years 1948, 1955 and 1964 respectively

Donor 'Type'	1948	1955	1964
Governments	57	57	48
Private Foundations	17	6	5
Other Private Associations	--	9	13
Academic Institutions	14	12	21
International Organisations (including UNESCO)	12	16	13
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	15,000	58,5oo	17o,ooo

Notes: 1.There are no figures available for Other Private Associations in 1948
2.The figures in Table are in percentages of all Fellowships given by each donor 'type' to foreign students.

Sources: "Study Abroad", Vols.III & IV,195o-51 &1951-52 esp.p.17 in latter
"Study Abroad", Vol. VIII, 1956-57, pp.38-39
"Study Abroad", Vol. XVI, 1966-68, p. 515

far as donors are concerned for the three years - 1948, 1955 and 1964 - respectively. This indicates that there is some stability in the donation of Fellowships throughout the period. That governments are the major sources of funds is very evident. Nevertheless, the increase in Fellowships which we have already observed is not due to an increasing tendency for governments to provide funds but is largely accounted for by the increased contributions of other donors particularly Academic Institutions which show a consistent increase.

However, if we now look further into the countries which constitute the five largest contributors (bearing in mind that it is the governments who contribute the largest proportion of all Fellowships to foreign students), between 1955 and 1964 we observe that certain countries feature predominantly. Table 8 below shows the rank position of these countries.

Table 8

Rank Ordering of the Six Largest Contibutors to Fellowships By Countries

1955	1964
United States	USSR
France	United States
Egypt	France
Turkey	Germany
United Kingdom	United Kingdom
Sweden	Canada

Source: "Study Abroad" Vol. VIII, 1956-57, pp. 33-39
        "Study Abroad" Vol. XVI, 1966-68, pp. 516-17

It can be seen from this Table that the top positions in this ranking are occupied by countries which can be described as highly developed and as world powers. The position of Egypt in the 1955 figures is exceptional in that her

high position is due to the fact that she had to cope with an influx of re-
fugees as will be shown presently when dealing with the beneficiaries of
fellowships. Nevertheless, the pattern is still evident.

However, this does not mean that the country of origin of fellowships
can be equated with the government of that country since the fellowship figu-
res for a country include a proportion of fellowships which are provided by
agencies within the country apart from the governments. Nevertheless, it is
still true that even within a country, it is the government which contributes
the largest share of the country's provision of fellowships. But no figures
are available of the contributions of governments as distinct from non-
governmental agencies within countries. Hence the proportion of fellowships
donated by a country cannot by itself provide a true indication of the total
involvement of governmental decisions in the movements of foreign students.
For this, other indicators are necessary.

One such indicator is the proportion of foreign students within countries
who benefit from the award of Fellowships. Though it is not possible to sepa-
rate the contribution of governments from the contributions of other agencies,
it can be assumed that the larger the total of foreign students benefitting,
the greater is the contribution of the government of the country and conse-
quently the greater the extent to which the latter's decisions enter into the
arena of international educational travel. Table 9 below shows the overall
position in 1964.

Table 9

Proportion of Foreign Students Benefitting from Awards in 1964 By
Host Country

Host Country	All Fellowships	No.of Foreign Students	%age Benefitting
USSR	18,900	21,000	9o
USA	37,4o7	74,814	54
France	9,o67	3o,442	3o
Australia	1,817	6,639	27
UK	3,4oo	14,117	24
Germany	4,622	25,155	18
Japan	697	5,629	12
Austria	47o	9,641	5

Note : 1. The figure for the USSR is an estimate given by N. Sofinsky op.cit;
Remennikov and Medvedev suggest that 1oo% of foreign students
benefit but our calculations suggest 9o%.

Sources:. B. Remennikov and A. Medvedev "Come to Study in the USSR" (Progress
Publishers) Moscow, 1965, p.53; also "Study Abroad" Vol. XVI,
1966-68, pp.156-158

It can be seen from this that (1) the three countries which occupy the top

rank positions for the donation of Fellowships tend to have larger numbers

of foreign students compared to the others but that this is not related

to the total of all Fellowships provided; (2) that these countries also tend

to offer larger proportions of all Fellowships provided to foreign students

but that this, again, is not related to the actual numbers of foreign stu-

dents in these countries.

It could then be maintained, with some justification, that this tendency for host countries in the top rank (USA and USSR in Table 9) to donate relatively large proportions of their Fellowships to foreign students is a function of the economic well-being of these countries - with relatively richer countries, in general, being in a better position to offer more Fellowships than relatively poorer ones. If, then, the above relationship is a simple economic one, one would expect to observe some relationship between the proportion of foreign students benefitting from Fellowships and (1) Gross National Product on the one hand and (2) the rate of economic growth on the other. Accordingly, Table 10 below examines the relationship between Fellowships offered to foreigners and the Gross National Product and the rate of economic growth (respectively) in nine countries.

Table 10

Gross National Product and Index of Total Production related to
Fellowships for Foreigners in 1964

Host Country	Gross Nat.Product	%age of Foreigners Benefitting from Awards	Index of Total Prod.
USSR	45,375	9o	148
USA	576,758	54	129
France	73,719	3o	136
Australia	18,795	27	131
UK	79,814	24	124
Germany (Fed.)	86,429	18	141
Japan	65,o53	12	2o2
Austria	7,315	5	131
Switzerland	11,766	4	14o

Base Year = 1958

Notes: 1. Figures for GNP are all in millions of US dollars and are at
constant prices. The figure for the USSR is an estimate of the
dollar equivalent of its Net Material Product which in 1964 was
181,5 thousand million roubles (converted at R 4 = $ 1). The con-
cept of NMP is not strictly comparable to GNP but gives a rough idea

Sources: "Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics" (United Nations)New York
1966, Table 9A, pp.493-496 and for the Russian estimate Table 1,
p. 374; also "Statistical Yearbook" (UN), 1965, pp.539-41 for indices
of Total Production.

In this Table the figure for the USSR is an under-estimate since it derives

from a straight conversion of its NMP into US dollars and since NMP takes

into account only those commodities which contribute directly to production

unlike GNP in the other countries which includes invisibles and the cost of

administration. Nevertheless, even with adding a figure for these 'extras'

the final figure is unlikely to exceed 1oo,ooo million dollars. If this

'conversion' is accepted, it then becomes clear that the provision of Fellow-ships to foreign students is not accounted for in terms of the value of the GNP of the various countries since, for instance, Switzerland with a much larger income than Austria nevertheless offers a smaller proportion of its Fellowships to foreign nationals. Similarly, the UK with a much larger GNP than Australia, nevertheless, offers a smaller proportion of its Fellowships to foreign nationals.

However, it could also be maintained that the rate of economic growth is a more realistic indicator of the economic potential of a country than GNP and that it is this which would ultimately determine a country's ability to provide Fellowships to foreign nationals. This supposition is reasonable since the value of a country's production in any one year is, in fact, a poor indicator of her growth potential. Thus the value of the GNP of Japan in 1964 was 65,053 million dollars; nevertheless she has shown the highest rate of increase in that GNP since 1958. This is in contrast to the USA whose GNP in the same year was valued at 576,758 million dollars but nevertheless showed a much smaller rate of increase (129). If the above-mentioned supposi-tion is accepted, then there should be an observable relationship between the Index of Total Production (measuring the growth rate) and the proportion of foreign students who benefit from the award of Fellowships.

However, such a relationship is not borne out by Table 10 since some countries offer Fellowships to a higher proportion of foreign nationals than their Index of Total Production would have led one to expect. Thus, for instance, the USSR with 90% of its foreign student population receiving an award has, nevertheless, shown only a 148 increase since 1958 while Japan, with only 12% of its foreign student population receiving an award has nevertheless, shown a 2o2 increase since 1958. Similarly, the UK with 24% of

its foreign student population benefitting from fellowships has, nevertheless, shown a smaller rate of increase (124) than Switzerland (140), which offers fellowships to only 4% of its foreign student population. This reinforces our conclusion that the proportion of foreign students who benefit from awards is not a function of economic well-being, just as we have shown that the rise in rate and numbers of foreign students studying abroad is not a function of movements in international trade. Any explanation, then, for the varying numbers of foreign students in different countries who benefit from awards cannot thus be stated in economic terms, but in social or political terms. This point is made even more poignantly if we now analyse the beneficiaries of these fellowships further. Table 11 looks at the pattern of nationality stipulation in fellowships in 1955.

Table 11

Restrictions on Nationalities of Recipients of Fellowships, 1955

Restrictions on Nationality	Totals	%age of Yearly Total
No restrictions/open to all nationalities	5,800	10
Nationality stipulated but open to persons from more than one country	19,100	33
Refugees only	2,600	4
Nationality of Recipients restricted and stipulated	31,000	53
	58,500	100

Source: A.J. Elliot op.cit.p.611

This shows that not only was the greatest proportion of the fellowships for 1955 restricted to recipients of specified nationalities but that only 10% did not make any restriction about the nationality of the recipient.

Now, if one looks at the actual nationality of those who benefitted from

awards in 1955 we observe that not only was the greatest proportion of fellow-
ships restricted to individuals of certain stipulated nationalities, but that
a greater part of the fellowships provided by each country was used by
nationals of the same country. Table 12 below shows this clearly, using infor-
mation derived from the seven largest beneficiaries.

Table 12

Analysis of the Nationality of Beneficiaries of Fellowships for 1955

Country of Award	All awards utilised (A)	Awards originating from same country for own Nationals (B)	%age of B against A
USA	4,600	4,300	94
French Overseas Territories	2,200	--	--
Turkey	2,100	1,900	91
France	1,700	1,300	77
Sweden	1,400	1,100	79
UK	1,300	500	39
Fed.Germany	1,300	25	2

Source: A.J. Elliot op.cit.p.611

While it is clear from these figures that the USA was the largest beneficia-
ries of Fellowships, she is also one of the largest donors of Fellowships as
has been shown already. On the other hand, Germany devoted only 2% of her to-
tal Fellowship donation to her own nationals. Indeed, the French Overseas
Territories are exceptional in donating all their Fellowship donations to
students who are not nationals of these territories, in that year.

However, there is evidence to suggest that this tendency for a large
proportion of Fellowships donated to be used by nationals of the donating
country has reduced significantly since 1949. Thus whereas about 56% of all
Fellowships in 1948 were used by nationals of the donating countries, by 1964
this proportion had fallen to 24%. In other words, the pattern of the nationa-

lity of beneficiaries of Fellowships is beginning to reflect the extension of the concept of international understanding over wider areas. Nevertheless, the above evidence suggests that non-individual factors, such as nationality, are still important.

This conclusion is made even more convincing if we now turn our attention to analysing the restrictions which accompany the award of fellowships concerning the countries in which further study can be undertaken. Table 13 below presents the position for 1955. This shows that not only did a large proportion of Fellowships in that year include some stipulation concerning the nationality of the recipients (as we have seen above) but 78% of fellowships offered in that year also made some stipulations concerning the country in

Table 13

Analysis of Restrictions Concerning Countries in which Study can be Undertaken, 1955

Stipulations	Fellowship Totals to which Stipulations Apply	%age of Yearly Total	
No restriction country of study	13,000	22	
Choice of two or more countries given	15,600	27)	
USA stipulated	1o,7oo	18)	
Egypt "	4,3oo	7)	
France "	2,7oo	5)	
UK "	2,1oo	4)	78%
Germany "	1,4oo	2)	
Sweden "	1,1oo	2)	
Study could be undertaken in countries other than that stipulated	7,600	13)	
Total Fellowships	58,5oo	1oo	

Source: A.J.Elliot op.cit.pp.611-612

which further education can be undertaken. Similar restrictions were made concerning the sex of the beneficiaries as well as the subjects which should

be studied though analyses of these are not particularly revealing.

We can then conclude this part of our analysis by suggesting that not only has the volume of students involved in international educational travel increased since the end of the Second World War but that this increase bears no observable relationship to the state of world trade or to the state of the economies of individual countries. Movements in international educational travel and variations in the provision of Fellowships have to be understood in terms of the political and social goals of various 'host' countries. Thus the fact that almost all foreign students in the USSR in 1964 were supported by Fellowship awards while only about a quarter were so supported in the UK can only be understood in terms of the types of policies which these two countries pursue with regard to the higher education of foreign nationals.

This is made even more convincing by the absence of any relationship between the proportion of foreign students in a host country and the student population of that country. Thus, for instance, while the 74,814 foreign students in the United States in 1964 constituted only 1.7% of her total student population[1], the 8,361 foreign students in Switzerland constituted about 30% of her student population. By way of contrast, the foreign student population in the UK has remained around 10-11% of her student population ever since 1938[2]. In other countries, like Senegal, the foreign student enrollment amounted to as much as 58% of her student population in 1964. These variations reflect the different policies pursued by various host countries.

These 'non-individual' factors can thus be seen to constrain international educational travel through the donation and receipt of Fellowships to and by foreign nationals in particular, but to all students in general, insofar as the extent to which the student can determine the conditions under which,

1. "Study Abroad" Vol.XVI, 1966-68, pp.517-18
2. Robbins Report "Committee on Higher Education" Appendix Two (A), Table 49, p. 165.

and the place where, he will study once he leaves his home country is limited.
As we have demonstrated above, not only is the great majority of fellowships
provided by governments, but these awards also have various stipulations
concerning those who should benefit from them, where they should study, and
the subjects of study which should be pursued. The stipulation of the sex of
the student who should benefit from awards has receded into the background.
Thus, in 1955 97% of all fellowships were open to students of both sexes and
only 1% was restricted to females exclusively and 2% to males exclusively[1]. In
view of the above considerations, it could be concluded that the increasing
penetration of non-individual factors into international educational travel
since the end of the Second World War has been facilitated to a large extent
by the institution of fellowships for study abroad. We can now turn our
attention to the analysis of the general pattern of student movement in inter-
national education.

Patterns of Student Movement

To analyse the patterns of fellowship-holders (as we have done) is not
synonymous with analysing the patterns of students who are involved in inter-
national educational travel since there are many foreign students who do not
benefit from the award of any fellowship or grant. Indeed, their numbers have
been increasing ever since records began to be kept in 1948. In this section
we shall look at both the fellowship-holders as well as the non-fellowship-
holding students in order to understand the movement patterns of foreign
students in general. While doing so, we shall perforce investigate the pattern
of host countries (where students go to), their countries of origin (where
they come from), the relationship between these two and some of the factors

1. A.J. Elliot op.cit. p. 611.

determining the choice of country for foreign study.

As there is no widely accepted definition of 'culture areas', it is difficult to interpret the available figures in terms of cross-cultural educational travel patterns. The closest approximation to this, however, is to divide up the world into regions and to equate such regional boundaries with cultural areas. This is necessarily crude, but must stand in the absence of any clearer alternative. If this is accepted, then the fellowship-donating regions can be related to the fellowship-receiving areas as in Table 14 below.

Table 14

Donating Areas Related to Benefitting Areas for Year Ending 1955

Donors (A)	Totals granted	Total Received	Receiving Areas	Diff.between granted and Received
N. America	21,644	5,278 (25%)	N. America	16,366 -
Latin America	2,038	2,650	L. America	612 +
Europe	14,571	12,454 (85%)	Europe	2,117 -
M. East	8,022	4,118 (51%)	M. East	3,904 -
S. Asia	1,641	2,255	S. Asia	614 +
Africa	802	487 (61%)	Africa	315 -
Oceania	420	323 (77%)	Oceania	97 -
	49,138	27,565		

Notes: 1. These figures are very approximate and depend heavily on the returns made to UNESCO. The total fellowships granted is less than the 58,500 by the proportion donated by the International Agencies = 9,362. The deficit between totals granted and totals received is accounted for partly by the fact that that proportion was given to another region and partly by differences in definitions.
2. Minus and plus signs represent net loss or net gain to donating regions. Figures in bracket represent amounts used for 'self' in the case of regions with net loss.

Source: "Study Abroad" Vol. 8, 1956-7, pp.3840

In terms of the net difference between fellowships granted and fellowships

received, Table 14 shows a clear tendency for certain areas to donate rather than receive and an equally clear tendency for other areas to receive rather than donate fellowships. For instance, North America donates far more than it receives while S. Asia and Latin America receive more than they donate. The figure for the Middle East is confounded by the large numbers of refugees it had to cope with in that year and its policy decision to accommodate as many refugee 'foreign students' as possible. It is this which partly accounts for the fact that most foreign students in the Middle East are from other parts of the Middle East, particularly the Arab countries.

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the trends in the other figures in the table. In terms of aggregate numbers of fellowships offered, North America offers the largest single total followed by Europe and, then, the Middle East. It is to be noticed that the relatively more developed countries and areas tend to offer the largest amount of fellowships to international education.

If we now further analyse the proportions of fellowships offered to foreign students, it becomes evident that while broad regions do not offer as many fellowships as their economic development would lead one to expect, there is nevertheless a clear distinction between the developed areas on the one hand and the underdeveloped ones on the other. Table 15 below shows this clearly if one breaks up the picture into broad development and cultural regions.

Table 15

Fellowships offered to Foreign Students By Cultural and Developmental Regions in 1964

Region/Countries	Total Fellowships Offered		Those for Foreigners		Foreigners as %age
N. America					
USA	48,867		4o,213		
Canada	3,468	(52,335)	1,654	(41,867)	79
Europe					
France	11,359		9,o67		
Germany (Fed.Rep.)	4,937		4,654		
United Kingdom	4,547	(2o,843)	3,395	(17,116)	82
Oceania					
Australia	2,o38		1,817		
New Zealand	728	(2,766)	647	(2,464)	89
Middle East					
United Arab Republic	3,176		3,176		
Iraq	1,64o		4oo		
Morocco	1,ooo	(5,816)	--	(3,576)	61
Latin America					
Venezuela	796		117		
Brazil	774		279		
Argentina	748	(2,318)	45o	(846)	36
S. Asia					
Japan	1,o48		697		
India	666		538		
Thailand	317	(2,o31)	17	(1,252)	62
Africa					
Nigeria	774		8		
Senegal	635		635		
Congo (Republic)	5oo	(1,9o9)	5oo	(1,143)	59

Notes: The figures in brackets refer to the totals for the regions from which the percentage is derived. Countries are selected on the basis of the size of their contribution. That there are only 2 countries in N.America, as in Oceania, makes the comparison even more striking. The 1oo% figures in Senegal and the Congo Republic are due to the large numbers of residents (in the case of Senegal most of them French residents) who belong to another nationality, as well as the fact that they also (like the UAR) follow a policy of accommodating as many foreign students as possible. The figure for West Germany is obtained by adding together the total for West Berlin and the total for the rest of the Republic as a whole. The percentages are not ranked.

Source:"Study Abroad", Vol.XVI,1966-68, Table 2,pp.556-559 especially.

It can be seen from Table 15 that the total numbers of fellowships provided decrease as one goes down the list, moving away from the more developed to the relatively less developed areas. However, the percentages of fellowships provided for foreign students over the total fellowships provided does not vary accordingly, since countries do not provide the share of fellowships for foreign students which their development would lead one to expect. Nevertheless though Europe provided a larger number of fellowships than all the countries below it in the list, it also provides the largest proportion of fellowships for itself as we have seen in Table 14. This is partly attributable to the fact that the largest number of students involved in international educational travel come from this region and partly because of the large number of countries involved in the region as a whole. Nevertheless, it still provides a larger number of fellowships for foreign students than the rest of the world put together (with the exception of N. America) even though Europe consists of a far smaller number of countries than the rest of the world.

The developed / underdeveloped pattern is clearly revealed in Table 15, even though the underdeveloped world may have fewer students involved in international educational travel, this being a reflection of the smaller proportions of these countries' populations who are in higher education. Yet it is largely because of this distinction between the developed and the underdeveloped regions of the world that students from one part studying in another are likely to be involved in situations of culture conflict . The cultural pattern of underdeveloped countries tend to be different from that of developed countries. The regional classification in Table 15 can therefore be conceived of as a cultural classification as well. This would mean, then, that (as pointed out in the previous chapter) students from Europe studying in Africa are just as likely to find themselves in situations of culture conflict. as are African

students studying in Europe.

However, the proportion of students from the developed world studying in the underdeveloped is much smaller than the corresponding proportion of those from the underdeveloped studying in the developed parts of the world. But even in the case of this small group there is evidence (slight though it is) that culture conflict does result in mental breakdowns. For instance, American Peace Corps Volunteers in many parts of the underdeveloped world have been known to suffer from psychological breakdown, sometimes with serious consequences, though little is known about the overall proportions who are affected in any one year. Nevertheless, the fact that a larger number of students from the underdeveloped world are studying in the developed countries means that a correspondingly larger proportion would be exposed to situations of culture conflict. In other words, the more dissimilar the cultural pattern of the country of origin is from that of the host country, the greater is the probability of the individual student finding himself in a situation of culture conflict. This is made even more convincing if we look at the countries which tend to be predominantly host countries for foreign students.

In terms of numbers of foreign students (as a whole) received for higher education, two areas predominate as 'receiving areas' - North America and Europe. In North America, the most important country was the USA in 1955 and also in 1964. In Europe over the same time period, the most important countries were France, Germany, USSR, UK and Austria in that order. In 1955 73% of all fellowships were for study in 9 countries, 7 in Europe and 2 in N. America ("Study Abroad", Vol.8,1956-7,p.42). Though detailed figures for 1964 are not yet available there is evidence that this pattern has changed only slightly and that only the USSR has increased both its rank position as host and the

range of countries from which she draws her foreign student population.

Analysis of the ranges from which these receiving countries draw their foreign student populations indicates that these same countries have the most 'universal' ranges as in Table 16.

Table 16

The Ranges from which Foreign Students were drawn in 1964

Host Country	Range	Composition of Students
USSR draws from	119 countries	Universal range and composition
USA	117 "	"
Germany	110 "	"
UK	1o3 "	"
Switzerland	1o3 "	"
Canada	1o2 "	"
France	96 "	"
Austria	82 "	"
Arab States	51 "	consists of mainly Arab students from other states. Range is therfore regional
Spain	66 "	mainly Latin Americans and Arabs - also regional range

Source: "Study Abroad", Vold. XVI, 1966-68, p. 520

The popularity of these various countries and consequently of Europe and America is connected with their predominant positions as developed and scientific societies. This will be evident when we look, later on, at the factors which affect students' choice of countries for higher educational studies.

While we have shown that the greatest proportion of students receiving fellowships are to be found in Europe and that almost all of these fellowships

are donated by countries in Europe, this tendency is also correlated with the movement, of students generally. Thus in 1964 Europe had the greatest numbers of students in international education though it is possible, if the figures were available (which they are not), that many of these students do not travel abroad for their undergraduate education but primarily for their post-graduate work. Nevertheless, this regional tendency, this tendency for educational travel to cover 'short' distances is common among other students as well. Thus, many European foreign students not only study in other parts of Europe but the majority of American students study in Canada and vice versa; many Koreans, Chinese and other S.E.Asian students study in Japan; many Latin American students study in other Latin American countries while many Middle Eastern students study in other parts of the Middle East, though (as pointed out before) one is not clear about the extent to which the latter is confounded by the large numbers of refugees.

There are many reasons for this 'regionalisation' of international educational travel not the least important of which is the question of finance over long distances. Apart from this, it is also due in part to the need to avoid widely dissonant situations as would be made clear in an analysis of the various factors which have been shown to affect the students choice of country for further studies.

The various annual surveys into foreign student enrollment carried out by UNESCO since 1952 have shown that there are five factors which constrain and limit the individual student's choice of country for further education. These are (1) the availability of fellowships, (2) language problems, (3) long-standing cultural ties, (4) common frontiers and (5) educational standards and specialities in different countries.

The availability of fellowships is the most obvious element in the choice of country for higher education and is a manifestation of the fact that international educational travel involves expenses: in some cases, the expenses vary with the geographical distance between the host country and the country of origin. However, the proportion of students receiving fellowships is invariably smaller than the total foreign student enrollment in any one host country as we have demonstrated. This is due to the fact that some of the other students support themselves from private funds while others enrol in the host country and then apply for a scholarship from their home governments. Independently of this (as we have also seen), many foreign students are supported by their home governments from the outset. However, it could be presumed that the smaller the difference between the fellowships offered by the host country and their total foreign student enrollment, the more the presence there of foreign students can be attributed to fellowships and the less to the other factors which we discuss below.

As for language, this feature heightens the attractiveness of a country as a centre for foreign students. A country would, then, be attractive to prospective foreign students to the extent that her language is universally spoken. The more universally spoken a language is the more likely it is that the foreign student would be acquainted with it before he embarks on his studies abroad. If, then, languages are ranked in terms of universality it could be seen that larger numbers of foreign students are studying in countries with relatively more universal languages (Table 17).

Table 17

Language of Study and Foreign Student Enrollment 1964

Languages ranked by Universality	Foreign Student Enrollment
English	115,000
French	42,000
German	40,000
Russian	21,000
Arabic	21,000
Spanish	17,000

Source: "Study Abroad", Vol.XVI, 1966-68, p. 521

This is mainly because students prefer to study their speciality either in their own language or in languages with which they are familiar before embarking on foreign educational travel. Thus, out of 8,800 German students in 18 receiving countries in 1964[1], 3,288 (37.3%) went to Austria and out of 1,350 Austrian students in the same 18 countries 879 (65.1%) went to the Federal Republic of Germany. While it is true that many students are likely to be acquainted with one of the more universal languages, many others are not so fortunate. For these, there are other considerations which influence their choice.

The examples of Canadian and American students studying in each others' countries, or Arab students in the Middle East or, indeed, Latin American students in Spain and so on have shown the influence of long-standing cultural ties. Nevertheless, these cultural ties are sometimes purely administrative as in the case of those ex-colonies of various metropolitan European countries

1. These figures result from a supplementary questionnaire issued with the annual survey questionnaire of UNESCO. The countries covered were Canada, France, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Syria, UAR, UK and USA. Some of the results are reported in Vol. XVI of "Study Abroad" (UNESCO) 1966-68 p. 522.

which continue to send the greater proportion of their foreign students to these metropolitan countries. Thus, in 1964, France received 2,371 students from Tunisia, 1,714 from Algeria and 2,029 from Morocco. These three constituted one-fifth of the total foreign students received by France. Similarly out of the 144 students sent by Gabon to 18 receiving countries, 128 (88.8%) went to France. Similar tendencies can be observed in the case of the UK and the USA, though more students from English-speaking countries go to the USA because of better facilities offered rather than because of cultural ties. Thus in 1964, out of the 1,168 students sent to the eighteen receiving countries by Kenya, 393 (33.6%) went to the UK and 775 (66.4%) went to the USA. Similarly, out of 341 students sent by Sierra Leone to 18 countries in 1964, 113 (33.1%) went to the UK and 147 (66.9%) to the USA. It can be seen from this, that despite the fact that some countries whose languages are not widely known provide preparatory courses for foreign students, foreign students do not nevertheless congregate in these countries.

The existence of common frontiers added to the above also accounts to some extent for the movement of foreign students. Germany, for instance, has a common frontier as well as a common language with Austria and Switzerland. Hence much of their student exchange take place between these countries . Similarly, the larger part of Canada's foreign/student population (1,458) and the larger part of USA foreign student population (2,845) went to each other's country respectively for foreign study in 1964.

The educational standards and specialities also play a part in the student's choice of country for foreign study insofar as the student is interested in qualifications which would have currency in his home country as well as in the host country.

Apart from this, students attempt to obtain their foreign education in those countries which are noted for their specialities. This is evident if host countries are classified according to the proportion of their foreign student population studying given ranges of subjects as in Table 18.

Table 18

Subjects Classified According to Country of Study in 1964

	Educ.	Humanities	Soc.Sc.	Law	Arts	Nat.Sc.	Med.	Eng.	Agric.
Czechoslovakia	2	1	1o	1	1	2	3o	48	5
Germany	2	15	1o	2	5	15	2o	26	5
Austria	2	1o	1o	1	2	5	25	4o	5
Australia	4	5	15	1	9	12	2o	26	1o
UK	8	1o	1o	9	8	2o	19	8	8
USA	3	9	1o	1	2	1o	9	58	6
Italy	1	2	3	2	9	7	5o	18	8
Spain	9	8	5	9	1	2	54	9	3
France	5	33	2	2o	3	12	12	1o	3
Syria	1	5o	1o	19	2	3	7	5	3

Source: "Study Abroad", Vol.XVI, 1966-63, p. 522-3

This table has been arranged in such a way that the highest frequency percentage alongside a country represents its speciality in 1964. The resulting pattern suggests that while certain countries receive most of their students for study in the natural sciences, medicine and engineering, others lower down the list receive the greater part of their foreign students for the humanities and the social sciences. In terms of speciality, then, it can be seen that the great majority of students of the natural sciences, medicine and engineering are studying in developed countries while those studying humanities and the social science are studying in relatively less developed

countries. It is mainly for this reason that the numbers of students in the USA studying law as their speciality in 1964 was only 597 out of a total foreign student enrollment of 74,814. On the other hand, the distribution in the table shows that the specialisms of various countries are not so clear-cut since the distribution of the developed group of countries are similar and do not provide a sufficient explanation of why some students of one speciality or the other (out of the natural science, medicine and engineering trio) go to one country and not another. In other words, the larger intake of foreign students by France as compared to the UK is not explained, except partially, by reference to speciality of study. Clearly, therefore, the variables which have been shown to influence the choice of foreign country for higher education are to be seen in interaction with each other rather than be considered individually.

As far as the motivation to study abroad is concerned, figures would not suffice as indicators. However, what the figures can show concerns the 'negative' side of the motivation to study abroad. In other words, we can determine the extent to which study abroad is the result of a lack of educational institutional capacity in the home country.

According to the statistical analysis derived from the study of foreign students in 18 receiving countries (which received more than 80% of all foreign students) mentioned already, foreign student enrollment in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, amounted to 7,545 in 1955. By 1965 this had risen to 25,155. In terms of the proportion of all students in the Republic this number of foreign students increased from 5.3% in 1955 to 7.2% in 1964. Over the same period of time, the Republic sent 4,000 students to these 18 countries in 1955 and increased this to 8,800 by 1964 i.e. an increase over 1955 of 120%. The total/home student population in Germany rose from 142,000 in 1955

to 35o,ooo in 1964, i.e. an increase of 146%. Thus the increase in the home
student population in Germany was greater than those sent abroad which suggests
that those going abroad did not do so for lack of educational space at home.
Here the basic drive is for the exchange of knowledge and thus implies that
many of these students went abroad for study other than basic under-graduate
study.

If one compares the situation in Germany with the situation in an under-
developed country like Iran an opposite picture emerges. In 1955 the total
student population in Iran was lo,ooo and rose to 24,9oo in 1964 - an increase
of 146.5%. Parallel to this Iran sent to the 18 receiving countries 2,5oo stu-
dents in 1955 and 8,7oo in 1964 - an increase of 248%. The foreign student
population in Iran was quite small in 1964 (only 78,). It is evident from this
picture that far more students were sent abroad between 1955 and 1964 than the
student population increased. It would seem reasonable, from these figures, to
suggest that the lack of educational capacity in the home country plays a far
more significant part in the motivation to go abroad (to study specialities
which are not available at home) or to send students abroad in the case of
underdeveloped societies like Iran than in the case of developed countries
like Germany. Analysis of other societies like India show a similar tendency.
In other words, the need for adequate educational opportunities may be the
driving force behind student travel from underdeveloped countries far more
often than in the case of students from the developed world.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to base the argument from the lack of edu-
cational capacity at home on the available figures since there are so many
variables which can also influence the flow of students abroad; for instance,
political upheaval or the immediate economic circumstances of countries could

reduce or increase the flow of students even where educational capacity at home is available. Similarly, there are many individual aspects in the motivation to study abroad which statistical analysis cannot, in the nature of the case, illuminate.

In conclusion, we can now recapitulate on the various statistical artifacts which have emerged from our review of the international aspects of educational travel among students. Firstly, we have seen that the aggregates of students travelling to other countries for the purpose of education have increased tremendously over the period 1955 - 1964 and that this increase is not confined to these ten years but one which has been gathering momentum since about the end of the First World War. Parallel to this phenomenal rise, there has occured an even more phenomenal increase in the amounts of fellowships which have been donated to encourage international student travel and at the same time an aqually phenomenal increase in the bureaucratic-administrative system which serves international student travel. While the physical nature of this bureaucratic-administrative set-up has not been investigated, it is nevertheless clear that it spans the five continents of the world and that a significant part of this structure consists of governments which contribute to the support of those foreign students who are their own nationals as well as nationals of other countries. That this phenomenal increase is not correlated either with the increase in international trade or the share of various countries in the increase in international trade is but a reflection of the fact that government grants of fellowhsips are the result of consciously-made decisions in connection with education in general.

On the other hand, the provision of financial support from private sources is partly related to the general state of economic well-being and partly to

the increasing numbers of students who are left with no alternative if their interest in higher education is to be realised. The figures we have reviewed, suggest that the contribution of governments to the provision of fellowships has been and will continue to be a permanent and ubiquitous element in international educational travel.

Yet the various non-individual factors which increasingly constrain international education have arisen from the part which governments play in the donation and award of fellowships to foreign students insofar as political elements can have free play in this area. It is this which explains why the contribution of certain countries to the support of foreign students in their territories bears no relation to their Gross National Product. It is this which explains the small proportion of fellowships which have few restrictions on the countries of study or on the nationalities of the recipients of fellowships and scholarships and it is this which accounts for the predominance of certain countries as hosts to a wide range of foreign students. This also explains why the greatest proportions of international fellowships (taking both donors and recipients together) are found in Europe. One writer has recently put it very succinctly when he suggested that the reception of foreign students by various countries is to a large extent determined by economic and political motives, the economic motive being the hope that (in the case of students from the underdeveloped countries) new commercial and economic ties would emerge in the development of the countries from which these students derive while the political motive consists of the transmission of political ideas when these students return to their home

countries[1].

While the greatest number of students involved in international educatio-
nal travel are to be found in Europe, there is nevertheless a clear pattern
between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries both in re-
spect of the numbers of fellowships donated and received with the developed
countries tending to donate more than they receive and the underdeveloped
countries receiving more than they donate and also in the direction of travel.
Whereas most students from the underdeveloped world congregate in various
European and American centres comparatively few European students go to study
in centres in the underdeveloped world. This is partly because of the speciali-
ties of the European and American centres which tend to receive most students
for natural sciences, medicine and engineering (specialities which are connec-
ted with the very fact of their developed position) and partly because of the
greater 'need' of students from the developing countries for these specialities.
By contrast, European students do not congregate in centres of the underde-
veloped world partly because of the lack of needed specialities but also be-
cause of the need to keep culture conflict to a minimum.

However, since students from the underdeveloped world 'need' to study
abroad (as discussed in chapter 3), they also utilise various means of mini-

1. Prodosh Aich "Soziale Determinanten der Politischen Einstellung der Afri-
kanischen und Asiatischen Studenten in Deutschsprachigen Laendern" Koelner
Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie and Psychologie, Band 18, Nr.3, Oktober 1966
p.482. The above is my translation and paraphrase from "Die wirtschaft-
lichen Motive bestehen in der Hoffnung, dass sich die Ausbildung auf die
wirtschaftliche Entwicklung dieser Laender auswirkt und die wirtschaftlichen
Fortschritte neue Handelsmoeglichkeiten erschliessen. Die politischen
Motive beruhen auf der Annahme, dass sich die Studenten aus den unterent-
wickelten Laendern waehrend ihres Studiums nicht nur wissenschaftliches
und technisches Wissen aneignen, sondern auch die politische Ideologie der
westlichen Laender und diese ebenso wie das angeeignete Wissen nach ihrer
Rueckkehr an ihre Landsleute witergeben". p. 482

mising such conflict, i.e. with respect to the language and culture of the country in which they would be studying. This explains the tendency for many Arab students to study in other Arab countries, Latin Americans to study in other Latin American countries and Spain and many European students in other parts of Europe. It is this which explains, if only partially, why (the greater need for teachers in the underdeveloped countries notwithstanding) only 313 awards to USA nationals in 1962-3 under the Fullbright Hays Act went to Asia, Africa and Latin America (put together) whereas 339 awards went to Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Israel[1].

The above artifacts serve to define the parameters for what follows. With these in mind, we can now turn our attention to looking at the extent to which these artifacts are reflected in the analysis of ONE type of student among those more likely to experience culture conflict - West African students in the UK.

West African Students in the UK

The above-mentioned artifacts indicate that West African students are not alone in being in a situation of culture conflict since many other students from the underdeveloped world, studying in the developed parts, would mirror the sociological and psychological changes which take place. The converse is also true since students from the developed world studying in the underdeveloped parts would also show, perhaps, a different pattern of reaction. Indeed, two recent studies[2] of Indian students and Indian Immigrants in Britain show such close similarities in their responses to the host en-

1. Francis Young "International Exchange of Teachers and Scholars" The Year-book of Education, 1964, op.cit.chap.2, pp.294-3o7. The above figures are from p. 297
2. A.K. Singh op.cit. and Rashmi Desai "Indian Immigrants in Britain" (Oxfors University Press) London, 1963 see esp. chap. VIII

vironment that one can only conclude that this similarity - over-riding the many differences between them - is attributable to the common culturally conflicting situation in which they both find themselves. However, these studies were not concerned with the interaction-identity perspective which is central to this work.

Our objective in this section, then, is to investigate the distribution of West African students in the United Kingdom using information derived from existing secondary sources, to study the trends in this distribution and to show how these trends are related to economic, administrative and political changes in their home countries in recent years, for it is these 'non-individual factors' which would ultimately influence the numbers of these students who would undertake foreign study abroad.

Statistical Aspects - Definition

Any statistical consideration of overseas students in the United Kingdom must have regard to the question of fundamental definitions. We have so far based our usage of the term "West African" on the mere question of the geographical location of the home countries of these students. In this sense, any student whose permanent residence is in West Africa (between Mauretania and the mouth of the River Congo) but who is or has been involved in intercultural or international travel in the interest of education would come into the category of 'West African student' and we would include in this general category any individual whose express purpose for being in the host country - in this case the UK - is concerned with education. While this approach may be useful for general classificatory purposes, it is nevertheless too imprecise to be utilised in this study. There are various reasons for this imprecision.

Firstly, there are some West Africans who have been living in the UK for

relatively long periods of time but who are not in higher education but at various levels in elementary and secondary education. To use the above definition (geographical) would lead to a consideration of these West Africans as having the same psychological and sociological characteristics as those other West African students who arrived in the UK after the completion of their secondary education, and in some cases part of their higher education. Yet, the fact that these students would have received almost all of their earlier education in this country would put them in a psychologically favourable position as far as culture conflict is concerned.

Secondly, the criterion of 'expressed purpose' per se could mean that individuals who are sailors, relatively long term residents and so on, who have had the ambition to study some subject of their choice but who are not registered students would have to be included simply because their countries of origin lie between Mauretania and the mouth of the Congo river. Yet, for a similar reason these individuals are likely to have developed various reaction patterns as a result of their adult socialisation during their period in England which would put them in a different category from the individual who finishes secondary school in West Africa and flies to the UK.

Thirdly, even among those West African students who are registered as part-time students there are some who are nevertheless not consistently registered students, i.e. they may register at the beginning of the semester for a course but never complete a semester for various reasons. For this reason no definite figures are available and can be available about these students unless a census is carried out; even then the question of who is a student would still remain a difficult one because it would be difficult to interpret the meaning of the <u>expressed</u> fact of being a student.

Fourthly, and this is connected with the above, the figures of overseas

students in the United Kingdom reflect some of the artifacts of international educational travel which have already been mentioned and that is that most students in the UK come from the Commonwealth. The geographical limits of West Africa covers countries which are not in the Commonwealth and which have little or no cultural ties (past or present) with the United Kingdom. There would therefore be a permanent element of under-representation of these non-Commonwealth West African students in the figures. This does not mean, naturally, that the responses to situations of culture conflict among Common-wealth and non-Commonwealth West African students are essentially different. On the contrary, the cultural elements (which are the essential criteria in the emergence of culture conflict) are far too similar for such a difference to arise on the basis of membership or non-membership of the Commonwealth. All that this means is that since the choice of country for further education is constrained by various factors such as previous acquaintance with the language of the host country and special cultural ties - factors which have the effect of ensuring that students from ex-French colonies study in France, ex-British colonies send their nationals to Britain, Arab students and Latin American students go to other Arab countries or other Latin American countries and Spain respectively - the range of students covered by the utilisation of the geographical definition would be an extremely unrepresentative one.

It is for the above-mentioned reasons that the definition of West African students used in this work has been made in the light of realistic rather than geographical considerations. Accordingly, West African students have been defined as <u>those students who are in the United Kingdom for the expres-sed purpose of pursuing a systematic course of instruction, are registered in an institution of higher education (i.e. post secondary education) in the</u>

UK as part-time students or full-time students, are involved in courses of instruction extending over a period of not less than one year and whose permanent place of residence is in one of the Commonwealth countries of West Africa - Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria (including the Cameroon Republic and Togoland) primarily, though students from non-Commonwealth West African countries have been included in the sample survey for reasons of completeness.

Using this restricted definition we are able to ensure that the psychological reactions to culture conflict reported in this study would be applicable and generalisable to the great majority of West African students who are studying in the UK, though a large measure of tentativeness would still remain until a comparative study refutes or confirms our conclusions.

Size and Distribution

We can now utilise this definition to study the statistical patterns of West African students in the United Kingdom. Table 19 shows the position before the Second World War. This table shows very clearly, that, in terms of aggregates of students, the number of West African students in the United Kingdom was comparatively small being third to that of Indian students and West Indian students in rank. Another fact which is equally clear from the table is that despite the slight annual variations in the numbers of West African students, there was nevertheless a net tendency for the numbers to increase. This is brought out even more clearly by taking the average of two consecutive years from 1930 - 1940; yet the annual change was quite small.

Table 19

**Numbers of West African Students in British Universities, 1930 - 1940
in Relation to other University Students from various Colonies**

Geogr.Areas	Academic Years										
	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
India	1696	1737	1518	1250	1150	1075	--	1313	1408	1350	729
Malaya	49	32	35	--	30	30	33	31	41	55	38
Mauritius	17	20	19	19	23	22	25	23	30	29	25
East Africa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	12
West Africa	50	60	59	59	49	47	52	49	73	72	69
West Indies	128	176	141	154	166	161	154	157	160	166	112

Notes: 1. These figures do not include law students or those in technical
schools and colleges except where law or technical subjects are
included in the university curriculum. Gaps indicate that no
returns were made in that year.

Source: A.T. Carey "Colonial Students" (London, Secker and Warburg,1956)
p.28, who himself derived these figures from Yearbooks of the
Association of Universities of the British Empire (as it was then
called).

However,since the end of the Second World War, the absolute numbers and the

proportions which these students constitute have increased, in some cases

very radically. Table 20 shows this very clearly.

Table 2o

Size and Proportions of all West African Students in Relation to Others

Academic Years	Numbers	As %age of Common-wealth and those from Colonies	%age of all Overseas	%age of all Students in GB
1939	72	14	13.7	.14
1950	2,009	43	23.3	2.40
1962	11,706	28.3	18.3	5.4
1966	9,416	21	13	-

Notes: 1. The figures in the third column refer to colonials as basis of comparison and thus excludes students from the dominions in those years. But the latter category of students are included in the two categories of 'Overseas' and 'All Students' thus correcting the trend picture. The gap in 1966 indicates that the relevant information is not yet available.

Sources: The Robbins Report "Committee on Higher Education" Appendix Two (A), Part VII of the Report, pp.66,99,251, Table 2, p.252, Table 49 p.165; A.T. Carey "Colonial Students" (London: Secker and Warburg)1956, chap. 11 Table 111,p.29 and Table IV, p.31; P.E.P. "Colonial Students in Britain" (PEP, London, June 1955) Part 11,chap.5,pp.56-8; "Overseas Students in Britain" (British Council, 1966 Nov.) Table A, p.3o-35 and Table A of the 1962 Supplement pp.3-6.

We can see that, in terms of absolute numbers, the figures for West African students in the UK jumped from a mere 72 in 1939 to 11,706 in 1962 - a 163 - fold increase. Thus while in 1939 West Africa contributed a far smaller number of students to the student population of the UK and was third in rank to India and the West Indies, in 1962 they were among the highest contributors. The year 1962 constituted the climax after which time the aggregate numbers have been falling from 11,706 in that year to 9,416 in 1966. That West African students in the United Kingdom constituted a smaller proportion of all Commonwealth students in the United Kingdom in 1962 than they did in 1950 is easily explained by the fact that student travel from other parts of the Commonwealth increased at the same time as the numbers of West African students increased.

Nevertheless, Table 2o shows that West African students increased faster than other Commonwealth students since the proportion which they constitute of all students in British higher educational institutions has been increasing steadily since 1939 when they constituted .14% of all students. By contrast they constituted 5.4% of all students[1] in 1962 in spite of the fact that as a proportion of Commonwealth students they constituted only about a quarter.

West African Students at British Educational Institutions

We have so far concentrated our attention on the overall size of the West African student population in the United Kingdom, thus creating the impression that there is a consistent and homogenous type of West African student. In the nature of the case, West African students fall into four categories like students from other parts of the world in the United Kingdom:(1) sponsored, (2) unsponsored, (3) scholarship students, and (4) private students. Another distinction is usually drawn between those who are full-time and those who are part-time students. Sponsored students are those students who may or may not be scholarship holders, but who are recommended by their governments. This sponsorship, however, does not represent any predisposition to grant material aid to the student nor does it represent a greater responsibility on the part of the home government for the individual student than would otherwise be the case. It is merely a political or, rather, diplomatic measure which is restricted to the area of diplomatic representation. In this regard, governments do not restrict diplomatic recognition only to their own sponsored students but to

1. And this is in spite of the remarkably constant 1o - 11% which all overseas students have formed as a proportion of all students in Britain (Robbins op.cit. Table 49, p.165)

all nationals of the home country who may be resident in Britain (in the event of such representation being necessary). As a method of recommendation, it indicates that the student has an adequate level of education as well as finance. Sponsorship thus refers primarily to the backing which the home governments provide for the students.

Sponsored students can be scholarship-holders or private students while scholarship-holders are always sponsored by their governments unlike private students. This fact means that, in the nature of the case, it is the private and unsponsored student who is most likely to remain unknown whether by the government of the home country or by the Welfare Officers in the various High Commissions in London. Where private students are sponsored, they tend invariably to be full-time students and thus come into the statistical returns from the universities and colleges to which they are attached. It is because of these 'unknown' - part-time and unsponsored students - that statistics on part-time students tend to be highly unrepresentative of the numbers of such students who are actually in the country; yet there is sparse evidence that the problems of part-time students are different from those of other types of students[1]. A rough estimate would put the numbers of part-time West African students at between 14, - 15,000 since there tends to be just under 2 part-time students for every full-time student[2]. Undoubtedly, the inadequate nature of the statistics may be accounted for largely by the fact that the great majority of part-time West African students are in London - the great metropolis -

1. A.J. Bennit "Overseas Students - Mutual Opportunities and Responsibilities in Higher Education" in Report of BMA Conference on 'The Student and Mental Health' (WUS), 1961
2. This estimate derives from the Robbins Report (op.cit.) which gives figures of part-time students in universities from overseas as constituting 26% of all students in 1961/2 while fulltime overseas students as a proportion of all full-time students in same year was 11.5% i.e. giving a rough estimate of 2:1. These figures however refer to all overseas students rather than those from West Africa. See p.262 of Robbins Report.

where permanent official contact may be very difficult to maintain. In view

of these considerations this study had to be based predominantly on full-time

students - about whom abundant secondary information is available - though

some part-time students were included in the experimental sample for the light

which they throw on our research conclusions.

West African students are to be found in all types of educational in-

stitutions in the UK and can be found pursuing a great variety of courses.

Table 21 below shows their distribution according to the type of educational

institution in which they are studying.

Table 21

Distribution of Full-time West African Students by Educational Institution

between 1960/1 and 1965/6

Institution	Totals 1960/1	%age of West Afri-cans in 1960/1	Totals 1965/6	%age of W.Afri-cans 1965/6
Universities	1,505	13	1,369	15
Technical Colleges	2,979	25	4,375	46
Inns of Court	1,358	12	173	2
College of Educ.	186	2	110	1
Nursing Training	1,493	13	1,698	18
Practical Training (Industrial & Pro-fessional)	3,375	29	927	10
Other institutions including Private Colleges	810	6	764	8
	11,706	100	9,416	100

Source: "Overseas Students in Britain" British Council, 1960/1 Supplement
Table A and Revised Edition Table A, 1966

Table 21 shows that in 1965/6 the largest proportion of West African students

were in the Technical Colleges, followed by those in nursing training and

those in universities. These three institutions together accounted for 78% of

all West African students in that year. By contrast, in 1960/1 these three

institutions accounted for 51% of West African students. This change in con-
centration is largely accounted for by 21% increase in the proportion atten-
ding Technical Colleges. Taken as a whole, the rank order of institutions (in
terms of the proportions of West African students they cater for) has barely
changed with the Technical Colleges in the lead in 1965/6 whereas it was
Practical Training which had the single largest proportion of West African
students in 1960/1. Nevertheless, and despite this element of stability in
ranking, some institutions have increased their proportions at a much faster
pace while others have reduced their proportions just as quickly. The most re-
markable increase is shown by the Technical Colleges as has already been men-
tioned. Those in nursing training increased faster than the universities, with
the latter institution showing the smallest rate of growth i.e.2% in six years.

Of those which have decreased, the two most remarkable decreases are
shown by Practical Training and the Inns of Court. In the/six years between 1960
and 1965/6, the proportion of West African students in Practical Training
decreased by 19% while the proportion studying at the Inns of Court decreased
by 10%. While it is not easy to determine all the causal factors involved in
the decline in numbers in Practical Training, it is nevertheless reasonable
to suggest that this is due to the marked unwillingness of industry in the UK
to train West African students as part of their practical training - the argu-
ment being that these students would not contribute to the profits of the
companies that train them since they would eventually return to their home
countries. It is possible that this attitude on the part of employers has
hardened over the past six years on the one hand, while the home governments
have shown a similar unwillingness to use their political influence to secure

training placement for their students in the UK on the other hand. In the past, only the Ghana government has been able to secure training placements for her students though the extent to which she was successful in this respect is not known.

The decline in the numbers of students at the Inns of Court is easily explained by the fact that Ghana and Nigeria - two countries which provided the bulk of West African students studying law in the past - have developed their own law schools and have consequently imposed restrictions on their students wishing to study law in the UK. In both countries, a 'foreign' qualification in law no longer entitles the holder to practise the profession. He can be allowed to practise if he joins the local Law School and succeeds in their examinations after twelve months (in the case of Nigeria) and eighteen[*] (in the case of Ghana) respectively. One effect of these restrictions is a reduction in the numbers of prospective students from these countries who study law in the UK.

However, Table 21 gives only the general picture. If we now further analyse the decrease in the numbers of those in Practical Training and Law (as in Table 22 below), it can be seen that the greatest decrease is to be found among students from Nigeria, thus reinforcing the above conclusion.

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[*] This has, since 1966, been modified.

Table 22

Distribution of West African Students (Full-time) in the UK by Institution and Country of Origin, 1960/61 and 1965/66

	Gambia	Ghana	Nigeria	Sierra Leone
Universities	(6) 13	(9) 14	(15) 15	(15) 15
Technical Colleges	(19) 23	(2o) 45	(3o) 49	(2o) 35
Inns of Court	(4) --	(4) 1	(17) 2	(9) 6
Colleges of Education	(4) 2	(1) 1	(1) 1	(5) 3
Nursing Training	(7) 45	(3) 21	(18) 16	(17) 21
Practical Training	(3o) 13	(62) 13	(11) 18	(23) 13
Others incl. Private Colleges	(3o) 4	(1) 5	(8) 9	(11) 7
	(1oo)1oo	(1oo)1oo	(1oo)1oo	(1oo)1oo
	(N=28o) N=128	(N=3793)N=2o71	(N=68oo)N=6522	(N=833) N=695

Notes: The frequencies are all in percentages. The figures in the brackets
   refer to the percentages for 196o/1. Similarly, the totals in brackets
   refer to the 196o/1 totals. Gaps indicate no information.

Source: "Overseas Students in Britain" 196o and 1966, op.cit. Table a in both.

Thus, as in Table 22, though the decline in numbers of students studying law
is general throughout the West African countries, students from Nigeria stu-
dying law at the Inns show the largest single drop in proportions compared to
others. Similarly, students from Ghana undergoing practical training declined
much faster than the proportions from the other countries. Thus a large part
of the decrease in numbers in the Inns of Court is accounted for by the fact
that Nigerian students are decreasing their numbers faster than others. As far
as practical training is concerned, the overall decline in numbers is accoun-
ted for by the faster decline of Ghanain students. If the above trends con-
tinue, the numbers in practical training and the Inns of Court would decrease
even further.

Similarly, the bulk of the increase in technical colleges comes from Ghanaian and Nigerian students. While every country has increased its contribution of students to the technical colleges, it is these two sets of students who account largely for the phenomenal rise in technical college enrolXment while a large part of the increase in numbers of students in nursing training comes from Gambia. We shall now turn our attention to one of the institutions discussed since a large part of the sample used in the survey comes from the universities.

West African Students at British Universities

As has been shown in Table 21 above, there were 9,416 full-time West African students in the UK in 1965/6. Of this number, 1,369 (15%) were in universities while the rest were distributed among the other institutions of higher education. Of those who were in universities, 877 (64%) were undergraduates and 492 (36%) were studying at the post-graduate level of instruction. These figures become even more revealing when compared to the distribution of these students between 1960 and 1965. Table 23 below shows this comparison of West African university students between these two periods of time.

Table 23

Full-time West African Students in British Universities by Level of Study
1960/61 - 1965/66

Levels of Study	Academic Years					
	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66
Postgraduate	255(17%)	298(18%)	359(23%)	390(27%)	419(32%)	492(36%)
Undergraduate	1250(83%)	1330(82%)	1189(77%)	1064(73%)	912(68%)	877(64%)
All Levels of Study	1505(100)	1628(100)	1548(100)	1454(100)	1331(100)	1369(100)

Sources: Yearbooks of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1960-66; "Overseas Students in Britain"(British Council) 1966

Table 23 shows that as the total numbers of West African students in the United Kingdom generally and in the universities in particular decrease, so does the ratio of postgraduates to graduates change. Apart from this, the decline in the numbers of undergraduates and consequently the increase in the numbers of postgraduates is much faster than the overall decrease in West African students in universities. Thus the numbers of West African students studying at the post-graduate level increased from 23% in 1962/3 to 36% in 1965/6 - an increase of 13% in four years in spite of a decrease of 11% in the total numbers of West African students at British universities over the same period of time.

The above picture suggests that this trend is likely to continue and that in the next few years the greater proportion of West African students in the United Kingdom universities are likely to be post-graduate and research students. Many of these students would have done their earlier training in various institutions of higher education in their own countries. This would undoubtedly impose a much greater burden on these institutions which at present have not expanded as fast as the demand for university places have increased. This, in fact, means that as the institutions of higher education in these countries increase their capacity and their range of courses so the demand for university places in the UK from West African students would diminish as far as undergraduate courses of instruction are concerned but will increase for postgraduate courses.

The factors which are contributing towards a change in the composition of West African students between the two levels of study are common to a much wider range of students. It can be suggested here that one of these common factors is what has been called earlier the 'non-individual factors' that constrain international educational travel. One such non-individual

factor, it will be remembered is the extent to which grants are used to
introduce various sorts of control. We shall therefore turn our attention
to the patterns of scholarship awards which West African students in uni-
versities benefit from with this in mind.

In 1964/65, there were 1,331 West African students studying at British
universities. Of this figure, 794 (i.e. 60%) were known to hold some sort
of award and more than a third of the award-holders were studying at the
post-graduate level of instruction (i.e. 36%). Table 24 below shows the dis-
tribution of scholarship awards among West African students in the UK.

Table 24

West African Students in British Universities by Country of Origin, 1964/65

Country of Origin	Scholars	Non-Scholars	Scholars as %age of all Students	Totals
Sierra Leone	93 (24)	31 (6)	75	124
Gambia	18 (1)	3 (-)	86	21
Ghana	183 (75)	86 (29)	68	269
Nigeria	500 (196)	417 (88)	56	917
	794 (296)	537 (123)	--	1,331

Notes: 1. The figures in brackets refer to the numbers of postgraduates
included in the adjacent figures.
Source: Yearbook of the Association of Commonwealth Universities 1966,pp.2204

From Table 24, it can be seen that students from the countries with the
smaller student population receive more scholarships than others. Thus Gambia
with a student population in that year of 21 had 86% of her student population
benefitting from some award, whereas Nigeria with the largest had only 56%
of its student population benefitting from an award. Nevertheless when all

students from West Africa are taken together irrespective of their country of origin 60% of them receive some award.

If we now take the proportion of students receiving some form of benefit from scholarship awards between 1960/61 and 1964/65, it would be seen that as the numbers of post-graduate students increase so does the allocation of scholarships to them, though the rate of increase of post-graduates has been faster than the rate of increase in scholarships to them. Thus, whereas in 1960/1, 54% of all West African students at universities were holding some award or other, the proportion in 1964/5 had risen to just over 60%. By contrast, the numbers of post-graduates increased by 15% between 1960 and 1964/5 (as has been shown in Table 22). Therefore the numbers of West African students holding scholarships increased by 6% in four years while the numbers of post-graduate West African students increased by 15% over the same time period. Now, it is not possible to show the numbers of West African post-graduate students holding scholarships over the same period because comparable data on this for the earlier years are not available. But from the above, it is obvious that the rate of increase of this proportion could not be less than 6% in four years nor more than 15% over the same period of time.

Correspondingly, the numbers of West African students who do not benefit from any award and consequently have to depend on private sources of funds has been decreasing over the same period of time but is nevertheless still quite high, being 40% overall. This figure, of course, excludes a much greater proportion of West African students in other institutions of higher education who did not benefit from any award. This is quite high as we shall see later on.

If we now analyse the 537 (i.e. 40%) of West African students in universities who do not benefit from any award but who have to support themselves from private sources, it can be seen that 23% of them are studying at the post-

graduate level while 77% of them are studying at the undergraduate level. This, in fact, means that as the numbers of undergraduates decrease so the proportion of undergraduates who depend on private funds increase. If this trend therefore continues there would come a time when logically loo% of a smaller undergraduate population of West African students in British universities would be supporting themselves from private funds.

The above analysis throws up two very obious conclusions. Firstly, it suggests that it would be a mistake to assume that the increase in the numbers of private West African students in British universities is a reflection of an increased ability to support themselves from private funds and this is in spite of the fact that the level of incomes of all the West African countries considered here has increased, considerably in some cases,since 1957 in line with the general increase in world prosperity. On the contrary, it would seem that private students are increasing because they are being left with no alternative but to find private funds for themselves if they are ever to be able to obtain higher education. In other words, these students are having to struggle against a tide which is threatening to wash them away from the field of higher education. Clearly, the numbers of undergraduates are falling partly because not many individuals are capable of struggling against a tide. This point becomes particularly convincing when one bears in mind the fact that in international educational travel more and more students are having to study on private funds. This would seem to suggest that in the case of West African students a change is taking place in the distribution of incomes which enables only a few students to study abroad on private funds or alternatively, the controls on student travel have increased in such a way that only a few and an ever declining number of students are able to slip the net of controls.

Secondly, and this is connected with the above, the amount of these controls, subtle and otherwise, is increasing thus lessening even further the element of individual choice in higher education, particularly as far as international and inter-cultural education are concerned. Apart from the more explicit methods which are used, the scholarship — awarding authorities are attaching such strings to scholarship allocation as would in fact mean that West African students either study abroad with the blessing of the scholarship-awarding authorities or not study abroad at all, or indeed (subject to the limitations imposed by the other controls) to study from private funds. It should be clearly noticed that there is no moral evaluation in this assertion since it is the policy issues of the awarding country (or agency) which would determine who gets an award and who does not.

We have also seen that in general governments are the greatest contributor of funds for the provision of scholarships and bursaries for study abroad and that this has been a permanent and increasing factor in international educational travel since the end of the First World War. This is nowhere more true than in the case of West African students and their home governments. Indeed, though direct evidence is not available, it could be conjectured that the amount of private and non-governmental agencies donating scholarships within these countries is much smaller than the corresponding amount in Europe and America. It follows from this that the role which government plays in the allocation of fellowships and other awards would be greater in the case of West African students; they can control the allocation of fellowships according to their national policy issues much more closely than governments in the USA or UK. They can therefore control not just the number of individuals who obtain scholarships but can also ensure that these individuals fulfil certain obli-

gations associated with the award of these scholarships. They can also control the level at which instruction is being pursued as well as influence, if not completely determine, the numbers of students from these countries who take part in international educational travel and thus become exposed to situations of culture conflict.

In the nature of the case, 'control by allocation' is one of the most important methods of control over students which West African governments utilise. Even in those cases where international agencies and friendly govern-ments grant scholarships to students from West Africa, the home governments are able to exert their influence since almost all of these scholarships (like those offered by the governments themselves) have various restrictions on their content, the beneficiaries, the country of study to which the student should go, the sex of the beneficiaries, and the length of the period of so-journ; in any case a great majority of these awards have to be channelled through the governments who then nominate the students who should apply as well as sponsor them. Even in the case of those students who study on private funds, the government can refuse to sponsor a student who would then lose all the privileges involved, primarily the easy means of recommendation to an institution in the host country which sponsorship involves. The institution of sponsorship is one means by which subtle control has been brought to bear on the students by their home governments.

The decline in the numbers of West African students in the UK since 1961/2 is partly attributable to the workings of the various forms of controls. A break-down of the relationship between scholars and non-scholars in the universities over a period of time would suffice to determine the extent to which these methods have been successful. Table 25 below represents such a break-down of scholarship-holders, related to the total student population

from each of the above-mentioned countries.

Table 25

Scholars as Proportions of Total Students from each Country in Universities between 1960/61 and 1964/65

	1960/1	1961/2	1962/3	1963/4	1964/5
Ghana	77	79	72	80	68
Nigeria	45	47	51	54	56
Sierra Leone	73	73	65	74	75
Gambia	56	61	70	72	86

Sources: Yearbooks of the Association of Commonwealth Universities.

While the pattern for some of the countries in Table 25 is not conclusive in direction, the Table does show that all countries have been increasing the proportion of their student populations in the universities who are covered by some sort of award. Thus Nigeria, like Gambia, has been increasing her contribution even though her present proportions are smaller than those of any other country, and is doing so at a much slower pace than the Gambia (which in any case has fewer students). As the numbers of scholars increase so the strings involved in the awards would come into play, and so reduce the propotions of private students in universities. Thus the changes which are taking place in the student composition in universities are not, by any means, random and are related both to the needs of the countries from which these students come and the desire of their home governments to divert undergraduate students from British and other foreign universities to the developing home universities. This is made even more manifest by observing from the Table that the proportions of scholarship students since 1962/3 have always been greater than the proportion of private students in the universities, contrary to the situation obtaining in the technical colleges where the greater proportion of West

African students tend to be private rather than scholarship students.

Other less subtle and more explicit methods have been used and are being used to influence the numbers of students who go abroad for higher studies. Since about 1961/2 all West African governments have followed a policy of not granting scholarships abroad for the pursuit of studies in those faculties and subjects for which facilities exist in the home universities. Similarly, the previous practice by which West African students in the UK can successfully apply for a scholarship after completing part of their studies has been modified in such a way that such students are re-called and requested to continue their studies in the home universities when the scholarships and bursaries are awarded to them. Clearly, the success of this policy would depend on the extent to which facilities are available and on the speed of development of the home universities.

Another method of control which has been recently introduced is the policy of refusing permits for currency exchange to students. This is sometimes combined with a policy of refusing exit permits at the same time. This method has the effect of reducing the numbers of private students who go abroad for further studies.

Undoubtedly, many of these controls have regard to the need to conserve currency and protect the sometimes precarious balance of payments position of these countries. But they nevertheless have the overall effect of increasing the non-individual factors in international and inter-cultural education. However, as yet no government has embarked on a policy of outright dictation of either faculty of study or subject of study though they all attempt to influence opinion by the publication of manpower figures showing the shortages or the abundance of skills (where these exist) in the hope that prospective

students will study those subjects for which there is a high demand in the country[1].

The above are the general trends as far as levels of study, and scholarship awards to West African university students are concerned. These trends are likely to continue, barring unforeseen circumstances such as the recent (1966) 400% increase in tuition fees of overseas students in the UK.

The Sex Composition of West African University Students in the UK

Overall, there is an overwhelming preponderance of males in this category of West African students. For instance, in 1964/5 there were a total of 1,331 West African students at various universities. Of this number, only 163 (11%) were females, the rest males. Of this small number of females, 43 (26%) were studying at the postgraduate level of instruction and the rest were studying at the undergraduate level. This relative under-representation of women in the university population is by no means a new phenomenon as can be readily seen if we compare this picture with the previous years. Whereas in 1960/1 females constituted 9.5% of the total West African university population, in 1964/5 they constituted 11.1%. This represents a remarkable stability (approximately 1%) in the sex composition of West African students in British universities.

This does not mean, however, that the population of West African females in the United Kingdom is so small. On the contrary, there is a much larger number of women who are the wives of students but who are, themselves, not registered students, and as such do not come into the picture. It is also well-

1. See for instance the "Ten-Year Plan of Economic and Social Development for Sierra Leone, 1962/3 - 1971/2" (Sierra Leone Government) Freetown 1962; Federal Republic of Nigeria "Federal Government Development Programme 1962-1968; First Progress Report, "Sessional Paper No.3 of 1964 (published by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development March 1964) pp.14 and Ghana "Second Development Plan 1959-1964" n.d.p. VI-VII

known that the proportion of women in other institutions of further education such as nursing training is much higher. But as far as the universities are concerned women are overwhelmingly under-represented.

The above is the general trend within which further analysis will show some variations. Table 26 below shows the sex composition of the West African university student population in 1964/5 according to country of origin.

<u>Table 26</u>

<u>Sex Composition of West African University Students by Country of Origin</u>

<u>1964 / 65</u>

Country	Males	Females	Females as %age of Total	Totals
Ghana	238 (94)	31 (1o)	12	269
Nigeria	813 (258)	1o4 (26)	11	917
Sierra Leone	99 (23)	25 (7)	2o	124 ··
Gambia	18 (1)	3	14	21
	1,168 (376)	163 (43)		1,331

Notes: The figures in brackets refer to those included in the adjacent numbers who are postgraduates.

Source: Yearbook of the Association of Commonwealth Universities 1966

It can be seen from this table that, apart from Sierra Leone which in that year provided 2o%, the others account for an average of 12% of females in their total student population. It also becomes very evident that as far as the universities are concerned, inter-cultural educational travel is predominantly a male affair and that on the basis of the above trends and bearing in mind the fact that the total numbers of West African students in the UK has been falling since 1961/2, the future West African university student in the UK may still continue to be male for a long time.

However, this overwhelming under-representation of women in universities in the UK can be accounted for by the composition of education generally and

higher education in particular as far as the two sexes are concerned. In many parts of the world and in Africa in particular, education is essentially a male affair. In the USA - one of the most highly developed countries - the figure for female enrollment in 1963 was 38%. From this point of view, the use of the notion of 'under-representation' of women above is a misnomer since this imbalance is widespread and not confined to the areas in Africa we are dealing with. But having said this, we are in a position to see that the imbalance in the representation of the sexes among West African students in British universities is closely related to their representation in the population enrolled in higher education (see Table 27 below) in their home countries.

Table 27

Comparison of Sex Composition of Total Enrollment in UK and West Africa in Higher Education

Country	Females as %age of Total in Home Universities in 1963/4	Females as %age of Total in UK Universities 1964/5
Ghana	9.1	12
Nigeria	9.9	11
Sierra Leone	14.5	2o
Gambia	-	14

Notes: The data for comparable years is not yet available. To this extent the comparison is inaccurate but, allowing for the possibility of change in the 1964/5 figures, there is still a remarkable similarity in enrollment in both years. Besides, different countries use different definitions of 'student' as already mentioned. The gap in the Gambia column is due to the fact that there is no institution of higher education. The figures in all cases exclude teachers in training.

Source: United Nations "Statistical Yearbook" 1965. Compiled from Table 196 pp.698-715

This, in fact, means that if education is a male affair as far as West African university students are concerned, this is because education in their home countries is dominated by the male sex (in terms of the figures). Similarly,

females accounted for 2o% of the Sierra Leone students in UK universities in 1964/5 because women accounted for a similarly high proportion of students in higher education in Sierra Leone.

This under-representation of females in the population of West African students has but one consequence which is of direct import to this study and that is that the pool of females from which part of the sample was drawn was very restricted. However, and more importantly, their reactions to the sojourn environment and their social relations are likely to be influenced by their numbers. They are less likely to deal with the situation in which they are found in the same way as the male student does, given the nature of the norms of the society in which they study. This would, in fact, mean, that they, more often than the males, find themselves in a university environment in which it is not easily possible to associate together in national groups unlike the male students. All things being equal, then, this constraint would have consequences for their identity. It would seem reasonable, then, to expect differential reactions according to the sex of the individual student. Already there is very scanty evidence that they have a tendency to exhibit (more than the males) a greater variety and number of psychosomatic symptoms and also tend to suffer from breakdowns more often than males.[1] But this is not conclusive as the study which showed these results was a very limited one and was confined to students from one province of Nigeria.

In conclusion, we can now recapitulate on the various artifacts which we have discussed in the chapter. We reviewed the trends in the size and dis-

1. T.A. Lambo "A Study of Social and Health Problems of Nigerian Students in Great Britain" op.cit.pp.51-52

tribution of West African students in the United Kingdom in the context of the general trends in international educational travel. International educational travel took on phenomenal proportions after the Second World War in terms of both numbers of students involved and numbers of fellowships provided for their use.

Seen against this context, the phenomenal increase in the numbers of West African students in the UK is made readily understandable. But as their numbers have been increasing so their distribution has been changing. For instance, the proportion of West African postgraduate students has been increasing vis a vis undergraduates while larger proportions of them have been benefitting from awards. Since 1962, a trend towards the reduction of the aggregate numbers of West African students has set in - a trend which we suggest is due to a combination of (1) the workings of the 'non-individual' factors and (2) the development of national plans in their home countries which involve some control over the dispositions of the students studying abroad.

However, there has been relatively little overall change in the rank order of institutions which these students attend though there has been a slight change in the popularity of some institutions vis a vis others. For instance, technical colleges increased their popularity while the Inns of Court and Practical Training reduced their popularity. The increase of those in nursing has been small (5% in 5 years).

With the above parameters in mind, we can now turn our attention to the theoretical issues involved in our analysis of identity among West African students.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL ISSUES - THE BASIC CATEGORIES DEFINED

In this chapter our main objective is to indicate the general theoretical guides which we utilised in this study. While doing this, we also indicate that a clear understanding of the impact of the sojourn environment on West African students cannot be obtained if the barriers between disciplines is given undue recognition.

Specifically, we discuss the difficulties involved in defining identity and indicate what we took as our working definition. We then go on to show how identity is rooted in values and culture. We shall then derive the hypotheses which guide the study, though the work is not concerned only with hypotheses-testing.

The Concept of Identity: The Problem of Definition

The concept of identity was only once mentioned by Sigmund Freud in his theoretical writings[1] and was, indeed, formally introduced into psychoanalytic discussions in 1919 by Victor Tausk in his paper "Ueber die Entstehung des 'Beeinflussungsapparates' in der Schizophrenie"[2].

It is partly because of this late adoption of the concept and partly because writers like Tausk ignored the fact that earlier scientists (like Cooley, James and others) had approached, if not obtained, a systematic statement of the nature of identity that a contemporary writer can say that:

"Identity is a concept without a history of polemics"

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1. On the only occasion when he mentioned the word in a phrase ".. die klare Bewusstheit der inneren Identitaet" it was in connection with his discussion of his link with Judaism. See Erik Erikson "The Problem of Ego Identity" in M. Stein & A. Vidich eds. op.cit.p.37
2. Victor Tausk in Intern. Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse, Vol. 5,1919,pp.1-33

and in the next breath adds that:

> "However, the impetus to discovery afforded by the term
> threatens to spill over the bounds of analytical utility"[1].

Another contemporary writer has put it very vividly when she said of all concepts like the self, the Ego and identity (she did not demonstrate any differences between these) that they are slippery and that they:

> "Slide around like the shiny balls under glass in a child's
> puzzle which, no matter how the board is tilted, refuse
> to stay lodged in any particular hollow"[2].

Yet another writer has stated the problem in even more categorical terms when she said of identity that:

> "It is indefinable" where "to define is to assign the object
> to a certain class and to distinguish it from other members
> of this class. But like the self (again presuming, but not
> demonstrating, a distinction between the two), though inde-
> finable, (it) is not thus indescribable"[3].

What all these writers are, in fact, saying is that there is as yet no widely accepted definition of 'identity' and that in the absence of this all that can be given by way of elucidation of the concept are descriptions of its operation in various life situations. Even Erikson, who has written the most systematic series on identity, nevertheless had to conclude that the concept "still retains some abiguity". Clearly, this lack of a uniform definition reflects upon a fundamental difference in orientation and creates problems for the investigator of identity among students. As is to be expected from the above, the descriptions which are usually given of the nature of identity are equally varied and inconclusive. For instance, Erikson describes identity in terms of ego and uses the concept to denote:

1. G. Stone "Appearance and the Self" in A.M. Rose ed. "Human Behaviour and Social Processes" (Routledge & Kegan Paul)London 1962, p.93
2. Helen Lynd "Shame and the Search for Identity" (Harcourt Brace), New York 1958, p. 167
3. Mary Whiton Calkins "The Self in Scientific Psychology" American Journal of Psychology, Vol.26, 1915, pp.499-5oo

> "Certain comprehensive gains which the individual, at the end of
> adolescence, must have derived from all his pre-adult experiences
> in order to be ready for the tasks of adulthood"[1].

While this description stresses the psycho-social developmental aspects of

identity formation, Erikson's insistence on the adolescent period as the

period when identity issues arise and when identity formation is completed is

not logically warranted since he does not explain why identity formation cannot

stop at the childhood stage or, indeed, continue up to and after the adoles-

cent period. He expands this description in an earlier article when he said

of identity, that it includes:

> "the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and
> continuity to the ego's synthesising methods" and equates
> this with "a more realistic self-esteem" which "grows to be
> a conviction that the ego is learning effective steps towards
> a tangible collective future, that it is developing into a
> defined ego within a social reality"[2].

However, this attempt to clarify the nature of identity further puts Erikson

in the position where he emphasises (1) the sociological environment within

which identity develops and (2) the role of the ego in identity development

thus leading to an over-emphasis on the role of the ego and a dimunition of

its objective and external behavioural manifestations. He therefore found him-

self in the situation where the best he could do is to "let it (i.e. identity)

speak for itself in a number of connotations" and to "attempt to make the sub-

ject-matter of identity more explicit only by approaching it from a variety of

angles - biographic, pathographic and theoretical"; then "at one time it would

appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an

unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character, at a third as a

1. Erik Erikson "The Problem of Ego Identity" op.cit.p.38
2. Erik Erikson "Ego Development and Historical Change" "The Psychoanalytic
   Study of the Child", 11, New York, 1946, pp.359-36o

criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis and finally as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity"[1]. In the end, the general answer which he provides to the question "what is the nature of identity?" amounts to the minimum fact that it determines and is determined by the synthesising capacity of the individual i.e. his level of adjustment to his environment, given some continuity in the latter.

There are other descriptions which partly support this minimum definition and which bring out the 'adjustive element' more vividly. For instance, Ernst Prelinger defines it as:

> "A fairly homogenous configuration of a number of
> psychological structures and functions within the ego
> which allow the person to define himself and be defined
> by others in his present and future adaptive relations
> to a social environment".

He amplifies this by pointing out that:

> "It is the product of a great number of psycho-social and
> psycho-sexual processes which, during their development,
> are in interaction with the social environment, continuously
> synthesised and modified into always new forms of identity
> until by the close of the adolescent period a fair amount
> of stability and internal consistency of a person's ego
> identity has been reached"[2].

Both Prelinger and Erikson can thus be seen to stress the period up to adolescence as being crucial in the development of identity and to emphasise the importance of social processes in facilitating or, indeed, inhibiting its development. In these respects, they are by no means an isolated group of writers.

A large number of psychologists not only locate identity development within a specific period in the life cycle of the individual but also see its origins in the unconscious of the individual. Thus Greenacre and

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1. Erik Erikson op.cit. p.38
2. Ernst Prelinger "Identity and Identity Diffusion" in B.M. Wedge ed. "Psycho-Social Problems of College Men" (Yale University Press) 1958, pp.214-215, my emphasis.

Mahler[1], like Erikson and Prelinger, discuss identity largely in connection with the period of childhood and assume that identity is so fully formed by adolescence that it cannot subsequently change in any significant way. Lichtenstein, for his part, does not only maintain the same notion of identity development but goes to the opposite extreme of locating the beginning of identity formation in the uterine association between mother and child i.e. the embryonic connection[2].

While the clinical argument for these positions may be accepted by some clinicians, there is no logical reason why, if identity refers to the adjustive capacity of the individual as shown above, its formation should stop at certain periods when the need for adjustment will always arise throughout the individual's life. Clearly, any explanation of growth in human life should simultaneously explain both continuity of character (for want of a better word) as well as personal change. These definitions pertially succeed in providing the former kind of explanation but not the latter.

But that many clinicians operate on this notion of identity formation may be due to their attachment to what has been called the 'Freudian Ethic' which maintains (in the language of Webster at. al.) that:

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1. P. Greenacre "Early Determinants of the Development of the Sense of Identity" in Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Vol.6, 1958, pp.612-627; also M.S. Mahler "Problems of Identity" (abstracted and reported by D.L. Rubinfine) in Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association Vol.6, 1958, pp.131-142
2. H . Lichtenstein "Identity and Sexuality: A Study of Their Interrelationships in Man" in Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Vol8, 1961, pp.179-260; also in his more recent "The Dilemma of Human Identity: Notes on Self-Transformation, Self-Observation and Metamorphosis" in Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Vol.11, 1963, pp.173-223

> "The personality is well-formed by the age of seventeen or thereabouts and that what happens after that is merely an expression or an unfolding of what has previously been established"[1].

Their consequent neglect of changes identity in adulthood as a result of experiences (college or foreign, for example) is thus made understandable.

However, there is some indication in the literature that this adherence to the 'Freudian ethic' is beginning to be modified. One recent discussion which highlights this change also expressed the view:

> "that only by tracing this process (of identity formation) through all the stages of childhood and adolescent development can we gain more definite criteria regarding the prerequisites for normal identity formation or the causes for pathology in this area respectively"[2].

However, despite the ambiguity which surrounds their use of the concept, most writers are agreed on the minimum requirements for the existence and change of identity which have contributed to our working definition in this study. In the first place, they are all agreed that no understanding of the nature of identity is possible except within the context of the social environment within which the person is located.

Secondly, they all accept that the distinguishing aspect of identity is that it is the resultant of the interaction between the individual and his immediate environment and that the origins of identity changes should therefore be sought after in the environment in which the individual finds himself.

Thirdly, they are agreed that the adjustive capacity which is an important constituent of identity (some have called it the 'synthetic function'[3]) manifests itself in an awareness on the part of the individual of his connec-

1. Harold Webster et al. "Personality Changes in College Students" op.cit. p. 8o5; also Richard T. Lapiere "The Freudian Ethic" (Allen & Unwin)London 196o, esp.chap.3, and John R.Seeley's "The Americanisation of the Unconscious" in H.M. Ruitenbeek ed. "Psychoanalysis and Social Science" (E. Dutton Paperback) New York, 1962, pp.186-199
2. E. Jacobson "The Self and the Object World" (Intern.Psychoa.Lib.No.67, Hogarth) 1965, p.32, my emphasis.
3. Ernst Prelinger "Identity and Identity Diffusion" in B.M.Wedge op.cit.p.215

tedness to social groupings and at the same time his autonomy from these. As such, self-feelings and feelings for others point to the individual's identity.

Fourthly, they are agreed that since identity is social in its origins and reinforcement it would have sociological correlates which can be studied and which can thus indicate the state in which identity is.

Fifthly, they are agreed that the sense of identity arises out of the integration of self-definitions over time thus resulting in continuity[1] and stability in one's image of oneself.

Sixthly, and this is the implication of all their points of agreement mentioned so far, the stabilisation of identity patterns require a period of experimentation - a period when the person realises the inadequacy of his original adjustive equipment for a new situation and begins to modify this so as to be able to accomodate the new situation. This period has been called the 'psycho-social moratorium'.

Within this period the adjustive pattern devised by the individual, and which successfully relates him to the environment, will become the foundation on which the new identity will be built[2]. In the case of African students in Britain, the clash of value-orientations would be marked since they come from cultures which are rather distinct from the host culture in which they find themselves. It is against this background that factors in their personal

1. Lichtenstein, like William James, Mead, Cooley, stresses this "capacity to remain the same in the midst of change"; "the subjective aspect of identity is the consciousness of such continuity".
2. In his very interesting work Lawrence Douglas (op.cit.) has demonstrated empirically that the University provides such a psycho-social moratorium for students and that there are three types of students with three patterns of adjustment which they develop while in University. Similarly, James Davies shows how satisfaction with college experience is directly related to the speed with which students adjust to the college environment in his "Satisfaction with College Experience" while Alfred Naumann shows how failure to adjust leads to 'Intellectuallisation' as an alternative means of adjustment in "The Relationship of Intellectual Achievement to the Processes of Identification" both in B.M. Wedge op.cit.

situations would precipitate or inhibit changes in identity. The reason why this is so can be easily understood by looking at the relationship between identity and values. This we shall take up in a moment.

A Working Definition of Identity

We can now define identity, on the basis of the above-mentioned considerations, as <u>that aspect of the motivational structure of the personality which enables the individual to meaningfully relate himself to his environment and to this extent, arises from social living. It manifests itself in terms of self-feelings of which the individual is aware.</u> This awareness takes the form of an overall image of oneself. Self-feelings can be oriented in a positive direction (resulting in a general feeling of wholesomeness and well-being) or can be oriented in a negative direction (resulting in a feeling or self-mortification, being 'down and out' or 'down in the dumps'). We have consequently used the notion of 'high self-image' to refer to the former and of the self-image continuum and the notion of 'low self-image' to refer to the latter end.

Variations in environment would therefore be expected to be reflected in variations in self-image while the latter would, in turn, influence the motivation of the individual in social action. By developing, and using a measure of self-image, we show that (1) there are differences in self-image between the samples and (2) that the self-image has correlates which can be studied empirically. The self-image can thus be regarded as an objectification of the state of identity since identity, by itself, cannot be observed directly.

Our use of the notion of self-image avoids the proliferation of concepts concerning the self and also reflects on our conviction that self-feelings are experienced as a whole. Consequently, concepts such as self-regard, self-

esteem, ideal self, real self etc. all refer to the same entity (i.e. the overall image of oneself) since feelings of self-esteem cannot be experienced separately from feelings concerning ideal self, etc.

Identity and Values

The values of different societies provide the most fundamental basis for the attribution of identity to its members. Values, insofar as they prescribe the nature and types of role-obligations and expectations which individuals have of each other, serve to build a 'global definition of situations' into the social structure which will influence the individual's behaviour so long as he lives and interacts in the same environment.

This 'global definition of situations' not only loosely constrains what the individual ought and ought not to do, but also loosely prescribes the qualities of individuals who should perform certain roles as well as the situations within which they should perform their roles[1]. Stability obtains in social life because of these expectations which individuals hold concerning each other's role-performance. Values, to this extent, are instrumental to social life since they enable society's goals to be pursued by providing the necessary 'lubrication' for interaction as well as motivating individuals in this direction.

The motivation to perform one's role is not, then, a completely individual attribute but is, at the same time, social in origin. One's performance is evaluated and reinforced by others in society. General social approval of the individual's role-performance would, in this way contribute to a favourable self-conception. Thus a 'bad teacher' is someone whose activities are not

1. Talcott Parsons et al. "Toward a General Theory of Action" (Harper & Row) New York, 1962, p.147; also R. Merton's "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" in his "Social Theory and Social Structure" op.cit.chap. VI;

generally approved in the society as far as teaching is concerned. Consistent rejection as 'bad' would sooner or later be reflected in a low and unfavourable self-conception on the part of the person so designated.

Admittedly, there are many intervening variables which would determine when the 'stigmatised' individual begins to view himself in correspondingly low terms (e.g. reference groups); but that he does, is an established fact in the literature[1]. Similarly, the 'mentally ill' person is someone, apart from anything else, whose actions correspond with the 'audience's' expectations concerning a 'mad man'. He does, in a sense, play the 'role of the mad-man'. He may thus view himself as Napoleon when no one calls him Napoleon. But in calling himself 'Napoleon', he would be acting like a 'mad man' and people would call him a 'mad man' and expect him to act like one. There is thus a clear relationship between the expectations of others and the individual's behaviour – these expectations being partly derived from the values of the society. It is this relationship which has been stressed by various social scientists and layman alike. Goethe once expressed it in the following words:

> "Der Mensch erkennt sich nur im Menschen, nur
> Das Leben lehret jedem was er sei"[2]
>
> (Goethe "Tasso", Act 2, p.3)

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1. The evidence on this is profuse and cannot be quoted at length. Some indication is however provided in the following: G.W. Bronson "Identity Diffusion in Late Adolescents" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol.59 1959, pp.414-417; John Sherwood "Self-Identity and Referent Others" Sociometry, Vol.28, 1965, pp.66-81; Carl Couch & J.S. Murray "Significant Others and Evaluation" Sociometry, Vol.27, 1964, pp.502-9; Frank Myamoto & S. Dornbusch "A Test of Interactionist Hypotheses of Self-Conception" A.J.S., Vol.LXI, 1956, pp.399-403; Leo Reeder et al. "Conceptions of Self and Others" in Bert Stoodley ed. "Society and Self" (Free Press, Glencoe) New York, 1962, pp.69-78
2. "Only in man does man know himself; life alone teaches each which one he is" Quoted in Charles Cooley "Human Nature and the Social Order" (Scribner's Sons) 1912, p.151

Robert Burns, in a similarly oft-quoted sentence, also expressed this relationship when he regretted that we cannot always see ourselves as others see us.

Since the individual's image of himself is related to the appraisals of others, his general prestige would also be related to the role which he performs, with the latter being defined partly by the values of the society in which he exists. It is these which would, then, largely determine whether his identity would include a predominance of aggression or intropunitiveness[1], be more sensitive to shame and guilt or less sensitive[2] and so on. As such "values define goals and goals define identity. The problem of identity, then, is basic to the problem of goals"[3] and insofar as the individual is born into society, his identity can be described as "a property which is inalienable from him"[4].

However, this identity-prescribing aspect of values is a mere predisposition, a necessary but, by no means, sufficient factor in the development of identity. The individual's sense of identity is also influenced, perhaps much more importantly, by factors which are specific to his life-cycle such as his parental background, his past experiences, his peer-group affiliations etc. - factors which can be described collectively as (following Wedge) 'idiosyncratic adaptation' factors[5]. It would therefore be illogical to object

1. Following Ruth Benedict's characterisation in her "Patterns of Culture" (Houghton Mifflin) Boston, 1934 and R. Linton's discussion of basic personality-types in his "The Study of Man" (Appleton) New York, 1936
2. Helen Lynd characterises the cultural foundations of identity in these terms in her "Shame and the Search for Identity" (Harcourt Brace & Co.) New York, 1958
3. A. Wheelis "The Quest for Identity" (Victor Gollancz) London, 1959, p.174 esp. but also p. 2oo
4. Kenneth Soddy "Identity, Mental Health and Value Systems" (Tavistock)1961 p.4 also Margaret Field "Search for Security" An Ethno-psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana" (Northwestern Univ.Press), Illinois, 1960 for a description of how values define mental illness in Ghana, chap. I esp.
5. B.M. Wedge op.cit. p.26o

to the view which we have maintained in this work that the values of African society have a uniform implication for West Africans on the grounds that all West African students are not the same. These students come from the same 'cultural area' and thus are subject to the same identity-predisposition. But at the same time, as individuals, they are different since they all have different 'idiosyncratic adaptation patterns'. We therefore maintain, with Kluckhohn and Murray that:

> "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men,
> (b) like some other men (c) like no other man"[1].

It was precisely this connection between identity and values which Erikson tried to highlight in his discussion of the biography of George Bernard Shaw.

Societies vary according to the extent to which they provide a 'global definition of situations' which the growing person can take up. Whereas some societies (usually pre-industrial societies) provide psycho-social moratoria within which the growing person can experiment without incurring social rejection[2], the growing person in many industrial societies does not have any such moratoria and (according to Douglas) use the university for this purpose. It is in the latter kind of society that identity crises arise. In the former type of society, this crisis (some call it an adolescent crisis) does not seem to arise according to existing literature. Whether this means that it does

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1. Clyde Kluckhohn & H.A. Murray eds. "Personality in Nature, Society and Culture" (Alfred Knopf)New York,1948, p.35; Helen Lynd makes the same point when she says:"In the most homogenous society in relatively tranquil historical periods, there is no one kind of identity for different individuals still less any single road toward a sense of self and one's place in society" op.cit.p. 184
2. Anthropological evidence suggests that in West African countries children are socialised in a permissive way and are allowed a wide range of 'excesses See for instance, Barrington Kaye "Bringing Up Children in Ghana" (Allen & Unwin) London, 1962, p.63 and Margaret Field "Search for Security" op.cit.; more generally Frank Youngs interactionist formulation in "The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies:" in AJS, Vol.LXVII, 1962, pp.379-396

not occur or that its intensity is relatively low is very much an open question. Banton's assertion that the consciousness of one's self-identity increases with an increase in the level of economic development[1] would seem to suggest that such crisis situations would not arise or would be relatively less intense in pre-industrial societies. However, he does not sufficiently elucidate the connection between consciousness of self-identity and level of economic development to facilitate a conclusion on this point. In any case, if even such a connection can be traced, it is doubtful whether it is as linear as he suggests.

While the West African student tends to be older than his British counterpart[2] and can therefore only be described as a 'late adolescent' if anything, he would nevertheless experience a disorientation which is not due to the absence of values as such (for he is still wedded to the original values of his home country) but is due, in part, to the existence of values in the host society which are different from those into which he was socialised. This situation would, as we have already hinted (in chap.1), put the student under some stress, some concomitants of this stress in similar situations being frequent reports of psychosomatic illnesses and symptoms[3] and a relatively high level of generalised anxiety[4]. It is against this background that the students' adaptive capacity would be brought into play. How would this come about?

Identity Change in West African Students: The Role of the Host Population

Simmel, Cooley and Mead have shown the part which the 'generalised others' play in the maintenance and change of identity. According to them, every piece

1. Michael Banton "Roles" (Tavistock Publications) London,1965, p.138 ff
2. Robbins Report "Higher Education" op.cit. Appendix Two(A), Table 26,p.37
3. Samuel Stouffer et al. "Measurement and Prediction" (Princeton Univ.Press) New Jersey, 1950, chap.13, p. 406ff by Shirley Star
4. David Mechanic "Students Under Stress" (Free Press, Glencoe) New York, 1962 pp.98-99 and Elton Jackson "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress" ASR, Vol. 27, 1962, pp. 469-480

of social communication involves the presentation of the identity to and for the appraisal of others. The office-boy may have a low self-image of himself in the office while at home his self-image would be higher as a result of the appraisals of members of his family. In each case, the 'audience' he plays to is different and his self-image varies accordingly. Further, because of this 'self-presentation', it is impossible to predict what the outcome of social interaction would be, i.e. whether or not the individual will present the wrong and inappropriate cues and will consequently be classed as a 'fool'[1]. Similarly, where one side in an encounter fails to come up to the expectations of the other side 'embarrassment' may arise[2]. Social encounters are therefore, in their essentials, fluid. But because of this fluidity, individuals would present that aspect of their identity which would earn them the most favourable evaluation[3]. It is this element of fluidity which Goffman tries to capture when he said: "Life may not be much of a gamble but interaction is"[4]. The individual's identity then "is something of a collaborative manufacture"[5] and the social world "in truth, is a wedding i.e. ceremony (sic)"[6] or ritual of presentation and evaluation.

The various self-conceptions which derive from various pieces of interaction are integrated to form a more or less consistent image of oneself[7].

1. O.E. Klapp "The Fool as a Social Type" AJS, Vol.55, 1949,pp.157-162
2. E.Goffman "Embarrassment and Social Organisation" AJS, Vol.62,1956-7,pp264-71
3. He does this because (according to Cooley)"it(i.e. a positive sense of self) is more necessary to him than bread". See his "Human Nature & the Social Order" op.cit.p.228
4. E.Goffman "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (Doubleday) New York, 1959, p. 243
5. ibid. p.253
6. ibid. p. 36
7. A. Strauss ed. "George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology: Selected Papers" (Phoenix Books Univ. of Chicago Press)1964,pp.2oo,22o-228; Tomatsu Shibutani "Society and Personality" (Prentice Hall Inc)New Jersey,1961,pp.214&228-9; William James "Principles of Psychology"(Macmillan & Co)189o,Vol.1,pp.293&189; Helen Lynd op.cit.p.138; Goffman ibid.,pp.49-51 and A. Strauss "Mirrors and Masks" (Free Press, Glencoe), New York, 1959, pp. 39 & 99

In terms of the West African student, that part of the host population who are involved in interaction with him would, thus, be of much consequence for his overall identity.

However, despite their otherwise brilliant explanation of social interaction earlier theorists did not succeed in specifying the nature of the 'generalised others' towards whom the person orients himself[1]. Clearly, not everyone in the host society would be of significance for our students. Only extensive comparative research both in West Africa and in the UK would enable us to specify in detail the part played by reference groups in the two areas towards the maintenance and change of identity. Our pilot investigation showed that these students have their reference groups within their own kinship network, but this is not conclusive. However, our analysis of the 'sociometric' characteristics of the friends of these students produced some instructive information on the part played by friends in the maintenance of identity (i.e. as one category of the 'generalised others').

Some Hypotheses

Our theoretical considerations in this section indicate the background against which we deduced certain hypotheses, even though our project was not merely concerned with the testing of hypotheses. These hypotheses are the following:

1. That the student who derives from a different cultural background to that of his 'host' country would experience stress in the new environment. This implies that the observed level of stress can be isolated from factors in the pre-sojourn experience.

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1. This lack of specification has been widely remarked upon. See for instance E. Hughes "What Other"? in A. Rose ed. "Human Behaviour and Social Processes" op.cit. pp. 119-127; S. Stouffer "Social Research to Test Ideas" (Free Press Glencoe) New York, 1962, pp.246-47 and B.F. Mannheim "Feference Groups, Membership Groups and the Self-Image" Sociometry, Vol. 29, 1966 pp.265-279, esp.266.

2. That this stress would be reflected in the level of self-image of the students. This also implies that self-image levels in the sojourn situation can be presumed to reflect factors in that situation and a fortiori can be compared with self-image levels in the home situation.

3. That the self-image level would vary according to the 'idiosyncratic factors' in the background of the students such as socio-economic status position, personality characteristics and so on.

CHAPTER 5

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: THE CULTURAL SETTING
OF THE STUDY

In the last chapter, the theoretical guide-lines have been indicated
in order to illustrate some of the operational problems which are involved in
studying identity. We shall now turn our attention to the <u>cultural setting of</u>
the study. Our objective in this chapter is concerned with a description of
the cultural background from which the students in our sample derive, using
published sources as well as the personal observations of the author.

However, such a description is fraught with difficulties. In the first
place, value-orientations are not concrete objects which can be apprehended
by the sense organs; on the contrary, they have to be inferred and interpre-
ted in terms of the symbolic meanings attached to them by the general popula-
tion. Consequently, some element of speculation would inevitably be included
in such an interpretation. This is made even more difficult by the additional
fact that the boundaries of application of value-orientations are never dis-
crete. Thus, one could never assert that those people who are described as
having, say, the Protestant Ethic utilise it in every conceivable situation,
or indeed, in every aspect of their lives.

These difficulties lend some ambiguity to the notion of value-orientation
as this is used in the literature. We shall therefore clarify the meaning of
the concept as it applies to this work before undertaking the description of
West African social structure.

Meaning of Value Orientation

Value orientations refer to the systems of ideas which are found in

any society but which have moral and evaluative implications for the actions of individuals within those societies and are (to this extent) constraining on the individual. They are 'orientations' to the extent that they do not closely define whether the individual would actually obey them or not but rather represent in-built predispositions in the social structure. Value orientations are thus:

> "Value notions which are (a) general, (b),organised and (c) include definitely existential judgements" i.e. judgements about the material circumstances of the society in question.

Thus, value orientations are, in the last analysis, inclusive of values.

In the second place, a value orientation always contains a Weltanschauung, an approach to reality, which gives 'meaning' to the individuals involved within its compass. For instance, ungrudging respect for the aged may be merely one manifestation of traditionalism. It is this underlying theme which gives unity and coherence to a culture[2]. If one can talk, then, of 'culture areas', it is because of this underlying unity of meaning for (as Sorokin expressed it at the beginning of his comparative venture):

> "Hidden behind the empirically different, seemingly unrelated fragments of the cultural complex lies an identity of meaning, which brings them together in consistent styles, typical forms and significant patterns"[3].

It is this unity and coherence which provides the foundation for the development of personal identity (as we have already demonstrated). The notion of value-orientations can, then, be used to depict the differing emphases which different societies put on aspects of social life. Differences between societies within the same cultural complex would then be seen as variations on the

1. Clyde Kluckhohn "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action" in Parsons, Shils, et al. op.cit. p.4o9
2. ibid. pp.4o9-41o
3. Pitrim Sorokin "Social and Cultural Dynamics" (American Book Co.) New York, 1937 in 4 vols. The reference here is to p.23 of Vol.1

same theme while different societies in different cultural complexes would represent different themes. In comparing West African cultural notions with those of the United Kingdom, we are therefore looking for the different "rank ordering of emphasis" (Florence Kluckhohn[1]) which the two societies attribute to similar aspects of social life.

The Use of Ideal Types

The themes of different cultures can be represented in terms of ideal types. Ideal types are conceptual tools which allow the sociologist to study different societies by ranging them along a continuum of polar opposites according to the extent to which their observed characteristics approximate to either end. In the description which follows, we have used three ideal types - (1) Ascription vs. Achievement, (2) Universalism vs Particularism and (3) Traditional vs. industrial. The first two dichotomies come from the work of Parsons[2] while the third is widely used in everday discussion of under-developed societies.

Used in this way, ideal types are, by definition, general categorisations of cultural themes according to their different 'emphases'. To this extent, the argument that they are over-generalised[3] or that they are not usually found in toto does not affect their conceptual utility. A culture cannot then be completely one or the other of these dichotomies but would consist of combinations which enable the sociologist to locate that culture on some part of the continuum other than the two ends. Ideal types, when used in this way, have fully demonstrated their usefulness in comparative sociology.

The first-mentioned dichtomy refers to the basis of selection for roles;

1. The elaboration of this view is in F.Kluckhohn & F. Strodtbeck et.al. "Variations in Value Orientations" (Row & Peterson)1961,chaps. 1 & 2
2. Talcott Parsons "The Social System" (Tavistock)London 1952,pp.lol-112
3. P.C. Lloyd "Africa in Social Change" (Penguin African Library) 1967, p.42

the second refers to the basis for evaluation and,consequently,treatment of other persons while the third-mentioned refers to the general direction in which society is moving or has moved. These three are not mutually exclusive since the basis for selection of roles has implications for the criteria against which individuals are evaluated which in turn would influence the 'traditional' or 'industrial' nature of the society. However, they are treated more or less separately, here, in the interest of analysis.

If we now cross-classify the first two dichotomies, we obtain a paradigm which provides four main combinations of orientations viz:

		Particularism	Universalism
Ascription	A	Particular prior relations determine action.	B — Expectation of conformity with universal norms for persons of defined qualities.
Achievement	C	Expectation of conformity with the norms of a particular group.	D — Expectation of successful accomplishment on 'open' criteria. Rewards and evaluation determined by this.

These four combinations have been checked with capital letters for easier identification. Cell A fits the Latin American pattern of 'making the most of what one has' (according to Florence Kluckhohn who also includes Mexico in this theme); Cell B fits the dominant theme of the aristocratic system of Feudal Europe; Cell C fits the theme of Ancient China (according to Parsons interpretation) and Cell D fits the North-American and, as some suggest, all industrial societies[1]. The adequacy of the interpretations of each combination notwithstanding, the above paradigm can, thus, be seen to typify the dominant themes of various cultures.

1. Talcott Parsons "Structure and Process in Modern Societies"(Free Press) 1963,chap.4 also more generally Seymour Lipset "The First New Nation" (Heinemann)London,1964,and Robin Williams "American Society"(Knopf)N.Y. 2nd edition, 1966,pp.417ff.

In the light of this paradigm, we can now suggest (and we substantiate this suggestion in our description) that (a) the very process of education[1] involves a confrontation of value orientations A and D and that since formal education is the 'vogue' in West Africa the tension between these two value-orientations would be reflected in the wider social structure; (b) that educational travel for the West African student represents an intensification of this confrontation since his 'traditional' supports would have disappeared and (c) that West African society is typified <u>more</u> by value-orientation A than by D, whereas the social structure of the United Kingdom to which these students travel and in which they spend their period of sojourn is typified <u>more</u> by value-orientation D than by A. The concept of 'traditional' is henceforth used to refer to Cell A while the notion of 'industrial' refers to Cell D.

This does not, by any means, imply that West Africa is or was exclusively 'traditional' in the above sense since there were always areas of life where achievement criteria were significant for role selection e.g. the tradition of 'trading' among women in many tribes or the selection of warriors for the fighting forces. Nor does it imply that the UK is exclusively 'industrial' in the above sense since there are similarly many areas where ascription determines role selection e.g. political patronage, the 'old boy network' etc. All that is meant here is that the sum-total of 'emphases' is in one or the other direction.

Elements of the Social Structure of West Africa

The social structure of West Africa has been considerably affected by rapid social and economic changes. Africa is probably the fastest changing area

1. This has been demonstrated in many publications, some of which we shall discuss. These authors include Fraenkel, Forster, Jahoda, Porter, Lloyd etc.

in the world today[1]. Urbanisation, for one thing, has rapidly altered various aspects of social organisation such as the family system. Migrations from the rural areas to the cities and towns have never been higher[2].

However, these forces have affected mainly the forms which social institutions take, not their content. They have modified the ecological context within which institutions have to exist. The content has exhibited and continues to exhibit remarkable continuity and resilience[3]. In order, then, to be able to demonstrate this continuity of cultural ideas, we shall utilise the following headings as 'pegs' for our discussion: (1) the Culture Areas of Africa, (2) the Social and Political Organisation of West Africa and (3) the Family System.

The Culture Areas of Africa

As has been pointed out already, West Africa consists of diverse ethnic groups and languages; this is even more true of the whole of the Continent. According to some investigators[4], there are well over 750 ethnic groups in the continent, speaking just as many languages. These languages, nevertheless, exhibit so many similarities that they have been grouped into language families

1. Peter Marris "Family and Social Change in an African City" (Routledge and Kegan Paul) London, 1961, p.ix.
2. For instance, the population of Dakar increased from 32,440 in 1921 to 366,000 in 1963; that of Freetown from 44,000 in 1921 to 100,000 in 1960; that of Accra from 38,000 in 1936 to 338,000 in 1960; that of Lagos from 99,000 in 1936 to 450,000 in 1962. Similar population expansions arising from migrations have been noted in all the principal towns in all West African countries. See Kenneth Little "West African Urbanisation" (Cambridge Univ.Press) 1965, p.18; also P.Forster "Education and Social Change in Ghana" (Routledge and Kegan Paul) 1965, p.244
3. Melville Herskovits "The Human Factor in Changing Africa" (Routledge and Kegan Paul) 1962, esp.chaps. 2 and 3; also his "Continuity and Change in African Cultures" with W. Bascom eds.(Phoenix Books, Univ. of Chicago Press) 1962 esp.chap.1. We demonstrate this continuity further in this chapter.
4. Melville Herskovits "Peoples and Cultures of Sub-Saharan Africa" Annals, Vol.297-299, Jan.-May, 1965, p.11. Daryll Forde puts the figure around 800 in his "The Cultural Map of West Africa" in S.& P. Ottenberg eds. "Cultures and Societies of Africa" (Random House) 1960 p.116
5. Alice Werner "The Language Families of Africa" (SPCK) London, 1915

on the basis of tonal quality. The dominant language types in West Africa are the Mande and the Kwa group of languages.

Just as languages exhibit marked similarities, so do the various cultures[1] of the continent. These similarities

> "include those elements of African cultures which are continental
> in their distribution and mark off these ways of life from those
> of other major world regions. Next come the conventions that, while
> spread less widely, are none the less (sic) found in areas of broad
> compass and distinguish the major culture types of the continent.
> As we move to the tribal or local group level, the special character-
> istics that mark each off from its neighbours come to the fore.
> These characteristics are from the comparative point of view to be
> regarded as variations on the broader cultural themes of wider
> areal or continental distribution[2]".

In distinguishing the cultural areas of Africa in this way, Herskovits does not imply that there are no regional differences, nor is he saying that such differences do not create points of tension between groups; rather, he is saying that such differences as are found between groups and regions in the culture area can, upon further investigation, be found to be differences on the same basic theme. Since it is this theme which is of direct import to this study and to the work of Herskovits, we shall concern ourselves mainly with the similarities. It follows from this line of reasoning that students from West Africa would exhibit similarities in value-orientations to the extent that the area can be shown to possess a distinct cultural complex. The natio-nal boundaries of the countries from which they come would therefore be insig-nificant since these cut across the similarity possessed by the culture area.

With the above considerations in mind, Herskovits then plots the cultural areas of Africa into 8 major types as in the illustration below:

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1. These have been widely noted by various observers such as D. Forde, Lucy Mair, Meyer-Fortes, Kenneth Little - some of whose works we shall discuss.
2. Melville Herskovits "Peoples and Cultures" ibid. p.15

Chart 2: Africa: Cultural Areas
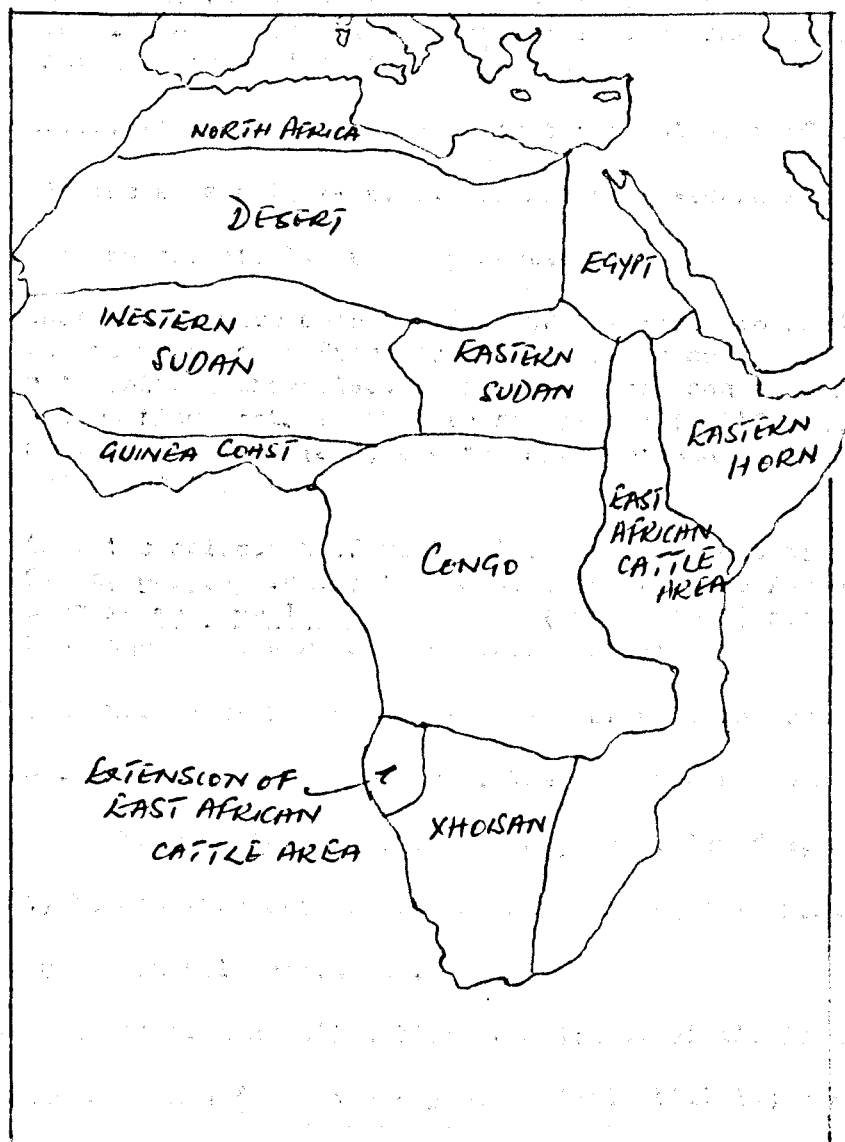
He shows that the cultural similarities of West Africa over-ride differences

between ethnic groups and that the area is distinct insofar as

"the political and social organisation is more complex than in the
Congo area proper; that the art is distinctive; that we again have
the intrusion of the larger domesticated animals; that a bilateral
system of descent is present, in which, although patrilineal in
name, recognises descent from both parents and is exogamous as re-
gards the families of both; that we find striking differences in
the languages which, however, exhibit strong tonal patterns having
morphological significance"[1].

However, it could be suggested that the bulwarks of Herskovits delineation

of West Africa as a culture area, are not very secure since he bases his

description on essentially two arguments:

(1) that "as we move over the face of the earth we find cultural differen-
ces as we proceed from one region to the next and these differences do
not manifest themselves in a manner that can be ascribed to chance
but we find, rather, that there are small differences between neigh-
bouring peoples, (and) greater ones between those far removed from
each other"[2]; and

(2) that the selection of cultural elements is not arbitrary "They are,
first, geographically continuous. The culture found in any one of
them is more or less homogenous (and is thus) readily distinguishable
from the culture of a neighbouring area"[3]

Clearly, as his bases for the delineation of culture areas, these two arguments

are much too general and ubiquitous. The same two arguments can be used to draw

distinctions between ANY two cultures anywhere. Besides, when (as in the second

argument) he provides parameters for determining similarities, he puts these

down to geographical continuity.

Nevertheless, his delineation of cultural similarities introduces some

order into what was (and to a certain extent still is) a contentious point,

namely, that the diversity of languages and ethnic groups in Africa is so

extreme that there is no order or similarity among them and that consequently

1. M. Herskovits "The Culture Areas of Africa" Africa, Vol. 3,193o,p.73; Peter
   Lloyd states essentially the same thing when he says "many cultural traits
   are found widely diffused throughout West Africa, such as those associated
   with sacred kingship, while recurring themes exist in myths of origin in
   his "Africa in Social Change" (Penguin) 1967, p.26
2. Herskovits ibid. p.59
3. Herskovits ibid. p.62. My emphasis

generalisations about Africa or ethnic groups are methodologically inadvisable. It is one of the virtues of Herskovits work that he showed that there is some semblance of uniformity behind the apparent diversity and that cultural variation is patterned in stable and systematic ways. This uniformity has been borne out in the work of other investigators.

But this similarity is not confined to the abstract level of cultural symbols but applies even on the lower level of the individual's reaction to stress situations. Prof. Lambo, who has done a lot of work on various aspects of mental illness, found as a general rule

> "that for practical purposes, the cultural pattern (of West Africa) is homogenous, at least as far as the psychological attitudes to belief in magic, superstition and occult forces and reactions to conflict and psychic stresses resulting from unfamiliar situations, are concerned"[1].

Generalisations about the social structure of West Africa can thus be seen to be based on empirical foundations. We shall investigate these foundations further in the following pages.

The Social and Political Organisation of West Africa

The primary basis of social organisation in West Africa has always been and still is the descent group or lineage[2]. It determined the individual's status, economic position and the inheritance of property. The introduction of colonial rule, far from destroying this basis, has left it essentially

1. Prof. A. Lambo quoted in PEP "Colonial Students in Britain" (Allen & Unwin) 1955, p.16
2. This has been widely commented upon in various contexts. See for instance, Philip Forster op.cit.p.32; M. Banton "West African City" (Oxford Univ. Press) 1957,esp.chap.VII; St.Clair Drake "Traditional Authority and Social Action in Former British West Africa" in P.van den Berghe "Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict" (Chandler Pub.Co.) California, 1965,p.516; Kenneth Little "The Mende of Sierra Leone" (Routledge & Kegan Paul) 1951,chaps.6 &7; G.I. Jones "The Trading States of the Oil Rivers" (OUP)1963,pp.53-56; S&P. Ottenberg "Social Groupings" in P.J.M.McEwan & R.B. Sutcliffe eds. "The Study of Africa" (Methuen)1965,pp.26-44; M. Fortes & E. Evans-Pritchard eds. "African Political Systems" (3rd Edition OUP) 1948, p.288, to mention a few.

intact and still dominant. The descent principle thus forms the pivot of West African social and political organisation.

There are minor variations on this theme to be found among the various ethnic groups in the area. For instance, while patrilineal descent is very widespread, there are some groups such as the Mende in Sierra Leone who emphasise the mother's role relatively without adopting an openly matrilineal system of reckoning descent. Other groups, like the Ibibio and the Afikpo Ibo in the Niger Delta, maintain a system of double descent. Only a few are exclusively matrilineal such as the Akan in Ghana and even they do not ignore the father's role but restrict it closely to the biological and to the religious role to the extent that it is the male spirit (ntoro) which influences the kind of 'Fate' which the child would have in life. Where the male line is given further significance, this extends only to the regulation of relations between the sexes[1]. In this sense, the Akan represent a deviation from the general pattern which does not, nevertheless, affect the similarity we have demonstrated. Indeed, the churches among the Akan communities (especially the spiritual churches) have done much to supplant their system of matriliny by ensuring that fathers undertake responsibility for the upbringing of their children[2].

This fundamental principle - the unilineal descent group - is made manifest at the lower level by means of clan organisations. Various villages contain various clans within the same ethnic group thus providing the essential pivot for social control. Again, there are variations regarding the extent to which this is realised, with some groups emphasizing the immediate locality as the focus of loyalty while others do not so restrict it. Thus whereas the

1. R.S. Rattray "Ashanti" (Claredon Press) Oxford, 1923, p.78
2. C.G. Baeta "Prophetism in Ghana" (SCM Press) London, 1962, pp.131-132

Mende in Sierra Leone[1] and the Ibo in south-east Nigeria[2] emphasize the locali-ty, social relations among the Akans in Ghana transcend the locality to the wider ethnic group[3]. The extent, then, to which particularism and its correla-tive social control can influence social relationships is restricted by these boundaries.

Another manifestation of the importance of the descent principle is to be seen in connection with the inheritance of property. In general, it is the system of descent operating among the ethnic group which determines the pattern of inheritance, though independent variations have been introduced as the re-sult of new legislation concerning land-ownership and tenure. In most of West Africa, property is transmitted through the male line. This is true even among the Akans who maintain a matrilineal system of descent since property is trans-mitted from uncles (mother's brothers) to nephews. The result is that women are usually excluded. They are, nevertheless, catered for through their hus-bands, brothers and, in a restricted sense, their uncles (in the case of the Akans).

Among other groups which maintain a compromise between the male and female lines, women inherit property independently, as in the case of the Mende[4]. Both this case and the case of the Akans, represent deviations from the pattern we have already suggested. We would suggest, however, that the widely observed fact that the greater proportion of the population in West Africa involved in petty trading are women is only partially accounted for in terms of the exclu-sion of women in the transmission of property. It is to be accounted for more by the general normative prescription that a woman proves her usefulness to

1. Kenneth Little op.cit.p.240; also M.Banton op.cit. pp.125-126
2. Victor Uchendu "The Ibo of South East Nigeria" (Holt, Rinehart & Winston) New York, 1965, chap.1
3. R.S. Rattray ibid. op.cit.79
4. Kenneth Little op.cit.p.28

her husband[1].

The descent principle can also be seen to operate in the general ascription of status. Ascriptive criteria such as age, sex, and lineage associations are important and influence the individual's social role. While it is true that the effect of ascription resulting from these did not deny a minimal amount of social mobility, it is nevertheless true that it restricted social relationships to a large extent. The forms in which these criteria were encapsulated varied from place to place, to be sure, but generally took the form of crystallised age-sets or approximations to these (such as the 'compins' in Freetown, 'compino' in Ghana and the Gambia or the 'ena' among the Nupe in Nigeria). The relations between the sexes, the relations of seniority and juniority, were influenced by the age-sets to which the individuals belong.

The general division of labour between men's and women's work derives from the ascriptive criteria though elements of functional utility were not, by any means, completely absent. Where women are allowed to work in the fields their immediate purpose, apart from helping their husbands, is the cultivation of food crops either for the household or for trading purposes rather than the wider cash interests of the farmer. In general, men and women do not work

1. D.McCall in "Trade and the Role of Wife in a Modern West African Town" in A.Southall ed. "Social Change in Modern Africa" (OUP)1961, pp.286-299 puts it down to urbanisation, as does Phoebe Ottenberg in her "The Changing Economic Position of Women Among the Afikpo Ibo" in M.Herskovits & W. Bascom eds. op.cit.p.208. Southall in the introduction (ibid pp.51-55) im- lies that women's trading is a claim for independence from males. Other observers have not attempted an explanation viz: K.Little op.cit.pp.41-42; M.J. Field "Search for Security" (Northwestern Univ.Press) Evanston 1960 states on p.30 that on account of their trade "Most economic passengers are men, women are independent" and quotes a priest chiding a woman suppli- cant saying "Have you ever heard of a wife who does not help her husband?" That men of high status now dislike the idea of their wives trading does not deny that trading is a recognized feminine endeavour in West Africa.

together[1] but work independently with other members of their sex or age-set[2].

Another widely observable aspect of West African social structure which derives indirectly from the descent principle is the widespread veneration of the aged. The relationships between adults and children, younger and older adults, as well as the relationship among siblings, are all closely controlled by age. The restrictive aspects of age, and consequently the veneration of the aged, is an outstanding aspect in the socialisation of the young child[3].

All these factors contributed a static element to the social structure and (to a lesser extent) still does today. Considerations of merit were not excluded but were restricted in their operation by various 'boundaries'. By contrast, achievement is more highly emphasised in the 'modern' West Africa. But the ideal - typical 'traditional' society operated with a compromise between ascription and achievement.

This compromise can be seen even more clearly in selection for the office of chieftaincy but applies more generally to the incumbency of positions of authority. While lineage affiliations have always been important in determi-

1. Phoebe Ottenberg op.cit.p.2o7; also Simon Ottenberg "Ibo Receptivity to Change" in Herskovits and Bascom op.cit.p.136 and David Ames "Wolof Cooperative Work Groups" also in Herskovits and Bascom ibid. p.226
2. Age-sets are not found in many parts of West Africa in any crystallised form as we have already hinted. Merran Fraenkel "Tribe and Class in Monrovia" (OUP)1964, does not mention them though this work was based only on the urban area. They are not found among the various groups in Sierra Leone (Banton op.cit.p.181). But this does not mean that their associated ideas are either not found or are not important. Age-related roles and obligations are everywhere the norm as Little shows (op.cit.p.113) in the case of Mende.
3. M.J. Field op.cit.p.28 describes the ambivalent attitude to children found among the Akan. Children are pampered while young but are rejected as they grow older. Little (ibid.p.143), on the other hand, suggests a strong and unwavering affection in the child's socialisation. Little is known about the similarity or otherwise of techniques of socialisation, but the Akan proverb "It is unpleasant to be a child" is one which is found more generally in West Africa, particularly among younger children for (as Barrington Kaye puts it) "The advantages of older children is that their juniors owe them respect and obedience even in the sharing of food" in "Bringing up Children in Ghana" (Allen & Unwin) 1962, p.164

ning who shall occupy the position of chief, the institution itself was always connected with corporate groups which were powerful enough to unseat or de-stool a chief should he turn out to be incompetent. These groups were (and still are) secret societies. This was because the chief's authority derives from the fact that he is seen as a leader of a lineage and through this represents the unity of the tribe. Ancestor worship and the needs of administration thus combine to make him a secular as well as a religious leader.

The introduction of colonial rule had various repercussions on his authority. Primarily, it reduced the autonomy of the chief thus tilting the balance of power towards the central colonial government - a process which is still going on in many West African states. From the point of view of the ruled, he ceased to be the "ultimate source of protection to the humble, aid to the needy and advancement to the ambitious"[1] since social change increased the avenues for personal advancement and placed them outside of his orbit of influence. However, there is evidence that this authority over his immediate locality has not been reduced by these changes except to a minimal extent and that he is still the object of first loyalty both on secular and religious grounds.

All the aspects of social and political organisation we have discussed so far are nowhere brought into sharper relief than in the religious ideas which were and are still widely held in all parts of West Africa. Indeed, the remarkable similarity in these ideas is but a reflection of the common cultural foundation on which they stand.

The religions of West Africa, as in the rest of the continent, are essentially animistic and polytheistic. There are varieties of gods who have autho-

1. Lucy Mair "African Chiefs Today" in P.J.M.McEwan and R.B. Sutcliffe eds. op.cit. pp.111-112

rity and power over various aspects of every-day life. Yet all these gods and spirits derive their power from one supreme being who is omnipotent and resides in the sky. The name given to this omnipotent god varies according to the language of the ethnic group concerned (_Mawu_ among the various branches of the Ewe[1], _Olorun_ or _Olodumare_ among the Yoruba of South West Nigeria[2], _Yataa_ among the Kono of Sierra Leone[3], _Ngewo_ among the Mende of Sierra Leone[4] and the Vai of Liberia respectively, Onyankopon Kwame or more commonly Nyame among the Akan in Ghana[5]) but the conception is the same. While it is the structure of power in the ethnic group which determines whether the pantheons of gods would be arranged vertically or horizontally[6], nevertheless, the stories and myths of Creation and the Golden Age are even more remarkably similar[7].

The lesser spirits (such as the _abosom_ in Ghana and the _Dyinyinga_ in Sierra Leone among the Mende) derive their authority and power from the supreme Deity. Of these there are three main sorts: (a) those that are concerned with

1. E.G. Parrinder "Theistic Beliefs of the Yoruba and Ewe Peoples of West Africa" in Edwin Smith ed. "African Ideas of God" (Edinburg House Press) 1950, pp.224-240
2. E.G. Parrinder "Religion in an African City"(OUP) 1953, p.7ff
3. Robert T. Parsons "The Idea of God Among the Kono of Sierra Leone" in Edwin Smith ed. ibid. pp.260-276
4. Kenneth Little op.cit.pp.219 ff
5. K.A. Busia "The Ashanti" in Daryll Forde ed. "African Worlds"(OUP) 1963 paperback edition, p.192; H.St.John Evans "The Akan Doctrine of God" in Edwin Smith op.cit.pp.241-259; M.J. Field op.cit.chap. 1
6. Victor Uchendu op.cit.p. 95; also S & P. Ottenberg op.cit.p.62
7. The stories of the Golden Age when the Deity was on earth varies, though not in any significant detail. In Ghana, it is maintained that Nyame used to live close to man when the sky was much lower than it is today. But women when using their mortars and pestles, kept hitting his face. When, finally, they began to throw their dirty water in his face, he decided to take off higher into the sky, carrying the latter with him (Busia, p.193; H.St. John Evans, pp.242-245). This version is more or less intact among the Ewe (P. Mercier "The Fon of Dahomey" in Daryll Forde, op.cit.pp.210-234). The Mende and Kono versions include a slight variation insofar as Ngewo or Yataa decided to take off into the sky because people, being given the right to ask favours, asked so many favours that he decided he needed a place to rest far removed from them (K.Little pp.220-225; R.T. Parsons, p.260). All West African peoples place the Deity in the sky.

doing good things (such as the Tinquoi among the Mende), (b) those that are concerned with doing evil things (the monsters come into this category such as the Sasabonsam in Ghana and the Ndogbojusui in Sierra Leone) and (c) the ancestral spirits which are not especially good or bad but are 'just'[1] in their actions, repaying good deeds with good rewards. These lesser gods and spirits can be cajoled, coaxed or alternatively spurned when their actions[2] 'bring' misfortune. Since they derive their power from the supreme Deity, they become intermediaries between the life of the living and the Deity himself.

Many of these lesser spirits are supposed to inhabit rivers and streams (invariably when they are good spirits) and trees and forests (when they are bad spirits). This is, undoubtedly, one reason why all rivers in West Africa are believed to contain some spirit or other. Similarly, very large trees (such as the cotton tree) are presumed to be the abodes of evil spirits.

It is the ancestral spirits particularly which provide the link between the extended family system and the general principle of lineage descent since the ancestral spirits are seen as a continuation of the family into another realm. The head of the family, being nearest to the ancestors, has the task of propitiating them. Misfortune on any member of the family, then becomes a

1. Meyer Fortes "Oedipus and Job in West African Religion" (Cambridge Univ. Press) 1959, chap. VII
2. Little quotes a typical example of a supplicant's prayer for help, to the ancestral spirits:"Ah, Grandfathers, I have come to you: Momo is the one who is ill. The soothsayer informs me that you are angry with him because he has not 'fed' you for a long time. Do (please) Grandfathers, kindly pardon him. He is a small boy; he has no sense yet. I have come now to beg you. My heart is clear. The sky above is satisfied and the earth below is also satisfied. Everyday that passes we ask that you people should always be our leaders and should not leave us unprotected"(Little in D.Forde ed. op.cit.p.117). An example of the opposite is seen in the chidding which an uncle gives to the ancestral spirits on his nephew's behalf: "You are useless, you gods! You only give us trouble! For although we give you offerings, you do not listen to us! You so-and-so are full of hatred. You do not enrich us!" (E.W.Smith in McEwan and Sutcliffe op.cit.p.71)

priori a 'just' reward on the descendants for failure to observe the necessary ritual obligations. This means, in reality, that "however conscientious a man may be in the discharge of his ritual obligations, there is always a loop-hole. For the will of the ancestors become known <u>only after they strike</u>"[1].

The notion of Fate is also connected with the ancestral spirits insofar as it is something given to the young child at birth. Once given, it cannot be changed. It is not connected with the father per se since he has his own and will take it away with him when he dies. The ancestors <u>can influence</u> the extent to which Fate leads the descendant into trouble, but even they cannot change it. This belief takes a practical form among the Ga who maintain that "A man's Fate is supposed to walk behind him, but it may get out of hand and walk in front and so lead its owner astray..."[2]. For the same reason, sterility, miscarriages and troubles of adolescence are all attributed to Bad Fate. The notion is general though it is expressed differently in different areas. Among the Ibo, it takes the form of an over-soul (<u>chi</u>); among the Yoruba it is called <u>opori</u>,<u>olori</u> or <u>Yan</u>, and in Sierra Leone it takes the form of a 'head' and a person is supposed to have a good 'head' or a bad 'head' according to whether he has good Fate or bad.

Correlated with these ideas is a widespread belief in the existence of a general and impersonal dynamic force in nature which has to be tamed and controlled and put to protective uses in the form of cords, bangles, amulets and talismans worn around the body.

One consequence of these beliefs is not just to provide fertile ground for technicians who are believed to be able to read Fate and control the impersonal force in nature, but also to imbue into the social structure a passive

1. Meyer Fortes op.cit. p.56
2. E.G. Parrinder "West African Psychology" (Lutterworth Press)London,1951,p.59

submission to spiritual and non-corporeal forces. Social action is made dependent on the will of some god or other. Expressions such as "God Willing", "Ngewo Jalu", "Ngewo luma", "Aya, Ngewo" are common expressions in everyday speech[1]. For the individual, "submission to his ancestors is symbolic of his encapsulation in a social order which permits no voluntary alternation of his status and social capacities"[2]. The corpus of religious ideas, then, ensures that it is the common will rather than the selfish desires of individuals which will prevail. Excessive achievement, which goes beyond the possibilities afforded by the social structure is penalised and is attributed to sorcery since it must have been obtained at the cost of one's fellows; on the other hand the individual high achiever himself becomes suspicious of the sorcery of his envious comrades. The pressures towards changes in these ideas are enormous but cannot be treated in any detail.

Such changes as have been introduced have only affected the prestige of these religious ideas. Their continuing influence is attested by the widely observed fact that many Christians take part in traditional religious rituals and observances[3]. Thus Field shows that the priests at many of the shrines she visited had a history of Christian missionary training[4]. Lloyd shows this

1. This observation is borne out by the work of several writers. For the use of these expressions in Sierra Leone see K. Little in D.Forde ed.op.cit.pp. 112-114 and also his "The Mende of Sierra Leone" op.cit.p.234; among the Ashanti, H.St.John Evans op.cit.p.249; among the Yoruba and the Ewe of Nigeria and Northern Ghana respectively E.Parrinder "Theistic Beliefs among the Yoruba and Ewe Peoples of West Africa"op.cit.p.228; among the Kono of Sierra Leone see R.Parsons op.cit.p.262 or chap.1 of his "Religion in an African Society" (E.J. Brill, Leiden)1964,esp.p.7
2. M. Fortes op.cit.p.67
3. Many observers have indicated this viz: K.Busia op.cit.p.208; Guy Hunter "New Societies of Tropical Africa"(OUP), pp.19-25 and pp.73-75; M.Banton "West African City" op.cit.p.183 where he attacks the notion of 'de-tribalisation' on this account; also M.Herskovits "Man and His Works" (Alfred Knopf New York, 1948, p.552
4. M.J.Field op.cit.pp.35ff; also E.G. Parrinder "West African Psychology" op.cit.pp.207-8 where, like Kenneth Little ("The Mende")op.cit.p.136,he shows how Islam became absorbed into the corpus of traditional religious ideas.

rapprochement between traditional religious observances associated with chief-
tancy and Christianity[1] while Beata shows it in the use of the Bible as an
instrument of 'healing' among the separatist churches[2].

The Family System

The family system derives from the descent principle as we have already
hinted and consequently reflects all the qualities we have mentioned so far.
All over West Africa(indeed, the whole continent), the extended family was and
still is the norm in spite of changes which are being introduced by urbani-
sation.

It was usual for the residence pattern of the family to reflect this.
Proximity of kin-members was ensured by dwellings in the same locality or by
means of compounds with separate dwellings for each wife in the polygynous
marriage. In the large cities today such proximity is aimed at though rarely
physically possible. Only approximations to this residence pattern can be
found. Nevertheless, the fact that dwellings in compounds have long existed
among the Yoruba, who have known urban conditions for a long time, suggests
that urban conditions and compound dwelling are not necessarily incompatible.

The preferred form of marriage was always polygyny partly because it
conferred status on the husband while it increased the senior wife's authority
within the household. Monogamy was therefore considered as a mark of low pres-
tige and relative poverty. The proportion of males who could have 'afforded'
polygyny was, for this reason, limited.

However, in contemporary West Africa, polygyny is losing the status
significance it once had; monogamy and Christianity have become the new symbols
of status while attitudes towards marriage and the family are being modified

1. P.C. Lloyd "Africa in Social Change" op.cit,p.lo2
2. C.G. Baeta op.cit.p.25, where he mentions the use of the Bible as a kind
   of fetish.

correspondingly[1]. Nevertheless, polygyny has neither been superceded nor completely discredited (though it is rarely given official sanction) and many families today are polygynous and simultaneously profess Christianity[2]. One fifth of the sample interviewed in a recent study in Lagos professed Christianity and had more than one wife. Further just under 7o% had polygynous fathers[3].

Marriages were arranged by the parents in the traditional sector. By contrast, there is increasing antagonism towards arranged marriages today. One investigator showed that only 19% of the sample he studied would be prepared to marry a spouse selected by their parents[4]. However, the number of marriages which are still arranged by parents is relatively large because many young persons are forced to contain their disapproval within bounds laid down by the norm of respect and obedience to parents . Many of the students who took part in our pilot interviews highlighted this conflict between their desire to avoid offending their parents and their antagonism towards 'old' ideas concerning marriage.

In the ideal-typical polygynous family, the smallest effective unit of affection was the mother-child unit. This was occasioned partly by the pattern of residence and partly by the existence of other wives and their children. This resulted in a certain amount of competition between mother-child units

1. Peter Omari "Role Expectation in the Courtship Situation in Ghana" in P.van den Berghe op.cit.pp.128-142; also his "Changing Attitudes of Students in West African Society Toward Marriage and Family Relationships" B.J.S.Vol. XI 196o, pp.197-21o; Gustav Jahoda "Marriage and Social Change: Letters to the Advice Column of a West African Newspaper" Africa,Vol.XXIX,1959,pp.177-189; Allison Izzet "Family Life Among the Yoruba in Lagos" in A.Southall ed.pp. cit.pp.3o5-215; Kenneth Little "Attitudes Towards Marriage and the Family among Educated Young Sierra Leoneans" in P.C.Lloyd ed. "The New Elites of Tropical Africa"(OUP) 1966, pp.139-162
2. C.G. Baeta (op.cit.p.133) shows how the spiritual churches (except the Etodome Prayer Group) reconciled their theology to the reality of polygyny
3. P. Marris op.cit. chaps. 3 and 4
4. Peter Omari "Role Expectation and the Courtship Situation.." op.cit. pp.132-133

for the affection and favours of the father. It is therefore understandable that of the 70% of Marris' sample who had polygynous fathers, more than four-fifths stressed their greater affection for their mothers over their fathers[1].

However, only occasionally is antagonism towards the father or other members of the extended family openly expressed. The normative prescriptions of the extended family restrict open expression of inter-kin hostility. Jealousies and quarrels are usually concealed by resort to magic[2]. For the same reason, only a small proportion of our pilot interviewees expressed open hostility towards their fathers, though this can, perhaps, also be explained by other factors such as the stern discipline of children which obtains in many parts[3].

In conclusion, urbanisation has affected the family insofar as it has forced it to accommodate itself to a changing physical environment[4] while some of its associated ideas are undergoing a slow process of erosion. New notions of courtship and love are being introduced as the younger generation becomes displeased with 'old' marriage ideas which restrict the expression of

1. P.Marris op.cit. p.3o; Barrington Kaye (op.cit. pp.144-145 and p.166) also report a similar tendency.
2. Max Gluckman "Custom and Conflict in Africa" (Basil Blackwell) Oxford,1955, chap. IV on "The Logic of Witchcraft" shows how certain categories of kin-relationships are always prominent in accusations of witchcraft.
3. P.Marris ibid. pp.58-59; M.J.Field op.cit. pp.27-29 and Kenneth Little's "The Mende of Sierra Leone" op.cit. pp.143ff.
4. Many investigators of social organisation in urban areas have reported the emergence of the nuclear family in many of the large cities viz: Barbara Lloyd "Education and Family in the Development of Class Identification Among the Yoruba" in P.C.Lloyd ed. "The New Elites" op.cit. p.166;W.Birmingham, I.Neustadt and E.N.Omaboe eds. "A Contemporary Study of Ghana" (2 vols, Allen & Unwin) London 1967,Vol.2,p.216; Kenneth Little in P.C.Lloyd ed. ibid. p.148 and John C.Caldwell "Population Growth and Family Change in Africa: The New Urban Elite in Ghana" (C.Hurst & Co.) London 1968. However, Merran Fraenkel differs from these and argues (op.cit. p.115) that nuclear families are rare in Monrovia.

choice[1].

Nevertheless, in many other aspects of the life of the individual, the cultural norms associated with the extended family still persist. The pattern of mutual aid and security is still accepted. The affairs of the family are still adjudicated upon by the so-called family meeting of elder relatives. Expectant mothers are still expected to give birth in the home of either their parents or their mothers-in-law so that advice on the birth would be forth-coming. Similarly, the prescription that wives should not have relations with their husbands until the child is weaned (two or three years) is still adhered to. In short, the extended family has proved highly resistant to some of the eroding effects of urbanisation and social change[2]. Where objections to it are raised, these concern its burdens but do not imply a rejection of the associa-

1. While these notions are broadly similar to those held in Europe, there are nevertheless significant departures. For instance, Jahoda shows that 'love' is not understood in the Western sense and does not include exclusiveness ("Love, Marriage and Social Change", op.cit.p.184) and is necessarily con-joined with procreation (p.186) as its most important justification. Steri-lity is socially 'punished'. Kissing, though becoming widespread, is never-theless considered unhygienic and immoral (p.185). Similarly, Kenneth Little (in P.C. Lloyd ed.op.cit. p.158) in a comparative study of British and West African students, showed that whereas the former attach greater significance to marital fidelity than to obedience of the 'wife', the latter reverse the order of significance.
2. Independent evidence concerning the prevalence of these ideas are to be seen in: Joan Aldous "Urbanisation, the Extended Family and Kinship Ties in West Africa" Social Forces, Vol.41,1962-3,pp.6-12; W.R. Bascom "Urbanisa-tion Among the Yoruba" AJS, Vol.60,1955, p.448; D.McCall "The Dynamics of Urbanisation in Africa" Annals, Vol.298,1955,pp.152-155; M.G. Marwick "The Modern Family in Social-Anthropological Perspective" in McEwan and Sutcliffe eds. op.cit.esp.p. 51

ted norms[1]. Indeed, some have argued that voluntary associations in the cities operate on the pattern of the extended family[2].

This, then is the background from which the students in our samples derive. It is a background which is characterised by rapid social changes which, nevertheless, have largely modified the form rather than the content of social institutions. The dominant themes, the value orientation, can thus be seen to be consistently in the 'A' quadrant of our pradigm, combining a particularistic mode of evaluation with an ascription - orientation towards social action. The norm of achievement was always present but was restricted by various characteristics. By contrast, the students spend their periods of sojourn in a society which emphasises achievement relatively more highly and has the corpus of supporting values that go with such an emphasis.

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1. P. Marris (op.cit,chap.7) describes the feeling of relief expressed by the new inhabitants of Suru Lere consequent on their having moved away from the orbit of the economic passengers in their extended family; also Pius Okigbo "Social Consequences of Economic Development in West Africa" Annals, Vol.3o5, 1956, esp.p.13o

2. Many suggest that ethnic associations in the cities operate on the principles of the extended family e.g. Simon Ottenberg "Improvement Associations Among the Afikpo Ibo" Africa, Vol. 25, 1955,pp.1-28; M. Banton "Social Alignments and Identity in a West African City" in Hilda Kuper ed. "Urbanisation and Migration in West Africa" (Univ. of California Press, 1965) pp.131 - 147; K. Little "West African Urbanisation" op.cit.esp. chap.2; also C.G. Baeta op.cit.p.13o.

PART TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON FOREIGN STUDENTS

AND SELF-IDENTITY

CHAPTER 6

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

We have seen, in the last chapter, how the content of value-orientations of West African society differs from that of the host country in which these students sojourn in the course of their higher education. Previous research has been concerned with a wide range of students, from different countries, studying in different host countries.

In the review which follows in this chapter, we shall accordingly investigate some studies of foreign students in various host countries, their attitudes and their adjustment patterns as these are influenced by their period of sojourn abroad. That a far larger number of these studies deal with students from underdeveloped countries studying in developed countries, is partly a manifestation of the greater concern which many social scientists have placed on understanding the social and psychological processes which accompany their sojourn experience and partly because of the political significance which such students have come to possess in some host countries.

In the second part of the chapter, we turn our attention to studies of the self-concept since these studies have attempted to observe and record some of the important sociological and psychological factors which are associated with its maintenance, development and change.

Our objective in reviewing these researches is concerned less with demonstrating the sophistication of their research designs and general methodology and more with providing a 'bird's eye-view' of the existing state of knowledge on the subject of our research; for it is only in this way that we can indicate the failures, weaknesses and successes of previous research insofar as these contribute towards a comprehensive understanding of the 'over-

seas student'. Further, it is only in this way that we can illustrate both the contribution which our research makes towards this understanding as well as its limitations and short-comings. Our intention in this chapter, then, is to provide a trend report rather than a bibliographical analysis of the existing literature.

Studies of Foreign Students in Various Host Countries

A large amount of research has been done on various groups of foreign students (specifically Indian, Indonesian, Egyptian, East African, Iranian, Jordanian, Japanese, Mexican, Scandinavian, Latin American, Belgian, German, American and African other than East Africans and Egyptians) in various host countries (specifically Britain, Israel, the United States of America, Germany, France, Russia and China) though the depth of some of the analyses does not, by any means, bear comparison to their quantity.

However, comparisons among all these studies is made difficult by the fact that they all use different research techniques, have different research objectives, concentrate attention on different variables and, in many cases, arrive at different and contrasting conclusions. For instance, some of these studies are concerned with providing simple statistical information about specific groups of students, while others are concerned with evaluation of the success of exchange programmes in developing favourable attitudes towards the host country; similarly while some are interested in the re-integration of the foreign student into his original social milieu, others are interested in both the process by which cross-cultural learning takes place and in the con-tent of such learning. Variations such as these are, by and large, explained by the nature of the sponsorship of the research project.

Nevertheless, this diversity has not precluded an accumulation of information concerning the 'overseas student' and his reaction to the sojourn experience; indeed there _is_ a body of knowledge which derives from these researches and and which provided leads for our research.

The increasing interest in foreign students and their problems in the early part of this century was due, in part, to their increasing numbers but also to their increasing prominence in the consciousness of members of the host populations. The organisations sponsoring student exchanges felt the need to evaluate the extent to which their programmes were achieving the desired objectives. Accordingly, much of the earlier studies on foreign students concerned themselves with providing information about basic characteristics, such as their numbers, age, sex, level of study and fields of interests. For instance, the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students in the United States began carrying out a census on foreign students in 1915 and continued till 1945. From 1921, the Institute of International Education began to co-operate in this venture by circulating census questionnaires, though the Committee retained all responsibility for analysis and tabulation of results up to 1945. However, full responsibility for the execution of the Annual Census was finally taken over in 1949 by the Institute, which continues to administer it, in association with the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) and the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO). The census is not concerned only with providing basic information but extends into the area of evaluation of programmes as to their general suitability. In their own words:

> "In the concern to maintain established programs and to originate
> new ones, there seems no commensurate concern to evaluate what we
> have been doing, to determine whether our objectives are being
> realised, to appraise our experience, and to apply the lessons of
> that experience to changing needs and conditions"[1].

No comparable medium for the continuous collection of basic information about
foreign students is available in the United Kingdom, though the British Council
collects and publishes secondary statistical information on foreign students in
the United Kingdom every year while the Yearbook of the Association of Common-
wealth Universities provide similar information on foreign students in British
universities analysed by age, sex, level of study and so on.

However, while the data provided by the above media is useful for policy-
makers, much of it tends to be highly fragmentary and unsuitable for research.
Studies which have been concerned with evaluation of the effects of cross-cul-
tural educational travel have been, by contrast, more significant for research
purposes.

Evaluation Studies

Evaluation studies, most of which have been done in the USA, make the
'diplomatic' aspect of cross-cultural travel their primary concern. Most of
these studies therefore concentrate on the extent to which favourable attitudes
towards the host country are developed during the period of sojourn, and the
contribution which various sojourn variables make towards the development of
such attitudes among the students. In their concentration on the 'diplomatic-
political' theme, these studies left out of consideration a whole series of
variables which require evaluation by themselves to the extent that they
affect the students behaviour both during and after the period of sojourn as
we shall indicate later. Similarly, this orientation - while recognising that

1. Institute of International Education "Open Doors: Report on International
   Exchange" 1967, p.iii

foreign students must of necessity come into some kind of social interaction with the host population which would affect both students and host population - has prompted research on the individual student and the impact of the sojourn situation in isolation. Little research has been done on the effects of foreign students on host populations.

One of the earliest of this category of research was that of Watson and Lippit[1] which studied a group of 29 German students visiting America for varying lengths of time ranging from 6 months to 12 months between 1949 and 1953. The aim of the programme under which their visit was sponsored was "to increase goodwill toward , and understanding of, American Democracy"(p.6) but the actual objectives of the research were (i) to study changes in attitudes to the USA consequent on the visit and (ii) to study the process by which cross-cultural learning takes place as well as the content of what is learned. Two control groups were utilised, one consisting of 12 Americans (their description is not given) and the other consisting of 23 sophomores of Political Science at the University of Michigan. Interviews, lasting between 4 and 5 hours, were held with the German students on their arrival, before their departure, and six months after their return to Germany. Other instruments used were the Sentence Completion Test and the Rorschach Ink-blot Test.

The most important conclusion from this study was its demonstration that a period of sojourn does not necessarily change attitudes towards the host country in a positive direction. There are intervening variables which preclude such a 'hypodermic' effect. What, then, are these variables, what are their effects and how do these operate? One of these variables concerns the content of the pre-arrival attitudes of the students, i.e. the nature of their expecta-

1. Jeanne Watson and Ronald Lippit "Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America" (University of Michigan) Ann Arbor, 1955

tions about life in the USA, their stereotyped pre-conceptions about Americans.
The attitude which the student will hold concerning Americans would be influen-
ced by these in that they influence what the student would perceive as well as
the way he would perceive them. Pre-arrival attitudes thus play a selective
role in the student's perception of the sojourn situation. Watson and Lippit
argue, then, that cross-cultural learning does not take place unless the con-
tent of what is learned as well as the attitudes learned can be fitted into an
existing frame of reference. Where this frame of reference is related to
deeply-seated personality orientations (such as authoritarianism), cross-cul-
tural learning does not take place (pp.48-9). However, while there was no
overall change in their attitudes towards the USA, certain elements did show
a change, such as concern for internationalism and democracy. But these items
were taken out of their American context and transferred to the context of
'a future Germany'. The study also indicated the operation of a 'sleeper' ef-
fect insofar as favourable attitudes to the USA are concerned. Those who stay-
ed in the USA for six months exhibited negative attitudes before their depar-
ture but these attitudes subsequently disappeared, giving way to more favour-
able attitudes six months after their return to Germany (p.60).

Other studies have also shown that the foreign student does not approach
the host country with a tabula rasa but differ as to the characteristics of
preconceptions which have the effect of inhibiting, or enhancing, favourable
attitudes towards the host country. Some have implied that favourable attitu-
des towards the host country are enhanced where preconceptions are realistic.[1]
Others have suggested that it is unrealistic preconceptions which are more
likely to change in a favourable direction than realistic ones, the implica-
tion being that unrealistic preconceptions provide less of a barrier to atti-
tude change than realistic ones. The prime difficulty here is that the criter-

1. Claire Selltiz and Stuart Cook "Factors Influencing Attitudes of Foreign
Students Towards the Host Country" Journal of Social Issues, Vol.XVIII,
No.1,1962,pp.7-23,esp.p.12

ion for judging a preconception as realistic or unrealistic is not an objective one. Investigators who define student's preconceptions in these terms employ subjective criteria in making their evaluations which are never made explicit in their published reports. Yet if the above suggestion that unrealistic preconceptions are more likely to change, is correct, then students with realistic preconceptions would be expected to be more resistant to pressures in the sojourn situation making for favourable attitudes to the USA. The apparent contradiction can only be solved by making clear distinctions between three things: (i) the extent to which a realistic preconception enhances favourable attitudes to the USA or otherwise (ii) the extent to which this same realism may contribute resistance to pressures in the sojourn situation making for favourable attitudes to the USA and (iii) whether the favourable attitudes to the USA of those with realistic preconceptions is due to the fact that theyhave less 'room' for a change in attitudes compared to those with unrealistic preconceptions. However, there is little evidence to suggest that students with realistic preconceptions differ from their counterparts with unrealistic preconceptions in terms of their attitudes towards the USA.

Others, such as Watson and Lippit, interpret preconceptions in terms of the personality attributes which are brought into the sojourn situation. Thus one reason for the low rate of attitude change among the German students they studied was the high level of defensiveness and authoritarianism which they showed and which (they suggest) was related to the background of war with America (op.cit.23), thus implying that it is not so much the content of the preconception which is important but whether or not the given content is deeply rooted in the personality[1]. Yet others have interpreted preconceptions in terms

1. See also H. Persifor Smith "Do Inter-cultural Experiences Affect Attitudes?" Journ. of Abn and Soc. Psych. Vol.51,1955, pp.469-477, esp.p.473

of its political content. <u>Prodosch Aich</u>, for instance, implies that Asian and African students who went to Germany because they saw her as a rival to Britain during the period of colonialism[1], maintained a more favourable attitude to that country compared to those who went there for other reasons. However, the role of preconceptions per se has not yet been made the subject of research. Where these have been studied, they have been measured after the student's arrival in the host country rather than before. The above conclusions are therefore very tentative.

The time factor is another variable which has been investigated. This is usually interpreted in terms of <u>length of sojourn</u> rather than in terms of <u>length of time after sojourn</u> though a few studies have shown that favourable attitudes towards the USA can continue for some time after the student returns to his home country.

<u>Lysgaard</u>[2], for instance, working with a sample of 2oo returned Fulbright Norwegian Grantees who went to the USA for periods ranging from less than 3 months to more than 3 years, found a close association between adjustment (primarily educational-professional) and length of sojourn. Those who stayed for less than 6 months, and over 18 months respectively showed a higher adjustment than those who stayed for between 6 and 18 months, thus indicating a U-curve. He also indicated a close relationship between adjustment in one sphere and adjustment in other spheres in the student's life-space, explaining this in terms of a 'Principle of Cumulation' in that "success in one respect may increase one's general feeling of security in a foreign milieu and make one better prepared to engage successfully in other respects as well"(pp.48-49).

1. Prodosch Aich "Asian and African Students in West German Universities" <u>Minerva</u>, Vol.1,No.4,1962 pp.439-452, esp.p.44o; also his "<u>Farbige unter Weissen</u>" (Kiepenheuer & Witsch) Koeln, 1962,p.48
2. Sverre Lysgaard "Adjustment in a Foreign Society" <u>International Social Science Journal</u>, Vol.VII, No.1, 1955, pp.45-51

Other researchers have made extrapolations from this latter finding.

Geerge Coelho[1], for instance, made the perception of the student one of his major concerns in his work. He studied a sample of 60 Indian students who had been in the USA for varying periods of time ranging from less than 1 week to over 84 months using content-analysis of specially written material supplemented by a panel technique. He found that the perception of the students change over a period of 36 months towards greater differentiation[2], and that there was also a U-curve tendency for attitudes towards the USA to be favourable at the beginning of the sojourn, to become less favourable during the first 9 months and to increase after this period (p.83-4). William Sewell et al.[3], working with a sample of 40 Scandinavian students, also observed this U-curve tendency in (i) attitudes towards the USA (p.79-80), (ii) in social relations with Americans (p.38) and, indeed, (iii) in the students' self-reports of satisfaction with their stay (p.52). They, however, do not locate the trough. On the other hand, Richard Morris[4], like Lysgaard, identifies the U-curve with overall adjustment, rather than with disparate items.

However, Selltiz et al. differ from these extrapolations. Though social relations was their main research concern, they found no direct evidence linking it with the length of the period of sojourn and slight evidence linking favourability of attitudes to the USA with length of sojourn[5]. They therefore concluded, cautiously, that "in all probability, social relations and adjustment reinforce each other, with social relations easing adjustment and greater adjustment freeing the student to enter more fully into social

1. G.Coelho "Changing Images of America" (Asia Pub.House)New York, 1959
2. Also reported by Watson and Lippit (op.cit.p.34) and S.Herman & E.Schild "The Stranger in a Cross-Cultural Situation" Sociometry,Vol.24,1961,pp.165-76
3. W.Sewell & O.Davidsen "Scandinavian Students on an American Campus" (Minnesota Press), Minneapolis, 1961
4. R. Morris "The Two-Way Mirror" (Minnesota Press) Minneapolis,1960 pp.104-105
5. Selltiz & S. Cook op.cit.p.20

relations"[1].

In spite of the different techniques used, these studies show a phase-like element in the duration of sojourn. If Lysgaard's secondary finding is correct, then these phases apply to all aspects of the life of the student in the sojourn situation. These phases have been identified as phase 1, phase 2 etc. though different writers locate the trough at different points in time (Lysgaard, for instance, puts the beginning of the trough at between 6 and 8 months, Morris puts it at between 10 and 19 months while Coelho puts it at between 3 and 9 months). Others have called them (i) the initial spectator phase, (ii) the adjustive or coming to terms phase, (iii) the phase in which adjustment strategies have been developed and are being put to use and (iv) the pre-return phase when the student becomes concerned with his reception on return to his home country, his future professional career there, and so on[2]. Put in these terms, it becomes clear that the sojourn experience is divided into stages with different stages having different implications for the life of the student, and involving different kinds of experiences. What are these different implications? To what extent are the experiences of the student at each stage differentiated from those at other stages? Is re-integration into the home environment after a period of sojourn similarly differentiated into stages? The evidence on these points is far more tentative and inconclusive.

Lambert and Bressler[3], using a group of 30 Indian, Pakistani and Singhalese students, hinted at the possibility of adult socialisation over time and between the various stages in the period of sojourn. They showed that

1. Selltiz et al. "Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the US" (Univ. of Minnesota Press) Minneapolis, 1963, p.159
2. M. Brewster Smith and J.B. Casagrande op.cit.p.31
3. Richard Lambert and Marvin Bressler "Indian Students on an American Campus" (University of Minnesota Press) Minneapolis, 1956

three roles excercised the students' minds - the role of the tourist, that of the ambassador and that of the student. The obligations of each role are specific and tend to affect the students' relations and behaviour while in the host environment. Thus the sensitive area complex (which we mentioned in chap. 1) is specifically associated with the role of ambassador which (if Coelho's finding in connection with increasing differentiation in perception over 36 months is correct) is probably significant for students primarily at the beginning of their sojourn. However, Lambert and Bressler caution against too close an identification of the three roles with an orderly, chronological learning process since their study was not specifically designed to study the process of adult socialisation (op.cit. p. 17).

Coelho's evidence is slightly more conclusive in that he shows not only a changing pattern of perception but also changes in the reference groups to which the student relates himself over time. He found that Indian students in the USA tend to use their home membership group and affiliations as reference groups early in their period of sojourn; this gives way over time to the use of the 'universitypopulation en masse' and 'average middle class American' as reference groups (Coelho op.cit.pp.24-34). Correlatively, both the home country and the host country come in for evaluation and re-evaluation as is to be expected.

But does the same thing apply to the post-return period? Very little information is available on this and certainly no phases or stages have been delineated. Nevertheless Lambert and Bressler suggest (op.cit.p.9o) that the role of the ambassador is most easily forgotten compared to the others while Watson and Lippit's results indicate that (i) favourable attitudes can remain intact and (ii) can improve up to six months after return to the home country depending on the nature of the individual's group affiliations then. Thus

whether or not the foreign-returned student would use groups in the foreign society as reference groups[1] depends on the extent to which his group affiliations in the home country are favourable or unfavourable to his former host society.

Further evidence of a socialising process in the sojourn situation can be gleaned from the work of <u>Richard Morris</u>[2]. Using a sample of 318 foreign students at UCLA, he found that the national status accorded to the student's home country was an important influence on whether or not his attitudes to the USA would be favourable. When foreign students compare their idea of where their home country stands in terms of international prestige with that accorded to it by Americans, those who 'suffer' by this comparison (i.e. feel that Americans accord their home country a lower prestige position than they themselves accord it) are less likely to be favourable to the USA; by contrast, those who gain by this comparison are more likely to be favourable[3]. But the effect of such status loss/gain is more pronounced at the beginning of the sojourn than subsequently. Indeed, the increasing favourability of attitudes to the USA which he observed in relation to the U-curve hypothesis is evidence that psychological changes are under way.

Nevertheless, Morris' suggestion that it is accorded national status which is significant for the development of favourable attitudes to the USA, has not led to research attempts to separate the differential effects of (i) <u>national status per se, (ii) national background and (iii) cultural background</u>

1. J. and R.H. Useem op.cit.; O.W.Riegel "Residual Effects of Exchange of Persons" Public Opinion Quarterly,Vol.17,1953,pp.319-327 esp.p.323 and Elmo Wilson and Frank Bonilla "Evaluating Exchange of Persons Programs" Public Opinion Quarterly,Vol.19,1955,pp.20-30, esp.pp.25-26
2. Richard Morris "The Two-Way Mirror" op.cit.
3. The same association has been reported by Sewell et al. op.cit.p.80 while J.Bennet et al. "In Search of Identity" (Univ.of Minnesota Press) Minneapolis,1958,p.110 reports a heightened awareness of national status among Japanese students.

from each other. It is true that Lambert and Bressler's discussion of the 'sensitive area complex' can be juxtaposed to Lysgaard's, Sewell et al., Scott's[1], Riegel's and Beals et al.[2] findings (all of these show high adjustment, an absence of a comparable complex, and favourable attitudes to the USA among Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Belgian and Mexican students) and can be interpreted collectively as showing the differential effect, equivocally, of either cultural background, national background, or, indeed, national status. Without knowing the differential roles, if at all, which these three play, it is difficult to discern the part which these three play in the mind of the student and consequently their importance in the process of adult socialisation which may be taking place. Nevertheless, it has been widely shown that feelings of defensiveness decline after a period of time. Thus Aich shows that sensitivity and feelings of inferiority among African and Asian students in Germany (as Watson and Lippit also show among their German students op.cit.p.lo4) decline as the period of sojourn increases[3].

Other factors which have been shown to be operative within the phases of the sojourn period and which are related to the development of favourable attitudes to the USA are (a) social relations with Americans,(b) facility in the English language, (c) size of college, (d) previous travel experiences, (e) the motivation for going to the USA, (f) personality characteristics, (g) age and (h) the existence of a group of foreign students from the same country. However, the data on these is less conclusive than those we have reviewed so far

Selltiz et al.[4], using a sample of 348 foreign students studying at dif-

1. Franklin D. Scott "The American Experience of Swedish Students" (Univ.of Minnesota Press) Minneapolis, 1956, pp.53 ff
2. Ralph Beals & N.Humphrey "No Frontier to Learning" (Minnesota Press) 1957 esp.pp.43 and 59-61
3. Prodosch Aich "Asian and African Students" op.cit.p.448
4. Claire Selltiz et al. "Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students" op.cit.

ferent colleges, show that patterns of social relations differ between Euro-
pean and non-European students such that European foreign students tend to
have a wider circle and closer association with Americans. European students
also tend to have wider travel experience than non-European students (p.82)[1];
they also show that facility in the English language contributes towards the
depth (or closeness) but not the range of social relationships[2], while social
relations have been widely observed to be related to favourable attitudes to
the USA[3] though Morris does not give it the same importance that Selltiz et al.
attribute to it. He suggests that it is not contact with Americans per se which
contributes to the development of favourable attitudes to the USA but accorded
national status since students who gain in accorded national status are more
likely to have a large circle of close American friends[4]. This makes the asso-
ciation equivocal since those who gain in national status are likely to seek
out and make more close American friendships and consequently become more
favourable to the USA, just as those with a large circle of close American
friends would find that their American friends are more likely to attribute a
higher national status to them, compared to other foreign students who are not
their friends. It is probably on account of their inability to specify the
direction of association that Selltiz et al. conclude their discussion of
social relations by saying rather cautiously that (p.88) "It seems likely that

1. Variations in other areas have been observed between the two groups of stu-
   dents. Morris (op.cit.pp.133-4)shows that their perceptions of America
   tend to be different too. Selltiz and Cook (Journ.of Soc.Issues op.cit.p.12)
   give the example of a group of French visitors who were struck by the calm
   of American life while Scandinavian and Indian students were struck by its
   hurry and bustle.
2. Supporting evidence can be seen in Beals and Humphrey op.cit.pp.60-1.
   Morris op.cit.pp.50&137 suggests that the association is between language
   and adjustment.
3. Selltiz et al.op.cit.p.216; W.Sewell et al.op.cit.p.38 and S. Lysgaard
   op.cit.p.46 all point to this association.
4. Richard Morris op.cit. Table 36,p.80

the greater participation of Europeans stem from a <u>combination</u> of personal characteristics, greater foreign experience and <u>cultural similarity</u> between Europe and the United States that makes it relatively easy for Europeans to enter into American social life"[1] - without demonstrating the areas in which this cultural similarity applies and those in which it does not apply.

The kind of motivation which made students go to the United States has also been shown to be important in their development of favourable attitudes towards the United States. Those who went for reasons other than narrow acade-mic-professional reasons tend to more favourable than those who went for these reasons[2]. The equivocality in this case is even clearer since these 'types' of students may very well have gone to the USA because of their favourable attitu-des rather than in spite of these. Yet if Lysgaard's finding is correct, it is those who go there for academic-professional reasons who tend to be most highly satisfied with their stay. No evidence is available on the further logical question of whether those who are academically dissatisfied tend to have more or less favourable attitudes.

The size of the educational establishment has been interpreted in terms of its 'interaction-potential' and also its physical lay-out,where by 'inter-action-potential' Selltiz et al. refer to the opportunities which it provides for social interaction. They show that small colleges and residential accommo-dation (as in dormitories) have higher 'interaction-potential' and thus enhance favourability of attitudes towards the USA; but they are not related to the depth of friendship (Selltiz et al. p.119)[3]. The effect of size, is however

1. My emphasis
2. This association has also been reported by W.Sewell et al.op.cit.pp.79-80 F.D. Scott op.cit.p.48,R.Morris ibid p.106 and Lambert and Bressler op.cit. p.38
3. This association has also been reported in F.D.Scott op.cit.p.143 and Lam-bert and Bressler op.cit.p.48.However, their discussions were largely im-pressionistic. They did not investigate the factors in the 'small college' which tend to have this effect.

still an open issue.

Most evaluational studies imply that there are psycho-social factors associated with the student's reaction to the sojourn variable - such as personality factors and age or maturity - but these have not been systematically studied. Accordingly, various personality traits have been mentioned in the literature - such as flexibility, dependency, absence of authoritarianism, freedom from self-defensiveness, social skills, social integration, world-mindedness and associatedness. However, not only have these not been systematically researched but even the names given to the various traits differ among writers. Only one study has looked at age and found that teenagers tend to show a greater amount of change in attitudes towards democracy[1]. But this is very tentative.

Studies of Host Population

Studies in this category are virtually non-existent. The only one which was done in the USA is that of Rose K. Goldsen et al. They were interested in discovering some of the factors which predisposed American students at Cornell University to associate with foreign students. They found 3 factors, viz: (i) participation in campus milieu, (ii) "Association-mindedness" and (iii) opportunity in terms of spatial proximity to foreign students (especially in living arrangements)[2]. This, however, remains tentative and awaits replication. Scattered bits of information on factors connected with host populations can be gleaned from researches undertaken in UK, Germany and France. These point to the incidence of racial discrimination against coloured students. Carey[3] suggests that coloured female students are treated more sympathetically than male

1. Elmo C. Wilson & Frank Bonilla op.cit.
2. Rose K.Goldsen, Edward Suchman and Robin Williams Jr. "Factors Associated with the Development of Cross-Cultural Social Interaction" in Journal of Social Issues, Vol.XII, No.1, 1956, pp.26-32
3. A.T. Cary "Colonial Students" (Secker & Warburg) London, 1956

students (p.67-8). In the case of male students, he reports the incidence of a 'colour-tax' (p.156) while Aich[1] in Germany suggests that the perception of racial discrimination may be related to 'shade of skin-colour' of the student. These studies were, however, not systematically oriented to the prosecution of these questions and the above conclusions may very well be atypical. Indeed, Morris (op.cit.p.1o2) suggests that in the USA the reverse is probably the case since identification of the student with marked 'foreign' characteristics tends to be related to favourableness of attitudes to the USA presumably because of favourable reception and treatment by the host population.

Other Studies[2]

These tend to have disparate objectives and cannot be compared except to the extent that they concentrate on difficulties which foreign students experience in connection with various spheres of their lives in the sojourn situation. However, these tend to be unsystematic (with the exception of Singh's and Aich's second work[3]) and to be oriented more to policy-makers than to the elucidation of sociological constants.

Weaknesses of Previous Research

Our review of previous research has been based on, perhaps an overselected range of studies and our description of these studies have also been rather over-brief. Nevertheless, our review does provide some indication of the weaknesses and successes of previous research on the 'overseas student'.

1. P. Aich "Farbige unter Weissen" op.cit. esp.p.235
2. We refer here to various studies such as the PEP studies in Britain dealing with Colonial, Indian and East African students; Carey's study, A.S.Livingstone's "Colonial Students and Social Work Training" (Manchester Univ. Press 196o, E. Hevi's "An African Student in China" (Pall Mall) London,1963 A.K. Singh's "Indian Students in Britain" (Asia Pub.House) New York, 1963, Roger Bastide's "African Students in France" Intern.Social Science Journal Vol.VIII,1956, pp.489-92 and Aich ibid. to mention a few.
3. P. Aich "Soziale Determinanten der politischen Einstellung der Afrikanischen Studenten..." op.cit.

Thus, there is some consensus which suggests that national status, national/ cultural background are important influences on the student's reaction to the sojourn environment. Similarly, these studies show that various factors such as reference groups, language facility, motivations for undertaking educatio- nal travel and age are significant influences on the student's reactions to the host environment. But the logical question of 'How significant are these various factors?' has not been raised.

The prime difficulty in their inability to illuminate this question con- cerns the limited orientation which these studies adopted. All these studies assume that the prime objective of foreign travel concerns foreign relations. Consequently, variables have been studied to the extent that they contribute towards or inhibit favourable attitudes towards the host country. Undoubtedly, the dearth of research before 1952/3 when the Cross-Cultural Education Commit- tee of the Social Science Research Council was set up to stimulate research, partly accounts for this limited orientation. Similarly, research outside of the USA has confined itself primarily with the difficulties of 'overseas' students and therefore fails, on a much more mundane level, to ask the logical question mentioned above. Like the evaluational studies, they have assumed that the sojourn situation concerns 'externals' and some state explicitly in their Introduction (like Morris) that the student does not change, implying that cross-cultural education merely involves changes in 'externals'. Conse- quently, little consideration has been given to the 'internal' aspects of the personality of the student, how this is affected the sojourn variables and by the difficulties he experiences and how the personality reacts to the environ- ment and copes with these difficulties. Where personality factors are discussed

(as in Bennet and Passin et al., Rose Goldsen et al., Claire Selltiz et al. and Watson & Lippit), these are looked at only to the extent that they affect the development of favorable attitudes towards the USA.

Yet it is implied in all these studies as well as in the very idea of cross-cultural education that the foreign student is a potential 'catalyst of change'[1] and that his sojourn experiences find an 'echo' in his personality, but the obvious question of what these experiences do to the personality has not been raised. The student can provide a 'catalytic' effect as suggested only to the extent that aspects of his personality are modified in the course of his sojourn abroad. The need for a fresh approach[2] to the study of cross-cultural education has been recognised for some time, but has not been followed up in research. Clearly, cross-cultural education has implications for the student as well as for the foreign relations of host countries. It is this personality theme - specifically the self-concept and the relative impact of various variables - which we pursue in this study.

Another major weakness of these studies concerns their methodology. Most of them (excluding Morris and Selltiz et al.) are based on small samples which are selected in diverse ways. Even though they preface their remarks by pointing to the unrepresentativeness of their samples, their results may well be atypical of foreign students as a whole. It is doubtful, further, whether these

1. M. Brewster Smith "Cross-Cultural Education and Cultural Change" International Social Science Journal, Vol.VIII, No.4, 1956, pp.585-597
2. See G. Coelho's "Personal Growth and Educational Development through Working and Studying abroad" Journal of Social Issues, Vol.XVIII, No.1, 1962 pp. 55-67; S.N. Herman and E. Schild "Contexts for the Study of Cross-Cultural Education" Journ. of Social Psychology: Vol.52, 196opp.231-250; on self-esteem specifically see R. Morris "Two-Way Mirror" op.cit.p.6; Brewster Smith and Casagrande op.cit.p.29 and Cora Dubois "Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States" (American Council on Education) Washington D.C. 1956, pp.39-41 and 79

results can be generalized beyomd the USA. Similarly, the selection of control
groups where these are utilised, tends to be haphazard; indeed little informa-
tion on this is sometimes provided. We can now turn our attention to studies
of the self-concept.

Studies of the Self-Concept

These studies have been far more numerous than studies of foreign stu-
dents. They tend to be even more fragmentary. Nevertheless, many of the con-
clusions have been replicated and are well accepted, thus facilitating their
use in future research.

Investigators of the self-concept have been affected by the definitional
problem we mentioned earlier in connection with the self. They have, accor-
dingly, investigated various aspects of the individual's perception both of
himself and of his environment such as self-esteem, self-regard, self-ideal,
discrepancy, self-favourability, self-acceptance and self-satisfaction. Yet,
it has not been shown that each one of these concepts refer to an aspect of
the self which the others do not deal with; indeed these concepts are used
interchangeably[1]. Wylie maintains that they are not synonymous, but neverthe-
less concludes by saying that "the terms are so intertwined and over-lapping in
the literature that the constructs must be discussed as a group[2]" which puts
her, more or less, in the position which she is criticising. Nevertheless,
what can be said about all these concepts without contradiction is that they
all refer to 'self-regarding' attitudes as distinct from 'other-regarding'
attitudes.

1. M. Kuhn and T.Mc Partland write (p.68) "There has been no consensus regar-
   ding the class of phenomena to which the self ought to be operationally
   ordered. The self has been called an image, a conception, a concept,
   a feeling, an internalisation etc. "An Empirical Investigation of Self-
   Attitudes" American Sociological Review, Vol.19,1954,pp.68-76
2. Ruth Wylie "The Self-Concept" (Univ. of Nebraska Press) Lincoln,1961,p.40

However, these studies have shown that self-attitudes change over time and are correlated with various aspects of the environment. We can review these then, under the two headings of (1) those concerned with the self per se i.e. its development, maintenance and change and (2) those which are concerned with studying the relationship between the self and various types of behaviour.

Studies of the Characteristics of the Self

One of the earliest example of studies of this kind is that of Havighurst, Robinson and Dorr[1]. They used groups of children from different age ranges to study the continuity in the development of the self between childhood and adolescence. However, they did not use the actual self in the main instrument but used the ideal self, measuring this by asking the children to write a composition on "The Person I would Like to be Like" which was then coded in terms of certain response categories - such as parents or family members, glamourous persons, attractive visible adults and imaginary persons. They were then able to make inferences about the development of the ideal self according to the extent to which choices moved systematically with age. They found, generally, that the children's choices of persons moved away from their kin relatives to more distant persons as age increase. Specifically, the typical choices of those who were between the ages of six and eight years were for parents or other kin members whereas between the ages of eight and sixteen the choices shifted to glamourous persons, attractive visible adults and imaginary persons consecutively.

Engel showed a similar developmental characteristic in her study and, unlike Havighurst et al., showed that a properly constructed measuring instrument of the self can be used in research. She was interested in the extent to which the self-concept changes and becomes crystallised over a period of two years.

1. R.J.Havighurst, M.Z. Robinson and M. Dorr "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence" Journal of Educational Research, Vol 4o, 1946, pp.241-57

For her sample she used 172 adolescents divided into two groups, one consisting of eighth and tenth graders while the second group consisted of tenth and twelfth graders. Her self-concept measure was constructed from Q-sorted items and the instrument was administered twice over the two-year period and the responses coded separately to check for test-retest stability. Her results showed that while there was no significant differences between the two groups over the two-year period, there was nevertheless an increase in the mean favourability of the self-concept for members of the second (older) groups such that those subjects in this group whose self-concepts were unfavourable at the first administration showed a greater change in self-concepts than those whose self-concepts were favourable at the first administration[1].

These two studies, while showing a developmental tendency, have nevertheless produced results which are inconclusive. There was always the need not just to know whether the self-concept develops, but more fundamentally whether such development is related to specific reactions and behaviours. Studies of the second type have therefore been concerned with the behavioural correlates of the self-concept.

Studies of the Correlates of the Self

Some of the environmental variables which have been studied are, the role of parent-child interaction on the self-concept, the relationship between social interaction and the self-concept (e.g. religious affiliation, sex differences, peer-group interaction, friendship choices and so on), studies of the effect of learning on the self-concept, of psychotherapy and experimentally-

1. Mary Engel "Stability of the Self-Concept in Adolsescence" Journal of Abn. and Social Psychology, Vol.58, 1959, pp.211-215

induced success or failure on the self-concept. All these studies can be found in the literature. We have selected only a few for review here.

Studies dealing with the relationship between parent-child interaction and the self-concept have concentrated on various characteristics such as (1) the child's perception of the regard in which his parents hold him, (2) parental authority and discipline, (3) similarity between the characteristics of the parent and those of the child and (4) similarities in sex between parents and the child.

Manis[1], for instance, was interested mainly in finding out whether the individual's maladjustment is related to the perception that his parents hold him in low regard. He used groups of college students selected on the basis of their 'adjustment' scores as measured by the MMPI. His analysis is based on the two extremes of the distribution of scores. The actual and the ideal self-concepts were measured by means of 24 bipolar rating scales consisting of items describing their parents characteristics as well as their parents perceived rating of them (i.e. the students). The experiment showed that those students who were high on adjustment were more likely to feel that their parents hold them in high regard compared to those who were low on adjustment. Also, by computing a statistical measure of the similarity between the student's perception of how the mother and the father viewed him independently and relating this to adjustment scores, he showed that the dissimilarity between the mother's and father's evaluations of the student was smaller in the case of the highly adjusted than in the case of the maladjusted students.

By contrast, Henry's[2] study of enlisted military personnel was concerned

1. M. Manis "Personal Adjustment, Assumed Similarity to Parents and Inferred Parental Evaluations of the Self" Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 22, 1958, pp.481-485
2. A.F. Henry "Family Role Structure and Self-Blame" Social Forces, Vol35 1956, pp.35-38

with the question of whether the tendency to blame oneself is related to the individual's memory of parental discipline. Like Manis, he distinguished between the mother as a disciplinarian and the father as a disciplinarian. The main instrument consisted of hypothetical conversation in which one person gets 'hurt' in a hypothetical situation. He found that the tendency to blame oneself is related to the individual's perception of the father as a disciplinarian. This is one of the earliest studies using hypothetical situations in social research - a practice which is becoming widespread.

Lazowick's[1] interest was slightly different in that he investigated the question of whether there is a relationship between anxiety scores (as measured by the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale) and actual as distinct from remembered parental characteristics as in Henry's case. He was also interested in finding out whether the individual's conception of himself is related to his conception of his parents. The similarities in parental characteristics were measured by means of Osgood's Semantic Differential and the subjects of the analysis consisted of the upper and lower deciles of the anxiety score distribution - amounting to thirty university students and their sixty parents. He found generally that low anxiety was related to greater perceived similarity between subjects and their parents on the one hand and between the subject's conception of themselves and their conceptions of their parents on the other, the wider implication of this result being that individuals tend to identify themselves with that parent with whom they have some characteristics in common.

This implication has been investigated by Beier and Ratzeburg[2] who found that this identification is enhanced by sex since they found a significant

1. L.M. Lazowick "On the Nature of Identification" Journ. of Abn. & Soc.Psych. Vol.51, 1955, pp.175-183
2. E.G. Beier and F. Ratzeburg "The Parental Identifications of Male and Female College Students" Journ. of Abn. & Soc.Psych. Vol.48, 1953, pp.569-72

association between responses concerning the self of their subjects and responses concerning the self of the _same-sex_ parent.

The studies we have looked at so far have all been laboratory studies. Nevertheless, non-laboratory studies have shown similar conclusions to these. For instance, Rosenberg's[1] methodologically brilliant work was concerned, not with the molecular aspects of parent-child interaction, like those mentioned above, but with the overall effect of the parents' treatment of the child. Thus he tries to answer the following questions. How interested is the parent in the child? What is the relationship between such parental interest (or indifference) and the child's self-image? Further, is it more deleterious to have parents who are indifferent but not disciplinarians or parents who are interested in the child but strong disciplinarians? His analysis is based on a sample of 5,000 adolescents and his self-esteem instrument consisted of ten attitude items, tested for unidimensionality and reproducibility (Guttman's criteria). Parental interest was operationalised on the basis of (1) parents' relations to child's friends, (2) parents reaction to child's academic performance and (3) responsiveness to child's ideas. His results showed that high self-esteem is related to high parental interest.

Studies which deal with the self-concept and social interaction have, (unlike the studies we have looked at concerning parent-child interaction) been faced with the major conceptual problem of trying to deduce exactly what some of the self-concept theorists of the nineteenth century actually meant. This conceptual problem concerns the specification of (i) the type of persons among the 'generalised others' who are significant enough to make an impact on the individual since, after all, not all 'others' either have contact or are

1. Morris Rosenberg "Parental Interest and Children's Self-Conceptions" _Sociometry_, Vol.26, March 1963, pp.35-49 subsequently reproduced in his "Society and the Adolescent Self Image" op.cit. chap. 7

interested in such contacts with the individual (ii) the extent of the influence of these 'generalised others' in terms of both <u>duration</u> and <u>intensity of</u> social interaction and (iii) the mechanism by which the subject's self-concept is influenced. Is it, in connection with this latter point, the actual responses of others which influences the self-concept or is it the subject's perception of those responses since, after all, the two need not coincide. Neither James and Cooley, nor Mead made these specifications. Indeed, Mead merely distinguished three aspects of the "generalised others" and left it at that viz: (a) the attitudes of other individuals to the self, (b) the attitudes of the self to other individuals and (c) the attitudes of all individuals "to the various phases or aspects of the common social undertakings in which, as members of an organised society or social group, they are all engaged"[1]. Writers who claim to test the interactionist theory of the self have consequently ignored the need for these specifications and have relied on Mead's inadequate distinction as above. <u>Thus Leo Reeder et al.</u>[2] start with the aim of "testing aspects of the Mead-Cooley Symbolic Interactionist Hypothesis" (p.69) and <u>Miyamoto and Dornbusch</u>[3] start their research with the aim of carrying out "an empirical study of certain basic assumptions in the interactionist view of the self and self-conception" (p.399), without taking the distinctions, mentioned above, into account (Leo Reeder et al. do consider the third but not the others)

This conceptual problem, notwithstanding, these studies have shown that the interactionist hypothesis is not entirely without empirical foundation. Miyamoto and Dornbusch used a sample of 163 subjects, who completed a

1. Anselm Strauss ed. "<u>George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology</u>" (Phoenix Books) 1964, pp.231-2
2. L. Reeder, G. Donahue & A. Biblarz "Conceptions of Self and Others" in B. Stoodley ed. "<u>Society and Self</u>" (Free Press)1962,pp.69-78
3. F. Miyamoto and S. Dornbusch "A Test of Interactionist Hypotheses of Self-Conception" <u>Amer.Journ.of Sociology</u>, Vol.LXI, 1956, pp.399-4o3

questionnaire containing self-ratings on intelligence, confidence, physical attractiveness and likeableness. Each member of the sample rated himself, then rated every other member and, thirdly, predicted how every other member of the group would rate him. The authors correlated these ratings and found that those subjects who rated themselves highly on these criteria were also rated highly by the other members of the group and concluded that the responses of others have an influence in shaping self-conception.

Leo Reeder, Donahue and Biblarz, unlike Miyamoto and Dornbush, start by making the important distinction between (i) the actual responses of others and (ii) the perceived responses and went on to test, using a group of 54 enlisted military personnel, whether there is a relationship between (a) the actual responses of others and the responses of others as perceived by the subject and (2) whether the relationship between self-conception and the responses of others is linear or curvilinear - a question which the early theorists did not deal with. They found a linear relationship only at certain point in the distribution of self-concept scores. Subjects who did not think highly of themselves were likely to be lowly evaluated by the rest of the group suggesting that their self-conception "appears to be determined by the perceived and actual responses of others"(p.76). This did not, however, hold for the other end of the distribution since those who thought highly of them- selves were not highly evaluated by the rest of the group and suggested that this is explained by the role of intervening variables, one of which is referen ce group affiliations, which they then went on to utilise in their analysis. The result of their re-analysis indicated that those who thought highly of themselves when the group did not evaluate them in the same way were sustaining their high self-conception on a larger number of reference groups than is the

case among those with low self-conception (pp. 77-78). <u>Sherwood</u>[1], in a similar investigation, found, like Leo Reeder et al., that the individual's self-identity (which he defined as "<u>the totality of a person's self attributes</u>" on p.67) was closely related to the responses of others (though unlike Leo Reeder et al. he did not pursue the question of linearity). He also found, more importantly, that this association is subject to two limiting conditions: (i) influence on the subject would be high where the 'referent others' are attractive in terms of friendship choice and (ii)influence would also be high where the 'referent's' conception of the subject is <u>communicated</u> to and received by the subject.

These three studies provide the most consistent replication of the theories of the symbolic interactionists despite their conceptual drawbacks. But in their concern with social interaction as a generic category they fail to show the influence of factors in society which cannot be pinned to the 'other people' such as religion and social class - the intangibles in social life. But the general observation that a person's self-concept is related to the responses of others has been used as a point of departure for investigations of related hypotheses such as (a) that the level of self-conception would correlate with the individual's acceptance of others (Berger[2]);(b) that in choosing their friends, individuals would choose those persons who are similar to them in self-concept and general attitudes (Lundy, Katkovsky et al., Northway and <u>Detweiler and Davitz</u>[3]. Though there is a high level of agreement in these two

1. John Sherwood "Self-Identity and Referent Others" <u>Sociometry</u>,Vol.28, 1965, pp.66-81
2. E.M. Berger "The Relation Between Expressed Acceptance of Self and Expressed Acceptance of Others" Journ.of Abn.&Soc.Psych.Vol.47, 1952,pp.49-54
3. R.M.Lundy, W.Katkovsky et al. "Self-Acceptance and Descriptions of Sociometric Choices" Journ.of Abn.&Soc.Psych.Vol.51, 1955,pp.26o-2; Mary Northway & J. Detweiler "<u>Children's Perception of Friends and Non-Friends</u>" <u>Sociometry</u> Vol. 18, 1956, pp.527-31; J.R. Davitz "Social Perception and Sociometric Choice of Children" <u>Journ. of Abn.& Soc.Psych.</u>Vol.5o, 1955, pp.173-176

extrapolations, they are, however, not directly relevant to our study.

Weaknesses of Previous Research on the Self-Concept

What conclusions can we now draw from our brief review of studies of the self-concept?

Firstly, much of the research has been done in laboratory settings (with the exception of Rosenberg and Sherwood's work); consequently the results may have limited applicability.

Secondly, and more importantly, most of these studies utilised diverse research techniques. While in all cases the experimental sample is described rather briefly, the methods by which they are selected are not given. Besides, the samples tend to be small (with a few exceptions) thus making it more likely that the conclusions cannot be generalised. In the few cases where different groups are used, these are selected from the two ends of the distribution, thus restricting the extent to which they can be considered independent of each other for the purposes of the experiment. Further, while studies dealing with the self-concept cannot be too different from each other in orientation, nevertheless, the use of different research instruments - ranging from Q sorts to Likert-type ratings - make it difficult for these studies to be considered as replications. Similarly, and in view of the use of different instruments, it is necessary for validation procedures to be presented with the data. This is, however, not done usually(with the exception of a few such as Engel and Rosenberg). In view of these weaknesses, the results of these studies can only be considered as suggestions which have to await confirmation in future research.

However, the combination of laboratory orientation and the above methodological weaknesses do not enable the student of cross-cultural education to see the extent to which the self-image is affected by a period of sojourn nor,

indeed, to isolate those variables in the sojourn environment which would affect the self-image from those which would not. This is largely due to the absence of the conceptual specification concerning the 'generalised others' to which we made reference at the beginning of this section. Nevertheless, one of the studies we reviewed suggests that there are intervening variables which are important though little research on those variables has been undertaken so far. In the absence of such research, studies of the development and change of the self-concept cannot provide adequate information on the predisposing conditions of such development and change.

Nevertheless (and in spite of these comments), it is easy to see some consensus arising from previous research on the self-concept, in connection with the following propositions. These studies show that (a) the self has a developmental history (Havighurst et al.,Mary Engel) and (b) that in the course of this development, it becomes responsive to various environmental factors such as (i) parent-child interaction and characteristics (Manis, Lazowick,Beier and Ratzeburg, Henry, Rosenberg), (ii) temporary environmental changes such as hospitalisation (McPartland et al.[1]), (iii) it is central to interpersonal evaluation (Leo Reeder et al., Miyamoto and Dornbusch) and (iv) it influences and is influenced by friendship choice (Lundy,Katkovsky et al., Davitz).

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1. T.McPartland et al. "Self-Conception and Ward Behaviour in Two Psychiatric Hospitals" Sociometry, Vol.24,1961,No.2,pp.111-124; also W.Rosengren "The Self in The Emotionally Disturbed" American Journal of Sociology Vol.66,1960 -61, pp.454-462

PART THREE

Empirical Explorations

PART   THREE

CHAPTER   7

OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES: MEASUREMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

We have, in our discussion in chapter 4, shown that the sense of perso-
nal identity is indicated by the self-image and also shown that by self-image
we refer to the totality of self-attitudes. Self-attitudes tend to be positive
in tone. This is because the individual's self-image not only provides a gen-
eral orientation to the environment but also provides motivation for partici-
pation in social life in general. As such it is the individual's sense of
worthiness, his sense of pride in himself and in his aspirations, which all
provide the operative basis for the self-image. While, as we have shown, there
has not been any clarification of the differences, if any, between the
self-image, self-esteem, self-regard and so on, it is nevertheless clear that
all these concepts refer to the fund of self-attitudes and turn on the
point which Cooley made, that is, that self-attitudes are the result of the
'imagination' of oneself in the minds of other people. It is on the basis of
other people's reactions to him that the individual feels pride or
mortification.

This being the case, the measure of self-image employed in this study
had to make reference to this fund of self-attitudes in order to be valid. It
was this fund of self-attitudes which our Self-Image Index was designed to
tap. Once such an index had been constructed (subject to validation checks),
the relationship between its scores and the various areas of the students'
life in the UK could be explored. Our primary object, at the beginning of the
research project, then, was to develop a scale of items which would tap a
latent continuum of self-attitudes.

However, one aspect which we had to take into account from the beginning concerns temporary and short-term variations in levels of self-image and the effect of such short-term variations on the resulting overall self-image. We acknowledged that while individuals can be classified into highs and lows in terms of their score on an attitude scale, it is also possible for individuals to have high self-image but <u>momentarily</u> and to have low self-image ('down in the dumps') at the next moment. William James did point out that, though individuals have several selves according to the social groups to which they are associated, all these selves tend to be integrated into an overall conception of one's identity. He however, did not consider the short-term and temporal variations of the sort we are discussing. Individuals can then have, theoretically, (i) high but stable self-image, (ii) high and unstable, (iii) low but stable and (iv) low and unstable[1].

We incorporated this aspect of the self-image into our instrument by giving a relatively lower score to items indicating instability of self-image irrespective of whether they yielded high or low scores. Thus, in terms of the situation outlined above, (i) would receive the highest score while (iv) would receive the lowest score. To cater for this aspect, we included items dealing with stability/instability in the pool of items from which the Self-Image Index was constructed. The items used were (1)"Does your opinion of yourself change a good deal or does it always continue to remain the same?", (2) "Do <u>you ever find that one day you have one opinion of yourself and on another</u>

1. Our use of the notion of stability differs from that of Brownfain who used it to refer to quantitative levels i.e. what we have described as 'high' and 'low'; viz(p.597) "In this study, stability of the self-concept is measured in terms of the discrepancy between two definitions of the self: the self as it is positively conceived and the self as it is negatively conceived". He ignores the temporal variation. See James J. Brownfain "Stability of the Self-Concept as a Dimension of Personality" <u>Journ. of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u>, Vol.47, 1952, pp.597-606

day you have a different opinion?", (3) "I feel that nothing or almost nothing can change the opinion I currently hold of myself". The response categories were scored on a 5-point dimension and weighted from 1 to 5.

The level of self-image, as we have defined it, is influenced by other psychological variables. Individuals who are high in self-image are also likely to be more satisfied with their personal situation where, by satisfaction, we refer to a feeling of gratification with one's personal circumstances. This would, all things being equal, depend on the nature of their personal circumstances. Further, individuals with high self-image are also less likely to experience emotional strain. This conglomeration of attitudes would mean that individuals with high self-image are more likely to be psychologically adjusted to living in the sojourn situation in which they study.

We therefore constructed indices of Anxiety, Situational Satisfaction and Emotional Instability and combined these with the Index of Self-Image to form a contrived Index of Overall Psychological Adjustment. There is no consensus in the literature as to what exactly adjustment means, nevertheless there are criterion differences between individuals who are highly adjusted and individuals who are not highly adjusted i.e. whether a person, say, is in hospital or whether he is not, whether a student consults his psychiatric adviser or does not. The concept of adjustment, then, can be used to the extent that the content of this adjustment is specified. We mean, by Overall Psychological Adjustment, then, the extent to which psychological well-being is enhanced and the need for security is met.

The Overall Psychological Adjustment Index was therefore constructed in such a way that while it includes situational satisfaction, it nevertheless goes deeper. Clearly, self-reports of situational satisfaction do not necessarily imply psychological adjustment. Indeed, an individual's personal circum-

stances can be enviable (say in terms of income, accommodation etc) but he can still be psychologically maladjusted. There is no one to one relationship between situational satisfaction and psychological adjustment. Yet it is psychological adjustment which provides indications of the extent to which the student is coping with problems inherent in the sojourn situation. We therefore summated four indices - anxiety, self-image, emotional instability and situational satisfaction consisting of 22 items in all, in order to provide a reliable indicator of Overall Psychological Adjustment.

Description of the Self-Image Index

In constructing the Self-Image Index, we built up a pool of items dealing with the self and/these selected fifteen for inclusion in the pilot question-naire. The pilot was done with 38 West African students in one Technical College in London. The pilot questionnaire was long and many of the students found it quite taxing in effort. However, the analysis of the pilot allowed us to cut out those items which were ambiguous and to reduce the length of the questionnaire. We subjected the fifteen items that went into the Self-Image scale to item analysis on the criterion of internal consistency and from this selected seven which showed relatively high (more than .4) discrimina-tory power for the main investigation (i.e. the Likert Method).

In the construction of the Index we were guided by various considerations directly related to the nature of the investigation. Firstly, the measure developed had to be easy to administer. The geographical disperson of the sample did not allow the use of methods requiring face-to-face contact between the students in the sample and the research administrator. The use of Q-sorts, MMPI administrations, direct sociometric tests, Rorschach tests and other projective devices, was ruled out by the fact that the members of the experi-mental sample were scattered over a large part of the country. The members of

the control sample were also in various countries in West Africa. Besides many of these instruments are adequate for use with relatively small samples who are in face-to-face contact among themselves.

Secondly, the measure developed had to allow extreme economy of time in its administration. This is because items dealing with the self are prone to invoking Social Desirability effects. If individuals are allowed to spend time thinking about these items, the tendency to present themselves in a favourable light would reduce the reliability which their responses would have. We cannot claim to have eliminated such tendencies in our mail-questionnaire but various safeguards which we introduced into it, would have minimised these effects. A secondary factor connected with this requirement concerned various assurances which the researcher had to give to agencies connected with the students. Some agencies (government ministries in particular but also some college officials) gave their permission for the students to be contacted on the proviso that the study did not interfere with their (i.e. the students) work routine. This meant that the questionnaire had to be relatively short.

We felt that both the first and the second requirements could be dealt with by strict instructions concerning the way the questions should be answered and also by careful pruning of the items. The items which went towards the construction of the Self-Image Index were then distributed throughout the whole questionnaire in a random fashion so as to defeat 'halo' effects, Social Desirability effects and response set bias. At the same time, the element of speed was enjoined on the part of the students to prevent them thinking too much about the items. The specific instructions which went into the final questionnaire reads as follows: "Here are some statements expressing opinion. I would like to know in each case whether you agree, disagree, or are uncer-

tain. Please tick or make a ring around whichever of the alternatives given,
gives the most correct picture of your mind. <u>PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE OUT ANY STATE</u>
<u>MENT</u> even when you find it difficult to make up your mind. <u>GO AS RAPIDLY</u>
<u>THROUGH AS YOU CAN"</u>.

The third requirement which the measure had to satisfy was that it should
produce a simple ordering of individual scores along a continuum ranging from
the highest to the lowest i.e. the scale had to be unidimensional. The scale
items were selected by the Likert method (this method has already been des-
cribed). Insofar as this method yields a rating scale, it does provide some
evidence of this simple order. It also ensures that the items selected are
relatively internally homogenous.

Fourthly, the scale was to be valid if it was to be useful. We therefore
organised validation procedures to test its validity. We shall describe the
results of these tests in the next few pares.

The seven items which went into the Self-Image Index are indicated in Ap-
pendix 5 as well as their correlations with the total score (i.e. discriminato-
ry power[1]). The responses to these items were scaled and assigned weights for
intensity, ranging from 1 to 5.

In the analysis of the responses to the main questionnaire, we converted
the scores into an Index by relating the score on each item to the performance
of the whole group. But in order to avoid working with minus signs, we adjus-
ted the standard so that all scores ranged from 8,9,10,11 to 12 instead of -2,
-1, o, 1, and 2. An individual's total score on the Index was then obtained
by simple summation of his score on each item.

Validation Procedures

As mentioned earlier, the final requirement of the instrument was that
it should be valid. The validity of a research instrument refers to the ex-

1. See Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda et al. "Research Methods in Social
   Relations" (Henry Holt & Co) 1959 edition, pp.185-6

tent to which it 'gets at' what it is supposed to measure - in this case the sense of identity of West African students.

There are two aspects of validity, the internal and the external[1]. Internal validity is largely a question of conceptualisation of the problem, the specification of the empirical indicator and a demonstration of the relationship between the two[2]. What it boils down to is the need for demonstrating that the constructed instrument is related to the universe of content of attitudes referring to the self. Our conceptualisation in chap. 4 would have shown this relationship between the problem and self-image. Further, inspection of the attitude items which went into the Self-Image Index would show that they are related to the universe of content of attitudes dealing with the self. We can therefore claim internal validity on this basis.

External validity is usually assessed by either comparing the results of its administration with results obtained from a similar (but already standardised) instrument (i.e. criterion validation) or actually testing various predictions derived from theory (construct validation). The first method presumes that criterion groups already exist who are similar (in our case) to West African students. However, there are no such 'known' groups of West African students with which we can compare our samples since there has not been any systematic study of these students comparable to ours. This method of validation also requires the existence of an instrument similar to our Self-Image Index. But again, while various studies have been done on the self-concept (as we have shown in chap. 6), these have all used different

1. Samuel Stouffer et al. "Measurement and Prediction" (Princeton Univ.Press) N.J. 1950, pp.57-59
2. H. Zetterberg "On Theory and Verification in Sociology" (Bedminster) 1963, pp. 44 - 48

methods of measurement. In any case, it can be argued, if even there was such a measure already in existence and standardised, that there would have been no need to construct a Self-Image Index as we have had to do in our research. Besides, the use of this method of validation assumes that the standardised test has itself been validated - an assumption which is not usually valid. Indeed, assuming that such a validation was actually undertaken by the criterion method, then the question of the validation of these criteria could be raised ad infinitum[1].

In the circumstances, we had to depend for the main part of our validation, on actually testing various theoretical predictions using the Index. In other words, the results of the research were expected to produce the most potent validation of the instrument. If the instrument really measures self-image, then we expected the resulting scores to be significantly related to other data derived from the same samples of students.

However, we also supplemented these validation 'runs' by a method which approximates to criterion validation. If an independent set of persons could be persuaded to make assessments of these students' personality as it appears to them over a period of time, then we could compare the results of such assessment with the resulting scores derived from the administration of the Self-Image Index. One of the basic postulates in self-concept theory is that the self becomes an object of perception in social interaction. The 'I', being the subjective aspect of identity, cannot be directly observed. But the 'Me', being the objective aspect of identity, can be observed by individuals with whom the person interacts. If this is so, then persons who are connected with the students, could be asked to make assessments of them which we can then

1. B.S. Phillips "Social Research: Strategy and Tactics" (Macmillan) New York 1966, p.160

compare with our Self-Image scores.

We felt that since many students have supervisors, who may also be their tutors, assessments made by such supervisors would be based on knowledge of their tutees. But not only can the supervisors have the requisite proximity and knowledge of the studentsto be able to make an assessment of their personality as this is presented to them, but they are also more likely to maintain a certain distance to prevent contamination of their assessment by factors in their personal relationships with their tutees. We, accordingly, contacted all the supervisors of those students, in one university, who had completed a copy of the questionnaire and requested their co-operation in carrying out the validation checks.

Though we asked the supervisors to make unstructured assessments, we nevertheless constructed and asked them to complete an Interpersonal Adjective Check List[1] around which they were requested to build up their assessment. This Check List consists of a set of adjectives which are used to characterise other people and which have been used in previous research[2]. We included an 'undecided' category to allow for the possibility of the supervisor not being able to offer an assessment on any specific area. We were also fully conscious, when this part of the research was undertaken, of the fact that not all supervisors know their tutees sufficiently to be able to make an assessment of the kind required. We therefore requested that, where the supervisor cannot make an assessment because of this, the Check List should be sent back with a note to this effect.

Of the thirteen supervisors we contacted, four were unable to co-operate because they were out of the country at the time, two replied that they had

1. See Appendix 4 for a description of the Check List
2. Timothy Leary "Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality" (Ronald Press) New York, 1957

not been seeing their students as the latter did not turn up for their sessions regularly and that they therefore could not make assessments because they do not really know these students. The remaining seven of the thirteen were able to provide assessments for 13 students (each supervisor dealt with more than one student).

We scored their responses to the Check List and converted the raw scores in the same way that we did with the Self-Image Index and compared these with the scores which we had independently collected from the students. While the purpose of the assessment was explained to these supervisors, they nevertheless were not told about the part which their assessment would play in the whole project. Nor did the students (who had completed the Index) know that their supervisors would be approached and requested to make assessments of their personality. Table 28 below shows the distribution of both scores, their means and standard deviations.

Table 28

Comparison of Scores on the IAC List and the Self-Image Index

IAC Score	Self-Image Score
89	70
85	84
80	72
80	84
80	80
77	75
76	74
76	74
73	72
71	71
71	69
68	64
65	68

	IAC	Self-Image
Mean Score	80	74
Standard Deviat.	7	6
No. of Cases	13	13

The comparison yielded a correlation of 0.63 (Kendall's tau:

highly sig. at o.ol[1]). This indicates a relatively adequate level of agreement between the IAC assessment and self-image scores.

However, this 'independent' validation check is not enough as we have argued earlier. Further tests of 'construct' validity are contained within the analysis of the students' responses to the items in the questionnaire. We reasoned that, if the Self-Image instrument is validly measuring what it is designed to measure, it should distinguish those students who are high from those who are low on self-image and systematically relate this distinction to other characteristics of the students; secondly, it should provide meaningful explanations of various theoretical predictions. Accordingly, we analysed the data and obtained results which, again, point to an adequate level of validity for the instrument. We shall now discuss these results.

It is a common-place clinical observation that individuals who are tense and anxious tend to be depressed more frequently than individuals who are not so disposed. It is also known that depression accompanies low self-esteem[2]. If our instrument validly measures self-image, then, those students who are depressed and anxious should be more likely to register a low level of self-image compared to the others. In order to test this proposition, we constructed an Index of Generalised Anxiety consisting of seven items dealing with the students' experience of anxiety and depression during their period of sojourn in the United Kingdom. These items

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1. See Maurice Kendall "Rank Correlation Methods"(Charles Griffin & Co), London, 1955 edition, chap.4, p.52.

2. For an empirical demonstration of this see Seymour Parker and Robert Kleiner "Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community" (Free Press) New York, 1966, pp.168ff.

were all selected by the Likert Method and converted into an Index in the same way in which the Self-Image Index was obtained. Our results (Table 29) show that those who are high on self-image are less likely to experience high anxiety.

Table 29

Self-Image By Anxiety

Anxiety Score	Self-Image Score	
	High %	Low %
High Anxiety	33	66
Low Anxiety	67	34
Total Per Cent	100	100
No. of Cases	103	126

$x^2 = 25.50$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Another familiar clinical observation concerns the role of psychosomatic symptoms in the psychological functioning of psychoneurotics compared to 'normal' populations. Various tests were developed during the Second World War for screening neurotics among recruits. These tests involve the use of a number of psychosomatic symptoms which are then presented to the respondent who has to indicate those symptoms which he experiences as well as the frequency with which he experiences them. These symptoms are invariably without physiological foundations and tend to be more in the nature of indicators of psychological malfunctioning than anything else. One such test (called the Neuro-Psychiatric Screening Adjunct) was developed and used at all induction stations of the American Army in the last war with a high degree of success[1].

1. The development and validation of the NSA is dicussed in chaps. 13 and 14 of Samuel Stouffer et al. "Measurement and Prediction" op.cit. The psychosomatic symptoms used in that study are described on pp.535-538.

Independent researchers since then, have employed various parts of this test with a similarly high degree of success.

The consistency of these results suggested that mental illness may be related to the frequency of reporting of psychosomatic symptoms which, in turn, may be related to the level of self-esteem. Subsequent research[1] has borne this out. Indeed, some clinicians would go so far as to say that a low self-esteem is the result of (few would see it as the cause) neurosis since neurotics tend to be self-derogatory and inhibited. We reasoned that a valid measure of Self-Image should reflect some association between Self-Image and psychosomatic symptoms. We expected the intrument, therefore, to differentiate between those students who have high Psychosomatic Disposition (as measured by an Index) and those who have low Disposition according to their Self-Image scores. We selected five out of the fifteen psychosomatic symptoms used in the original study (Shirley Star in S. Stouffer op.cit.) and used them to form a Psychosomatic Dispoisition Index. These items were: "Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep?", "Are you bothered by nervousness?", "Are you bothered by pressures and/or pains in your head?", "Do your hands tremble enough to bother you?" and "Are you bothered by nightmares?" All these items showed high discriminatory power in the pilot study. Table 3o below presents the results of our analysis of the responses. This shows that the higher the individual's score on Self-Image, the less likely he is to have a high Psychosomatic Disposition.

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1. See for instance, Morris Rosenberg op. cit. pp. 23-24 and Seymour Parker and Robert Kleiner op.cit. pp.39-4o and chap. 7.

Table 30

Self-Image Score By Psychosomatic Disposition

Psychosomatic Disposition	Self-Image Score	
	High %	Low %
High	32	68
Low	68	32
Total Per Cent	100	100
No. of Cases	103	126

$X^2 = 31.18;$ df $= 1;$ P less than 0.001

As the final part of our validation pre-tests, we asked the question "What type of person is the individual with a high self-image score?". We reasoned that, if the instrument is valid, it should provide some insight into the personality configuration of the high and low self-image scorers. In order to see whether this is so, we analysed the responses to items dealing with two personality variables which previous research has suggested are important in the sojourn situation. These are (1) Emotional Instability and (2) Overall Psychological Adjustment. The index of Emotional Instability consisted of four items selected by the Likert Method while Overall Psychological Adjustment, as/have we indicated, is a contrived Index. The results of our analysis are presented in Tables 31 and 32 below.

Table 31

Self-Image By Emotional Instability

Emot. Instability	Self-Image Score	
	High %	Low %
High	38	45
Low	62	55
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	1o3	126

$x^2 = 1.16$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 31 shows differences which are in the expected direction (though not statistically significant at the 0.05 level). However, the association between Self-Image and Overall Psychological Adjustment is much clearer. Table 32 shows

Table 32

Self-Image By Overall Psychological Adjustment

Psychol. Adjustment	Self-Image Score	
	High %	Low %
High	64	36
Low	36	64
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	1o3	126

$x^2 = 18.25$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

that individuals with high Self-Image are more likely to have high Overall Psychological Adjustment.

These results indicate, then, that the individual with a high score on our Self-Image Index is likely to be highly adjusted to the sojourn environment. On the face of it, Cooley's view that pride and adjustment tend to go together

with a favourable level of self-identity is confirmed. It would seem from these, then, that the individual with a high Self-Image score is more likely to be well-integrated into the sojourn environment in which he finds himself. It is on the basis of all these tests that we felt confident that our measure of self-image is relatively valid.

The obvious question which immediately arises from these considerations concerns the distribution of high self-image among the population of West African students studying in the United Kingdom and in their own home countries. What, in effect, is the distribution of self-identity among West African students in general? To the extent that our measuring instrument is valid, to this extent shall we be able to determine the effects of a period of sojourn on the sense of identity. We describe the findings of our study with regards to these questions in the chapters which follow.

The Other Research Objectives

It will be remembered that the measurement of self-identity is only one of the objectives of the study. The other objectives are (i) to study the contribution of factors in the new environment to the level of self-image (ii) to study the psychological and sociological correlates of given levels and (iii) to collect basic information about the attitudes and problems of West African students.

In pursuing the rest of our objectives, we developed various indices[*] from Likert scales to measure the attributes in which we were interested. Many of the items used in the construction of these indices have been used in previous research. For instance, the items used in the Dogmatism scale derived

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[*] We present the distributions of scores on all indices in Appendix 8.

from the work of Rokeach[1];the Western Orientation Scale derived from that of Singh[2] and the Scale of Achievement Motivation derived from the work of Kahl[3].

However, in the construction of these indices, we were conscious of the fact that the samples on which these scales had been developed and used are different from ours. Thus a lot of work has been done with Rokeach's scale with American students, whereas Singh's scale was applied to Indian students and Kahl's to Mexican and Brazilian students. Largely on account of this diversity in the original samples, many of the items were unsuitable in both wording and content and had to be rejected completely. Further the reliability of an attitude scale is a function both of the characteristics of the scale itself and the sample to which that scale is applied. It was therefore not enough, for our purposes, that these scales had been used in previous research since bias could creep in through the subsequent samples to which the scales are applied. It was essential therefore that we modified the scales and attempt to reduce the possibility of such bias.

We did this, in addition to eliminating unsuitable items and modifying others,by interviewing the members of the pilot group to find out the extent to which the questions were meaningful to them.Since the students in this group were easy to contact (being in the same block of a college) it was relatively easy to arrange interviews with them. We also used the opportunity of the interview to administer the Self-Image Index, the Scales of Dogmatism, Western Orientation and Achievement Motivation (this time on cards) in order to gain some insight into test-retest stability. The interview, based on the pilot questionnaire which had been completed by the students, examined the frames

1. Milton Rokeach "The Open and Closed Mind" (Basic Books) New York, 1960,
2. A.K. Singh op.cit.
3. J. Kahl "Some Measures of Achievement Motivation" AJS, Vol.70, 1964-65, pp. 669-681

of reference within which the questions were answered. The results suggested
that students in the UK hold similar frames of reference in relation to fac-
tors concerned with their sojourn experience. We do not know whether a similar
consensus in frames of reference would have obtained with the control group
students in West Africa, though we suspect that this would not have been the
case since their experience would probably vary in the absence of the common
denominator of the sojourn situation. We compared the scores on the second
administration of the four scales with the scores obtained from the first
administration in the pilot questionnaire and obtained a test-retest stability
coefficient of 0.73 (Spearman's rho with N = 38; Highly significant at 0.01)
which indicated a sufficient level of stability between the two administra-
tions. A period of four weeks elapsed between the two administrations though
this by itself may not have eliminated 'response set' bias. However, we feel
that the pilot questionnaire was long enough and complicated enough to reduce
the possibility of respondents remembering the categories and sub-categories
into which their original responses fall, and that the risk, therefore, of
their being able to "see through" the questionnaire was probably negligible.

Description of the Variables

We studied a range of variables which seemed relevant to the experiences
of the students as well as some variables which previous research indicated as
being important for the foreign students' adjustment in the sojourn situation.
This 'shot-gun' approach (as one writer called it[1]) was necessary in order
to find out whether some variables are given more significance by the students
than other variables e.g. food and climate. In all, we dealt with over sixty

1. Richard Morris "Two Way Mirror" op.cit. p. 3

variables at the pilot stage. Many of these proved unimportant for the students while others did not differentiate between students with high and low self-image levels. These were then discarded.

The variables analysed in this report, then, fall under three main headings viz: <u>personality</u>, <u>environmental</u> and <u>socio-cultural</u> variables. These headings derive from the formula in which we expressed our research problem:

$$\beta = f(P, S_e)$$

where β is behaviour and P is personality and S_e is environmental situation. Given, then, a sojourn situation, β would refer to consequences (behavioural and psychological) and would be the resultant of personality factors, environmental factors and socio-cultural factors which are brought into the situation.

Personality Variables

We investigated the role of five other personality variables apart from Self-Image and Overall Psychological Adjustment. These are Anxiety, Dogmatism, Achievement Motivation, Emotional Instability and Psychosomatic Disposition. We were primarily interested in finding out the extent to which part of the variance in levels of Self-Image can be explained in terms of these factors. The items constituting these scales were selected by the Likert Method and are described in detail in Appendix 5[*]. Our investigation of these variables reflects on our conviction that the reactions of students to a sojourn situation can best be understood in terms individual differences rather than in terms of groups though, of course, the two are, by no means, mutually exclusive.

[*] As well as their location in the questionnaires.

Environmental Variables

These were designed to provide information on various aspects of the life of the students. These ranged from the perception of racial discrimination, difficulties in academic studies, social relations, difficulties with respect to accommodation, to personal problems such as those of finance. We spell these out in the analysis of the results.

Socio-cultural Variables

These concern those areas where the students' cultural background differs from the cultural ideas in the UK and were designed to probe into the extent to which these cultural norms are salient for them. We looked at the students' attitudes towards the cultural norms of both the host and the home countries, Western Orientation and Identification with Africa. Some interesting differences were found between the experimental and the control samples on these.

The Samples

The study is based on two samples, an experimental and a control sample. The experimental sample consisted of students studying in 12 institutions of higher education in the UK and were contacted by mail questionnaires between March and July 1966 while the control sample received their questionnaires between March and December of the same year. The longer time interval in the case of the controls was necessitated by difficulties in the organisation of the sampling, the distribution and collection of the questionnaires as well as local circumstances in that politically eventful year. The students in both samples are from Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia (in the case of the experimentals) and/or are studying in the first three countries (in the

case of the controls). Permission to collect the relevant information from the control group was granted by the Ministries of Education in Ghana and Nigeria to whom we are indebted. The distribution and collection of the control questionnaires was done by persons who had agreed to act as agents. As can be imagined, a continuous series of communications was involved in the sampling and collection of these questionnaires; indeed one package was lost in transit - a constant risk in this kind of endeavour.

Selection of both samples was done against certain criteria. For inclusion, students had to be from any of the four countries mentioned but should also be registered students in an institution of higher education in the United Kingdom. However, since the range of institutions in West Africa is relatively small compared to the UK we included students from the upper sixth forms of two schools. The sixth form is the last class before entering university and its students tend to be similar to those in university in terms of various characteristics e.g. age, sex and socio-economic status.

The study is based on a total of 422 students, made up of 231 experimentals and 191 controls. This represents a 75% response rate for the former and a 93% response rate for the controls. We discuss the preparations for the collection of the samples and their representativeness in Appendix 1.

Description of the Questionnaire

As may be apparent from what we have said so far, the final form of the questionnaire was arrived at after many months of hard work involving various revisions of the items. The need for such successive revision arose throughout the pre-tests of the questionnaire. In addition, informal discussions with many other West African students suggested new lines of revision if the objectives of the research were to be achieved. The final form consisted of

89 items, arranged into various sub-categories. All except four were precoded.
Essentially the same questionnaire went to the controls as went to the ex-
perimentals except that items which are specifically relevant to life in the
UK were modified accordingly.

Measurement of Socio-economic Status

The need to utilise social status as one of the variables to be studied
led to various conceptual and methodological difficulties. There was, firstly,
the problem of measuring social class background of the student, and secondly,
finding out whether the fact of being in Britain may have affected the stu-
dents' consciousness of status. The third difficulty was in deciding on the
weights which should be given to various occupations as well as the various
components of status - income, education, life style - which are 'modern'
compared to traditional positions of authority such as is involved in occupa-
tions such as Paramount Chief, Chiefdom Speaker, Oba, Imam etc.

Since little information on these problems is available, we used data
provided by the respondents about their father's social position, income,
level of education, the student's own evaluation of the prestige of his or
her father's occupation, whether he is an employer or employee and (if an em-
ployer) the number of persons working under his supervision. We used this
data primarily as supplementary material.

From this information, we constructed a short, but separate, question-
naire consisting of a list of 33 occupations which the pilot and experimental
students had given as their fathers occupations, contacted a sub-sample of
them (i.e. experimentals), and requested them to rank the occupations in terms
of their prestige in West Africa. But because there was the constant risk that
students in the UK may not be fully aware of the current prestige of the occu-

pation listed (because of the time they may have spent away from West Africa),
we sent copies of the same short questionnaire to a sub-sample of the controls
in West Africa. It was from this more objective information that the socio-
economic measure was constructed. We were then able to see whether discrepan-
cies arose in the rankings because of the fact of being away from West Africa.
We describe the construction of this measure in Appendix 6.

Short Note on the Statistical Treatment of the Data

The nature of our data necessitated the use of a range of statistical
techniques. We shall indicate these techniques in this short note as well as
the rationale for their use.

In the first place, where distributions from the two samples are being
compared we calculate and present, in the relevant Tables, the sample means,
standard deviations and estimates of the standard error of the difference
between means ($SE_{\bar{x}_1-\bar{x}_2} = \left(\frac{S_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{S_2^2}{n_2}\right)^{1/2}$.[*] We also indicate the P level on
which statistical significance is based.

Similarly in comparing sub-groups we calculate and present the standard
error of the difference of proportions (where $SE_{P_1-P_2} = \sqrt{\frac{P_1(1-P_1)}{n_1} + \frac{P_2(1-P_2)}{n_2}}$
as well as the P level on which statistical significance is based.

In all cases where coefficients of correlation are presented we also
present the P level against which statistical significance is estimated as
well as the kind of correlation test in parantheses (e.g. Kendall's tau or
Spearman's rho as the case may be). The test of association in all contingency
Tables is the χ^2 test. We present this and the P level on which significance
is estimated at the foot of the Tables.

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[*] Where S_1^2 and S_2^2 are the sample standard deviations.

Controlling Extraneous Variables

One of the standard procedures for controlling for the influence of extraneous variables in social research is to sub-classify and to inspect the results of this sub-classification. However, this procedure runs into difficulties insofar as interpretation is concerned. Clear meanings cannot always be drawn from sub-classified Tables. Besides, the total sample size places limits on the degree to which sub-classification can be taken before the frequencies in the cells become to small to be statistically meaningful.

The nature of our data permits only a relatively small degree of sub-classification. In order to interpret our results, we combine the sub-classification results with "standardisation". Standardisation is a procedure which has been widely used in research in demography and has only recently been applied to social research. It allows the researcher to clarify relationships between variables by controlling on extraneous factors. It consists essentially of forming a weighted average of the sub-classification results using the same weights for both experimental and control samples. By using the same weights in both samples, the effect of the extraneous variable – which was used to form the sub-classification – is removed. The overall rates so obtained are called 'standardized rates' and enable the researcher to observe what the relationship between two variables would be when the third extraneous one is held constant. If, after standardisation, the original association, persists, then the control variable (i.e. the extraneous one) does not affect the original relationship; if on the other hand, the association is reduced, the control variable can

be presumed to play a part in the original relationship.

The main advantage of standardisation is that it enables the researcher to draw meaningful conclusions from the analysis of his data. The main disadvantage, apart from increasing the complexity of the research task, is that it tends to increase sampling fluctuations. Kalton has put forward a method of weighting which would minimise this source of error[1]. We give the standardized rates where standardisation is used and indicate the reduction it produces in the original relationship. We also calculate and present the standard error in the resulting Tables which was used to estimate statistical significance. We can now turn our attention to the analysis of our findings.

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1. I am grateful to Dr. Graham Kalton for allowing me to see an advance draft of his paper, subsequently published under the title "Standardization: A Technique to Control for Extraneous Variables" Applied Statistics, Vol.XVII, No.2, 1968, pp.118-136; See also M. Rosenberg "Test Factor Standardization as a Method of Interpretation" Social Forces, Vol. 41, 1962, pp.53-61 and J.H. Mueller and Karl F. Schuessler "Statistical Reasoning in Sociology" (Houghton Mifflin) Boston, 1961, pp. 189 ff.

CHAPTER   8

ANALYSIS OF BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BOTH SAMPLES

We shall now turn our attention to describing the basic characteristics of the samples involved in the study. Specifically, we shall 1) describe and analyse the social background of the students in the two samples and 2) investigate antecedent differences in preparation for further analysis of the data. This chapter therefore has a dual purpose , namely, to present descriptive information on the social background of the students in the samples and to sensitize the reader to differences which may provide extraneous contributions to the experiment.

The survey dealt with two samples of students drawn from West Africa - Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. But in view of their different national origins, it might appear misleading to describe them as "West African students" as if they are homogenous in every respect. There are, indeed, differences among these various national groups such as differences in language, food, habits etc. which might make the adjective "West African" seem inappropriate.

However, differences such as these are not significant for our research since they are not relevant to the fact of living and studying in the sojourn situation. Besides, preliminary analysis of our data did not show that the students attached significance to such differences.

Nevertheless, there are differences which are significant for our research and which cut across national barriers, such as differences in socio-economic status, sex and age. Accordingly, we analysed the data to take such differences into account since previous research has suggested that they are (i) relevant to inter-cultural travel and adjustment in the host society and (ii) are related to various aspects of the sojourn experiences of the students.

Clearly, then, our use of the adjective "West African" does not,by any means, imply that all West African students are the same but that they share certain common sociological characteristics which transcend national,linguistic and other localised barriers. What,then,are these characteristics? How do they operate in relation to both samples of students? To what extent do these characteristics differentiate the experimental from the control samples? The answers to these questions are contained in the results of our analysis of the social background of the students in both samples.

Comparison of Age Distributions

The median age of the students who make up the experimental sample is 26.91 years. Over two-thirds of the sample (68%) are between the ages of 21 and 3o years while just over a quarter are older than 3o (28%) and 4% are under 21 years of age. There is therefore a 'pull' towards the higher ages, particularly the age category 26 - 3o years.

However, the age distribution of the sample is related to a number of variables. For instance, female students tend to be younger than the median age for the sample (26.91 years) while male students tend to be older.The median age of female students is 23.83 years while that of the male students is 27.2o years[1]. Similarly, whereas female students spend an average of 2.85 years in the UK before returning,male students spend an average of 3.28 years[2]. These differences between the sexes are accounted for partly by the fact that females follow a different type of course - e.g. secretarial courses which require a shorter period of study compared to science,medicine,engineering and the humanities - and partly by factors connected with the recruitment of females for study in the UK. We shall take up these differences later.

The age distribution of the experimental sample is related to other fac-

1. The mean ages are 24.99 for females and 27.59 for males,the difference between means being significant at 0.01,with $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = 0.41$.
2. This difference is not significant at 0.05, with $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = 0.36$

tors apart from the sex of the respondents. Table 33 below, for instance, shows a tendency for the proportions of those studying at the postgraduate level of instruction to increase as age increases.

<div align="center">

Table 33

Age By Level of Instruction for the Experimentals

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Level of Instruction	Age Distribution		
	25 & under %	26 - 30 %	over 3o %
Postgraduates	13	28	39
Undergraduates	87	72	61
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	77	96	54

x^2 = 6.01; df = 2; P less than 0.05

Similarly, age is also related to marital status. In the experimental sample as a whole, 43% of the respondents are married and 57% are unmarried. Of those who are married, only 4% are divorced or separated from their spouses. However, not all of the remainder are living with their spouses and children; just under a quarter (2o%) left their spouses and children in their home countries. As is to be expected, the older the students, the more likely they are to be married. Thus, while only 1o% of those in the age group "2o yrs. and under" are married, the corresponding proportion of the "over 3o" is 85%[1]. Similarly, the older the students are, the more likely they are to have arrived and to be living in the UK without their spouses.

The age of the respondent is also related to whether or not he held a job before leaving for the UK. Table 34 below shows the proportion in each age group who held jobs before leaving for the UK. This shows[a] significant tendency for those in the younger age groups not to have held jobs compared to those in the older age groups. It is, indeed, interesting that the proportions of

1. x^2 = 61.46; df = 2; P less than 0.001. See Table 4 in Appendix 8c. x^2 for the controls is 28.36; df = 2; P less than 0.01

Table 34

Age By Previous Employment Experiences Before Arriving in the UK (Exper.)

Employment Experience	Age Distribution		
	25 yrs.& under %	26 - 3o %	Over 3oyrs.%
I was not employed	38	3	-
I was employed but gave up the job	6o	68	6o
I am on study leave	2	29	4o
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	71	95	53

$x^2 = 25.24$; df $= 4$; P less than 0.001

those who were employed but gave them up before leaving for the UK is relati-vely constant throughout all age groups. Nevertheless, some West African stu-dents have been known to retire from active service either in government or in commerce and to spend part of their retirement in the UK pursuing courses of higher education. These students, usually older than 4o years of age, have been shown to have psychiatric problems which are not found among the younger students[1].

This differential tendency among respondents in different age groups to hold jobs before leaving for the UK is further related to socio-economic sta-tus. Using our constructed index of socio-economic status, we obtained results which indicate that the younger students are likely to have higher socio-economic status compared to their older compatriots. Table 35 below presents this result. This shows an association between socio-economic status position and age such that, the higher the socio-economic status, the younger the stu-dents tend to be. There are other factors which are related to the socio-economic status distribution of the sample which we shall take up later in the chapter.

1. T.A. Lambo "Social and Health Problems of Nigerian Students" op.cit.pp.7-8

Table 35

Age By Socio-Economic Status (Exper.)

Socio-Economic Status	Age Distribution		
	25 yrs.& under %	26 - 3o %	Over 3o yrs. %
Higher Socio-econ. Status	72	52	47
Lower* " "	28	48	53
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	67	85	49

$X^2 = 9.68$; df = 2; P less than 0.05

If we now compare these results with those obtained from the analysis of the responses of the controls, we observe differences which are relevant to the rest of our discussion in the chapters that follow. The most noticeable difference (Table 36) concerns their median age which is 2o.13 years in contrast to that of the experimentals which is 26.9 years. Over four-fifths of the sample are below the age of 25 years whereas the corresponding proportion among the experimentals is under three-tenths. The control sample therefore

Table 36

Comparison of Age Distributions for Both Samples

Age Groups	Experimentals %	Controls %
2o years and under	4	49
21 - 25 years	25	39
26 - 3o years	48	9
31 years and over	23	3
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	229	191
Medians	26.9o years	2o.13 years
Means	27.27	21.27[1]

* This category was obtained by collapsing adjacent categories for testing. See also Table 6 in App. 8c.

1. Difference is significant at 0.01 where $SE_{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2} = .17$

presents a much more 'youthful' age distribution compared to the experimentals.

If we now look at the relation between sex and age distribution we find a greater level of homogeneity among the controls than we found among the experimentals. The median age for the male student is 2o.75 years while that of the female student⌀ is 19.1o years.

The proportion of the controls studying at the undergraduate level of instruction does not differ significantly from that of the experimentals. Just over three-quarters (77%) of the sample are following undergraduate courses compared to 71% of the experimentals[1]. However, there is the expected association between age and marital status, though because of the overall youthfulness to which we have pointed, the proportion of the control sample who are married is only 14% compared to 43% for the experimentals[2].

However, the socio-economic status background of the control students is less 'skewed' towards the younger ages compared to that of the experimentals. Table 37 below presents the results of this analysis.

Table 37

Age By Socio-economic Status (Controls)

Socio-economic Status	Age Distribution		
	20 yrs.& under %	21 -25 %	26 yrs.& over %
Higher Socio-econ. Status	48	32	2u
Middle Socio-econ. Status	37	30	10
Lower Socio-econ. Status	15	38	70
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	82	6u	20

$$x^2 = 25.13; \; df = 4; \; P \text{ less than } 0.001$$

1. This difference is not significant at 0.05, with $SE_{P_1-P_2} = 4.13\%$

2. This difference is significant at 0.01, with $SE_{P_1-P_2} = 4.14\%$. See also Table 4 in Appendix 8C.

This shows a tendency for the younger students to have higher socio-economic status compared to their older compatriots. There are other factors associated with the socio-economic background of both samples (apart from age) which we shall take up later. Overall, then, this relative 'youthfulness' of the control students (compared to the experimental students) should be kept in mind when we discuss the rest of our findings in the succeeding chapters.

Comparison of Male and Female Students in Both Samples

We have already pointed to the fact that male students tend to be older than female students. This, however, is only one of the variations between the sexes which our analysis indicated.

Over the whole of the experimental sample (231), 15% are females and 85% are males. The corresponding proportions among the controls are 24% and 76% respectively[1]. Further, 33% of the male students among the experimentals are studying at the postgraduate level of instruction compared to 3% of the females.[2] The majority of students of both sexes (i.e. 67% males and 97% females) are studying at the undergraduate level. Undoubtedly, this difference is related to the different types of courses which the two sets of students pursue. Nevertheless, what this difference points to , above all else, is that female students studying in the United Kingdom constitute

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1. The difference between the proportions of females in both samples (i.e. 15% and 24%) is statistically significant at 0.05 with $SE_{p_1-p_2}$ = 3.89%

2. This difference is statistically significant with x^2 = 11.74; df = 1; P less than 0.001. See Table 8 in Appendix 8C.

a more highly selected group than males. What factors, then, are associated
with their higher selectivity? What kind of social background does the
female student derive from compared to the male?   The results of our
analysis provide various partial indicators of the nature of the social
background of the students in relation to the sex distribution.

If we look, firstly, at the experience of outside employment and its
association with sex among the experimentals, we find that (Table 38 below)

Table 38

Sex Distribution By Previous Employment Experience for Experimentals

Previous Employment	Sex Distribution	
	Males %	Females %
I was not employed	9	45
I was employed but gave up the job	67	32
I am on study-leave	24	23
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	191	29

$x^2 = 20.62$; df = 2; P less than 0.001

female students are less likely to have had previous employment experience.
Fewer females than males held jobs which they gave up before leaving their
home countries for the UK. Only in the third category in the table are the
proportions for both sexes similar.

However, this result by itself is not unequivocal since female students
could have had less experience of employment as much on account of their
younger ages as on account of the fact that 'they can afford not to work'.

If this is so, then the relationship observed in Table 38 above may well be spurious. In order to check on this, we controlled the data for age and standardised. Our results (Table 39 below) show that female students are still significantly likely not to have had outside employment if even their

Table 39

Sex Distribution By Previous Employment Experience Standardised On Age (Experimentals)

Previous Employment	Sex Distribution	
	Males %	Females %
I was not employed	17	47*
I was employed but gave up the job	70	27
I am on study-leave	13	26
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	191	29

ages were the same as the males. The table also shows that the difference between the proportions of both sexes who had no previous employment is reduced from 36%(Table 38) to 3o%. Thus,holding age constant still leaves a relatively larger proportion of females who have no previous employment experience compared to the males. Their higher proportion in this respect is,thus, not a function of their younger ages since standardisation by age barely affects it.

Another partial indicator of the social background of female students which we investigated concerns the nature of their financial support compared to male students. We then compared out results with similar data derived from the analysis of the control sample students(Table 40 below).

* Difference is significant at 0.01 with $SE_{p_1-p_2}$ = 9.79%

Table 4o

Sex Distribution By Source of Financial Support (Both Samples)

Financial Support	Experimentals		Controls	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	%	%	%	%
Private Sources (from parents & relatives)	23	55	43	78
Scholarships, Grants & Bursaries	54	28	54	22
Support from Own Resources (loans, savings, part-time employment etc)	23	17	3*	-
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	198	29	145	46

$x^2 = 12.88$; df = 2; P less than 0.001

$x^2 = 16.51$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

This shows that certain categories of financial support are typical for each of the sexes. Thus whereas male students in both samples depend primarily on scholarships, grants or bursaries, female students are more likely to receive financial support from their parents and/or other relatives. The provision of financial support from private sources is more typical of female students in both samples than of male students though the case of the control group students is not very meaningful partly because part-time employment opportunities are restricted in West Africa and partly because the organisation of colleges and universities in West Africa usually preclude the possibility of the student being able to undertake part-time employment during term-time. We cannot, in view of this, conclude that the families of female students are wealthier than those of male students. Nevertheless, the ability to 'depend on parents' (as it were)

* This category was combined with the adjacent one for testing; hence df = 1. See also Table 10 in Appendix 8C.

for financial support is indirectly associated with both wealth(income) and socio-economic status position.

Further evidence of this can be seen in the analysis of relatives of the students who studied in the United Kingdom. Over the whole of the experimental sample only 13 students do not have relatives who studied in the UK (i.e. 5.8% of the sample). Further analysis reveals a difference between male and female students (Table 41 below). This shows that 54% of

Table 41

Sex Distribution By Relatives Who Studied in the UK(Experimentals)

Relatives Who Studied in UK	Sex Distribution	
	Males %	Females %
None	31	-
Father	12	54
Other Relatives Listed	57	46
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	195	30

$X^2 = 37.51$; df = 2; P less than 0.001

female students have fathers who studied in the United Kingdom compared to 12% of male students. By contrast, there are no female students in the sample whose fathers had not studied in the UK compared to 31% of the male students. We have no directly comparable data for the control sample on this point but previous research in West Africa has shown a similar relationship[1] and our analysis of college education among the fathers of the control group students

1. Philip Forster "Education and Social Change in Ghana" (Routledge & Kegan Paul) London,1965, pp.286ff.

shows that about one-third of the fathers of female students received

college education compared to 15% of the fathers of male students(Table 42).

Table 42

Sex Distribution By Parents Having Been to College (Controls)

Parents' Experience of College	Sex Distribution	
	Males	Females
	%	%
My Parents did not go to college	82	63
Father went to college	15	30
Mother went to college	3*	7*
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	144	46

$x^2 = 8.19$; df = 1; P less than 0.01

What our analysis so far indicates,then, is an association between education

in general but higher education in particular and socio-economic status. In

contemporary West Africa,higher education confers prestige on its possessor

and higher education abroad confers even greater prestige[1]. The fact that

female students come from homes in which fathers have higher education

experience (both at home and abroad) indicates that they have a higher socio-

1.Prof. Lambo has described this automatic prestige very succintly as follows:
"The social status and prestige attached to 'overseas qualifications' in the
West African countries has now (circa 1956/7) reached a point which is
devoid of insight and reality. Such is the present state that the pictures
and places depicted in the minds of the population are more vivid than the
bright creations of poetic fancy"."A Study of the Social and Health Problems
of Nigerian Students in Great Britain"(Unpublished manuscript n.d. circa
1956/7), chap.1. My emphasis.

* These categories were combined with the adjacent ones(respectively) for the
purpose of testing;hence df = 1.See also Table 12 in Appendix 8C and for
item,see Appendix 2B.

-economic status position compared to male students, though education does not, by itself, determine socio-economic status[1]. Further, our data suggest that inter-cultural educational travel, viewed against the background of the high selectivity of foreign students which we discussed in chapter 3 reinforces socio-economic status (and consequently social mobility[2]) by becoming an aspect of the panoply of status symbols[3] of the individual.

Comparison of Socio-economic Status Distributions

The various tendencies we have discussed in the previous pages in connection with male and female students are related to the socio-economic status distributions of the students in the two samples.

---

1. When we carried out our preliminary study of occupational prestige in West Africa using a list of occupations which the students reported as their fathers' occupations, we were under the impression that traditional occupations would be considered to be of lower prestige than other occupations requiring formal educational training. Our analysis(see Appendix 6) shows that this is not,in fact,the case. The Paramount Chief, the Oba,the Imam along with the Clergyman were considered to have higher prestige than the Librarian or the qualified Civil Engineer, though less than that of the doctor or lawyer. We have discussed this resilience in chapter 5.

2. C. Arnold Anderson "A Skeptical Note on Education and Social Mobility" in Jean Floud, A.H.Halsey and C.A.Anderson eds."Education,Economy and Society" (Free Press) New York,1961, pp.164-179 where he analyses cross-cultural data and shows this tendency in operation.

3. Our data indicates,in line with the above analysis, that whereas 53% of male students are in the higher socio-economic status position,the corresponding proportion for females is 78%. Further, there are no females in the lowest socio-economic status category. Philip Forster, in reporting on his research in Ghana,makes a point which can be generalised in the light of our results. He writes:"The irony (of female students' preference for courses in nursing and secretarial work in the UK) is that this kind of training is available in Ghana and one can only conjecture that the attractiveness of the former metropole is most important for those coming from markedly superior social backgrounds. The significant thing is that one goes overseas for further studies whether the training is avalable in Ghana or not".(Philip Forster op.cit. p.288).

The socio-economic status distribution of the experimental students shows a skew towards the higher socio-economic status groups. On our five-step index of Socio-economic Status[1], the median location is class 2. Further, whereas class 1 accounts for 21% of the sample, class 5 accounts for less than 1% (i.e. o.49%). The upper socio-economic status groups (classes 1 and 2) thus account for 57% of the experimental sample. Overall, then, about 3 out of every 5 of the students come from the first two socio-economic status groups.

By contrast, the socio-economic status distribution of the control sample students shows less of a 'pull' towards the higher socio-economic status groups. The median location is class 3. Further, whereas class 1 accounts for 10% of the sample, class 5 accounts for 13%. Overall, then, 2 out of every 5 students studying in their own home countries come from the two top socio-economic status groups (classes 1 and 2 = 30%). Comparison of the two proportions (57% as against 30%) shows that the difference is statistically significant at the 0.01 level[2].

Further analysis of the data shows a relationship between socio-economic status and the nature of the financial support which students receive. Table 43 below shows that the various categories of financial support are

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1. The method of construction of this index is described, in detail, in Appendix 6. This five-step index was collapsed to a three-step one for the analysis of the data because of the very small numbers in the class 5 category.

2. Where $SE_{P_1-P_2}$ = 5.18%

related to socio-economic status in each of the samples. Those with higher

Table 43

Socio-economic Status By Source of Financial Support (Both Samples)

Source of Financial Support	Socio-economic Status					
	Experimentals			Controls		
	Higher %	Middle %	Lower* %	Higher %	Middle %	Lower %
Private Sources(from Parents and/or Relatives)	34	19	11	69	59	12
Scholarship,Grants & Bursaries	48	59	78	31	41	59
Support from Own Resources (Loans,savings, part-time employment)	18	22	11	-	-	29*
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo	1oo	1oo	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	116	77	9	62	49	51

$x^2 = 6.65$; df $= 2$; P less than 0.05 $x^2 = 15.13$; df $= 2$; P less than 0.001

socio-economic status are more likely to receive financial support from

private sources compared to the others. However, a definite interpretation

cannot be given to the category dealing with those who support themselves

because the numbers of lower status students in the experimental sample are

too few to be meaningful. But even if we ignore this category,the trend

remains. Income provides a distinction between students from different status

groups,as well as a distinction between the sexes (as we have seen).

However, socio-economic status means more than simply income levels.

It has implications for other aspects of the students' background,such as

*. These categories were combined with adjacent ones for the purpose of testing; hence df = 2 in both tables.

prestige. As we have already seen, female students come from homes with fathers who studied in the United Kingdom and foreign education confers high prestige to its possessor. Over the whole of the experimental sample (our data from the controls are not comparable on this point), 28% of the students in the higher socio-economic status category have fathers who studied in the UK compared to 6% of those in the middle status category ($x^2 = 33.18$; df $= 2^*$; P less than 0.001. See also Table 15 in Appendix 8C). None of those in the lower socio-economic status category have fathers who studied in the UK.

We can now conclude our discussion in this chapter by reiterating the trends which we have observed in the data. Our objective in this chapter, it will be remembered, was concerned with (a) a general description and (b) analysis of the basic characteristics of the students who make up the experimental and control samples, with a view to isolating 'antecedent' differences which may have some bearing on the further analysis of the data in the chapters which follow.

In this respect, we have seen that the median age of West African students in the UK is 26.91 years of age. Over two-thirds are between the ages of 21 and 30 years, while only 4% are under 21. There are fewer females than male students and, in general, females tend to be younger than the median age. The typical West African student in the UK is thus usually male, pursuing undergraduate study and being, on an average, 27.59 years of age. He is also likely to have come from a relatively high socio-economic status background (Class 2 on our index).

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* As a result of combining categories with expected frequencies of less than .5 for the purpose of testing.

The median age of the control sample students is 20.13 years and over four-fifths of the sample are below the age of 25 years. As in the case of the experimentals,there are fewer female than male students. However, the ages of male and female students do not differ significantly(unlike the experimentals). While,therefore, the typical student studying in his own home country is usually a male student(like his compatriot in the UK), he is usually younger,just as likely to be pursuing undergraduate study and is likely to have come from an intermediate socio-economic status group(Class 3) compared to those in the UK.

It will also be remembered (chapter 1) that the students were not randomly allocated to the experimental and control groups. The analysis of 'antecedent' differences was therefore oriented towards isolating variables which may make extraneous contributions to the experiment. In this regard, our overall analysis in this chapter has shown significant differences on age and socio-economic status. We therefore(as preparation for further analysis) analysed these variables in order to find out the extent,if at all, to which they are associated with self-image. Our results show that neither of these variables is related to self-image. We shall discuss these results in the section on 'Pre-sojourn Variables' in chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9

THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE SENSE OF IDENTITY

In this chapter, we shall concentrate on describing, in some detail, the general effect of the social environment on the students' sense of identity. We shall, in this way, be able to indicate, and distinguish between, those effects on the sense of identity which can be attributed to the immediate host situation from those which cannot be so attributed.

As we have already indicated, the reaction of individuals to sojourn situations would be influenced not only by factors inherent in the new situation itself but also by pre-sojourn variables which the individuals bring with them to the new situation. By pre-sojourn variables, we do not refer only to personality variables per se, but to all those subjective aspects of the individual's life experience which influence his behaviour. However, since experience is continuously evolving, the distinction between pre-sojourn and sojourn variables cannot be one of kind. They are, by no means mutually exclusive. The foreign student does not leave his home country with a tabula rasa. Our discussion in this chapter is therefore oriented primarily towards (1) observing the level of the sense of identity of the students in our experimental sample as measured by the Self-Image instrument and comparing the results with those of the controls and (2) examining the extent to which variations in the level of self-image can be explained by sojourn and pre-sojourn variables respectively.

Comparison of Self-Image Distributions for Both Samples

It will be remembered that our second-stated hypothesis (chap. 4) postulates that inter-cultural educational travel would have an effect on the indi-

vidual's identity. In order to test this hypothesis we scored the responses of both samples to the self-image instrument, giving positive responses higher scores than negative ones. The final score of the respondent was then obtained by simple summation over all seven items. Scores were then ranked in terms of a 33-point scale. In testing the hypothesis, then, we compared the resulting distribution of scores of the experimentals with that of the controls.

Our results show that whereas 60% of the experimentals scored above 70, the equivalent proportion of the controls was 91% ($SE_{P_1-P_2}$ = 3.84%; diff. significant at 0.01). Compared to that of the controls, then, the distribution of the experimentals show a marked downward 'pull'. This is brought out clearly in our diagrammatic representation of the two distributions in the form of frequency polygons (see chart 3 below). Table 46 presents the two distributions, their means and their standard deviations.

Table 46

Comparison of Self-Image Distributions for Both Samples

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
84	1	4
83	-	2
82	-	3
81	-	2
80	-	11
79	-	9
78	1	16
77	8	22
76	5	18
75	9	26
74	10	23
73	23	22
72	27	12
71	22	4
70	34	5
69	27	4
68	21	4
67	17	-
66	7	2
65	8	1
64	8	-
63	-	-
62	2	1
61	-	-
60	-	-
59	1	-
58	-	-
57	-	-
56	-	-
55	-	-
54	-	-
53	-	-
52	-	-
Total Cases	231	191
Mean Scores	70.31	75.24
Standard Dev.	3.98	4.07

$SE_{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2} = .392$; diff. is highly significant; P less than 0.01

CHART 3

Comparison of Distributions on
Self-Image

——— = Experimentals
‒ ‒ ‒ = Controls

FREQUENCIES

30

20

10

59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84

SCORES OBTAINED
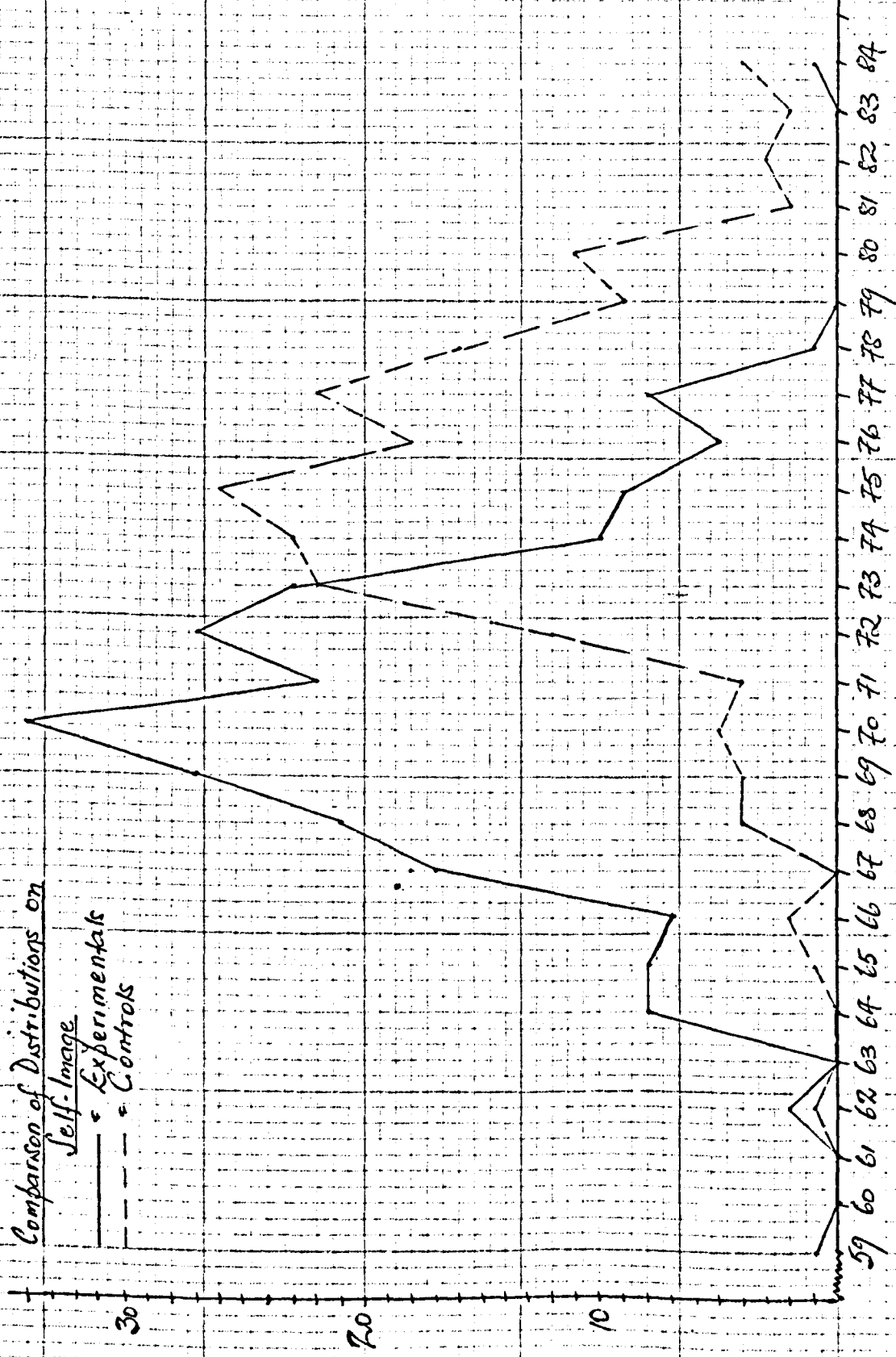
What, then, are the factors in the sojourn as well as the pre-sojourn environment which contribute to this general effect? Further analyses of the data provide trends in connection with this question which are instructive.

Since further analysis in this section was restricted to the experimental sample, we calculated the median score of their self-image distribution and used it to locate the cut-off point between the 'highs' and the 'lows' on the Self-Image Index[1].

SOJOURN VARIABLES

Characteristics of the Sojourn Experience

One consequence of long-distance travel is that the individual loses those interactive bonds with which he was familiar in his original environment and which provided support for his sense of well-being. The new situation therefore requires that the student begins to re-build his web of interaction more or less from scratch[2]. The sojourn experience is thus characterised by an element of re-socialisation. But this characteristic is connected with another.

The student sees a 'one-way-ticket' ultimatum in his sojourn in the UK. His commitment to the purpose which brought him to the UK is one which is socially shared with other members of his family. They have a stake in the fruits of his educational accomplishments. In this way, the educational travel of the student brings his personal interest and the interest of his relatives into direct and sometimes conflicting relationships. The pressures on the student to conform with the 'one-way ticket' ultimatum in the sojourn situation is, on account of this, usually strong. He cannot 'pack up' and return irres-

1. Comparisons between the two samples are discussed in chapter 10.
2. Research by PEP (1965) on E. Africans (op.cit.pp.136-7) and Indian students (Singh) have also shown that these students consider their sojourn experience as one involving learning to live "from scratch".

pective of whether his circumstances in the UK dictate such a course of action. Indeed, one Welfare Officer intimated that mentally ill students who have to be repatriated on account of their psychological condition always,in his experience, show extreme reluctance against such a move.[1]

Our pilot interviews showed that the majority of students are aware of this ultimatum as well as the social pressures on them even while they are in the UK. In general, they are anxious to avoid a conflict with their relatives who may be,financially at least, supporting them while they are pursuing their chosen fields of study.They consequently feel an obligation to put up with dissatisfactions in the sojourn environment without communicating these to their families provided, that is, that the solutions which they devise for dealing with their problems do not involve the abandonment of their courses of study. Indeed, a few students change their courses of study, not necessarily because these were wrongly chosen in the first place, but because alternative courses promise 'certificates' sooner. However, only 11 (4.7%) of the experimental students (and none of the controls) had ever changed their courses of study. But of these 11, 7 changed their courses as many as three times.

This conflict between the interests of the student and those of his family is highlighted in the case of one student who arrived in the UK and who had been used to the closely-knit relationships in the small town from which he came.He disliked the initial loneliness of London life so much that he embarked on a return flight home after spending only a short time in London.He did not inform his relatives of his decision and the latter were thrust into some 'unexpected' expenses.However,the recrimination the student received from his relatives when he arrived was so great that he decided that it was in

1. One study which,independently,reported the same tendency is that of J.R.M.Copeland "Aspects of Mental Illness in West African Students" in Social Psychiatry, Vol.3, No.1,1968,pp.10 and 13

everyone's interest that he returned to London. Though this experience was reported by only one of the experimental students, nevertheless, it mirrors the clash of interest which can be involved in the decision to pursue further education in the UK. Indeed, the family's interest can play an important part in the motivation to study in the UK. In this sense, one can describe their cross-cultural educational travel as being more of a social than a personal venture. In considering, then, the effect of sojourn variables, one would have to bear this factor in mind since the students' self-image while they are abroad would be influenced, perhaps in imperceptible ways, by social pressure from their kin-members. Whether such pressure would vary according to social background would depend on the extent to which differentiation of family types obtains in West Africa. One writer has, indeed, suggested that different family types with different patterns of in-group relations can be observed in contemporary West Africa, and that as social differentiation increases so the differences between family types in different classes would become marked[1]. This is, however, an isolated view. What is reasonable, is that the student's perception of his relationships with members of his family and, indeed, other aspects of his home country would be affected by his sojourn experience as previous research has shown in the case of Indian students (Lambert & Bressler and also Singh).

Our evidence on this is scanty. Indeed, the student's perception of his relationship with other members of his family would be influenced by the intensity of his relationship with them before he embarked on the sojourn. In the absence of information on this second point, our evidence on the first cannot but/ be scanty. Nevertheless, we found that the students viewed their

1. Barbara Lloyd "Education and Family Life in the Development of Class Identification among the Yoruba" in P.C. Lloyd ed. "The New Elites" op.cit. pp. 163-181

relatives in differentiated terms, making clear distinctions between their nuclear units and the wider extended family network. Their relationships with their relatives (except their mothers) become less close and more formal. Indeed, there was a tendency among those we interviewed at the pilot stage, to talk in relatively more glowing terms about their mothers than their fathers.

It is difficult to interpret this tendency in the absence of information concerning the consequences of different types of family organisation in West Africa and the relative proportions of the students in both samples who come from polygamous and monogamous homes. It can be suggested, however, that this observation may reflect the fact that the young child spends a much greater amount of time with the mother in both family types. Fathers play a relatively small part in the bringing up of children. Only future research, undoubtedly, can indicate whether this tendency we observed is general.

We also found that, not only do the relationships between the student and other members of his family become less close, but that many of them come to resent aspects of the functioning of the extended family which, in the not so distant past, were beyond question. However, few students in both the experimental and control samples would like to see a reduction of the system of escalating authority relations within the extended family. Consequently, fewer students disagreed

with the statement (included in the attitude section of the question-
naire) that: "It would be unfortunate for Africa if children are
brought up to say 'Dont be silly, Daddy'" than agreed with it. Thus
21% among the controls disagreed while 69% agreed with the statement
(10% were uncertain). The corresponding proportions among the exper-
imentals were 30% and 56% (14% were uncertain)*.

What, in fact, may be happening is that, unlike the control
students who live and study in the home situation, the experimentals
may be treating this aspect of the extended family system as a cultural
support during their sojourn and are, as it were, over-identifying
themselves with their cultural background. We found evidence which
supports this view in the fact that West African students in the UK
tend to have significantly higher levels of 'Identification With Africa'
(as measured by an attitude scale) compared to those who are studying in
their own home countries (this will be discussed later in chapter 10).
Further, the high self-image student in the UK is significantly more
likely to agree than to disagree with the escalating pattern of
authority within the extended family compared to his low self-image
compatriot**
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* See Table 1 in Appendix 8D. The difference between the two proportions
  agreeing in both samples (i.e. 69% and 56%) is statistically significant
  at 0.05, with $SE_{P_1 - P_2}$ = 5.11%.

** Also see Table 2 in Appendix 8D

In an attempt to gain further insight into the effect of the sojourn situation we asked the students to indicate some of the factors which cause dissatisfaction for them as well as to indicate the degree of importance which they attach to each one. Their responses indicate that three areas are relatively important for them. These areas are 'Loss of individuality','Being away from West Africa' and 'Boredom and Monotony'; 34% attach importance to 'Loss of individuality', 36% to 'Being away from West Africa' and 45% to 'Boredom and Monotony'. 'Food and climate' were mentioned by only a few (5%) as being of importance for them. However, further analysis did not show that these factors have differential associations with self-image[1].

While,then, cultural background and aspects of the sojourn environment are relevant influences on the students' reactions, there are nevertheless other and more specific sojourn variables which are important. We investigated eight such variables in our experiment. These are (1) Duration of Sojourn (2) Registration Status as Full-time or Part-time students (3) Problems of Financial Support (4) Problems of Accommodation (5) the students' experience of Academic Difficulties (6) their level of study i.e. postgraduate or undergraduate (7) the size of the institutions they attend and (8) the size of the cities or towns in which these institutions are located. We can now turn our attention to describing the results which the analysis of these variables produced.

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1. See Appendix 2A for the wording of these items in the Questionnaire and Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Appendix 8D.

Duration of Sojourn and Registration Status

The length of time spent in the UK varies between different types of students and depends on (a) the nature, (b) duration of different courses of study (as in the case of males and females as pointed out earlier), (c) the period of time spent in the country <u>before</u> starting on chosen courses and (d) the period of time spent <u>afterwads</u> in the course of study. These are not mutually exclusive.

The distinction between the length of time spent <u>before</u> starting and the length of time spent pursuing courses is important since large numbers of West African students came to the UK with the intention of qualifying for admission into universities and colleges up to 1962. Their educational qualifications, for this limited purpose, were not always adequate and many of them 'languish-ed' while attempting to obtain admission. There were others, on the other hand, who successfully completed their preliminary courses and obtained the relevant qualifications but did not gain the relevant grades which would secu-re them easy admission into college. They usually had no choice but to repeat their qualifying examinations until they secured the relevant grades and number of subjects. All these students, while attempting to secure admission into college, had to live under the same conditions and types of social in-teraction as those who, upon their arrival, went straight into their chosen colleges and into their chosen fields of study. Those[1] who could not afford the financial resources necessary for full-time study while preparing for

1. The extent to which the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 has affected the numbers of these types of students is not known. Intending students now have to produce proof of their admission into an institution of higher education as well as show that they have enough resources to support them-selves. Restrictions such as these are resented by the students but on a tit-for-tat basis. As one put it "I find it difficult to understand how the Immigration restrictions in this country could be maintained, consi-dering that Africa is free for all" (Ex. 533).

their entrance requirements had to undertake part-time employment and attend classes in the evenings. The exact proportion of these students is not known as we have indicated earlier. But since the range of part-time employment open to such students is relatively restricted, being usually confined to un-skilled and semi-skilled work, their physical exertion during the day tends to affect their progress and their ability to pursue their evening courses with the result that many of them spend a relatively long period of time at this stage of their educational career. They are therefore likely to be caught in the vicious circle in which the need to work creates the further necessity for part-time study resulting in relatively slow progress and hence a further need for work and so on.

Previous researchers have suggested that the problems of these students (part-timers) - who are not yet 'students' in the sense accepted by their home governments (they are invariably objects of suspicion by Welfare Officers of the various High Commissions partly, undoubtedly, because their existence is not officially 'known'[1])-are different from those of full-time students. Our research suggests, in fact, that it is not so much that these problems are different but that these problems which they share with other more fortunate students, impose a heavier burden on their self-conceptions than they do on the self-conceptions of full-timers. In order, therefore to understand the effect which these various problems, as well as the immediate sojourn situation, have on the sense of identity, it is necessary to bear in mind the dis-

1. These students (in our experimental sample) seem to react against this by maintaining as wide a 'distance' between themselves and the Welfare Offi-cers in their High Commissions as possible. They all felt that this gap is undesirable. One student even suggests that the gap is due to lack of understanding of their problems on the part of the Welfare Officers and added that "The High Commissioner (description given) should do more to understand the problems facing students in this country. The same diffi-culties are faced by students from other African countries". (Ex. 571. My emphasis).

tinction between (a) those students who, immediately upon their arrival, go into their chosen fields of study, (b) those who already have the relevant admission requirements in terms of numbers of subjects and certificates but not the relevant grades to secure admission, (c) those who, upon their arrival, do not have the necessary admission requirements but have the financial resources to prepare for them on a full-time basis and (d) those who arrive without admission either into their chosen fields of interest or into a preparatory course but have to work towards the specified entrance requirements on a part-time basis. Those in category (c) usually spend one session in preparing for college entrance: 63% of our experimental students spent a year before beginning their chosen courses of study.

Our analysis of the relative levels of self-image which obtain among full-time and part-time students (who all fall into category (d) above), suggests, in fact, that the latter tend to experience a greater reduction in their level of self-image compared to full-time students. Table 47 below shows that those students with part-time registration status show a statistically

Table 47

Registration Status By Self-Image (Experimentals)

Self-Image Score	Registration Status	
	Full-time %	Part-time %
High	48	22
Low	52	78
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	203	23

$x^2 = 4.92$; df = 1; P less than 0.05

significant tendency to have a low score on self-image compared to their full-time compatriots (see also Table 7, Appendix 8D).

In an attempt to find out why part-timers exhibit low levels of self-image compared to their full-time compatriots, we analysed the data by duration of sojourn and found that full-time students spend a shorter period of time in the UK compared to part-timers.[1] Further analysis did not show associations between (a) overall duration of sojourn or (b) length of time spent in preparation before starting course and self-image respectively.

This does not mean that the overall duration of sojourn does not otherwise mirror the psychological processes which students undergo while they are in the UK. On the contrary, it suggests that these processes do not make a uniform contribution to the level of self-image which obtains in the sojourn situation. This point is brought out clearly when one looks at the overall psychological adjustment patterns of both sets (full-timers and part-timers) of students. While we found virtually no difference between the scores of the two sets of students as far as overall psychological adjustment is concerned, we observed, nevertheless, a statistically significant tendency for overall psychological adjustment to increase over time. It increases from the first twelve months up to three years[2]. Nevertheless, our cross-sectional research design precludes conclusions of a longitudinal nature such as this.

The results of the above analysis sugest that the lower self-image scores of the part-time students in our experimental sample cannot be accounted for wholly in terms of either overall duration of sojourn or differential psychological adjustment since no difference was observed in

1. See Table 8 in Appendix 8D. This shows a 2o% difference which,with $SE_{P_1 - P_2}$ = 8.39%, is statistically significant at 0.05.

2. See Table 9 in Appendix 8D.

connection with the latter between the two sets of students. Similarly, it cannot be accounted for in terms of sex since we did not find a statistically significant differences between the self-image scores of male and female students[1]. Similarly, it cannot be accounted for in terms of age differences since (a) we found no association between age and self-image scores[2] and (b) we also found no difference in the age distributions of full-time and part-time students. Other factors in the sojourn environment are clearly more relevant.

Problems of Finance

Another sojourn variable which we investigated and which is related to the question raised by our analysis above concerns the nature of the financial support which the students receive. As we demonstrated earlier, males tend to have a different 'type' of financial support from that of females. In the whole of the experimental sample, 27% receive financial support from their parents and/or other relatives, 51% from scholarships and the rest (22%) depend on their own resources (loans, savings and part-time employment).

Though part-time students usually undertake employment as their main source of income (only 2 part-time students, i.e. 8%, depend on their parents/ relatives), this does not exclude the occasional transmission of lump sums of money from relatives at home. 75% of the part-time students (i.e. 18) reported that they receive lump sums of money from these sources occasionally - once a year being commonly mentioned.

Further analysis indicates that while all students may experience some anxiety over the late transmission of their allowances, it is essentially the nature of the financial support which is relevant for the level of self-image. We found, for instance, that students who support themselves are sig -

1. See Table 2 in Appendix 8E
2. See Table 16 in Appendix 8E

nificantly less likely to score high on self-image compared to those who receive support from their parents and other relatives (36% of the former as against 55% of the latter. See Table 10 in Appendix 8D).

This association cannot be accounted for by financial stringency since (a) the gross incomes of the students do not vary in a consistent manner such that those who depend on their parents and relatives receive the highest. In point of fact, many parents send insufficient amounts of money to their full-time charges. The British Council recommends £ 43 - 60 as a reasonable monthly allowance for a full-time student in the UK. We do not have comparable data on this point from the students in the experimental sample. Nevertheless, recent research has shown that only 45 - 46% of all overseas students receive as much as the amount recommended by the British Council[1]. The actual amounts received by West African students would be just as low particularly as one of the many consequences of recent political crises in West Africa has been that many students found their already meagre allowances drastically cut down and, in some cases, withdrawn completely. In reality, then, the gross income of many part-timers (from their employment as well as from lump sums from their relatives) often exceeds that of many scholarship holders and private students. There is, for instance, the case of one of the part-time students in our sample who claimed that he made so much money through his employment that, were it for money alone, he would gladly settle in the UK. The nature of the financial support which the students receive can therefore, at best, be only an approximate indication of the extent to which financial stringency is experienced (see Table 11, Appendix 8D); (b) analysis of the data by Financial Strain (measured by a scale) did not show an association with self-image (see Table

1. B.S. Morris "International Community" (National Union of Students) London 1967, p. 62

12, Appendix 8D); (c) financial problems can be caused as much by inadequate financial budgeting as by the availability or non-availability of funds. The sources of financial support of the students do not therefore give any indication of their ability to budget their limited funds in the most economically profitable way. The research mentioned above found that inadequate financial budgeting is more characteristic of the newly-arrived and younger students[1]. Nevertheless, the ability to budget adequately does not necessarily vary with the nature of the source of financial support. It could not therefore be presumed that the tendency for private students (i.e. parents and/or relatives) to score high on self-image is related to their budgeting ability. Variations in self-image cannot therefore be explained in terms of any of these factors.

Part of the explanation for this association, it can be suggested, is to be found in the psychological meaning attached to the various sources by the students. We found, in further analysis, that it is their kinship groups which provide their most frequently-mentioned reference groups. Those students who depend on their own resources may therefore feel relatively cut off from their in-groups. Thus in response to the question "It has been observed that when students turn out to be academic failures, they generally disappoint their fathers, mothers, other relatives and friends as well as themselves. If you fail, who do you think will be disappointed(other than yourself) and to what extent is the person likely to be disappointed? Please tick alongside the ONE person whose disappointment you are most likely to regret", a rank-order resulted with mothers being the most frequently mentioned as experiencing

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1. B.S.Morris op.cit. p.64

great disappointment, followed by father, friends and other relatives (see Table 13 in Appendix 8D).

Problems of Accommodation

The two areas about which the majority of students in our sample held more or less similar views concerned the areas of accommodation and racial discrimination. It is thus impossible to discuss the one without the other since the two are in reality linked together. It is in the search for accommodation that the new student obtains his first glimpse of what it means to be the object of racial prejudice and discrimination. The notion of the 'colour tax' succintly reflects this convergence between the search for accommodation and racial discrimination. It is largely for this reason that most of the suggestions that the students gave concerning future improvements in the social life of other West Africans in the UK revolve around the provision of adequate accommodation at reasonable rents. One such recommendation put the responsibility for the provision of accommodation firmly in the hands of the governments of the countries from which the students come. One variant of this view was that lodgings should be made available to the students at reasonable rates of rent subsidised by the various West African governments. Another variant was that West African governments in association with the British Council should rally round and set up a chain of hostels in all the large university cities in the UK. It is in this one respect, above all others, that many students feel that the High Commission Officers are not doing as much as they could possibly do to use their influence to secure accommodation. In the sample as a whole, there was widespread dissatisfaction both with their exis- ting accommodation as well as with the general difficulty they experience in locating such accommodation as is available.

Over and above this, is the general awareness of the students that not only
is the range of accommodation open to them limited in terms of amenities but
that racial discrimination plays a part in their difficulty in locating such
limited accommodation. The nature of the episodes experienced by the students
in their search for accommodation left little doubts in their minds that they
were the objects of racial discrimination. Previous research among Indian and
African students in the UK and in West Germany has indicated a similar series
of experiences down to the smallest detail[1]. Indeed, there is evidence to show
that there still exists a ' colour shade' ranking among landladies in the UK
who are willing to accept coloured students[2], though the exact extent of this
ranking is not known.

Now, while it may be true that there are many reasons why landladies
refuse accommodation to coloured students (some of them being the smell of
their cooking, the late hours they keep and the possibility of their being
dissatisfied with the meals and amenities provided[3]) - apart from the expla-
nation given by Carey - such that it may be difficult for the students to
distinguish when a refusal is due to racial prejudice from when it is not,
what seems to be significant for the student is that he is refused the avail-
able accommodation for factors which seem to be associated with him rightly
or wrongly but which are rarely expressed. The case of the student (in our

1. See for instance A.K. Singh op.cit. pp.56-59, PEP "Colonial Students" op.cit
   PEP "New Commonwealth Students in Britain" op.cit. esp.pp.47-48 and Alex
   Carey op.cit. pp.52 ff. in Britain. In Germany, see Prodosch Aich "Farbige
   unter Weissen" op.cit., esp. pp.22 and 239
2. B.S. Morris op.cit. p. 60
3. One study has shown that (where such complaints do arise) African students
   from East African countries are likely to complain about amenities while
   their Indian compatriots are more likely to complain about food. See PEP
   "New Commonwealth Students in Britain" ibid. p.13. This is, however, an
   isolated example of a systematic break-down between two groups of students.
   Indeed, Singh found complaints of all kinds from his students.

sample) in Birmingham who was told that "I'd rather not have an African in my digs although there is a room to let" is probably an exceptional instance where the reason for refusal is expressed (whether it is acceptable or not is another matter) to the student. In the majority of instances it remains un-expressed. In such circumstances, the student is left to attribute his refu-sal to discrimination (again justifiable or not). More importantly, perhaps, the students interviewed are very much aware of the fact that many of the above-stated reasons for refusals disappear in the face of additional payments of rent for accommodation which does not merit such additions. Since payment of the 'colour tax' appears to the students to negate many of the reasons given for refusals, it is even more difficult for them not to attribute re-fusals to factors associated with racial discrimination and prejudice. The student therefore comes to expect the above-stated reasons for refusals as part of the ritual of seeking accommodation on the one hand and rejects them as spurious on the other[1].

Similarly, while it may be true that the limited range and the poor quali-ty of accommodation opened to the students may be due in part to the national housing shortage[2] (and our interviews showed that the students were very much aware of this problem, especially those who are married) and that their British compatriots experience similar difficulties in securing adequate accom-modation, it is difficult for the students to feel that this is the most sig-nificant element in the difficulty which they experience in their search for accommodation, largely because of the racial discrimination which they encoun-ter. To this extent, the existence of racial discrimination may distort the

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1. We discuss the impact of racial discrimination in further detail in Appen-dix 3.
2. B.S. Morris op.cit. p. 61

range of difficulties the students experience in securing adequate accommodation but would not, by itself, affect the extent to which problems of accommodation contribute to the general reduction in the level of self-image.

Since the difficulty in locating available accommodation is usually linked with the restricted range which is open to the students, it follows that the more adequate the accommodation, the more difficult it would be to locate it irrespective of whether or not the services of a public agency (such as the British Council Accommodation Bureau, the Lodgings Bureau of universities and the Lodging Officers in Technical Colléges) are utilised[1]. While we have no information about the students' preferences for accommodation or, indeed, about their criteria for assessing accommodation as adequate or inadequate[2], analysis of their existing accommodation suggests that certain 'types' of accommodation are more conducive[3] to a high level of self-image compared to others. The majority of the students in the sample live in bedsitters and flats (i.e. 63%) while 27% live in halls of residence and hostels and 10% (i.e.23) live in lodgings with a private family. Analysis by self-image shows an association between 'type' of accommodation and self-image scores. Whereas 39% of those living in bedsitters and flats score high on self-image, the corresponding proportion of those living in halls and hostels is 53% and those living with a private family is 64% (see Table 14 in Appendix 8D).

1. Morris (op.cit.p.58) showed that only 26% of his sample had used the facilities provided by the college for securing accommodation because (a) accommodation recommended by the college agencies are often not of as high a standard as that found by the students themselves and (b) because the college agencies make little attempt to find flats in the case of married students.
2. One study has, in fact, shown that preferences for accommodation are closely influenced by existing accommodation such that those in one type prefer another type. See P.H. Mann and G.Mills "Living and Learning at Redbrick" Universities Quarterly, Vol.16, No.1, 1961, pp.19-35
3. A study of British Service families in Germany showed that those who live in blocks of flats experience a greater incidence of psychoneurotic disorders compared to those in other kinds of accommodation. See "More Risk of Illness in Flats" Observer, Sunday, 17th Dec., 1967, p.5.

However, this association indicates nothing about the content of the accommodation in which the students live - such as the amenities provided or the range of restrictions imposed on lodgers and tenants and so on. Though the students were requested to indicate the types of accommodation in which they live the resulting categories do not have much meaning in this regard since, for instance, 'lodgings', 'hostels', 'flats' etc.could encompass a range of amenities and restrictions. Yet it is all these variables which would influence the extent to which the student is satisfied or dissatisfied and, perhaps indirectly, the level of self-image which he maintains.

Another variable which may intervene in the observed association between types of accommodation and self-image and which we investigated was 'accommodation discrepancy', i.e. the discrepancy between the accommodation the student lived in normally in the home country and the accommodation he has in the UK.

The measure of accommodation discrepancy was obtained by preparing firstly, a list of the types of accommodation which the students report that they had in their home countries before they came to the UK and comparing this list with their existing accommodation. The list indicated that only a small proportion lived normally with their families (i.e. 12%). The rest lived in halls of residence, which we have pointed out earlier, is the most typical accommodation in West African universities.

We then used the list to build up a rank-order of accommodation discrepancy according to whether or not the accommodation enhances interpersonal relationships. 'Living with one's family' came at the top of the list as being most conducive, relatively, to interpersonal relationships while bedsitters and flats came at the bottom of the rank. We then calculated (from the

questionnaire responses of the experimentals) the mean number of 'accommodation steps' down which the whole sample 'fell' by coming to the UK and living in the various categories of accommodation, scored the individual's existing accommodation from the mean according to whether the discrepancy consequent upon the fact of being in the UK is favourable (in terms of interpersonal relationship) or unfavourable, keeping the plus and minus signs to indicate 'favourability' and 'unfavourability', respectively. The measure was designed in this way to take into account the twin facts that some students would rise up the rank order (particularly in the case of those who lived in rooms and flats in the home country - a small proportion) and others would fall (particularly in the case of those who lived with their families before coming to the UK but now live in bedsitters and flats).

The results of our analysis of 'accommodation discrepancy' by self-image showed that 48% of those with favourable discrepancy scored high on self-image compared to 37% of those with unfavourable discrepancy. However, the difference does not reach statistical significance (see Table 15 in Appendix 8D).

Academic Problems

All the variables we have looked at so far affect the self-image level of the students to different extents. Though it is impossible to determine which of these variables are more important than others, it would seem from previous research that many students attach considerable importance to their educational progress and are consequently distressed if they have reason to feel that they are not making sufficient progress. Indeed, the raison d'etre of many students, for being in the sojourn situation concerns their desire for further education and advanced training in their specialities. The rank order of motivations for male West African students give top priority to this

desire. Though little is known about the proportion of foreign students in general who consider educational progress and their educational goals unimportant, failure to gain the relevant certificate and the job opportunities which go with these would affect the student in various ways. Our investigation of the role of academic problems was not designed to map out the full extent and, indeed, the severity of the psychological reaction to academic failure. Such a task is immense and would require a different methodological treatment than the one we are using. Our objective, on the contrary, was concerned only with providing some insight into the role of difficulties in the academic sphere in the reduction or maintenance of self-image.

In this respect, if academic progress is of central value to the great majority of the students in our sample (we discuss this later in this chapter), then successive failures would be expected to negatively affect the self-image while successive successes would be expected to enhance it. Further, since the financial position of some students is not very secure, failure in their academic work frequently means financial as well as psychological disaster. Academic success or failure (for that matter) is a multi-dimensional entity since it tends to be compounded with a whole set of variables, some of which are difficult to operationalise. The fact that a man fails an examination does not mean that he is an academic failure since this failure may be temporary and may, indeed, come after a series of earlier examination successes. Similarly, the 'interpretation' of academic failures and successes depends on the level of aspiration of the student. If this is low, then failure could have a different psychological meaning than for someone with higher levels of aspiration. The fact of success or failure in the short term, cannot be used as an operational indicator of academic success or failure unless background factors are also known.

For our test of the relationship between academic factors and self-image, we depended on self-reports of <u>academic difficulties</u>. While this is not, by any means, commensurate with academic success or failure, it nevertheless satisfied the limited objective of finding out whether such difficulties as the students experience are important for their level of self-image. Students who experience a lot of difficulties in their work would be affected by these compared to their compatriots who do not either experience any difficulties or do not consider such difficulties which they experience as serious. We accordingly asked the respondents to indicate whether or not they experienced difficulties in their academic work and also to indicate, on a prepared list* of 'difficulties' derived from the pilot study, whether or not they experienced those specified as well as the extent to which they feel these interfere with their academic progress.

Analysis of their responses shows an association (Table 48 below) with self-image; significantly higher proportions of those who report that they have no academic problems score high on self-image compared to those who report that they have some academic problems. This result does not necessarily mean

Table 48

Reports of Academic Problems

Self-Image Score	I have no academic problems %	I have some academic problems
High	51%	34%
Low	49%	66%
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	134	97

x^2 = 5.83; df= 1= P less than 0.02

that the fact of not having academic problems is conducive to the possession of high self-image since it could very well reflect a differential tendency on

* See Appendix 2 A for this list.

the part of the high self-image students to report that they have no diffi-
culties when, in fact, they may have some.

In order to find out more about the nature of the difficulties, we analy-
sed the responses to the list of difficulties which was included in the questi-
onnaire. This analysis produced a rank order of difficulties with 'difficulties
in understanding lectures' being first in the order, then 'expressing myself'
and 'participation in seminars and discussions' and finally writing essays
and papers'. It is significant that this rank shows the most often-mentioned
difficulty to concern comprehension (see Table 17 in Appendix 8D).

Since postgraduate students would have been studying in the English
language for a longer time than undergraduates we expected them to report a
lower incidence of difficulties in these areas. Overall 29% of the experimen-
tal sample are postgraduates and 71% are undergraduates. Our analysis (Table
49 below) shows that this is largely the case (see also Table 18,App.8D).

Table 49

Reports of Academic Problems By Level of Study

Level of Study	Reports of Academic Problems	
	I have no academic problems %	I have some academic problems %
Postgraduates	36	19
Undergraduates	64	81
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	132	97

$x^2 = 8.72$; df = 1; p less than 0.01

However, our analysis so far does not, by any means, imply that the pro-
blems we investigated are the only, or most important, academic problems for
students in higher education. On the contrary, there are other types of pro-
blems which may be just as real for the students such as inability to use

various techniques[1].

The Contribution of Academic Problems to Self-Image Among Registration Types of Students

One issue which arises from the above consideration concerns the extent to which the different levels of self-image among the full-time and part-time students are related to differential experience of academic problems. The lower level of self-image among part-time students may well be due to the fact that they tend to experience more academic problems compared to their full-time compatriots. Analysis of reports of academic difficulties by registration status shows that (Table 5o below) part-time students/significantly more likely

are

Table 5o

Registration Status By Reports of Academic Problems

Reports of Academic Problems	Registration Status	
	Full-time %	Part-time %
I have no academic problems	61	25
I have some academic problems	39	75
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	2o5	24

$x^2 = 11.96$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

to report some academic problems compared to their full-time compatriots (see also Table 19, Appendix 8D). This being the case and in order to determine the extent to which academic problems contribute to the lower self-image levels of

1. B.S. Morris (op.cit.chap.3) attributes the academic problems of overseas students to a variety of factors including problems of comprehension in the English language, inadequate study techniques and lack of an industrial background. However, little is known about the distribution of these problems among students in general, or indeed, whether difficulties in one area are related to difficulties in other areas. Morris' discussion can therefore only be regarded as suggestions to be investigated in future.

the part-time students we standardised the data, holding academic problems constant and found that (Table 51 below) full-time students are still significantly[1] more likely to score high on self-image by 21 percentage points (having fallen from the original 26% in Table 47).

Table 51

Registration Status By Self-Image Standardised on Reports of Academic Problems

Self-Image Score	Registration Status	
	Full-time %	Part-time %
High	43	22
Low	57	78
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	203	23

Social Relations in the Sojourn Situation

Previous research on foreign students has indicated that the pattern of social relations of the student is associated with his reactions to the environment (Selltiz et al.) such that those with a wider circle of friends tend to be more favourable to the host country compared to others. The general implication of this finding is that the student with a wide circle of friends is likely to be more adjusted to the sojourn situation. On the other hand, research on the self-concept has shown that the self-image is a motivating agent which 'creates' social relations commensurate with its own characteristics. Individuals with given self-image characteristics tend to make friends with others of similar self-image 'types'. However, neither kind of research has, so far, specified either the characteristics of friends or of self-image which are supposed to have this designated effect.

1. The difference in Table 51 is significant at 0.05, with $SE_{P_1-P_2} = 10.91\%$

Our analysis of the 'friendship' patterns of the students was designed to throw some light on the role of social relations in the maintenance and the reduction of self-image levels. Accordingly, we included five items in the questionnaire designed to provide information on (1) the numbers of families, as groups, with which they are friendly, (2) the social distance characteristics of the ONE family to whom they feel most closely attached, (3) the social distance characteristics of their closest friend, (4) whether or not they have girl-/boyfriends and (5) the social distance characteristics of these. These items were aimed at exploring the many facets of a friendship relation.

An individual can have a wide circle of friends (in terms of numbers) but yet not feel particularly attached to any of these, whereas another person can have only one friend but feel very closely attached to this friend. Further, not all friends have the same 'meaning' for the person who counts them among his circle of friends; the 'meaning' of a friend varies along several dimensions, one of the most important being the dimension of 'manipulability' of the association; by this we refer to the extent to which the participants in a friendship relation control the elements that can be drawn into the relationship and in this way ensure a more or less favourable presentation of the self. A friendship relationship with a high level of 'manipulability' can be exemplified by the boyfriend/girlfriend situation where both participants can increase the picture of themselves which they present by selecting and bringing into the relationship only such factors as would not cause embarrassment or, at least, not lead to a denigration of the self. Indeed, the very selection of a boy-/girlfriend is influenced by 'attractiveness' which includes this 'dramaturgical' element. By contrast, the relationship of father and son has a low level of 'manipulability' since the opportunities of 'im-

pression management' are restricted since the father knows the good as well
as the bad aspects of his son's character. Similarly, friendship between the
student and a family is also one with low 'manipulability' since the areas
which can be brought into the relationship are restricted and are, indeed,
sometimes strictly taboo (e.g. affairs internal to the family such as the
husband/wife/children relationships with each other). However, the dimension
of 'manipulability' is only one of the many aspects of a friendship relation-
ship which can involve the psychological functioning of the participants[1].
The examples we give, therefore, do not exhaust the possible situations where
'manipulability' can be seen to operate.

These three dimensions - intensity, quantity and 'manipulability' - were
built into the questionnaire so as to enable us to see the relationship be-
tween them as far as the friendship patterns of the students are concerned.
Previous research has not, in fact, made these distinctions betwe n the di-
mensions of a 'friendship' relation and have assumed, on the contrary, that
the relationships between the three are linear such that knowledge of one
(e.g. the number of friends the individual reports that he has) provides suf-
ficient information about the others.

The results of the analysis of families who are friends of the respon-
dents show a high level of interaction with the students, with 75% of the
experimentals indicating that they are very friendly with more than two fami-
lies while only 15% claimed that they were not friendly with any. Further

1. The other side of the coin of 'manipulability' concerns 'opportunities for
   staging the self' - McCall and Simmons call it the "interaction opportuni-
   ty structure" in their "Identities and Interactions" (Free Press) New York,
   1956, pp.36-38. The two are similar, but not identical, dimensions since
   some degree of manipulability can inhere in situations which have low
   'opportunities for staging the self'. The desire for the individual, irres-
   pective of the 'friendship situation', is always the same - a favourable
   presentation of self and an avoidance of denigration and self-mortification.
   See E. Goffman "Presentation of Self In Everday Life" op.cit.p.243

analysis of these trends by self-image (see Table 2o, Appendix 8D) did not show significant differences between those with high and those with low self-image scores[1]. This suggests that the 'width' (i.e. numbers) of a 'friendship circle' is probably of marginal importance for the level of self-image.

However, analysis of the responses on closest friend provides a more direct indication of the operation of the self-image in friendship selection. While, there is no difference between the high self-image and the low self-image students as far as the fact of having close friends is concerned[2], there is a systematic difference between the social distance characteristics of the closest friends of the two 'types' of students (as Table 52 below indicates).

Table 52

Self-Image by Soc.Distance Characteristics of Closest Friends

Social Distance Characteristics	Self-Image Score	
	High-Self Image %	Low Self-Image %
Same Nationality	76	58
Different Nationality but African	13	16
Different Nationality and Non-African	11	26
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	9o	1o9

X^2 = 8.23; df = 2; P less than 0.02

Note: The analysis in this table is based only on those reporting that they have a 'closest friend'.

1. Previous research (PEP "New Commonwealth Students in Britain" op.cit.pp. 146/7 has shown that the duration of association with a family as friend varies with the formality/informality of the introduction. Thus 59% of the students studied (E.Africans) maintained contact with at least one family after an informal introduction while the proportion who did so after a formal introduction was 34%. They were, however, unable to investigate this association further to the personality components of the students involved.
2. 12% of both self-image 'types' report that they do not have a 'closest friend' in the UK.

This shows that the high self-image student is significantly more likely to have someone of the same nationality as his closest friend while the low self-image student is more likely to have someone of a different nationality and non-African as his closest friend (see also Table 21, App. 8D). The data on boyfriend/girlfriend was not revealing (see Table 22, App.8D).

Two considerations are relevant in accounting for the above relationship. In the first place, the above data may simply reflect the fact that the inter-action circles of the two types of students are different such that the high self-image student has greater opportunities for interaction with persons of the same nationality whereas the opposite is probably the case for those with low self-image, for example. We do not have information on the interaction circle of the students (e.g. whether or not he lives with other students of the same or different nationality, whether his recreation involves, similarly, different sets of people). Yet the immediate opportunity for interaction, as Rose Goldsen has shown (op.cit.), influences the extent to which students can interact with each other and, indirectly, develop close friendship relations. The only contributory information on this point derives from our pilot which showed that the closest friends of all students (who report having one) are typically (a) another fellow student and (b) of the same sex as the respondent.

Secondly, the above association may very well reflect the importance of affiliation to a community of similarly-located individuals who can provide some element of security and thus reinforce an already high self-image. Again, we cannot exclude this possibility since we have no data concerning the existence or non-existence of an integrated community of other West African students in the colleges to which our students belong. The mere existence of other West African students in a college is not enough to provide this kind of

security.

We can suggest, by way of explanation (and subject to the above considerations) that the 'choice' of another person of the same nationality as 'closest' friend is related to the demands of the self. A high self-image 'develops' strategies that would keep it high while a low self-image requires to increase its level (drawing from Cooley). The high self-image student therefore sticks to the closest friend who is familiar with the original cultural norms and who is therefore less likely to pose as much of a threat[1] to the self-image as a person unfamiliar with the student's cultural background. The low self-image student, on the other hand, has less of a self-image to protect and has everything to gain by increasing its level. The 'strategies of independence' which both types develop are thus related to the requirements of the self.

Analysis of the social participation of the students in voluntary associations show that this explanation is reasonable. In this connection we asked the student to indicate whether or not he/she is a member of four general types of clubs which are usually found in most colleges-a political club,a debating society, a sports club and a social club*. Our results show a relatively high level of participation in clubs with 71% claiming to be a member of one or the other of these clubs. However, a further break-down by self-image levels did not show a statistically significant difference between those who are members and those who are not (see Table 23, Appendix 8D). However, the high self-image student, within the club, is significantly _less_ likely to hold an elected leadership position (Table 53 below). It is the low self-image student

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1. Goffman put this succintly when he daid:"Life may not be much of a gamble but interaction is". "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" op.cit.p. 243

* See Questionnaire in Appendix 2 A for item.

Table 53

Tenure of Elected Positions in College Clubs By Self-Image

"Have you ever held an elected position in the club to which, you indicate that you belong?"

	Response			
Self-Image Score	Never held an elect.position	%	Held an elected position	%
High	51		36	
Low	49		64	
Total Per Cent	100		100	
Number of Cases	75		90	

$x^2 = 4.97$; df = 1; P less than 0.05

Note: The analysis in this Table is based only on those who are members of clubs (see also Table 24, Appendix 8D)

who is more likely to hold such positions.

Taking the data on social participation together, then, we observe a tendency for the high self-image student to develop an 'avoidance strategy' - avoidance of close friendship relations with persons other than those of the same nationality, and, given his membership in college clubs, an 'avoidance' of leadership positions within them. All this opposed to previous research in the USA which showed that it is the highly satisfied and highly adjusted person who participates more in the activities of voluntary associations[1], and who takes up positions of leadership within them.

Other Sojourn Variables

Other sojourn variables which we investigated but which did not show statistical significance with self-image were the size of the towns and cities

1. See for instance, M.Rosenberg "Society and the Adolescent Self-Image" op. cit.chap.10,Tables 1-3 and 5: also Harold Wilensky's "Orderly Careers and Social Participation" ASR,Vol. 26,1961,pp.521-539 and his "Work,Careers and Social Integration" International Social Science Journal, Vol.12,1960 pp.543-560 to mention a few.

in which the students' colleges are located as well as the size of the institutions in which they are studying. Analysis of these variables by Psychological Adjustment and Situational Satisfaction did not show statistically significant results (see Tables 25-3o in Appendix 8D).

PRE-SOJOURN VARIABLES

We have already pointed out that though there are certain factors which characterise West African students as a group, this does not mean that all West African students are the same. Individual characteristics which the students bring with them to the sojourn situation would affect the impact of the reduction in self-image levels which we observed before. One such characteristic which we investigated is socio-economic status.

Since socio-economic status represents, in fact, gradations of prestige evaluation which individuals receive, it would be expected that those students who come from the higher socio-economic groups would, all things being equal, be allocated higher evaluations of prestige compared to those from the lower status groups and that this would be reflected in their possession of higher levels of self-image. Rosenberg has shown that this is, in fact, the case for American students studying in America(i.e. in their own home country)[1]. Analysis of our data shows that 44% of those from the higher, 45% of those from the middle and 56% of those from the lower socio-economic status groups score high on self-image. This, however (with totals of 115,78 and 9 respectively), does not show a statistically significant association (see Table 1 in App.8E)*.

Another characteristic which we investigated was the sex of the student. We were mainly interested in finding out whether self-image levels vary be-

1. Morris Rosenberg op.cit. chap. IV.

   * All Tables in connection with this section are presented in App. 8E.

tween male and female students. Our results show that whereas 46% of the males score high on self-image the corresponding proportion of the females is 37% (of 3o). However, this difference does not reach statistical significance (see Table 2, Appendix 8E).

We also examined the expectations which the students had about life in the UK before their arrival. As we have demonstrated earlier (chap.6) previous investigators have shown that foreign students' reactions to the sojourn environment are influenced by the nature of the expectations which they bring with them. As we have also seen, a large proportion of the students have relatives who studied in the UK and who would, all things being equal, contribute to the preconceptions which the students bring with them. This is not to say that their expectations would be more realistic than the expectations of those whose relatives did not study in the UK. Indeed, the criterion for defining expectations as realistic or unrealistic is a subjective one as we argued in chap.6. We have therefore not coded our data for the realistic or unrealistic nature of the students' expectations. We were mainly interested in finding out whether the fact of holding expectations about various aspects of life in the UK is related to the level of self-image which the students exhibit.

In the whole of the experimental sample, about 9 out of 1o students reported that they hold expectations about aspects of life in the UK* before their arrival (91%). Further analysis shows that whereas 55% (of 20) of those who report that they did not hold expectations (in connection with the areas specified) score high on self-image the corresponding proportion of those who held such expectations is 44%. However, this difference does not reach statis-

* See the specification of these areas in Appendix 2A.

tical significance (see Table 3,App.8E).

Analysis of the religious affiliation of the students shows that a large proportion are affiliates of 'European Christianity' (75%). The rest are affiliates of Islam, Christianity (African) and of the numerous African cults which exist in West Africa[1].

The relative concentration of 'European' type Christians in the experimental sample is a reflection of the fact that education and Christianity have always been intermingled in the history of the whole Continent. Many children had to accept Christianity before they could be admitted into a mission school and the most extensive, if not the only available, institutions of education in many parts of Africa up to and during the Second World War were mission schools of all denominations. Consequently, a concentration of 'European' type Christians has always been observed in research involving school-children and students in West Africa[2].

This association between religion and education has meant that the higher the socio-economic status of the individual, the more likely he is to claim Christian affiliation, though almost always of the 'European' variety. He is equally less likely to claim affiliation to the traditional African cults This tendency is due to the fact that one of the many consequences of colonial rule in Africa has been the creation of a hierarchy of religions and consequently

1. We have used these adjectives to refer to different religious groups. 'European Christianity' refers to and includes the two main denominations of the Christian Church - Protestantism and Roman Catholicism - while 'African'type Christianity refers to various religious sects (prophetic churches according to Baeta) which are found throughout West Africa, such as the Church of the Lord Aladura, The Church of the Twelve Apostles, Musama Disco Christc etc. These sects are based on many of the tenets of conventional Christianity but differ from it in their introduction of radical ideas of worship". "African traditional cults" refer to many localised cults such as the famous Aro Long-juju in Nigeria, which played such a sordid role in the history of West Africa.
2. See for instance, G.Jahoda's "Aspects of Westernisation"BJS,Vol.12,1961, esp.p.376, also his "Social Background of a West African Student Population" BJS, Vol.5, 1954, pp.357-8 and A.T.Porter "Creoledom" (OUP) 1963,chap.8

a 'pyramid of prestige' in religious affiliations. Religious affiliation, in this way, became one aspect of the individual's panoply of status symbols[1] rather than an indication of commitment to religious ideals. In West Africa, then, different religions have come to possess different amounts of social prestige and would, in view of this, be expected to contribute some psychological support towards shoring up the individual's sense of identity[2]. However, this is not borne out by our analysis (see Table 4 in Appendix 8E).

Nevertheless, some of the comments of the students in the questionnaire suggest that religion is not exactly unimportant in the sojourn environment. More than two-thirds of the free and unprompted comments mentioned religion in one connection or another. These comments suggest that they see religious ideas as being involved in the sojourn experience. One student points out in this connection, that he was a practising Christian up to two months after his arrival but that "after (spending) some time in a Christian country, it it agnosticism for me." (45om). Another student brings out the conflict between his Christian principles and some of the practices with which he had to contend in the sojourn situation when he said that there are differences among sections of the host population in their interaction with African students but that paradoxically professed Christians seem to come off worse. "For instance", he commented, "a landlady in Birmingham frankly said to me 'I would rather not have an African in my digs although there is a room to let' and adds that

1. Arthur Porter (op.cit.p.83) brings out, perhaps, an extreme example of the use of religious affiliation as manifestations of social status in the practice, which was common in Freetown towards the end of the last century, of individuals shifting their Church membership as they become wealthier with the result that one church in the city, more or less, 'collected' together all the wealthiest merchants in her congegation.
2. Morris Rosenberg (op.cit.p.5o) shows how different religions contribute differentially towards the psychological support of identity in the USA. Banton also refers to the same thing in a different context in his discussion of the spate of the building of Mosques in Freetown (Banton in Hilda Kuper op.cit. p.141).

perhaps "Britain needs more missionaries than they can afford to send out. This country even needs African missionaries to christianise them"(298). For this student, then, there is a direct connection between his experience and the absence, or perhaps, the unimportance of Christian ideals in everyday social interaction in the UK partly, undoubtedly, because of his Christian affiliations. It is, indeed, interesting that he makes not only his diagnosis of the situation in terms of Christian ideas but also sees the prognosis in the same direction.

Another pre-sojourn variable which we investigated was the nature of the motivation for coming to study in the UK. It would here be remembered that previous research has shown that the motivation of the student for undertaking cross-cultural educational travel influences his reactions to the sojourn experience. Indeed, one writer has suggested that easier entrance requirements in some foreign institutions is one important motivation which makes students go to Germany (in this case) instead of studying in the home institution where entrance requirements are relatively more difficult (Prodosch Aich "Farbige Unter Weissen" op.cit.p.43). This over-simplification notwithstanding, we analysed the students' motivations for study in the UK with a view to finding out whether these are related to self-image level during the sojourn.

The nature of the motivation for undertaking sojourn in the UK varies for the members of the experimental sample. Over two-thirds of the students came to the UK for reasons connected with their future career prospects and personal advancement. Further analysis of the range of motivations indicates a rank order. In this rank, the desire for advanced training is first, followed by the desire to know other countries, then thirdly, the desire for greater status and fourthly to satisfy the wishes of the students' family. Failure to gain

admission into an African university is fifth[1] and last in the rank.This rank-order suggests a relatively high priority being given to professional competence.

We further analysed the data in order to find out whether this desire for professional competence (as well as the other motivations) is influenced by the sex of the respondents and by self-image levels. The results of the analysis by sex show a statistically significant distinction between motivations(see Tables 6 and 9 in Appendix 8E).Whereas males attach importance to the desire for advanced training as their motivation for undertaking sojourn in the UK,females attach importance to the wishes of their families. The other motivations do not show statistically significant differences between the sexes(see Tables 6 through to 10 in Appendix 8E).

The results of the analysis by self-image show that whereas those with high self-image attach importance to the 'desire to get to know other countries'(Table 11,App.8E),those with low self-image attach importance to the desire for advanced training(Table 12,App.8E).The other motivations do not show significant differences between the two self-image 'types'(see Tables 12 through to 15). This result suggests,then,that the two self-image 'types' probably attribute different meanings to inter-cultural educational travel. Whereas the low self-image student attaches an instrumental meaning to it,the high self-image student attaches an intrinsic meaning to it.

Overall,then,the results we have discussed in this chapter show that a number of variables are important for the level of self-image.Part-time registration is not as conducive to a high level of self-image as is full-time registration.Though full-time students spend a shorter period of time in the UK,this does not,however,account for their advantage over the part-timers. Other variables are important such as source of financial support,academic

1. See Table 5 in Appendix 8E

problems and so on.

Analysis of pre-sojourn variables by self-image do not show statistically significant associations in general except on 'desire to know other countries' and 'desire for advanced training'.

These results raise the important consideration as to whether the above-mentioned observations may not be influenced by the extraneous effect of the two variables which showed antecedent differences between the experimental and the control samples(discussed at the end of chapter 8). These variables,it will be remembered, were socio-economic status (which showed a small difference) and age (which showed a relatively larger difference). In order to find out whether this is so,we analysed these variables by self-image. Our results show that these variables are not significantly associated with self-image (see Tables 1 and 16 in Appendix 8E respectively). Further, standardisation of the self-image data(see Table 7 in Appendix 8F) holding age constant still leave a significant difference between the two samples on self-image(see Table 16 in Appendix 8C).

In conclusion,then,while the general directions in our data suggest that pre-sojourn variables are not completely independent of self-image levels,the differences are nevertheless generally small and not statistically signific-ant by and large. We can only then conclude that while pre-sojourn variables may be important for certain aspects of the sojourn experience,their effect on self-image is relatively small. By conxtrast,sojourn variables are of greater relevance for self-image.

CHAPTER 10

REACTIONS AND CONSEQUENCES: SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES

We have seen, in the previous chapter, that West African students in the UK tend to have relatively lower levels of self-image compared to their compatriots who are studying in their own home countries and that various sojourn variables influence the level of self-image which obtains among these students while they are in the sojourn situation. The pattern of social relations which they maintain reflects the 'strategies' which they develop for 'getting by'.

These facts raise questions concerning (1) whether or not there are correlates of self-image other than the ones we discussed in chapter 9 (2) whether these correlates distinguish between the experimental and the control samples (3) whether these correlates can be attributed to the sojourn situation or are independent of it and (4) whether these correlates are indicative of personality changes which take place in the sojourn environment.

Our research yields information which is relevant to these issues. Our objective in this chapter,then,is to describe that part of our investigation which contributes to a solution of these issues. Clearly, the mood which informs this chapter cannot but be the subjunctive mood since,as we have already indicated, our research design is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal('before-and-after'); furthermore, a follow-up study of our samples cannot easily be organised in view of the distances involved. Our conclusions in this chapter cannot therefore be anything but tentative and would have to await the results of further research for their ultimate confirmation.Neverthe-

less, such conclusions as we indicate are instructive for the light they through on students' reactions to the sojourn environment. We hope, in this way, that they would provide points of departure for further study.

Opinions and Attitudes [*]

If the sojourn environment affects the students' self-image in the way that we have demonstrated that it does, then one would expect the general attitude structure and, indeed, the whole personality to be restructured, some attitudes diminishing in saliency and others crystallising further than they would have done in the absence of the sojourn experience.

Our earlier discussion of the students' responses to items concerning the pattern of escalating authority within the extended family has shown that the students, in general, maintain a favourable view towards it as an institution. The responses of the experimental students who are removed from the scene, undoubtedly includes an element of idealisation of the absent but suggests a certain level of crystallisation of their views on this aspect of their cultural background. It also indicates that they reflect on their home background, probably, as a concomitant of on-going psychological processes in the sojourn situation. This self-reflexiveness, we can here suggest, is only one aspect of a change in their general outlook and is to be understood in terms of a general pattern of attitude changes which the students experience while they are in the UK. The results of further comparisons of the samples support this view to a large extent.

In the first place, our data show the experimental students to be significantly less sensitive to criticism compared to the controls (Table 54 below).

[*] All tables discussed in this chapter are presented in Appendix 8F

Table 54

"Most people are sensitive to criticism. How sensitive would you say you are?"

	Experimentals %	Controls %
Not sensitive	63	45
Quite sensitive	37	55
Total Per Cent	loo	loo
Number of Cases	23o	191

$x^2 = 15.48$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

However, their lower level of sensitivity to criticism seems to go side by side with a heightened critical awareness of themselves, of their fellow students, of the home countries and of the host society in which they live and study. This comes out clearly in their comments. Many students compared aspects of life in West Africa with life in the UK and, inevitably, made comparisons of the outlook of both Britons and Africans. In this regard one student said:"The African that displeases me most is the one who blindly condemns the white man for his evil work in Africa without constructively looking into our contributions to this evil work. The average African student has a good deal to learn from the white man: first on the list is probably hard-work and I do not exclude myself when I refer to the African needing reform. It is only when we learn to work as a team without the ferocious desire for remuneration which runs disproportionately to our effort that we may hope to build a great nation" (7o4 Ext.). This kind of comment, far from being self-abnegatory, reflects on the self-awareness of the students which we mentioned above.

On the other hand, some students see so many sources of mismanagement and inefficiency in the United Kingdom that they expressed the hope that Africa would not 'imitate' these sources. Indeed, one student accounts for some

of the problems of West African students in the UK in terms of a lack of
communication with the host population but attributes this lack of communica-
tion to the latter's lack of knowledge of the social and cultural background
of other peoples. His prognosis includes a sympathetic understanding of this,
and adds that "to a large extent the lot of the West African in Britain is
what he makes of it. Most times I think we should compromise. We all get home-
sick sometimes but this should not depress us unduly. Apart from anything else
we learn a lot in Britain - how to live with people and how to be tolerant"
(267H). General comments such as those were given by the majority of the ex-
perimental students.

However, a number of the students made critical comments about particular
areas such as the behaviour of other West African students, their academic abi-
lity and performance. One even extended his comments to the pretentiousness
(for him) of some West African students when he said "West African students in
general and ..(nationality specified) in particular like parties, dances etc.
too much. We all tend to show off probably to impress upon the English that
all 'Blacks' are not the same. This type of 'show-off' can be seen in those who
cannot afford money for full-time study and yet have enough for cars, big radio
grams, pipe etc."(441M). Another student made a similar comment on the laxity
of living of some students and gives some responsibility to the home government
in countering it when he said "Most West African students, especially...(nati-
onality specified) students, are only students by name and not by deed. Many
do not follow any course of study, do not attend lectures and classes and have
not even taken a single examination since their arrival. They indulge in luxu-
ry and expensive living; they live in a state of permanent settlement in this
country with successive importations of unambitious girls. The home government

should step in and call back or threaten to re-call any national who has come here for leisure. You can imagine them not having a true sense of friendly relationships with each other. Our boys would not talk to the girls and the girls even misbehave to such an extent that no boy would like to talk to them. Things are just too bad. The real disease among our boys is lack of ambition. Is it not shameful for a boy of 25 with a wife and children still to be preparing for GCE 'O' level. Let us try to whip some sense into those we know and who are prepared to take correct advice".

Directions of Changes in Attitudes - Psychological Correlates

If such strong sense of purpose and critical awareness of their environment among the experimental students are interesting, the general attitudinal 'shifts' of which these are parts are even more interesting. Though it is easy to see how the personality is affected by changes in the 'significant others' in the environment, it is difficult to measure all the attitude complexes which go to make the changing personality of the individual. In any case, the results from such an exercise would not be incontrovertible since all attitudes are not crystallised to the same extent nor are they of equal saliency for the individual. Nevertheless, it is the highly crystallised and the highly salient attitudes which tend to predominate in the personality structure. Changes in these do not take place easily, but when they do, they tend to bring about a significant change in the personality structure.

In the absence of previous information concerning the salient and the non-salient, the highly crystallised and the not so crystallised attitudes in the human personality, we had to assume (at the pilot stage of the research) that attitudes which bring the original and the sojourn cultural variables to the fore are likely to be more important for the student in the sojourn situa-

tion and are therefore more likely to bring the more salient aspects of the individual's personality structure into play. By investigating these attitudes, it would be possible to observe the student's attachment to them and (more importantly in the present context) to determine the direction of changes by comparing the responses of the experimentals with those of the controls.

In order to investigate directions of changes, then, we selected five attitude dimensions which have the above quality and examined the students' responses to these. These dimensions are Western Orientation, Dogmatism, Achievement Motivation, Attitude to the English and Identification with Africa - all areas in which pre-sojourn attachments and the sojourn environment are brought into play. These were all measured by means of attitude scales constructed by the Likert Method and converted into Indices in the same way that the Index of Self-Image was constructed. The Index of Western Orientation and of Dogmatism consisted of a set of six attitude items respectively. That of Achievement Motivation consisted of a set of five items and that of Attitude to the English and Identification with Africa consisted of three items respectively. The responses were coded in terms of five categories viz: "Strongly agree", "agree", "uncertain", "disagree" and "strongly disagree" with weights being assigned to these categories to indicate intensity. The actual wording of the items can be seen in the Appendices.

The results of the analysis of the responses to these items show that there are important differences between those students who are in the UK and those who are studying in their own countries. While there is virtually no difference between the two samples as far as Western Orientation is concerned (see Table 2 in Appendix 8F)*there is a significant difference on Dogmatism

* For the analysis of the material presented in this section, the data were re-analysed and the cut-off point located at the pooled estimate of the grand Median of the two distributions.

(Table 55) with higher proportions of the experimentals showing high levels
compared to the controls.

Table 55

Comparison of Both Samples on Dogmatism

Dogmatism Score	Experimentals %	Controls %
High	75	26
Low	25	74
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	230	191

$x^2 = 104.00$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Similar results were obtained in connection with 'Attitude to the English'
and 'Identification with Africa' as Tables 56 and 57 below show.

Table 56

Comparison of Both Samples on Attitude to the English

Score on Index	Experimentals %	Controls %
Favourable	53	34
Unfavourable	47	66
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	230	191

$x^2 = 14.75$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 57

Comparison of Both Samples on Identification with Africa

Score on Index	Experimentals %	Controls %
High Identification	68	17
Low Identification	32	83
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	230	191

$x^2 = 113.00$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Significantly higher proportions of the experimental students tend to have a relatively more favourable attitude to the English and a high level of Identification with Africa respectively compared to the control sample students.

Only in the case of Achievement Motivation are these differences (as we observed above) reversed. As Table 58 below shows significantly larger proportions of the control sample students score high on Achievement Motivation

Table 58

Comparison of Both Samples on Achievement Motivation

Achievement Motivation Score	Experimentals %	Controls %
High	26	8o
Low	74	2o
Total Per Cent	1oo	1oo
Number of Cases	23o	191

$x^2 = 124.6o$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

compared to the experimentals.

These results point to two general conclusions. They suggest firstly, that attitude changes, when these do take place, can involve relatively large 'shifts' in the case of some attitudes and smaller 'shifts' in the case of others (as in the case of Western Orientation). Not all attitudes are affected by intercultural sojourn to the same extent. Our results concerning Western Orientation (as the only one which did not show a significant 'shift') does not allow us to draw conclusions concerning the general characteristics of attitudes that are or are not affected by the sojourn experience. Nevertheless, it would seem that a generalised attitude like Western Orientation (which is neither specific to the UK nor to West Africa) is developed in the course of socialisation of the student through long years of education and culture-contact. It

consequently becomes a pervasive influence in the individual's life and becomes a salient part of his total personality structure. Salient attitudes are more difficult to change, theoretically, than non-salient ones. This line of reasoning would seem to account not only for the virtual absence of a 'shift' in Western Orientation but also for the significant 'shifts' in (a) Identification with Africa, (b) Attitude to the English and (c) Dogmatism (i.e. all non-salient attitudes). The student in West Africa is less likely to have reflected on the English per se or on the cultural and political meaning of Africa[1] since these possess little salience for him. Similarly, Dogmatism may be less salient in the home environment but becomes more salient in the sojourn situation as the probable result of the realisation of the student that some element of Dogmatism is necessary in order to 'get by'. Indeed, one writer has shown experimentally that Dogmatism is one consequence of stress resulting from unfamiliar and unstable situations[2]. On the other hand, of course, it is possible that African cultural organisation does predispose towards and reinforce a certain level of Dogmatism.

The second general conclusion is related to the first and that is, that changes in attitudes consequent upon the sojourn experience, depend on the nature of the attitude in question since the characteristics of attitudes vary in terms of complexity, integration and other dimensions. Saliency is only one of these characteristics and may well not be the most important. That

1. This dimension of saliency has been raised in connection with cross-cultural education in S.N. Herman and E.O. Schild "Ethnic Role Conflict in a Cross-Cultural Situation" Human Relations, Vol.13,1960, pp.215-228; also their "Contexts for the Study of Cross-Cultural Education", Journal of Social Psychology, Vol.52,1960, pp.231-250. One problem of immediate relevance which future research could investigate concerns the degrees of attachment to Pan-Africanist ideas among Africans in Africa and those abroad.
2. See Charles D. Smock "The Influence of Psychological Stress on the 'Intolerance of Ambiguity'" Journal of Abn.&Soc.Psych., Vol.50,1955,No.2,pp.177-182

the differences in connection with Identification with Africa, Attitude to the English, Achievement Motivation and Dogmatism are relatively large compared to Western Orientation suggests that the home background and the sojourn background are brought into sharp relief in the areas covered by these attitude dimensions. Indeed, the reversal in the direction of association in connection with Achievement Motivation may reflect the fact that the students in the experimental sample are reacting to the unequal distribution of this quality which they find in the host environment. On the other hand, it could also reflect the fact that they have 'arrived' at the top of the escalator of social mobility (bearing in mind the importance of foreign education for status in West Africa) compared to the controls.

We have drawn the above conclusions from the figures shown up by our analysis on the basis of what is reasonable. Alternative explanations do not seem to be reasonable. For instance, though the age and socio-economic status distributions of the two samples differ somewhat, we found no evidence, partial or otherwise, to suggest that these characteristics may be related to the attitude dimensions we investigated. True, age has been observed (in the literature on sociology and psychology) to be related to increasing conservatism, but this is not the same as Dogmatism (as the Californian studies of the Authoritarian Personality showed). In anycase, our analysis of age by Dogmatism does not show a significant association.[*]

Further, the differences in our data between the two samples discussed above would seem to suggest directions of changes rather than actual changes in attitudes. Our above conclusions may, therefore, be equivocal for this reason. Only a longitudinal study would confirm these directions as well as provide background information on the psychological implications of sociali-

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[*] See Table 8 in Appendix 8F

sation in African cultures.

We are left with the conclusion that the attitude patterns and directions of changes which we have discussed in this chapter are due to either the effect of adult socialisation on the personality in the sojourn situation or a subtle system of social selection. While both explanations are equally plausible, nevertheless, we are inclined to the former because the gross differences we observed between the social and psychological backgrounds of experimentals and the controls would seem to out-weigh the similarities. However, social selectivity is a real possibility since our research design is not longitudinal and we have not randomly allocated a pool of students into experimental and control categories.

Our inclination to the former explanation is based on various indicators in our data as well as the theoretical background against which our research was undertaken. The students' commitment to studying in the sojourn situation sets psychological processes in motion whose objective is to reduce the strain imposed by sojourn variables. Pre-sojourn patterns become inadequate to cope in the changed situation. The general absence of statistical significance in our analysis of pre-sojourn variables would seem to indicate their relative unimportance for the level of self-image in the sojourn situation. Since neither the sojourn situation nor the characteristics of the 'generalised others' can be manipulated, it is the individual personality (and the attitudes which are contained within it) which is modified. The individual personality can thus be viewed both as an active (to the extent that it affects motivation) as well as a passive (to the extent that it responds to different environments) ingredient in social life. It thus has a certain "gyroscopic"

quality which enables it to cope with the changed circumstances which life

in the UK involves for these students. The process of personality modification

in response to 'sojourn' socialisation which the West African student under-

goes can, then, be summed up succintly in the words of Secord and Backman

when they state that:

> "The interpersonal environment is not always stable and familiar..;
> were the interpersonal environment to suddenly undergo drastic
> change, with others uniformly behaving towards the individual in
> markedly new and strange ways, an individual held in such an
> environment would rapidly modify his own behaviour and internal
> structure to produce a new set of congruent matrices (role-rela-
> tions). As a result he would be a radically changed person"[1].

1. P. Secord and C. Backman "Personality Theory and the Problem of Stability
   and Change in Individual Behaviour", Psychological Review, Vol.68, 1961,
   p.25.

APPENDIX 1

PREPARATIONS FOR THE COLLECTION OF THE SAMPLES

The preliminary preparations for this study included extensive reading of secondary material on foreign students in European and American institutions and their adjustment to their new conditions. This reading provided insight into the problems in which we were interested, and showed that very few of these studies attempted to compare groups of students who have been exposed to cross-cultural experiences with those who have not in order to determine the extent to which their conclusions can be vitiated. It was against this background that the research problem was formulated, and a research memorandum drawn up. Further discussion of this document served to clarify the research area as well as indicate some of the more difficult aspects of the research design.

Further, the author's connection with various organisations of West African students in London as well as organisations concerned with the welfare of overseas students provided a ready opportunity to observe the similarities and differences between the views which the former held about the latter and vice versa. But more importantly it enabled me to hold extensive discussions with both West African students as well as the officials of voluntary organisations about the problems of overseas students and the adequacy and short-comings of previous solutions to these problems. The discussion with these officials was undertaken in an unofficial atmosphere except in one instance when the author was invited as an observer to a Conference dealing with these matters. The co-operation of these persons and the cordiality in which our discussions were held is highly appreciated.

However, these discussions created the impression that previous research

conclusions may be (a) typical only of those students who live in London and that there may be characteristics in a large city which create a greater amount of psychological dissatisfaction than in smaller cities and towns and (b) typical only of the type of student who frequents the meetings of students' associations. What of those who do not live in London and/or who are not members of these organisations? Subsequent probings revealed a sizeable number of students who live their lives confined within bed-sitter - college boundaries, restricting their membership even within the colleges to which they belonged and not making adventures into even the English cuisine. Similarly, we always had to ask ourselves the question of whether, in fact, personal life situations would differ appreciably between the full-time and the part-time students. The student meetings always seemed to have higher attendance by full-time students even though London is suspected to have the largest number of part-time overseas students compared to any other city in the British Isles.

However, these meetings provided only one venue for delimiting the research area. Other venues which were utilised followed contacts made in these meetings. These venues tended to be more informal and range from private parties, Hyde Park Speaker's Corner to night-clubs. The latter venue tends to attract only a small proportion of the students partly on account of money. But this small proportion of night-clubbers tend to be atypical in many respects not the least important being that they are 'seasoned', having been in the UK for an average of 7 - 8 years and are very unlikely to be full-timers. Discussions in the homes of some of these students provided opportunities of meeting wives and finding out the extent to which sojourn experiences are shared. We found less awareness of social problems among wives who are not themselves students than among those who are.

One thing which these preliminary probes made clear was that there are diffe-
rences between students as far as their personal and social circumstances are
concerned even though they all live and study in London where conditions are
acknowledged to be in need of greater improvement than in other parts of the
country. It was this realisation which required that we concentrate less on
the nature of the problems which the students experience and more on the indi-
vidual differences among the students which lead to differential rates of ad-
justment in the face of these problems. We consequently felt that a "catalogue"
approach (catalogue of problems) would not be very useful for our research.

Previous research by Singh has concentrated on class as the central and
dominant differentiating characteristic as far as adjustment among Indian stu-
dents in Britain is concerned, on the assumption that the higher class Indian
student is likely to attend certain types of universities (predominantly
Oxford and Cambridge as it turned out) and would experience high adjustment as
a consequence. This assumption we felt was unreasonable since it presumes that
class means the same thing in India and in the UK, cultural differences not-
withstanding. It also means that the consciousness of class among British stu-
dents in these universities is comparable to that which obtains among Indian
students. Because of this premise, he could then go on to make the further
assumption that the literary tradition of the higher strata in India is compa-
rable to that of the higher classes in Britain. Whether class consciousness in
India is so crystallised as to be comparable to that which obtains in the UK
is still an open question. Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that
class consciousness is not a general element in modern Indian social structure
in contrast to caste consciousness[1], even though the two are not mutually

1. See M.N. Srinivas "Caste in Modern India and Other Essays" (Asia Publishing
   House) London, 1962, esp.his discussion of Westernisation as an avenue of
   social mobility on pp.42-62

exclusive.

A similar assumption could not have been made in the case of the students we were interested in largely because the traditional culture of Africa does not include elements which can be 'transferred' to the UK. For one, there is no tradition of literacy per se among West African populations. Where this does exist, it is more religious than secular or scientific. Secondly, the nature of class affiliation in the context of West Africa is one which is more or less of academic interest at the present moment. Consciousness of class in this circumstance can hardly be compared with the consciousness of class among the population of the UK.

What this means, in reality, is that the observed differences among West African students cannot be explained, as Singh's work suggests for Indian students, in terms of class but can only be understood in terms of factors which are present in the immediate sojourn situation. Since these are likely to impinge on the personality which the student brings with him and which has been moulded by the cultural norms in the society from which he comes, the pre-sojourn variables would be expected to contribute towards explaining how he reacts. These considerations led us to concentrate on three areas, both in the pilot and in the actual investigation. These areas are (1) cultural factors both in the UK and in West Africa, (2) personality factors since these become the object that is involved in inter-cultural travel and (3) sojourn variables in the sojourn situation in the UK with which the student would have to contend. The three questionnaires which were used - i.e. the pilot questionnaire, the actual questionnaire for the experimentals and the control questionnaire - were designed to collect information on the above three areas.

The Pilot Investigation

The pilot questionnaire was constructed following various revisions and was designed to reflect on the above-mentioned three areas. The questions we sought information on were specifically:

1. Cultural:

What are the cultural norms in West Africa and in the UK respectively which are brought into dissonant relations with each other as a result of the students' decision to come to the UK? In other words, what does inter-cultural educational travel 'mean' on the cultural level? To answer this general question we constructed items which contrast the norms of West African society with those of the UK. These concerned kinship and family relations within the extended family, the escalating ascription authority relations in the extended family compared with the more or less 'democratic' pattern of relations in the nuclear family, and the social security aspects of the extended family system. Inevitably, this area abounds in the use of cultural ideal types.

2. Personality Variables:

(a) To what extent are personality variables (developed as a result of socialisation in West African cultures) affected by a period of sojourn in the UK?

(b) What personality variables are called into question in the sojourn situation? What, in turn, is the effect of the sojourn experience on the personality? To answer these questions we constructed items concerning Social Skill (i.e. ability to get on with other people), Self-image, Emotional Instability, Situational Satisfaction, Overall Psychological Adjustment, Disposition to psychosomatic illness, Parental Interest, Dogmatism, Western Orientation, Identification with Africa, Attitude to the English and Achievement Motivation,

3. Sojourn Variables:

What are the variables in the sojourn situation which have the effect of 'shoring up' or reducing the level of self-identity (this being the one personality variable that is of central theoretical interest)? How do these variables impinge on the personality to have this effect? Is this effect absent in a comparable group of persons who have, nevertheless, not been involved in inter-cultural educational travel (control group)? In order to answer these questions we sought information and constructed items dealing with variables in the sojourn situation which previous research had indicated are important for understanding the student's reaction. These items were racial discrimination, problems of finance, problems of accommodation, registration status, the length of time spent in the country, size of university/college insofar as this restricts the area of interaction, academic problems and marital status. The actual wording of the items are shown in the questionnaires in Appendix 2. The analysis of racial discrimination is discussed in Appendix 3.

All the above items were put into the pilot questionnaire which was then given to a group of 38 West African students in one educational institution. in London. Their reception of, and their reaction to, the questionnaire was in general favourable, all the pilot questionnaires being completed and returned in the self-addressed envelopes which were provided for the purpose. On reception of the completed questionnaire, the students were interviewed. The completed returns and the interviews showed that there was a high rate of interest in the questions asked and many made comments on some of the items. These interviews also showed that (a) the students did not resent the self-searching nature of the questions except in one area - that dealing with their romantic attachments to members of the opposite sex; (b) that there was general suspicion concerning the objectives of the investigation which disappeared

once these were explained. The reasons for this concern events in West Africa in the period when the investigation was being undertaken; (c) that the wording of some of the items was ambiguous and required reformulation and (d) that given a high level of interest the length of the questionnaire is more likely to affect the completeness of responses rather than the rate of returns. The pilot questionnaire was long and a few commented on this. In the actual investigation, the length was reduced without eliminating those questions which provided the information in which we were interested. All in all, the pilot investigation provided encouraging evidence that the project can achieve its declared objectives..

<div align="center">Collection of the Samples</div>

The Experimental Sample

The first step in the collection of the experimental sample was the preparation of a master-list of institutions registering overseas students in the United Kingdom. This list was compiled from two primary sources - the 1965/66 and the 1966/67 Yearbooks of the Association of Commonwealth Universities on the one hand and the 1966 edition aswell as the 1964/65 Supplement of the British Council Publication entitled "Overseas Students in Britain". This list is relatively complete in terms of institutions since the only institutions which are not covered are those in Ireland.

However, the figures contained in these sources may be inaccurate since errors may have been introduced from a variety of sources. Firstly, since the returns are made once a year the figures would tend to be between twelve and fifteen months out of date largely because the university or college year is not a calendar year, thus under-estimating the actual enrolment in any one period of time. Secondly, while colleges and universities tend to keep careful records of their full-time students, the records of the part-timers are

not so well kept. This is because many part-timers drop courses during
the college year while others may re-enrol during the year. The figures are
unlikely to take these changes into account. Similarly, full-time students
moving from one stage of a course to another may be counted twice. Further,
part-time students do not always indicate their nationalities thus making it
difficult to select those who are from West Africa from those who are not.
Few colleges can, therefore, provide anything but approximations of their
part-time enrolments let alone their part-time enrolment of West African
students. Further, since the Inns of Court are autonomous and,consequently,
are under no obligation to submit returns to the Department of Education and
Science, their registrations would not be included in the British Council
figures. All these factors would,naturally,be expected to introduce bias
into our data indirectly.Nevertheless, the master-list is complete as far as
the total of institutions is concerned through their statistical totals may
be inaccurate.

The next step was to eliminate all those institutions which registered a
total number of overseas students below loo since it is unlikely that these
would contain many West African students.Nursing establishments were also
excluded since these contain only females. We then randomly selected 18
institutions which the primary sources indicate to have more than loo over-
seas students on the assumption that these are more likely to contain West
African students and wrote to them asking their cooperation in the research
project and requesting lists of West African students on their registers.
This number (i.e. the eighteen institutions) was felt to be manageable in
terms of our resources. Institutions in London tend to predominate in this
selection but since the Greater London area is known to have over two-thirds of
the total West African student population in Britain we did not correct for this

'bias'. Of these eighteen, twelve were willing to co-operate and sent lists of West African students. These did not include the two institutions selected in Scotland. Consequently, none of the West African students in our sample are studying in Scotland. Of the twelve institutions ten supplied <u>lists with addres</u> <u>ses</u>, seven requesting their eventual return.

Except for those in the London area, all these institutions had relative-ly small numbers of West African students. In all cases, where the number of West African students in the institution was over 25 a quasi-random sample was taken, the sampling fraction depending on the total size as indicated by the lists. Where the total numbers were smaller all the students were included in the sample. However, because of the known over-concentration of part-time students in London it was necessary to select part-timers in such a way that this would be reflected in the sample if representativeness was to be main-tained. There were no lists available of part-timers thus precluding sampling from lists. The compromise policy adopted was to pick out those areas where the concentration of part-time West African students is known to be high. These areas were (a) the Kilburn-Paddington-Ladbroke Grove triangle, (b) the area west of Hammersmith through Fulham and round to Wandsworth and Balham. We then sent agents (one more person apart from the writer) to these areas on one Saturday to approach and explain the purpose of the study and request his or her co-operation in answering one of the questionnaires, the agent recording the responses. The selection of Saturday was not purely arbitrary, since most West African students are out doing their shopping between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. on this day. For inclusion in the sample, those approached had to be part-timers as well as fulfil the other conditions as the full-timers. The experien-ces during this endeavour are highly interesting and have implications for future interviews of these 'types' of students in the field but cannot be re-

corded here. Nevertheless, it was in this way that our sub-sample of 24 part-time students was obtained. The experimental sample is therefore weighted by the larger numbers of full-time students while the sub-sample of part-time students cannot be considered representative of all part-timers. Our results in connection with part-time students require, therefore, extreme caution in interpretation.

TheControl Sample

As far as the selection of the control sample was concerned a largely similar procedure was followed as in the case of the full-time members of the experimental sample. Two large secondary grammar-type schools (one in Sierra Leone and the other in Nigeria) were selected and lists of the upper and lower sixth form (which corresponds to the first undergraduate year in the home university) students were obtained. From these lists, quasi-random samples were selected by the agents who in these contexts were teachers in these schools following detailed instructions from the writer. The teacher's 'prestigeful authority' is one factor which accounted for the higher rates of return obtained. The questionnaires were distributed and collected by these teachers so that it may (in the minds of the students) have been associated with the teacher though envelopes were provided. We also instructed the students to fill out the questionnaire assuring them that their responses (a) cannot be identified and (b) that the teachers would not see what these responses are as they would be in sealed envelopes. The quality of the responses suggests that our introductory comments allayed suspicions and inhibitions to a large extent. The responses from those schools formed only one-third of the control sample.

The remaining two-thirds was drawn from students at Fourah Bay College, the University of Sierra Leone. Again, two teachers in the university agreed

to be agents for the distribution and collection of the questionnaires. A statistician in the university was available for on-the-spot consultation. Since the university had a large student body, a simple random sample was taken using random numbers. Though the university population is <u>not</u> homogenous but includes students from other parts of West Africa, we felt that no particular advantage was to be gained by using a stratified sampling design; little preliminary information is available about these "foreign" students. Besides, our pilot pre-test in the UK had not shown that nationality was of any significance as far as the experimental sample was concerned. There was thus no reason to believe that nationality would systematically bias the responses. In any case, there is always the possibility of sampling bias being introduced into the data through the sampling frame (i.e. the list) since this is also produced annually and may not therefore take drop-outs into account and consequently tends to be at least six months out of data. All the students sampled in the schools as well as in the university were following courses in science, humanities and engineering.

Response Rates for the Two Samples

A total of 376 questionnaires were sent out by post (and enclosed together with a stamped and self-addressed envelope) to the members of the experimental sample. Of this total 47 were returned uncompleted and sealed[1], the persons not having been contacted, leaving a total of 329 students who actually received a copy of the questionnaire as far as was known. Of this number of 329, 247 replies were received, amounting to an overall response rate of 75%.

However, not all of these replies were usable since some of them were so

1. This 47, we were informed, were no longer in the universities, some undoubtedly having returned home.

badly completed that they could not have been used at all. These were elimina-
ted from the sample. The remaining 231 questionnaires were usable and form the
experimental sample. This represents 7o% of the total number of questionnaires
which got to their destinations.

As far as the control group is concerned the overall rate of response was
much higher than in the case of the experimentals, largely for reasons which
have already been indicated . The average rate of return from each of the
institutions dealt with was 9o% of all questionnaires sent out to each one.
We sent out a total of 23o questionnaires to West Africa of which 212 were
returned, no cases of non-contact having occured. This return (212) represents
93% of all questionnaires sent out. But, as in the case of the experimentals,
not all of these replies were usable. We had to eliminate 21 out of this num-
ber because they were badly completed. Eliminating this number left a total of
191 questionnaires which formed the control sample on which our analysis is
based (i.e. 83%). Our study then, is based on an overall total of 422 students,
191 of whom are in West Africa and 231 presently studying in the UK.

The Representativeness of the Samples

Since the representativeness of a sample can be affected by the rate of
response it was decided to discover as much as is independently possible
about the non-respondents in the hope that this could provide some insight
into the reasons for their non-response. Analysis of late respondents, though
not particularly revealing, provided some indications. The 25% non-response
of the experimentals can be accounted for in terms of several factors. Firstly,
there was a small but nevertheless hard-core of uninteresteds - persons who
did not see any significance in this research. This is clearly indicated in
the case of two students who used the stamped and self-addressed envelope to

return the uncompleted questionnaire and enclosed a note to the effect that they were not 'guinea pigs' for anyone and that they were consequently not interested. There were two others who returned the uncompleted questionnaire but wrote across the first page words to the effect that the questions were "silly - calls for no answers". These four cases are distinct from those who did not respond out of some suspicion of the objectives of the research. Nevertheless, by far the greater proportion of the students found the questionnaires exciting and answered the questions with enthusiasm. Many of them made comments to the effect that the endeavour is worthwhile and that they would like some more questionnaires to give out to their friends. We could not respond to this kind of request without undermining the representativeness further. Here are some of the typical comments: "Highly searching and touching questions" "The questions were diagnostic enough"; "Thank you for the trouble you have taken to elicit such views. It made me really feel better" and so on. Indeed, the level of rapport was so great that one respondent who had difficult relations with his family used all kinds of four letter invectives while answering the questions concerning his home and family background.

Secondly, apart from the small but hard core of those who were 'uninterested' in the work, another reason for the level of non-response may have been due to political events in West Africa in 1966. This was a very eventful year for political crises in various West African countries and the consequences of these are still being felt up till now. The students in this country were in a state of doubt about their relatives who may have been involved (i.e. through the Army and the Civil Service); they were also uncertain about the immediate future and were constantly on the look-out for the extensions of these crises to them in the UK. When these extensions did appear they tended

to have disastrous consequences for some of the students. Some West African

students who were on government scholarships found that their grants and scho-

larships were withdrawn without explanation; others were threatened with with-

drawal unless certain conditions were fulfilled. Largely for this reason many

of these students were suspicious of any inquiring agent who was specifically

interested in them. It can then be imagined that many were still suspicious

after reading the rather long introductory letter which was attached to the

questionnaire (see Appendix 2). This, we suggest, is one very important factor

which accounts for the 25% non-response rate among the experimentals.

A third, but less important reason for this level of non-response, is the

fact that the experimental questionnaires were distributed between March and

July, 1966 - the period during which the 'examination fever' is greatly inten-

sified. The returns were coming in rather slowly because of this, and up to

three reminders were sent out in an attempt to increase the response rate.

Careful recording of the responses following the reminders was made, in the

hope that analysis of the late respondents would indicate something about

their characteristics. However, this analysis did not show any significant

differences between each successive 'wave' of responses as far as 5 variables

were concerned - Anxiety, Identification,with Africa, Overall Psychological

Adjustment, Self-image and Psychosomatic Disposition. No such analysis of late

respondents was undertaken in connection with the control sample partly because

the non-response is so much smaller than in the case of the experimentals and

partly because the expenditure in postage and other expenses would have out-

weighed any advantages gained in terms of additional information about non-

respondents. To what extent, then, does the rate of non-response indicated

above affect the representativeness of the sample?

In the first place our selection methods allow of the possibility of the

introduction of bias from the basic sampling frames used for reasons
which have already been indicated and this would , naturally, affect
the representativeness of the samples. Further, bias would also be introduced
as far as the part-time students are concerned since there is no basic
sampling frame from which they could have been selected. Further still, our
exclusion of certain types of institutions would also affect the represent-
ativeness of the samples as would the unwillingness of some university and
college officials. Clearly, then, our selection procedures cannot be said to
result in a 'calculable and non-zero probability' of every West African
student (both in the UK and in West Africa) being included in the samples.
Nevertheless, we feel that these difficulties have not significantly biased
the samples and that a reasonable level of representativeness is secured.

In order to check on this, we carried out rough estimations of the
proportions of various categories of students in our samples and compared
these with known totals despite the inadequate nature of the latter - the
object of these comparisons being to increase our confidence in the repre-
sentativeness of the samples. Our results show that the samples have not
been seriously biased. Our sample of experimental students represents just
about 5% of the known total of full-time West African students at universities
and technical colleges in the UK. Of the total of 5, 744[1] students in 1965/66,
12.3% are known to be females and our sample shows the corresponding propor-
tion of females to be 13%. Similarly, the proportion of these students who
held some kind of scholarship or grant is known to have been 58.5%; the
corresponding proportion in our experimental sample is 51%.We similarly com-

1. British Council "Overseas Students in Britain" 1966 op.cit.

pared the levels of study of the students in our experimental sample with
the known national totals. The difficulty here is not just the basic inaccura-
cy of the latter figure but the fact that the recording categories differ
among institutions. While universities record levels of study in terms of
undergraduate and postgraduate, the technical colleges record them in terms of
'advanced' and 'non-advanced'. The latter is by no means synonymous with the
former since 'advanced' in this context refers to anything which is above
GCE level, includes first degree courses and extends to doctorate level. To
use the totals as indicated would considerably over-estimate the proportion of
students in technical colleges who are doing work which is commensurate with
the postgraduate level in the university. Nevertheless and in order to carry
out our comparison, we assumed that 'advanced' work in technical colleges is
the same as postgraduate work in universities. On the basis of this assumption
we calculated that the proportion of West African students who are doing post-
graduate work in universities and technical colleges in 1965/66 is 31% while on
our sample shows the corresponding proportion to be 24%. One sees clearly
that subject to the above-mentioned strictures, our proportions are not widely
divergent from the known overall totals. Similar background information is not
available for West African countries; we could therefore not check on the
representativeness of the control sample along similar lines. Nevertheless,
it is known (Table 1) that the proportion of females who are enrolled in post-
secondary education including Teacher Training Colleges is about 29% and our
control sample shows the corresponding proportion of females to be 24%. All
these estimates are very approximate and serve merely to provide further in-
sight into the representativeness of our samples. From this point of view, it
can be seen that the various proportions in our samples do not widely diverge
from the known totals.

Table 1

Comparison of Female Enrolments in Post-Secondary Education in Ghana,
Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia with Control Sample

%age in Post-Secondary Educ.   %age in Control Sample

29[1]   24

Note 1: This is the average enrolment for the four countries estimated
from secondary statistics available in the United Nations
Statistical Yearbook 1965, pp.7o2-7o5.

Further, in order to illustrate the size of the sampling
error attached to a percentage, we calculated and present the standard
error of each percentage level in the percentage range. The results are
presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Estimated Standard Error for Both Samples

Percentage Range %	Experimentals Standard Error %	Controls Standard Error %
10	1.93	2.17
20	2.63	2.89
30	3.01	3.32
40	3.12	3.54
50	3.29	3.62
60	3.12	3.54
70	3.01	3.32
80	2.63	2.89
90	1.93	2.17

APPENDIX 2 A

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULES AND TABLES OF RESPONSES

The study involved the use of two forms of questionnaires, one for the members of the experimental sample who are studying in various institutions in the United Kingdom and the other for the members of the control group who are studying in educational institutions in their own home countries. The basic format of both questionnaires did not differ appreciably since comparable kinds of information were required. Consequently, the questionnaire which went to the control group consisted essentially of the same questions which were asked of the experimentals except that those questions which are not relevant to life in West Africa were left out.

We describe both questionnaires in this Appendix and present Tables of raw responses[1]. The pilot investigation has been described in Appendix 1.

A. Questionnaire Schedule for the Experimental Sample

Questionnaire P/2   Code No. First Yr./Second/Third ...

Survey of West African Students in the United Kingdom

Dear Friend,

I am a post-graduate student at the London School of Economics, University of London, and I am conducting a survey of the problems and attitudes of West African students with a view to finding out how they respond to conditions of living in this country.

Unfortunately, there is little or no information on this even though African students constitute such a large proportion of students in institutions of higher education in Great Britain. For example, some people say that your living conditions are satisfactory; others think that they are difficult and unenviable; while yet others think that they vary from group to group and, indeed, from region to region, according to the geographical location of the place in which the students are studying. The objective of this survey is to obtain information more definite than these differing views provide, to find

1. Non-response (where relevant) is indicated alongside the responses. An asterisk indicates an open-ended question; the responses indicated alongside are from the coding frame.

out what you (as the students in the situation) think about your life in Great
Britain and to obtain facts on which the authorities can base their plans for
improvement. For this reason, a realistic understanding of the situation, is
necessary, as you will readily agree.

You are one of the persons selected at random from the entire population
of West African students in the United Kingdom, for I cannot collect the views
of all. The sample, of which you are a member, would not be representative un-
less all the questionnaires are completed and returned as soon as possible. You
are not required to sign the questionnaire, nor do I require your name or any
other aspect of your identity. The code numbers at the top are simply to enable
me to contact any respondent should this be necessary for further clarification.
The data will be analysed by a computer and it will be impossible to identify
any individual's opinions from the results. Your views will be treated as enti-
rely confidential. So please answer the questionnaire frankly and conscientious-
ly. I shall be very grateful for its early return.

With many thanks for your co-operation,

C.P. Cross,
c/o Dept. of Sociology,
London School of Economics,
Houghton Street, Aldwych,
London W.C.2.

----

1. How long have you been in this country? Please tick against the period
   which applies to you.

        3 months or less   3

        Between 3 months & 1 year   43

        Between 1 year and 2 years   34

        Between 2 years & 3 years   21

        Between 3 years & 4 years   32

        Between 4 years & 5 years   52

        Over   5 years   45

2. Most people have expectations about England before they leave West Africa. You may have formed some sort of picture about England before you came here. In what areas and to what extent have you found discrepancies between the picture you formed and what you actually found when you arrived? Please tick in the appropriate column below.

1. I did not have any expectations   2o

I HAVE CONCERNING:	Great	Some	Little	None	
2. Behaviour of the people	73	8o	29	28	1 nr
3. Academic conditions	63	4o	42	65	1 nr
4. Racial Discrimination	66	8o	34	29	2 nr
5. Cost of Living	67	5o	37	55	2 nr
6. Social Life	56	6o	56	58	1 nr
7. Loneliness	51	37	59	62	2 nr

3. Here are some reasons which African students give as being important in their decision to come to Great Britain. Please indicate, by ticking, how important each of these reasons were to you.

	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Unimportant
1. Wish of my Family	16	29	47	= 137*
2. To earn greater Status and Prestige	46	17	63	1o3
3. To get to know other countries	46	39	83	61
4. To gain advanced training in my subject	146	4o	26	17
5. Could not gain admission into university at home	8	7	23	191

    * 2 nr in each case

4. Has any of your relatives studied in this country before? Please tick in the appropriate column.

   1. None   61

   2. Father   4o

   3. Mother   5

   4. Brothers/Sisters   6o

   5. Cousins
      (First or second) 62   3 nr

5. As far as employment at home is concerned, which one of these categories describes your position?

   1. I was not employed   31

   2. I was employed but gave up
      my job before leaving   142

   3. I am on study-leave   58

6. How long did you attend an African institution of Higher Education (University/College/Technical Institute/etc.) before you came to England?

   1. I did NOT attend an institution of Higher Education   119

   2. Less than 1 year   13

   3. Between 1 year and 3 years   46

   4. Between 3 years and 4 years   25

   5. Between 4 years and 5 years   16

   6. More than 5 years   12

7. If you did attend University/College/Technical Institute in West Africa, in which one of these did you live longest?

   1. With my family   9

   2. With families of friends   4

   3. In College Halls of Residence   88

   4. In Hostels/Lodging Houses   5

   5. In rented rooms/flats etc.   6

8. Do you experience any difficulties in your studies in this country? Please tick in the appropriate column to indicate the importance you attach to each one.

   1. I have no difficulties   134

   I have difficulties of the following nature:

	Great Importance	Some Import.	Little Import.	Of no Import.
2. Understanding Lectures	1o	26	27	35
3. Participation in Seminars/ Discussions in Class	7	23	21	46
4. Expressing myself orally	8	23	32	34
5. Writing Essays / Papers	9	18	35	35

9. How would you rate your academic progress in your studies?

   1. Great   55

   2. Moderate   159

   3. Slight   16

   4. No Progress   1

10. Are you very friendly with any family in this country? If so, how many? Please tick.

1. I am not friendly with any family in this country   36

2. Less than 2 families   23

3. Between 2 and 3 families   66

4. More than 3 families   1o6

11. If you answered question 10 above positively, what is the nationality of the ONE family to whom you feel most closely attached?

1. Same nationality and same tribe   56

2. Same nationality but different tribe   22

3. Different nationality but West African   1o

4. Different nationality but African   11

5. Different nationality and Non-African   96

12. Similarly, please give the same information about your closest friend by ticking in the appropriate column.

1. Same nationality and same tribe   93

2. Same nationality but different tribe   38

3. Different nationality but West African   15

4. Different nationality but African   15

5. Different nationality and Non-African   38

6. I have no close friends in this country 31   1nr

13. What limit of friendship do you think is expected of you in Britain compared to the limit expected at home?

1. More intimate   1o

2. Equally intimate   68

3. Less intimate   83

4. Superficial or formal   7o

14. Here is a list of some of the reasons which African students see as barriers to making friends with British people. Please tick against the ONE which you think most closely describes the barriers you see.

    1. Their disregard for people from small nations   18

    2. Differences in ways of thinking/general outlook on life   56

    3. The short period of time I have been here   7

    4. Their lack of knowledge of other peoples   63

    5. Their lack of regard for colonials, Negroes and ex-colonials   58

    6. The pressure of my work   23   6 nr

15. Most students have boyfriends or girl-friends (as the case may be) i.e. someone towards whom they are romantically inclined. If you have a girl-friend or boy-friend, into which of the following categories would he/she fall?

    1. I have no boy-girl-friend in Britain   137

    2. I have and these are his/her characteristics:

| | | HE/SHE COMES FROM THE SAME | | |
| | Nationality but diff.Tribe | African but diff. Nationality | Negro but Non-African | Others |
Tribe				
My girl-friend/ Boy-friend 23	3o	9	9	23

16. What is the nature of your present accommodation. Please tick appropriately.

    1. I live with a family as a paying guest   22

    2. I live with families of friends   --

    3. In College Halls of Residence   46

    4. In Hostels (inc.WASU)   16

    5. In rented bed-sitter rooms   82

    6. In Flats (single or shared)   63

    7. Hotel   --   2 nr

17.*What is the average number of times you have changed your accommodation (add all the times you have changed accommodation and divide by the number of years you have spent in the UK).

1. Under one per year   182

2. Between one and two   33

3. Between two and three   13

4. Over three-times   3

18. On the whole do you feel lonelier in this country than you felt at home?

1. I do not feel lonelier   56

2. I cannot feel the difference   47

3. I feel lonelier   128

19. As far as feeling homesick is concerned, how would you describe yourself? Please tick.

1. I never feel homesick   92

2. I seldom feel homesick   27

3. I often feel homesick   45

4. I frequently feel homesick   38

5. I always feel homesick   29

20. Here are some reasons which African students have given for their dissatisfaction with their conditions in this country. Please indicate (by ticking) into which of the following categories you fall and how important each category is for you.

1. I am satisfied with my condition in this country   48

   I am not satisfied on account of the following:

	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance	
2. Absence of parents and other members of my family	2o	28	54	81	
3. Absence of intimate friends	15	22	17	129	
4. Separation from my wife/ husband/children	29	11	3	14o	
5. Loss of individuality and status	25	23	29	1o5	1 nr
6. Boredom and monotony of my life	32	28	44	77	2 nr
7. General sense of psycho-logical depression	19	19	85	6o	
8. Food and Climate	2	4	6	171	

21. Other reasons which African students have given as the main causes of psychological depression are the following. How important is each for you?

	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance	
1. Worries about domestic problems of parents	27	18	44	94	
2. Unsatisfactory progress with studies	25	18	35	1o5	
3. Lack of sufficient money	4o	21	42	8o	
4. Fear of Academic Failure	34	23	37	89	
5. Being away from West Africa	16	14	52	1oo	1 nr

22. Here is a typical but realistic situation. Mr or Miss X has a beautiful and clever sister whom he/she loves very much. This sister wants to come to England to study a subject which she can study in her home university equally well. Mr/Miss X,having been to England,knows that she may become changed in her habits,styles of dress,manners and would begin to talk back to her parents,wear lipstick and high-heeled shoes and become the typical person,disliked and usually referred to as a "been-to" and would have to live under exactly the same conditions under which X lived while he/she was here. Mr/Miss X is the only person who can decide whether she comes or stays at home,knowing very well that she can gain admission easily into either the foreign or the home university to pursue her field of interest. What would you in the position of Mr/Miss X advise her to do? To come or not to come?

   1. Advise her to come   58

   2. Advise her not to come   138

   3. Uncertain of what I would advise   35

23. You may be obtaining financial support from one or more of the sources mentioned below. Please tick the ONE which is the most important source for you.

   1. My parents are supporting me   50

   2. Other members of my family are supporting
                                            me   13

   3. I am financing myself out of my savings   20

   4. I have a scholarship,bursary or grant   117

   5. I borrowed money to support myself   6

   6. I depend on a part-time job here   25

24(a) Do you ever receive lump sums of money from home apart from those you have listed above? If so, how frequently?

                    1. No   212

                    2. Yes   19

                       i.Once a year   13

                       ii.Twice a year   4

                       iii.More than twice
                               a year   2

*(b) What is your father's job (if retired or deceased please give the job he held before his retirement/death). Please give full details including title, duties, number of men under him, whether he was an employer or an employer, his salary and as much information as you possess.

Class 1	43	
Class 2	73	
Class 3	78	
Class 4	8	
Class 5	1	28nr

(See also Appendix 6)

25. Please think back to the time when you were 10 - 11 years old. Who, at that time, appeared to be your father's favourite child?

1. Had no favourite as far as I know 112

2. Different children at different times 23

3. Older sister 5

4. Younger sister 16

5. Older brother 9

6. Younger brother 8

7. I did (but I was not an 'only child' in my family) 44

8. I did (I was an 'only child' in my camily) ... 14

26. When your parents disagreed, whose side were you generally on?

1. Mother much more 47

2. Mother somewhat more 41

3. Both about the same 109

4. Father somewhat more 18

5. Father much more 16

27. Most people are born into a religion. Into which of these categories of religions were you born (it does not matter whether you still practise it or not)?

        1. Christianity(Roman Catholicism,Protestantism. You need not specify denomination)   173

        2. Christianity (African Churches e.g. Ade-Joui, Aladura prayer groups,Musama Disco Christo, Church of the Twelve Apostles etc.)   6

        3. Islam (all denominations)   31

        4. African traditional religion (e.g. Ogungun, Aro Longjuju etc)   20   1nr

28. When you were in primary school,what was your father's reaction every time you brought home a report-form showing low marks?

        1. He did not bother   31

        2. He punished me   21

        3. He punished me but coaxed me afterwards   51

        4. He scolded me but did not punish me   29

        5. I have never brought home a report with low marks   99

29. Are you a member of any of the following clubs at your college? Please tick the ONE below whose membership you value most.

        1. Social Club   93

        2. Sports Club   30

        3. Debating Club or Society   26

        4. Political Club   17

        5. I am not a member of any   65

30. Have you ever held an elected position in the club which you ticked above (if you are not a member of any club,please skip to the next question)?

        1. I have never held an elected position   75

        2. I have held an elected position, at least once   91

31. How interested are you in the affairs of this country (e.g. the things that go on such as local elections, the activites of rival political parties, nationalisation, trade union strikes etc.)?

    1. I am not very interested   42

    2. I am not interested   31

    3. I am interested   105

    4. I am very interested   53

*32. Here is another typical but, again, realistic situation which I would like you to consider for a moment. Mr. X is an African student and his girl-friend Y is English. One day, they form a four-some with John and his wife (both English) and went to a first-class restaurant to celebrate X's recent examination success. Once in, the waiter takes the order and promptly comes back with two soups for John and his wife. He returns to the pantry. But instead of promptly bringing two more soups he sits in the passage, chatting with the kitchen-maid. Y is seething with anger at the delay, picks up her gloves and all four left the restaurant, leaving two cold soups behind. What would you, in the position of X, conclude about the waiter's delay?

                    See   Appendix 3

33. Please give the following information which is required for the classi-fication and statistical treatment of the data.

    1. Age last birthday: 20 yrs & under   10

                          21 - 25 yrs   68

                          26 - 30 yrs   97

                          31 - 35 yrs   37

                          Over 35 yrs.   17   2nr

    *2. Are you working for a degree, a diploma or a certificate?

                    Degree   179

                    Diploma   30

                    Certificate   22

    3. Are you a post-graduate or an under-graduate?

                    Post-graduate   66

                    Under-graduate   163   2nr

4. Sex: Male   198

      Female   30   2nr

5. Marital Status(please tick accordingly):

 Unmarried/Single   130

 Separated/Divorced from spouse   4

 Married/Living with spouse/but no children 19

 Married/Living with spouse and children 53

 Married/Not living with spouse but with
          children   2

 Married/Not living with spouse nor with
          children   19   4nr

*6. What is your country of origin?

 1. Nigeria   161

 2. Ghana   34

 3. Sierra Leone   14

 4. Gambia   3

 5. Cameroons   4

 6. Ivory Coast   1   14nr

34. Was your permanent home in West Africa situated in a:

 1. Very large city(pop. 1 million or more) 32

 2. Large City (pop. 1oo,ooo or more) 57

 3. Town (pop. 5o,ooo or more) 62

 4. Village (less than 50,000) 80

35. It has been observed that when students turn out to be academic
    failures they generally disappoint their fathers,mothers,other relatives
    and friends as well as themselves. If you fail,who do you think will be
    disappointed? Please tick alongside the ONE person whose disappointment
    you are most likely to regret.

    1. No one (apart from myself)   101

	Very Great	Great	Small/Negligible
2. My father	50	11	69
3. My Mother	48	17	65
4. Other relatives	24	17	89
5. My friends	26	23	81

36. On the whole how happy would you say you are in this country?

    1. Very happy   28

    2. Fairly happy   162

    3. Not happy   38

    4. Very unhappy   3

37. Does your opinion of yourself change a great deal or does it always
    continue to remain the same?

    1. Changes a great deal   22

    2. Changes somewhat   81

    3. Changes very little   85

    4. Does not change at all   43

38. How often do you feel downcast and dejected?

    1. Never   18

    2. Rarely   57

    3. Occasionally   133

    4. Fairly often   20

    5. Very often   3

39. Do you ever find that one day you have one opinion of yourself and on another day you have a different opinion?

    1. Yes, this happens often   6

    2. Yes, this happens sometimes   79

    3. Yes, this rarely happens   87

    4. No, this never happens   59

4o. When national or international questions are discussed (say) in a conference or at a public gathering, do you often prefer not to say anything at all rather than say something which will make a bad impression?

    1. I prefer to speak   153

    2. I prefer not to say anything
       at all   68

    3. I prefer to quitly make my exit   9   1 nr

41. Would you say that people are more inclined to look out for themselves or to help each other?

    1. To look out for themselves   185

    2. To help each other   45   1 nr

Which of these do you suffer from regularly?	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Often
42. Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep?	42	64	1o9	15*
43. Do your hands tremble enough to bother you?	56	61	1o1	12
44. Are you bothered by nervousness?	6o	53	98	19
45. Are you bothered by pressures and/or pains in your head?	44	61	95	3o
46. Are you bothered by nightmares?	35	6o	11o	25

* 1 nr in each case

47. Please think back to when you were 10 - 11 years old. Did your mother know most of your friends?

    1. Know none/almost none   23

    2. Knew who some were   56

    3. Knew who most were   72

    4. Knew who all were   80

48. As far as you can tell, how interested were other members of your family in what you had to say?

    1. Not interested   5

    2. Fairly interested   84

    3. Very interested   142

49. Most people are sensitive to criticism. How sensitive would you say you are?

    1. Not sensitive   41

    2. Somewhat sensitive   105

    3. Quite sensitive   65

    4. Extremely sensitive   19   1 nr

50. Do you often find yourself dreaming about the type of person you expect to become in the future?

    1. Rarely or never   72

    2. Sometimes   111

    3. Very often   32

    4. Always   15   1 nr

51. Now, here are some statements expressing opinions. I am interested in knowing your opinion on these matters. I would like to know in each case whether you agree, disagree or are uncertain. Please tick or make a ring around whichever of the five alternatives given, gives the most correct picture of your mind. PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE OUT ANY STATEMENT even when you find it difficult to make up your mind. GO AS RAPIDLY THROUGH AS YOU CAN.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. More and more African students should be encouraged to come to England.	3o	45	33	71	51
2. Most people are fair and do not try to get away with something.	12	81	68	52	17
3. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.	19	23	17	88	83
4. Barring exceptions, most African students have a happy time in England.	13	5o	55	67	45
5. The job should come first, even if it means taking time off from recreation.	82	97	15	25	11
6. Making plans only brings unhappiness because plans are usually difficult to fulfil.	15	31	22	97	65
7. England is an unwelcome place for any African to come.	26	22	32	111	39
8. Life in this country would be much happier if I had enough money.	56	73	3o	43	28
9. School-children in Africa should be taught more about Europe than they are taught at present.	44	56	3o	62	38
1o. The government, not the individual, should take care of one's parents when they are old.	33	56	26	64	51

* With the exception of these, totals exclude 1 nr.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
11. When it comes to marriage, Africans should marry women of their own tribe rather than other women.	26	23	37	79	65
12. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its members cannot exist for long.	34	54	33	63	46
13. If I had to choose between happiness and greatness, I'd choose greatness.	17	17	28	67	1o1
14. The highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are intelligent.	57	49	44	48	32
15. When it comes to differences in religion or politics, we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from us.	17	25	28	78	82
16. To achieve the happiness of mankind in the future, it is sometimes necessary to put up with injustices in the present.	21=	64	42	52	51
17. It is by returning to our glorious past that real social progress can be achieved.	11	19	53	77	7o
18. It would be unfortunate for African if children are brought up to say "Don't be silly Daddy?	82	47	33	39	29
19. It is ironical that many people in West Africa imagine that African students are enjoying life in England while, in fact, they are living under difficult and joyless conditions.	68	95	37	26	4
2o. The sooner the African family of many relatives breaks down the better it will be for Africa's future.	27	48	29	74	52

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21. I feel that nothing or almost nothing can change the opinion I currently hold of myself.	32	56	47	75	21*
22. The African family system controls the selfishness of its members.	37	59	63	44	27
23. I feel that I am not a person of worth, at least, not on an equal plane with others.	9	8	15	67	132*
24. At heart the English do not relish the progress which many African countries have made since their Independence.	62	77	58	21	12
25. All in all, I'm inclined to feel that I am a failure.	6	4	6	46	169*
26. It is a paradox, but true, that Africans become more African by coming to England.	61=	64	46	43	11
27. I do not need to have more respect for myself.	24	56	44	47	6o*
28. Africans should not criticise Africa in the presence of foreigners.	22	34	17	95	62
29. I am very good at getting to know people.	32	11o	56	27	5
3o. The English are well-known for their hypocrisy (cynics call it 'diplomacy').	1o8	77	29	11	5
31. I feel that I do not have many bad qualities.	22	63	63	58	15*
32. The notion of the "African Personality" is an assertion of one's pride in being African.	8o	75	41	2o	14
33. I like organising and running things.	5o	114	37	24	5

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
34. The Independence movements in Africa were not violent because of the liberal and humanitarian values and traditions of Great Britain.	15	39	52	65	59

35. How many times have you changed your subject of study?

1. Once — 220
2. Twice — 4
3. Three times or more — 7

36. How long did you spend in this country before you started on your present course of study?

1. Less than 1 year — 146
2. Between 1 and 2 years — 37
3. Between 2 and 3 years — 25
4. Between 3 and 4 years — 23
5. Over 4 years — --

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND CO-OPERATION IN THIS PROJECT. If there are some comments you wish to make on the questionnaire or in connection with the living conditions of West African students here in the UK, please use the rest of this sheet and continue on a new sheet if necessary. The results of this survey would be published as soon as possible.

APPENDIX 2B

B. QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE AND RESPONSES[1] FOR CONTROL SAMPLE

<u>Questionnaire P/2/West Africa</u>   Code No:Senior School/Prelim.Yr/
                                          First Yr./Second/Third Yr./
                                          Post-grad./............

Dear Friend,

Survey of West African Students and School Seniors

       I am a West African post-graduate student who is conducting a survey into the general attitudes of West African students and school seniors. Unfortunately,there is little or no information on this.The result is that some people say that they are very satisfied with their academic progress and their work in general;others think that they are not.Yet others think that they are not the least bit interested in their work.Clearly,the only people who can eliminate this controversy is you - the students themselves.

       You are one of the persons selected at random from the population of students and school seniors in West Africa,for I cannot collect the views of all.The sample of which you are a member would not be representative unless all the questionnaires are returned as soon as possible.You are not required to sign the questionnaire nor do I require your name or any other aspect of your identity.The code numbers,at the top,are simply to enable me to contact any respondent should this be necessary(for further clarification). The completed questionnaires will be analysed on a machine(computer) and it will not be possible to identify the views of any individual.Your views will,naturally,be held in the strictest confidence.So please answer the questionnaire honestly and frankly.I shall be very grateful for its early return,in the envelopes provided,to the various collecting points which I shall indicate below.*

       Thank you for your cooperation in this important venture.

                                      Crispin Cross,
                                      Graduate School,
                                      London School of Economics,
                                      Houghton Street,Aldwych,
*For those in FBC return to (a)Institute   London W.C.2
                         of African Studies or(b)Dept.of Education
 For those in Prince of Wales return to the Principal
 For those in Baptist Boy's High return to Mr.(name specified)

1.Non-response (where relevant) is indicated alongside the appropriate responses.An asterisk indicates an open-ended question in which case the responses from the coding frame are presented alongside.

1. How many years have you spent at this college/school (Please indicate by ticking in the appropriate category below)?

1.	-	3 months and under
2.	68	Between 3 months and 1 year
3.	57	Between 1 yr. and 2 yrs.
4.	21	Between 2 yrs. and 3 yrs.
5.	13	Between 3 yrs. and 4 yrs.
6.	7	Between 4 yrs. and 5 yrs.
7.	25	More than 5 yrs.

2. Has any of your relatives been to college? Please indicate in the categories below.

1.None	147
2.Father	36
3. Mother	7
4.Brothers/ Sisters	-
5.Cousins(First, Second etc.)	-

3. Life in college or in school usually includes a certain amount of loneliness. How important, if at all, is this for you personally?

1.Of no importance	133
2.Of little importance	47
3.Of some importance	5
4.Of great importance	-

4. Do you experience any difficulties in your studies? Please tick in the appropriate column below to indicate the degree of importance you attach to each one of the areas indicated.

    1. I have no difficulties in my studies   55

    <u>I have difficulties of the following nature:</u>

	Great Import- ance	Some Import- ance	Little Import- ance	Of no Import- ance
2. Understanding lectures & lessons	3	54	45	34
3. Participation in discussions in class	6	30	38	62
4. Expressing myself orally	7	28	40	61
5. Writing essays	11	24	43	58

5. How would you rate your progress in your studies?

    1. Great   21

    2. Moderate   166

    3. Slight   4

    4. No progress   -

6. Please give the following information about <u>your closest friend</u> by ticking in the appropriate column below.

    <u>My closest friend is of:</u>

    1. The same tribe   101

    2. Same nationality but different tribe   75

    3. Different nationality but West Africa   8

    4. Different nationality but African   3

    5. Different nationality & non- -African   4

7.Many West African students travel to England to study;you may very well do so yourself in the near future.What picture do you have in your mind of English people?

    1.They know everything there is to know   7

    2.They do not like people from small countries   24

    3.They do not respect Africans,especially those who come from former British colonies   21

    4.I have never thought about them really.   10

    5.There are good and bad English people   129

8.Here are some reasons why people who are studying usually feel sad.How important are they for you?

	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance
1.Worries about domestic problems	41	38	32	80
2.Unsatisfactory progress with studies	47	50	13	81
3.Lack of sufficient money	31	36	48	76
4.Fear of academic failure	64	34	22	71
5.Boredom & monotony	10	19	43	119
6.Your friends' envy of your success	-	21	68	102

9.Are you living(please tick as appropriate):

    1.With your parent/parents   72

    2.With families of friends of yours   4

    3.In Halls of Residence   73

    4.In a hostel   34

    5.In rented rooms or flats   8

*10. What is the average number of times you have changed your accommodation(Add together the number of times you have moved and divide by the number of years you have been in your college or school as the case may be)?We are not referring to the number of times you have gone down on vacation and the number of times you have returned after vacation;on the contrary we are referring only to the number of times you have actually moved from one kind of accommodation to another kind.

      1.Once and under   139

      2.Between 1 and 2   24

      3.Between 2 and 3   13

      4.More than   3   15

11. Do you usually feel lonely?

      1.I do not feel lonely 84

      2.I feel lonely sometimes 101

      3.I frequently feel lonely 6

12. Here is a typical situation I would like you to think about for a moment. Mr/Miss X has a beautiful and clever sister whom he/she likes very much. This sister wants to go to England to study a subject which she can study in her home university equally well.Mr/Miss X knows that if the sister is allowed to go to England,she may become changed in her personal habits, styles of dress and in her manners;she would begin to talk back to her parents,wear lipstick and high-heeled shoes and become a typical "been-to". Mr/Miss X is the only person who has the final say as to whether she goes or stays at home,knowing very well that she can gain admission easily into either the foreign or the home university to pursue her field of interest. What would you,in the position of Mr/Miss X advise her to do? To go abroad or not to go?

      1.Advise her to go   55

      2.Advise her not to go 104

      3.I am uncertain of what
       I would advise her to do 31

13. What is your main source of financial support(please tick the one which is most important for you)?

      1. My parents are supporting me   94

      2. My relatives(other than parents)
          are supporting me   4

      3. I am financing myself out of my own
                    money   1

      4. I have a scholarship   89

      5. I have borrowed money to support
                    myself   3

*14. What is your father's job(if retired or deceased,please give the job he held before his retirement/death)? Please give full details including title of job,duties,number of men under him,whether he is/was an employer or employee,his salary and as much information as you possess.

          Class 1   17

          Class 2   45

          Class 3   49

          Class 4   30

          Class 5   21   29nr

          (See also Appendix 6)

15. It has been observed that when students(and those still at school) turn out to be academic failures they generally disappoint their fathers,mothers, other relatives as well as themselves.If you fail your examination,who do you think will be disappointed(apart from yourself) and to what extent?

	His/Her/Their Disappointment will be			
	Very Great	Great	Small/Neglible	
1. My Father	100	28	60	3nr
2. My Mother	130	23	36	2nr
3. My Other relatives	36	50	103	2nr

16. Does your opinion of yourself change a good deal or does it always continue to remain the same?

       1. Changes a great deal   38

       2. Changes somewhat   57

       3. Changes very little   68

       4. Does not change at all   28

17. How often do you feel downcast and dejected?

       1. Never   9

       2. Rarely   43

       3. Occasionally   118

       4. Fairly Often   15

       5. Very Often   6

18. When national or international questions are discussed, say, at a conference or at a debate of public meeting, do you often prefer not to say anything at all rather than say something which will make a bad impression?

       1. I prefer to speak   84

       2. I prefer not to speak   97

       3. I prefer to quietly make my exit   10

19. Would you say that people are more inclined to look out for themselves or to help others?

       1. To look out for themselves   169

       2. To help others   22

	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Often
20.Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep?	51	31	99	10
21.Do your hands tremble enough to bother you?	59	38	83	11
22.Are you bothered by nervousness	49	41	84	17
23.Are you bothered by pressures or pains in your head?	43	28	92	28
24.Are you ever bothered by nightmares	81	40	58	12

25.On the whole,how happy would you say you are?

            1.Very Happy   153

            2.Fairly Happy   28

            3.Not Happy   10

            4.Very Unhappy   -

26.Please think back to the time when you were 10 or 11 years old.Did your mother know who most of your friends were?

            1.Knew none,almost none   22

            2.Knew who some were   82

            3.Knew who most were   56

            4.Knew who all were   31

27.As far as you could tell,how interested were other members of your family in what you usually said or had to say?

            1.Not interested   9

            2.Fairly interested   63

            3.Very interested   118   1nr

28. Most people are sensitive to criticism. How sensitive would you say you are?

1. Not sensitive	11
2. Somewhat sensitive	74
3. Quite sensitive	73
4. Extremely sensitive	33

29. Do you usually find that one day you have one opinion of yourself and on another day you have a different opinion?

1. Yes, this happens often	3
2. Yes, this happens sometimes	45
3. Yes, this rarely happens	51
4. No, this never happens	92

30. Do you often find yourself dreaming about the type of person you expect to become in the future?

1. Rarely or never	43
2. Sometimes	56
3. Very Often	63
4. Always	29

31. Now, here are some statements expressing opinions. I am interested in knowing your opinion on these matters. I would like to know in each case whether you agree, disagree or are uncertain. Please tick or make a ring around whichever of the five alternatives given, gives the most correct picture of your mind. PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE OUT ANY STATEMENT even when you find it difficult to make up your mind. GO AS RAPIDLY THROUGH AS YOU CAN.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Un-Certain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
1. More and more African students should be encouraged to go to England.	17	51	24	69	30
2. Most people are fair and do not try to get away with something.	9	53	52	63	14
3. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from one's parents .	33	23	19	64	52
4. Barring exceptions, most African students have a happy time in England.	14	51	66	45	15
5. The job should come first, even if it means taking time off from recreation.	68	92	14	13	4
6. Making plans only brings unhappiness because plans are usually difficult to fulfill.	12	41	12	80	46
7. England is an unwelcome place for any African to go to.	8	5	39	81	58
8. Life could be much happier for me if I had more money.	50	62	31	33	15
9. School-children in Africa should be taught more about Europe than they are taught at present.	21	42	8	77	43
10. The government, not the individual, should take care of one's parents when they are old.	26	35	25	65	40

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Un- certain	Dis- agree	Strongly Disagree
11. When it comes to marriage, Africans should marry women of their own tribe rather than other women.	14	20	16	60	81
12. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.	40	65	31	36	19
13. If I had to choose between happiness and greatness, I'd choose greatness.	17	8	14	50	102
14. The highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are intelligent.	45	46	20	51	29
15. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion or politics, we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from from us.	14	41	24	76	36
16. To achieve the happiness of mankind in the future, it is sometimes necessary to put up with injustices in the present.	21	57	27	45	41
17. It is by returning to our glorious past that real social progress can be achieved.	9	35	42	68	37
18. It would be unfortunate for Africa if children are brought up to say "Dont be silly, Daddy!"	69	62	19	21	19
19. It is ironical that many people in West Africa imagine that African students are enjoying life in England while, in fact, they are living under hard and joyless conditions.	27	58	71	27	8

1nr

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Un-certain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree	
20. The sooner the African family of many relatives breaks down the better it will be for Africa	46	44	23	50	27	1nr
21. I feel that nothing or almost nothing can change the opinion I currently hold of myself.	37	47	29	58	20	
22. The African family system controls the selfishness of its members.	25	64	42	43	17	
23. I feel that I am not a person of worth, at least, not on an equal plane with others.	5	20	16	74	76	
24. At heart, the English do not relish the progress which many African countries have made since their Independence.	33	65	55	32	6	
25. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I'm a failure.	4	4	7	59	117	
26. It is a paradox, but true, that Africans become more African by travelling abroad and comparing their countries with those to which they travel.	17	31	54	59	30	
27. I do not need to have more respect for myself.	19	27	18	67	60	
28. Africans should not criticise Africa in the presence of foreigners.	29	33	11	78	35	
29. I am very good at getting to know people.	32	107	17	29	5	1nr
30. The English are well-known for their hypocrisy (cynics call it 'diplomacy').	81	76	21	10	3	
31. I feel that I do not have a a number of bad qualities.	21	55	39	65	11	
32. The notion of the "African Personality" is an assertion of one's pride in being African.	64	90	23	7	7	

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncert-ain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree	
33. I like organising and running things.	41	111	15	20	3	1nr
34. The Independence Movements in Africa were not violent because of the humanitarian values and traditions of the British.	26	63	48	37	17	

35. Please give the following information which is required for the classification and statistical treatment of the data.

       1. Age last birthday:

            20 years and under   94

            21 to 25 years   74

            26 to 30 years   18

            Over 30 years   5

       2. Sex (a) Male   145

            (b) Female   46

       3. Marital Status:

            Married   26

            Unmarried   164   1nr

*36. How many times have you changed your course of study before its completion?

          1. Never changed   189

          2. Once only   2

          3. Twice   -

          4. Three times or more   -

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION. If there are some comments you wish to make in connection with the questionnaire or in connection with your life as a student in general, please use the rest of this sheet and please feel free to continue on a new sheet if necessary.

APPENDIX 3

THE IMPACT OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

We have allocated this issue to an appendix not because it is unimportant or irrelevant for the life of the students while they are in the UK but because it has certain characteristics which set it apart from such tangible sojourn variables as finance, accommodation, academic difficulties and so on (some of these we shall indicate in a moment) and because it is bound up so intimately with the above sojourn variables that it is difficult to isolate and study it separately. A further reason for this allocation concerns the matter of space since analyses of prejudice (in view of the above) involve a number of controlling operations if an attempt should be made to isolate it and to study both its effects on the students and the latter's reaction patterns for dealing with it. These reasons make our attempted analyses in this section very tentative. Indeed, if our analyses in the main part of the study is tentative, the conclusions we are about to indicate are even more tentative because the study of racial discrimination among West African students is only an off-shoot of our research objectives. Consequently, we have not been able to investigate its dimensions as thoroughly as the issue demands. But such conclusions as we indicate are suggestive for the light they throw both on the phenomenon and on the student's reactions towards it.

Racial discrimination, as many observers have noted, is most often experienced by the students in connection with their search for suitable accommodation. But this, by no means, implies that it can be limited to that small area. On the contrary, it is even more widespread than this extending to general housing and house purchase as well as general employment opportunities

(as recent research has re-emphasised)[1]. In view of this, we have had to reject one research approach which is usually utilised in connection with studying the incidence of racial discrimination among students from other countries if we should obtain any understanding of the impact which the phenomenon makes on West African students. This approach consists of the construction of direct questions (which are then put to the students) concerning the actual number of times that racial discrimination has been experienced by the students in question. For some unexplained reasons the situations in which such experiences may have been obtained are not usually catalogued at the same time.

We have rejected this approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, the presuppositions that this approach makes are neither reasonable in themselves nor do they bear any relationship to pre-existing socio-psychological research on racial discrimination. One of these presuppositions concerns the identifiability of prejudice and discrimination. The approach presumes that an outside observer cannot observe the incidence of the phenomenon and that only the person who is the object of the discriminatory action can do this. On the face of it, this sounds reasonable but its further implications are not. It implies that racial discrimination is not just identifiable by the individual but that there are situations which are identifiably 'discriminatory' or 'non-discriminatory'. Thus where the students report no discrimination it can be presumed that the situation was not 'discriminatory' and vice versa. This clearly underestimates the prevalence of prejudice because it simplifies the nature of the phenomenon. Racial discrimination is not so identifiable even by the person who has been the object of discriminatory practices. The individual is involved in myriads of social situations in all of which his identity would be involved to some extent. That a situation is described as 'discriminatory' may

1. W.W. Daniel "Racial Discrimination in England" (Penguin Books) London, 1968

therefore reflect the extent to which unpleasantness has been experienced in any one social interaction irrespective of whether such unpleasantness can be attributed largely to racial factors. To this extent, the individual who records a situation as 'racially discriminatory' may be saying more about himself than about the situation. To use such a response as an indication of the prevalence or incidence of racial discrimination would therefore lead to unreliable conclusions.

The second implication of this approach is that it simplifies human behavioural responses to situations which are potentially unpleasant for the individual and presupposes that those who do not report discriminatory actions do not nevertheless react as if these actions actually existed. This clearly makes no reference to previous research. It is a well-known fact that individuals are motivated to action less by the situation in hand and more by their systems of ideas and that if an individual believes that something is taking place he would react in expectation of the occurence and his reaction would not be different from that of another person who has actually observed the phenomenon. This is the famous Thomas theorem (otherwise called the Self-fulfilling prophecy)[1]. Situations of stress bring the working of this principle to the fore but is nevertheless a 'normal' aspect of social existence. Thus one hardly expects the combat soldier not to react to the shout "The enemy is coming" until the enemy is actually there, nor for that matter can one expect the depositor of money in a bank not to withdraw that money on the suspicion of a financial crash until the crash has actually taken place. Viewed in this way, the above presupposition can be seen to the both unreasonable and theoretically invalid. It is because of the working of the above-stated principle

1. R.K. Merton "Social Theory and Social Structure" op.cit. chap. XI

that some overseas students have been observed to exhibit a certain amount of hesitation in describing a situation as 'discriminatory' or 'non-discriminatory'[1].

Thirdly, such a direct approach completely ignores the effects of Social Desirability motivation. In a social structure such as that of the UK where racial discrimination is considered to be morally 'wrong', a certain ambivalence[2] is to be expected among those who nevertheless practice it. On the other hand, persons who are, in fact, 'guests' in this environment would experience a strong motivation to make responses which are gratifying to the hosts[3]. The combination of these influences would therefore make such responses widely inaccurate as a description of the 'guests' experience of the phenomenon. In view of these drawbacks we utilised indirect references to racial prejudice as our main research tool.

The above makes our objective clear in one respect. It is obvious that our interest is not in the prevalence of actual racial discrimination among the students but concerns the extent to which racial discrimination affects the students irrespective of whether the individual respondent has actually experienced it or simply imagines it. Our research interest then can be sum-

1. P.E.P. "New Commonwealth Students in Britain" op.cit. pp.148/9
2. This has been widely noted. See for instance K.Little's "Negroes in Britain" (Kegan Paul)London,1947,pp.239-241; see also Anthony H.Richmond "Colour Prejudice in Britain"(Routledge & Kegan Paul) London,1954,esp.pp.63-66 and Alex Carey op.citp.174. Mervyn Morris quotes a section from the work of the Jamaican poet A.G. Bennet which puts the same thing in a satirical context viz: "Since I come 'ere I never met a single English person who 'ad any colour prejudice. Once, I walked the whole length of a street looking for a room, and everyone told me that he or she 'ad no prejudice against coloured people. It was the neighbour who was stupid... Neighbours are the worst people to live beside in this country".
(See Morris in H. Tajfal and J. Dawson eds. "Disappointed Guests" (OUP) London 1965, p.21)
3. See Robert Zajonc's demonstration of this in his "Aggressive Attitudes of the Stranger as a Function of Conformity Pressures" in Human Relations Vol.5, 1952, pp.2o5-216

marised in terms of two questions. These are (1) what are the effects on the students' personality of living in a society where racial discrimination occurs of which they are likely to be objects? and as a corollary (2) given the students' sense of identity as this obtains during the period of sojourn, what are their reactions in respect of (a) the importance they attach to it and (b) whether different 'types' of students tend to impute racial discrimination to all situations (irrespective of whether the characteristics of that situation merit such an imputation or not)?

The Effect of Racial Discrimination

Actions which are perceived as being 'discriminatory' are accompanied by a feeling of unfairness or injustice on the part of the person who experiences them. This, in itself, is the result of an absence of legitimacy for the action as far as that person is concerned. An action would have an effect on the individual to the extent that he considers it as legitimate or not. This, however, is only one dimension. There is another dimension which affects the extent to which such 'discriminatory' actions can affect the individual and this concerns the amount of relevance of such actions for the individual . Not all allegedly 'discriminatory' actions are relevant for the individual since he may know of their existence but may have had no first-hand experience of such actions. Where, on the other hand, he may have personally encountered such actions he would become sensitized to it far more than is the case with those who have had no personal experience. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, reactions - sociological and psychological - do not wait for personal encounters with the phenomenon.

The point about these two social dimensions (i.e. relevance and legitimacy) is that they interact to issue in degrees of importance of the phenome-

non for various individuals. When, therefore, a respondent claims that racial

discrimination is not important for him he is, indeed, saying that the legiti-

macy dimension and the dimension of relevance, interact in such a way as to

make the phenomenon seem unimportant to him. The interaction may be different

with another person who would consequently consider it to be relatively more

important. We can suggest a simple paradigm which would explain how different

individuals come to attach different degrees of importance to the phenomenon.

There are four possible situations which we have numbered,

<div align="center">Relevance to the Individual</div>

		High	Low
Legitimacy for the Individual	High	1. No perceived discrimination	2. No perceived discrimination
	Low	3. 'Discriminatory'	4. Unimportant for indiv.

but in only one of these situations is a 'discriminatory' action possible,

that is, where the individual sees no legitimacy for the action and where the

relevance of the action for him is high such as in the search for accommoda-

tion. Those who attach great importance to racial discrimination would be

located in this quadrant while the others in situations 1, 2 and 4 would ex-

press relatively lower amounts of importance to racial discrimination. By means

of this paradigm we are enabled to see that the perception of racial discrimi-

nation would vary more according to situational factors such as relevance and

legitimacy and less according to personality factors. Thus the points of empa-

ses of our two basic questions concerning discrimination are primarily situa-

tional.

Anxiety and Racial Discrimination

In view of the above, the individual who feels that he has been the ob-

ject of racial discrimination would be expected to register this feeling in
his general anxiety level, his level of self-image and in his situational
satisfaction while he is in the UK. Our analysis was based on the use of an
indirect question dealing with racial discrimination and the students' per-
ception of it when they arrived in this country. The question itself was part
of a battery of seven items which dealt with the students expectations about
life in the UK before they arrived and the discrepancies (and resulting
disappointments) between their expectations and the real situation as they
found it on arrival[*]. In all these items the students were asked to indicate
whether or not they consciously held expectations before they arrived and
the amount of importance for them which they attach to discrepancies between
expectations and reality on arrival. The responses were coded in terms of a
four-point interval of importance ranging from "Very great importance",
"Great importance", "Some importance" to "Of no importance". The specific
question reads as follows: "Most people have expectations about England before
they leave West Africa. You may have formed some sort of picture about England
before you came here. In what areas have you found discrepancies and to what
extent are these discrepancies important for you? Please tick in the appropri-
ate column below". The coded responses were then transferred to punch-cards
for processing. Since the proportion of students in our experimental sample
who were new arrivals (i.e. had been in the UK for less than three months)
was small (1.3%), the responses to this question would have been determined
largely by memory of their first days in the UK and also (perhaps more impor-
tantly) by their perception of social life in the UK as far as these areas
are concerned. Our results can then be considered as reflecting more on their

* See Experimental Questionnaire in Appendix 2 A

social perception of life in the UK and less on their initial reactions.

The analysis of the responses showed that a large majority of the students held some kind of expectations about it. Only 9% did not hold such expectations. However, the fact of holding expectations may be a reflection of the further fact that many West African students tend to have relatives who studied in the UK and who may have passed on information about racial discrimination. But this in itself says little about the students' understanding of racial discrimination before they left their home countries. Since they are unlikely to have experienced it before, their expectations may consist of generalised notions which are only slightly related to the phenomenon.

But while the fact of holding expectations does not give any indication of the 'meaning' which the students attached to racial discrimination while in their home country, the reality of the situation and the possibility of being objects of discriminatory actions would influence the level of importance which the student attaches to the discrepancy between his expectations and his perception of behaviour in this area[1]. In the further analysis of the data, then, we concentrated our attention on the degrees of importance which the students report that they attach to the discrepancy between what they expected and the reality of the situation as they found it on their arrival and subsequently.

Further analysis of the level of importance attached by the students showed that only 14% of the students considered discrepancy in this area not to be important for them. The rest attributed varying degrees of importance to it, ranging from 'some importance' to 'very great importance'. About one-third (32%) of the students considered discrepancy in this area to be of very

1. The essays in Henry Tajfel and John Dawson bring out this discrepancy and the re-assessment of views about UK which usually follows.

great importance'[*] for them. Taken altogether,then, 86% felt that the discrepancy was of importance for them while 14% attached 'no importance' to it. In order to find out whether there are identifiable characteristics associated with those who attribute different levels of importance to discrepancy in this area, we further analysed the data by Generalised Anxiety.

Our results showed virtually no difference in anxiety levels between those who attribute 'some importance' and those who attribute 'great importance'. But a distinct break occurs between those who attribute 'very great importance' and those attributing only 'great importance'(i.e. the adjacent category) as Table 1 below shows. The former show high anxiety compared to

Table 1

Discrepancy With Regard to Racial Discrimination By Generalised Anxiety

| Anxiety Score | Response Category | | | |
	Of very great Importance %	Of great Importance %	Of some Importance %	Of no Importance
High	82	58	53	-
Low	18	42	47	100
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	65	80	34	29

$x^2 = 51.83$; df = 3; P less than 0.001

Note: The analysis in this table and in the rest of this Appendix is based only on those who report that they held expectations.

the latter($SE_{P_1-P_2} = 7.11$%;sig.at 0.01).

However, this result is an approximation since Anxiety is not the result of racial discrimination alone. As we have seen in the main body of the study,there are extraneous variables which influence anxiety in the sojourn situation. Only by simultaneously controlling for all these

* See Tables at the end of this Appendix.

variables can some idea of the contribution of racial discrimination to anxiety be obtained. It is impossible to carry out all these controlling procedures partly because of the danger of sampling fluctuations involved in such procedures but also because of the small size of some of the sub-categories of responses. Our results in Table 1,then, can only be considered as a demonstration of the fact that discrepancy with regard to racial discrimination - in association with other sojourn variables - contributes to the level of Generalised Anxiety which obtains among the students while they are in the sojourn environment. But who,one might well ask, are these students who tend to attach 'very great importance' to discrepancy in this area? Are there other characteristics to be observed in connection with these students? Further analysis of the data provides useful indications

Table 2

Discrepancy With Regard to Racial Discrimination By Sit. Satisfaction

Sit. Satisfaction	Response Category			
	Of very great Importance%	Of great Importance%	Of some Importance%	Of no Importance%
High	24	50	67	69
Low	76	50	33	31
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	65	80	33	29

$x^2 = 25.28$; df = 3; P less than 0.001

Table 3

Discrepancy With Regard to Racial Discrimination By Psych. Adjustment

Response Category

Psych. Adjustment	Of very great Importance%	Of great Importance%	Of some Importance%	Of no Importance%
High	31	49	65	66
Low	69	51	35	34
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	65	80	34	29

$x^2 = 15.66$; df = 3; P less than 0.01

Tables 2 and 3 above show associations between the degree of importance attached to discrepancy in this area and Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment respectively. These suggest that students who attach a high degree of importance to discrepancy in this area are not only high on Anxiety but also low on both Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment.

However, since both variables are also associated with Anxiety respectively[1] (as well as discrimination as above), our previous result in Table 1 may well be a reflection of the students' lower levels of Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment. In order to find out whether this is so, we controlled the data in Table 1 for (a) Situational Satisfaction and (b) Overall Psychological Adjustment and standardised. Our results[2] show that those attaching 'very great importance' to discrepancy in this area would still show high anxiety were all students to have the same level of both Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment[3] respectively

1. See Tables 5 and 6 at the end of this Appendix.
2. See Tables 7 and 8 at the end of this Appendix.
3. The original difference of 82% having fallen to 57% in the case of Situational Satisfaction and 53% in the case of Psychological Adjustment.

Further analysis by self-image did not show a statistically significant association with discrepancy in this area.

Our general conclusion of this part of the analysis, then, is that the degree of importance which the experimental students attach to discrepancy in this area is, undoubtedly, a function of their levels of Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment. Where these are high, the degree of importance attached would be relatively low and vice versa. Nevertheless, racial discrimination does contribute to a relatively high level of Generalised Anxiety since large differences remain after controlling for the extraneous influence of Situational Satisfaction and Overall Psychological Adjustment.

A Possible Consequence of Racial Discrimination?

The proportion of the experimental students who report that discrepancy between their expectations and the reality of racial discrimination is 'of very great importance' for them (i.e. 32%) may have been sensitised to the phenomenon by their personal experience while they have been in the UK or by their knowledge of it from their friends. These students would then be expected to show a differential tendency to impute 'racial discrimination' to situations which may not justify such a description. In order to find out whether the characteristics of the students influence their imputation of 'racial discrimination' to situations we included a projective item in the questionnaire for the experimentals.

This item described a realistic social situation involving a waiter who delays service to a group of persons. However, no conclusions were

built into the description. The students were then required to give reasons
for the occurence of the phenomenon which is described. In building up this
description, various requirements were prescribed at the pre-pilot stage
because situations which can be either 'discriminatory' or 'non-discriminato-
ry' are difficult to define. No reference can therefore be made to the situ-
ation per se in order to evaluate the imputations which individuals read into
it. The guides which we developed and which contributed towards the situation
we included in the questionnaire (after many revisions) were the following:
(1) The situation should be realistic i.e. it should not be hypothetical to
the extent that it cannot arise in everyday social interaction; (2) it should
be ambiguous such that if all the persons described were white this would deci-
dedly alter the imputations which subjects would see in the situation as against
the opposite where the persons described are not white; (3) if the identities
of persons involved are not given at all, the situation would not be seen
as being inherently 'discriminatory'. This requirement followed from research
into Anti-Semitism in America which showed that if a group of persons are
given a group of photographs of white persons and are asked to describe
facial expressions, beauty, etc. no reference would be made to stereotypes of
the Jew. However, once this identity of one of the photographs is given as
being that of a Jew then all the stereotypes associated with the Jew enters in-
to the descriptions (e.g.facial expression become imputed with cunning and
momentary advantage, long noses etc). We reasoned then that the situation
(without the identity of persons) should not evoke 'racial discrimination';
and (4) the emotional tone of description should not point to any kind of
pre-existing antipathy or unpleasantness.

The wording of the item which we actually used fulfilled the above

conditions. We gave the identity of the participants to provide a point of reference but not the identity of the waiter or the maid. The actual item used, reads as follows: "Here is a typical situation. Mr. X is an African student and his girl-friend Y is English. One day, they form a four-some with John and his wife (both English) and went to a first-class restaurant to celebrate X's recent examination success. Once in, the waiter takes the order and promptly comes back with two soups for John and his wife. He returns to the pantry. But instead of promptly bringing two more soups he sits in the passage, chatting with the kitchen-maid. Y is seething with anger at the delay, picks up her gloves and all four left the restaurant, leaving two cold soups behind. What would you, in the position of X, conclude about the waiter's delay?"

The responses were coded in terms of a seven-point scale which was then dichtomised in the actual analysis, to reflect high and low imputation of racial discrimination. The cut-off point was determined by the median of the distribution of responses.

The responses showed a tendency to concentrate less on the situation as given and more on factors which are not immediately apparent. Many assumed that both the waiter and the kitchen-maid are white. The responses ranged from monosyllables such as "stupid", "ignorant", "narrow-minded" and so on (20%) to elaborate explanations not mentioning racial discrimination at all at the other extreme (8%). Some of the latter explanations were atypical and interesting in themselves. There is one who simply said "There is some misunderstanding somewhere"; another said "He would not serve because the Blacks are as mean as the Scotch"; a third said "It is rather an awkward situation. The waiter may have been hanging on for extra soup from the kitchen owing to shortages, so that each case has to be judged according to circumstances".

However, the most frequent response mentioned racial discrimination(52%).

Further analysis of those mentioning racial discrimination did not show any association with self-image. This result may reflect on the fact that the situation was, perhaps, not ambiguous enough or alternatively that imputations of racial discrimination into situations such as this are more or less uniform among the students. There is, of course, a third explanation in the possibility that different situations are 'imputation-evoking'(perhaps involving some dimension of intensity) and that the situation described is not one that evokes such imputations.

We can now conclude our discussion in this Appendix. Our results show that the students are aware of racial discrimination (86% of the sample experienced a discrepancy in this regard) in the UK but that this is not related to imputations of 'racial discrimination' to situations.

Tables to Appendix 3

Table 1

Responses to Item on Discrepancy Regarding Racial Discrimination

Degree of Importance	Frequencies	
Of very great Importance	66(32%)	)
Of great Importance	80(38%)	) = 86% attaching importance
Of some Importance	34(16%)	)
Of no Importance	29(14%)	
Total Response	209(100%)	

Total Reporting no expectations regarding Discrimination	20(9%)*	
Total reporting	209(91%)	
	229(100%)	

Note: 2 non-response excluded

* Further analyses in this Appendix excludes this category.

Table 2

Discrepancy Regarding Racial Discrimination By Generalised Anxiety

Response Category

Anxiety Score	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance	Total
High	53(82%)	46(58%)	18(53%)	-	117
Low	12(18%)	34(42%)	16(47%)	29(100%)	91
Total	65(100%)	80(100%)	34(100%)	29(100%)	208

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 51.83$; df = 3; P less than 0.001

Table 3

Discrepancy Regarding Racial Discrimination By Situational Satisfaction

Response Category

Situational Sat.	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance	Total
High	16(24%)	40(50%)	22(67%)	20(69%)	98
Low	49(76%)	40(50%)	11(33%)	9(31%)	109
Total	65(100%)	80(100%)	33(100%)	29(100%)	207

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 25.28$; df = 3; P less than 0.001

Table 4

Discrepancy Regarding Racial Discrimination By Overall Psych. Adjustment

Response Category

Overall. Psych.Adj.	Of very great Importance	Of great Importance	Of some Importance	Of no Importance	Total
High	20(31%)	39(49%)	22(65%)	19(66%)	100
Low	45(69%)	41(51%)	12(35%)	10(34%)	108
Total	65(100%)	80(100%)	34(100%)	29(100%)	208

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 15.66$; df = 3; P less than 0.01

Table 5

Generalised Anxiety By Situational Satisfaction

Sit. Sat. Score	Anxiety Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	49(36%)	55(60%)	104
Low	88(64%)	37(40%)	125
Total	137(100%)	92(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$\chi^2 = 12.38$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 6

Generalised Anxiety By Overall Psych.Adjustment

Overall Psych.Adj.	Anxiety Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	38(30%)	73(79%)	111
Low	99(70%)	20(21%)	119
Total	137(100%)	93(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$\chi^2 = 56.66$; df = 1; P much less than 0.001

Table 7

Discrepancy Regarding Discrimination By Generalised Anxiety Standardised on Situational Satisfaction

Response Category

Anxiety Score	Of very great Importance %	Of great Importance%	Of some Importance%	Of no Importance%
High	81	58	48	24
Low	19	42	52	76
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	65	80	34	29

Note: This gives the standardised rates of the results in Table 2 in the Appendix Tables. The original difference of 82% between the two end categories(i.e.'of very great importance' and 'of no importance' has now fallen to 57% which is significant at 0.01 with $SE_{p_1 - p_2}$ = 12.93%.

Table 8

Discrepancy Regarding Racial Discrimination By Anxiety Standardised on Overall Psychological Adjustment

Response Category

Anxiety Score	Of very great Importance%	Of great Importance%	Of some Importance%	Of no Importance %
High	77	58	48	24
Low	23	42	52	76
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	65	80	34	29

Note: This gives the standardised rates for Table 2 in Appendix Tables. The original difference of 82% has now fallen to 53%(i.e. the difference between the two end categories) which is significant at 0.01 with $SE_{p_1 - p_2}$ = 12.08%.

APPENDIX 4

CRITERION VALIDATION SCHEDULE FOR THE SELF-IMAGE INDEX

Though face validation constituted the bulk of the validation procedures with which we tested the validity of the self-image index, it was necessary to check by an external criterion whether, in fact, our measure is validly measuring what it is designed to measure. The external criterion used consisted of the ratings of the tutors of a sub-sample of the students in the experimental sample in one university, obtained independently from the responses of the students themselves. The students did not know that their supervisors were being asked to provide ratings against which their responses were correlated. The supervisors, on the other hand were informed that the students had completed the questionnaires including the self-image index but were not informed of the nature of their responses. In this way the danger of bias was kept to a minimum. The validation schedule and the letter which accompanied this are reproduced below. The results of this validation check have been described in chapter 7.

Ref.No............

<div align="right">

London School of Economics
Graduate School,
Department of Sociology,
Houghton Street, Aldwych,
London W.C.2.

Date

</div>

Dear Sir,

I am a postgraduate student at the above-named institution, at present engaged on a study of some of the sociological and psychological correlates of personality change among a selected group of university students. In connection with this work, I have (in the last few months) been trying to develop a research instrument to measure the self-image and self-conception of these students. The successful development of such an instrument would not

only be of direct consequence to my study, but would also be of advantage to those who are responsible for selecting West African university students, and perhaps more importantly, for those who select overseas students for study abroad. I am presently carrying out a series of pre-tests of this instrument and would like your co-operation in this regard.

In order to ensure that the instrument is valid and reliable, it is necessary to give it out to different 'populations' of university students, with different age ranges (to eliminate 'spurious' effects due to maturational differences), at different levels of study and to compare the results. I have already done so with students from (names of colleges). The next step is to correlate the results of tutor's assessments with those provided independently by the instrument.

Many of the West African students at your university have been kind enough to co-operate in this inquiry by completing a questionnaire which contained this instrument though, of course, they were 'naive'(to use the language of the psychologist) about it in the sense that they were not aware of its presence in the questionnaire.

I shall be extremely grateful if you can provide me (as supervisors of these students) with an assessment of them in confidence. I shall then be able to see the extent to which your assessment correlates with the results provided by the instrument. I must point out, however, that I am not so much interested in their academic performance as I am in their personality assessment, though brief details of the former would be appreciated as supplementary information. As such, it is necessary that the students maintain the atmosphere of anonymity in which they completed the questionnaire so that they do not feel themselves vulnerable (a constant suspicion of all students) and so that your assessment would not be 'tainted' by your personal relationship to him or her. I must also point out that it will not be possible to identify individual results as the material will be analysed by a computer.

It will be highly gratifying if your assessment could be 'unstructured' i.e. if you can just describe the person of the student as you know him or her without any guides from the 'outside'. Nevertheless, I have attached to this letter an Interpersonal Evaluation Check-List which can be used as 'pegs' for this description. Where the List does not, in your opinion, provide a true enough picture of the student, please feel free to add to it, in your own words, in the space provided. Your assessment would naturally be held in the strictest confidence.

Thank you in anticipation of your co-operation,

Yours sincerely,

C., P. Cross B.Sc(soc).M.Sc(econ)

INTERPERSONAL EVALUATION CHECK LIST

University Code No._____   Student Code No._____   Supervisor Code No._____

Here is a list of adjectives which can be used to characterise another indi-
vidual. Please indicate (by means of a tick in the appropriate box) the ad-
jective in each set which in your opinion applies to this student (name pro-
vided). PLEASE ENSURE THAT YOU TICK ONE OUT OF EACH SET OF ADJECTIVES.

Octant 1

1. Dictatorial .....

2. Manages others, dominating,
   bossy .....

3. Undecided (I am) .....

4. Good leader, likes
   responsibility, forceful .....

5. Able to give & take orders .....

Octant 2

1. Egoistical, conceited .....

2. Boastful, proud and self-
   satisfied, snobbish .....

3. Undecided (I am) .....

4. Self-reliant, self-confi-
   dent, independent .....

5. Self-respecting .....

Octant 3

1. Always ashamed of self .....

2. Timid, shy, self-punishing .....

3. Undecided (I am) .....

4. Lacks self-confidence
   apologetic .....

5. Able to criticise self .....

Octant 4

1. Clinging vine .....

2. Wants to be led .....

3. Undecided (I am) .....

4. Very respectful to
   authority .....

5. Grateful .....

Octant 5

1. Expects everyone to admire him   .....
2. Acts important   .....
3. Undecided (I am)   .....
4. Makes a good impression   .....
5. Well thought of   .....

Octant 6

1. Cold and unfeeling   .....
2. Things only of himself   .....
3. Undecided (I am)   .....
4. Businesslike   .....
5. Able to take care of self   .....

Octant 7

1. Spineless   .....
2. Obeys too willingly   .....
3. Undecided (I am)   .....
4. Modest   .....
5. Can be obedient   .....

Octant 8

1. Will believe anyone   .....
2. Easily fooled   .....
3. Undecided (I am)   .....
4. Trusting and eager to please   .....
5. Appreciative   .....

THANK YOU very much for your kind co-operation in this project. If you would like to add to this picture, please use the space below and continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

APPENDIX   5

INDICES, RATING SCALES AND METHOD OF SCORING

As has already been indicated in the text, the study utilised Likert-type scales with weights assigned to the five response categories of 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'. The same method of weighting was utilised in those instances where the respondent was asked to attribute degrees of importance to the item in question. The scales were then converted into indices and the score of the respondent on the item obtained by simple summation. The method by which the index conversion was carried out has been indicated in the main body of the study(chap. 7). We shall now, in this Appendix, describe the items which went into the construction of the eleven indices and one rating score. The eleven indices were the following:

1. Index of Generalised Anxiety

2. Index of Self-Image

3. Index of Emotional Instability

4. Index of Situational Satisfaction

5. Index of Overall Psychological Adjustment

6. Index of Western Orientation

7. Index of Dogmatism

8. Index of Achievement Motivation

9. Index of Psychosomatic Disposition

10. Index of Attitude to the English

11. Index of Identification with Africa

The rating score which was used is (12) Financial Strain Score.

The composition of the various indices and rating scale is shown in the listing below. The correlation of each item with the total score on that item is indicated (i.e. discriminatory power) in parantheses next to the item to which it applies. The numbering of the questions refers to their original location in the questionnaires (as in Appendix 2). However, since each questionnaire is divided into two sections - Questions and Opinions - we prefix each item below accordingly to refer to the section in which it is to be found. Where the item is a sub-category of a wider question, we indicate this by a subscript following the number of the question e.g. Ques. 2_6 refers to the second question in the Question Section of the Questionnaires (i.e. the first part) and the sixth sub-category.

1. Index of Generalised Anxiety

This consists of the following items: Ques.2_7(o.73),Ques.18(0.73), Ques.20_5(0.73),Ques.20_6(o.80),Ques.20_7(0.73),Ques.36(0.53) and Ques.38(0.52) in Questionnaire A (Experimentals - see Appendix 2). The corresponding items in Questionnaire B (controls) are: Ques.3,Ques.8_1,Ques.8_5,Ques.8_6, Ques.11,Ques.17 and Ques.25. In all cases,positive responses to the items were given lower scores than negative ones. The direction of intensity is therefore such that the respondent with high anxiety would receive a low total score on summation over all items.

2. Index of Self-Image

This consists of the following items: Ques.37(0.49),Ques.39(0.48),Opinion 21(0.48),Op.23(0.46),Op.25(o.47),Op.27(0.48) and Op.31(0.47) in Questionnaire A. The corresponding items in Questionnaire B are: Ques.16, Ques.29,Op.21,Op.23,Op.25,Op.27 and Op.31. Positive responses to the items (indicating high self-image) were given higher scores than negative ones.

3. <u>Index of Emotional Instability</u>

This consists of the following items: Ques.40(0.47),Ques.49(0.46),Op.29

(0.45) and Op.33(0.45) in Questionnaire A. The corresponding items in

Questionnaire B are: Ques.18,Ques.28,Op.29 and Op.33. In this case,

negative responses to the items were given higher scores than positive

ones. The direction of intensity is therefore such that higher scores

indicate lower levels of emotional instability than lower scores.

4. <u>Index of Situational Satisfaction</u>

This consists of the following items: Op.1(0.85),Op.4(0.49),Op.7(0.88)

and Op.19(0.83) in Questionnaire A. The numbering is the same for the

corresponding items in Questionnaire B. Positive responses were given higher

scores than negative ones. The direction of intensity is such that higher

scores indicate higher levels of Situational Satisfaction than lower

scores.

5. <u>Index of Overall Psychological Adjustment</u>

This is a composite index consisting of all the items in Indices 1 to 4

above and consists of 22 items in all. The varying directions of intensity

were taken into account. Higher scores on this index indicate higher

levels of psychological adjustment than lower scores.

6. <u>Index of Western Orientation</u>

This consists of the following items: Op.9(0.81),Op.10(0.93),Op.11(0.65)

Op.18(0.88),Op.20(1.00) and Op.22(0.73). The numbering is the same for

the corresponding items in Questionnaire B. Positive responses were given

higher scores than negative ones. The direction of intensity is therefore

such that higher scores indicate higher levels of Western Orientation than

lower scores.

7. Index of Dogmatism

This consists of the following items: Op.12(0.77),Op.13(0.69),Op.14(0.77),
Op.15(0.88),Op.16(0.83) and Op.17(0.50) in Questionnaire A. The numbering
is the same for the corresponding items in Questionnaire B. Positive
responses were given higher scores than negative ones. The direction of
intensity is therefore such that higher scores indicate higher levels of
Dogmatism than lower scores.

8. Index of Achievement Motivation

This consists of the following items: Ques.41(0.49),Op.2(0.69),Op.3(0.69),
Op.5(0.50) and Op.6(0.50) in Questionnaire A. The corresponding items in
Questionnaire B are: Ques.19,Op.2,Op.3,Op.5 and Op.6. Positive responses we]
re given higher scores than negative ones. The direction of intensity is
such that higher scores signify higher levels of Achievement Motivation
than lower scores.

9. Index of Psychosomatic Disposition

This consists of the following items: Ques.42(0.58),Ques.43(0.48),Ques.
44(0.54),Ques.45(0.54) and Ques.46(0.46) in Questionnaire A. The
corresponding items in Questionnaire B are: Ques.20,Ques.21,Ques.22,Ques.
23 and Ques.24. Responses indicating higher frequencies of psychosomatic
illnesses were given higher scores than those indicating lower
frequencies.

10. Index of Attitude to the English

This consists of the following items: Op.24(0.80),Op.30(0.80) and Op.34
(0.64) in Questionnaire A. The numbering is the same for the corresponding
items in Questionnaire B. Positive responses were given higher scores
than negative ones. The direction of intensity is therefore such that
higher scores signify more favourable attitudes to the English than
negative ones.

11. **Index of Identification With Africa**

This consists of the following items: Op.26(0.80),Op.28(0.60) and Op.32(0.76) in Questionnaire A. The numbering is the same for the corresponding items in Questionnaire B. Positive responses were given higher scores than negative ones. The direction of intensity is therefore such that higher scores signify higher levels of Identification With Africa than lower scores.

One rating scale was used to provide simple scores. The composition of this scale is shown below.

12. **Financial Strain Score**

This consists of the following items: Ques 2_5 (0.54),Ques.21_3(0.62) and Op.8(0.65) in Questionnaire A. This score was applied only to the Experimental sample. Responses which indicated higher financial strain were given higher scores than responses which indicated lower financial strain. The direction of intensity is such, then, that higher scores signify higher levels of financial strain than lower ones.

APPENDIX 6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS RANKING

Social stratification in West Africa has only recently become of interest to social researchers. But the few studies which have resulted from this interest tend to be fragmentary. In the circumstances, it was necessary to develop some measure of socio-economic status since this was one pre-sojourn variable which previous research has suggested would influence the reactions of students to the sojourn experience. Further, the prestige rankings which are widely available do not apply to West Africa, having been developed in the USA and in the UK for occupations which are usually found in these countries. While similar occupations are to be found in West Africa, there are a range of others which are specific viz: Paramount Chief, Asantehene, Imam, Oba, Chiefdom Speaker etc. and cannot be compared, cross-culturally, with anything found in the USA or UK either in terms of prestige or in terms of the extent to which it is mediated by other factors e.g. lineage relationships. In the absence of any scale which can be applied to West African populations, we had to construct one using information provided by the respondents.

Statistical Procedure

In order to do this, we asked the students (in the questionnaire) (a) to rate their parents occupation (or if he was deceased his last occupation) on a five-point scale ranging from 'very high' to 'very low' and (b) to give information about the title of the position, whether the father is/was an employer/employee, the number of persons under him, his salary and any other information which is relevant.

Analysis of the pilot responses produced a range of occupations, many of which are generally found throughout West Africa and others which are specific

to certain regions e.g. Oba in Western Nigeria, the Asantehene in Middle
Ghana, the Imam and Chiefdom Speaker. Further, there was a marked absence of
occupations in the 'very low' prestige stratum of the subjective ranking of
the students, a tendency which (at this stage) was attributed to either a
general 'upward' bias of responses or to a general absence of students from
the lower socio-economic status groups. While much of the information provi-
ded about whether the father is an employer or employee was relatively reliab-
le(i.e. consistent with subsequent titles given), there was a wide variation in
the numbers of employees over whom the father was in control. This variation
was, undoubtedly, influenced by certain 'self-employed' categories which in-
volve varying levels of delegation as well as multiplication of units. For
instance, the 'farmer' could refer sometimes to the owner of a piece of land
which he works himself, but could also refer to a large piece of land which
is 'split up' and worked by several members of the respondent's family. Besi-
des, the fact, that a man is described as a 'farmer' (with a certain number of
employees under him) does not (in the context of West Africa) indicate whether
he also holds a second job which may be related to his farming pursuits. For
instance, some students reported that their fathers were 'Produce Exporters'
which could be connected with the sale of produce from the father's farm or
be independent of it. The same kind of variation can be seen in the category
of 'Carpenter' which could mean the same thing as a 'Cabinet Maker' - a res-
ponse which some other students gave. The two can, but need not, be indepen-
dent - information on number of employees notwithstanding. Similarly, the
salaries given against occupations (in the case of the small numbers who felt
able to give this kind of information) showed wide variations partly, no doubt,

because of local variations in income as well as variations in the obligations
attached to certain categories of occupations as we have seen above. The res-
ponses of the experimental and the control samples showed that these variations
were general.

In view of these variations and the subjective assessments in the pilot
responses, we decided to seek more reliable and objective information by
asking the students to rank a given list of occupations and to base our analy-
sis of socio-economic status on the results. We, accordingly, prepared a list
of 33 occupations (selected from the occupations given by the pilot students),
built them into a new questionnaire (we present a copy at the end of this
Appendix), contacted a sub-sample of the students and asked them to rank these
occupations in terms of the respect which they possess "IN THE EYES OF PEOPLE
IN WEST AFRICA". This specification was made in order to defeat subjective
tendencies to 'over-rate' their fathers' occupations and, in this way, obtain
a more objective view of the prestige of the various occupations. This method
of ranking involves many problems, the most important of which concerns the
shifting frames of reference in the mind of the person doing the ranking. For
instance, one person may rank an occupation in terms of the prestige per se
while others would rank it in terms of its professional standing while yet
others would rank it in terms of role-performance (i.e. the manner in which
the office-bearer performs his duties). It would then be impossible to reflect
these frames in any subsequent analysis. However, this would be a real problem
if our objective was concerned with the assessment of a specific occupation
rather than the overall picture of how people grade different occupations. We
were not directly concerned with the problem of the various factors which
predispose individuals to rank a certain occupation highly[1], nor did we expect

1. A.F. Davies "Prestige of Occupations" B.J.S., Vol.3, 1952, pp.134-147

that the students would know anything about the way their fathers performed their occupational duties. All we were interested in (for the purpose of our research) was the relationship between socio-economic status as measured by the father's occupational prestige (the two are not, by any means, synonymous but are closely related) and various aspects of the sojourn situation. We felt, therefore, that this method of ranking was adequate for our purpose.

The selection of the occupations used in the ranking questionnaire was based on the need for general applicability to most of the students in the study. To this end (and while we did not completely ignore region variations in occupations) we selected only those occupations whose prestige can be presumed to be known by the majority of the students. For instance, though the Oba is relatively specific to Western Nigeria, or the Imam to Muslims and the northern parts of countries in West Africa, the Clergyman to Christians etc., their general prestige is not restricted to these localities and regions. By contrast, we left out those occupations which are more local in origin and whose prestige would vary according to local circumstances e.g. local community leaders such as the village headman, local priests of various shrines and herbalists. Clearly, then, the occupations selected and used in the ranking questionnaire cannot be presumed to be representative of all occupations in West Africa since we restricted ourselves to those occupations given by the students. Nevertheless, the list covered a good spread of all occupations as can be seen from the questionnaire at the end of this Appendix.

A five-step Likert type scale was used for the rankings with the continuum ranging from "very high prestige", "high prestige" to "very low prestige". Weights of '1' through to '5' were assigned to each rank and the resulting choices transferred to punch-cards for analysis.

It was not enough that these questionnaires be given only to students in the UK (i.e. the pilot and the experimentals) since the fact of their having been away from West Africa for varying periods of time as well as having to depend on their memory may result in atypical rankings. In order, then, to check on the stability of rankings over the different samples as well as to find out what the effect of having been away is, we sent some of the ranking questionnaires to one school in Nigeria (these were enclosed with the control questionnaires). In all, then, we obtained three independent rankings of the prestige of the same 33 occupations - one from the pilot sample of 38, a second from 34 experimental students and the third from 80 control sample students. The first two groups were contacted again. We present the results of the analysis of their responses in Table 1 below, together with mean ranks and standard deviations of each occupation.

The resulting ranks show a relatively high level of stability over the three groups. Only a few occupations 'changed' ranks by as much as .40 and this occurred only among the controls. In general, the pilot and the experimental samples' responses were more or less identical but differed, as a group(and very slightly), from those of the controls.

The results of the three rankings correlated highly with each other. We obtained a correlation of 0.99 (Spearman's rho) between the pilot and the experimental responses and one of 0.92 between those of the experimentals and the controls. The Kendall's tau (adjusted for ties) equivalents are 0.93 and 0.87 respectively. Table 1 follows.

Table 1

Comparison of Occupational Prestige Rankings

Occupations	Pilot M.R.	Pilot S.D.	Experm. M.R.	Experm. S.D.	Control M.R.	Control S.D.
Doctor	1.21	.13	1.23	.13	1.46	.3o
Cabinet Minister	1.32	.17	1.2o	.14	1.41	.2o
Judge	1.35	.2o	1.23	.16	1.46	.25
Member of Parliament	1.67	.19	1.53	.21	1.48	.25
Company Director	1.71	.26	173	.24	1.97	.23
Director (Civil Service Dept.)	1.71	.27	1.7o	.25	2.o7	.28
Commissioner of Police	1.75	.2o	1.73	.2o	2.oo	.28
Lecturer	1.78	.23	1.79	.24	1.72	.24
Banker & Financier	1.85	.22	1.79	.2o	2.o8	.26
Manager in a Company	1.88	.26	1.94	.22	1.83	.21
Lawyer	1.92	.22	1.91	.27	2.1o	.16
Oba	1.96	.28	2.o3	.18	1.9o	.28
Qualified Engineer	1.96	.23	1.96	.23	1.57	.24
Major in the Army	2.oo	.22	2.o5	.24	1.78	.28
Owner of Fleet of Lorries	2.oo	.27	1.97	.26	2.23	.3o
Secondary School Principal	2.o3	.22	2.oo	.21	1.91	.19
Paramount Chief	2.17	.27	2.11	.24	2.3o	.27
Dispenser/Pharmacist	2.32	.26	2.52	.23	2.27	.23
Minister of Religion	2.66	.2o	2.79	.21	3.17	.27
Contractor	2.71	.1o	2.55	.19	2.35	.19
Collector of Customs	2.75	.23	2.84	.24	2.77	.27
Chiefdom Speaker	2.81	.23	2.81	.26	2.65	.25
Imam	2.88	.12	3.21	.27	3.1o	1.o7

Occupations	Pilot		Experim.		Control	
	M.R.	S.D.	M.R.	S.D.	M.R.	S.D.
Trader	3.07	.20	3.12	.24	2.85	.24
Foreman of Works	3.17	.19	3.29	.22	2.86	.28
Station-Master	3.17	.25	3.20	.21	3.45	.26
Librarian	3.18	.23	3.29	.20	3.21	.13
Engine-Driver	3.32	.24	3.44	.22	3.37	.26
Farmer	3.71	.30	3.79	.25	3.85	.12
Elementary School Teacher	3.71	1.04	3.73	.28	3.46	.31
Carpenter	3.78	.30	3.82	.26	3.90	.30
Tailor	3.85	.23	3.82	.23	3.63	.31
Woodcarver	3.92	.30	3.67	.21	4.17	.22

Note: M.R. refers to Mean Rank and S.D. to Standard Deviation

These rankings show a clear predominance of white-collar occupations over blue-collar ones. There are no unskilled, manual occupations. It is particularly noteworthy that many of the occupations at the top of the table call for some kind of professional training. Indeed, all studies of prestige rankings to date have shown the pre-eminent position which is accorded to doctors. This 'break' between white and blue-collar occupations was then used as the broad basis for the construction of the socio-economic status scale which we employed in the study.

The Final Three-Step Socio-economic Status Scale

The final socio-economic status scale was obtained by taking the rankings of the experimental sample and dividing them into six general categories of occupations. These categories were used by Hall and Jones[1] in their study of the social grading of occupations in the UK. Their seventh category - Unskilled

1. J. Hall and D. Caradog Jones "Social Grading of Occupations" BJS. Vol.1, 1950 pp.31-55

Manual - was left out as there were no occupations fitting that description.
The broad categories of occupations are shown in Table 2 together with their
mean ranks and the average mean rank for each broad category. As can be seen
from the table, these categories are not altogether arbitrary since they
derive from the mean ranks as calculated from the experimental responses.
There are,undoubtedly,overlaps at the boundaries of each category, though
some are smaller than others (cf,for instance,the greater overlap between
'Banker & Financier' and Lawyerr' at the top,'Elementary School Teacher' and
'Farmer' on the one hand, with the smaller overlap between adjacent
occupations in the middle of the table i.e. 'Paramount Chief' and 'Dispenser/
Pharmacist' and 'Collector of Customs' and 'Trader' on the other). This
indicates that we have a quasi-scale (i.e. a partially ordered scale) - a
finding which is in line with all previous studies of occupational prestige.

We further calculated the average mean rank for each category (as in
Table 2) and transformed these values to the nearest whole number to obtain
the final order. Categories '1' and '2' can then be seen to have an average
mean rank of 2,categories '3' and '4' would have 3 and categories '5' and
'6' would have 4. We therefore combined categories 1+2 = high socio-economic
status,3+4 = middle socio-economic status and 5+6 = lower socio-economic
status.

The subsequent analysis of our data showed that only 9 members of the
experimental sample had fathers who fall into the lower socio-economic status
category. However, rather than collapse the socio-economic prestige hierarchy
into two groups - higher and lower - and lose information(as well as contami-
nate the adjacent group), we decided to leave the hierarchy in terms of three
steps. Table 2 follows and we present a copy of the questionnaire at the end
of this Appendix.

Table 2

The Six Categories and their Occupations

Categories	Occupations	Mean Rank	Av. Mean Rank
1. Professional & High Administrative	Cabinet Minister	1.20	
	Doctor	1.23	
	Judge	1.23	
	Member of Parliament	1.53	
	Director (Civil Service Dept.)	1.70	
	Commissioner of Police	1.73	
	Company Director	1.73	
	Lecturer	1.79	
	Banker & Financier	1.79	1.54
2. Managerial/Executive	Lawyer	1.91	
	Manager of a Company	1.94	
	Qualified Engineer	1.96	
	Owner of Fleet of Lorries	1.97	
	Secondary School Principal	2.00	
	Oba	2.03	
	Major in the Army	2.05	
	Paramount Chief	2.11	1.98
3. Inspectional, Supervisory & High Grade Non-Manual	Dispenser/Pharmacist	2.52	
	Contractor	2.55	
	Minister of Religion	2.79	
	Chiefdom Speaker	2.81	
	Collector of Customs	2.84	2.70
4. Inspectional, Supervisory & Lower Grade Non-Manual	Trader	3.12	
	Sration-Master	3.20	
	Imam	3.21	
	Foreman of Works	3.29	
	Librarian	3.29	3.22
5. Skilled Manual & Routine Grades of Non-Manual	Engine-Drive	3.44	
	Woodcarver	3.67	
	Elementary	3.73	
6. Semi-skilled Manual	Farmer	3.79	
	Tailor	3.82	
	Carpenter	3.82	3.81

Graduate School,
Dept. of Sociology,
London School of Economics,
Houghton Street, Aldwych,
London W.C.2.

Date

Dear Friend,

Thank you for the interest you have shown in the study of West African students in the United Kingdom which I am undertaking by completing a questionnaire.

However, the second stage of the inquiry requires the determination of the prestige attached to various jobs in West Africa. These I have listed over-leaf.

I shall be very grateful if you would indicate the respect which people in West Africa accord to the various occupations in the list by means of a tick (√) in the appropriate column. This requires only a few minutes at the outside and does not seek any personal information. As such I shall be very grateful if you can complete and return it at your VERY EARLIEST convenience so as to ensure that it does not become trapped in the "vacation rush".

Thank you for your co-operation in anticipation of an early reply,

Yours sincerely,

C.P. Cross

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE IN WEST AFRICA

Code Number _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Below are listed 33 occupations which West African students have given
as their father's occupations. Next to the list are five columns showing
different degrees of respect. As the second stage of our inquiry into West
African students in the United Kingdom, we would like you to read each of
these and decide how you thing each job rates in terms of the respect it
has IN THE EYES OF PEOPLE IN WEST AFRICA. Please place a tick (√) in the
column which, in your opinion, applies to each job. We do not want your own
likes and dislikes, but your estimation of how much respect the general
public in West Africa has for these jobs. Thank you very much for your co-
operation in anticipation. An early reply would be greatly appreciated.
Please do not leave out any.

OCCUPATIONS

	Very High	High	Neither High nor Low	Low	Very Low
Secondary School Principal............					
Member of Parliament.................					
Wood Carver					
Lawyer...............................					
Contractor					
Paramount Chief					
Minister of Religion					
Farmer					
Collector of Customs (Civil Service).					
Commissioner of Police					
Major in the Army					
Dispenser/Pharmacist					
Lecturer					
Doctor					
Banker & Financier					
Foreman of Works					
Manager in a Company					
Oba					
Qualified Engineer					
Chiefdom Speaker					
Owner of Fleets of Lorries					
Librarian					
Elementary (Primary)School Teacher ..					
Trader					
Company Director					
Imam					
Carpenter					
Director of Civil Service Dept.......					
Cabinet Minister					
Judge					
Tailor					
Station Master					
Engine Driver (Railway)					

What is it about a particular occupation which makes people accord it
High or Low respect?

....

What is your country of origin? _____

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX 7

REVIEW OF FINDINGS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The broad aim of this study was to obtain information on the reactions of West African students to their sojourn in the UK with a view to determining the impact of foreign experience on their sense of identity. For this purpose, we collected comparable information from a control sample of students who are studying in educational institutions in their own home countries. We come now to a summing up of what has been accomplished towards achieving this primary objective and to a consideration of the implications of our findings for research on cross-cultural educational exchanges.

Summary of Findings

It is difficult, in an exploratory study such as this, to single out the main findings without leaving the impression that we have answered all the questions which previous research has failed to answer. On the contrary, we make no such claims for the results of our study. Besides, there are a few secondary findings which can, at best, provide nothing more than hypotheses to be tested in future research endeavours. All this makes the study relatively complicated and difficult to summarise in simple terms. Any summary of this kind must therefore, of necessity, involve some repetition. Nevertheless, we have singled out the main conclusions and reiterate these below. We discuss their implications later in this appendix.

The Self-Image in the Sojourn Situation

Our discussion in chapter four has shown that identity can be operationalised in terms of the self-image. On the basis of this consideration, we constructed a Self-Image Index which we administered to both samples of students

in the course of the survey. It will here be remembered that our second-mentio-
ned hypothesis states that inter-cultural educational travel would have an ef-
fect on self-image levels. The survey showed that this is largely the case.
The self-image distributions of the two samples differed, with members of the
experimental sample showing significantly lower scores on the Self-Image Index
compared to the control sample. We also saw, in the course of the validation
pre-tests as well as in the subsequent analyses, that the level of self-image
is significantly related to Generalised Anxiety such that those with high
self-image are less likely to experience high levels of Generalised Anxiety.
Further associations with self-image were observed in connection with Psycho-
somatic Disposition and Overall Psychological Adjustment.

The Impact of Pre-Sojourn Variables

We investigated a range of pre-sojourn variables with a view to finding
out the extent to which they contribute to the level of Self-Image while the
student is in the sojourn situation. These were sex, socio-economic status,
religious affiliation, expectations about life in the UK, the motivations for
undertaking sojourn in the UK and cultural values of the home society. The
main finding of this part of the survey was that these variables in general do
not bear a statistically significant relationship to the level of self-image as
this obtains in the sojourn situation.

The motivations of the students for undertaking their educational sojourn
in the UK are diverse but the most important reason for the majority of them
seems to be the desire for advanced training in their chosen fields of study.
However, there were interesting differences (within this broad pattern) be-
tween the sexes and between self-image types. Females tend to have a rank

order of motivations which is different from that of the males. They are more likely to sojourn in the UK on the wishes of their family unlike the male students who are more likely to come to the UK in order to gain advanced training. Further, the student with a high level of self-image attaches importance to the desire to know other countries while his low self-image compatriot attaches importance to the desire for advanced training.

However, cultural values do seem to play a part in the sojourn experience though their effect on the level of self-image while the students are in the UK appears to be small. For instance, both samples of students tend to maintain a favourable attitude to aspects of their cultural background. This, we have suggested, is probably related to the high level of Identification With Africa(as measured by an attitude scale) which we observed among the students in the experimental sample. Nevertheless, pre-sojourn variables,as a whole, seem to be generally less important for the level of self-image in the sojourn situation compared to sojourn variables.

The Impact of Sojourn Variables

The sojourn variables which we investigated are registration status, duration of sojourn, problems of financial support, problems of accommodation, academic problems,social relations,participation in voluntary associations,the size of towns(in which institutions are located) and the size of the colleges students attend. The survey showed that full-time students tend to have higher levels of self-image compared to part-timers while those receiving financial support from their parents and/or relatives tend to show higher levels of self-image compared to the others.

There is clearly no one-to-one correspondence between the registration status of the students and the nature of the financial support which they receive. The survey also showed that part-time students tend to experience higher levels of academic difficulties and that this may contribute to the level of self-image which they possess while they are in the sojourn situation.The types of accommodation in which the students live was also observed to have a bearing on the level of self-image which obtains.

Further analysis of the data showed that the students maintain a high level of friendship relations in general; there was no statistically significant difference between those with high and those with low self-image in this respect. However, the social distance characteristics of the friends of the two self-image groups differ with the high self-image student tending to be most friendly (qualitatively) with persons of the same cultural and national background while the low self-image student tends to be most friendly with persons of a different national and cultural background. A similar result was obtained in connection with the analysis of social participation among the students. Again,while there was no difference in the levels of participation among the two self-image groups (with both maintaining relatively high levels), there was a statistically significant difference as far as the tenure of elected positions of leadership in voluntary associations is concerned. It was the low self-image students (not the highs as previous research has implied) who tend to hold such positions.

The other sojourn variables which we investigated did not show statistically significant associations with self-image viz: size of university towns, size of colleges and duration of sojourn.However,we observed an association between duration of sojourn and Overall Psychological Adjustment.

This increases up to three years and then levels off.

Correlates and Consequences of the Sojourn Experience

Further comparisons of the two samples were undertaken in order to find out whether there are psychological correlates of self-image differences and of the sojourn experience which may be the resultant of all the factors we investigated in the research project. These analyses showed relatively large and statistically significant differences between the samples. For instance, a significantly larger proportion of the experimental students gave responses indicating lower sensitivity to criticism compared to the control students. This seems to go side by side with a critical awareness of themselves, their objectives and role in the sojourn situation.

These results suggest that certain psychological changes may be taking place in the personality of the experimental students which only a longitudinal study can confirm.

Nevertheless, we studied five attitude dimensions in order to find out what these changes may mean in terms of the students' attitudes. These dimensions are Western Orientation, Dogmatism, Achievement Motivation, Attitude to the English and Identification with Africa. The analyses showed that while there is virtually no difference between the two samples as far as Western Orientation is concerned, there are statistically significant differences on the other dimensions; significantly larger proportions of the experimental students scored high on Dogmatism, showed a more favourable attitude to the English and scored high on Identification with Africa compared to the controls. However, they also scored low on Achievement Motivation compared to the controls.

Implications for Research into Cross-Cultural Educational Exchanges

The findings of our survey suggest various qualifications which have to be taken into account in future research and which have to be made in our present state of knowledge concerning the foreign student. and the sojourn situation in which he lives and studies.

The Role of Identity in Cross-Cultural Exchange

The most important implication of our findings concerns the role of identity in social interaction in general and in inter-cultural education in particular. Our results suggest that identity plays a central role in influencing the nature of the students' interaction while they are in the sojourn situation since it mediates between the individual and his immediate environment. Consequently, a comprehensive understanding of the effect of sojourn experiences requires that this mediating role be recognised for what it is. This is what Secord and Backman refer to when they use the adjective "gyroscopic".

A few investigators have recognised this mediating role of identity though little systematic research has followed this (cf. Bennet et al.[1] Singh, Brewster-Smith and Casagrande, Bailyn and Kelman, Beals and Humphreys). The importance of this recognition resides in the fact that the foreign student is a personality in his own right and that it is HE who goes through the sojourn experience. His identity - as one aspect of his personality - would reflect the circumstances in the host environment under which he lives and studies as well as the changes in cultural background which educational travel involves.

There are then two aspects which call for simultaneous concentration in future research. These are: (1) the personality of the student and (2) the

1. John Bennet, Herbert Passin and Robert McKnight "In Search of Identity" (Univ. of Minnesota Press) Minneapolis, 1958

characteristics of the environment in which he is. Richard Morris, for instance, carried out his investigation on the assumption that changes in the life-cycle involve changes in 'externals' i.e. environment (drawing from studies of social mobility), while the majority of other investigators have concentrated on disparate aspects of the personality of the student without integrating them. Our findings in connection with identity suggest, in fact, that the two sides are not mutually exclusive and that environmental factors in the sojourn situation are relevant for the student only to the extent that they find an 'echo' in his personality, of which the disparate items studied may well be manifestations. We can only hope that our study contributes to a rapprochement of the two sides even though we cannot extrapolate from our conclusions to either other sojourn situations or to other categories of students.

Awareness of the need for this kind of rapprochement can be seen in the writings of some writers (cf. Brewster-Smith, Herman and Schild "Contexts.. op.cit., and Coelho "Personal Growth and Educational Development.. op.cit.). However, the information available at the moment does not allow anything more than a patchy picture of the process of adjustment to be obtained.

Another area in which this rapprochement is beginning to bear fruits is in the socio-psychiatric field. Though the state of research in this area is relatively underdeveloped (for lack of a better word), there are promising signs in the work of Professor Lambo at the University of Ibadan. Undoubtedly, changes in self-identity are correlated with mental illness and Prof. Lambo's unpublished study (op.cit.) of some of the factors which are related to mental illness among Nigerian students would suggest that sojourn variables are important. However, this area would require a lot of ethno-psychiatric background information for the rapprochement to be fully exploited.

The Role of Pre-Sojourn and Sojourn Variables

Our findings indicate that pre-sojourn variables - as a whole - are relatively unimportant for the level of self-identity during the period of sojourn. But while pre-sojourn variables as a whole may not be very important, some variables may be more important than others (for instance, motivations for undertaking cross-cultural educational travel). Our data suggests, then, the need for appraisal of individual pre-sojourn factors both in the pre-sojourn situation and in the sojourn situation. This is made more convincing by the fact that some of them, such as 'preconceptions' and 'expectations' cover a multitude of factors. Besides, the preconceptions and expectations of students who have relatives who have studied in the UK and who may have passed on relatively accurate information about life in the UK may be of a different character compared to those of students who have no such relatives. Only by investigating each in the two situations can definite information be obtained about their role in understanding students' reactions during a sojourn.

The results of our analyses of some of these factors are in line with previous research findings. In the main, our findings indicate (in line with previous studies) that most students undertake sojourn for personal reasons as distinct from 'other-directed' or externally-imposed reasons. Nevertheless, we found indications that altruistic reasons are not necessarily unimportant and may be typical of a minority e.g. the motivations of females being more 'other-directed' than that of males. This suggests that further emphasis should be given to differences in motivations as compared to similarities as is the case at present.

Further(like Singh, Selltiz et al., and others but unlike Prodosch Aich), we found that professional and academic reasons predominate in the motivations

of students for undertaking sojourn. Aich's argument that the majority of his students undertook sojourn because they could not gain admission into their own home institutions is not borne out by our analysis. Indeed, this was the least important for our students. Nevertheless, this conflict of findings suggest that local situations in the host country may be more important than previous research has suggested. Future research should therefore aim at exploring variations in sojourn situations.

Similarly, the finding that those whose primary motivation for undertaking sojourn is the desire to know other countries tend to have easier adjustment (as in W.Sewell et al., Scott, Morris, Lambert and Bressler) is only partially borne out by our survey to the extent that those students with high self-image ranked this motivation highest _and_ showed higher levels of Overall Psychological Adjustment. This may indicate something about the 'meaning' of a given motivation in the minds of different students; perhaps, students are unclear about their motivations for undertaking sojourn; perhaps, their motivations are more in the nature of what Aich, in a different context, calls ("Farbige.. op.cit.p.77) a "Klischeevorstellung" (i.e. a jumbled-up, stereotyped motivation pattern consisting of cliches common to all foreign students). One suspects that a similarly jumbled-up set of reasons would be given by students in higher education as motivations for undertaking higher education. One way by which definite information on the nature and 'meaning' of motivations can be obtained is by investigating such matters _before_ the students leave their home countries for foreign shores.

The sojourn variables appear to be much more directly associated with self-image. Like Useem and Useem, Aich, Bastide, and Singh, we found an awareness of racial discrimination among our students. One effect it seems to have

(in the sojourn situation since this may be temporary) is to raise the level of anxiety which the students experience generally. However, we have not been able to isolate its effect since it is bound up with other sojourn variables.

While our findings with regard to social relations (in line with previous studies with the exception of that of Cary) show that (a) many of our students are friendly with families and (b) maintain a high level of participation in voluntary associations within their colleges, we found that the student with a high level of self-image (where he does join) is less likely to take up positions of leadership - results which are not affected by differences in social skill. This suggests that personality characteristics operate to influence the pattern of social relations which the students maintain during their sojourn - an area about which relatively little is known. Much work requires to be done on (a) personality factors that predispose to certain patterns of social relations and (b) the situational characteristics within which personality predispositions operate to influence social relations. Indeed, the relationship between depth of friendship and number of friends awaits further clarification. The two are not, by any means, synonymous. The finding of Sewell et al. and Lysgaard that facility in English influences social relations is not investigated in our study nor is that of Selltiz et al., that facility in English influences the depth of friendship but not the number of friends. Nevertheless, our finding that the closest friends of the students tend to be of the same nationality suggests that factors other than facility in the English language may be relatively more important in influencing the pattern of social relations which the students maintain. Further research in this area could profitably begin with an investigation of the characteristics of different 'types' of friendship relations along the lines suggested by our analysis.

Finally, our study shows (in line with previous studies) that a period of sojourn tends to increase favourable attitudes to the host country among the students. But the fact that the difference between the experimentals and the controls is not very large suggests the absence of a 'hypodermic' effect. Variables, such as size of towns, size of colleges (Selltiz et al.) and social relations, (Selltiz et al. and Lysgaard) which have been shown to affect attitudes to the host country do not appear to be important in the case of the students we studied. Analysis of these variables by 'Attitude to the English' did not yield statistically significant differences.

Further Suggestions for Future Research

We can now make further suggestions for future research apart from what has been indicated so far. Our research was undertaken against a general absence of background information. It seems reasonable to suggest that future research should concentrate on these background areas. We list these areas below:

1. While much is known about the constituent elements in African culture, relatively little is known about their psychological and social consequences . It would be desirable, for instance, to obtain some answers to various questions viz: what are the personality characteristics of the child who grows up in an African culture and to what extent do these (a) vary over the continent and (b) differ, if at all, from that of the child who grows up in another,but different, culture? To what extent does socialisation in this cultural background predispose the individual to dogmatism or high achievement motivation[1]? To what extent do child-rearing practices reflect the predominance of cultural symbols? Are there differential effects of different types of family organisa-

1. Robert LeVine "Dreams and Deeds: Achievement Motivation in Nigeria" (University of Chicago Press) Chicago, 1966 is a useful step in this direction

tion i.e. polygynous versus monogamous? To what extent are the 'new' ideas of love, marriage and family life affecting both child-rearing patterns and kinship relationships within the different types of family organisations? By way of example, there is the memorable description of his first kiss by an African student in the USA which left him with the impression that "Americans like kissing very much, and in many cases their way of kissing looks like birds trying to pull each other's beaks" and relates how his girl-friend "kept on pressing me (i.e. his tongue). I felt pain since she was actually biting me without realizing it. She continued and it was exceedingly painful"[1]. The observation that kissing is becoming widespread suggests that corresponding changes may be taking place in the relationships between kin members. Professor Kenneth Little's research into marriage and family life in Sierra Leone (currently under way) may provide some answers to questions in this area. Similarly, the suggestion by Barbara Lloyd that European forms of family organisation are being adopted by the elite requires further investigation since there is, in reality, no typically 'European' form of family organisation.

2. The role of cultural factors in the sphere of academic work requires to be investigated. The relevant question is this area concerns not so much whether West African students do better or less well at their studies compared to their British counterparts (as Aich suggests in Germany and B. Morris and Carey in the UK), but whether the cultural background affects academic performance in specific directions. Some relevant questions in this area are viz: To what extent do the linguistic characteristics of various African languages influence the process of thinking? Are certain forms of perception more typi-

1. Mugo Gatheru "Child of Two Worlds" African Writers Series (Heinemann) London, 1966, p.150

cal of certain languages or language groups? What happens to religious ideas, which are relatively highly emphasised in the cultural background, in the sojourn situation and to what extent do these ideas "shore up" identity?

3. Changes in identity over time merit further investigation in the light of our findings and only a longitudinal study of a group of students, followed up from the time they leave their home countries until they return, can provide the relevant kind of information in this area. This would also provide further information on the role of self-identity in the process of becoming mentally ill (in the case of those students who <u>do</u> become mentally ill during their sojourn).

4. Finally there is the need for studies of returning students in general and returning West African students in particular as far as their re-adjustment in their own societies are concerned. In this connection, it would be interesting to obtain information on how the returning student copes with frustrations in the home environment (as Useem and Useem have done in the case of the Indian student). This kind of information (combined with 3 above) would enable certain discrete facts to be understood. For instance, the relatively higher level of 'Identification with Africa' (a similarly high level of identification with India was found by Singh) which we found among our experimental students may have implications for political attitudes. At the moment, the contribution of sojourn experience to the formation of political attitudes is very much an open area, full of untested generalisations. It has been suggested that sojourn variables operate in such a way that foreign students in East Germany tend to hold anti-communist political ideas while those in West Germany tend to hold anti-Western political attitudes[1]. Hevi's description of

1. P. Aich "Soziale Determinanten der Politischen.." op.cit. p.483

his experiences as a foreign student in China suggests a similar tendency
for African students in China to hold anti-Chinese communist political ideas.
There is clearly no one-to-one direction of association. Information deriving
from research with foreign-returned students will not only enable us to see
the extent to which generalisations[1] such as these are valid but will also
indicate the extent to which 'asymetric' associations (e.g. as in the case
of those African students in the USA who do not develop anti-American politi-
cal attitudes) obtain. It will also indicate the extent to which the dominant
political attitudes of the host country are adopted by the foreign student and,
if this is the case, the extent; to which conflict of political loyalties may
follow changes in countries of sojourn as in the case of Ghanaian and Nigerian
students who joined the exodus from Bulgaria in 1963 and went to study in the
USA.and UK. For instance, one returned student recently wrote (in a different
context) that "I must confess here that I did not ... really <u>understand
communism</u> in detail and all its/implications. But I knew that <u>whatever it was</u>,
it took away freedom, and denied the very fundamental liberties which it
preached it brought to the people"[2]. To what extent it may be asked, does such
contradiction reflect the dominant political attitudes of the host country in
which he sojourned?

1. Related generalisations concerning the distribution of political ideas also
require empirical testing. For instance, there is the argument in Aich's
"<u>Farbige unter Weissen</u>" op.cit.p.271 which states that "Es ist eine Tat-
sache, dass die USA am meisten wirtschaftliche und technische Hilfe an die
unterentwickelten Laender geben. Es ist aber auch eine Tatsache, dass trotz
dieser grosszuegigen Hilfe die <u>USA das unbeliebteste Land in den unterent-
wickelten Gebieten sind</u>" (trans. 'It is a fact that the USA gives the most
economic and technical aid to underdeveloped countries. It is also a fact
that the USA is the most unpopular country in the underdeveloped territories
in spite of this generous aid'.) My emphasis.
2. A.A. Afrifa "<u>The Ghana Coup</u>" (Frank Cass & Co.)London, 1966, p.85,
my emphasis

APPENDIX 8: FURTHER TABLES

APPENDIX 8A

Frequency Tables and Distributions of Scores

A. Frequency Tables and Distributions of Scores

Table 1

Self-Image Distributions for Both Samples

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
84	1	4
83	-	2
82	-	3
81	-	2
80	-	11
79	-	9
78	1	16
77	8	22
76	5	18
75	9	26
74	10	23
73	23	22
72	27	12
71	22	4
70	34	5
69	27	4
68	21	4
67	17	-
66	7	2
65	8	1
64	8	-
63	-	-
62	2	1
61	-	-
60	-	-
59	1	-
Total Cases	231	191
Mean Scores	70.31	75.24
Standard Deviation	3.98	4.07
Medians	71	75

Mean Scores: $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .39$; diff.sig; P less than 0.01

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 73.09

fig. 1

Comparison of Distributions on Self-Image

Experimentals
Controls

FREQUENCIES

SCORES (OBTAINED)
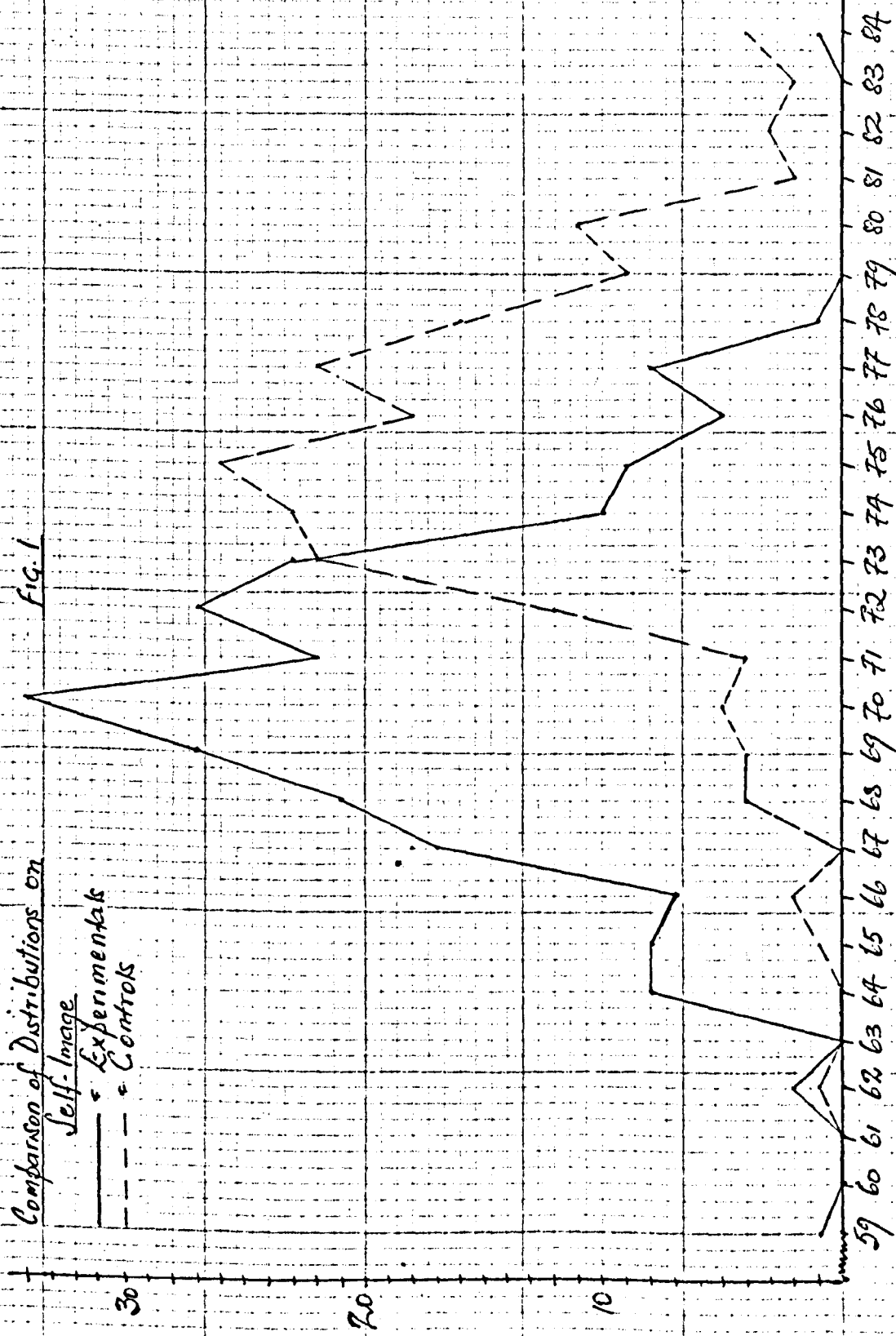
Table 2

Distributions on Emotional Instability for Both Samples

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
49	3	1
48	-	4
47	-	13
46	-	21
45	3	43
44	11	48
43	23	29
42	47	18
41	47	9
40	33	4
39	35	1
38	16	-
37	8	-
36	1	-
35	1	-
34	-	-
33	-	-
32	2	-

Total Cases	230	191
Mean score	40.78	44.17
Stan.Dev.	2.23	1.70
Medians	41.41	44.71

Mean score: 44.17; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .19$; diff.is sig; p less than 0.01

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 42.82

Fig. 2

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

—— = Experimentals
– – – = Controls

SCORES OBTAINED

FREQUENCIES
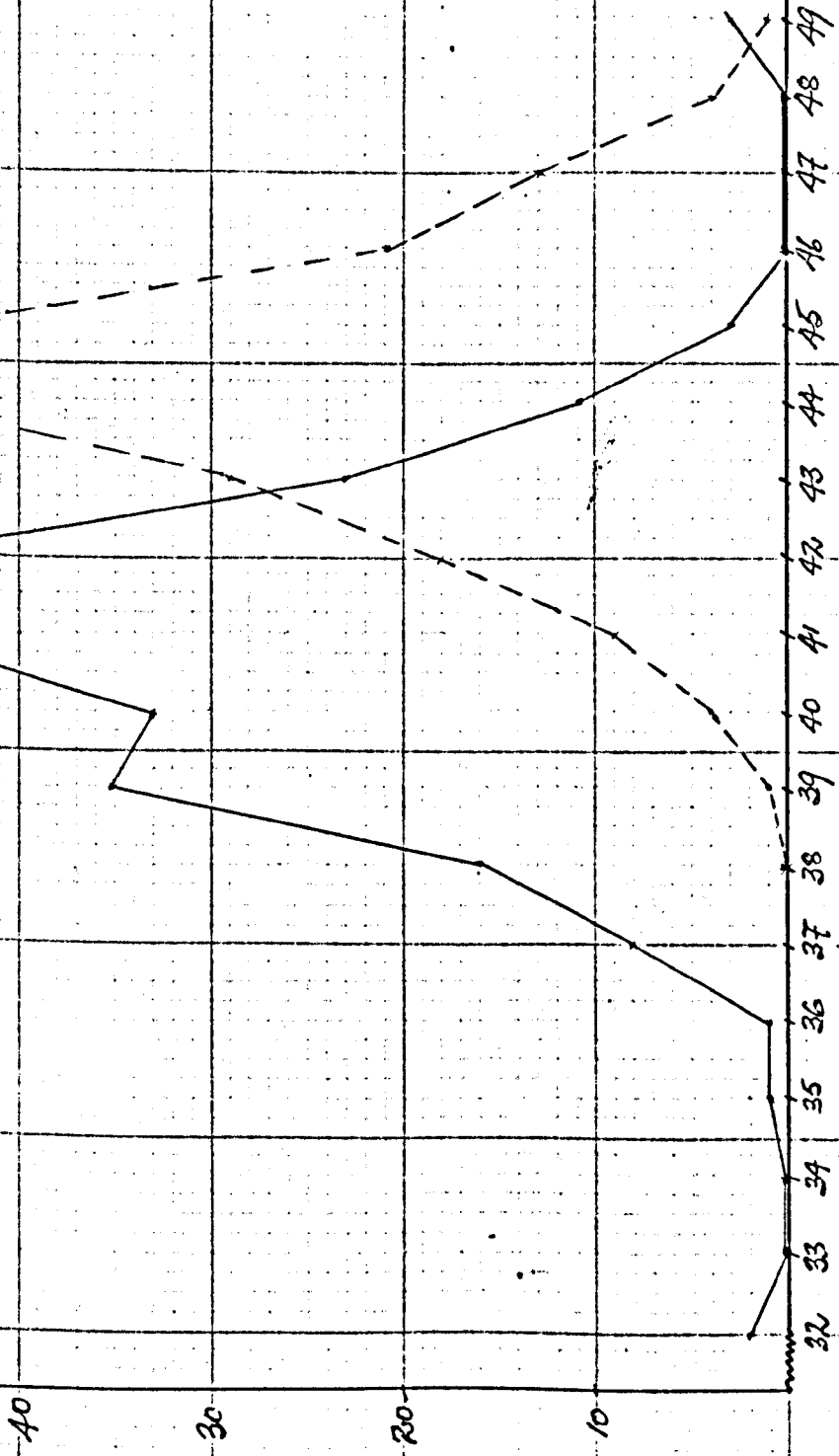
Table 3

Distributions on Situational Satisfaction for Both Samples

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
49	2	34
48	2	27
47	3	22
46	6	32
45	6	27
44	9	20
43	26	17
42	20	3
41	27	5
40	36	1
39	23	-
38	15	1
37	18	-
36	13	-
35	9	-
34	9	-
33	5	-
32	1	2

Total Cases	230	191

Mean Scores   40.00   45.88; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .29$; diff. is sig; P less than 0.01

Standard Deviation	3.37	2.65
Medians	40.60	46.40

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 43.51

Fig. 3

Comparison of Distributions on Situational Satisfaction

— = Experimentals
--- = Controls

FREQUENCIES
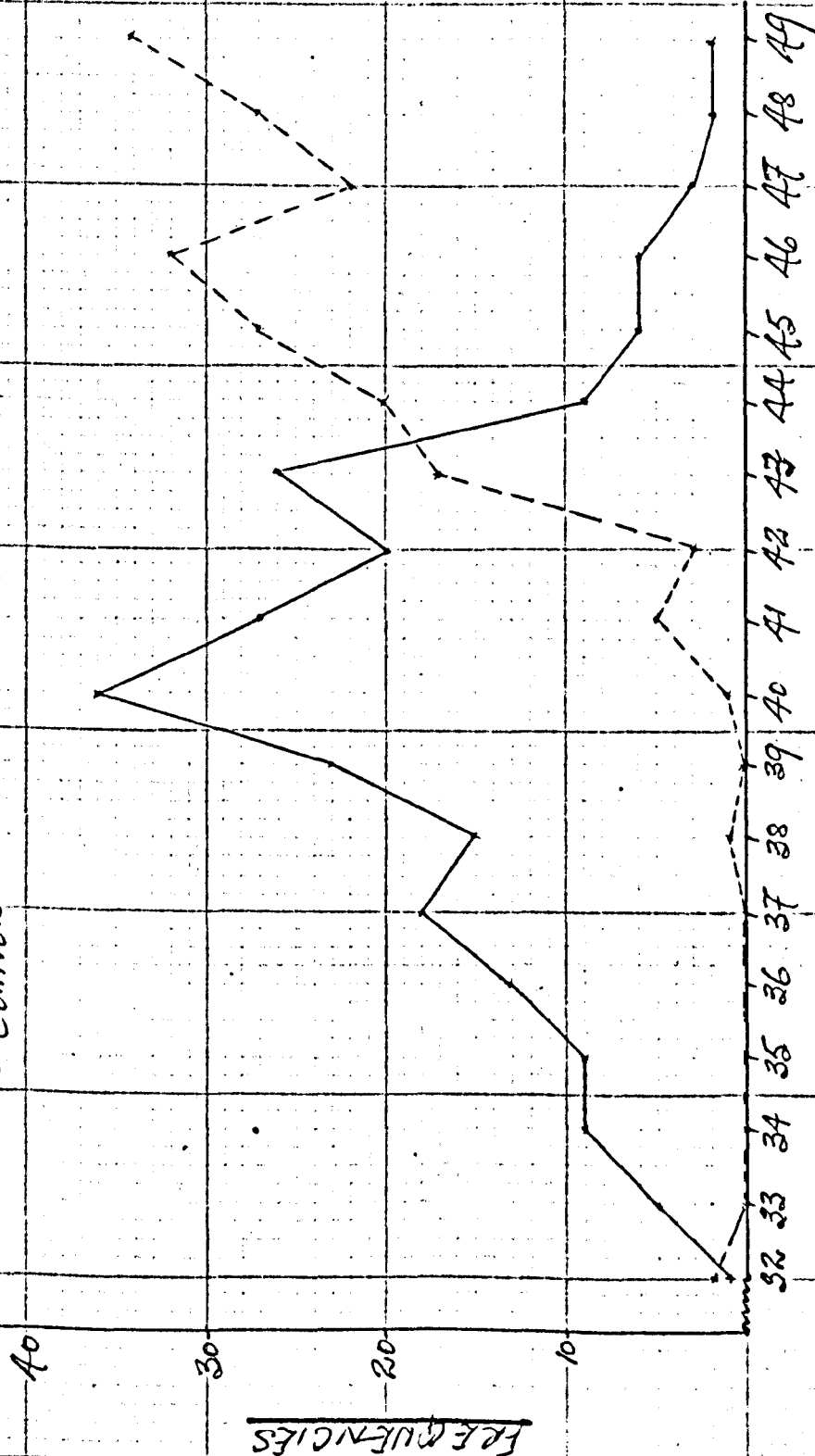
SCORES OBTAINED

Table 4

Distributions of Scores on Overall Psychological Adjustment

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
264	1	}
263	-	]
262	-	-
261	-	-
260	-	4
259	-	1
258	-	4
257	-	10
256	1	2
255	-	13
254	-	9
253	-	6
252	-	9
251	-	15
250	-	14
249	-	17
248	-	24
247	-	11
246	-	12
245	1	13
244	-	5
243	-	5
242	-	3
241	-	2
240	-	2
239	-	1
238	1	2
237	-	-
236	-	-
235	2	-
234	3	-
233	4	-
232	3	-
231	6	1
230	4	-
229	5	-
228	8	-
227	9	-
226	4	-
225	9	-
224	-	-
223	7	-
222	16	-
221	14	-
220	33	-

219	11	1
218	8	1
217	17	-
216	10	1
215	5	-
214	4	-
213	5	-
212	3	1
211	4	-
210	9	-
209	7	-
208	6	-
207	2	-
206	-	-
205	4	-
204	1	-
203	-	-
202	-	-
201	-	-
200	3	-

Total Cases   230   191

Mean Scores   220.00   249.24: $SE_{\bar{x}_1-\bar{x}_2}$ = .25: diff. is sig;
P less than 0.01

Stand.Dev.   2.80   2.33

Medians   220.5   249.7

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 230.50

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON OVERALL PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT - FIG. 4

— = Experimentals
- - - = Controls
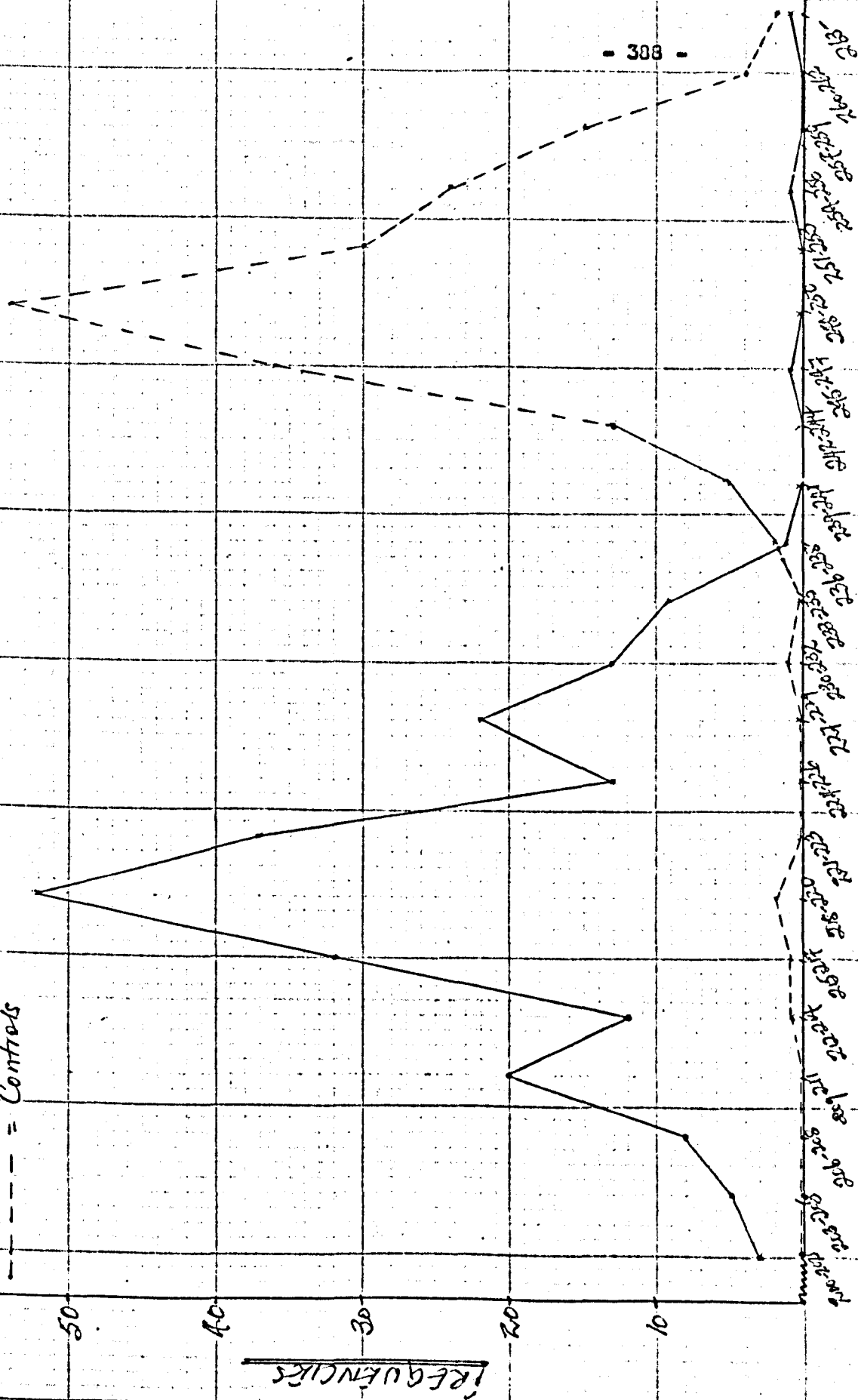
Table 5

Distributions of Scores on Western Orientation

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
72	2	1
71	-	-
70	2	-
69	3	2
68	2	1
67	5	6
66	8	6
65	14	6
64	13	8
63	14	16
62	27	13
61	25	22
60	24	31
59	17	20
58	19	11
57	19	16
56	14	13
55	6	5
54	9	5
53	-	3
52	5	3
51	-	1
50	1	2
49	-	-
48	-	-
47	1	-

Total Cases	230	191

Mean Scores   60.43   60.02; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .38$; diff. is not sig; p less than 0.05

Stand. Deviation   4.02   3.78

Medians   61   60.52

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 60.73

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON WESTERN   FIG. 5

ORIENTATION
" = Experimentals
" = Controls

FREQUENCIES

SCORES OBTAINED
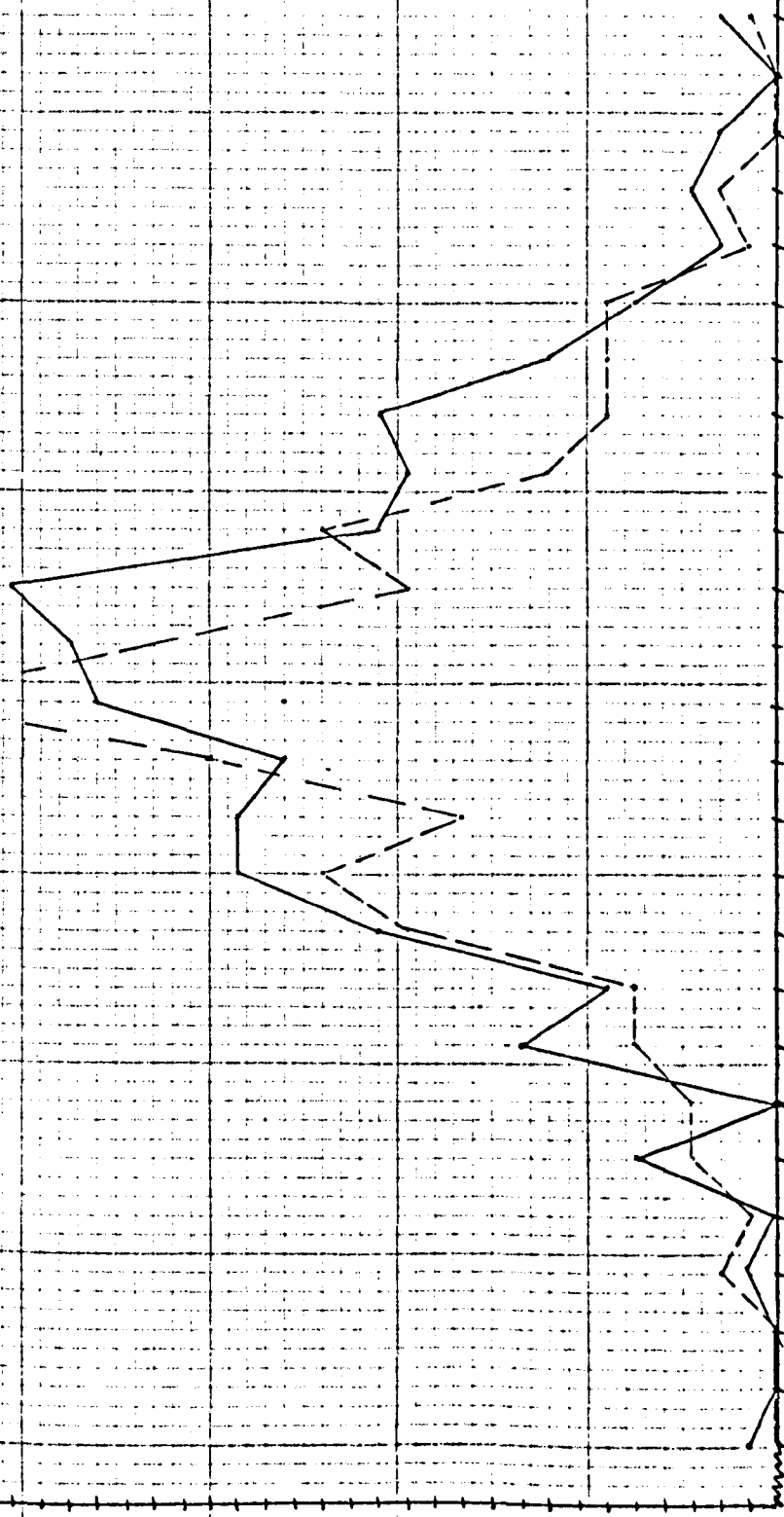
Table 6

<u>Distributions of Scores on Dogmatism for Both Samples</u>

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
72	4	-
71	1	-
70	1	-
69	2	-
68	4	-
67	3	-
66	12	2
65	17	3
64	18	3
63	25	5
62	20	5
61	31	7
60	20	9
59	15	15
58	24	17
57	9	21
56	8	24
55	6	19
54	5	12
53	1	19
52	1	10
51	1	9
50	1	7
49	-	-
48	1	2
47	-	2

Total cases	230	191
Mean Scores	61.30	56.03; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .37$; diff.is sig; P less than 0.01
Stan.Deviation	3.84	3.82
Medians	61.75	56.63

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 59.37

COMPARISON OF SCORES ON DOGMATISM   FIG. 6

Experimentals

Controls

FREQUENCIES

SCORES OBTAINED
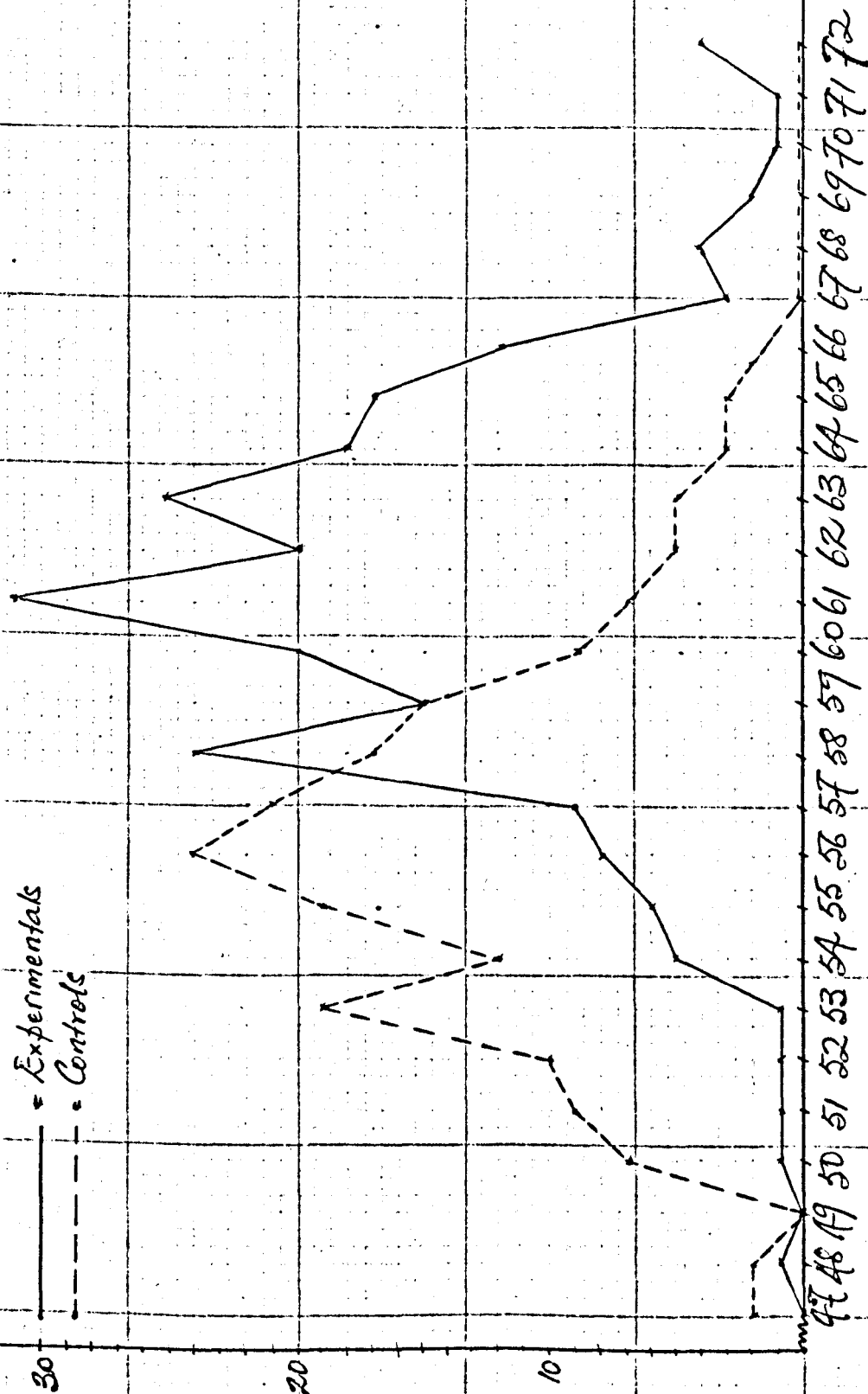
Table 7

Distributions of Scores on Achievement Motivation

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
60	-	2
59	-	-
58	-	4
57	-	10
56	-	15
55	4	24
54	3	22
53	8	30
52	18	26
51	26	20
50	37	18
49	31	10
48	38	5
47	24	2
46	16	1
45	9	-
44	4	-
43	3	-
42	3	-
41	2	2
40	4	-

Total Cases	230	191
Mean Scores	48.71	52.70; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .27$; diff. is sig; P less than 0.01
Standard Dev.	2.84	2.78
Medians	49.39	53.37

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 51.03

FIG. 7

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON
ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

• Experimentals
= Controls

FREQUENCIES

SCORES OBTAINED
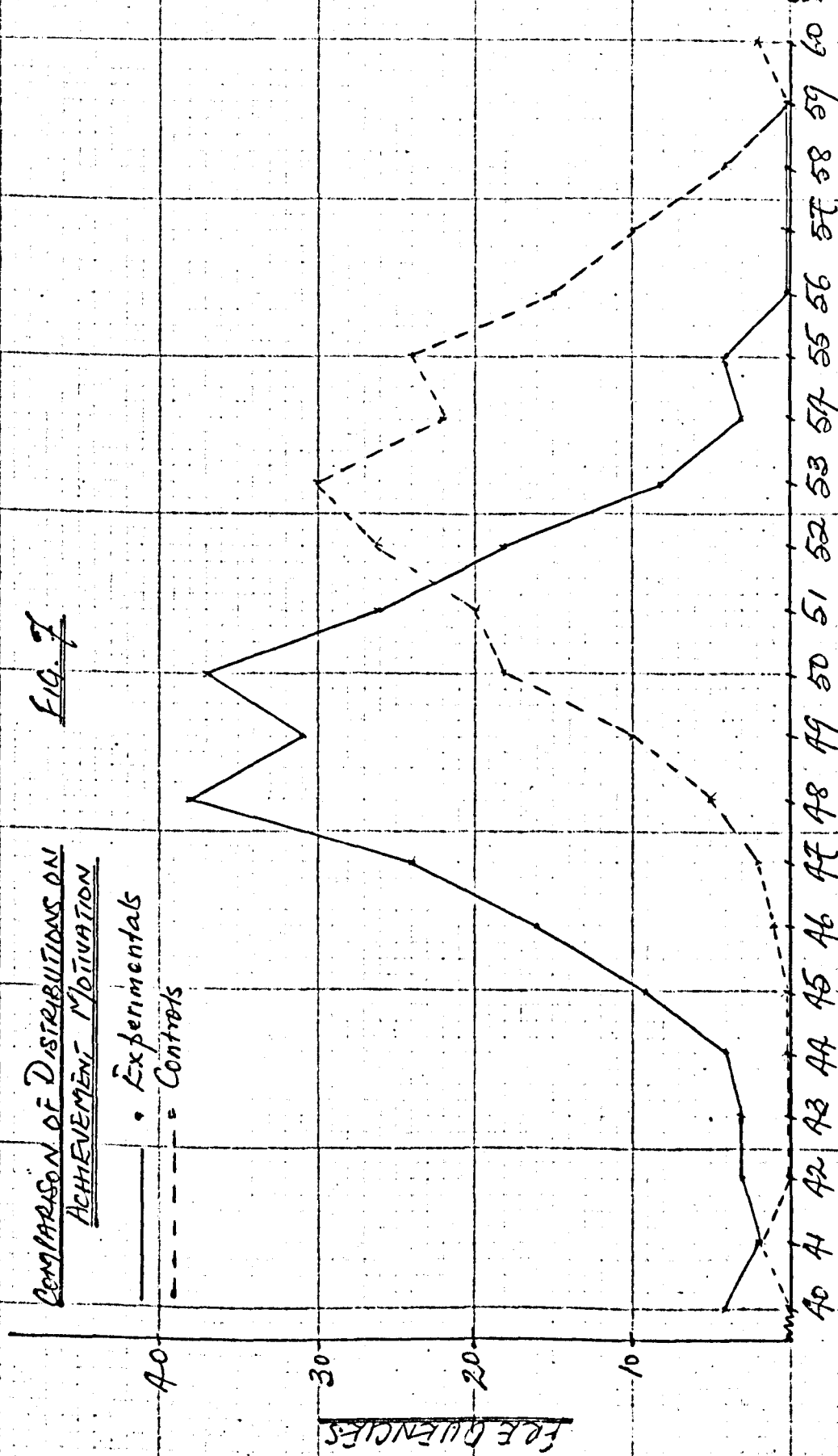
Table   8

Distributions of Scores on Psychosomatic Disposition

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
60	2	-
59	3	-
58	7	-
57	7	-
56	9	-
55	15	-
54	28	-
53	22	1
52	17	-
51	22	7
50	45	4
49	12	17
48	41	17
47	-	31
46	-	28
45	-	20
44	-	18
43	-	19
42	-	9
41	-	13
40	-	2
39	-	5

Total Cases	230	191
Mean Scores	51.83	45.42; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .28$; diff. is sig; P less than 0.01
Standard Dev.	2.96	2.79
Medians	51.77	46.36

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 49.24

FIG. 8

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON
PSYCHOSOMATIC DISPOSITION

= Experimentals
= Controls

FREQUENCIES

SCORES OBTAINED

-396-
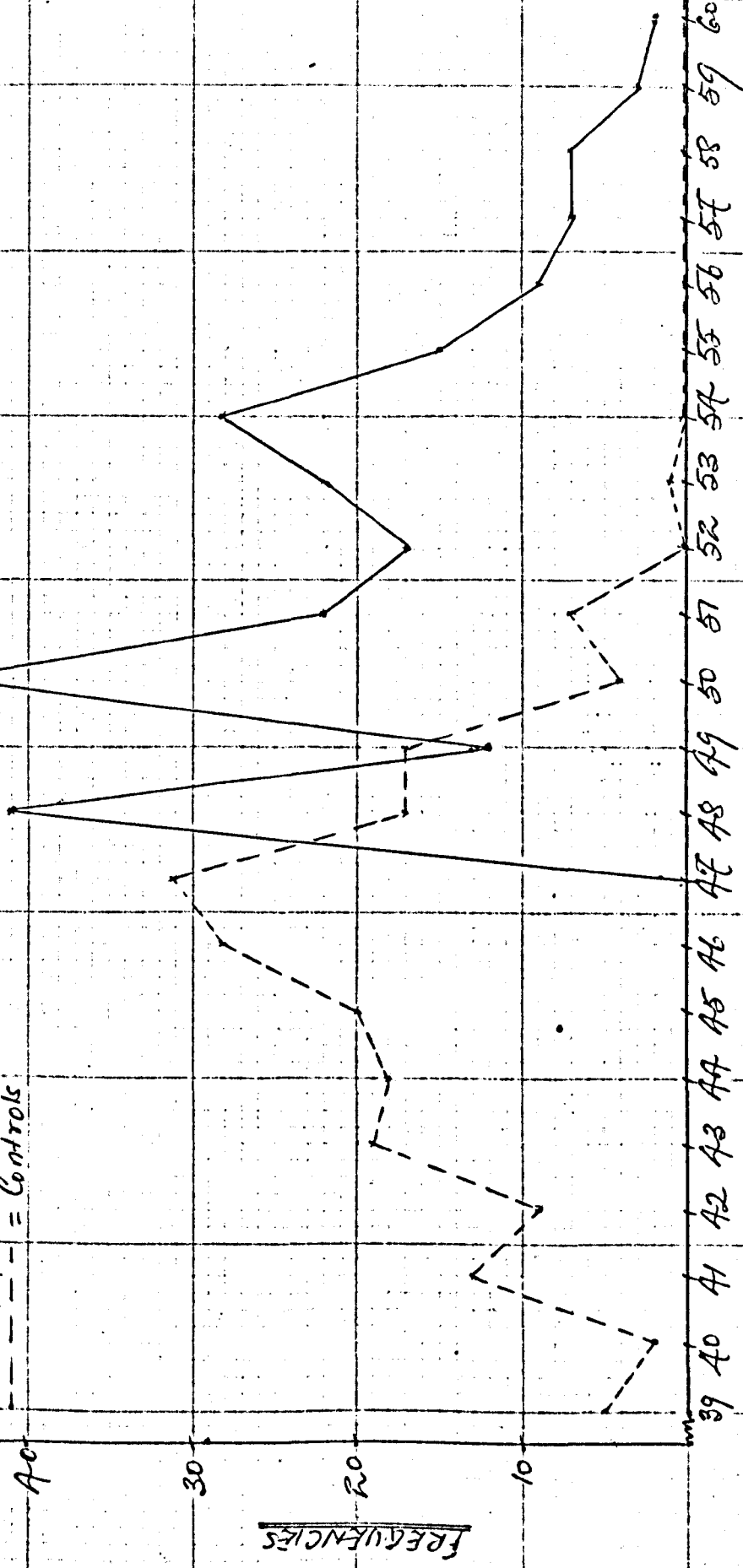
Table 9

Distributions of Scores on Attitude to the English

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
36	5	1
35	3	1
34	5	-
33	12	5
32	19	5
31	21	22
30	56	31
29	39	39
28	29	30
27	23	25
26	17	17
25	-	8
24	1	7

Total Cases	230	191
Mean Scores	29.65	28.61; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}$ = .21; diff. is sig.; P less than 0.01
Standard Dev.	2.03	2.16
Medians	30.11	29.71

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 29.68

Fig. 9

Comparison of Distributions on Attitude to the English

——— = Experimentals
– – – • Controls

Scores Obtained

FREQUENCIES
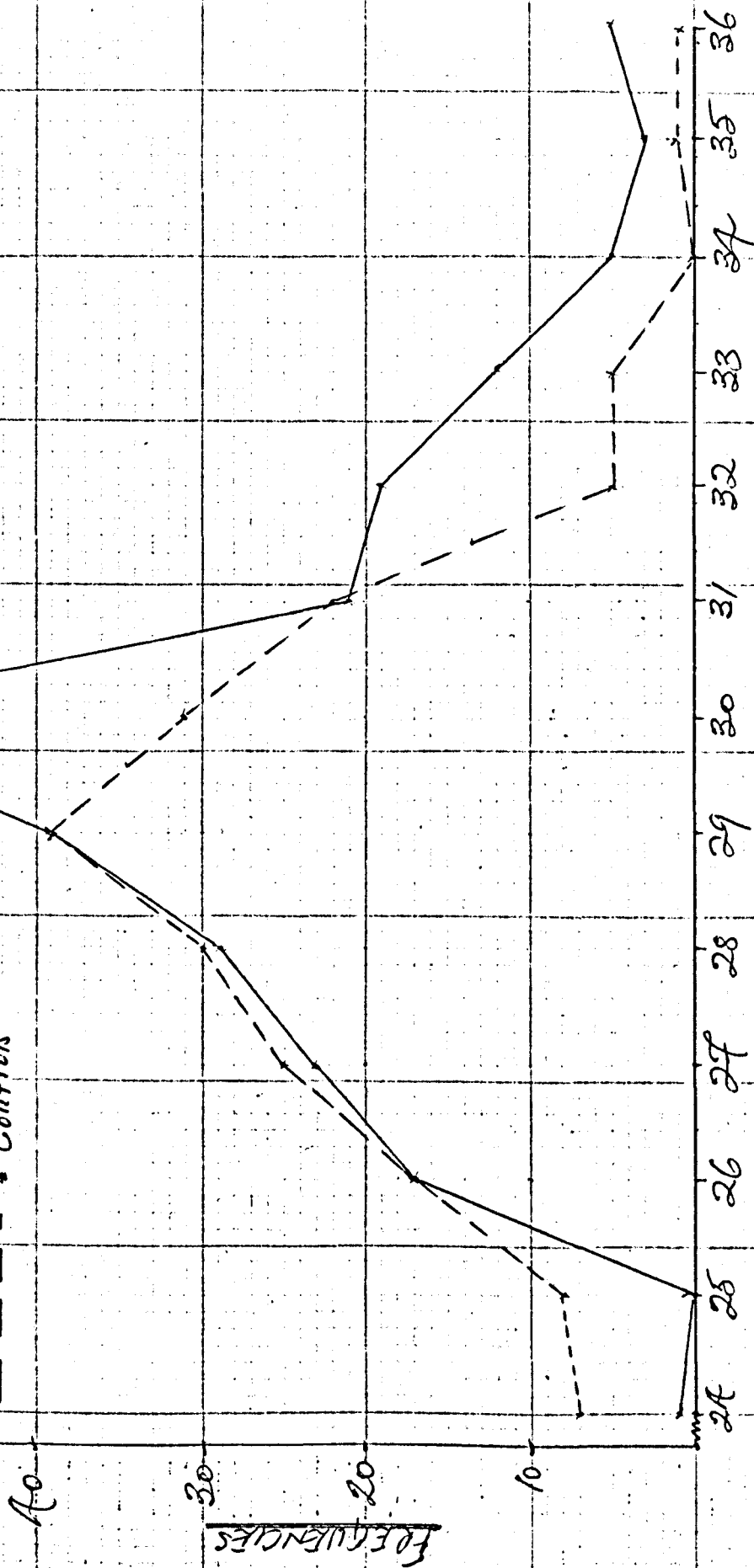
Table 10

Distributions of Scores on Identification with Africa

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
36	5	-
35	4	-
34	24	-
33	22	3
32	41	5
31	34	7
30	27	17
29	32	27
28	27	34
27	6	34
26	3	40
25	2	16
24	3	8

Total Cases	230	191
Mean Scores	30.80	27.60; $SE_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = .21$; diff. is sig; P less than 0.01
Standard Dev.	2.41	1.98
Medians	31.45	27.92

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 29.63

Fig. 10

Comparison of Distributions on
Identification with Africa

— = Experimentals
-- = Controls

Scores Obtained

FREQUENCIES

40

30

20

10

24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36
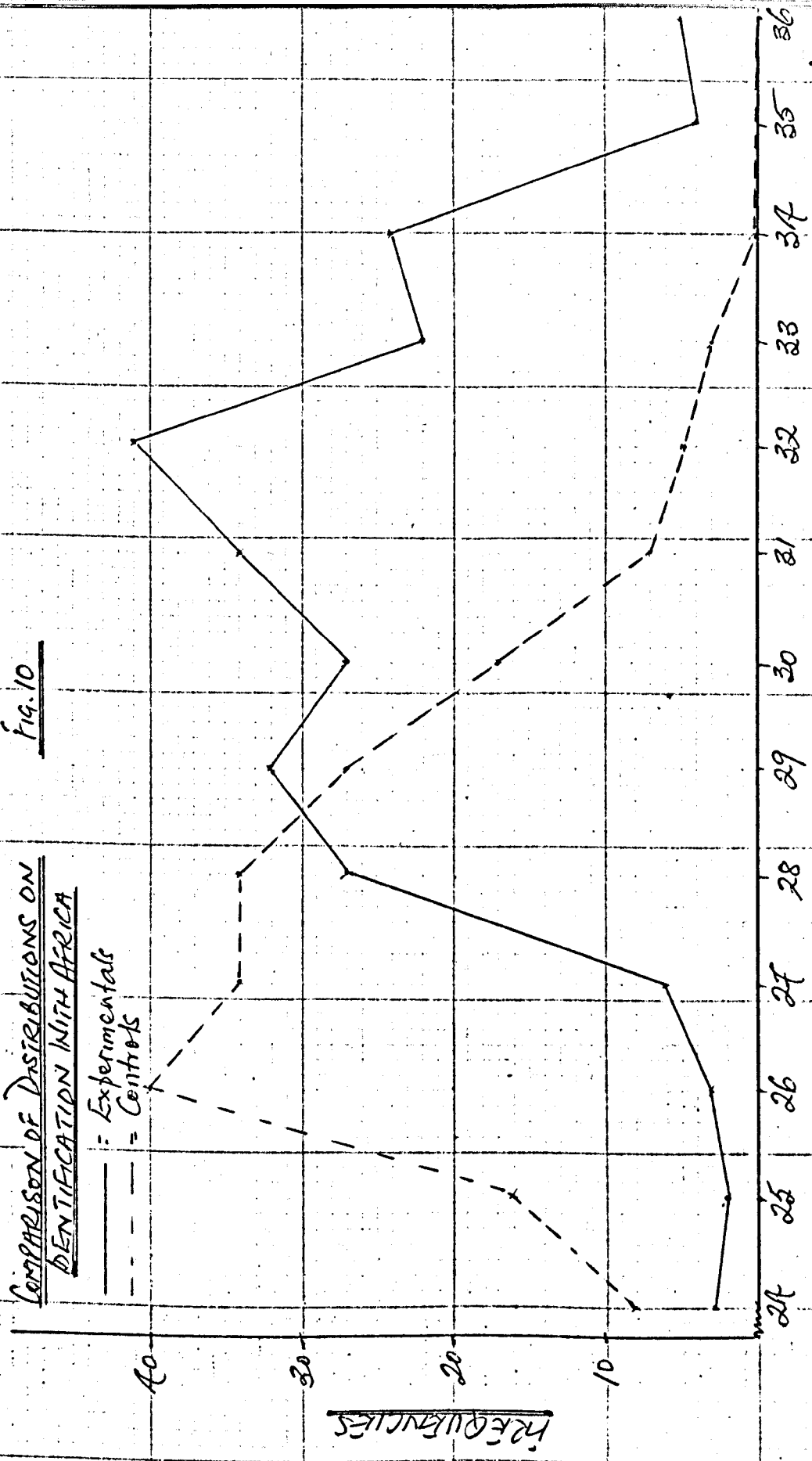
Table   11

Distributions of Scores on Generalised Anxiety

Total Score	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
84	-	4
83	-	30
82	-	68
81	-	65
80	-	13
79	1	7
78	-	1
77	1	1
76	5	2
75	9	-
74	17	-
73	21	-
72	20	-
71	17	-
70	21	-
69	26	-
68	24	-
67	14	-
66	20	-
65	9	-
64	7	-
63	5	-
62	6	-
61	3	-
60	1	-
59	1	-
58	2	-

Total Cases	230	191

Mean Scores	69.31	81.53;$SE_{\bar{x}_1-\bar{x}_2}$ = .27;diff.is sig.
		P less than 0.01
Standard Dev.	3.85	1.15
Medians	69.89	82.10

Pooled Estimate of Grand Median = 74.76

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS ON Fig. 11
GENERALISED ANXIETY

── = Experimentals
--- = Controls

FREQUENCIES
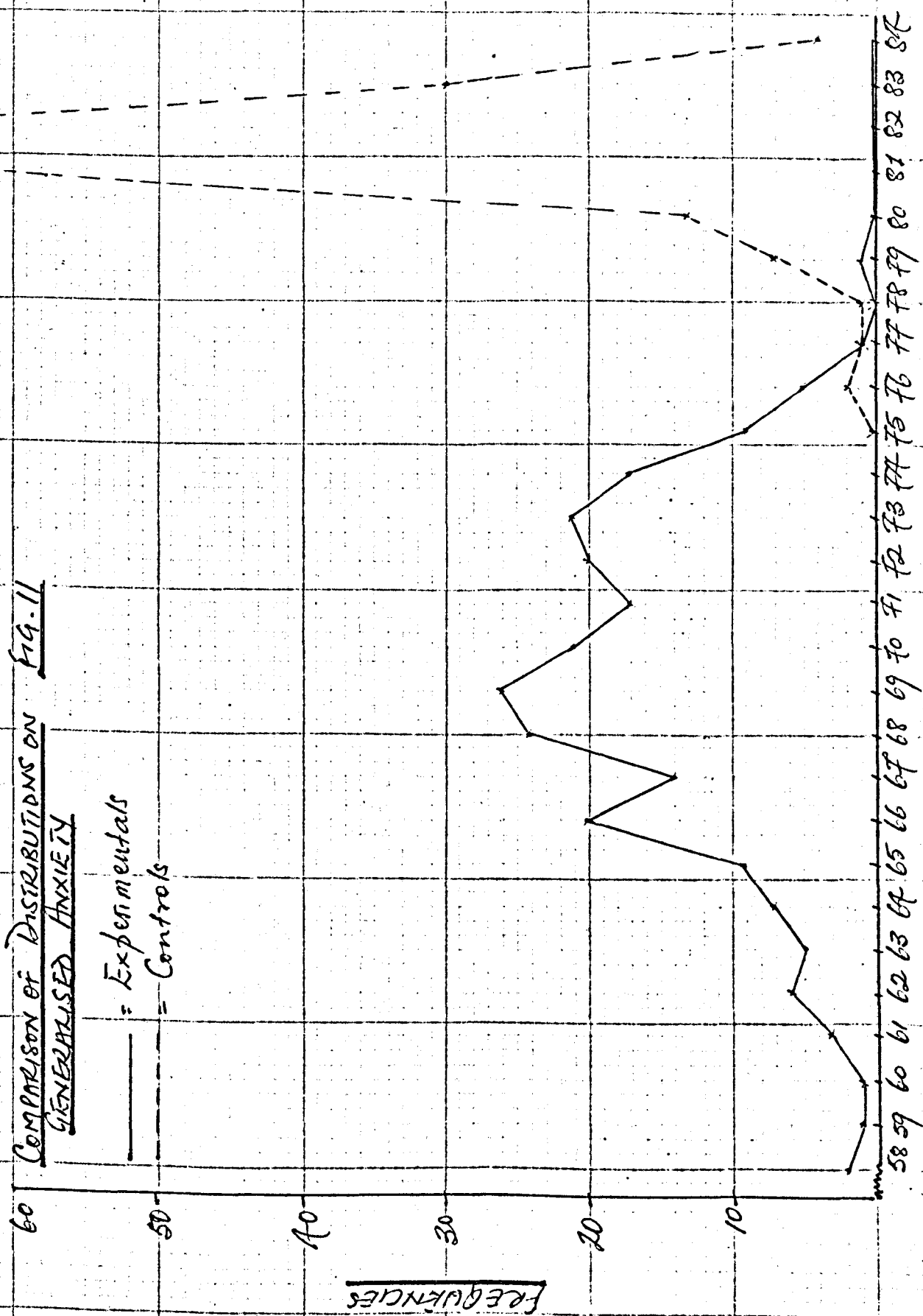
APPENDIX 8B

Validation Tables for the Self-Image Index

B. Validation Tables for the Self-Image Index

Table 1

Comparison of Scores on IAC List and Self-Image Index

IAC Score	Self-Image Score
89	70
85	84
80	72
80	84
80	80
77	75
76	74
76	74
73	72
71	71
71	69
68	64
65	68

Mean Score	80	74
Standard Deviation	7	6
Number of Cases	13	13

Correlation (Kendall's tau with ties) = 0.63; sig. at 0.01

Table 2

Self-Image By Generalised Anxiety

Anxiety Score	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	34(33%)	83(66%)	117
Low	69(67%)	43(34%)	112
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

x^2 = 25.50; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 3

Self-Image By Psychosomatic Disposition

Psych. Disp. Score	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	33(32%)	86(68%)	119
Low	70(68%)	40(32%)	110
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

x^2 = 31.18; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 4

Self-Image By Report of Psychosomatic Symptoms

Frequency	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Reports none	37(36%)	31(24%)	68
Reports 1 or 2	49(48%)	67(54%)	116
Reports 3 or 4	14(13%)	17(14%)	31
Reports all five	2(3%)	10(8%)	12
Total	102(100%)	125(100%)	227

Note: 4 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 5.53$; df = 3; P greater than 0.05

Table 5

Self-Image By Emotional Instability

Emot. Instability	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	39(38%)	57(45%)	96
Low	64(62%)	69(55%)	133
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 1.16$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 6

Self-Image By Overall Psychological Adjustment

Psych.Adjustment	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	66(64%)	45(36%)	111
Low	37(36%)	81(64%)	118
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 18.25$, df = 1; P much less than 0.001

APPENDIX   8C

Basic Characteristics of Both Samples

C. Basic Characteristics of Both Samples

Table 1

Comparison of Age Distributions for Both Samples

Age	Experimental Sample	Control Sample
20 yrs. & under	10(4%)	94(49%)
21-25 yrs.	68(25%)	74(39%)
26-30 yrs.	97(48%)	18(9%)
Over 30 yrs.	54(23%)	5(3%)
Total	229(100%)	191(100%)

Note: 2 non-response excluded from experimentals

Table 2

Comparison of Age By Sex for Both Samples

Age Distribution

	Experimentals				Controls			
	20 yrs. & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs	20 yrs. & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs.
Males	5(50%)	55(81%)	89(92%)	49(91%)	64(68%)	60(81%)	16(89%)	5(100%)
Females	5(50%)	13(19%)	7(8%)	5(9%)	30(32%)	14(19%)	2(11%)	-
Total	10(100%)	68(100%)	96(100%)	54(100%)	94(100%)	74(100%)	18(100%)	5(100%)

Note: 1 non-response excluded from experimentals.

Table 3

Age By Level of Instruction(Experimentals)

Level of Instruction	Age Distribution				
	20 yrs & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs.	Total
Postgraduates	-	10(15%)	35(28%)	21(39%)	65
Undergraduates	10(100%)	57(85%)	61(72%)	33(61%)	161
Total	10(100%)	67(100%)	96(100%)	54(100%)	227

Note:2 non-response excluded

Table 4

Comparison of Age By Marital Status for Both Samples

Marital status	Age Distribution							
	Experimentals				Controls			
	20 yrs & over	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs	20 yrs & over	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yr
Unmarried	9(90%)	56(84%)	57(60%)	8(15%)	87(93%)	66(89%)	8(47%)	3(60)
Married	1(10%)	12(16%)	38(40%)	46(85%)	7(7%)	8(11%)	9(53%)	2(40)
Total	10(100%)	68(100%)	95(100%)	54(100%)	94(100%)	74(100%)	17(100%)	5(100)

Note: 2 non-response from experimentals and 1 from controls excluded

Table 5

Age By Previous Employment Experience Before Arrival(Experimentals)

Employment Experience	Age Distribution				
	20 yrs & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs.	Total
I was not employed	8(89%)	19(31%)	3(3%)	-	30
I was employed but gave up the job	-	43(69%)	64(68%)	32(60%)	139
I am on study-leave	1(11%)	-	28(29%)	21(40%)	50
Total	9(100%)	62(100%)	95(100%)	53(100%)	219

Note:10 non-response excluded

Table 6

Comparison of Age By Socio-economic Status(Both Samples)

Socio-econ.Stat.	Experimentals				Controls			
	20 yrs & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs	20 yrs. & under	21-25	26-30	Over 30 yrs
Higher	7(78%)	41(70%)	44(52%)	23(47%)	39(48%)	19(32%)	4(25%)	-
Middle	2(22%)	16(28%)	36(42%)	24(49%)	29(37%)	18(30%)	1(6%)	1(25%)
Lower	-	1(2%)	5(6%)	2(4%)	14(15%)	23(38%)	11(69%)	3(75%)
Total	9(100%)	58(100%)	85(100%)	49(100%)	82(100%)	60(100%)	16(100%)	4(100%)

Note:28 non-response from experimentals and 29 from controls excluded.The SES ranking and categories are discussed in Appendix 6

Table 7

Sex Distributions of Both Samples

	Experimentals	Controls
Males	198(85%)	145(76%)
Females	30(15%)	46(24%)
Total	228(100%)	191(100%)

Note:3 non-response from experimentals excluded

Table 8

Sex By Level of Instruction for Experimentals

Level of Instruction	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
Postgraduates	65(33%)	1(3%)	66
Undergraduates	132(67%)	29(97%)	161
Total	197(100%)	30(100%)	227

Note:1 non-response from males excluded

Table 9

Sex By Previous Employment Experience Before Arrival(Experimentals)

Employment Experience	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
I was not employed	17(9%)	13(45%)	30
I was employed but gave up the job	129(67%)	9(32%)	138
I am on study-leave	45(24%)	7(23%)	52
Total	191(100%)	29(100%)	220

Note:7 non-response and 1 non-response excluded from males and females respectively.

Table 10

Sex By Financial Support for Both Samples Compared

	Sex Distribution					
	Experimentals			Controls		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Private Sources (Parents & Relatives)	46(23%)	16(55%)	62	62(43%)	36(78%)	98
Scholarships, Bursaries & Grants	106(54%)	8(28%)	114	79(54%)	10(22%)	89
Support from Own Resources	46(23%)	5(17%)	51	4(3%)	-	4
Total	198(100%)	29(100%)	227	145(100%)	45(100%)	191

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded.

Table 11

Sex By Relatives Who Studied in the UK(Experimentals)

Relatives/Studied in UK .   Sex Distribution

	Males	Females	Total
None	60(31%)	-	60
Father	24(12%)	16(54%)	40
Mother	5(3%)	-	5
Brothers/Sisters	51(26%)	7(23%)	58
Cousins etc.	55(28%)	7(23%)	62
Total	195(100%)	30(100%)	225

Note:3 non-response from males
excluded.

Table 12

Sex Distribution By Parents' Experience of College(Controls)

Parents' Experience   Sex Distribution

	Males	Females	Total
Parents did not go to college	118(82%)	29(63%)	147
Father went to college	22(15%)	14(30%)	36
Mother went to college	4(3%)	3(7%)	7
Total	144(100%)	46(100%)	190

Note:1 non-response from males excluded

Table 13

Socio-economic Status Distributions for Both Samples

Socio-economic Status	Experimentals	Controls
Higher	116(58%)	62(38%)
Middle	78(38%)	49(30%)
Lower	9(4%)	51(32%)
Totals	203(100%)	162(100%)

Note:28 non-response from experimentals
and 29 from controls excluded.

Table 14

Socio-economic Status By Financial Support(Both Samples)

	Experimentals				Controls			
	Higher	Middle	Lower	Total	Higher	Middle	Lower	Total
Private Sources(Parents & Relatives	40(34%)	15(19%)	1(11%)	56	43(69%)	29(59%)	16(12%)	88
Scholarships, Bursaries & Grants	55(48%)	45(59%)	7(78%)	107	19(31%)	20(41%)	32(59%)	71
Support from Own Resources	21(18%)	17(22%)	1(11%)	39	-	-	3(29%)	3
Total	116(100%)	77(100%)	9(100%)	202	62(100%)	49(100%)	51(100%)	162

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded

Table 15

Socio-economic Status By Relatives Who Studied in the UK (Expers.)

Relatives Who Studied in the UK	Socio-economic Status			
	Higher	Middle	Lower	Total
None	15(13%)	37(47%)	3(33%)	55
Father	32(28%)	5(6%)	-	37
Mother	3(3%)	1(2%)	-	4
Brothers	38(34%)	10(13%)	2(23%)	50
Cousins	25(22%)	25(32%)	4(44%)	54
Total	113(100%)	78(100%)	9(100%)	200

Note: 3 non-response excluded.

Table 16

Comparison of Self-Image Scores for Both Samples Standardised on Age

Self-Image Score	Samples	
	Experimentals %	Controls %
High	24	79
Low	76	21
Total Per Cent	100	100
Number of Cases	231	191

Note: This table gives the standardised rates of the data in Table 7 in Appendix 8F. The original difference of 58% has now fallen to 55% which is statistically significant at 0.01, with $SE_{P_1 - P_2} = 4.07\%$.

APPENDIX   8D

Sojourn   Variables

D. Sojourn Variables

Table 1

Responses on Escalating Authority in the Extended Family

"It would be unfortunate for
Africa if children are brought
up to say 'Dont be silly, Daddy'"

	Experimentals	Controls
Strongly Agree	82(36%)	69(36%)
Agree	47(20%)	62(33%)
Uncertain	33(14%)	19(10%)
Disagree	39(17%)	21(11%)
Strongly Disagree	29(13%)	19(10%)
Total	230(100%)	190(100%)

Note: 1 non-response excluded from
experimentals and 1 from controls

Table 2

Responses on Escalating Authority By Self-Image(Experimentals)

Self-Image Score	Responses			
	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
High	66(52%)	10(30%)	27(40%)	103
Low	62(48%)	23(70%)	41(60%)	126
Total	128(100%)	33(100%)	68(100)	229

Note: 1 non-response excluded.

$\chi^2 = 6.11$; df = 2; P less than 0.05

Table 3

Sources of Disatisfaction with Sojourn(Experimentals)

	Loss of Individuality	Being away from W.Afr.	Boredom & Monotony	Food & Climate
Of very great Importance	25(11%)	16(7%)	32(14%)	2(-)
Of great Importance	23(13%)	14(6%)	28(12%)	4(2%)
Of some Importance	29(10%)	52(23%)	44(19%)	6(3%)
Of no importance	153(66%)	148(64%)	125(55%)	219(95%)
Total	230(100%)	230(100%)	229(100%)	231(100%)
Non-response excluded	1	1	2	

Table 4

Responses on Loss of Individuality By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Responses		
	Of Importance	Of no Importance	Total
High	30(40%)	72(48%)	102
Low	47(60%)	79(52%)	126
Total	77(100%)	151(100%)	228

Note: 2 non-response from 'no importance' excluded

$X^2 = 1.98$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 5

Responses on 'Being Away from West Africa' By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Responses		
	Of Importance	Of no importance	Total
High	42(51%)	61(41%)	103
Low	40(49%)	87(59%)	127
Total	82(100%)	148(100%)	230

$x^2 = 1.91$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 6

Responses on 'Boredom & Monotony' By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Responses		
	Of Importance	Of no Importance	Total
High	46(45%)	56(45%)	102
Low	57(55%)	69(55%)	126
Total	103(100%)	125(100%)	228

Note:1 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 0$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 7

Registration Status By Self-Image(Experimentals)

Self-Image Score	Registration Status		
	Full-time	Part-time	Total
High	97(48%)	5(22%)	102
Low	106(52%)	18(78%)	124
Total	203(100%)	23(100%)	226

Note:5 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 4.92$; df = 1; P less than 0.05

Table 8

Registration Status By Duration of Sojourn

Duration of Sojourn	Registration Status		
	Full-time	Part-time	Total
Under 2 yrs.	73(37%)	4(17%)	77
Over 2 yrs.	129(63%)	20(83%)	149
Total	202(100%)	24(100%)	226

Note:5 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 4.99$; df = 1; P less than 0.05

Table 9

Duration of Sojourn By Overall Psychological Adjustment

Psych.Adj.Score	Duration of Sojourn				
	I yr.& under	1-3 yrs.	3-5 yrs.	Over 5 yrs.	Total
High Adjustment	21(46%)	17(69%)	47(57%)	25(57%)	110
Low Adjustment	25(54%)	38(31%)	36(43%)	19(43%)	118
Total	46(100%)	55(100%)	83(100%)	44(100%)	228

Note: 3 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 11.183; df = 3; P \text{ less than } 0.02$$

In further analysis to determine upswing,df's were partitioned[*] as follows:

1. x_2^2 for '1 yr.& under' + '1-3 yrs' = 2.991; df = 1; P greater than 0.05
2. x_2^2 for 1 above + '3-5 yrs.' = 6.583; df = 1; P less than 0.05
3. x^2 for 2 above + 'Over 5 yrs.' = 1.604; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 10

Financial Support By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Financial Support			
	Parents & Relatives	Own Re- sources	Scholarships & Bursaries	Total
High	34(55%)	18(36%)	52(44%)	104
Low	28(45%)	32(64%)	65(56%)	125
Total	62(100%)	50(100%)	117(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 4.39; df = 2; P \text{ greater than } 0.05$$

Partitioned as follows:
1. x_2^2 for the first two categories = 4.06; df=1; P less than 0.05
2. x^2 for 1 above + 'Scholarships' = 0.33; df=1; P greater than 0.05

---

[*]See A.W.Kimball"Short-cut Formulas for the Exact Partition of x^2 in Contingency Tables" Biometrics,Vol.No.4,1954,pp.452-458;also A.E.Maxwell "Analysing Qualitative Data"(Methuen) 1961,chap.3

Table 11

Financial Support By Financial Strain Scores

Finan. Strain Score	Financial Support			
	Parents & Relatives	Own Resources	Scholarships & Bursaries	Total
High	53(84%)	24(47%)	33(28%)	110
Low	10(16%)	27(53%)	83(72%)	120
Total	63(100%)	51(100%)	116(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 51.94; \ df = 2; \ p \ less \ than \ 0.001$$

Table 12

Financial Strain By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Financial Strain Score		
	High	Low	Total
High	64(45%)	39(45%)	103
Low	79(55%)	48(55%)	127
Total	143(100%)	87(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 0 \ (no \ difference)$$

Table 13

Rank Order   on Disappointment with Academic Failure

"....If you fail,who do you think
will be disappointed?Please tick
alongside the ONE person whose
disappointment you are most likely
to regret."

Disappointment will be

	Great*	Small/Negligible	Total
1. No one apart from myself	101(44%)		231(100%)
2.Mother	65(50%)	65(50%)	130(100%)
3.Father	61(47%)	69(53%)	130(100%)
4.My friends	49(38%)	81(62%)	130(100%)
5.Other relatives	41(32%)	89(60%)	130(100%)

*Note:This category was obtained by summating
the 'Very Great' with 'great'.See Appendix 2A for
item.

Table 14

Types of Accommodation By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Types of Accommodation			
	Lodgings, with a family	Halls of Res. & Hostels	Bedsits.& Flats	Total
High	14(64%)	33(53%)	57(39%)	104
Low	8(36%)	29(47%)	88(61%)	125
Total	22(100%)	62(100%)	145(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

χ^2 = 6.81; df = 2; P less than 0.05

Table 15

Accommodation Discrepancy By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Accommodation Discrepancy			
	High Favourable	Medium	Low Unfavourable	Total
High	42(48%)	35(47%)	24(37%)	101
Low	45(52%)	39(53%)	41(63%)	125
Total	87(100%)	74(100%)	65(100%)	226

Note: 5 non-response excluded

x^2 = 2.19; df = 2; P greater than 0.05

Table 16

Reports of Academic Problems By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Reports of Academic Problems		
	I have no acad. problems	I have some acad. problems	Total
High	69(51%)	35(34%)	104
Low	65(49%)	62(66%)	127
Total	134(100%)	97(100%)	231

x^2 = 5.83; df = 1; P less than 0.02

Table 17

Rank Order of Academic Difficulties

Academic Diff.	Rank Order		
	Of impt* ortance	Of no Imp- ortance	Total
Understanding Lectures	35(36%)	62(64%)	97(100%)
Expressing Myself	31(32%)	66(68%)	97(100%)
Participating in Seminars & Discussion	30(31%)	67(69%)	97(100%)
Writing Essays & Papers	27(28%)	70(72%)	97(100%)

Note: This analysis is based only on those
who report that they have academic
difficulties. This category was obtained
by adding together the 'Great Importance'
and the 'some importance'. See Appendix 2A

Table 18

Reports of Academic Problems By Level of Study

Level of Study	Reports of Academic Problems		
	I have no acad.problems	I have some acad.problems	Total
Postgraduates	48(36%)	18(19%)	66
Undergraduates	84(64%)	79(81%)	163
Total	132(100%)	97(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$X^2 = 8.72$; df = 1; P less than 0.01

Table 19

Registration Status By Reports of Academic Problems

Reports of Academic Problems	Registration Status		
	Full-time	Part-time	Total
I have no acad. problems	125(61%)	6(25%)	131
I have some acad. problems	80(39%)	18(75%)	98
Total	205(100%)	24(100)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 11.96$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 20

Self-Image By No.of Families With Whom Student is Friendly

Number of Families	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
I am not friendly with any	16(15%)	19(15%)	35
I am friendly with less than 2	9(9%)	14(11%)	23
2 - 3	29(28%)	37(29%)	66
More than 3 families	49(48%)	57(45%)	106
Total	103(100%)	127(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 0.39$; df = 3; P greater than 0.05

Table 21

<u>Self-Image By Social Distance Characteristics of Closest Friend</u>

Social Distance Characteristics	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Same nationality	68(76%)	63(58%)	131
Different nation-ality but African	12(13%)	18(16%)	30
Different nation-ality & non-African	10(11%)	29(26%)	38
Total	90(100%)	109(100%)	199

Note:The analysis excludes 31 who report that they have no 'closest' friend & 1 non-response

$$x^2 = 8.23; \; df = 2; \; P \; less \; than \; 0.02$$

Table 22

<u>Self-Image By Social Distance Characteristics of Boy/Girl-Friends</u>

Social Distance Characteristics	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
I have no girl-/boy-friend	64(62%)	71(57%)	135
Same nationality	20(20%)	32(26%)	52
Different nation-ality but African	5(5%)	4(3%)	9
Different nation-ality & non-African	14(13%)	18(14%)	32
Total	103(100%)	125(100%)	228

Note: Analysis excludes 3 non-response

$$x^2 = 1.64; \; df = 3; \; P \; much \; greater \; than \; 0.05$$

Tabl 23

Self-Image By Membership in College Clubs

"Are you a member of any
club in your college...?"

Response	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
I am not a member of any	33(32%)	32(25%)	65
I am a member	70(68%)	94(75%)	164
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 1.23$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 24

Tenure of Elected Positions in College Clubs By Self-Image

"Have you ever held an elected
position in the club to which,
you indicate that,you belong?"

Self-Image Score	Response		
	Never Held an elect. pos.	Held an elect.pos.	Total
High	38(51%)	32(36%)	70
Low	37(49%)	58(64%)	95
Total	75(100%)	90(100%)	165

Note:This analysis excludes 65
non-members and 1 non-response

$x^2 = 4.97$; df = 1;P less than 0.05

Table 25

Size of University/College Town By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Size of Town		
	Small(under 500,000)	Large(Over 500,000)	Total
High	25(45%)	78(45%)	103
Low	31(55%)	96(55%)	127
Total	56(100%)	174(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$X^2 =$ 0 (no difference)

Table 26

Size of University/College By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Size of University/College		
	Small(under 5000)	Large(Over 5000)	Total
High	44(48%)	59(42%)	103
Low	47(52%)	80(58%)	127
Total	91(100%)	139(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded

$X^2 =$ 0.66 ;df =1; P much greater than 0.05

Table 27

Size of University/College Town By Overall Psychological Adjustment

Psych.Adj.Score	Size of Town		
	Small(under 500,000)	Large(over 500,000)	Total
High Adjustment	32(57%)	79(45%)	111
Low Adjustment	24(43%)	95(55%)	119
Total	56(100%)	174(100%)	230

Note:1 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 2.36; \ df = 1; \ P \ greater \ than \ 0.05$$

Table 28

Size of University/College By Overall Psychological Adjustment

Psych.Adj.Score	Size of University/College		
	Small(under 5000)	Large(over 5000)	Total
High Adjustment	48(53%)	63(45%)	111
Low Adjustment	43(47%)	76(55%)	119
Total	91(100%)	139(100%)	230

Note:1 non-response excluded

$$x^2 = 1.17; \ df = 1; \ P \ greater \ than \ 0.05$$

Table 29

Size of University/College Town By Situational Satisfaction

Sit.Satisfaction Score	Size of Town		
	Small (under 500,000)	Large (over 500,000)	Total
High	29(52%)	75(43%)	104
Low	27(48%)	98(57%)	125
Total	56(100%)	173(100%)	229

Note:2 non-responses

$x^2 = 1.53$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 30

Size of University/College By Situational Satisfaction

Sit.Satisfaction Score	Size of University/College		
	Small (under 5000)	Large (over 5000)	Total
High	47(52%)	57(41%)	104
Low	44(48%)	81(59%)	125
Total	91(100%)	138(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 2.65$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

APPENDIX 8E

Pre-Sojourn Variables

E. Pre-sojourn Variables

Table 1

Socio-economic Status By Self-Image (Experimentals)

Self-Image Score	Socio-economic Status			
	Higher	Middle	Lower	Total
High	51(44%)	35(45%)	5(56%)	91
Low	64(56%)	43(55%)	5(44%)	111
Total	115(100%)	78(100%)	9(100%)	202

Note: Excludes 29 non-response. The determination of the SES categories is discussed in Appendix 6.

$x^2 = 0.44$; df = 2; P greater than 0.05

Table 2

Sex By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
High	91(46%)	11(37%)	102
Low	105(54%)	19(63%)	124
Total	196(100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 5 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 1.48$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 3

Expectations About Life in the UK By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Did not hold Expectations in areas specified	Held Some Expectations in areas specified	Total
High	11(55%)	92(44%)	103
Low	9(45%)	118(56%)	127
Total	20(100%)	210(100%)	230

Note: 1 non-response excluded. See the specification of these areas in the Questionnaire in Appendix 2A

$X^2 = 2.00$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 4

Religious Affiliation By Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Religious Affiliation			
	African trad.religion	Muslim	Christianity (European & African)	Total
High	12(60%)	17(57%)	75(42%)	104
Low	8(40%)	13(43%)	104(58%)	125
Total	20(100%)	30(100%)	179(100%)	229

Note: 2 non-response excluded. The 6 African Christians were added to this category.

$X^2 = 3.84$; df = 2; P greater than 0.05

Table 5

Rank Order of Motivations for Sojourn in the UK

Motivation	* Of import-ance	Of no im-portance	Total
1. To gain advanced training	212(93%)	17(7%)	229(100%)
2. To get to know other countries	168(73%)	61(27%)	229(100%)
3. To earn greater status	126(55%)	103(45%)	229(100%)
4. On the wishes of my family	92(40%)	137(60%)	229(100%)
5. Could not gain admission into home institution	38(17%)	191(83%)	229(100%)

Note: Each item was analysed individually; 2 non-response excluded in each case.
*This response category was obtained by summating categories "Very great Importance", "Great Importance", and "Some Importance". See Appendix 2A

Table 6

Sex By Importance (To gain adv. training)

Degree of Im-portance	Sex		
	Males	Females	Total
Of Importance	184(94%)	25(83%)	209
Of no Importance	12(6%)	5(17%)	17
Total	196(100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 3 non-response excluded

$$X^2 = 5.47; \; df = 1; \; P \text{ less than } 0.02$$

Table 7

Sex By Importance (To get to know other countries)

Degree of Importance	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
Of Importance	143 (73%)	24(80%)	167
Of no importance	53 (27%)	6(20%)	59
Total	196 (100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 3 non-response excluded

x^2 = 0.79; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 8

Sex By Importance (To earn greater status)

Degree of Importance	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
Of importance	109(56%)	16(53%)	125
Of no importance	87(44%)	14(47%)	101
Total	196(100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 3 non-response excluded

x^2 = 0.16; df = 1; P breater than 0.05

Table 9

Sex By Degree of Importance(On the wishes of family)

Degree of Importance	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
Of importance	71(36%)	18(60%)	89
Of no importance	125(64%)	12(40%)	137
Total	196(100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 3 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 5.77$; df = 1; P less than 0.02

Table 10

Sex By Degree of Importance(Could not gain admission)

Degree of Importance	Sex Distribution		
	Males	Females	Total
Of importance	30(15%)	7(23%)	37
Of no importance	166(85%)	23(77%)	189
Total	196(100%)	30(100%)	226

Note: 3 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 1.11$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

Table 11

Self-Image By Desire 'to Know Other Countries'

Degree of Importance	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Of importance	99(96%)	69(55%)	168
Of no importance	4(4%)	57(45%)	61
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

$$x^2 = 47.87; \; df = 1; \; P \text{ much less than } 0.001$$

Table 12

Self-Image By Desire for 'Advanced Training'

Degree of Importance	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Of importance	90(87%)	122(97%)	212
Of no importance	13(13%)	4(3%)	17
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

$$x^2 = 6.38; \; df = 1; \; P \text{ less than } 0.02$$

Table 13

Self-Image By Desire for 'Greater Status'

Degree of Importance	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Of importance	51(50%)	75(60%)	126
Of no importance	52(50%)	51(40%)	103
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

$$X^2 = 2.57; \ df = 1; \ P \ greater \ than \ 0.05$$

Table 14

Self-Image By 'Wishes of Family'

Degree of Importance	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Of importance	42(41%)	50(40%)	92
Of no importance	61(59%)	76(60%)	137
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

$$X^2 = 0.07; \ df = 1; \ P \ greater \ than \ 0.05$$

Table 15

Self-Image By 'Could not gain admission'

Degree of Importance	Self-Image Score		
	High	Low	Total
Of importance	17(17%)	21(17%)	38
Of no importance	86(83%)	105(83%)	191
Total	103(100%)	126(100%)	229

$x^2 = 0$ (no difference)

Table 16

Age By Self-Image (Experimentals)

Self-Image Score	Age Distribution			
	25 yrs.& under	26-30	Over 30 yrs.	Total
High	40(51%)	41(43%)	21(40%)	102
Low	38(49%)	54(57%)	32(60%)	124
Total	78(100%)	95(100%)	53(100%)	226

Note: 5 non-response excluded

$x^2 = 2.16$; df = 2; P greater than 0.05

APPENDIX 8F

Further Comparisons Between Samples

F.Further Comparisons Between Samples[1]

Table 1

Comparison of Responses on Sensitivity to Criticism for Both Samples

"Most people are sensitive to
criticism.How sensitive would
you say you are?"

	Experi-mentals	Controls	Total[2]
Not sensitive	146(63%)	85(45%)	231
Quite sensitive	84(37%)	106(55%)	190
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note:1 non-response from experi-
mentals excluded.

$x^2 = 15.48$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 2

Comparison of Both Samples on Western Orientation

West. Orien.Score   Samples

	Experi-mentals	Controls	Total
High	115(50%)	81(42%)	196
Low	115(50%)	110(58%)	225
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note: 1 non-response from experi-
mentals excluded

$x^2 = 2.47$; df = 1; P greater than 0.05

1.For the analysis of the data reported in this section,the cut-off point
  was located at the pooled estimate of the grand median of the two distri-
  butions.
2.This column refers to the total of both samples falling within each
  category and was included to facilitate checking.

Table 3

Comparison of Both Samples on Dogmatism

Dogmatism Score	Samples		
	Experimentals	Controls	Total
High	173(75%)	49(26%)	222
Low	57(25%)	142(74%)	199
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded.

$$\chi^2 = 104.00; df = 1; P \text{ less than } 0.001$$

Table 4

Comparison of Both Samples on Attitude to the English

Att.to English Score	Samples		
	Experimentals	Controls	Total
High/Favourable	121(53%)	65(34%)	186
Low/Unfavourable	109(47%)	126(66%)	235
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded

$$\chi^2 = 14.75; df = 1; P \text{ less than } 0.001$$

Table 5

Comparison of Both Samples on Identification With Africa

Iden.with Africa Score	Samples		
	Experimentals	Controls	Total
High	157(68%)	32(17%)	189
Low	73(32%)	159(83%)	232
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded

$x^2 = 113.00;$ df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 6

Comparison of Both Samples on Achievement Motivation

Achiev.Motiv.Score	Samples		
	Experimentals	Controls	Total
High	59(26%)	153(80%)	212
Low	171(74%)	38(20%)	209
Total	230(100%)	191(100%)	421

Note:1 non-response from experimentals excluded

$x^2 = 124.60;$ df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 7

Comparison of Both Samples on Self-Image

Self-Image Score	Samples		
	Experimentals	Controls	Total
High	57(25%)	158(83%)	215
Low	174(75%)	33(17%)	207
Total	231(100%)	191(100%)	422

$\chi^2 = 142.40$; df = 1; P less than 0.001

Table 8

Age By Dogmatism Score (Experimentals)

Dogmatism Score	Age Distribution			
	25 yrs. & under	26-30	Over 30 years	Total
High	38(49%)	48(50%)	21(40%)	107
Low	39(51%)	48(50%)	32(60%)	119
Total	77(100%)	96(100%)	53(100%)	226

$\chi^2 = 0.91$; df = 2; P greater than 0.05

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