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Differences in Social Perceptions between American and West African Students: Implication for Social Work Education

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DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS BETWEEN
AMERICAN AND WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS:
IMPLICATION FOR SOCIAL WORK
EDUCATION

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Social Work

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Social Work

University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Adeze C. Uhiara

April 1983

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work,
University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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Preface

The United States has become a world market for education especially for international students from the third world countries. In view of this, it has become necessary to examine the participation of these young internationals in American education which is primarily designed to meet the needs of the American people.

This study used four hypotheses to test whether there is a significant difference in social values and perceptions between American students currently studying in an American university, West African students studying in American universities, and West Africans who had previously studied in American universities and have returned home. It was found that white American students differed more than black American students from the West Africans, both those in the United States and those who have returned home. Sex as well as culture was also found to be related to the responses to certain questions used in the instrument. On the whole, it appeared that culture more than sex was responsible for the difference between the groups.

Despite the weaknesses of the instrument used, the study pointed to the need for a multicultural approach in designing educational curricula, especially for schools of social work which educate people to work in human service settings among culturally divergent populations.

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Problem Statement

Introduction

The advent of the age of technology has made it possible for people from different parts of the world to come together periodically for various reasons. Education is one of the main reasons that many young international students come to the United States. As the world becomes smaller and smaller due to the success of western technology and mechanical extensions (Sanders, 1980:15), the United States will host an even greater number of these young international students.

The participation of these international students in American education is important. Efforts must, therefore, be made to see that both parties are benefitting from the program and there is no unconscious motive to transport values that will undermine the recipients' culture, since education in general in the United States has in the past emphasized the "melting pot" approach to society (Hiroaka, 1977:177).

This study is about the participation of West African students in American education. However, contemporary history supports that the rest of Africa will likely follow this trend in this age of rapid urbanization and development in the third world countries (Little, 1974:8).

Long before the advent of white people on the shores of West Africa, the people were credited with having a unique kind of welfare system based on a deep sense of kinship which bound together the entire life of the group or community (Mbiti, 1969:104). Even after the

colonization ended and all the West African countries gained their independence, the traditional welfare system based on kinship and extended family has survived and is being revived once more (Ayandele, 1979:287).

Despite the presence of several traditional languages, unique customs, and religion, West Africans have underlying similarities in their experiential communality rooted in the black culture (Nobles, 1980:102). Mbiti (1970:2-4) notes that this regional communality is supported by a set of guiding beliefs and philosophy of life found in a range of unifying cultural themes.

During the colonial rule of West Africa, the traditional welfare system seemed to be breaking down because the people were taught to resent or deny anything traditional in favor of that which is imported, including the people's way of life (Ayandele, 1979:154). Many sons and daughters were sent to be educated in Europe and the United States. When they came back they reinforced the belief that anything traditional was inferior. The result was that they set out to transmit to West African people the values and cultures learned in the "overseas" school (Ayandele, 1979:289). The person who accepted the imported culture tended to become--"the marginal man"--a man who belonged neither to Africa nor the West (Ayandele, 1979:78). Confusion and problems are now found in African child welfare agencies because of this kind of conflicting value orientation, as the following case examples illustrate:

Foster parents, who were given a foster child to care for until a more permanent plan could be made for the child, made the foster child go by the foster parents' last name. When the social worker came to take the child for a more permanent placement, the foster parents refused to give up the child because they thought fostering was a stepping stone to their adopting the child.

Extended family members refused to welcome into the family an adopted child because they were suspicious of the genetic make-up the adoptee was bringing into the family (Mere, 1978).

These case examples suggest that there may be problems involved in social work practice for West African students who receive an American education.

Rationale for the Study

The difficulties encountered in social work practice by West African students educated in the American way calls for an appraisal of how the two cultures perceive social values and meanings in life.

It is thought that studying the world views of the two cultures might help clarify why the West African students may have some difficulty translating classroom instructions into fieldwork practice. It may be that a philosophical gap exists between classroom instruction and fieldwork practice and that this gap is due to differing cultural perspectives.

This study is focused on the issue of "world view" to determine if there is a significant difference in the perception of social values and meaning in life between Americans and West Africans. An analysis will be made of key concepts that are central to the dominant culture in West Africa in order for these to be compared with the dominant culture in America. A significant difference in the perceptions between the two cultures would suggest the need for a reassessment of West African participation in American education.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to West African students currently studying in American universities and those who have previously studied in American universities and have gone back to West Africa. The results of the study cannot be generalized to all the international students from other parts of Africa, since there are still some definite cultural differences between the different parts of Africa.

Objectives of the Study

The objective is to determine whether there are differences in basic social attitudes and values between West African university students and American university students. More specifically, the study will determine whether differences exist between the two groups of students in social perceptions encompassing eleven concepts adapted from J.L.M. Dawson's Traditional versus Modern (T-M) Scale (see Table I).

Questions of Related Concern

The result of the study may suggest further investigation of the

extent of compatibility or incompatibility of educational curricula for West Africans who go to school in the United States. It may also suggest an investigation into the similarity or dissimilarity of the perceptions of social reality between the international students from other regions of Africa and American students.

Significance of the Study for the Field of Social Work

The significance of this study for the field of social work is twofold. A finding of value differences might mean that while the American social work values may not be incompatible with the West African philosophy of life, some questions should be raised to help keep the curriculum from being ethnocentric. A reappraisal of West African participation in American education, that focuses on social, moral and philosophical approaches, may be necessary if there is a significant difference in the perception of social reality and meaning in life between the two cultures.

Hypotheses

Nobles (1980:102-103) compared the American world view with that of the African. He noted that the American world view is tempered with the guiding principles of "survival of the fittest" and "control over nature." These principles have been found to affect social values, so that emphasis is on "individuality," "uniqueness," "independence," and "competition." The African world view on the other hand, is tempered with the general guiding principles of "survival of the group" and "one with nature." The values and customs characteristic of this African world view

emphasize "cooperation," "interdependence," and "collective responsibility."

The physical situation in which many Africans find themselves is one in which there is rapid urbanization and social change, attended by a moving away from traditional values and customs (Caldwell, 1969:4-10). The traditional role of the elders as authority figures is gradually being taken over by other institutions. The extended family system is weakening as the "societal buffer" in times of crisis and stress, but the gap has not been adequately filled by other institutions (Little, 1974:7-10). With cultural revival now increasing (Ayandele, 1979:289), there is a move toward a reidentification and selective return to more valued traditional attitudes (Dawson, 1975:130).

According to the Traditional versus Modern hypotheses (Dawson, 1975:129), African people who have had high contact with western culture tend to have, to a greater or lesser degree, some unresolved attitudinal conflicts which are expected to occur for the more important cultural concepts.

Four hypotheses have been derived for the present study from the above models and assumptions.

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in values between West Africans who have studied or are studying in universities in the United States, and white and black American students currently studying in American universities.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference in values between West African students (past and present) and white American university students.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference in values between West African students (past and present) and black American university students.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in values between West African students who have returned home to West Africa, and West African students who are still studying in American universities.

Review of the Related Literature

Important to this study is the literature on West African values and social needs from 1960 to 1982, including both empirical findings and theory. Only within the last twenty years has literature begun to focus on the traditions of West African society.

Ayandele (1979:15) believes that the ethnocentric factors within the colonial western societies resulted in little or no acknowledgement of the historical traditions and values of West Africa. However, in spite of the recent technological development which has given rise to rapid urbanization and social change, the "sleeping giant" appears to be waking up to its own past (Little, 1974:7-8).

Despite the lack of written history of pre-colonial West Africa, oral tradition has been an important instrument in transmitting the values, the belief system and the philosophy of life of the West African kingdoms, states, villages, clans, and families from one

generation to another (Lynch, 1967:1094). Thus, it is interesting to find that oral tradition which bears a close relationship to the social structure of the people is still being used in many West African societies. These, Lynch further notes, are in form of myth, folklore, legend, poetry, proverbs, and riddles. Ayandele (1979:287-288) notes that the oral tradition has a further function of increasing cultural awareness among the indigenous people of West Africa as a distinct people.

The colonization of West Africa brought with it newly independent states, but much of the cultural heritage was relegated to the background. As the people were taught that their culture was heathenish and inferior, they were essentially left torn between two cultures (Wren, 1980:4). In the attempt to recover a lost culture and create a method of liberation, a host of West African writers worked together to bring about a cultural regeneration in this part of the continent (Adali-Morty, 1962; Williams, 1964). In Africa the cultural revival reached its climax during the festival of black arts (FESTAC). In 1977 this was hosted by Nigeria, one of the West African countries, for all the black community from different parts of the world.

Most of the African elites educated in western countries are full of contradictions and challenges from the sudden contact of two cultural systems. Lambo (1964:446) was aware of this cultural conflict when he remarked that "under stress" emotional or otherwise, newly acquired and highly differentiated social attitudes and ideologies

are more susceptible to "damage," leaving the basic traditional beliefs and indigenous moral philosophy "functionally overactive." Dawson (1975:117) explains Lambo's term, "functionally overactive," as a "state which must involve a high degree of attitudinal conflict to those more valued beliefs."

Gluckman (1960:55-57) has observed that even when an individual moves out of his ethnic group, he continues to be influenced to some extent by his cultural orientation. Considerable evidence shows that more important or valued attitudes have the highest level of unresolved attitudinal conflict and so are most resistant to change (Dawson, 1967b:81-86; 1969a:101-106). In this sort of situation, Dawson (1975:112) observes that the individual may respond by developing new adaptive compromise attitudes or by obtaining cultural support for more valued attitudes. Thus, it might be expected that West African students who have come to spend some time in the United States in quest of educational advancement, would be susceptible to attitude change (Dawson, 1975:109).

The future of West African identity and prosperity may depend largely on the tradition and culture of its people. Rodney (1972: 265-280) suggests that African schools and institutions of higher learning should strive to encourage those factors that are suitable for ecological and manpower needs.

Contrast Between Values of the United States and West African Society

Kinship. The American family system emphasizes the nuclear family of procreation, while the West African family system consists

of more than one's family of procreation and orientation put together (Nobles, 1980:29). Mbiti (1970:106-107) notes that kinship stretches horizontally and laterally to include in-laws, cousins, uncles and aunts in a vital way as if all belong to one family of procreation. Furthermore, in decision making processes and important events like death and marriage, most of these members of the extended family are critically involved and consulted.

Community efforts and clan groups. In the United States most people live and belong to the urban area with very few people in the rural area or countryside. Most projects are executed by city councils or other legislative bodies. This results in little or no cohesiveness among the people living in a given area. In West Africa, everybody belongs to one rural area or another; no one who lives in the city belongs there. Thus people often go back to their villages and clans during important events and festive occasions, and it is during these reunions that projects are executed and the welfare of communities is planned (Achebe, 1960:30-43).

Individuality versus collective unity. In the American lifestyle, society stresses individuality and personal achievement (Nobles, 1980:29). The West African lifestyle does not, however, place heavy emphasis on the individual; whatever happens to an individual happens to the corporate body (Nobles, 1980:29). This is shown by the names which parents give their children. "Nwora" is a name in Eastern Nigeria that says the child belongs to the community or group. Nobles (1980:29-33) describes the African self concept with which the

traditional African understands his view of himself as "I am because we are, therefore, I am."

Philosophy of life. The American philosophy, according to Nobles (1980:105-107) is linear and based on the concept of independence developed through establishing one's "uniqueness" and "separateness." The African philosophy, on the other hand, is circular depicting the individual as existing insofar as he is a part of the corporate or communal group (Nobles, 1980:29).

For West African students acquiring their education in the United States, being in a society where the value system is so different from what they are used to in their homes, adds stress to a learning situation. Even though English is the national language in most of the West African countries, the American lifestyle and philosophy of life presents some initial adjustment problems for these young students. After going through the initial culture shock, the West African student is faced with the option of either holding on to what values he was raised with, thereby alienating himself from American students and making his learning situation more difficult; or he can choose to give up some of those values, which will create within him the attitudinal conflict that Dawson and Lambo stated earlier in this chapter.

Methodology

Sample

This was a descriptive study to compare four groups of people:

Sample 1. West African students who have previously studied in American universities, and have gone back to live and work in a West African country, namely Nigeria.

Sample 2. West African students currently studying in American universities.

Sample 3. White American students currently studying in an American university.

Sample 4. Black American students currently studying in an American university.

The study was descriptive because it described the attitudes of the four samples mentioned above, which were not subject to experimental manipulation.

The sampling procedure used was judgemental. Sample one is made up of 36 West Africans who had previously studied in American universities and who are now working in Nigeria. Sample two consisted of 53 West African university students currently studying in Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska. Sample three was made up of 70 white American university students currently studying in Omaha, Nebraska; and sample four consisted of 50 black American university students currently studying in Omaha, Nebraska. The samples included students of both sexes.

Measurement

Biesheuval (1958:179) has stated in regard to the complexity of African attitudes, that "discrepancy between manifest context of an attitude and actual behavior is an indication of the genuine complexity of the attitudes themselves, which is a result of the changing conflicting cultural situations which many Africans," especially those away from their homeland, find themselves. He further notes the complex traditional versus modern interactions between the behavioral demands of the new environment which often clash with the more important traditional beliefs.

An instrument which measures the traditional versus modern dimension on several major cultural concepts is the Traditional versus Modern Scale (T-M Scale), constructed and developed by J.L.M. Dawson (1975:119-127). The research instrument for this study was adapted from the T-M Scale (see Appendix B for copy of the research instrument).

The T-M Scale is a collection of social anthropological concepts of social values selected on the basis of their cultural representativeness in terms of social organization. It was first used in a West African country (Sierra Leone) to measure attitudes on a continuum ranging from traditional to modern, of a wide range of cultural concepts.

For the purpose of this study eleven relevant concepts have been selected out of the eighteen on Dawson's T-M Scale. These concepts are presented in Table I.

Table I

Eleven Cultural Concepts Adapted from Dawson's T-M Scale

Traditional concept of the gift in social and interpersonal relations.
 Parental authority.
 Role and status of women.
 Traditional work versus modern industrial and commercial work.
 Role and status of aged people in traditional society; associated
 with wisdom, authority, and respect.
 Traditional customs versus modern progress.
 Status of women with reference to traditional authority of husbands.
 Traditional obligations to share with extended family kin-group.
 Traditional externalized authority patterns versus internalized controls.
 Ethical obligations relating to property.
 Traditional levies and gifts to chiefs, versus central taxation.

Each of these eleven cultural concepts has been defined by four attitudinal statements. These four attitudinal statements, according to Dawson (1975:119-129) represent "traditional," "semi-traditional," "semi-modern," and "modern" attitudes about each of the eleven cultural concepts.

The present study is concerned with variation among the four sample groups on each of the forty four questions. Each question on the instrument can be answered using a five point scale that ranges from +2 (agree strongly) to -2 (disagree strongly). For ease of scoring

the responses, the scale was transformed to 1 (agree strongly) to 5 (disagree strongly).

Data Collection

All 230 questionnaires were color coded for easy identification of samples. Thus, blue was for West Africans at home (sample one), white was for West African students in the United States (sample two), pink was for white American students (sample three) and yellow was for black American students (sample four). Each questionnaire had a cover letter attached explaining the intent of the body and also seeking the cooperation of the respondents.

A pretest was given to six people representing the four samples but who would not be among the actual respondents, to see whether the intent of the questionnaire was understood or not. The pretest group had no problem with the questionnaire. However, when the instrument was administered to the samples many respondents had difficulty with the wording of the questions. On hindsight, a larger pretest group should have been used.

For sample one fifty blue questionnaires were distributed to contacts in different parts of Nigeria who were to seek out and pass them on to West Africans who had previously studied in the United States. If the questionnaires had not been returned after three to four weeks, they were instructed to send a reminder to them by letter or to contact them personally. The use of local contacts was chosen as a strategy to increase the response rate because of the difficulty in getting people to respond to mailed questionnaires,

and also because the researcher could spend only a minimum period of time (two and one half weeks) in Nigeria. Questionnaires were passed out to West Africans who were mainly Nigerians in the Northern, Middle belt, Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria in order to get a fair representation. The returned questionnaires were mailed back to the researcher by the contacts. Out of 50 distributed, 36 codable questionnaires were mailed back to the researcher for coding within ten weeks, for a 72% return rate for sample one.

Twenty white questionnaires for sample two were mailed to contacts at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. These were mailed with cover letters and self addressed stamped envelopes attached to increase the response rate and to provide for confidentiality. The contacts passed the questionnaires to West African students of the University who filled them out and mailed them directly to the researcher. Out of the twenty questionnaires distributed at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, thirteen codable ones were returned within three weeks. Forty white questionnaires were distributed to West African students at the University of Nebraska at Omaha by several instructors who distributed the questionnaires in their classrooms and by the researcher who distributed questionnaires at the Student Center. Most of the questionnaires were returned that same day or during the next class meeting. A total of forty codable questionnaires was returned within a period of three weeks. The return rate for sample two was 88%.

The seventy pink questionnaires for sample three were distributed at the University of Nebraska at Omaha to white American students. This was done in classrooms in different departments by instructors and at the Student Center by the researcher. The questionnaires were either returned that same day or during the next class meeting. Out of the seventy questionnaires distributed, seventy codable ones were returned within ten days for a 100% response rate for sample three.

The fifty yellow questionnaires for sample four were distributed to black American students at the University of Nebraska at Omaha by instructors of classes which had an appreciable number of black students. Questionnaires were also distributed by the researcher at the Student Center. The questionnaires were either returned that same day or during the next class meeting. A total of fifty codable questionnaires was returned within a period of two weeks for a 100% response rate for sample four.

The overall response rate for all the four samples combined was excellent (90.8%) with 209 respondents participating in the study.

Data Analysis

A code book was developed which was used to ascribe numeric figures to all the variables. There were 61 variables measured. Variable 1, Type of student, was the independent variable while variables 2 to 61 were usually used as dependent variables. Variables 2 to 17 measured demographic data, while variables 18 to 61 were the forty four questions adapted from Dawson's T-M Scale (1975).

All the data collected were coded by hand by the researcher. Numeric figures were assigned to all the variables for scoring purposes and were rechecked for error by the researcher. All the missing values were coded as 9 or 99 before the researcher keypunched the data into the computer. Analysis of variance was done using the SPSS program, BREAKDOWN.

Results

The 209 respondents with codable questionnaires were distributed as follows:

Sample 1 (West Africans now in Nigeria).....	36
Sample 2 (West African students now in the U.S.)...	53
Sample 3 (White American students).....	70
Sample 4 (Black American students).....	50

Out of 209 respondents that participated in the study 100 were males, 89 were females, and 20 did not report their sex. West Africans (samples 1 and 2) were predominantly males, since males are more likely to travel out to other countries to study. Sample 3 (white Americans) were predominantly females, as they were drawn mainly from the School of Social Work, which has a predominantly female population.

The oldest respondents were from sample 1. These were no longer students and had a mean age of 36.32. White Americans with a mean age of 28.41 were the next oldest; these were mainly graduate students. Sample 4 (Black Americans) were the youngest group of respondents with a mean age of 21.48; these were mainly undergraduates in their sophomore and junior years. Sample 2 (West African students in the United States) had a mean age of 26.18. Twenty two respondents did not report their age (see Table II).

In sample 1, 68.6% of the respondents had spent more than 48 months in the United States; 17.1% had spent 25-48 months; 11.4% had spent 3-12 months; and 2.9% had spent less than 3 months. One person

failed to report length of time in the United States. In sample 1 54.3% had spent over 48 months in Nigeria since their first return from the United States; 17.1% had spent 25-48 months; 17.1% had spent 13-24 months; 5.7% had spent 3-12 months; and 5.8% had spent less than 3 months. One person failed to report length of time in West Africa.

Among the West African students still in the United States (sample 2) 34.8% had spent over 48 months in the United States; 41.3% had spent 25-48 months; 15.2% had spent 13-24 months; 8.7% had spent 3-12 months; and 0% had spent less than 3 months. Seven respondents failed to report the length of time they had spent in the United States. In sample 2, 71.4% had never returned to West Africa since they first came to the United States; 21.4% had spent less than 3 months; 0% had spent 3-12 months; 0% had spent 13-24 months; 2.4% had spent 25-48 months; and 2.4% had spent over 48 months. Eleven respondents failed to indicate how long they had spent in West Africa since they first came to the United States.

The results of the Analysis of Variance were as follows:

Hypothesis 1

Samples 1 and 2 taken together (West Africans both here and in Nigeria) differed significantly at the 0.05 level from samples 3 and 4 taken together (white and black American students) in their responses to twenty seven questions, (questions 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, and 61; see Table III for the sample means of each question and the

concepts to which they belong).

Hypothesis 2

White American students (sample 3) differed significantly at the 0.05 level from West Africans (samples 1 and 2) in their responses to twenty four questions (questions 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, and 60; see Table iv).

Hypothesis 3

Black American students (sample 4) differed significantly at the 0.05 level from West Africans (samples 1 and 2) in their responses to fourteen questions (questions 29, 30, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 48, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, and 61; see Table V).

Hypothesis 4

West Africans at home (sample 1) differed significantly at the 0.05 level from West Africans in the United States (sample 2) in their responses to only three questions (questions 38, 60 and 61; see Table VI), at 0.05 level.

Sex was used as an independent variable to test if it was associated with responses to any questions. Men differed significantly at the 0.05 level from women in their responses to sixteen questions (questions 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 39, 42, 43, 45, 48, 58, 59 and 60; see Table VII).

A test was done to see whether sex and age were independent of the samples of students. They were not independent. Therefore, it was impossible to run a covariance analysis with sex or age as the

covariate because sex and age were highly correlated with the independent variable, the sample groupings.

Table II

The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which They Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of Sample 1	Mean of Sample 2	Mean of Sample 3	Mean of Sample 4	Mean of all the Samples
2	Age	36.32	26.18	28.41	21.48	27.54
4	Sex	1.28	1.14	1.68	1.63	1.47
11	Duration in months for first return to West Africa.	54.6	1.66			34.75
22	Children should always be very obedient and respectful to their parents, doing always exactly as they are told, otherwise they should be punished severely.	3.00	3.15	4.28	3.24	3.52
23	Children should always be very obedient to their parents but they should sometimes be allowed to say what they think.	1.50	1.69	2.30	1.68	1.86
24	Children should be obedient to their parents but they should also be allowed to talk freely without fear of being punished.	2.36	2.15	1.47	1.84	1.88

PARENTAL
AUTHORITY

Table II (continued)
 The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which They Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of	Mean of	Mean of	Mean of	Mean of all the Samples
		Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	
ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN	26 Women have a much lower position in our society than men. Women are not as clever as men and they should work only in the home and on the farms having many children.	4.22	4.20	4.87	4.44	4.49
	27 Women are almost as clever as men but their position is very much lower and they are not the equal of men.	3.36	3.66	4.45	3.53	3.84
	28 Women are just as clever as men but they are still in many ways not the equal of men.	2.02	2.39	3.00	2.14	2.47
	29 Not only are women just as clever as men but they are the equal of men in every way.	3.44	3.43	2.63	2.91	3.04

Table II (continued)
 The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which they Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of Sample 1	Mean of Sample 2	Mean of Sample 3	Mean of Sample 4	Mean of all the Samples
30	It is better for men not to leave their homes but to stay and work on their farms, to marry and have children and to lead the same lives their fathers led.	4.61	4.45	4.41	4.02	4.36
31	It is all right for men to work in industries and businesses for a short time, but they should return quickly to their farms and homes.	4.02	3.81	4.42	3.76	4.04
32	It is very good for men to leave their homes to get work to gain training and experience, although they should often go home to see their family and to look after their farms.	2.02	2.30	2.68	2.42	2.41

TRADITIONAL
 WORK VERSUS
 MODERN
 WORK

Table II (continued)
 The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which They Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of				Mean of all the Samples
		Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	
TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS VERSUS MODERN PROGRESS	38 Traditional tribal customs should never be changed because this is our way of life.	3.77	2.86	3.75	2.80	3.31
	39 It may sometimes be necessary to change some customs, but as far as possible we should keep our traditional customs.	1.65	1.71	2.44	2.19	2.05
	40 Because of modern progress it is sometimes necessary to change our way of life but we keep some of our traditional customs.	1.51	1.73	1.71	2.08	1.76
	41 In order to make progress and educate our people we must do away completely with traditional customs.	4.51	4.64	4.43	3.88	4.38

Table II (continued)
 The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which They Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of Sample 1	Mean of Sample 2	Mean of Sample 3	Mean of Sample 4	Mean of all the Samples
STATUS OF WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY OF HUSBAND	42 A wife should always obey her husband without question.	4.02	4.01	4.78	3.96	4.26
	43 A wife should always obey her husband but should be sometimes able to say what she thinks.	2.08	2.28	4.31	3.08	3.12
	45 A husband and wife should cooperate with each other and discuss their problems together arriving at a solution with which both agree. The wife should not have to obey her husband without question.	1.58	1.86	1.07	1.54	1.47
TRADITIONAL OBLIGATION WITH EXTENDED FAMILY	46 A rich man should always help the poorer members of his family, sharing his wealth with them. If he does not do this it will cause ill feelings.	2.69	2.54	2.98	2.28	2.65
	47 A rich man should spend his money on his own wife and children although he may give some to the poorer members of his family.	1.91	2.13	2.55	2.00	2.20
	48 As even a rich man is concerned with his own wife and children he should spend his money on them and not give it to his relatives.	4.55	4.26	3.85	3.84	4.07

Table II (continued)

The Means of the Four Sample Groups on All the Variables in Which They Differed Significantly

Concept	Variables	Mean of Sample 1	Mean of Sample 2	Mean of Sample 3	Mean of Sample 4	Mean of all the Samples
EXTERNALIZED AUTHORITY VERSUS INTERNALIZED CONTROL	51 At work, or school you should do as you are told, because you know the person in charge knows what he is doing.	2.80	2.81	3.47	3.08	3.09
	52 At work, or school you should do as you are told, not because you are afraid of being punished, but because you know it is the correct thing to do.	1.91	1.86	2.62	2.16	2.19
	53 When working you should do as you are told because you know the person in charge will be angry if you don't.	2.97	3.05	3.60	3.60	3.25
LEVIES AND GIFTS VERSUS CENTRAL TAXATION	58 Because we have always given gifts and levies to our chiefs, it is wrong that we should have to pay tax to the Government.	4.47	4.35	3.77	3.20	3.90
	59 It is a bad thing to pay to the Government as we never see anything for the money.	4.36	4.25	4.13	3.18	3.97
CENTRAL TAXATION	60 Even though we should pay some tax, the Government already takes too much.	2.75	3.42	3.72	2.06	2.74
	61 We should pay tax to the Government because, in return the Government provides many services, roads, schools, hospitals, police, welfare and defense.	1.86	1.38	1.72	2.22	1.78

*All the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table III

The Means of Samples 1 and 2 (West Africans Both in the U.S. and at Home) and Samples 3 and 4 (White and Black Americans)

Variables	Concepts	Mean of Samples 1 & 2	Mean of Samples 3 & 4	Mean of all Samples
2	Age	30.43	25.43	27.54
3	Race	1.00	1.58	1.33
4	Sex	1.20	1.66	1.47
21	Traditional Gift	2.60	2.21	2.37
22	Parental Authority	3.08	3.85	3.52
23		1.61	2.04	1.86
24		2.23	1.62	1.88
26	Role and Status of Women	4.21	4.69	4.49
27		3.53	4.07	3.84
28		2.24	2.63	2.47
29		3.43	2.75	3.04
30	Traditional Work Versus Modern Work	4.51	4.25	4.36
32		2.19	2.57	2.41
34	Role and Status of Aged People	1.70	2.09	1.93
37		1.63	1.92	1.80
39	Traditional Customs Versus Modern Progress	1.69	2.34	2.05
40		1.64	1.86	1.76
41		4.59	4.21	4.38
42	Status of Women and Traditional Authority of Husbands	4.02	4.43	4.26
43		2.20	3.80	3.12
45		1.75	1.26	1.47
47	Traditional Obligations With Extended Family	2.04	2.32	2.20
48		4.38	3.85	4.07
51	Externalized Authority Versus Internalized Control	2.80	3.31	3.09
52		1.88	2.42	2.19
53		3.02	3.60	3.35
58	Levies and Gifts Versus Central Taxation	4.40	3.52	3.90
59		4.29	3.72	3.97
60		3.14	2.44	2.74
61		1.57	1.93	1.78

*All of the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table IV

The Means of Samples 1 and 2 (West Africans Both in the U.S.
and at Home) and Sample 3 (White Americans)

Variables	Concepts	Mean of Samples 1 & 2	Mean of Sample 3	Mean of Samples 1, 2 & 3
4	Sex	1.2	1.68	1.41
22	Parental	3.08	4.28	3.61
23	Authority	1.61	2.30	1.91
24		2.23	1.47	1.89
26	Role and Status of	4.21	4.87	4.50
27	Women	3.53	4.45	3.94
28		2.24	3.00	2.57
29		3.41	2.63	3.08
31	Traditional Work Versus	3.89	4.42	4.13
32	Modern Work	2.19	2.68	2.41
34	Role and Status of Aged People	1.70	2.14	1.90
38	Traditional Customs	3.22	3.75	3.46
39	Versus Modern Progress	1.69	2.44	2.01
42	Status of Women and	4.02	4.78	4.35
43	Traditional Authority of	2.20	4.31	3.13
45	Husbands	1.75	1.07	1.45
46	Traditional Obligation	2.60	2.98	2.77
47	With Extended Family	2.04	2.55	2.27
48		4.38	3.85	4.15
51	Externalized Authority	2.80	3.47	3.10
52	Versus Internalized	1.88	2.62	2.21
53	Control	3.02	3.60	3.27
55	Ethical Obligation	4.21	4.52	4.35
58	Levies and Gifts Versus	4.40	3.77	4.12
60	Central Taxation	3.14	2.72	2.96

*All the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table V

The Means of Samples 1 and 2 (West Africans in the U.S. and at Home) and Sample 4 (Black Americans)

Variables	Concepts	Mean of Samples 1 & 2	Mean of Sample 4	Mean of Samples 1, 2 & 4
2	Age	30.43	21.48	27.45
4	Sex	1.20	1.63	1.36
29	Role and Status of Women	3.43	2.91	3.25
30	Traditional Work Versus Modern Work	4.51	4.02	4.34
37	Role and Status of Aged People	1.63	2.04	1.78
39	Traditional Customs	1.69	2.19	1.86
40	Versus Modern	1.64	2.08	1.79
41	Progress	4.59	3.88	4.35
43	Status of Women and Traditional Authority of Husbands	2.20	3.08	2.52
48	Traditional Obligation	4.38	3.84	4.18
53	Externalized Authority Versus Internalized Control	3.02	3.60	3.23
54	Ethical Obligations	4.49	4.14	4.36
58	Levies and Gifts	4.40	3.20	3.96
59	Versus Central	4.29	3.18	3.89
60	Taxation	3.14	2.06	2.75
61		1.57	2.22	1.81

*All the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table VI

The Means of Sample 1 (West Africans at Home) and Sample 2
(West African Students in the U.S.)

Variables	Concepts	Mean of Sample 1	Mean of Sample 2	Mean of Samples 1 & 2
2	Age	36.32	26.18	30.43
11	Duration in months for first return to West Africa.	54.6	1.66	34.75
38	Traditional Customs Versus Modern Progress	3.77	2.86	3.22
60	Levies and Gifts Ver-	2.75	3.42	3.14
61	sus Central Taxation	1.86	1.38	1.57

*All of the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table VII
The Means of Males and Females

Variables	Concepts	Means of Males	Means of Females	Means of Both Males & Females
1	Sample	2.31	3.05	2.66
22	Parental Authority	3.31	3.76	3.52
24		2.00	1.65	1.83
25		2.01	1.69	1.86
26	Role and Status of Women	4.23	4.80	4.50
27		3.59	4.03	3.79
29		3.40	2.67	3.05
31	Traditional Work Versus Modern Work	3.84	4.21	4.01
33		2.79	3.11	2.94
39	Traditional Customs Versus Modern Progress	1.90	2.17	2.03
42	Status of Women and Traditional Authority of Husbands	4.01	4.48	4.23
43		2.64	3.67	3.12
45		1.73	1.19	1.47
48	Traditional Obligation with Extended Family	4.18	3.91	4.05
58	Levies and Gifts Versus Central Taxation	4.17	3.65	3.92
59		4.30	3.63	3.98
60		3.02	2.41	2.73

*All the above are significant at the 0.05 level.

Discussion

The questions used in this study were adapted from Dawson's Traditional versus Modern Scale (T-M) and were the ones closest to the concepts the researcher wanted to examine.

Weakness of the Instrument

The T-M Scale was found to have several weaknesses. Both American students and West African students had some problems in deciding what answer to give because:

- a) Some of the questions were double questions, and respondents were at a loss on how to answer them when they agreed with one part and disagreed with the other part. Some respondents even circled two numbers for the first and second part of the question, thereby giving an invalid response.
- b) Some of the questions were poorly worded so that the meaning was not clear to some respondents, who chose not to answer such questions.
- c) Some words such as "tribal" and "traditional" appeared to have negative connotations to some respondents. For questions with such words the researcher noted a consistent answer of (not sure) marked all through such questions. This was particularly true of black Americans.
- d) Some questions assumed a particular lifestyle for the respondents, and some were reluctant to put themselves in the role assigned in the question. Some respondents wrote, for example, "Why should all men be farmers?" and

"Since I have never lived on a farm I don't know what you mean."

In addition to the weaknesses associated with the wording, clarity, and lifestyle, the scale appeared to the researcher to have a theoretical weakness. It appeared that the T-M Scale was constructed to measure how traditional or how modern respondents were. But this researcher does not see "traditional" and "modern" as appropriate terms to place on either end of a continuum measuring cultural influence or socio-anthropological values.

All these weaknesses contributed to the difficulty the researcher encountered in coding the responses and interpreting the results.

Culture Confounded With Sex

While three of the four hypotheses were upheld by the figures in Tables II through VI, an important fact to note is that Table VII shows that sex rather than culture has affected the responses of the different samples to specific questions. Out of the twenty four questions in which West Africans, both at home and in the United States, differed significantly from white Americans (see Table IV) thirteen of those questions belonged to seven concepts which differed by sex as well (see Table VII). These concepts and their corresponding questions are as follows: parental authority (questions 22 and 24); role and status of women (questions 26, 27 and 29); traditional work versus modern work (question 31); traditional custom versus modern progress (question 39); status of women and traditional authority

of husbands (questions 42, 43 and 45); traditional obligation of extended family (question 48); levies and gifts versus central taxation (questions 58 and 60). Six of the questions are on issues concerning women. Since white Americans (sample 3) were predominantly female and West Africans (samples 1 and 2) were predominantly male, it appears that the differences in responses to these thirteen questions could be related to sex instead of culture. However, fourteen questions out of the twenty seven questions in Table III (samples 1 and 2 compared with samples 3 and 4), and eleven questions out of the twenty four in Table IV (samples 1 and 2 compared with sample 3) did not differ by sex, so that cultural differences are a more likely explanation.

Cultural Differences

The fourteen questions in Table III in which West Africans combined differed significantly by culture alone from black and white Americans by culture but not by sex, belonged to nine concepts. These were as follows: traditional concept of the Gift (question 21); parental authority (question 23); role and status of women (question 28); traditional work versus modern work (questions 30 and 32); traditional role of the aged (questions 34 and 37); traditional customs versus modern progress (questions 40 and 41); traditional obligation with extended family (question 47); externalized authority versus internalized control (questions 51, 52 and 53); and levies and gifts versus central taxation (question 61). The eleven questions in Table IV in which West Africans combined differed significantly

by culture alone from white Americans but not by sex belonged to eight concepts. These were as follows: parental authority (question 23); role and status of women (question 28); traditional work versus modern work (question 32); role and status of aged people (question 34); traditional customs versus modern progress (question 38); traditional obligation with extended family (questions 46 and 47); externalized authority pattern versus internalized control (questions 51, 52 and 53); and ethical obligation (question 55).

Some of these concepts had other questions which were related to sex except for four: traditional concept of gift, role and status of aged people, externalized authority versus internalized control, and ethical obligation.

Analysis of Tables II through VI reveals that West Africans (samples 1 and 2) differed significantly from the Americans (either sample 3 or 4 separately or samples 3 and 4 combined) in some questions from all eleven concepts examined in the study in varying degrees. All of these eleven concepts, as stated earlier in the literature, touched on a range of social values that would reveal a people's way of life in how they responded to the questions. Since the West Africans and the Americans differed significantly on these concepts, it could be inferred that a significant difference exists between the two cultural groups, though the extent of the variation is not known from this study because of the limitations encountered in the process.

Tables IV and V show that West Africans (samples 1 and 2) differed from white Americans (sample 3) in twenty four questions, and from black Americans in fourteen questions respectively. Six questions (29, 39, 48, 53, 58 and 60) were found common to both tables. However, the means of sample 3 were more different than those of sample 4 from the means of samples 1 and 2 in questions 29 and 39, while the means of sample 4 were farther from sample 1 and 2 for questions 58 and 60. The means of samples 3 and 4 were the same for questions 48 and 53. It could also be inferred that although both samples 3 and 4 differed significantly from samples 1 and 2, that considering the number of questions on which they differed, sample 3 (White Americans) differed more than sample 4 (black Americans) from samples 1 and 2 (West Africans).

West Africans at home (sample 1) differed significantly from West Africans in the United States in only three questions (38, 60 and 61) belonging to two concepts, traditional customs versus modern progress and levies and gifts versus central taxation (see Table VI). It is not known whether these differences are related to unresolved attitudinal conflict because of the impact of the American culture on their lifestyle, since the study did not have a control group of West Africans who have never studied in the United States. It would be interesting to test a sample of students and graduates who have been educated solely in West Africa and compare their responses to those of the West Africans who have returned home after studying in the United States. This would determine whether those who have

returned have values different from those of similar educational qualifications who have never travelled out. It is possible that students who return to West Africa may differ from those who never left and that these value differences may be long lasting. Such a situation might have an alienating effect on West African students who have studied abroad.

Relevance of Findings

The results of this research are not insignificant or without some relevance. That a difference exists between West African culture and some of its social values and American culture and some of its social values has been established. Moreover it has been found that in the United States subcultures exist, as evidenced by the different responses of black and white Americans to several questions.

What this study was not able to test is whether the differences between West Africans and American culture are so great that a different curriculum should be designed for West African students, and by implication for all international students according to their needs. It may be that the differences are such that they can be dealt with by broadening the scope of the curriculum to include certain intercultural subjects, to reduce ethnocentrism, and to increase cultural awareness. It may also mean that more flexibility of choice is needed in the area of certain subjects that deal only with the American way of life and values, which West African students,

and by implication other international students, are required to take as part of their educational program before they are allowed to graduate.

Sanders (1975:89-96) and Hall (1977:2) observed that a move towards a multicultural approach in instructional settings is necessary for those involved in teaching human service professionals. This is essential because it will help to minimize the problems of ethnic superiority and enable these human service workers to better deal with inter racial tensions among culturally divergent populations.

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Appendix A

Definition of Terms (Operational)

Perception/Assessment:

An individual's understanding and meaning of events, based on worldview. This would include an individual's concept of what is abnormal or normal (Nobles, 1980, p. 99).

Kinship: (West African Perspective):

The kinship system stretches both vertically and horizontally, embracing anyone living (present), unborn, or dead (past) up to the fifth and sixth generation or as long as the mind can remember. This means that an individual does not exist alone and is an integral part of the collective unity. Each person is brother/sister, father/mother, grandmother/grandfather, cousin/brother-in-law, uncle/aunt or some relation to everybody else (Mbiti, 1969, pp. 104-105).

Collective Consciousness:

This is a spiritual disposition, a kind of faith in a transcendent force and a sense of vital solidarity emphasizing the survival of the group (Nobles, 1980, p. 102). One thus defines self in terms of the existence and well being of his or her reference group.

Experiential Communalilty:

The sharing of a particular experience by a group of people with those in the same group.

Action and Belief as One:

In traditional West Africa the people's belief permeates every aspect of their life so that what they believe emanates from what they do and experience (Mbiti, 1969, p. 103).

Values of Elders:

These are the traditional beliefs, oracles, and way of life of the people which are entrusted in the hands of the elders to be passed on from generation to generation. The elders are highly respected because of authority accorded them in family and society.

Worldview:

The philosophy of life of any people and how they perceive their social reality (Nobles, 1980, p. 101).

Traditional/Modern:

This refers to social life in which the direction of change and development in society is primarily determined by indigenous events and patterns of behavior. Modern is used to mean effects of urbanization where the individual tends to adopt a more western life style and values.

Appendix B

Instrument

Graduate School of Social Work
University of Nebraska at Omaha
December 10, 1982

Dear _____,

I am involved with a professional research project. The major focus is related to social perceptions of University educated individuals. We need a cross-section of individuals from various backgrounds in order for the study to be valid. We hope that you will cooperate so that this topic can be explored in a scientific manner.

The enclosed questionnaire may take approximately 10 minutes of your time. Your name is not needed nor does the researcher desire your name on the form. Your responses will be kept in confidence.

Kindly answer the questions and return the questionnaire in the envelope provided.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Adeze Uhiara
Graduate Social Work Student

Kindly check the blanks which apply to you.

Age: at last birthday: _____
 Race: ___ black ___ white ___ other black=1, white=2
 Sex: ___ male ___ female male=1, female=2

For American students only

1. Have you ever visited any country in West Africa?
 ___ Yes ___ No

2. If yes, explain when and how long you stayed there:

For West African students only

1. How much time have you spent in the United States?

___ less than 3 months
 ___ 3-12 months
 ___ 13-24 months
 ___ 25-48 months
 ___ above 48 months

2. How many months have you lived in West Africa since you returned from the United States? the first time?

___ have not yet returned to West Africa
 ___ less than 3 months
 ___ 3-12 months
 ___ 13-24 months
 ___ 25-48 months
 ___ above 48 months

If you are now in the United States how many times have you visited West Africa since you first came to the U.S.?

___ have never visited West Africa since first coming to the U.S.
 ___ once
 ___ 2-3 times
 ___ more than 3 times

If you are now in West Africa how many times have you visited the U.S. since you first returned to West Africa from the U.S.?

___ never visited U.S. since returning

Duration in Months for Each Visit
 or Return

First visit to the U.S.

First return to West Africa

Second visit to U.S.

Second return to West Africa _____
 Third visit to U.S. _____
 Third return to West Africa _____
 More than three visits to U.S. _____
 More than 3 returns to West Africa _____

The following statements are in groups of four. Each group deals with one subject giving four different opinions about that subject. You are required to state exactly what you think of each statement by circling one of the numbers opposite each statement, according to the following plan:

2+ = Agree Strongly
 1+ = Agree
 0 = Not Sure
 -1 = Disagree
 -2 = Disagree Strongly

Group A

The traditional custom of making a gift to someone to welcome them, on special occasions, and for services to people, binds people together and makes them friendly towards each other.

Agree Disagree
 +2 +1 0 -1 -2

The act of giving something to someone is in many ways very good but it can be carried too far.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Giving someone something has its place but it can too easily become an endless chase for money and gifts.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

It should not be necessary to give someone something when they do something for you. It should be enough to say thank you. Otherwise it might develop into bribery.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group B

Children should always be very obedient and respectful to their parents, doing always exactly what they are told, otherwise they should be punished severely.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Children should always be very obedient to their parents but they should sometimes be allowed to say what they think.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Children should be obedient to their parents but they should also be allowed to talk freely without fear of being punished.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Children should obey their parents not because they are afraid of being punished but because they love their parents and know that their parents are right.

+2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group C

Women have a much lower position in our society than men. Women are not as clever as men and they should work only in the home and on the farms having many children. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Women are almost as clever as men but their position is very much lower and they are not the equal of men. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Women are just as clever as men but they are still in many ways not the equal of men. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Not only are women just as clever as men but they are the equal of men in every way. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group D

It is better for men not to leave their homes but to stay and work on their farms, to marry and have children and to lead the same lives their fathers led. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It is all right for men to work in industries and businesses for a short time, but they should return quickly to their farms and homes. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It is very good for men to leave their homes to get work to gain training and experience, although they should often go home to see their family and to look after their farms. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It is very much better for men to get steady work in industry or business where they will get more money, training and experience, rather than stop at home on their farms. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group E

As all men grow old they become much wiser and therefore we look for their advice on many problems. We are responsible for looking after our aged people. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Some old men are very wise but many are not. Even so, we should always look after our aged people. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

We do not always have to listen to what old men have to say but we respect them and look after them. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Age does not always make a man wise, it depends how clever he really is, but we respect and look after old people. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group F

Traditional tribal customs should never be changed because this is our way of life. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It may sometimes be necessary to change some customs, but as far as possible we should keep our traditional customs. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Because of modern progress it is sometimes necessary to change our way of life but we should keep some of our traditional customs. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

In order to make progress and educate our people we must do away completely with traditional customs. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group G

A wife should always obey her husband without question. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

A wife should always obey her husband but should be sometimes able to say what she thinks. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

A wife, although taking notice of what her husband tells her, should also be able to tell him exactly what she thinks. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

A husband and wife should co-operate with each other and discuss their problems together arriving at a solution with which both agree. The wife should not have to obey her husband without question. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group H

A rich man should always help the poorer members of his family, sharing his wealth with them. If he does not do this it will cause ill feelings. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

A rich man should spend his money on his own wife and children although he may give some to the poorer members of his family. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

As even a rich man is concerned mostly with his own wife and children he should spend his money on them and not give it to his relatives. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

A rich man should help the poorer members of his family but if he doesn't do this, nothing should happen to him. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group I

If you are told when working to do something you should do it because you know you will be punished if you don't. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group I (continued)

At work, or school, you should do as you are told, because you know the person in charge knows what he is doing. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

At work or school you should do as you are told, not because you are afraid of being punished, but because you know it is the correct thing to do. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

When working you should do as you are told because you know the person in charge will be angry if you don't. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group J

If someone leaves something lying around, as such a careless person deserves to lose their property, it is all right to take it if no one sees you. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It is only right to take things when you think they are not very valuable and anyway the owner probably has plenty of these things and can spare you some. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

You should never take things unless you are quite certain the owner has plenty of them and anyway no one will see you. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

You should never take things belonging to anyone as it is wrong in the eyes of law, God and native custom. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Group K

Because we have always given gifts and levies to our chiefs, it is wrong that we should have to pay tax to the Government. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

It is a bad thing to pay tax to the Government as we never see anything for the money. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

Even though we should pay some tax, the Government already takes too much. +2 +1 0 -1 -2

We should pay tax to the Government because, in return the Government provides many services, roads, schools, hospitals, police, welfare and defense. +2 +1 0 -1 -2