

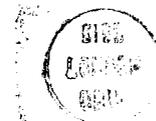
**NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE CORPS PROGRAMME AND
NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA**

**BY
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DEDICATION

**TO ONYEKA, my husband,
with deepest affection.**

ABSTRACT

The study examined the effectiveness of the National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria in relation to its major objective which is to help bring about national integration. Specifically, it has attempted to find out the attitudes of a sample of graduate youths from the Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups towards the Igbos and the country, and to assess whether participation in the National Youth Service Corps programme produces a change in their attitudes.

The major hypothesis for the study - those who have served in the National Youth Service Corps programme will have a more positive attitude towards national integration as measured by the National Identity Scale, than those who have not served in the scheme - is supported. The favourable change in attitude however is moderate ($P < .01$). The results indicate that the respondents' job satisfaction, as typified by the significance of the jobs assigned to them, rather than participation per se is a better predictor of national integration in the present study.

Quasi-experimental design was adopted. Evidence of the corps members' attitudes towards the Igbos and the country before their participation in the one year national programme serves as a baseline for measuring change.

Four major scales are used. The National Identity Scale in the form of Likert-type attitude scale; Marriage Choice Scale - a modified Bogardus' Social Distance Scale. Socio-metric-type questions form the Friendship Choice Scale. Osgood's semantic-differential scales of 'a typical Igbo' make up the fourth attitude scale.

460 randomly selected respondents form the sample. 260 are the experimental group, while 200 are the control group. Questionnaire and interview methods are used to

collect data from the experimental group before and after their service in Imo state. Only the questionnaire is used to collect data from the control group.

For data analysis, Factor analysis, t-test, (and One-way Analysis of Variance, where appropriate) and Step-wise Multiple Regression analysis are employed. The mean difference between the experimental and control group is examined in terms of participation and non-participation in the NYSC programme. Comparisons are also made between the entire sample as categorised by such biological/demographic factors as sex, ethnic origin and religion of respondents. For the experimental group only, the possible effect of such factors as frequency of contact with their host community - the Igbos, job satisfaction in their place of assignment, language acquisition (Igbo) and location of their assignments in terms of urban/rural environment are also examined at the end of their service year. This is done in order to determine the most effective factor/s within the context of the National Youth Service Corps programme that help reduce prejudice, and therefore increase national integration.

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.

Development is not governed in any country by economic forces alone, and the more backward the country, the more this is true. The key to development lies in men's minds, in the institutions in which their thinking finds expression. (Cairncross, A.K. 1961:250).

The idea of development in relation to the developing countries is usually viewed in terms of economic development. This is primarily because economic development is regarded as the main, if not the only means by which the developing countries can adequately respond to the needs of their ever increasing population; and also because economic indicators are at present the most clearly defined ones available to social scientists. Yet, it must become increasingly apparent to the discerning observer of the socio-political scene of the less developed countries of Africa and Asia that there is much more to the development process than economic growth; that conditions of social integration and political cohesiveness are equally, if not more, important development goals. Indeed, there is little doubt that institutional deficiencies and unfavourable attitudinal frameworks induce and indirectly negatively affect the conditions of development (Tugan, M.I. 1975; Paden, J.N. ed. 1980; Krymkowski, D.H. and Hall, R.A. 1990).

Nigeria, like many other multi-ethnic countries of Africa and Asia, is faced with the crucial problem of national integration. (The insurrection of the people of southern Sudan against a government dominated by Arabized northerners, and ethnic irredentism in Ethiopia and India are other cases of mal-integration - see Lefort, R. 1983; Keller, E.Z. 1988). In Nigeria's case however there is the combination and convergence of chronic, ethnic intolerance, religious polarization and political organizational power drives, within a structure of ruthless competition. Indeed few countries have been more unstable than Nigeria; a situation which has greatly militated against any meaningful economic development. Efforts by governments to hold the different ethnic groups together, to inculcate a sense of oneness through constitutional reforms have met with

little success, with the peoples' allegiance to their particular ethnic groups continuing to surpass their loyalty to the national community. But as long as parochial ethnic loyalties, built upon communal reinforcement of language, religion and other aspects of culture remain paramount, the achievement of an integrated society will remain a difficult task. The creation of states in Nigeria, for example has achieved little more than the substitution of tribalism with statism, while the abandonment of the Westminster model of government in favour of the American system has not so far withstood the strain of ethnic rivalry. The result of all these has been many years of military rule, (and indeed the virtual disappearance of democratically-oriented regimes), and uneasy peace. But as President Julius Nyerere once stated: "if the present states [of Africa] are not to disintegrate, it is essential that deliberate steps be taken to foster a feeling of nationhood. Otherwise our present multitude of small countries could break up into even smaller units - perhaps based on tribalism" (Nyerere, J. 1968:209). The case of Biafra in Nigeria and subsequent military coups and ethno-religious violence in the country give a note of urgency to this call.

To achieve this end, that is, dissipate hostile feelings, prejudice and ethnic rivalries among different ethnic groups, and inculcate the right spirit of tolerance and national identification, the Nigerian government established the National Youth Service Corps programme for all university graduate youths. The scheme is a cross-cultural education programme which is expected to have a favourable impact on participants' fundamental attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the nation, thereby help bring about national integration. To do this, the scheme demands that the graduate youths are posted to serve among ethnic groups which are different from their own, for one full year. By living and working among the different ethnic groups for such a prolonged period of time, and thereby interacting with them, the government expects that such close contact will lead to better inter-ethnic relations and national identification.

The graduate youths who are the elites in the Nigerian, and indeed African context, by virtue of their university education, are particularly targeted for the scheme. This is in view of the fundamentally destabilizing nature of elite behaviour in Nigeria, as manifest in ethnic politics. The Nigerian elite have indeed been one of the crucial agencies of fragmentation in the society, as will become obvious in later sections. As Dudley, B.J. (1973:35) commented, "the educated elite, particularly those in politics in pre and post independence Nigeria failed to respond to their foreseen role as 'conflict managers' and degenerated instead into 'conflict generators' or 'the chief proponents and purveyors of parochialism and particularistic values". This view has been echoed by Otite, O. (1975); Graf, W.D (1988) and others. The government of Nigeria therefore believes that the graduate youths, who, like their predecessors, are usually called upon for leadership roles in government, industry and education where they will be expected to initiate change as well as influence the opinion of others, are the best candidates for such reeducation in their attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the nation.

1.2 : SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM.

Nigeria began as an arbitrary entity encapsulated within colonially determined boundaries. That the territorial boundaries were delineated and delimited without a proper understanding of the geography, culture and language of the peoples therein was graphically stated by Lord Salisbury in his speech after the Anglo-French settlement of frontiers between Nigeria and its neighbouring states of Benin Republic, Niger and Chad, when he said:

We have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man's foot ever trod. We have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were. (Cecil, G. 1933:323).

This statement was humorously echoed by Sir Claude Macdonald as he reminisced on his involvement in the partitioning exercise at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 when he said:

In those days we just took a blue pencil and a ruler, and we put it down at Old Calabar, and drew that blue line up to Yola ... I recollect thinking when I was sitting having an audience with the Emir surrounded by his tribe, that it was a very good thing that he did not know that I, with a blue pencil had drawn a line through his territory. (Prescott, J.R.V.1958:144)

This pattern of events not only explains how the colonial machinery brought under its control an aggregation of peoples possessing distinctive languages, culture, and religions, but also how once homogenous groups within defined areas had been arbitrarily distributed into larger administrative units irrespective of ethnolinguistic boundaries. Consequently, Nigeria is not only the most populous nation in Africa, but the most diverse.

Nobody really knows how many language groups exist in Nigeria, but speculations range from 150 to 250; a phenomenon which makes it one of the linguistic cross roads of Africa. The North has the Hausa/Fulani as its major language group, with the Hausa language as the lingua franca. The inhabitants are predominantly Moslem. For them Islam is not just a religion, it is a way of life, a socializing political force which demands unquestionable obedience to natural or traditional rulers. They have sufficient land areas.

In the West on the other hand are the Yorubas. There, both the Christian and Moslem religions have large following. Their traditional system of government is a hierarchized one based on age and lineage position. The Yorubas are favourably situated economically, allowing them a certain degree of national self-sufficiency. They too have sufficient land areas. But the Igbos who form the major language group in the

East are mostly Christians with the exception of a handful who claim to be traditionalists or pagans. Their population density is one of the highest in the world. Unlike the Hausa or the Yoruba, the Igbo society has no large traditional political organization. They have no complex system of hierarchical authorities with which they must compromise. But crowded in insufficient and largely infertile land, they have always migrated to other parts of Nigeria in search of other means of livelihood. This condition has contributed in some way to their relative sense of nationalism, a tendency which other groups, perhaps rightly, have perceived as a cloak for economic exploitation, and which has been a source of conflict.

Such differences in the geographical, socio-political and religious systems, coupled with the differential impact of the colonial experience which left the North - Hausas - immensely backward in the field of Western education, have in many ways affected the relations between the different groups. The constitutional legacy of the colonialists which gave enormous constitutional powers to the North by virtue of their population, (as will be discussed later), also contributed to polarize the three major ethnic groups in particular, causing enormous inter-ethnic conflicts which have continuously threatened the existence of the nation-state. The Igbo secession in 1967 was the ultimate manifestation of mal-integration in the country. By the time the Igbos were defeated in the civil war that followed, a great deal of animosity and prejudice had been generated by years of inter-ethnic violence, with each group identifying more with its members than with the national community; a situation which is inimical to national development.

It was to ameliorate inter-ethnic relations, to bridge both the cultural and physical gaps that polarize the different ethnic group, and to instil a sense of national identity that the National Youth Service Corps programme was established.

1.3 PURPOSE OF STUDY.

The purpose of this study is to examine the topic of national integration as it applies to Nigeria through the evaluation of the effectiveness of the National Youth Service Corps programme in this regard. In its specific aspects, the study will attempt to:

(1) Find out the youth corps members' attitudes (the attitudes of those of them from the Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups) towards their host community, which happens in this case to be the Igbo community of Imo State of Nigeria; and towards the nation, before and after their one year national service in the state. Evidence of their initial attitudes before the national service serves as a baseline from which to measure change.

(2) Measure the degree of attitude change or otherwise, towards their host community, Igbos, and the nation.

(3) Identify those variables which have an influence in promoting or inhibiting integration in the context of the National Youth Service Corps programme.

The decision to focus on the three major ethnic groups has been influenced by the history of conflicts and hostility among them, particularly those towards the Igbo ethnic group by the Hausas and Yorubas; and the effect of such hostilities on national stability and development. It is felt that a scheme which helps to bring about a favourable change of attitudes among these ethnic groups shall have gone a long way to ensuring a stable, integrated Nigeria. As Schwarz, W. (1968:16) commented:

Nigeria has some four hundred linguistic groups. Most of them are small, but it is not the small ones that cause trouble. The real trouble is caused by the rivalry of the few large groups, especially, the Hausa the Yoruba and the Igbo. Each of these groups has a common origin, a common history, a common language and a common way of life. They are not only nations, but big ones.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY.

The rationale for the present study is to contribute towards an understanding of the process of national integration in multi-ethnic states, with particular reference to Nigeria. The study itself fits into the general context of research on the relations between inter-ethnic interaction (in the form of NYSC scheme in this case), and the development of national integration - the attitudinal effects on graduate youths. Nigeria provides an appropriate location for the study of national integration. This is particularly so since the most important, explicit, and frequently stated social, cultural and political goals of her leaders are those of ameliorating inter-ethnic relations, and the creation of a Nigerian outlook from the diverse, and in particular, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba ethnic identifications. Alhaji Shehu Shagari (former President of Nigeria) for example, had this to say on the issue in his inaugural address on October 1, 1979:-

The problem of creating a national government, a viable economic base and the integration of various ethnic groups in Nigeria in fairness and without acrimony overwhelmed the First Republic. These problems are still with us. And it is our determination to do our utmost to contribute to their resolution ... National development requires hard work. There is a need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a widespread national feeling for "One Nigeria" (Quoted in Eleazu, U. ed. 1985:42).

Indeed, a cursory glance over the last forty years of Nigeria's history reveals that ethnonationalism and the accompanying inter-ethnic animosities have constituted major barriers to political stability and national development. Rather than witnessing an evolution of a stable nation-state, or supra-ethnic communities, the most casual observer has seen the persistence of inter-ethnic prejudices and distrust which have resulted into bitter ethnic conflicts, coup d'états, ethnic pogroms, a civil war and religious riotings.

These observations of continual uneasy socio-political situation in the country has led the researcher to suspect an urgent need for a fuller investigation of the potential of such a programme as the National Youth Service Corps. This scheme is aimed primarily at helping to dissolve inter-ethnic prejudices and the development of national identity, through the mobilization of graduate youths to serve in different parts of the country, other than their own. This is done in the belief that they will not only contribute in one way or another to the infrastructural development of other areas, but will, in the process be led, through interaction with the other ethnic groups, to examine their own values, and to emerge less ethnocentric and more free from prejudice. Such a strong belief in the effectiveness of the programme in this regard affords special opportunity for investigating the crucial variables in the process of the expected attitude change and the development of national identity.

While there is rich ethnological documentation concerning the customs of the diverse peoples of Africa, and a large number of books by political scientists on the problems of political integration, little work is available on the socio-psychological approach to attitudes of the people concerned. This is particularly so in relation to the attitudes of graduate youths who by virtue of their university education are likely to govern. Their attitudes must represent future prospects for Nigeria's stability and development. (The work of Klineberg, O. et al. 1968 is an important exception in this regard). On research concerning National Service schemes, very few studies are available, all of which are either small scaled or do not deal with the issue of inter-ethnic interaction and national integration (Korten,D.C.and Korten, F.F. 1966; 1969; Quarmby, A. and Fussell, D 1981; Iyizoba, W.O. 1982).

On the other hand, a great deal of research on the effects of contact between groups on changes in intergroup attitudes has emerged from the United States for example, but almost all of these have been concerned with contact between white majority group and a minority group, the latter being in most cases a black minority group; Allport, G.(1954);

Williams, R.M. (1947; 1964); and Sherif, M. and Sherif, C.W. (1953; 1967) ; Butler, J.S. and Wilson, K.S. (1978) and Stephan, W.G. (1985), are familiar names in this connection. These investigators, have usually concentrated on limited situations, for example, one in which whites and blacks work together, school together, or live together as neighbours. The general cultural setting is assumed to be familiar to the groups in contact, and roughly constant to all individuals in the situation; the only major new experience perceived as a likely determinant of change in ethnic attitudes in those instances is the specific experience of personal association - or even contact per se. Also, because there is really no distinct 'black culture' there, items used to measure attitudes have typically been concentrated on the characteristics of blacks - as 'lazy', 'dirty' and so on. The Nigerian situation is different from what obtains in the United States. The country is both geographically and ethnically diverse. The graduate youths are sent to different cultural groups where the language, customs and traditions differ a great deal from their own, where they observe different ways of doing things. In such situations, the attitude objects may therefore range from individuals to their language, customs and traditions; and personal associations will become but one part of a total new experience.

Other social scientists in the United States and elsewhere have, in their attempt to arrive at general principles, chosen to work in situations where variables could easily be controlled and the results carefully measured. This has usually meant working in laboratories from which the complexity and confusion of contemporary society are carefully barred (Cook, S.W. et al. 1975; Tajfel, H. 1970; Taylor, D.M. and Moghaddam, F.M. 1987; Gaertner, S.L. et al. 1989). While the resulting simplification may have facilitated the discovery of certain principles of behaviour, it has greatly limited the areas of investigation. This has been so since many of the most significant aspects of human behaviour, attitudes and indeed social living cannot be reproduced in a laboratory where the groups are created by the experimenter, have no past history, and have no future beyond the context.

The foregoing situations make it doubtful whether results obtained from such studies will be of much relevance in the Nigerian case where the ethnic groups concerned - the Igbos, Hausas and the Yorubas - are accorded social equal status. It also presents an opportunity to investigate the relationship between inter-ethnic interaction and national integration under conditions different from those in which it has usually been studied.

Finally, there is not to the present researcher's knowledge a one-group pre-test, post-test, and control group research design carried out on the attitudes of the heterogeneous groups in Nigeria or in Africa, towards other ethnic groups, or the nation. Most, if not all the survey-type studies of inter-ethnic relations have been conducted at one point in time, especially *ex post facto* (after only), and thereby rely on retrospective reports of contact experiences. There is as a consequence, a dearth of research on the impact of egalitarian social interaction over time, either as a variable examined singly or in conjunction with other factors.

In the present study, a pre-test post-test control group research is undertaken. This design enables change to be directly measured, with the respondents' attitude measured before they embarked on the NYSC programme rather than recalled as was the case in Iyizoba's 1982 study. A relationship between integration- the major dependent variable, and those phenomena that appear to be influential - for example, urban/rural residential experience of the youth corps member, amount of interaction with host community, religion, sex, language, job satisfaction and service *per se* in the national youth service programme - is hypothesized. The impact of each identified variable, and of all the variables in combination, upon the integrative process is measured. The idea is to establish the relative weight of each in the total situation. This procedure is deemed necessary in order to show not only that a particular condition or factor has some influence upon peoples' attitudes, in this case, the attitudes of graduate youths, towards their host community and the nation, but how much influence it has. In this way

tentative generalizations concerning the dynamics of attitude change and the conditions under which it occurs, or does not occur, in multi-ethnic societies are provided.

CHAPTER TWO : BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.

While conflicts between various ethnic groups are inherent in any social structure, the more variegated the structure, the higher the extent and intensity of such conflicts (Eisentadt, S.N. 1964:584).

INTRODUCTION.

The urgent need to ameliorate inter-ethnic relations and to inculcate a sense of national identity among Nigerians cannot be fully understood without putting into historical perspective some of the socio-political problems which have confronted and still confront the country today. In this section therefore an attempt will be made to provide an overview of the political/administrative entity called Nigeria, highlighting such factors as geographical, ethnic and religious diversity, differential colonial impact on the different parts, constitutional developments, and the ethnic character of Nigerian politics, all of which have contributed to the crisis of nationhood which the country has been experiencing for many years.

2.1: GEOGRAPHY.

Nigeria is the largest country in Africa. It encompasses a west-to east span which approximates 700 miles (1339 kilometres) and a south-to-north length of 650 miles (1235 kilometres), thus enclosing an area of 356,669 square miles (913,073 square kilometres) - about five times the size of the United Kingdom - (Ezera, K. 1964). Nigeria has a disputed population figure of 79 million people according to the nullified 1973 census, (estimates differ substantially). It has for neighbours two formerly French administered territories, namely, Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey) and Niger Republic in the north; and on its eastern border, the Cameroons. The Atlantic ocean bounds it on the south.

Nigeria lies within the equator and the tropics of cancer, between longitudes 2⁰ and 15⁰ east of Greenwich meridian. Although Nigeria is wholly within the tropics, its geographical characteristics are not uniformly tropical. Along the eastern coastline of the country lies a coastal belt of mangrove swamps and narrow creeks, which gives way inland to tropical rain forest and oil palm bush which stretches for some 100 miles. Succeeding this area is a vast area of low scattered forest which embraces the Niger and Benue valleys and includes many rocky outcrops which rise to a plateau, highest at Jos, where heights of over 6000 feet above sea level occur. This area is the 'middle Belt' of Nigeria. Beyond this zone, the country slopes away northward where further changes in vegetation occur. There, the vegetation grows lower and sparser, gradually deteriorating into open parkland with stumps, bushes, and scrubby fire-resisting trees, and finally degenerates into mere grassland with thorn-bush and loose, sandy soil of the southern fringe of the Sahara. Population densities vary considerably, resembling the pattern of vegetation, from over 500 to the square mile in the eastern part of Nigeria, particularly in Igboland, to under 20 to the square mile in the north.

The River Niger from which Nigeria takes its name, is the second longest river in Africa. It flows 2600 miles. The Niger enters the country from the north-western side and is joined by its principal tributary, the Benue, at Lokoja, about 340 miles from the sea. It flows south, entering the Bight of Biafra through the huge delta area which begins 140 miles inland and extends along 100 miles of coast, before emptying into the Atlantic ocean. There are only a few large rivers in the country apart from the Niger, and its tributary the Benue. Much of the coast is a network of creeks and lagoons; the delta creeks and the Lagos and Lekki lagoons being particularly important, in spite of their shallow water and shifting sandbars, as they are navigable at all seasons and provide fairly good harbours.

There is a considerable difference in the climate between the dry savannah zone of the north, and the low-lying swampy coastal areas of the south. While both parts are hot,

the heat of the north is dry and that of the south especially the sector east of the Niger, is damp. There are two main seasons in Nigeria - the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season which is the longer of the two spreads over the months of April to October on the southern border and only from June to September on the northern edge. The amount of annual rainfall varies from over 100 inches in the east to under 50 inches in the extreme west, while Maiduguri and Kano in the north have 25.1 inches and 27.2 inches respectively. The dry season begins in the north in October and ends in April, while in the south it is of a shorter duration, lasting through Christmas and Easter. During this period, the temperature rises to between 80° and 95° F, in the south, and to between 89° F, and 105° F in the north. In sum, the amount as well as the duration of rainfall decreases northward, while the annual range of temperature decreases southward.

Economically, cash crops and animal life seem to follow the two major geographical regions. The north produced, and exported vast quantities of groundnuts and cotton which are best grown in very hot climate, which characterises the north. Cattle also thrive more in northern parts where there are individually-owned herds of cattle that number in the hundreds. In the south on the other hand, the peasant farmers keep only a few sheep or goats in view of the prevalence of tse-tse flies in that part of the country. Consequently, the Northern Region had a thriving internal meat industry from which it exported hides and skins. The South was rich in cocoa, timber and rubber which were produced and exported from the west - Yorubaland.

Before the first trial shipments of crude oil left Nigeria in 1958, all from the oil fields located in Rivers areas of the Eastern Region, the east - of which Igboland forms a greater part - had only one notable export earning commodity, which was Palm Oil. This was most suited for its climate. However, this differing economic viability of the different parts of the country had a disruptive influence on the atmosphere in which

discussions concerning revenue allocation and fiscal matters were conducted over the years.

The influence exercised by these diversifying elements on Nigeria's history and its people has been immense, and remain strong to the present day. The open plains of the north facilitated the establishment of large centralized empires, and assisted in the expansion of the Islamic religion. Its very hot climate made possible the production and exportation of vast quantities of groundnuts and cotton, earning the region the highest export revenues. On the other hand, the dense swamps of the coastal belt made inter-ethnic communications difficult, favouring the development of densely populated but isolated communities. The climate in the east, in particular, hampered the cultivation of other viable export commodities, thereby making it the lowest revenue earner, before the discovery of oil in the region. The socio-political and economic implication of amalgamating a country with such diversities are discussed in later sections.

2.2: TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE THREE ETHNIC GROUPS.

2.2.1: HAUSA.

The northern part of the country consists of over 75 per cent of the overall land area of Nigeria, and claims over half of its population. The Hausa and the Fulanis are the dominant groups, but the Hausa whose language is the lingua-franca, were the first to settle in the area. The Fulani began their migration into the area from across the Sahara desert around the thirteenth century. One group of Moslem Fulani settled in the cities, mingled freely with the Hausas, inter-married with them, and in time became virtually indistinguishable from the Hausas. These Fulanis however constituted a fiercely religious (Moslem) educated elite who made themselves indispensable to the Hausa kings as Islamic judges, teachers and government officials. Another group of Fulanis

remained aloof (the 'cow Fulanis') from the Hausa and in some measure, from Islam, retaining their pastoral habits, and keeping their blood pure. From this group are the lighter skinned, straight haired Fulanis.

Before the Fulani infiltration in the thirteenth century, economic ties with North Africa had been firmly established in Hausaland, with Kano and Katsina - two big northern cities - already thriving commercial centres for the historic trans-Saharan trade with Morocco and other Moslem countries. It was through this trade route that Islam was transported to the region, and embraced in the eleventh century (Nelson, H.D. 1981). Under Islamic influences the Hausa were able to develop a fiscal system and a trained judiciary administering the Maliki code of Islamic law. But the incessant invasion from Songhai empire and the Junkun pagans of Benue valley between the sixteenth and early nineteenth century tended to weaken their Islamic faith resulting in a strong inclination by the Hausas to revert to paganism or at best, pay lip service to Islam. Such a tendency triggered off the Fulani Jihad of 1802 led by Usman Dan Fodio, a holy war which was aimed at restoring the pure and primitive faith of Islam, and the expurgation of heresies and accretions in a society considered as corrupt and decadent. The success of the Jihad (except in Tivland where Islamic influences were resisted) brought about the displacement of Hausa kings, the formation of the Fulani empire, and the establishment of Fulani ascendancy and aristocracy to this day.

The socio-political system established by the Fulanis after their conquest of 1804 was hierarchical, with those who are members of the dynastic line and of hereditary nobility, at the top, while the slaves and those of slave ancestry are at the bottom - eligible only to those offices reserved for slaves. Occupying the middle position are the Hausa freemen who are, to a large extent ranked according to hereditary occupation; the mallams and wealthy traders; the cloth workers, silversmiths, farmers; and butchers, hunters, blacksmiths; all ranked top, middle and bottom, in that order.

The best possible avenue for upward social mobility for those of both Hausa and Fulani ancestry, is by becoming the client or follower of someone of higher status, who will reward his loyal client with appointment to office if he himself is successful in obtaining an official position. Political office is the principal means of acquiring wealth and social position, overriding all other alternatives, and clientage represents the major path to such political advancement (LeVine, R.A. 1973).

But successful clientage requires and involves primary socialization in the habits of subordination, humility - bordering on subservience - and political intrigue. Thus, this system of social mobility places great premium on such qualities as loyalty, obedience and sensitivity to the demands of one's superiors. Once a person attains political office, as LeVine (1971:173) informs us, two major commitments await him:

The first is loyalty to the king, and this allegiance is demonstrated by gifts and obedience; secondly, the official has to execute the king's instructions effectively and promptly; to collect the required tax, tribute ... and to discharge the various routine tasks. Throughout this system, the great administrative sin is the sin of omission, the failure to execute promptly the order of one's immediate superior.

Independent occupational achievement of self-motivated endeavour which are not geared toward the enhancement of the competitive chances of a man's patron, do not yield the client access to the major status rewards of the society and might in all likelihood damage his political aspirations. In such an environment, there is hardly any alternatives to the clientage system and all the social attributes it demands. Those of humble birth who are not attached to a patron are not only perceived as deviants but also as rebels since they admit of no personal allegiance. Indeed such deviation from the society's norm is viewed as an indication of over-ambition and disloyalty, and those concerned are subtly pushed out of the Hausa/Fulani society. The overall indication therefore must be that the traditional socio-political system of the Hausa-Fulani strongly favours qualities of servility, respect for authority, allegiance to the powerful; and

rejects or at least ranks low, the qualities of independent achievement, self-reliant action, and initiative.

Islam has been a strong unifying factor among the various ethnic groups in the north of which the Hausa/Fulani is the major one. Some aspects of the religion had been used to form the centralized pattern of government, an authoritarian hierarchical social structure, and to inculcate habits and attitudes of political deference. Therefore, the Islamic religion, and from it, the socio-political structure, together with the colonial impact which is to be discussed later, all serve to mark the northerner off from the rest of the country.

2.2.2: IGBO.

The Igbos who occupy the greater part of the eastern region of Nigeria are by oral traditions said to have originated from Egypt and moved southwards around the 14th century, to their present abode which lies on the west bank of the River Niger. Igbo is the language of the Igbos, but due to expansion and initial isolation among the various groups, there developed among them deep dialectical differences in language, some of which border on mutual unintelligibility.

The Yoruba and Hausa ethnic groups are segregated from the Igbo ethnic group, the former by the River Niger and the Kingdom of Benin - the Yorubas lying towards the west and Igbos to the east - and from the latter by other smaller ethnic groups. These three major ethnic groups being geographically distant from each other, did not have much direct contact in early times.

The traditional political system of government among the Igbos is markedly different in its structure and pattern from those of both the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba ethnic groups. Unlike these groups, there was and still is a marked absence of a central

authority within the Igbo ethnic group. The communities are politically independent of one another, and there is an almost complete absence of a higher political and social unit beyond the village level. At this level, the largest political unit is a council composed of heads of families, usually the oldest male, through whom laws are promulgated and conveyed throughout the village by the village 'crier' (Ifemesia, C. 1979). Occasionally, communal problems are solved by the whole village assemble known as 'Amaala', and on such occasions, the group adopts the dual principles of dialogue and discussion to reach a general consensus. Thus, individualism and popular participation in the decision-making process have a far higher importance in the value system of the Igbos than the institution of monarchy. Consequently, the Igbos never developed permanent or large-scaled state systems of the Hausa/Fulani line or Yoruba lines; real authority being dispersed among the Igbo groups rather than centralized in any one individual or body, say the Sultan or Emir, in the case of the Hausa or the Oba in the case of the Yoruba. In short, the case of the Igbos is essentially based on 'village democracy', a situation which was succinctly portrayed by Afigbo, E.A. (1964:12) when he wrote that:

...no community east of the Niger has a Chief in the conventional sense, that is, a Chief who in all essentials and emergencies can take a decision unilaterally or impose this on his subjects on pain of some sanctions approved by the community ... if by a Chief we mean a person who was entitled to the respect and obedience of his people and who traditionally took decisions for his people then there were no Chiefs in the Eastern Provinces.

The acquisition of a title among the Igbos has a special attraction. It exalts the title holder above the rank and file, and entitles the bearer to an honoured seat and respectful hearing at the village council meetings. It gives one access into secret societies and into the council of elders, and economic rewards, as there are customary revenues specially reserved for title-holders. Title-holders however never take over administrative responsibility from the elders, although in certain matters their special knowledge, good judgement and ability are recognised. Although age is respected and leadership come

from elders, respect for elders or titled men does not mean servility. Neither elders nor titled men have the final word on the great issues with which the communities are confronted. The absence of any large socio-political organization creates in the Igbo an equalitarian belief that there are no social or class barriers to self-advancement, and excites in him the spirit of aggressive competition.

Individual effort is highly regarded, a situation which was clearly portrayed by Ottenberg, S. (1959 : 136) when he wrote that:

The Igbo are highly individualistic people. While a man is dependent on his family, lineage, and residential grouping for support and backing, strong emphasis is placed on his ability to make his own way in the world. The son of a prominent politician has a headstart over other men in the community, but he must validate this by his own abilities.

The Igbo society provides a number of alternative paths to higher status and prestige. High social position can be achieved through being a successful farmer, or trader, or fisherman or a competent priest. In this way the Igbo culture thus provides alternatives which the individual must decide upon in terms of his own skill and knowledge. Their significance for the individual is that he rapidly develops experience in making decisions in which he must estimate his own position and opportunities for success. What emerges therefore is a traditional social system which is not only 'open' in the sense that any man can achieve high social and political status, but one which greatly recognises peoples' occupational and entrepreneurial skills. Titles and important political positions are granted a man as subsequent recognition of his already accumulated wealth through hard work and of his individual efforts.

The Igbo traditional socio-political system differed and still differs a great deal from those of the two other major ethnic groups. For one thing, hereditary criteria correlate more with ultimate social status among the Igbo, so that while upward social mobility is primarily through the clientage system in the Hausa society, in the Igbo society high

status is generally conferred on people in recognition of their individual achievements. Thus, while such personal qualities as loyalty, obedience and submissiveness to superiors are generally admired and rewarded in the Hausa society, among the Igbos, enormous emphasis is placed on occupational achievement. For another, whereas political office among the Igbo is granted people as a result of their wealth and discernible capacities for leadership, among the Hausa, the reverse is the case - political office leads to wealth. Thus, while by Igbo standards, the social mobility structure of the Hausa will appear overdependent and confining to the individual, by Hausa standards, the Igbo social ideal must appear dangerously selfish and anarchic.

One of the most important factors that has conditioned Igbo history since the nineteenth century has been land hunger. With a population of over 10 million people, occupying an area of about 25000 kilometres, Igboland is one of the most densely populated in the world (Coleman, J.S. 1971). Pressed against limited land resources, the Igbos have had to seek other avenues of livelihood outside their ethnic homeland, with the result that by the early 1950's the Igbos constituted a sizeable minority group in all the urban centres in Nigeria. Before long the Igbos could be found in both government and private enterprises in other parts of the country; a tendency which earned them the antagonism of their host community who regarded them as exploitative outsiders. A further consequence of the comparative lack of opportunity in the Igbo homeland, was that the Igbos embraced the Christian religion, finding in it a gateway to Western education, and high status jobs. Christian missions were welcome, and were encouraged to set up mission schools in Igboland. By the late 1930s the Igbos were heavily represented in all academic institutions in the country. This factor as would be discussed later, became a source of enormous conflict between the three major ethnic groups.

2.2.3: YORUBA.

In the western part of Nigeria are the Yorubas, comprising of the Oyo, Egba, Ekiti and Ijebu sub-groups. Until the mid-nineteenth century when the term 'Yoruba' came to be applied to the whole group, people were simply known by the name of the kingdom in which they lived; but these are now only relevant as far as intra-Yoruba identification and relations are concerned. Generally, there is a cultural uniformity among the various sub-groups which clearly differentiates them from their neighbours - a common language, dress and symbolism in rituals. Furthermore, although the Yoruba kingdoms are dispersed over wide areas, their sense of oneness has persisted, as they claim a common descent from Oduduwa, their real or mythical ancestor (Nelson, H.D. 1981).

The Yorubas have a monarchical system of government similar to that evolved by the Fulani in the north, but theirs is far from autocratic. It is as LeVine, R.A.(1971:187) describes it:

rather lightly superimposed on a social structure which contained strong and independent groupings organised on the basis of lineage, territory and associational ties.

These groupings to a large extent select their own leaders who act as a check on the king's authority and ensure that popular consensus is reached on major issues before decisions are taken by the king. In this way, the socio-political system of the Yorubas:

despite its hierarchical form, was not an authoritarian one in which commands flowed from the king down the ranks of obedient officeholders; instead, power was dispersed among partly self-governing segments, with relatively little concentration at the centre (LeVine, R.A. 1971:187).

Four ascriptive statuses can be discerned in the Yoruba society. There are members of the several lineages, who can inherit the throne; there are those from non-royal lineages on whom chieftaincy titles could be conferred, and thirdly, there are the commoners

with no hereditary claims to titles; and lastly the slaves. Although there are hereditary crafts and occupations of varying status among the commoners, these are not as strictly ranked as among the Hausa ethnic group. The attainment of high social position is possible through a variety of avenues despite a person's birth. The Yoruba system took the middle course between the Igbo, and the Hausa system in the sense that on the one hand there was and still is the Ogboni society - a secret society - which, although open to any adult male, has its higher ranks open only to those who can afford to pay the exorbitant fees those ranks demand. Those of these higher ranks constitute the politically influential council in the central government. Such restrictions to the higher ranks through the imposition of expensive fees is a means of translating wealth which might have been acquired through occupational activity into political power and status, in a way which is akin to Igbo title societies.

On the other hand, there are the slaves and eunuchs in the royal court who through finding favour with the king are raised by him to positions of great importance and affluence far exceeding most titled men in status. This route to high status resembles the Hausa clientage. So one finds in the Yoruba society a system which both rewards the independent occupational achievement of the Igbo ideal and loyal clientage of the Hausa. Social incentives favour both the authoritarian political virtues of subservience and obedience, although less so than among the Hausa, and occupational virtues of enterprise and independent effort, but less so than the Igbo society.

One of the most distinguishing factors of Yoruba socialization which stands in opposition to the Igbo community is the subservient respect for elders manifested in gestures such as prostrating or kneeling in the presence of or in salutation to elders whether in the street or in the marketplace, and in whichever part of the world they may be. This is in marked conflict with the Igbo custom where elders are paid respect merely by attaching the correct title to the greeting depending on the age or status of the

person being addressed. To the Yorubas, this marked difference inhibits effective social integration helpful to inter-ethnic integration.

The Yorubas are the most urbanized of all African cultures and societies. By occupying the south-west approaches to the country, they had the earliest contact with the Portuguese who landed on the Bight of Benin in 1472. Thus early contact with the Portuguese merchants and later with the British merchants and missionaries gave them a head-start in economic prosperity and Western education, and consequently an initial advantage in government services and professional activities requiring Western education.

Islam and to a lesser extent, Christianity claim strong adherents among the Yorubas, although a large number too are animists or even pagans. But Islam in this case is not a very strong unifying factor between the Moslems and their northern co-religionists who regard them as unorthodox, and even with some contempt. However, when it comes to relationships between the three major ethnic groups - the Hausas, the Yorubas and the Igbos, religious affiliations, many a time, take precedence over ethnic group. This was demonstrated by the Hausas in their preference for the Yorubas when they were allowed to take over the jobs vacated by fleeing Igbos during the 1966 ethnic crisis in the north (Hunt, C.L. and Walker, L. 1974). Religion therefore forms one of the major barriers between the Igbos on the one hand, and the Hausas and Yorubas on the other, since a Muslim Igbo is almost non-existent.

From this brief description of the Nigerian traditional socio-political system, typified here by the Hausa, Igbo and the Yoruba systems, it becomes apparent that the Nigerian peoples are not only ethnically split, but also divided by religion. Such diversity, coupled with the subsequent differing colonial experiences - which are discussed next - have had a great deal to do with the kind of inter-ethnic relations and national identification which exist in Nigeria.

2.3: DIFFERENTIAL COLONIAL IMPACT.

In the preceding section, attempt has been made to isolate and describe structural and cultural differences in the traditional socio-political systems into which the three ethnic groups under study have been socialized, the geographical and economic factors, all of which have contributed in varying degrees to polarise the groups. In this section, effort will be made to show how the differential colonial impact among these groups helped to exacerbate their existing differences by accounting at least in part for the unevenness in the degree of social change and modernization among the various groups and areas of Nigeria; unevenness which added internal strain and stress to already existing disparities.

For one thing the acquisition of all the constituent parts as Coleman. J.S. (1971) informs us was a piecemeal affair which could, in a nutshell be stated as follows: British initial contact with the geographical area which eventually became Nigeria dates back to 1553 when vessels under the command of Captain Windham visited Benin harbour. In the next three centuries, the British and other European nations participated in slave trade, a venture which had become lucrative following the high demand for slaves in America and the the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies.

In the early nineteenth century - 1807 - the British turned around and outlawed the slave trade and compelled other merchants to embark on legitimate activities, like trading in palm-oil and ivory. The new trade in Nigerian products proved so successful that in 1849 a British consul was appointed and stationed at neighbouring Fernando Po (Equatorial Guinea) charged with overseeing the activities along the coast of Nigeria.

In 1861, Lagos, the fortress slave-market was ceded to the British Crown as a colony, apparently to stop slave trade trafficking, and in 1885 Britain was granted full powers at the Berlin Conference over Niger Delta area where the consul had been exercising

limited powers, operating as he did from a neighbouring country - Equatorial Guinea (Coleman, J.S. 1971).

Having secured the area, Britain empowered the Royal Niger Company - an amalgamation of the companies operating in the Niger Delta area - to draw-up and administer treaties and act as veritable governments in all territories in the basin of the Niger and its affluents. By 1893, Britain had extended its areas of jurisdiction into the hinterland which was later named Niger Coast Protectorate. Thus, the southern part of Nigeria then consisted of the Colony of Lagos and Niger Coast Protectorate.

In the meantime, the North was unaware of the goings-on in the South. Kano and Zaria had emerged as great commercial centres, with trade oriented toward Tripoli and Egypt across the Sahara desert. Although British traders had been penetrating into the North, they were nevertheless encountering strong resistance from native chiefs, and competition from French trading companies. It was not until 1900 that the British gained control of the North after Sir Frederick Lugard had defeated the Sultan of Sokoto, proclaiming the area, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In 1906, the Niger Coast Protectorate (which had become the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria after the royal Niger Company's charter was revoked in 1900) was united with the Colony of Lagos under the title - the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Each of the parts was independently administered, with each administrator directly answerable to the colonial office in Britain. The parts - North and South (the latter comprising East and West of Nigeria) - were so separately administered that they even had frontier controls between them (Abernethy, D.B. 1969). Key departments such as Police, Prison, and Education and Health departments in the Northern half, for example, were separated in policy and control from the Southern counterparts.

In 1914, the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and the North were amalgamated under a common administration. But unification only meant a loose

affiliation of two distinct parts - North and South - as each was under a lieutenant governor and possessed separately administrative government services. Each of the governors was given the power to develop policies and govern as he saw fit. The governor general for Nigeria, Sir (later Lord) Lugard became the coordinator of virtually autonomous entities that had overlapping economic interests but little in common politically or socially. In Lugard's scheme, it was the case that amalgamation was aimed at producing the minimum of common institutions and the minimum of common administrative policies. The lieutenant governor for each part of the country continued effectively to operate according to the procedures that had developed in his areas before unification, with the result that in time, the different policies and conceptions of colonial administration became ingrained and continued to influence official decisions in these parts. Such a situation undoubtedly militated against the growth of a politically united country. One of such policies was the system of local administration, generally known as Indirect Rule, the disintegrative effect of which we now turn to.

2.3.1. INDIRECT RULE.

Whatever else might be said of the application of indirect rule in Nigeria - and very strong case can be made for it - there can be little doubt that it has complicated the task of welding diverse elements into a Nigerian nation (Coleman, J.S. 1971:52).

Before the North and South were amalgamated, Lord Lugard had inaugurated the policy of 'Indirect rule' in the North. Under this system, there was the devolution of administrative duties to the traditional political institutions which were adapted to serve the needs of local government under the general supervision and surveillance of colonial administrators. Such a system of administration required a highly centralized and hierarchically organized authoritarian state which the North provided. And moreover, the indigenous system of taxation which had been evolved in the North long

before the British arrived was found particularly useful by the colonialists for administrative work. These two elements, the socio-political structure and the indigenous system of taxation which had no parallels in the South combined to make indirect rule a huge success in the North, success which has had far reaching consequences for Nigeria. For one thing, it widened the existing differences between North and South. By ruling through the traditional emirate system, the social structure in the North remained intact since indirect rule merely involved the imposition of one more layer of authority upon an already hierarchical, authoritarian, centralized and many-tiered system of governing.

For another, recruitment to important positions in the administrative system was the prerogative of the traditional rulers - the emirs- who would not accommodate any change to the status-quo. The recruitment was based mainly on ascriptive status of applicants, rather than on their Western educational attainment, relying as they did on the Koranic schools to provide the necessary skills for native administration. Hausa was recognised and adopted as the official language of communication in the North, even by colonial officers there, thereby making it difficult for northerners to perceive early enough the need for Western education.

On the other hand, among the Yoruba in the West, who had evolved a kind of limited constitutional monarchy from a broader cultural heritage and subdivided into units based upon family lineage and clan, Lord Lugard made the mistake of equating the position of the Yoruba Oba with that of the Northern Emir. Little account was taken of the fact that as a result of the civil wars of the nineteenth century in Yorubaland and the growth of a missionary-educated elite, Yoruba political structure had undergone radical changes (Crowther, M. 1960). It was assumed, for example that Oyo still retained its pre-eminent position in Yorubaland and therefore was given authority over areas like Ibadan which had considered itself independent of other areas. Furthermore, to have directed the Alafin of Oyo and his 'district heads' who, unlike the Northern Emirs, had

never collected direct taxes, to do so in the new administrative system, could only lead to the riots in Abeokuta and the town of Isyin in 1916. Furthermore apart from this error of thinking the Obas could be expected to collect direct taxation which had never been imposed traditionally, by forcing the Yoruba back on more traditionalist system which the colonial government considered to be the true system of Yoruba government, the educated elite found themselves excluded from the process of government of their own states, a situation which halted or at least slowed down the process of modernization.

In the East, particularly among the Igbos, the dilemma of indirect rule was even more palpable, practically unworkable. Having no centralized form of traditional authority on which the system could be based, the colonial government decided to set up native councils and courts - a modified form of English local government - which required natives who were proficient in English and could perform clerical duties. Ascriptive status, unlike in the North, was of little consequence in terms of recruitment in this new administration. And unlike in the West (Yorubaland) where the educated elite were ignored, the link between Western education, service in the local government, and high status was emphasized and very explicit in the East. Thus, although a whole new ruling class of 'Warrant Chiefs' (as the local administrators were called) was created over these intensely individualistic people, arousing deep suspicion and resentment of British rule (a feeling which exploded into widespread rioting and civil disorders in Aba in 1929), the new form of government clearly motivated individuals to acquire a reasonable degree of western literacy. Therefore, while 'indirect rule' enabled the Igbos in particular to see in Western education the means of high income and social status, the northerners, and to a lesser extent, the Yorubas, were educationally impoverished by it. Indirect rule, in other words, afforded the Igbos , who had been educationally behind the Yorubas, the chance to catch up with them, and even to overtake them. This situation caused enormous ill-feelings between these major ethnic groups.

In sum, the diversity of colonial political institutions in different parts of the country resulted in administrative inconsistencies, particularly between the three major ethnic groups - Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. The resulting effect of these temporal and spatial differences in colonial administration in the country was that it tended to militate against modernizing tendencies by contributing to uneven development in education, and other aspects of modernization. As will be seen in a later section, the uneven development in education which resulted from such an administrative inconsistency led to inter-ethnic tensions and regional rivalries, which ultimately culminated in the collapse of the first Nigerian government.

2.3.2: RELIGION AND WESTERN EDUCATION.

Although there has not been many major religious violence between the three major ethnic groups - the March 1987 and August 1990 incidents being exceptions - it needs to be equally stated that the adoption of the two somewhat opposing religions has been a destabilizing factor in other ways. This has been so, especially through creating enormous educational imbalance between the northern Moslems in particular and the Igbos, almost all of whom are Christians. With Islam came the Koranic schools and Arabic script, while Christian missionaries brought with them Western education. Christianity and education were in many ways inextricably linked, a phenomenon which was graphically portrayed by A.V. Murray (1929) when he stated that:

To all intents and purposes, the school is the church. Right away in the bush or in the forest the two are one, and the village teacher is also the village evangelist (cited in Coleman, J.S. 1971:113)

And, because the bulk of educational activity - 99 per cent - was conducted by missions, the establishment of schools and the spread of Christianity went hand in hand. The consequence of such near monopoly in educational activities by the missionaries was the alienation of the Islamic North from Western education, its

TABLE 1 : DIFFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION
IN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Year	Southern Nigeria (Eastern and Western regions)				Northern Nigeria			
	Schools		Pupils in attendance		Schools		Pupils in attendance	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1906	126	1	11,872	20	1	0	•	0
1912	150	10	35,716	67	34	0	954	0
1926	3,828	18	138,249	518	125	0	5,210	0
1937	3,533	26	218,610	4,285	539	1	20,269	65
1947	4,984	43	538,391	9,657	1,110	3	70,962	251
1957	13,473 ^b	176	2,343,317 ^b	28,208	2,080	18	185,484 ^c	3,643

Source : Annual Report, Colony of Southern Nigeria, 1906, Quoted in Coleman, J.S. (1971): Nigeria: Background to Nationalism. Berkeley. The University of California Press, p.134.

acceptance being perceived by the emirs as tantamount to a conversion to Christianity. Furthermore, the northerners felt that Western education conflicted with the already established Islamic educational system.

Sustaining the North in their resistance and rejection of missionary activities, particularly Western education was Lord Lugard's fear that such would undermine the structure of Indirect rule, which rested on the continued power of the traditional authority. As he put it:

...the preaching of equality of Europeans and natives, however true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction; ... the premature teaching of English ... inevitably leads to a disrespect for British and native ideals alike, and to a denationalized and disorganized population (cited in Coleman, J.S. 1971:140).

Missionaries were therefore banned from the North, which effectively meant the banning of Western education. Thus, while mission schools were operating in the East and West by the mid-nineteenth century, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century (1903) that the first Western school was opened in the North. Even then the permission of the local emir had to be obtained. By 1909, only two primary schools had been established in the whole of Northern region, even though the North claims 54 per cent of the total population of Nigeria.

Between 1910-1929, the government became involved with the schools and established a carefully controlled educational system in the North, taking great pains to ensure that the prevailing social system was in no way disrupted. To achieve this, the emirs were given extensive powers over schools. They had the prerogative of admitting pupils to the schools, and more importantly, of determining the curriculum contents, so that:

Religion and Arabic were prominent subjects in the curriculum. In all matters of dress, behaviour and traditional

FIGURE 1 : SECONDARY GRAMMAR SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1952 - 65

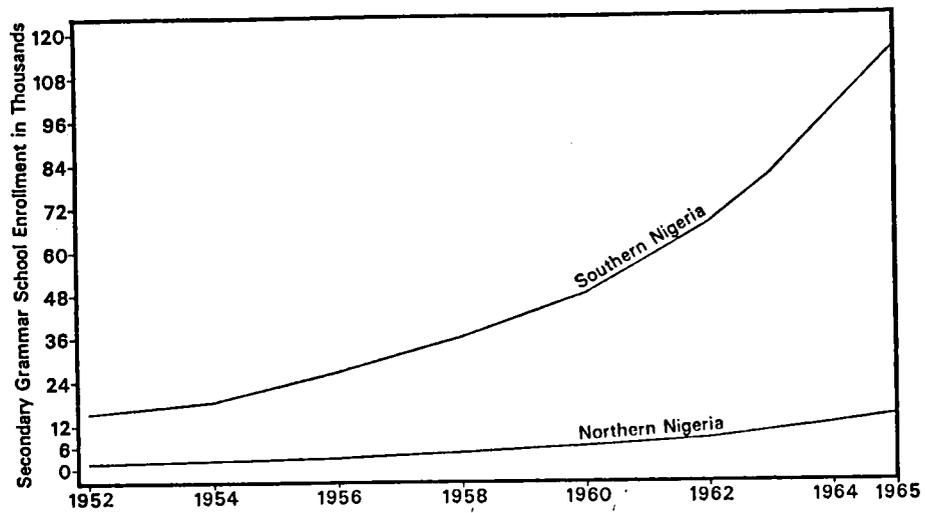
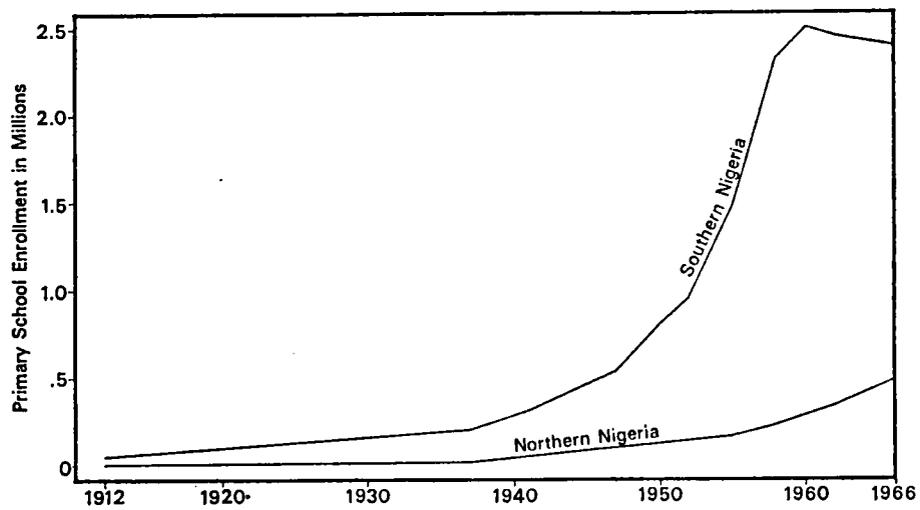


FIGURE 2 : PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1912 - 65



Source : Abernethy, D.B.(1969) : The Political Dilemma of Popular Education. An African Case. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1969, pp. 260 - 268.

forms of salutation, including prostration, the students were required to conform to local customs. (cited in Coleman, J.S. 1971:140).

Here one finds that even in the establishment of Western education in Nigeria, the goals and philosophies underlying the system were sectionalized. Indeed, the differing educational orientations of the three major groups which, in the case of the North, meant the adaptation of the educational system to the religious environment turned out to be one of the major points of resentment between the North and the East and West. This was particularly so with the Igbos whose culture differed a great deal more from those of the Hausa; with the Hausas accusing the Igbos of being arrogant and disrespectful while the latter felt the former were backward and ignorant. And although the Northern and Southern (Eastern and Western) educational departments were merged into a central department in 1930, and few more schools were opened in the North, the educational system in the North remained tightly controlled and limited in scope.

By 1937 there were 3,533 primary schools in the Western (Yoruba) and Eastern (Igbo) provinces, a great many of which were established through communal efforts particularly in Igboland, with a total of 218,610 pupils in attendance. The North (Hausa) on the other hand had only 539 primary schools and 20,269 pupils attending them overall (see Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2). The predominant mode of education in the North remained the Koran schools in which a small proportion of the children absorbed enough Arabic to enable them participate in Islamic services. The difference in educational development between the North and South becomes more striking at the secondary level where by 1947, when nationalist movements in the South were gathering momentum, the North had only 3 secondary schools with 251 students in attendance as opposed to 43 secondary schools in the South and 9,657 students. The regional differential become even more pronounced when it is revealed that as late as 1951 - nine years before the granting of self-government to Nigeria - only one Northerner had obtained a full university degree, while the South could boast of some



hundreds. Such differences in religion as have been noted above, and the timing and intensity of Western education are crucial to the understanding of northerners' later fears of Southern, particularly Igbo domination, and the resultant inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts.

The Lugardian policy of restricting Western education in the Northern province, for example, coupled with the Moslem character of the North presented a problem of acute shortage of necessary educated persons there, the extent of which was aptly expressed by Sir Hugh Clifford in 1920 when he wrote that:

...after two decades of British occupation, the Northern provinces have not produced a single native of these provinces who is sufficiently educated to enable him fill the most minor clerical post in the office of any government department (cited in Coleman, J.S. 1971:140).

This lack of educated manpower in the North made necessary the recruitment of thousands of Southerners, mainly Igbos who had fewer job opportunities in their homeland than the Yorubas, to work as clerks for government and business establishments. A great many also migrated to work in other regions, with the result that in time, many of the recruits in government service and in private businesses in the North and West were no longer Hausa or Yoruba but Igbo. Such huge influx of Igbos, especially in the North antagonized the indigenes who felt swamped and economically threatened by peoples whose ways of life were at odds with their own. Coming from a society where power was widely distributed, where any dynamic person who acquired wealth could achieve political status irrespective of seniority, and where there was a lack of demand for excessive respect for authority, the educated Igbos perhaps unwittingly, worsened a potentially unwelcome association. This they did by their 'disrespectful' attitudes in this highly stratified authoritarian socio-political system which stressed obedience to superior and loyalty to the emirs. That the inter-ethnic relations was less than cordial was clearly stated by Francis E.K. (1972:318) when he wrote that :

the native craftsman hated the Igbo trader who sold his goods more cheaply in the market; the camel-rider could not compete with the Igbo chauffeur who transported passengers faster and at a lower price, the Koran teacher was afraid of losing pupils to the new schools manned by Southerners; and the traditional ruler resented the Igbo administrative officer who challenged his authority.

This inability to match the keen competition also brought home to the Northerners the enormity of the educational gap between them and the South and instilled in them a genuine fear of possible Southern imperialism should the British depart. Mallam Iman (1950) expressed the feelings of all Northerners when he wrote that :

Southerners will take the place of Europeans in the North, what is there to stop them? They look and see it thus at the present time. There are Europeans but undoubtedly it is the Southerner who has the power in the North. They have control of the railway stations, of the Post Offices, of hospitals...in all the different departments of government, it is the Southerner who has power (Quoted in Coleman, J.S. 1971 : 362).

This fear of Southern (Igbo) domination and intolerance of their attitudes, all of which, in the final analysis are rooted in the socio-political culture of these disparate groups, have posed a great deal of obstacles in the building of an integrated Nigerian state.

In the preceding paragraphs discussion has been centred on the divisions among the three major groups in terms of traditional political system, religion, and colonial influences particularly in terms of education. In the following section emphasis will be on how the pre and post independence politics and constitutional developments all contributed also to exacerbate the natural diversities among these ethnic groups, making the achievement of national integration an immensely arduous task.

2.4: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR EFFECT ON ETHNIC GROUP RELATIONS.

This section examines the development of modern political institutions in order to demonstrate their effect on inter-ethnic attitudes among the groups under study. Political institutions here refer to those modern political organizations through which the affairs of Nigeria were conducted and articulated before, during and after independence until the military coups of 1966. In looking at the evolution of the party system in Nigeria, attention will be focused on the history, development and role of the main political parties - the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC); the Action Group (AG); and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC); each of which represented the three major ethnic groups - Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa, respectively. The review is important in view of the havoc caused by the inter-party (and by implication, inter-ethnic) rivalries and hostilities.

2.4.1: THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIAN CITIZENS.

The Igbos, compared with the Yorubas, had a much later contact with Western influences. Indeed, by the turn of the century when the majority of Nigerian hinterland was yet to be pacified by the colonial administration, many Yorubas had advanced themselves in the area of Western education and the acquisition of modern skills. Inevitably therefore, the Yorubas not only had a near monopoly of the higher positions in the African civil service initially, but controlled the entire business and professional activities in Nigeria. There existed in essence, a wide educational and economic gap between the Yoruba and all other ethnic groups. But when the Igbos had come in contact with the West, they redoubled their efforts in order to catch up with the Yorubas who had acquired Western education and skills.

By the early 1930s the Igbos had made efforts individually and as a group to give sponsorship to their sons for higher education both at home and abroad. Various village, town, and clan improvement and progressive unions were set-up with the main aim of building schools and improving the lives of Igbos in general.

In 1935 the small unions which had initially been set up to improve educational facilities for the Igbos, formed themselves into a federation called Igbo Union. This marked the beginning of Pan-Igbo modern political organization from which emerged in 1944, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (later renamed National Council of Nigerian Citizens). The party was led until 1947 by Sir Herbert Macaulay who at his death in that year was succeeded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (hereafter referred to as the NCNC) projected the image of a national and mass party in the sense that its membership was open to everyone, irrespective of ethnic group or socio-economic status.

The primary aims of the party, according to Azikiwe, were, first to bring about the mental emancipation of Nigerians from a servile colonial mentality through adopting suitable means which would impart political education to the people of Nigeria with the view of achieving self-government. Second, to afford its members the medium of expression in order to secure political freedom, economic security, social equality and religious tolerance in Nigeria. But although its early membership included a number of people from the smaller ethnic groups in the north, and some Yorubas, many Igbos joined the party in view of its Igbo leadership, Azikiwe being an Igbo; with the result that by 1950 an overwhelming proportion of the membership - about 60 per cent - was Igbo. (In Nigeria, ethnic origin has always been a significant determinant of organizational identification). This imbalance in party membership was not helped by the fact that about the same period the Igbos had managed to close the educational gap between them and the Yorubas, so that, the Yorubas who had hitherto held the sway of things in public affairs were at par or somewhat overtaken by the Igbos. Furthermore,

given that the Igbos were, and are still scattered throughout Nigeria, and had literally 'taken over' government services all over Nigeria, the Yorubas and the rest of the other ethnic groups who were members of the NCNC saw in the party's manifesto a calculated attempt to dominate the whole country and to offer to the dispersed Igbo, significant security and official protection in alien cultural areas. Azikiwe's first conference address seemed to give credence to this interpretation of events when he proclaimed that:

...it would appear that the God of Africa has especially created the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages ...The martial prowess of the Igbo nation ..had enabled them not only to conquer others but also to adapt themselves to the role of preserver. The Igbo nation cannot shirk its responsibility from its manifest destiny (West African Pilot, Dec. 29, 1948; cited in Coleman, J.S. 1971:347).

Although some have argued that this Igbo-glorifying statement was made in response to a series of attacks on Azikiwe and the Igbos in general, it nevertheless provoked a cry of 'to your tents O'Israel', with other ethnic groups falling back in their groups and forming various ethnic based political parties. This, then, was the beginning of the race for ethnic security. The Yorubas suddenly realizing the ubiquity and ambition of the Igbos and remembering that their upper hand had been reversed in many areas, reacted by forming the Action Group. From then onwards, the factors which shaped the political positions of party leaders depended heavily on the immediate protection of their particular ethnic groups which inevitably resulted in party cum ethnic group rivalries and the intensification of ethnic hostilities.

2.4.2: THE ACTION GROUP.

The Action Group was publicly announced a political party in March 1951, it being the political wing of the Yoruba cultural association 'the Egbe Omo Oduduwa', founded in

London in 1945 with Chief Obafemi Awolowo as its leader. Three of the five major goals of this new party were: the emergence of a virile, modernized, and efficient Yoruba State with its own independence within Nigeria; the protection of Yoruba chiefs; and the protection of the interest of the Yorubas so that future generations of Yorubas would have secure place in Nigeria (Olorunsola, V. 1972).

Although membership of the party at its inception included non-Yorubas such as the Edo, Ishan and the Jekiri leadership who were in any case part of the Western region at that time, it could be argued that this was enlightened self-interest. It was necessary for the Action Group (AG) to have the support of these peoples in order to ensure the control of political power in the region. However, of greater relevance to the present study are three basic ideologies of the AG which differed a great deal from those of the NCNC, even if superficially. The first was Awolowo's and therefore the party's ideas of Nigeria's nationhood. Awolowo questioned the criteria by which Nigeria was proclaimed one country. For him, Nigeria was a country with many nations within it, being made up of "a large number of ...unintegrated tribal and clannish units". It was, he continued:

a mere geographical expression. There are no Nigerians in the same sense as there are 'English' 'Welsh' or 'French'. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not (Awolowo, O. 1947:47).

This line of thinking led him to strongly advocate that Nigerians should think of themselves, not so much as belonging together or sharing a common nationality, as being part and parcel of their particular ethnic groups. Each group especially the dominant ones, he believed should be granted the right to manage their own affairs, declaring that:

As long as every Nigerian in Nigeria is made to feel he is a Nigerian first, and a Yoruba or Igbo or Hausa next, each will be justified to poke his nose into the domestic issues of

others. The one thing of common interest to all Nigerians as such and in which the voice of one must be acceptable as that of any other is the constitution of Central or Federal Government of Nigeria. The constitution of each national group [ethnic group] is the sole concern of the members of that group (Awolowo, O. 1947:48).

In line with this separatist ideology was, second, the great emphasis on the dissimilarity of traditional political culture of the Yorubas and the Igbos, particularly in relation to the respect accorded the elders and chiefs in the two traditional systems (Olorunsola, V. 1972). The AG contended that since the leadership of the NCNC was dominated by the Igbos, and in the Igbo traditional political culture there was no place for chiefs, the NCNC would neither show respect for, nor protect the chieftaincy institutions of the Yorubas. Third, he pointed to the aggressiveness of the Igbos, and drive, interpreting these as indications that in terms of political and administrative recruitment as well as economic security, the future of Yorubas and the Western Region minority groups, rested not with the NCNC but with the AG. The party's strategy of justifying its very formation on both traditional and ethnic terms restricted its area of influence. Therefore, unlike the NCNC which although supported by the Igbos, also had a fairly strong hold on Yoruba electorate and those of other minor ethnic groups, the AG remained essentially a Yoruba party, drawing almost the entire bulk of its electoral support from Yoruba-speaking areas of Nigeria or from those with historical ties with the Yoruba culture.

2.4.3: THE NORTHERN PEOPLES CONGRESS.

The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), like the Action Group, was an offshoot of a cultural organization, the Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa, which was founded in 1949 by Northern elites. In 1951, this association was converted into the Northern Peoples Congress in an attempt to provide the North with a forum within which political issues and changes affecting the Region could be discussed. From its inception, the NPC was and continued to be exclusively a regional party, restricting membership to northern

peoples. Members of the settler group, the Igbos or Yorubas etc, were prevented on the basis of their different ethnic identity (even if they were born and bred in the region), from standing as parliamentary candidates for the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC). Members of these settler groups were regarded by the leadership of NPC as opportunistic transients who still identified with their particular ethnic groups (Himmelstrand, V. 1973).

The Sardauna of Sokoto, and Premier of the Northern Region, was, and remained the leader of the NPC until his death in the January 1966 military coup. The NPC made no secret of their allegiance to the powerful Hausa-Fulani aristocracy in the region. Like the other two political parties - the NCNC and the AG - the NPC's electoral strength came from its home base, in this case, the Northern Region, where the bulk of the party members were Native Authority officials. This meant, according to Dudley, B. 1982:45) that:

...the NPC became closely wedded to the structure of the Native Authority system in the North and since the Native Authority system was the only effective administrative system in that period, the Party and the Administration became one and the same thing.

Such ethnic divisions in party politics had two mutually conflicting consequences for the country, especially after independence, when group approach to issues took more divisive dimension as local sentiments gained greater legitimacy. First, this politicized ethnicity, raised the level of political consciousness among the three main ethnic groups and served to integrate culturally and linguistically homogeneous ethnic groups by providing each group with common social and political goals. Second, since each party drew its main support from a particular ethnic group, the political parties set out to maximize their respective group's support which meant them adopting policies which did not so much serve the national interests, as satisfied their own ethnic groups. Thus while holding each of the ethnic groups together, the nature of these parties accentuated

the cleavages between the groups through creating social and political rivalries which soon turned into deep-seated animosities, and violent confrontations, with each of the major ethnic groups perceiving its social, economic and political interest in opposition to the socio-economic and political goals of the other group. As will become evident in later sections, the ethnic character of the three political parties which went unchecked, coupled with the separatist ideologies of the various parties, played a great deal of havoc with the future of Nigeria, both in the pre and post independence Nigeria.

2.5: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION.

After the formalistic amalgamation of the Northern and Southern provinces in 1914 to form the single political entity called Nigeria, the country was still far from being united politically and constitutionally, as the administrative individuality of separate territories continued. The only apparent linkages between the different parts were economic - with railways and other trade routes making inter-regional trading, possible. But soon after the Second World War when the parties in the South were beginning to demand self-government, it was felt that there was the need to unite the North and South in political and constitutional fields. This led to the promulgation of the Richards Constitution to replace an earlier formulated but flawed Clifford Constitution of 1922 which excluded the North from the Legislative Council. Such exclusion in spite of amalgamation reflects a consideration given to the Northern emirs' apparent reluctance to associate with Southerners. But as Ezera, K. (1964:73) commented:

 this exclusion of the North from joining the South in the framing of national legislation and in the consideration and passing of annual budgets not only affected the equitable flow of available public revenues northwards, but also retarded the development of a sense of Nigerian unity - an issue that constitutes one of the greatest problems facing the country today.

It was not therefore until 1947, after the constitutional reform of 1946 (Richards Constitution) that the North was able to participate in the legislative council's deliberations in Lagos.

2.5.1: REGIONALISM.

The Richards Constitution of 1946 which brought the North and South together in the same legislature, also introduced the concept of regionalism. Before this time however, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, who was Governor of Nigeria between 1935-1943 had seen the isolationist outlook of the Northern emirs and had impressed upon them the need to join with the Southerners in the Legislative Council of the country. But no sooner had he given that counsel than a major difficulty was observed - the northerner's relative lack of the knowledge of English language - the country's official language. Consequently, rather than simply including the northerners in the Legislative Council, he instead considered the possibility of having Regional Councils with a Central Council in Lagos to which the results of the regional deliberations would be referred. It was on such a consideration that the creation of three regional Houses of Assembly was based, - a provision which was seen by the colonial powers as a necessary step in the bid to form a federation in which unity in diversity prevailed. But regionalization in Ezera's (1964) view marked the beginning stage in the process of 'fragmentation' in the country.

For one thing, regionalization strengthened already existing sectional loyalties. In the 1951 electoral campaign, for example, after the regions had been created - Northern Province becoming the Northern Region, while the South was divided into the Western and Eastern Regions - regional nationalism was merged with ethnicity to become the most effective means of securing and retaining power. The parties were compelled to restrict their activities to their particular regions, so that in the event, Nigeria had no

truly national party, nor did it have a common ideology, a common frame of reference or a common loyalty which would act as a unifying and integrating force for the lasting unity and progress of the country. Regionalism became in effect the agency for the assertion of regional interests as against the centre, and in this way setting in motion the process of the regionalization of politics.

Furthermore, the splitting of the Southern Protectorate into Eastern and Western Regions while the Northern Protectorate remained intact even though the North, both in population and in size, was very much larger than the South, created problems for the future stability of the country. This becomes crucially important when it is noted that the North by virtue of its size demanded and was granted 50 per cent of the votes in the Central Legislature in Lagos which empowered it to over-rule the others and bend the will of the Federal government to itself. This was demonstrated when for example, the motion for self-government was tabled in 1953 by the AG, but defeated by the northern delegates who controlled 50 per cent of the entire membership of the House. This led to the reaction or rather over-reaction of the Western and Eastern politicians, and the Lagos public against the Northern politicians whom they felt had deliberately set out to slow down the movement toward independence. The Kano riots of 1953 which left many Southerners dead and 241 wounded (a majority of whom were Igbos) must be seen as a direct result of the incidents at the Legislative Assembly in Lagos. So that, while regionalism and with it unequal representation of major ethnic groups may not be damaging in countries where a political party or political organization which is genuinely national in scope, concern, and performance exists, in a system where ethnic loyalty takes precedence over national attachment, it is catastrophic.

The people of Nigeria were further polarized by the granting of regional self-government to the Eastern and Western Regions in 1957, and to the Northern Region in 1959. Regional Premiers were appointed for each of the regions; but with inter-ethnic riots which had occurred in 1949 and 1953 fresh in peoples' minds, and its

accompanying hostilities and animosities, coupled with the experiences of the 1951 election campaigns, the relations between the Regions deteriorated. So powerful and autonomous were the Regions and so weak the Federal Government that each Region was represented by individual missions overseas, after independence. All Regions for example maintained offices in London to hire expatriates who were needed to man their businesses and government offices (Hunt, C.L. and Walker, L. 1974). The effect of all these was that before long:

The Regional governments under this three regional structure [began] to treat one another with mutual aloofness reminiscent of Russia and the United States at the height of the cold war (Daily Times, Lagos, Oct. 29, 1957; cited in Ezera, K. 1964:247);

and

In time, regional cohesion, authority and political unity encased in definite territorial frontiers contributed to a sharp sense of separation between the regions;...the pursuit of individual and group power and commitment generated conflicts that further pulled the regions apart in economic, political and ideological considerations (Nnoli, O. 1972:128).

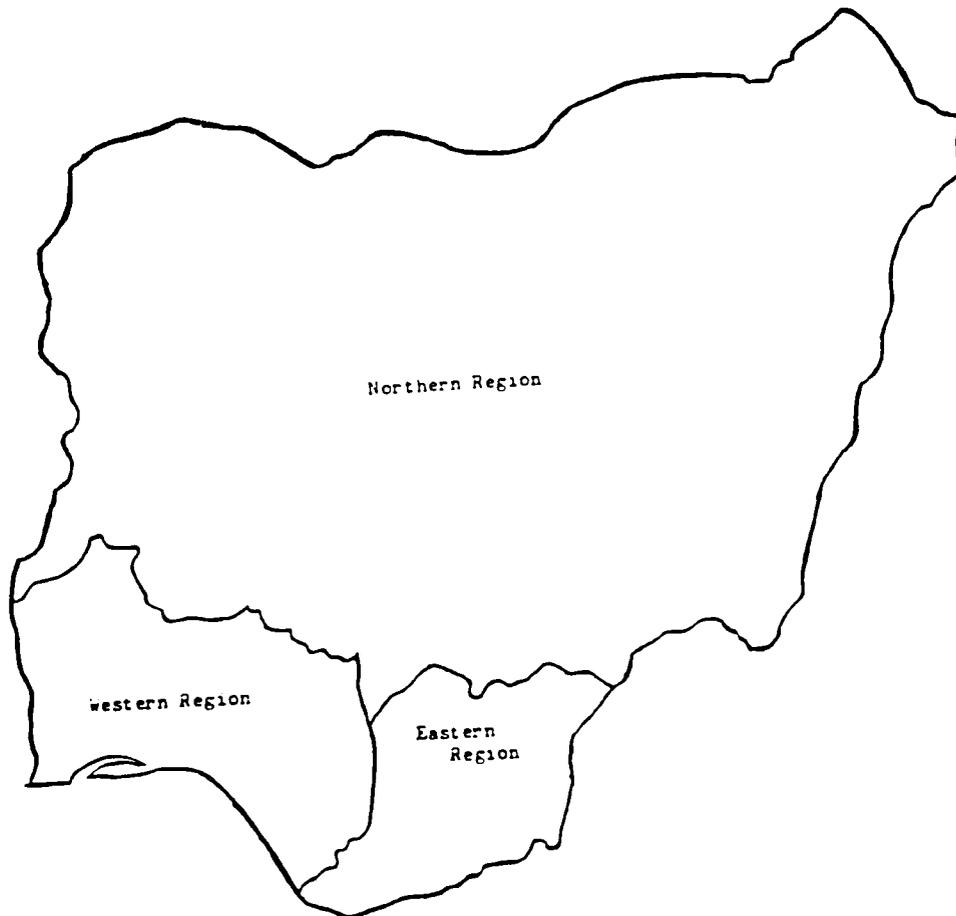
In that kind of situation the idea of one Nigeria was gone and the people of Nigeria were to put up with three Nigerias; a set-up which was fatal for the country's future.

From the foregoing therefore, it is maintained that the policy of Indirect rule had a major adverse effect on inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria through shielding, perhaps inadvertently, the people of Northern Nigeria from Christian missionary activities, particularly in the field of education, and other Western influences. Thus, while the people of Eastern and Western Regions made maximum use of such forces making for change, the Northern peoples did not. The various Regions as a result developed unevenly, with the North having a great deal of catching-up to do, especially in the field of education, public works and other aspects of modernization. As the country became more politically conscious and began the demand for self-government, political leaders from the major groups became aware of the relative position of their groups and

Regions on the scale of modernity, with the Northerners fearing Southern imperialism should the colonial administration make a quick exit, in view of their educational backwardness at that time.

Furthermore, it is claimed that constitutional development in Nigeria encouraged the emergence of dual perspectives (ethnic and regional), which were inconsistent with, and militated against the development of a truly national identity. The constitution was a contradiction of the fundamental principles of federalism. The creation of a single Region - Northern Region - which was so large and powerful as to dominate the other two, led to bitter struggles for political power, heightening the tensions and disharmony between the three major ethnic groups. In short, the political traditions into which the Nigerian leaders were socialized, and which therefore formed their background, was a flawed one, characterised by a lack of national vision, which manifested itself in such divisive issues as, which ethnic group should rule, and which groups would gain more from the process. On the whole, it could be stated that the patterns of constitutional development in Nigeria served to inform and reinforce the groups' level of cultural prejudices and suspicions of other ethnic groups. While one cannot casually dismiss the benefits of Western education, nor can one fail to admire the political system as practised in Western Europe, it is nevertheless argued that the manner in which these two institutions, in particular, were introduced into Nigeria, helped to heighten ethnic group consciousness which in many ways has proved inimical to the country's well-being.

Map 1: NIGERIA AT INDEPENDENCE - 1960



Source : Phillips, C.S. (1984) " Nigeria and Biafra." In Shiels, F.L. (ed.) Ethnic Separatism and World Politics University Press of America Inc. p. 162.

2.6:THE CRISIS OF POST-INDEPENDENCE NIGERIA.

On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent nation within the Commonwealth. Nigerians and foreigners alike had great expectations of what the young nation could achieve having gained political power from the colonial government. Independence would, it was hoped, usher in a new era of prosperity and economic progress. But no sooner had the first year of independence elapsed than it dawned on all the people that such hopes and expectations would be impossible to realize, at least for many years to come. The loss of stability in the Western Region in 1962 as a result of a bitter controversy in the Action Group over party ideologies, gave a glimpse of what was to follow.

2.6.1: THE CENSUS CONTROVERSY.

Important national issues such as population counts and the figures arrived at, have always been a source of inter-ethnic tension, dispute and conflict in Nigeria, particularly among the three major ethnic groups. Census figures have always been rejected by the three major ethnic groups as a false reflection of their numerical size in the country. Each figure is usually contested because high ethnic and regional population figures enable the politicians in each region to demand a greater share of the 'national cake', and for a higher representation in the federal legislature. For these reasons the process of census taking has always attracted suspicion among the different ethnic groups.

Before Nigeria was granted political independence, a census count was conducted by the colonial administrators in 1952. The exercise located 54 per cent of the country's population in the Northern Region thereby giving it control of the centre since the allocation of seats in the House of Representatives in Lagos was on the basis of

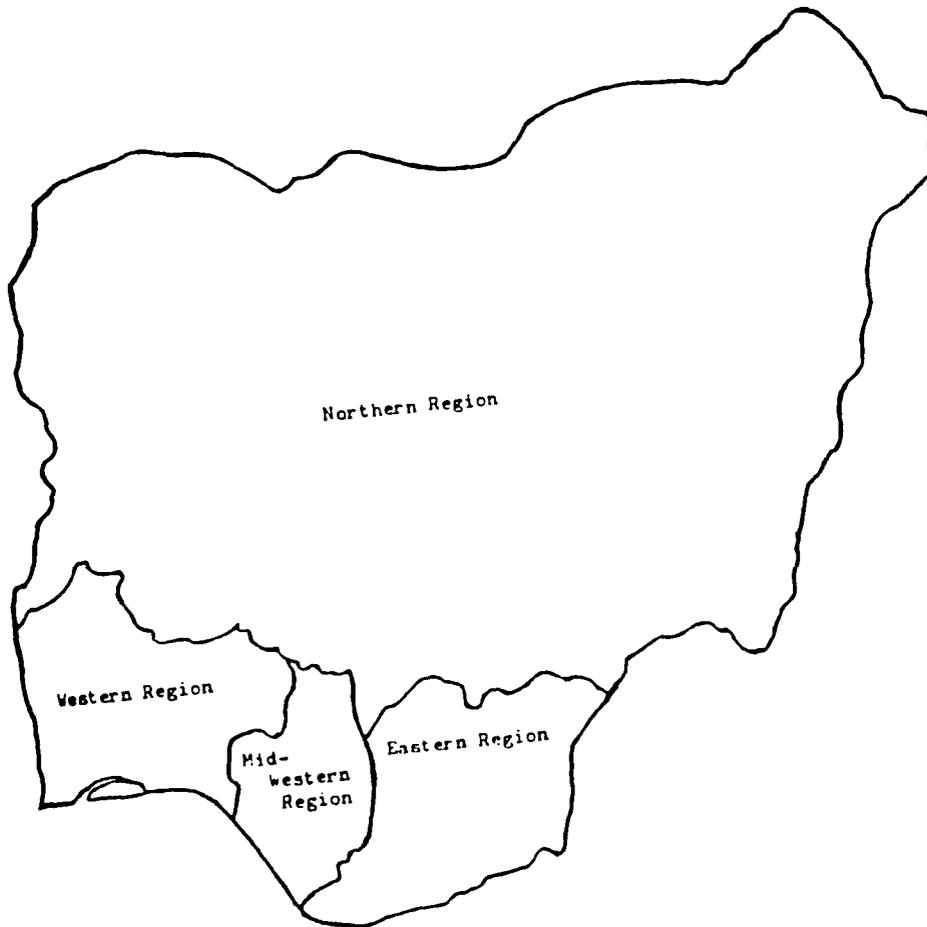
regional population distribution. This capturing of the federal power, held out for the north the prospect of controlling the national government and with it the national economy and the key position in federal-regional negotiations. At that time, it must be pointed out, many in the East refused to be counted, believing the census was needed for tax increases.

Soon after independence, however, there was to be Nigeria's first post-independence census. By this time, there had been the realization among politicians that parliamentary and local council representation, and government amenities were largely dependent upon the recorded figures of the census count. Consequently, ethno-regional enthusiasm for the census was immensely aroused, with all political parties educating the masses on the significance of the forthcoming census, emphasizing not merely the demographic aspects of the count, but also making explicit the connections between the regional population, number of seats at the Federal House, and the financial support for the region, in terms of amenities, welfare allocations, scholarships, and so on. In this way, ethnic sentiments, and fear of domination by other regions were exploited to the full in the winner-take-all politics of Nigeria. A census which ought to have been a straightforward demographic exercise to help experts in economic planning became instead a matter of political manoeuvre, and sectional interests, all of which are bound up with the revenue allocation which is considered next.

2.6.2: REVENUE ALLOCATION.

Fiscal arrangements and revenue allocations have been among the most divisive and vexed issues between the regions. They provided two of the most contentious and disintegrative economic incidents in the arena of national politics. An acceptable fiscal structure or formula between the regions was important since the autonomy of each regional unit depended to a large extent on the level of its supremacy in financial

Map 2 : NIGERIA IN 1966



Source : Phillips, C.S. (1984) " Nigeria and Biafra." In Shiels, F.L. (ed.) Ethnic Separatism and World Politics University Press of America Inc. p. 165.

matters. It also strengthened the financial position of the various ethnic based political institutions. Each of the three major ethnic groups therefore was determined to exert the maximum benefits it could achieve from such arrangements and outcomes. But the arena in which federal and regional governments and group-to-group relations took place in such matters as fiscal and revenue allocations was a flawed one. For example, before May 1967, the regions of the federation were unequal. The national population was shared between them in the following percentages, 54% North, 23% East, 20% West, and by the same token revenue allocation was done in the ratio of 42[North], 30[East], and 20[West] 8[Mid-West - the Mid-Western Region having been carved out of the Western Region in 1963; see Map 2] (Obinna, O.E. 1985). Such arrangements were not acceptable to the groups concerned and so created strains that intruded on the arena of both federal-region and region-region (both vertical and horizontal) relations in the country before and after 1967. Efforts made by six different fiscal review commissions to resolve the problem of revenue allocation ended in failure due to inter-ethnic economic rivalry, and hostility. Commenting on the issue, Chief Obafemi Awolowo (1970:76) remarked that:

Since 1949, discussions on the allocation of revenue in Nigeria have been excessively confused by sectional sentiments and unhealthy partisan political considerations. Various non-objective and non-quantifiable principles have been paraded and propounded over the years...We must not allow this kind of unscientific method, which is only a pedantic variant of the sectional approach of yester-years, to continue to bedevil and becloud our efforts and thinking on revenue allocation.

Similarly the application of the principle of derivation, which is a variant of the fiscal and revenue allocation did not fair any better in the atmosphere of ethnic parochialism and competition. The principles of derivation is explained as the act of giving to a Region a sum related to the Region's contribution to central revenues (Obinna, O.E. 1985). This principle was even more controversial and conflict-laden as the East (Igbos) saw in it severe economic strictures for them, since the revenue was closely

linked to export earnings, of which they came bottom of the table (see Dudley, B. 1982:256 for 'export earnings' Table for the different Regions). So that, while the Western Region (Yorubas) were fairly satisfied with the derivation principle, the Northern Region felt that allocation based on population would be more favourable to their Region and so insisted on that. The Eastern Region on the other hand wanted allocation based on 'need', but quickly changed its position from need to derivation, with the first trickle of revenues from the oil refineries located in the Region. Such political/economic wrangle effectively affected the state of national political consciousness among the various groups in the country. It had the effect of stifling the growth of political consensus by encouraging regional loyalties. According to Adedeji, A. (1969:254):

...the derivation principle bedevilled the development of a rational and equitable system of revenue allocation in Nigeria. It poisoned inter-governmental relationships and ...exacerbated inter-regional rivalry and conflict. Perhaps more than any other single factor it ... hampered the development of a sense of national unity and common citizenship in Nigeria.

Indeed, the issues of census count, revenue allocations and fiscal arrangements are closely related in the Nigerian society and have been crucial elements in the arena of federal-regional and regional-regional (inter-ethnic) relations. They have been recurring issues of political tensions and the cue for ethnic rivalries in Nigeria. Surely one could argue that fiscal disputes do not necessarily cause ethnic tensions. But in the Nigerian case there was hardly any distinction between a purely federal-regional or regional-regional matter and inter-ethnic competition. Everything was bound up with the fortunes or misfortunes of one's ethnic group. Like every other aspect of life in Nigeria, census count and fiscal arrangements were perceived and are still perceived and justified in group terms, as development and progress are measured in terms of the role and the place of one's own ethnic group. All these, and more, led to tensions and

conflicts of later years which ultimately contributed to the collapse of the First Republic.

2.6.3: MILITARY TAKE-OVER AND CIVIL WAR: 1966 - 1970.

On January 15, 1966, army officers overthrew the civilian government of Sir Abubakar T. Belewa, ending an administration which in their opinion had for too long served sectional interests. But in spite of such views, and the much argument about the ethnic or nationalistic motives of the coup plotters who were mainly Igbo army officers, it was obvious that the coup, and subsequent ones had a definite ethnic character, that ethnicity had been militarised. Indeed in such situations, it is necessary to look beyond what the plotters say they are doing in order to ascertain the objective facts of the situation. The pattern of killings for example had an ethnic character. Of all the regional premiers killed, none was Igbo or from the East. The reaction of the overwhelming majority immediately after the coup d'état, however was one of relief because the military takeover meant, it seemed initially, a restoration of law and order, and security and perhaps justice.

With the Federal Government under the leadership of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, the governmental structure of the country was reorganized and restructured, to rid the country of what the army believed was at the root of so much instability - sectionalism. Ethnicity (or tribalism) in their view was anchored in regionalism, and they reasoned therefore that if they could somehow get rid of that structure called Region, the appropriate behaviour that will carry the system through should follow, and tribalism would cease to be a problem. This view as Olorunsola, V. (1972) commented was a gross simplification of what he called cultural sub-nationalism in Nigeria. In the event however, the four regional structures were abolished. In the place of regions, was imposed a Unitary Structure, which among other things, unified the civil service of the whole federation. But in a country like Nigeria where inter-ethnic prejudice and

suspicion are deep-rooted , such a decision by Ironsi administration to dismantle the regional structure was, and could only be seen, not so much as a step towards national unity and integration, as a manoeuvre by the Igbos (Ironsi being an Igbo) to dominate the government and the civil service.

Suspecting sectional interests in the earlier coup by the Igbo army officers a counter-coup was executed six months later - on July 29 1966 - by northern army officers, during which General Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed; a number of other Igbo officers and soldiers and civilians were also killed. The July coup represented the North's successful attempt to assert, or reassert, its control over the army and through it the nation. This coup made possible the appointment of Lt. Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gowon, a northerner, as the new Head of State. The country was once more returned to the pre-coup and pre-Ironsi administrative structure, which in many ways favoured the northerners, just as the Ironsi idea tilted in favour of the Igbos. In each case sectional interest was never far away. Although the Gowon administration later divided the country into twelve states on May 27, 1967, an action which has since led to subsequent creation of states with the number now standing at 30, (see map 3 Appendix B) the sense of ethnic identity and loyalty have hardly diminished (Osaghae, E. 1985). The counter coup of July 1966 in Lagos triggered off violence against the Igbos in the North. Many were killed, while the rest returned to the East. The consequence of these events was far-reaching. As Nnoli, O. (1972:124) put it:

The most significant political consequence of this pogrom and the resultant movement of populations to their respective socio-cultural areas was the destruction of inter-human network which , in fact was the Federation of Nigeria.

The killings in the north represented, as the Igbos saw it, the ultimate attempt to deny in physical terms their presence in the Northern Region. As a result of the bloodshed, with an estimated 30.000 dead, the Igbos began to agitate for separation, feeling as they did that unity was no longer viable as they could no longer protect and pursue their

communal and individual goals within the framework of a Federal Nigeria. On May 30, 1967 the state of Biafra was created. Here one finds an example par excellence of a country - Nigeria - torn apart by inter-ethnic prejudices and animosities. By July 5, 1967, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria had launched a police action which turned out to be the beginning of a 30-month civil war with the newly declared Biafran state. The war ended in 1970 when the Biafran military which comprised of mainly Igbos, were forced to surrender to the Federal forces, the majority of whom were Hausas and Yorubas.

The series of events which culminated in the civil war, and the war itself, heightened the existing ill-feelings and suspicions among the different ethnic groups on both sides of the conflict, particularly so between the 'Biafrans' who were mainly Igbos, and the Yorubas and Hausas who formed the majority in the Nigerian camp. The social relations between the different ethnic groups had been so strained that there seemed no basis for mutual trust among Nigerians at the end of the war. As Nnoli, O. (1972:124) wrote:

The immediate task of recreating another common political unit from the components of the previous ones, called first for serious efforts at social engineering.

There was the need, in other words, to adopt post-war measures which would enable graduate youths - who are looked upon as future leaders of the country - to rehabilitate and reconstruct their minds and attitudes towards one another and the nation as a whole, in order that national integration could become a reality in Nigeria. It was mainly to inculcate, as Masannat, G.S.(1973:171) put it, " a sense of oneness between the diverse linguistic, ethnic, and religious communities", and "the development of a clear and unambiguous sense of identity" which "is more than a facilitating factor in the creation of a nation", that the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme was instituted in May 1973 by the Federal Government of Nigeria.

2.6.4: MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA: 1975 - 1991.

Although the present analyses in terms of providing insights into the havocs of prejudices and suspicions among the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria should necessarily end with the end of the civil war and the establishment of the NYSC programme, it is deemed important however to acquaint the reader with a brief summary of Nigeria's administration since these events took place.

In July 1975, General Gowon's military regime which came into being as a result of the counter-coup of July 1966, was toppled by another military coup. A new military government was formed with Brigadier (later Lieutenant-General) Murtala Mohammed as the Head of State. Seven months later, in February 1976, Murtala Mohammed was assassinated in an abortive coup attempt. His deputy, General Olusegun Obasanjo took over office as the Head of State, from February 1976 to September 1979.

On October 1, 1979 Nigeria was returned to civilian rule under the executive Presidentship of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Alhaji Shehu Shagari's civilian government was overthrown on December 31, 1983 by another military coup. The new military regime was headed by Major-General Mohammed Buhari, but his leadership lasted barely 18 months before his regime was brought to an end in July 1985 by yet another military coup. The Head of State at the time of writing is General Ibrahim Babangida, who survived an attempted military coup on April 22, 1990.

The military government is currently preparing to hand over power to a civilian government by the beginning of 1993. All the politicians of the failed civilian governments were banned during governorship elections in 1991 from participating in any form, in the forthcoming civilian rule, for which the elections were held. This made way for young educated graduates, all of whom shall have served in the NYSC (it being a condition for employment of graduates in both public and private sector), to

assert themselves in the affairs of the country. But does the country stand a better chance this third time round as a result of this fact - the graduate youths' year-long interaction with the other ethnic groups in the national service programme? How 'national' as opposed to 'ethnic' or 'regional' are the young Nigerian educated graduates? How far have their attitudes changed favourably towards members of other ethnic groups? How effective is the NYSC in accomplishing this very important task which forms the major objective for which it was established?

2.7:SUMMARY.

The primary aim of the analysis presented in this chapter has been to identify the factors which have contributed to inter-ethnic prejudices, tensions and conflicts in the Nigerian society. First, the review has shown that the peoples of Nigeria are geographically, socially and culturally divided. Second, it has been argued that the parochialism, inter-ethnic prejudices and suspicions, created by such divisions were exacerbated by the policy of Indirect rule, sectionalization of Western education, and the kind of constitution adopted by Nigeria. Indeed the unequal regional structure and representation in the Federal House of Representatives, (the North having the power to bend the will of the Federal Government to itself) further set the groups against each other. It encouraged the southerners to resent the northerners whom they saw largely as the colonial instrument for the perpetuation of colonialism, in view of their educational backwardness and consequent 'cold feet' during the nationalist drive for political independence. Furthermore, the decision to keep the two halves of Nigeria separate in many respects in spite of amalgamation, helped confirm and reinforce the northerners' own prejudices and hostility towards the Igbos in particular who formed the largest minority in the North. Having been governed as different peoples, the northerners could not readily view the southerners in their midst as fellow nationals who had come to help develop the northern parts, but rather perceived them as strangers who had

come to displace them - the indigenes. Such prejudices were displayed by the Nigerian successors at independence, in their bid to consolidate their power base. Here one finds that neither the colonial administrators nor the Nigerian political elites who took over from them adopted measures to foster a sense of oneness among the various ethnic groups. Their policies, instead, heightened the prejudices and suspicions among the different ethnic groups by increasing and emphasizing the groups' differences.

The main focus has been on the three major ethnic groups under study - the Hausas, the Yorubas, and the Igbos. As a result, the events, issues and policies examined have been those deemed particularly relevant to the relations between these ethnic groups. It is not claimed however that all the relevant issues responsible for so much prejudice and hostility between these groups, all of which have contributed to destabilizing the country, have been analyzed. It can only be hoped that the selective approach to the issues examined and the policies analyzed has served the aim of this historical chapter.

In the next chapter, a discussion of the concepts of ethnic group and ethnicity is presented. This is deemed necessary since the major objective of the National Youth Service Corps programme is the reduction of inter-ethnic prejudice.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNIC GROUP/ETHNICITY: A DISCUSSION.

3.1:INTRODUCTION.

There are many concepts for which definitions are problematical. “Ethnic group,” and “ethnicity” (and their correlates of “prejudice,” “stereotype,” and “ethnocentrism,”) are two such. Although generally applied to a wide variety of situations, they are difficult to define with precision. As concepts, they unsettle many analysts trying to make sense out of socio-political and economic changes in multicultural states such as Nigeria, with the result that at the present time there is the absence of conceptual and definitional clarity or consensus to the concepts. Indeed, the lack of intellectual consensus among ethnicologists has produced conflicts that match the subject of their study. It is the belief however that some of the difficulties are due at least in part to the confusion between these terms. This confusion can be overcome and should be overcome as long as it is borne in mind that there is a conceptual as well as causal relationship between the terms. In other words, it is impossible to discuss one without implying the other. Ethnicity for example has no meaning apart from ethnic groups, while ethnic groups are the sine qua non of ethnicity, the latter having no existence apart from inter-ethnic relations. Since as previously stated, the major thrust of the National Youth Service Corps programme is the reduction of inter-ethnic prejudice, this chapter will be devoted to defining and commenting on some of the meanings of these key terms as a prelude to understanding the sort of phenomena under study.

3.1.1: ETHNIC GROUP.

The term ethnic is derived from Ethnos, the Greek word for nation in its earliest sense of a group characterised by common descent. In accordance with this derivation, there developed a general agreement that an ethnic group referred to a basic human category. In its contemporary form, the term describes a group possessing some degree of

coherence, a people who are, at least latently aware of having common origins, with a common cultural tradition and interest. An ethnic group therefore is not a mere aggregate of people, but a collection of people closely related by shared experience, but which exists as a sub-group of a larger society. An ethnic group is assumed to be distinctive by virtue of its sharing of certain properties not shared by members of other groups. These properties according to Foltz, W.(1974:103) can be summarily grouped under four main headings:-

1. Biological. Members of an ethnic group will draw from a particular genetic pool which they will perpetuate over time. As a result they will share certain physical characteristics.
2. Cultural. Members of an ethnic group will share common ways of doing things and of choosing what things to do.
3. Linguistic. Members of an ethnic group will communicate more easily among themselves than with members of other groups, in the extreme case to the point of complete mutual unintelligibility.
4. Structural. Members of an ethnic group will organize their joint relations differently from the way other people do. They may evolve different social roles, and even where common roles exist, pattern their relationships differently from the way others do.

For Barth, F. (1969:14) the critical features of an ethnic group are that it is ascriptive and exclusive while its continuity as a group depends on the maintenance of a boundary. For him, the term ethnic group refers to a population which:

...is largely biologically self-perpetuating; 2. shares fundamental cultural values; 3. makes up a field of communication; and 4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

This definition is in line with that of Yinger, J.M. (1976:200) which states that:-

An ethnic group... is a segment of a larger society whose members are thought by themselves and/or others, to have a

common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which common origin and culture are significant ingredients.

Some definitions of ethnic group however tend to place more emphasis on historical/colonial ties of the group than on the real or believed common ancestry of the group. That is to say, that there has been a tendency by some writers to stress such factors as the “historically derived consciousness of being separate people”, as the defining characteristic of the term. For Weber, M. (1968:389) for example, the term ethnic group refers to:

...those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it does not matter whether, or not an objective blood relationship exists.

Such a broad definition will no doubt include the Eritreans as an ethnic group, even when the cultural aspects of their group identity is absent. For example, Eritreans do not share a common language, religion, race, or culture. Their group identity derived or emerged from having been administered as separate unit in the past. To argue that Eritreans constitute an ethnic group as Weber’s definition tends to imply, reflects a belief in the primacy of other characteristics, that is, non-cultural elements. It is not a belief shared in this study. It is believed that it is conceptually inadequate to define an ethnic group solely on the ground that since colonial times, they have perceived themselves and/or have been perceived by others as a separate group. In the present study, an ethnic group is comprised only of groups such as the Igbo in Nigeria with shared ascribed cultural characteristics, existing alongside similar groups, such as the Yoruba or Hausa, in a larger society (Nigeria); and communicate in their own language with one another to greater extent than with members of other similar groups. In other words the most important criteria in analyzing an ethnic group are their cultural attributes.

3.1.2: ETHNICITY.

A number of debates concerning the concept of ethnicity centre on the nature of the criteria that define ethnicity. In her definition of ethnicity, Enloe, C. (1973:15) speaks of both the communal and the personal dimension of ethnicity. Ethnicity for her refers:-

...to a peculiar bond among persons that cause them to consider themselves a group distinguishable from others. The content of the bond is shared culture. Culture in turn, is a pattern of fundamental beliefs and values differentiating right from wrong, defining rules for interaction, setting priorities, expectation and goals ... On the personal level, ethnicity equips an individual with a sense of belonging, it positions him in society. As social relations become complex, and impersonal, ethnic identity may be grasped tenaciously.

Ethnicity for the individual and the group is a conscious sense of belonging and/ or being different. It also refers to a member's identity and consciousness of being within a group that is culturally different. Ethnicity can thus be understood as a cognitive feeling of identity for the individual and the group. Burgess, E. (1978:268) makes the same point. She defines ethnicity as:

the character, or quality or condition of ethnic group membership, based on an identity with and/or a consciousness of group belonging that is differentiated from others by symbolic "makers" (including cultural, biological or territorial), and is rooted in bonds of a shared past and perceived ethnic interests.

The concept calls for three analytical levels of systematic operation. At the psychological level, ethnicity is mainly to do with the problem of ethnic identity which includes the individual's orientation to his own ethnic group, the sense and extent of one's commitment to the traditions or style of life associated with a particular ethnicity, and the general cognitive meaning this ethnicity has for the individual.

At the sociological level one must consider the social network which defines one's ethnic group. This social network and the frequency of contacts with ethnic familiars tend to define that boundary which associates and identifies one with a particular ethnic group, tradition and social status. Ethnicity quite often refers to one's reference group and the rights and duties that bind one into a particular ethnic tradition of that group. In this way, ethnicity is characterized by exclusiveness; an attribute which fosters prejudice and discrimination against others who do not belong to the group; encourages the emergence of in-group/out-group boundaries which usually are guarded violently against any outside interference. Consequently social relations in such situations are usually based on linguistic-cultural grounds. The in-group (when in power) amasses all available resources for its members to the detriment of the out-group.

At the cultural level, it comprises on the one hand the traditions, ideas, sentiments, codes of social action, and individual conduct, and on other hand, the symbolic content and the contemporary meaning that ethnicity has with regard to the group's present concerns, goals and problems.

For Cohen, A. (1978), ethnicity is a series of nesting dichotomization of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. It is in his view similar to a social distance scale in that the number of diacritics decreases inversely with the scale of inclusiveness. The division into an exclusive grouping is always done in relation to significant others whose exclusion at any particular time creates the we/they dichotomy and the emergence of socio-psychological boundaries. This attribute of exclusivity fosters prejudice against and stereotyping towards others who do not belong to the group.

3.1.3 THE OBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF ETHNICITY.

There is the objective/subjective issue in ethnicity theory. Should ethnic groups be isolated on the basis of socio-cultural categories and analysis? Or should they be seen

as valid when they reflect only those loyalties and ascriptions made by a people about themselves?

Some observers see ethnicity as nothing more than one variety of group allegiance, one form of group membership, one kind of link or bond between individuals, one form of social diversity and one category of group behaviour (Parson, T. 1975). For those following this school of thought, ethnicity depends on two conditions. First, on the fact of belonging to an ethnic group, and second on the ethnic group itself (Glazer, N. and Moyinham, D.P. (1970; 1975). While these authors stress both the condition of group belonging and the character of the group, Bell, D. (1975) prefers to emphasize group membership as a bond causing persons to consider themselves as a group.

Parsons, T.(1975:51) on the other hand, emphasizes the nature of the group - “the fusion of traits or components that belong to the nature of any ethnic group.” Ethnicity therefore is in part, a composite of symbolic elements or markers - real or putative - that are culturally defined and used in group differentiation. These may include any or a combination of the following cultural content, viz language, religion, belief, emblems, customs, values, norms, territorial content, viz nationality, region, locale, or biological content, viz kinship, or descent (West, K. 1972). These culturally defined aspects of ethnicity are at the very least the ‘markers’ of group membership, and determine to an extent subjective definitions which are considered next.

3.1.4: THE SUBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF ETHNICITY.

The subjective criteria on the other hand emphasize the social-psychological aspect or the affective ties of ethnicity. Uchendu, C. (1975) for example emphasizes self-definition, reinforced positively or negatively by actions of other relevant social groups, that tend to perpetuate ethnic boundaries. This view had been put forward by Weber, M (1968), an early proponent of subjective aspect of ethnicity. He viewed ethnic

membership as “one subjective belief ... a presumed identity.” For the subjective school, the importance of ethnicity is to be found in the subjective process of group identification in which people use ethnic labels to define themselves and their interaction with others. The key to ethnic identity, it is believed is not the objective cultural differences but the subjective process of status identification. Thus the subjective criteria can be seen as emphasizing self-definition which is apt to be reinforced positively or negatively by the actions of other relevant social groups thereby reinforcing ethnic boundaries. But however one views ethnic categories as subjectively determined and separate from an objective distribution of cultural phenomena, it must be conceded that a concern with objective factors is useful and necessary, at some level, in understanding ethnic classification (Albers, P.C. and James, W.R. 1986). Indeed, the objective/subjective proponents of ethnicity, must see themselves, and be seen by others as differing only in the weight they attach to structural as opposed to social psychological dimensions of ethnicity, which thereby reflect differing levels of generalization, and theoretical orientations.

3.1.5: THE SITUATIONAL ELEMENT IN ETHNICITY.

There are other writers who view ethnicity as situationally determined. For them ethnicity operates as a form of situational selection, so that the individual's membership in a particular situation is a function of the values, interest, and motives that influence his behaviour in that situation (Gleason, P. 1983). For Gleason and others (see Dunmoye, R.A. 1984 and succeeding references) the affirmation of ethnicity is variable and dependent upon the immediate social situation. For these authors, what is usually viewed as primordialist identity is indeed optionalist identity, which is not permanently imprinted on the psyche but can be consciously emphasized and de-emphasized as occasions warrant. What is meant in essence is that the particular situation can lead an individual to a redefinition of his ethnic identification. This is a

view shared by the rational school of thought which, through witnessing the use of ethnic symbols for attaining political and economic goals, view ethnicity as voluntary, functional, pragmatic and situational. Adam, H. (1971:21-22) speaks to the point when he states that :-

...ethnic identifications should be seen as the result of efforts by under-privileged groups to improve their lot through collective mobilization, or conversely, the efforts of a superordinate group to preserve the privileges they enjoy by exploiting subjective groups;

a point which was also made by Van den Berghe (1970:682) when he stated that:-

In the scramble for salaried positions in the civil service, the army, the schools and universities, the State corporations, and private bureaucracies, the easiest way to eliminate the majority of one's competitors is by making an ethnic claim to the job, and by mobilizing support on ethnic basis.

In the rationalists', or rather 'situationalists' view cultural definitions of ethnicity are overly deterministic and uninformative. Patterson, O (1974) refers to this point as well. For him ethnicity should be seen as a strategy chosen by individuals and groups to advance their interests as the situation dictates. He notes that people will emphasize ethnic allegiance as the most meaningful basis of identity when it is in their best social and economic interest to do so. The rationalist view can be summarily grouped under the following headings : (a) that objective ethnic indicators can be subject to social definition and redefinition; (b) that ethnic identities tend to be multiple for some individuals; (c) that subjective ethnic awareness and behaviour is a variable, historical phenomenon.

This view of ethnicity has strongly been challenged. For the 'non-rationalists', of rather primordialists, ethnicity is viewed essentially as a primordial, innate predisposition. Influenced by an early writing by Shils, E. (1957) some 'non-rationalists' speak of the primordial attachments in ethnic diversity that stem from the 'givens' of social existence. Congruities of kin, blood, or custom are seen as having an ineffable and at

times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound by some unaccountable, absolute import attributed to the very tie itself, and attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural affinity than from social interaction (Geertz, C. 1963; Greeley, A. 1974). In the same way, political scientist Isaacs, H. (1975) stresses the 'basic group identity' which is not merely related to a need to be special or unique or different from others, it is basic to the individual's sense of belongingness and to the level of his self-esteem. Barth, F. (1969) also talks of a 'basic, most general identity' that belonging to an ethnic category implies. It defines the permissible constelations of personality, like sex, and rank, "it constrains the incumbent in all activities, for it is a superordinate status that cannot be disregarded or temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation." Implicit in the non-rational framework is a view of ethnicity as involuntary; one has no control over membership affiliation or attachment to the group (Isajiw, W. 1974). And since the ties have to do with something so basic as human-life, it is no mystery, it is contended, that people are willing to die for them (Greeley, A. 1974).

But the 'primordialists' arguments have been seen as overly deterministic and analytically uninformative (Cohen, A. 1974; Depres, 1975; Van den Berghe, 1976). These authors believe that the stress should fall on the voluntary, situational nature of ethnicity. Far from being a vestigial phenomenon inherited from some misty past, carried on anachronistically into modern society, ethnicity is seen as group response to social pressure.

These extreme views have been tempered by Uchendu, C. (1975) who, by aiming to strike a balance between the two opposing arguments, acknowledges the existence of primordial ties in formative years, but adds that historical situations can compel a search for new identity. This view is supported by Jyontirindra Das Gupta (1975) who in viewing linguistic and ethnic segmentation throughout South Asia, adds that primordiality with reference to origin, is historically apt only to a point.

To see ethnicity solely as a political currency as the rationalist (situationalist) view tends to suggest is conceptually wrong. Neither is the opposite view that ethnicity is primordial necessarily right. There are those who will want to wear the ethnic label due to perceived advantages from such an exercise. There are also those who are forced to live according to how others define and identify them even when the said identification does not correlate with theirs. In spite of culturally imperative nature of ethnicity, ethnicity can be responsive to both external and subjective circumstances. It is a point that needs to be stressed otherwise one would not be able to comprehend the behavioural significance of the group.

3.1.6: MODERNIZATION THEORIES OF ETHNICITY.

Modernization theorists in political science and international relations postulate the view that modernization eliminates ethnicity. They assume that with the modernization of nation-states, ethnic groups would fade away. For them, ethnicity represents part of the unfinished business for political modernizers - if the job is done well ethnicity will lose its salience. In other words, full modernization will ultimately lead to the demise of ethnic identity and concerns (Enloe, C. 1973). Such a theoretical standpoint is what Gordon, M. (1975) has called 'liberal expectancy' - expecting that the features that divide one group from another ultimately lose their weight in modern and modernizing societies. Such a view considers ethnicity to be a product of under-development, so that when the economic situation improves through industrialization and modernization and with it the generation of interaction between different ethnic groups, there will follow a progressive attenuation of ethnic loyalties. Thompson, J. (1983) arguing in the same vein, posited a theory which states that the capitalist market will undermine ethnicity so that, within a modern society, ethnicity becomes a residual factor.

But the myth of such a theoretical viewpoint has given way to the reality of ethnicity in developed societies. Indeed no locale, or level of development, or form of government seem immune to ethnicity. The reality in Africa, in particular, is that the inverse relationship between modernization and ethnicity is not true; rather modernization has catalysed ethnicity. It could indeed be argued that while under-development, and with it isolation make the ethnic groups visible and distinctive, modernization can excite competition for human and material recognition which results in conflict. In such instance, what Frederik Barth calls the ethnic ideology, that is psychological boundary formation, survives the movement of people across ethnic boundaries.

For Gellner, E. (1964) ethnicity is a function of the unevenness of industrialization. Whenever such unevenness is coterminous with ethnic spatial boundaries, it results in the stratification of the geographically defined units. But a country does not normally have an evenness of natural endowments, therefore the geographical distribution of “ethnonational groups” into distinctive homelands is sufficient in itself to assure the existence of economic discrepancies among them. Such disparities are magnified when the government which in many countries is the principal allocator of economic resources, widens the differentials through uneven development. The significant variations between the geographically distinguishable groups create a perception of conspiratorial discrimination which Hechter, M (1975) considers as internal colonialism. For Hechter, this is a situation in which the superordinate or core group establishes and seeks to institutionalize a hierarchical cultural division of labour, with the result that such cultural group membership determines life chances. Such a situation Thompson, J. (1969) contends produces what he has termed “reactive ethnicity” from the periphery, which nurses a feeling of relative economic deprivation. It permits the general expropriation of economic resources by the dominant group, their control of access to education and technological resources, and their denigration of the culture of the subordinate section.

A second position on the predominance of economic factors is found in the Marxist traditions which in essence holds the notion that ethnicity is itself a function of class conflict in all its dynamic forms. However a number of contemporary theorists have differed from the Marxist view in many important ways but share the view that ethnicity is related to economic conflict. One of the most sophisticated analyses is that found in the work of Hetcher, M (1975) who argues that ethnic consciousness and ethnic conflict are boundary maintenance devices that serve to perpetuate an exploitative division of labour in an industrial society; while Leo Despres asserts that ethnic identities persist in plural societies to the degree that they serve to confer competitive advantages in the struggle for scarce resources upon the different peoples. A number of writers have however criticized Hechter's ethnicity theory. Thompson. J.(1983) for example has argued that Hechter's argument is too exclusively economic, particularly so since it is apparent that ethnicity is not confined to the developing world or countries with lop-sided development.

Various explanations have been put forward for the resistance of ethnicity to modernization. One is that, in Africa social political change did not destroy the traditional social structure but prompted the adaptation of that structure to new circumstances, and that modernization did not include substantial industrialization. Such a view could be coincidental rather than causal as it does not explain ethnic rejuvenation in the industrialized societies. Having said that, it is to be acknowledged that although vast disparities and inequalities between ethnic groups do not by themselves create ethnicity, they are prone to exacerbate ethnic consciousness. Such consciousness manifests itself in the competition for scarce resources, principally for power and wealth, usually by the educated elite who use ethnicity to maximize their competitiveness in the urban setting. Thus, whenever their interest is at stake, the individuals emphasize ethnic interest in order to have a comparative advantage. Such action of ingroup-outgroup differentiation is obviously conflict-laden, which is why it is of paramount importance that the elite, those who govern, or aspire to govern must

show themselves as having shifted their loyalties to the extent that they are no longer susceptible to ethnic parochialism and prejudices which can only be detrimental to the nation's well-being.

Implicit in the foregoing arguments is the notion that ethnicity includes such attributes as prejudice, and ethnocentrism, both of which have stereotyping as a major characteristic. Allport, G.W.(1954:9) defines ethnic prejudice as:

an antipathy based upon faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group.

Prejudices are therefore attitudes, but not all attitudes are prejudices. Both contain the element of prejudgement, but prejudicial attitude consists of an emotional component. Groups are perceived in terms of specific stereotypes held concerning their members. Efforts to reduce prejudice toward specific groups often centre around the attempt to alter stereotyped beliefs held about these groups. Stereotype is defined as “ the tendency to attribute generalized and simplified characteristics to groups of people in the form of verbal labels” (Vinacke, W.E. 1960). Attitudes toward national , ethnic or racial groups for that matter are in good part attitudes toward national, ethnic names. These are usually not based upon animosity toward a member of proscribed group because of any genuine qualities that inhere in him. People have conditioned responses of varying degrees of aversion or acceptance toward ethnic labels, making people to respond to people of different ethnic groups not so much as human being but as a personification of the symbol they have learned to like or loathe (Lambert, A.J. and Wyer, R.S. Jr. 1990). Ethnic prejudice and with it stereotyping serve to justify the attitudes of one's own group and to invalidate the attitudes and demands of other groups. Underlying the attempts made by the national governments, such as the NYSC programme to reduce ethnic prejudice and indeed alter stereotyped beliefs lies the more or less explicit assumption that these stereotyped beliefs lead to the development of

hostile feelings toward the other ethnic groups and influence peoples' behaviour towards them. When groups are seen for example as 'arrogant', 'untrustworthy' or 'rude', mutual association with them is difficult. It is the hope that re-education, attempts to change 'faulty' beliefs, will alter the social perception of the group thereby change the prejudiced person's feeling toward the group.

Ethnicity includes ethnocentrism which is embodied in prejudice and characterized by stereotyping. Ethnocentrism for Sumner, W.G.(1906 : 12 -13) :-

is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it ... Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boast itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excites its scorn. Opprobrious epithets are derived from these differences.

In these statements, Sumner, W.G. (1906) has postulated a functional and mutually reinforcing interaction among attitudinal, ideological, and behavioural mechanisms that promote ingroup integration and outgroup hostility. In his view, these attributes of ethnocentrism are invariably intertwined as a universal concomitant of the formation of social groups.

Ethnocentrism as defined by Sumner, W.G. (1906) therefore involves at least four aspects of group behaviour - in-group integration, self-regard or hypervaluation of the ingroup, hostile relations between ingroup and outgroups, and as already alluded to, derogatory stereotyping of outgroup's characteristics. These four aspects are seen to be complementary: ingroup integration and solidarity is promoted by the tendency to exalt the ingroup and perceive its way of life as superior to that of other groups; hypervaluation of the ingroup is maintained by the contrast with distorted derogatory perceptions of the customs and practices of outgroups which are also seen as threatening and hostile. In intergroup relations, the interests of the ingroup are

considered paramount, which leads to hostility manifested in forms of aggression ranging from verbal expressions of dislike through types of exclusion to overt violence. Theoretically therefore, identification with the ingroup and disassociation from outgroups are two sides of the same coin or rather two facets of the same phenomenon.

The first prerequisite of such group identification is the delineation of the target group - the ingroup - with which the individual is to be identified. This implies differentiation of the ingroup from the outgroups and specification of the boundaries that separate them. One concomitant of the definition of boundaries is the phenomenon of enhancement of contrast, or the perceived homogenization of differences within boundaries and exaggeration of differences across boundaries (Campbell, D. 1956; 1967; 1968). This perception is based on a wide range of theories which propose that similarity leads to attraction. These include belief congruence theory (Rokeach, M. 1960), balance theory (Heider, F. 1958), and social comparison theory (Festinger, L. 1954). The view has further been supported by Turner, J. C. and Giles, H. eds (1981 for example, who formulated a hypothesis which confirms this aspect of social stereotyping, which is basically that differences between people belonging to the same social groups are deemphasised while their similarities are emphasized. Thus the differentiation of ingroup from outgroups, is likely to take the form of adulation of the ingroup and, in contrast, derogation of outgroups (Hewston, M. et al. 1983).

One of the means the group uses to get the individual to identify with it, to adulate the ingroup in relation to the outgroup and to engage in the expression of opprobrium toward outgroup customs is through socialization practices which inculcate group norms and standards of behaviour. Once begun, this process of differentiating ingroup and outgroup on an evaluative dimension may be perpetuated by individual members of the social group in accord with the principle of cognitive congruity (Osgood, C.E. and Tannenbaum, P.H. 1955; Osgood, C.E. 1960). According to this principle, a consequence of self-regard is that anything associated with the self must be perceived

as “good” or the individual suffers the psychological distress of cognitive inconsistency. Similarly, anything dissociated from the self must be regarded as “bad” to avoid inconsistency arousal. Putting the implications of this principle of intergroup relations simply, “If we are good, kind and fair and they are our enemy, then psychology dictates that they must be bad, cruel, and unfair” (Osgood, C.E. 1960:365).

Another psychological mechanism that can account for the perpetuation of contrast is the conscious (and exaggerated) belief in one’s own superiority to others with a concomitant tendency to belittle them, in compensation for a low level of unconscious self-esteem. Both of these mechanisms involve enhancement of the contrast between self and others. Defining the ethnic unit as the group counterpart of the self suggest that similar mechanisms for maintaining positive self-regard will operate in intergroup perceptions.

From a frustration-aggression theory perspective, the out-group is a target for the displacement of aggression. An outgroup with differing customs is seen as behaving in ways that the ingroup member has been taught are bad and is therefore a target for legitimate, righteous aggression. This mechanism leads ingroup members to perceive outgroups as the cause of frustrations, they are to blame for ingroup troubles. Such a ‘we’ versus ‘them’ mentality vis-a-vis other ethnic groups promotes distrust and fear of outgroup and breeds social tension and conflict (Connor, W, 1972; 1983). In Nigeria, the series of aggression towards the Igbos domiciled in the North in the 1950s and 1960s , (and which has continued in sporadic, albeit smaller scale ever since), must be seen at least in part as the northerners’ frustration at the Igbos’ employment in government and commerce in the region; a people whom they had been indoctrinated to view as maximally different from them - the ingroup - the Hausas.

3.1.7: SUMMARY.

To summarize, ethnicity exists mainly within political entities that have diverse ethnic groups, of which Nigeria is one. It implies (1) consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group; (2) the political and economic utilization of ethnic identities; (3) affective attachments or bonds based on real or putative shared past and perceived ethnic aims or interests and (4) ties differentiated symbolically by cultural makers, traditions, emblems, beliefs. Ethnicity has prejudice, stereotype and ethnocentrism as important attributes. It is therefore characterized by exclusiveness and discrimination. Finally, the terms ethnic group and ethnicity can be said to refer to the social and political activities of complex groups whose membership is largely determined by real or putative ancestral ties, and who perceive these ties as systematically affecting their place and fate in the political and socio-economic structure of their state and society. In this sense the ethnic phenomena exist for people if they attribute a social significance to them so that they consequently influence social attitudes and behaviour. Conflict is a major aspect of ethnicity. Conflict arises as a result of the in-group's desire to monopolize the available resources to the exclusion of other ethnic groups in the polity and the out-groups' fear of domination by other groups and by its struggle to obtain what it sees as its fair share of the 'national cake'. Ethnicity is conflictual in nature, and therefore stands in the way of modern state-builders, and threatens national stability.

**CHAPTER FOUR: THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE CORPS
PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA, AND IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE**

4 :NIGERIA'S NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE CORPS PROGRAMME.

INTRODUCTION.

The National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria was established by Decree No. 24, May 22, 1973, under General Yakubu Gowon's government; charged with the task of imbuing Nigerian graduate youth with a spirit of selfless service to the nation, and to emphasize the "spirit of oneness and brotherhood of Nigerians, irrespective of cultural or social background." Section 4 of the Decree specifically deals with how the programme will foster national integration. There it spells out that the scheme is aimed at developing common ties among Nigerian graduate youths, and promoting national integration by ensuring that:

- as far as possible youths are assigned to jobs in states other than their states of origin;
- each group assigned to work together is as representative of the country as possible
- the youth are exposed to the modes of living of the people of different parts of the country with a view to removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance, and confirming at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups (NYSC Handbook 1975:11).

The basic rationale for the programme was the fact that ethnic strains and animosities have for many years plagued the Nigerian society. The history of Nigeria, particularly since independence from British colonial government in 1960, has been marked by a series of socio-political upheavals culminating in the 1967-70 civil war when the Federal Government of Nigeria went to war to prevent Eastern Nigeria, which declared itself the independent Republic of Biafra on May 30, 1967, from seceding from

Nigeria. A great many writers have attributed Nigeria's socio-political upheaval and mal-integration to the artificiality of its boundaries, the country's creation being the result of the European partition of Africa. Proponents of this viewpoint argue that the British colonial government, in order to facilitate the administration of the vast territory - an area of 356,669 sq. miles - brought together peoples of different ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, who had little contact with each other prior to colonial rule. All attempts by post-independent governments to promote national integration were, in the writers' view, doomed to fail in view of the antagonistic relations existing between the different ethnic groups. Furthermore, it is argued that the constant struggle for political power by the three major ethnic groups - the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, cannot provide the appropriate political and social environment conducive for the emergence of a strong national government to govern the country without the groups favouring their particular ethnic groups (see for example Awolowo, O. 1947;1970).

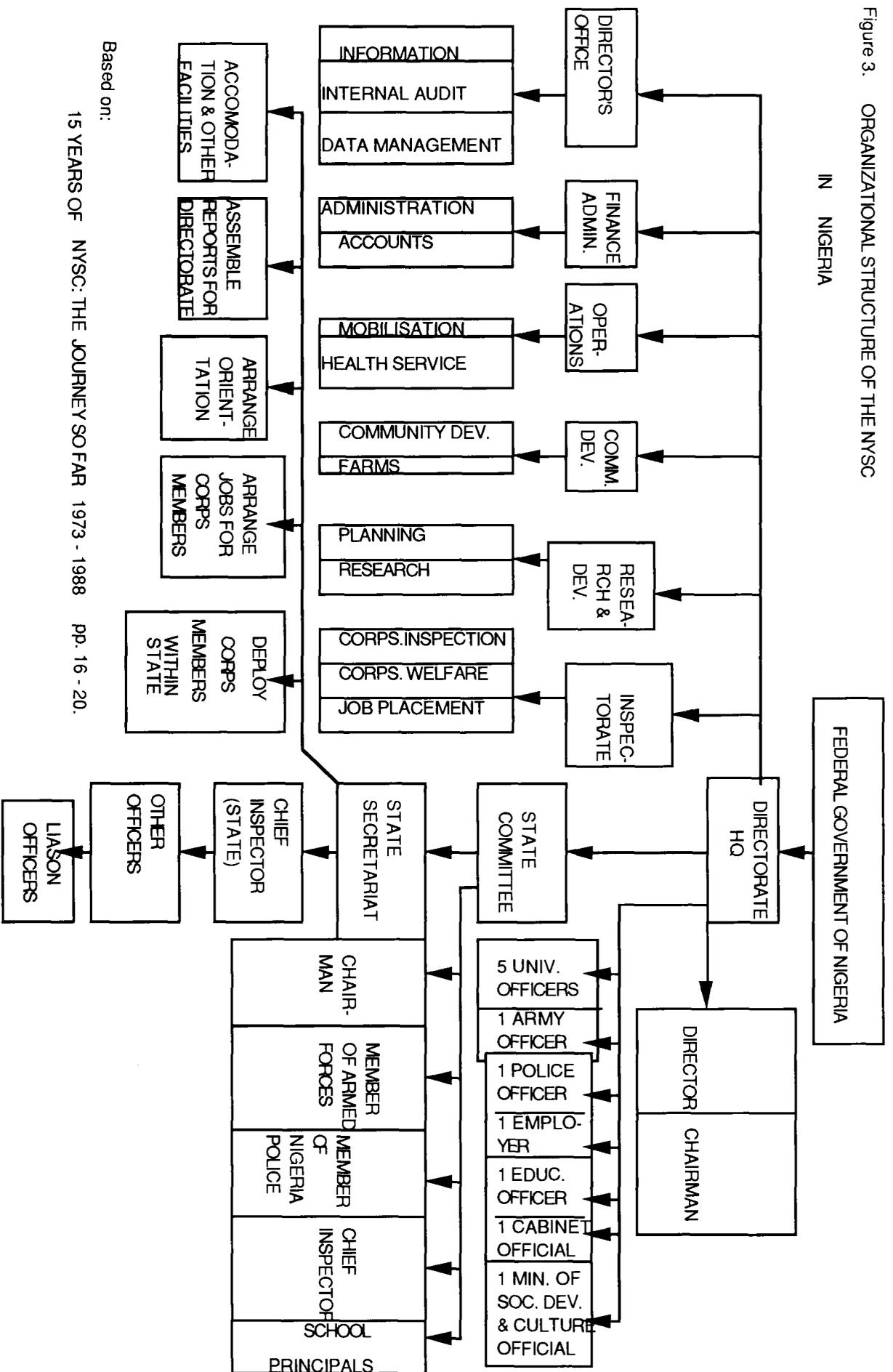
To ease tensions and prejudices among the ethnic groups, the Nigerian government established the NYSC whose primary aim is to help weave a spirit of oneness among the ethnic groups and to inculcate national loyalty which should supersede all other loyalties. The NYSC thus represents a massive exercise in national integration - an attempt to change the face of Nigeria through changing the attitudes of young graduates towards fellow nationals and the nation.

4.1: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE NYSC.

4.1.1: THE DIRECTORATE.

The National Youth Service Corps programme is administered by a Directorate in Abuja (the new Federal Capital); and is assisted by state committees. The Director who is the chief executive of the programme, is represented at the state level by the Chief Inspector. The Directorate maintains close contact with participatory institutions -

Figure 3. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NYSC IN NIGERIA



Based on:
 15 YEARS OF NYSC: THE JOURNEY SO FAR 1973 - 1988 pp. 16 - 20.

Universities and Polytechnics - on the number and identities of prospective graduates, and issues 'call up' letters to the new corps members in May and June of every year. It also posts participants to the different states of the federation. The Directorate Headquarters, among other duties, co-ordinates the activities of the State Committees and devises the necessary programmes in pursuit of the NYSC objectives.

The Directorate Headquarters is made up of a committee, and consists of the office of the Director and six large departments subdivided into nine sections for effective management. The six main departments are: the Director's Office; the Finance and Administration; Operations; Community Development Service, Research, Planning and Development and the Inspectorate. An Assistant Director is in charge of each of these departments. Within the Director's Office are such divisions as Information, Internal Audit, Data Management; in the Finance and Administration are such branches as Administration and Accounts. Under Operations there are two divisions namely, Mobilization and Health Services. The Inspectorate department has the following sub-units:- Corps Service Inspection, Corps Welfare, and Job Placement. Community Development Service department has within it the Traditional Community Development Service unit and Farms unit; while Research; Planning and Development department is made up of Planning and Evaluation and Research units (see Figure 3).

4.1.2: STATE COMMITTEES.

While the highest governing and policy-making body of the National Youth Service Corps programme is the Directorate in Abuja, it is the duty of all the State Committees in all the states in the federation to administer the scheme in their various states. Members of the Committees are appointed by governors of each particular state. The Commissioner for education of the state is usually the Chairman of the State Committee, other four members being often the principals of secondary schools, a

member of the Armed Forces, a member of Nigeria Police, and so on (see Fig.3). the State Committees assign each corps member to his particular job within the state; provides accommodation, transport and other essential facilities for the welfare of corps members.

4.1.3: NYSC STATE SECRETARIAT.

The National Youth Service Secretariat is located at every capital of the federation including Abuja, the Federal Capital. At present there are twenty one state secretariats and another at Abuja, making twenty two secretariats, (the nine newly created states are in the process of establishing their own NYSC secretariats) in the country. In charge of each secretariat is the Chief Inspector who is also the accounting officer in the state. He supervises the day to day running of the state secretariat, is involved in organizing the orientation seminar and passing out parade. With the help of other NYSC officials, the Chief Inspector acts on the complaints from corps members and their employers. He is responsible to the Director of NYSC. The secretariats are expected to implement policies in accordance with the laid down policy guidelines from the headquarters, and as they apply to the state.

4.1.4: CORPS LIASON OFFICERS.

Corps members are involved in the administration of the scheme at the state level through their role as corps liaison officers. Corp liaison officers are responsible for linkage between the corps members and the State Secretariat.

4.1.5: FUNDING OF THE NYSC PROGRAMME.

The NYSC programme is mainly funded by the federal government which provides salaries and allowances for the administrative personnel, and the participants. Each state government gives an annual subvention to cover part of the costs of participants' accommodation and transport. The state also assumes the running costs of the orientation period, the community development programme and similar activities. However state subventions amount to only about 17 per cent of the annual expenses of the programme. During the 1976/77 service year, the federal government spent a total of N14,458,396 (equivalent of \$ 28,916,792) to cover the costs of the 6,139 participants that year. By 1978/79 the expenditure had more than doubled to N380,60,060 (equivalent of \$76, 120,120) as a result of the increase in the number of participants. An examination of the expenditure of the service in the subsequent years for which information is available reveals that the amounts are always on the increase, because of the ever rising number of graduates that join the service yearly (see 12 Years of NYSC, 1985).

4.2 : ELIGIBILITY FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

At its inception, the programme was only open to Nigerian university graduates who were 30 years old or below, and whose first degrees had been obtained in any of the Nigerian universities as from the end of 1972/73 academic year. By 1974 the arbitrary nature of the age-limit, and the exclusion of Nigerian graduates from overseas had been considered, resulting in the inclusion, on voluntary basis, graduates who were 31 years and over. The amendment also allowed foreign-educated graduates whose first degrees were awarded at the end of 1973/74 academic session and subsequent years to join the service.

In 1976, the scheme was extended to cover all those who at the end of the 1975/76 academic year obtained the Higher National Diploma (HND) or the National certificate of Education (NCE), and some professional qualifications such as ACIS; ACCA; ACA; CIB; certificates.

In January 1977, age-limit exemption was removed, and the scheme became mandatory for all Nigerian graduates of institutions of higher learning both in Nigeria and abroad. But by August 1, 1985, the age-limit of 30 years was reimposed, mainly to reduce the number of participants and therefore the financial strain on the federal and state governments. In the same year, NCE holders were excluded from the national service. However, any Nigerian graduate who qualified between July 1, 1977 and May 1985, during which time the initial age-limit was lifted, is not affected, and would have to serve in the programme; the same applies to NCE certificate holders who qualified between the July 1, 1976 and 1983/84 academic year, the two points marking the inclusion and exclusion of NCE holders.

Apart from medical doctors, pharmacists, and lawyers, who are granted a year prior to their joining the service in order that they could do their professional apprenticeship, no other graduates are permitted to defer their participation in order to pursue further programmes of study. Two main but related results of these changes are, first, the scheme is presently served by the products of universities and polytechnics (since those who obtain professional qualifications usually do so when they have passed the 30 year age-limit); and second, almost all participants fall between 24 to 30 year old bracket.

Only successful graduates of higher institutions (universities and polytechnics) are called-up to serve in the scheme. The prospective corps members are issued call-up letters before they leave their university campuses in their final year. The letters inform the corps members of their state of deployment, and call-up date, which represents the date for registration at the respective state capitals.

4.2.1: LOCATION OF ASSIGNMENTS IN TERMS OF URBAN/RURAL ENVIRONMENTS.

A great deal of emphasis is not placed on service in the rural areas. Therefore a large proportion of corps members serve in the urban areas, through being assigned to schools, clinics, public and private firms.

4.2.2 : REMUNERATIONS.

Corps members receive monthly stipends of N200, which represents about 66 per cent of the normal salary paid a civil servant with comparable qualifications. In addition the participants are paid a transport allowance of N50 to travel to their state of deployment and the same amount at the end of the service year to return to their homes. Additionally, a bicycle allowance of N84 is paid to every corps member on reporting to his state of deployment.

4.3 : PERIOD OF SERVICE AND ORIENTATION COURSE.

The service year is twelve calendar months. Until August 1985, the service began in August and ended in July of the following year, with a four-week Orientation and Induction course, usually held in August. But because foreign-trained graduates trickle in throughout the year and are expected to join the scheme whenever they arrive, and some graduates for some reason are unable to join in August, it has been necessary to devise a 3-tier system, and correspondingly 3-tier Orientation Course in order to ensure that all participants are afforded the opportunity to have the orientation as an entry point in the service year. The 3-tier orientation system is as follows:

Tier 1 - In August - 4 weeks duration which all who are eligible for service from Nigerian universities and polytechnics, and abroad take part.

Tier 2. - In December - the orientation lasts for 2 weeks, and the number of participants is comparatively lower than the August batch, comprising mainly those who had to resit examination before joining the scheme; or had other problems; and also those from abroad. It caters, in other words for those who for one reason or another missed out on the August Orientation Course.

Tier 3 - In April, the Orientation is also of 2 weeks duration. The composition is usually similar to the December batch.

Orientations are mandatory before corps members are posted to their assignments. Exemptions are usually given to nursing mothers. All participants for each state are camped together in the state to which they are deployed and are catered for during this period. The main purpose of the Orientation is to enable corps members to understand and internalize the ideals of the NYSC scheme. To achieve this aim, the Orientation Course operates in four themes:

Theme 1 is the swearing-in ceremony which marks the opening of an orientation course. It involves the administering of the oath of allegiance to the nation on all corps members and their solemn declaration of the National pledge. These are aimed at impressing on the participants the importance of the scheme.

Theme 2 : The second stage of the Orientation involves physical education, drills, leadership training activities of the Man O'War type. There are lectures and discussions on a wide variety of national and local issues ranging from ideology, history, economics, and government; to culture, customs and the local language (see Appendix B for a copy of the Time-table for the 1989/90 second-tier Orientation lectures).

Theme 3 is mainly concerned with making the professionals - graduate teachers, doctors, lawyers etc - more aware of the norms and ethics and expectations of their particular professions throughout the twelve calendar months.

Theme 4 involves the passing out from the Orientation Course. On the last day of the Course, there are commendations of outstanding performance by some corps members during that period. Letters are also distributed to the corps members informing them of the establishment where they will be serving.

4.3.1: PRIMARY ASSIGNMENT.

Soon after the orientation period, youth corps members report and remain at their place of assignment (usually in schools, hospitals, government and private firms etc) for a continuous period of eleven months. Attempt is made to deploy participants to areas relevant to their field of study. There is a three weeks terminal leave for members who have successfully completed their eleven months primary assignment period.

4.3.2: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SERVICE (CDS).

The purpose of the Community Development Service in the NYSC are four-fold, namely, to:-

1. instil in the corps members the traditions of the dignity of labour;
2. endear them to their host communities by enabling them contribute tangibly to local development efforts;
3. afford the corps members, through working with the local inhabitants, greater insights into local traditions and customs and general knowledge of the people;
4. motivate local communities towards self-help projects.

To these is added the stimulation of greater understanding of the NYSC scheme among villagers (Community Development Handbook, 1988).

As the NYSC aims to inculcate the spirit of oneness and brotherhood among all Nigerians, the adoption of the above-mentioned objectives is understandable. But the reality of the CDS is different. Until 1985 it was the practice that corps members were given leave from their primary assignments during Easter vacation, to take part in community development projects in the state. The participants came together from their various postings to build roads, market stalls and to carry out immunizations and health education in the rural areas. Participation in these community development activities was expected to instil the dignity of labour and also develop a sense of social responsibility. The period was seen as a forum for public awareness of the NYSC scheme, and in turn provide opportunities for the corps members to interact more with the host community, some of whose members would actually join in these projects, in line with the stated objectives. At the end of three weeks period on various community development projects, corps members returned to their primary postings.

But since the end of 1985, a great deal of emphasis has been shifted from local projects to the acquisition and cultivation of NYSC farm lands. The farm lands now serve as Community Development Service activity for a majority of the corps members, as they are sent in batches, once-a-week to cultivate these lands. The lands are farmed exclusively by corps members, no locals are involved. Concerning participation in local projects with the host community, corps members are encouraged to undertake 'Community Development Service' in their area of interest, either individually or as a group, concurrently with their primary assignments. Few members manage to combine all the activities, particularly the latter which is by all accounts optional.

4.4 : WINDING-UP EXERCISE AND PASSING OUT PARADE.

During the last week of service year, corps members are re-convened in a camp in each of the states for debriefing. On the last day discharge certificates are issued to all participants who successfully complete the service year. The certificate is essential for employment. It is the duty of every prospective employer to demand and obtain from any Nigerian who claims to have obtained a first degree by the end of 1973/74 or in subsequent years a copy of the discharge certificate or a copy of any exemption certificate issued in accordance with Section 15 of Decree No.1. Participants whose performance had been judged by the State Committee to be outstanding, particularly in relation to the local community, are given special honours. Three national and state Honours Awards are conferred on deserving participants annually. Some participants have their service year extended for various offences or reasons ranging from absenteeism, to maternity. Service extensions may range from eight days to six months depending on the reason for the extension.

The passing-out parade is usually the last activity of the last day of service year. The state governor takes the salute as all the corps members march past in full NYSC uniform.

4.5: NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMMES IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE.

In the last two decades or so, there has been a rapid proliferation of youth service schemes, named variously as Young Pioneers of Malawi, Work Camps of Mali, Youth Corps of Guyana, National Youth Service of Kenya and so on (Callaway, A. 1976). All have come into existence in the different countries in response to particular exigencies, ranging from youth training and employment, and rural development, to

national integration which entails loyalty to the nation and a sense of oneness with other ethnic groups that make up the country. The central element in all the programmes therefore appear to be the provision for an organized, disciplined contribution of youth to national socio-economic development.

Such efforts are not unique to developing countries. Many countries in the developed world operate youth service programmes to cater for problems overseas or for community service in their various countries. During the depression of 1930s in the United States of America, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established to help provide constructive work to youth at that time of mass unemployment (Weeks, S.G. 1976). During World War 11 conscientious objectors in the United States of America were sent to Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps - the alternative of which was imprisonment - to work on national projects such as reforestation, building of roads and dams. In the 1950s those youths who refused to join the army were required to do individual voluntary acts of service such as community development, social work or hospital work. These were transformed in the 1960s into voluntary programmes to aid developing countries. The most famous of these programmes are the Peace Corps and Vista (USA); the Voluntary Service Overseas (Britain) and Canadian University Service (Canada). Another type of service programme which has emerged in both developed and developing countries and in many respects constitute a variation of a national service are voluntary work camps. The worldwide international voluntary service organization, Service Civil International (SCI) is an example of such voluntary work camps. Other organizations such as the Quakers, through their various Friends Service Committees have since come into existence, involved on a worldwide basis in organizing work camps.

But with the end of colonial rule in Asia and Africa, the governments of some of the newly independent states of these continents turned to national youth service programmes as a means to mobilize a segment of the population, stimulate

development, and to help foster national unity and integration, through having people from different ethnic or religious groups serve together as participants, and/or by having people serve in areas of the country very different from their home areas.

The Kenya National Youth Service was created in April 1964 with its initial recruits being taken in August, 1964. The general definition of the functions of the Service, later embodied in the National Youth Service Act of 1965, was as follows: "The functions of the service shall be the training of young citizens to serve the nation, and the employment of its members in tasks of national importance, and otherwise in the service of the nation" (Griffin, G.W. 1976:23). This obviously was a broad definition, which was subject to various interpretations, and therefore needed to be redefined in order to arrive at a practical policy. Social factors included among the objectives read: "The virtues of national service are the disciplined life and personal development which come from inculcating habits of hard work, punctuality, reliability, courtesy, and cleanliness. (Callaway, A. 1976:18). The Kenya scheme is mainly a training programme that would prepare its members for later employment or self-employment. The recruits are engaged in such projects as the building of roads, embankments for flood control and so on.

Between 1,000 and 2,000 young men and women are recruited yearly depending on the funds available. They sign on for two years, which can be extended to three or four years should more time be needed in order to complete some particular form of training. The service is voluntary. Every intake must be truly representative of the nation, therefore, equal quotas of numbers are given to each province. Recruits are usually between eighteen and twenty two. A good educational background, which in this scheme would mean School Certificate level people, or Form 1V leavers, is not essential although an advantage, enabling its possessor to make accelerated progress in the Service.

At the end of service, volunteers receive discharge certificates which carry considerable weight with employers and thus enable them to often move directly from the Service into jobs, although some return to their villages or towns to mind family lands or their businesses. The Kenya National Service therefore offers the unemployed or unemployable youth wide opportunities of learning useful skills, thus enhancing their prospects of gainful occupation, and in contributing to Kenya's development. The major flaw in this scheme is that it, unlike the NYSC excludes the highly educated youth - the university students or graduates who will later have leadership positions, and therefore will be expected to initiate change.

The Ethiopian University Service (EUS) was created in 1964, requiring all students enrolled at Ethiopia's only university to serve for a year in development activities in rural areas as a degree requirement. Students were to break their studies the year before their final year (that is after their third year at the university) to serve in the scheme. Service is made compulsory as it is believed that students' contact with the provincial areas where many had never lived, and the experience in leadership roles should prove a valuable and maturing educational experience for all. Furthermore, since all Ethiopian students receive their education free of charge from the government, the service is felt to be a repayment to the country for its educational support. The Ethiopian scheme is unique in the sense that it came into being through the students' own initiative, rather than being planned and imposed by the government. The service is aimed primarily at providing teachers in rural areas, mostly in the seventh and eight grades. In accordance with its objective, a majority of the students serve as school teachers. Only a small minority work in such fields as agriculture, water supply and building projects and prospecting for mineral resources, all according to each student's background, with each making use of skill developed by the university. Rural orientation of the programme is emphasized throughout, to help the students learn more about provincial areas. All students are in essence placed away from the capital city (Quarmby, A. and Fussell, D. 1981).

In establishing the Ethiopian University Service, the Faculty Council of the university aimed not only to provide the much needed teachers in the rural areas, but also to benefit the participants in an educational sense. In the process of serving, it is thought that the students would be led to understand the problems and needs of their country, particularly its less developed areas. This stands out clearly in the statute which established the service in 1964 where it states that :

The Council believes that a programme wherein university students spend one academic year using their university training to provide services to local communities will be beneficial not only to the national welfare but to the students in an educational sense; the programme will enable students to understand, in a much more significant way, the problems and the needs of their country, particularly its less developed areas (cited in Korten, D.C. and Korten, F.F. 1969:313).

But while the Ethiopian service is concerned with changing the attitudes of the participants, the emphasis is not on attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the nation - national integration - as the NYSC is, but rather on the participants' attitudes towards the rural dwellers in general, and their needs.

The Indonesian government established a national service in 1972, requiring six months of service in village-level development work as part of the curriculum of all university students. This service requirement is named *Kulish Kerka Nyaka* (KKN). The service component is usually in the year before the final year at the university. The participants are assigned to various village-level community development projects, ranging from adult literacy, agricultural projects, health education, to improvements in roads, bridges and water supplies, and other non-formal education activities. All the 40 government universities involved in the scheme each run independent study-service based on common guidelines which are updated each year at a meeting of representatives of these universities and of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The overall objective of the scheme was to aid national development particularly in the rural areas.

The National Development Service was created in Nepal in 1974 . This, like the KKN, emphasises village-level development service as part of the participants' degree requirement, and comes immediately before the final year at university. But unlike the KKN which is of six months duration, the NDS is like the NYSC, a one year national service. Participants are deployed to work for part of each day as secondary school teachers, and for the rest of the day as village-level community development workers, engaged in such areas as reforestation, construction of village water supplies and other non-formal education activities. The Service's main objective is the development of the villages in terms of infrastructures and education. It is also expected to have marked effects on the participants' self-development and on the preparation of Nepal's future leaders.

Other national service programmes in African and Asian countries include the one-year post-graduation National Service in Ghana; the two-year post-graduation Service Civil in Morocco; Indonesia's BUTSI and Thailand's Graduation Volunteer Centre.

The foregoing review reveals a sample of the wide range of schemes operating in African and Asian countries. Each has objectives which reflect the particular country's main problems and priorities, ranging from the problem of high unemployment among the youth, gaps between urban/rural areas, elite/mass; skill acquisition, the development of self-reliant people; or a combination of these. But Nigeria's National Youth Service Corps programme is unique in the sense that its objectives are not limited to the above, but go further to emphasize , because of the country's own particular problems with national integration, the forging of national unity and integration among the heterogeneous peoples. The present study seeks to find out to what extent this latter and indeed the major objective has been achieved, that is, to explore the effect of the scheme on the participants attitudes towards national integration, a concept to which we now turn for examination of its significance in theory, and its relevance to the Nigerian society.

CHAPTER 5 : THE CONCEPTS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

5.1: INTRODUCTION.

One of the major problems of national integration in Africa is the existence of continuing subnational ethnic identification among populations of its various countries. This problem exists in part because of the nature of the boundaries which owe more to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 in the bid to partition Africa than to any natural landmarks. The problems are exacerbated by the uneven impact of the colonial experience on the different ethnic groups, particularly in terms of Western education, and as a consequence different rates of modernization, all of which affected the manner in which various groups reacted to the formation of the new larger political entity. As the more Western educated elite from different parts of the country tended to occupy most of the existing government posts in the other parts, where those with modern skills were relatively small, the fear of domination by the more educated groups was intensely aroused. This led to ethnic hostilities.

Furthermore, the constitutional development in Nigeria for example which arrogated disproportionate number of political seats and the control of the federal government to a particular ethnic group since independence have all contributed to inter-ethnic group tensions and conflicts and to the strong reservations the various ethnic groups have about accepting the nation as the dominant political system to which they should render their loyalty. In Nigeria, as earlier stated, the political elite were, and still are steeped in ethnicity and ethnic politics so that ethnic groups in power tend to favour their particular groups in terms of financial allocations and other amenities. As a result political parties, even those with national slogans turn out to be concerned with the maximization of regional welfare and security. Indeed the outcome of the persistent struggles between the major ethnic groups is the alienation of those political elites who feel their interests

are not sufficiently catered for. By communicating their sense of deprivation to their masses, they succeed in channelling the discontent thus created into withholding of loyalty to the nation and in further polarizing the various ethnic groups. So that, contrary to Emerson's classic statement that "empires have fallen on evil days and nations have risen to take their place" (Emerson, R. 1960:3) which meant in a sense that nationalism or national consciousness had arisen in the areas formerly colonized by European empires, the truth of the matter is that such a state remains a goal rather than a reality in most developing and multi-ethnic states.

The Nigerian government is presently saddled with this problem - that of achieving national integration. Structural rearrangements such as the creation of States are useful but limited in what they can achieve in a society where ethnic hostilities have been intense. As Nnoli, O. (1978:254) has clearly stated:

No meaningful solution of the ethnic problems of Nigeria ... can succeed without a fundamental change of attitudes in those who govern (or aspire to govern - the graduate youths).

Instability, and hence malintegration, as Dudley, B.J.(1973) informs us is a function of elite parochialism, the effect of which is magnified at the mass level. Therefore, the political elite and those who by virtue of their education are likely to be called upon to assume such a position must be both socially and politically resocialized in their attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the country. "Ethnic conflicts", Olorunsola, V.(1972:xvi) has warned, "can block development, and effort should be made to overcome the destructive dimensions."

The present chapter is devoted to the definition of the concept of national integration in an attempt to have a clear conceptual framework for the study of such a multifaceted phenomenon which has variously been equated with terms like 'nation building', 'community formation', 'political development' and so on (Pye,L. 1962). Once the

dimensions of national integration are established, one can begin to provide tentative answers to such questions as : under what conditions does integration increase or decrease within the framework of the NYSC programme? How can integration be measured? How effective is the service programme as a resocializing and integrative agent?

5.2: DEFINITIONS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION.

The definition of 'national integration' within a given society at a particular time is the most important starting point for an understanding of the phenomenon itself (Zolberg, A.R. 1967:452).

In their discussion of the concept, Coleman, J. and Rosberg, C.G. (1964:9) define national integration as the "progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities ... in the process of creating a homogeneous political community." For Verba, S. et al. (1965:15) national integration deals :

with the vertical form of identification- the sense of attachment that individuals have to some superordinate political unit and to the symbols of the political unit. A second significant dimension of identification is the horizontal identification with ones fellow citizen - the sense of integration individuals have with other people who inhabit the political system.

The second dimension of national integration which Easton (1965) refers to as the "sense of community" and defines as "the amount of affective orientation the member of a political system has toward the other members of the community", forms an important part of this study. What is important for society's stability is how widely the sense of community is diffused among its members and their willingness to regard other ethnic groups as fellow citizens. In other words, it is not only the identification with an abstract entity, the nation-state that is required but also, and perhaps more

importantly identification with a rather more concrete group, one's fellow citizens; the cultivation of integrative behaviour from the parochial attachments.

Rather than offering a definition of the concept, Landecker, W.S. (1951) distinguishes four ways by which integration can be measured. There is the cultural integration which pertains to the social norms, values which permeate widely throughout the society; the normative integration which relates to the degree to which conduct conforms to cultural standards; and communicative integration which is the degree to which members of a group are linked together by exchange of meanings. The degree to which members of a group are linked together by exchange of services he calls functional integration. Implicit in Landecker's classification are a number of propositions, one of which is the suggestion that national integration can result from deliberate efforts to rise above subordinate parochial loyalties in order to pursue national objectives.

Summarizing the various uses of the term, Myron Weiner (1965:53-54) reveals, further, the wide range of socio-political engineering encompassed by the concept as including:

- (1) the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of national identity, in the context of some sort of plural society;
- (2) the establishment of national central authority over subordinate political units or regions;
- (3) the problem of linking government to the governed;
- (4) the growth of minimal value consensus assumed to be required for the maintenance of a system;
- (5) the capacity of people in a society to organize for common purpose

Briefly stated, the first is essentially the unification of different parts of a given territory into one political unit, internationally recognised by a given name, in this case, Nigeria.

It further involves the subsumption of diverse ethnic group identities, the creation of national culture and the replacement of parochial loyalties with national loyalty. The second definition confers upon a central authority the right and power to control the entire territory claimed under its jurisdiction, enabling it thereby to contain such secessionist tendencies, as manifested by Biafra in Nigeria, and the struggles in Sudan. The third refers to the problems of linking the rulers and the ruled, and the closing of the elite-mass gap. While such argument concerning the elite-mass gap is undeniably important, as Bogardus, E. (1958), Shils, E. (1958;1960) and Coleman, J. and Rosberg, C.G. (1964) have all stated, it is however rather unfortunate that the enormous emphasis on the elite-mass gap has tended to obscure the divisions and antagonism on both sides of the gap. As anyone familiar with the multi-ethnic societies in the developing countries will confirm the 'mass' and 'elite' in these societies are not necessarily homogeneous entities. For instance, those who could be categorized as Nigerian masses may fall into a more important ethnic category as Hausa, Yoruba, or Igbo, where their primary loyalties lie. Therefore in a developing country like Nigeria where the masses are inclined to supporting their leaders in the segmentary system of political alignments, a solution to her problems of conflicts and tensions demand not so much the bridging of elite-mass gap as the progressive reduction of the tension within the political elite, that is increasing the group cohesiveness of the country's educated youths.

In the fourth, Weiner contends that the development of a minimum value consensus is necessary to maintain social order. An integrated society, he says, must have a fundamental value consensus on important issues, such as equity, economic system and symbols. Finally, Weiner writes of integrative behaviour which is the capacity of people in a society to organize for common purpose. This encompasses all the other aspects of national integration. The notion of common purpose is undoubtedly related to the degree of harmony or conflict prevailing between culturally or ethnically discrete groups. The inability of political elites to organize for common purpose is at the root of

the integration problem Nigeria has been facing, and forms a major part of the goals which the NYSC programme aims to accomplish among the participating graduate youths who are expected to fill elite political positions in future. The programme is expected to achieve this through prolonged exposure and interaction of corps members' with the host community and level of identification with the country at the end of the service year. Thus, the virtue of Weiner's contribution lies in his idea that national integration depends on the subjectivity of the participating members of the polity, which overrides all other loyalties to kin or clan.

With each author taking a special interest in one aspect of the concept or the other, the list of contributors can be lengthened to include Almond, G.A. and Coleman, J (1960); Karl Deutsch, (1953); Devine, C. (1972) and others. A careful examination of the various definitions suggest not only that the process of integration is multifaceted, but also that they all have one major thread running through them, and that is, the willingness to identify with the national community. Viewing this as an important requirement for there to be increased cohesiveness and consensus, the expression of a willingness to engage in meaningful relationships with the component groups - the Hausa, and Yoruba ethnic groups, with the Igbos - and their professed identification with the country, as measured by the research instruments, could be seen as positive indicators of their level of national integration. Having said that, the question of whether such expression of favourable attitudes or otherwise, ought to be taken as a realistic measure of what the respondents will actually do, that is their behaviour, is one that needs to be addressed. That forms the subject of the remaining section of this chapter.

5.3 : THE PROBLEMS OF ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT.

An attitude according to Rokeach, M. (1968) is “ a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or a situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.” As a construct, there is a general agreement that it is composed of three components, namely, the cognitive component which is the perception of the situation; the affective component - the feelings that arise about the cognitive element; and the behavioural component which is the attitude acted out (Oppenheim, A.N 1967). In accordance with this definition, an ethnic attitude is commonly defined as comprising three elements: (a) beliefs about the characteristics of an ethnic group; (b) a feeling of like or dislike for the group; and (c) a behavioural predisposition toward social customs and political policies that affect the well-being of the object-group (Harding, J.H. et al. 1968).

The study and measurement of attitudes present several problems to researchers in the social and behavioural sciences. There is the problem of whether attitudes can be measured with any degree of accuracy as to render measurement meaningful; whether “belief attitudes” and “action attitudes” do or indeed should be expected to correspond, that is whether belief responses do reflect adequately the type of action which is implied; and to what extent attitudes can predict behaviour in the long run (Zajonc, R.B. 1984; Zanna, M.P. and Rempel, J.K. 1988). Indeed the question of whether attitudes are good predictors of behaviour is at best controversial. At first, many scholars assumed a dismissive attitude to the whole issue. When inconsistency occurred between attitudes and behaviour, for example, the tendency was to question the wisdom of conceptualizing attitudes as underlying dispositions mediating a variety of behaviours rather than to question either the quality of the particular attitude measure or the appropriateness of the behavioural criteria employed. Such attitude was reflected by Deutscher, I. (1966) when he stated that to expect a correspondence between attitudes and behaviour was unreasonable; and by DeFleur, M. and Westie, M. (1963)

who argued that sociologists and social psychologists have fallen into the “fallacy of expected correspondence” when they anticipate a direct relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

This view has however been rejected by most students of the problem. Instead, Weissberg’s (1965) comment that “an attitude, no matter how conceived, is simply one of the terms in the complex regression equation we use to predict behaviour “ and Dollard’s (1949:624) comment that it is the perceived consistency between words and deeds that “enables men to participate in organized social life with good confidence that others will do what they say they will do, will be where they say they will be “ which reflect an approach used by many investigators to assimilate attitude-behaviour discrepancies to attitude theory. Believing therefore that there is a correspondence between attitudes and behaviours, a number of researchers have in the past few years focused on the influence of attitudes on behaviours (Bentler, P.M. and Speckart, G. 1981; Breckler, S.J. 1984).

A majority of such studies, have concentrated on the cognitive component of an attitude, and questionnaire responses gathered from such studies have in a number of cases been equated with the three components which comprise an attitude, in the belief that feelings associated with an attitudinal cognition are congruent with the other two components. In other words that changes in cognition would produce a change in affect and action. Such studies have contributed to a body of literature on consistency theory which suggests that increments in cognition should produce increments in affect or behaviour. More generally, a change in any one of the major components of attitudes should induce corresponding changes in the others to maintain consistency (Rosenberg, M.J. et al. 1960).

But the report by LaPiere (1934) on the discrepancy between peoples’ responses to a questionnaire concerning what they would do in a given situation and what they

actually did, and Wicker's (1969) report of low or insignificant correlations between attitude measures and behavioural criteria have all challenged the proposition that attitudes are precursors of action, that is predispositions to respond to an object in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner. Indeed the authors independently concluded that the predictive power of verbal attitudes to overt behaviour was so poor to render reliance on attitudes futile and misleading. In their view attitudes are not important determinants of behaviour, individuals react positively or negatively toward specific people, objects and event as they occur rather than displaying any general tendencies to react positively or negatively toward entire classes of people, objects or events. Such conclusions have however provoked a variety of reactions ranging from profound disenchantment with the utility of attitudes for understanding human activity, to phenomenologically oriented defenses of the attitude concept (Bem, D.J.; Kelman, H.C. 1974).

Others have responded to the accumulated evidence of attitude-behaviour inconsistency by suggesting conceptual and methodological refinements intended to increase the likelihood of correspondence between attitude and action. These refinements represent a shift in the focus of research efforts; a shift from examining whether or not, and to what extent attitudes are related to behaviour, to examining the conditions under which attitudes and behaviour covary. In particular, researchers have displayed interest in both the effects of other personal and situational variables which, when operative, could affect the impact of attitude on behaviour, and the degree to which the attitude measure specified the behavioural criterion employed (Herbelein, T.A. and Black, J. S. 1976).

Fishbein, M (1967), and Fishbein, M. and Ajzen, I. (1970) have presented a carefully articulated conceptual model which simultaneously addresses both the "other variables" and specificity issues. First they suggest that attitude measures should focus on the respondent's beliefs and feeling about engaging in particular behaviours, that is attitude towards the act, rather than on the respondent's beliefs and feelings about particular

objects. That is instead of asking about respondents' general attitudes towards say the Igbos as a group, researchers should assess their attitudes toward the act of working with the people of that particular ethnic group, living in the same apartment with them or sharing a room with them as the case may be. Consistent with the specificity notion, the likelihood of engaging in a particular action should be better predicted by one's attitude toward an associated object or class of objects. The second suggestion advanced by Fishbein and Ajzen represents an attempt to specify the other variables which should be measured along with attitude toward the act, to facilitate behavioural prediction. This involved incorporating into the model the non-attitudinal variables - personal and social norms pertinent to the behaviour in question and the person's motivation to comply with these norms.

Although Fishbein and Ajzen's conceptual model appear to be a fairly comprehensive model for the measurement of attitudes, some concerns have been expressed. Schwartz, S.H. and Tessler, R.C. (1972), for example pointed out that since a wide array of extraneous variables could affect the attitude-behaviour relationship (e.g. demographic characteristics), the model's selective focus is not sufficient to eliminate the necessity for sampling further from these other potential antecedents of behaviour. Indeed, because the number of potentially important other variables is essentially infinite, the logic of this approach confronts attitude researchers concerned with the behavioural implications of their measures with the formidable task of attempting to anticipate and independently assess the full range of variables that might disrupt attitude-behaviour correspondence. Schwartz and Tessler also noted the limitations of reliance on attitude toward the act. While their own research indicated that attitude-toward-act measures improved prediction of a given behaviour, the authors caution that attitude toward the act is limited to the prediction of only very specific behaviours in particular situations, "while researchers often wish to use attitudes to predict a range of presumably related behaviour across a variety of situations" (Schwartz, S.H. and Tessler, R.C. 1972).

To counteract these controversies, Weigel, R.H. and Newman, L.S. (1976) conducted a study which was designed to minimize the methodological and behavioural criterion problems which compromise the value of much of the past research on the relationship of attitudes and actions. The results indicate that a substantial attitude-behaviour correlation can obtain when an attitude measure of established quality is employed in conjunction with behavioural measures that map out an action domain of comparable breadth to the attitude domain assessed. The behavioural criteria utilized in their study were overt behaviours which they claim eliminates the problems associated with using self-reports of past activities. And secondly since the behavioural data were collected several months after the attitude measure was administered, the magnitude of the correlation observed suggest both the enduring character of attitudes, and their continuing relevance for understanding actions with respect to the attitude object. The high correlation between attitudes and actions in their study stand in marked contrast to the predominantly pessimistic assessment of the utility of the attitude concept apparent in much contemporary social psychology literature.

Another approach which has been adopted to minimize the inconsistency between attitudes and behaviours is the pioneering cross-lagged correlational analysis by Kahle, L.R. and Berman, J.J. (1979) which purported to show that attitudes have causal priority over behaviour, thus presumably settling the issue. But, their results are inconclusive in view of the controversial nature of the cross-lag methodology that was utilized (see Billings, R.S. and Wroten, S.P. 1978 for expositions of the technique). Second, it is inadequate theoretically since its major purpose is to meet the assumptions of cross-lag methodology rather than specify a correct model for determining attitude-behaviour consistency.

Among the suggestions of ways to improve the relationship are the need for better attitude conceptualization (Fishbein, M.1967), the improvement of measuring instruments, reconceptualization of the problem (Tittle, C.R. and Hill, R.J. 1967), and

wider use of a multiple variable approach in which variables in addition to the variable of attitude are considered (Wicker, A.W. 1969). To these are added the suggestions by Lord, C.G, Mackie, D, and Lepper, M.R. (1984) which are that effort ought to be made to discover the conditions under which attitude-behaviour relationship is weak or strong. They also hold the view that attitude-behaviour consistency is more accurately measured by using attitude questions whose degree of specificity corresponds with that of the behaviour of interest or seems especially relevant to the behaviour.

Fazio, R.H. and Zanna, M.P. (1981) summarized a programme of research studies showing that attitude measures are more likely to predict behaviours, when they are based on direct behavioural experience. By this they mean that attitudes built upon a foundation of direct experience with the attitude object are more likely to generate attitude-behaviour consistency. In their study behavioural experience was enhanced by having people interact with the attitude object or recall their previous behaviours with the attitude object before their attitudes were measured. The authors explained that attitude measures based on direct experience are stronger because direct experiences are more accessible to memory.

Snyder, M. (1982) also summarized a series of research studies showing that attitudes are more predictive of behaviours when they have high availability and relevance on the occasion of behaviour. Attitude relevance was manipulated by encouraging people to view their actions as having meaningful consequences. Sherman, S.J. (1980) demonstrated that attitude availability can be enhanced by having people predict their future behaviours; while Bentler, P.M. and Seckart, G. (1981) and Kahle, L.R. and Berman, J.J. (1979) found that attitude measures predicted (self-reported) behaviours to a greater degree than (self-reported) behaviours predicted attitude measures. These results are viewed as evidence that attitudes cause behaviours, provided a self-reported behaviour has a high relevance (Snyder, M. 1982); or involves a significant commitment (Kelman, H.C. 1974). Researchers interested in changing attitudes are

therefore expected to increase the correspondence between measures and behaviours (Bagozzi, R.P. and Burnkrant, R.E. 1979; Ajzen, I. and Fishbein, M. 1977). One step suggested is to break attitude measures into cognitive and affective components (Breckler, S.J. 1984; Breckler, S.J. and Wiggins, E.C. 1989; Millar, M.G. and Millar, K.U. 1990). A second step is to account for the effects of the stimulus situation by combining the attitude measure with a measure of intention (Bagozzi, R.P. 1979). Thus, attenuations in attitude-behaviour relations are to be expected when there is a lack of direct experience on which to base attitudes (Fazio, R.H. and Zanna, M.P. 1981); and when measures of attitude and behaviour are not denoted according to identical action, target, and context entities (Ajzen, I. and Fishbein, M. 1980). This is in line with Tittle, C.R. and Hill, R.J. (1967) work which emphasized the abnormality of behaviour measures. They point out that behaviour is typically measured as singular response to a constructed set of circumstances unlikely to recur with any degree of regularity in everyday life, for example measuring behaviour in terms of white respondents' willingness to have a photograph taken with a black (see De Fleur, M. L. and Westie, F.R. 1958). The authors - Tittle and Hill - argue that attitudes toward nonregular behaviour patterns may not be well formed, or well organized, thus reducing their impact on behaviour. In other words, the observed attitude-behaviour relationship may be depressed by the abnormality of behaviour measures.

Running through these researches is the notion that, given valid measures and the correct design, the causal effect of attitudes on behaviours will be demonstrable. On this understanding, varied measurement approaches have been adopted to maximize the credibility of the present study. There is the semantic-differential which attributes various stereotyped characteristics to the Igbos. Nigeria is not a segregated society. All respondents must have at one time or another been in direct contact with the Igbos. Their attitudes are therefore not formed vicariously, but have developed from direct experience, although more so by those respondents who are serving their one year national service in Imo State, an Igbo ethnic area. It is believed therefore that direct

experience with the attitude object will most likely generate attitude-behaviour consistency. There is the Bogardus Social Distance Scale in which it is implied that the subject will perceive a certain kind of relationship to be the appropriate one between himself and the Igbos; and that this perceived relationship prepares one for certain kinds of behaviour. These ranged from marriage choice to no relationship whatsoever. There is also the socio-metric type questions on friendship choice which serve as another measure of a social distance between the participants and their host community. Here the attempt is made to measure a specific rather than a general attitude, that is attitude towards personal engagement in such relationships was taken as appropriate measurement objective. And finally the national identity scale - a Likert-type attitude scale - which measures the degree to which the respondents identify with the nation as a whole. In all these, as has been alluded to above, Hyman's (1949:40) argument that "If our aim is to predict a given kind of behaviour in a given social setting, we should design our tests so that they incorporate the fundamental aspects of the setting into the test," and the argument that behaviour predictability increases with the number of attitudes in the predictive equation, have been among the guiding principles (see questionnaires, Appendix A).

A final note on the behavioural component is that since it is difficult to reproduce experimentally the situations which give rise to overt behaviour reflecting attitudes, the questions devised in this connection have asked respondents to give accurate information about current behaviour with their probable interaction patterns. If the respondents' responses to the post-test instruments indicate a shift in any or all of these domains (behavioural, affective, cognitive all of which are catered for by the research instrument) this will be sufficient reflection of the influence of the National Youth Service Corps programme.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES FORMULATION.

6.1: INTRODUCTION.

The assumption that contact with people of other cultures will lead to a favourable attitude towards them underlies the establishment of the NYSC which is geared towards the achievement of national integration in Nigeria. In its simplest form, there is the strong belief by the Nigerian government that the corps members will leave their host community - the community in which they served - with a more favourable attitude than they held before their arrival, and that their views after the service will be more favourable towards other ethnic groups in general, than those of their colleagues who have not served in the programme. This assumption stands out in the NYSC Handbook (1974):11) where it states that:

The ultimate objective of NYSC scheme is to achieve national unity through mobilization of youths of this country for service in the NYSC scheme. Corps members are exposed to life in other parts of the country and to learn at first hand the many similarities and diversities of culture and traditions of various groups in the country with a view to eliminating inherent prejudices etc.

It is also embedded in the rule that a corps member should not be assigned to his or her state of origin, and also evident in the speech made by General Gowon on the occasion of the 12th Independence anniversary celebration - (incorporated in Decree and Amendments, No. 28) - when he remarked that the NYSC scheme was meant to:

transcend political, social, state and ethnic loyalties and form the basis of fostering loyalty to the nation.

These statements no doubt reflect not only the isolationist tendencies among ethnic groups in Nigeria, but also the absence of preference for Nigeria by its citizens. They also show a further lack of a feeling of national integration among the Nigerian

educated and emergent elite. Service in the NYSC programme and the inter-ethnic interaction it involves should, it is believed, enable the participants to imbibe a sense of oneness and national identification. But does such belief, that interaction between the different ethnic groups will lead to favourable attitude change, find confirmation in scientific research? Various researches conducted by socio-psychologists based on a similar assumption - contact hypothesis - have produced inconclusive results; (see Cook, S.W. 1969, 1978, 1984a; Smoha, S. 1984; Ben-Ari,R. and Amir, Y. 1988; Yogeve,A. et al. 1991). When does inter-ethnic contact or interaction for that matter produce favourable inter-ethnic relations? When does it reinforce preconceptions?

6.2: RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

The specific research questions for this study are:

- (1) Is there a positive relationship between contact with another ethnic group, while in the NYSC programme, and the corps members' attitudes towards national integration.
- (2) Will the participants in the NYSC programme rate the Igbos more favourably on the semantic-differential scale of ' a typical Igbo' than those who have not served in the national scheme?
- (3) Is there a positive relationship between frequency of contact with the host community (the Igbos) in local projects and the corps members' attitude change?
- (4) Is there a positive relationship between corps members' satisfaction with the jobs assigned to them and their attitudes towards national integration?
- (5) Is there a positive relationship between the location of corps members' assignment in terms of urban/rural environment and their attitudes towards national integration?

(6) Is there a positive relationship between learning Igbo language and attitude towards the host community - Igbos?

(7) Is there a positive relationship between 'sex' of the corps members and their attitudes towards national integration?

(8) Is there a positive relationship between the respondents' 'ethnic origin' and their attitudes towards national integration?

(9) Is there a positive relationship between 'religion' of the corps members and their attitudes towards national integration?

(10) What is the relative weight of each of these variables in the total situation?

Age is not an important variable in the present study since almost all the respondents are between 20 and 30 years old.

6.3 : REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE FOR THE HYPOTHESES FORMULATED.

Theoretical delineation of desirable contact outcomes has been derived from cognitive organization theory which holds that racial or in this instance ethnic prejudice can be attributed to perceived dissimilarities in beliefs of members of one group and another group, and that contact provides the opportunity for disconfirming previous beliefs by supplying new information about the ethnic group. Individuals, the theory continues, will change their negative attitudes when they discover through contact that others hold attitudes and beliefs similar to them (Rokeach, M. et al. 1960; Newcomb, T.M. 1961; Bryne, D. 1969). Katz, D. (1960) has utilized a theory of attitude function to explain the efficacy of contact for changing attitudes. He maintains that one of the functions of

attitude is to enable people to get to know the world around them. In their efforts to get to know the world people are open to information that will enhance their knowledge. Therefore when individuals receive more accurate information during contact than what they had prior to contact, they tend to correct their erroneous information.

For Festinger, L. (1957) attitude change is motivated by the psychological discomfort that accompanies cognitive inconsistency or dissonance. For him, an individual who holds inconsistent cognitions experiences a “psychological uncomfortable” tension state which the person is motivated to alleviate; that is, attitude change is brought about by the need to maintain logic-like consistency among cognitions. Theoretically, dissonance is defined as a negative state of psychological tension which is aroused by the juxtaposition of two mutually inconsistent cognitions, for example, an attitude and knowledge of one’s behaviour. Such logical inconsistency Festinger presumes, produces discomfort or tension which an individual is motivated to reduce by changing one or both of the otherwise inconsistent cognitions, for example, through performing an attitudinal discrepant act such as writing a counter-attitudinal essay. Dissonance, it is believed may be reduced by changing the attitude to be consistent with the act. What this means in essence is that when people are compelled to do something contrary to their private belief, dissonance reduction in the form of attitude change in the direction of the behaviour may follow. This theory is based on Heider’s (1944) balance theory which holds that when a psychological imbalance is discovered through contradictory cognitions, one may either redefine the elements to fit in with one’s beliefs or simply ignore the matter in order to restore cognitive balance. While these theories are crucial for an understanding of attitude change, several processes may operate to hinder change, particularly in inter-ethnic group contact situations.

One of such processes, according to Tajfel, H. (1981) is social categorisation. Individuals, he states tend to accentuate the similarity of members of a group while exaggerating the differences between or among groups. Such accentuation serves two

functions. The first is a cognitive function whereby a person accentuates both differences and similarities by using category membership to simplify the complexities of encountering different social groups, and second a judgmental function, whereby an individual evaluates certain social categories more positively. In this case, the accentuation preserves different value systems for the different social groups. As a result of such processes intragroup differences are minimized whereas intergroup differences are maximized (Taylor, S.E. et al. 1978; Hogg, M.A., and Turner, J.C. 1985; Smooha, S. 1987).

Other theories which have appeared in this connection are social identity and social comparison theories. According to these theories even in the absence of conflict between two groups, people tend to prefer their own group characteristics. This tendency stems from the need to preserve a positive social identity for one's group (Tajfel, H. and Turner, 1979; Tajfel, H. 1982). In this way, it is argued, individuals resist new information that might disrupt the existing psychological balance. (This point is also made by consistency theorists in their selective exposure hypothesis which posits that individuals are motivated to seek information which is consistent with their beliefs in order to avoid dissonance). In line with these theories Hamilton, D.L. (1979) has argued that stereotypes constitute a schema by which new information is processed. This schema sensitizes the individual to dismiss inconsistent elements. Therefore, features included in the schema serve as sufficient explanation for the behaviour of individuals from both the ingroup and the outgroup. The conclusion being that the effect of contact in changing stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes is minimal as there are factors within individuals which affect adversely, contact outcomes (Rothbarth, M. and John, O. 1985).

A great deal of empirical and indeed pioneering works conducted in the United States in particular have tended generally to arrive at alternative conclusions (Deutsh, M. and Collins, M.E. 1951; Sherif, M. and Sherif, C.W. 1953; Allport, G.W. 1954; Cook,

S.W. 1962; Kelman, H.C. 1962; and Amir, Y. 1969;1976). Each researcher however has emphasized factors which must prevail in the contact situation if the desired result was to be achieved. Allport, G.W..(1954) for example emphasizes "equal status" contact between majority and minority groups, while for Kelman, H.C. (1962), the stress is on the "opportunity of contact" variable, which according to Cook,S.W. (1962) refers to the opportunity provided by the situation for participants to get to know and understand one another.

The most extensive treatment of the "opportunity" variable is seen in the summary of the Cornell studies of contact by William, R.M. (1964). In these studies, among other things, the relationship between opportunities for inter-group contact, actual intergroup interaction and prejudices, and the respondents' personality variables were investigated. The findings suggest that the more prejudiced a person is the less likely he is to have inter-ethnic contacts (see Harding,J. et al. 1969; Cook, S.W. 1978).

One of the earliest and most promising researches has been that conducted by Selltiz, C. et al. (1956) on the effects of situational factors on personal interaction between foreign students and Americans. The characteristics of the settings in terms of rural/urban location of the universities was seen as the major variable in effecting attitude change. They found that the differences in interaction between the foreign students and their host community, and by implication, attitude change, was environmentally determined.

In recent years, however, a number of studies have emerged on what is called 'inverse contact hypothesis', which finds its supporters in both Britain and United States, (Butler, D. 1969; Sedlacek, W.E. et al. 1978, and others). According to this hypothesis the more one comes in contact with the object of one's prejudice, the more prejudiced one becomes. On the British side, Studlar, D.T. (1977) has analyzed the data from major British studies and concludes that contact is in fact unimportant as an

influence on racial attitudes. On the American side, the findings about wartime contact of negroes, recorded in The American Soldier have been subjected to a critique by Sanders, J.M. and Beilby, W.T. (1980) who suggest that the data are simply inconclusive. Sherif, M. and Sherif, C.W. (1965) found that simply bringing children into contact resulted in heightening rather than reducing the conflict, despite the fact that the groups were of equal status, and had been so equally drawn in order to maximize friendship between the groups. Amir, Y. and Garti, (1977) also found that only in specific situations was inter-ethnic contact beneficial. But the overall result, based on their sample of 1411 Israeli soldiers, was that contact had no effect. A later study, Amir, Y, et al. (1980) similarly reported that no change in attitude took place among Arabs as a result of contact with Israelis. Israelis' attitude with regard to the job situation changed positively but there was no change in other aspects of their ethnic attitudes. These findings are based on data collected from Israeli workers who worked with Arabs on an equal-status basis (see also Smootha, S. 1980b; Amir, Y. and Ben-Ari, R. 1985).

While these studies deal with prejudice, and inter-group relations, and at any rate report on the nature and effect of contact, they are not wholly relevant for the present study since a great majority of the researches are conducted in the United States, and all deal with contact between the white majority and a minority group, this latter group being mostly blacks or Jews. Even the studies carried out by Kelman, H.C. (1962), and others on the International Exchange of Persons programme are not very helpful. The programme, although designed, like the NYSC to transform suspicious and hostile attitudes of university students towards other nationalities into favourable ones, it is concerned as the name indicates, with inter-national relationships. The question therefore arises as to whether findings derived from the foregoing studies and others, most of which are conducted in the United States and Israel can also be expected to be valid in the Nigerian context, where the three major groups in this study are each a major ethnic group in Nigeria, each claiming superiority over the other, and differing

mainly in customs, traditions and language, but are of the same black race. For while 'colour' is the main focus (if not the only ground) for prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. where a majority of the studies have been carried out, the Nigerian problem is markedly different for the absence of colour prejudice.

Second, these studies deal only with prejudice and inter-group relations in a society, but do not tell us anything about a sense of identification with the nation. Being in America, and Israel for that matter, that aspect of integration may have appeared irrelevant since studies have shown that most Americans identify themselves first as Americans before anything else; and Israel is one country where national identification for the Jews preceded the establishment of the state itself (see Roumani, M.M. 1978). The Nigerian situation differs greatly in these important respects. And besides, in most of these studies as Amir, Y. (1969) informs us the investigators have generally sought and expected to prove something "positive" (a reduction in prejudice), which has in many cases meant the careful selection of social situations with such aim in mind. It follows therefore that when some of these studies appear to prove that contact between ethnic groups reduce prejudice, it may not necessarily mean that such studies are typical for real social situations.

Empirical studies dealing with the relationship or assumed relationship between inter-ethnic contact and national integration in Africa are rare. However, Nwabuzor, E. (1974) has looked at inter-ethnic contact and social values in Cameroon, and more specifically at ethnic identity group perceptions of comparable ethnic groups. The prime question in his study was whether people would actually regard their own ethnic group as an ingroup communication and security system, and the extent to which they regard others as belonging to outgroups. After examining nine ethnic groups in Cameroon, he established value profiles for each of the groups on such items as authority, community and conflict resolution. By using such data to predict their willingness to interact with each other, he found that value congruence correlated with propensity to collaborate in

the social sector, but that complementarity was the best predictor of economic collaboration. In Kenya, Edari, R.S. (1974) studied four ethnic groups in Mombasa, Kenya, and found that the amount of verbal contact between the ethnic groups was the single most significant determinant of strongly held positive attitudes.

Conversely, however, a study by Peil, M. (1975) in four Nigerian cities found that in spite of prolonged inter-ethnic mixing in these cities, there was little favourable attitude change towards other ethnic groups, and therefore concluded that "unless some formula can be found [to mitigate ethnic rivalry by the political elite] peaceful mixing by ordinary citizens may signify nothing, and the future harmony of Nigeria must remain in doubt" (p.121). Another study by Ogunlade, J.O. (1978) in Nigeria among secondary school children from different ethnic groups schooling together in western part of Nigeria - Yorubaland - also arrived at a similar conclusion, which is that inter-ethnic contact or prolonged interaction of that nature does not necessarily reduce prejudice and hostility. More recently however, Boski, P.(1988) in his study with Nigerian undergraduates (Hausa and Igbo) in Canada on intergroup/personal relations concluded that relative familiarity/non-familiarity of the outgroups may attenuate the level of inter-ethnic prejudice.

A study which is particularly relevant to the present research is that conducted by Iyizoba, W.O. (1982) on the effect of the NYSC on national unity in Nigeria. In his work, however, there was no attempt to ascertain the participants' initial attitudes towards national integration before they embarked on the scheme, and no control group. Data were instead gathered at one point in time - at the end of the respondents' service year, so that there was no evidence about their preconceptions which would have formed the baseline from which he would have measured change. This point was however recognised by the author as a major limitation in his study (see Iyizoba, W.O. 1982:129). The youth corps members' activities during the national service were not mentioned, and presumably were not perceived as factors which could affect their

attitudes. His work is further weakened by the smallness of his sample - 75 respondents overall. His finding of "no change in participants' attitudes" can only be viewed with caution.

Concerning the influence of belief systems, including religion, on attitudes towards other ethnic groups, Rokeach, M. et al. (1960) have argued that prejudice is in large part the result of perceived dissimilarity of belief system rather than ethnic or racial membership. Triandis, H.C. (1961) however has criticized this view on the basis of the dependent variable employed, (Rokeach's use of the single criterion of friendship as the measure of prejudice), stating that:

People do not exclude other people from their neighbourhood for instance, because the other people have different belief system, but they do exclude them because they are negroes (Triandis, H.C. 1961:186)

He thereby reports results of his research which are contrary to Rokeach's contention regarding the primacy of belief congruence over race as a determinant of prejudice. He concludes that "there is no doubt that race is more important determinant of social distance than is belief system." But his manipulation of belief congruence is flawed by his use of "same philosophy" "different philosophy" which are rather vague and not wholly relevant to the point at issue. Byrne, D. and Wong, T.J. (1962), and later Stein, D.D., et al. (1965), using improved procedures, and employing personal feelings of friendliness and willingness to work together in an experiment as dependent variables, have supported Rokeach's position, demonstrating strong belief, and lesser race effects on prejudiced attitudes. This position has since been objected to by Triandis, H.C. and Davis, E.E. (1965) work which points out that for intimate behaviours, race is more important; a claim which Rokeach, M. (1969) rejects, outlining instead a number of studies in support of the assumed similarity of belief theory of prejudice, and so goes on the circle of race/belief controversy (see also Constans, P.H. 1983; Barnard, W.A. and Benn, M.S. 1988, for more recent expositions on the issue).

The strength of these works appear to lie, not so much in their explication of the relationship between belief similarity and social distance but rather in their implication for the contact hypothesis which assumes that through contact, individuals discover that outgroup persons do not differ fundamentally in beliefs from themselves. The practical implication being that if people of different races or ethnic groups as the case may be, encounter one another under conditions favouring the perception of belief congruence, then racial or inter-ethnic prejudice should be reduced. On the other hand, Boyanowsky, E.O. and Allen, V.L. (1973) have reported their research which views the reduction of discriminatory behaviour not so much in terms of belief similarity but as determined by the saliency of ingroups. They report a decrease in the discriminatory behaviour of highly prejudiced whites when their responses were not observed by other ingroup members, and claimed therefore that the real or psychological presence of the ingroup sharpens the distinction between ingroup and outgroup thereby strengthening the tendency to discriminate. Conversely, they argue, psychological separation of the individual from his ingroup should reduce discriminatory behaviour.

These disparate findings, are relevant to the present study. Nigeria has two major and different religions - Islam and Christianity - which in many ways have influenced peoples' lives, conditioned their attitudes, their degree of sociability and inter-ethnic close association. The two religions have adversely influenced politics and indeed national integration in that country. Islam is a way of life of a majority of Hausas, and that of a great many Yorubas, so that for these two groups, ethnic group identity and religious identity overlap each other. The Igbos on the hand are predominantly Christians, so that religion becomes one of the most striking symbols of ethnicity between the three major ethnic groups, defining the boundary between them. The respondents in the present study are not only from the Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups, but many are Moslems. They are posted to serve in Imo state, an Igbo ethnic group, where Islamic religion is almost non-existent for the state indigenes. It is deemed necessary to find out whether the Moslem respondents in the sample will

change their attitudes towards the Igbos as a result of their being in Igboland, and with it, the perception of some form of belief congruence between them and the Igbos; these being two of the major conditions on which the NYSC objectives are based, and which Stein, D.D. et al. (1965) and Boyanowsky, E.O. and Allen, V.L. (1973) also believe should lead to a reduction in prejudice.

On language, the relationship between language and national integration has often been ignored. A number of studies concerning language have often tended to concentrate their attention mainly on language-nation typologies, that is, the kinds of social, functional and distributional relationships which different linguistic systems may have within and across national boundaries. Others have emphasized the number of languages spoken in particular nations, regarding that as a valid index of backwardness of the nationals; while still others have concerned themselves with the language behaviour of the bilingual speaker, that is, the factors which influence his choice of one language rather than another in situations where either language could serve as the medium of conversation. In this way, the relationship of language, prejudice and national integration is frequently crowded out.

One of the few theoretical perspectives which has been applied in research on the relationship between bilingualism, ethnic identity and ethnic attitudes, is that of reference group theory. The theory points to a number of intervening variables while avoiding the attribution of causality of these relationships to bilingualism (or in the case of Nigeria, trilingualism since all Nigerians speak at least two languages, English and their native language). An example of the reference group perspective in research on language has been the series of studies conducted by Lambert, E. et al. in Canada. In their earlier study of English-speaking Montreal high school students studying French for their language learning aptitude and verbal intelligence, Lambert, W.E. (1959) found a link between parental influence or sympathetic attitudes towards the French community and the respondents' skill in French. Lambert's (1972) 'theory' of second

language learning maintains that to learn a language successfully, one must be prepared to adopt the various aspects of behaviour which characterizes the members of the other linguistic cultural group. In other words, one's attitudes towards a particular group will determine the person's willingness to learn the other's language, and the degree of success in mastering the language (see also Fishman, J.A. 1977). But while there are theoretical and empirical reasons for claiming favourable attitude as a determinant factor in language acquisition as these writers have done, there may be other competing theoretical and empirical findings.

In a multi-lingual nation like Nigeria, an individual's language identifies him as a member of a particular ethnic group. It is the carrier of a group's culture, beliefs and values; a means of expressing shared perceptions, of preserving, interpreting and passing on the history and cultural traditions of a particular unit. In this way, language becomes a symbol of cohesion for the group, and simultaneously marks the boundary across units. But for Mead, G.H. (1934) and others, language may not only serve to delimit the boundary, it may also help to cross it. According to Mead, the self shows up through taking the attitude of the group to which it belongs, and since only linguistic symbols arouse in the person who knows their meaning the same as that which they arouse in others who know their meaning, language is essential for the development of self. Lamy, P. (1979:24) endorses this view when he writes that:

It is because of these properties of linguistic symbols that the system of symbols of any universe of discourse cannot be internalized without taking on the attitudes of the generalized other to which this universe of discourse corresponds.

A similar view is stated by Christopherson, P. (1948:8) when he asserts that "nobody can know a language perfectly without associating himself to a large extent with the people who speak it"; while Orde-Brown, W. and Mumford, B. (1971) extend the argument by claiming that speaking a language fluently or being conversant with its literature results in cultural as well as linguistic assimilation. For Pieris (1951:321) even

" a bare colloquial smattering of a foreign language gives the speaker a sense of identification with the culture that language symbolized.;" while Guboglo(1974:99) states simply that 'bilingualism helps overcome ethnic prejudices.' Thus, for these authors, the opening up to the individual a second culture through the acquisition of a second language has an impact on the self by altering the person's existing value patterns.

Influenced perhaps by these theoretical expositions, the Nigerian government promulgated official language policies aimed at enabling the various ethnic groups to learn at least one other Nigerian language at school, apart from their own - in the belief, that such would make possible better inter-ethnic relations. But the studies by Diebold,A. and Richard, Jr (1968) and Lamy, P. (1978) have, while supporting this general position on the effect of bilingualism on ethnolinguistic identity, cautioned that the importance of demographic context and intergroup contact in the relationships ought not to be ignored. The present study therefore seeks to know whether the respondents' attitudes toward the host community - Igbos - have been influenced by their ability to understand the local language during the course of their service year in Imo state.

One of the fundamental postulates of role theory as put forward by role theorists is that the roles an individual occupies in a social system will influence his attitudes and his whole personality (see Newcomb, T.M. (1960); Persons, T. (1951) Banton, M. (1964; 1965). Studies conducted in the social-psychological field have tended to report some relationships between attitudes and roles. Chadwick-Jones, J. K. (1962) for example has emphasized the influence of work-role and work-situation in forming positive attitude towards other groups. But one of the most influential works in this regard has remained Stouffer et al. (1949) army study which found that commissioned officers are more favourably disposed towards the army than enlisted men. However, the mere existence of a relationship reveal little about the cause and effect nature of the relationship, nor does it answer the question of the underlying mechanisms responsible

for the impact of roles on attitudes. One interpretation of Stouffer's finding at any rate might be that being promoted a commissioned officer tends to result in the relevant persons becoming pro-army; in other words, the role influenced the attitude. But then it could equally be argued that by being pro-army, a person stands a greater chance of being made a commissioned officer - in which case attitude precedes a given role. In their study therefore, while there are strong inferences made about effects of roles on attitudes rather than the other way round, there still appears to be insufficient definitive empirical evidence that roles were the "cause" and attitudes the "effect."

More recently studies have been concerned with the hierarchical position in the workplace and job satisfaction (Porter, L.W. and Lawler, E.E. 1965; Tannenbaum, A. et al. 1974; Ebeling, J. and King, M. et al. 1979). Others have proposed that job characteristics affect employee job satisfaction, and in particular, intrinsic job satisfaction (see Hackman, J. R. and Oldham, G.R. 1975; Lee, R. McCabe, and Graham, W.K. 1983). Workers, the authors maintain, who perform jobs that are high on characteristics such as skill variety, task significance, autonomy, and feedback from the job, experience greater job satisfaction than workers who perform jobs low on these characteristics. Fournier, G.P., et al. (1966) also present variables thought to be the determinants of job satisfaction, which include supervision, the work group, job content, and hours of work.

Others have made efforts to empirically relate job satisfaction to the larger life context, including basic biological characteristics such as age, sex, race, etc; and the impact of more general extra-work factors, such as community characteristics and geographic differences among employees (Turner, A.N. and Laurence, P.R. 1965; Hulin, C.L. 1966; 1969). While still others - the "quality of Life" researchers - have begun to include measures of job satisfaction in their research, thereby adopting a more general, social psychological perspective on job satisfaction, and highlighting the inter-relationships among job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and variables outside the

workplace context (see Campbell, A. et al. 1976; Burke, R.J. 1986; Steiner, D.D. and Truxillo, D.M. 1989).

But the relationship between objective conditions of work and national integration is an underresearched area. One possible reason for the paucity of research in this area could be an assumption that such relationship is probably weak. But there is little empirical research, if any, on which to base any evaluation of such an assumption. In the NYSC programme, all corps members are each posted to serve in particular establishments - schools, hospitals, industries, etc, for the duration of their service year. This is known as their primary assignment. In such situations two things are likely to happen. The corps members will either be accepted as full members of the establishments and allocated adequate responsibilities commensurate with their skills and experience, or will be looked upon as too temporary and inexperienced to be given important roles to play in the ongoing activities. Either of these experiences could have some effect on the corps members' attitudes towards the whole idea of the national youth service programme and what it stands for. The present study will measure the relationship between the respondents' job satisfaction (which includes job significance, and such dimensions of the work environment as friendliness and cooperation of fellow workers, and adequate supervision), and their attitudes towards national integration which the NYSC embodies. It is predicted that those who are satisfied with their jobs, will be more favourably disposed towards national integration, than those who are dissatisfied with their jobs (as indicated by their scores on the job satisfaction index).

There have been few empirical investigation of the effect of sex differences upon attitudes towards other ethnic or racial groups. Campbell, J.D. and Radke-Yarrow, M.J. (1956) have found that boys describe other children in terms of aggressive, rebellious, and non-conforming behaviour while girls stressed more nurturant relations. Somewhat similar results have been reported by Diederich, P.B., and Ekstrom, R.B. (1959), in contrast to a study by Pettigrew, T.P. (1959) which shows that Southern

white females in the U.S.A. are more prejudiced towards blacks than Southern white males. These differences are believed to arise mainly from dissimilar cultural expectations, although according to Rank, O. (1941), they may also be due to constitutional factors. Males in the society he argues generally have greater latitude in expressing strong negative feelings towards others, in contrast to females from whom the society expects warmer and more accepting attitudes. Females therefore either learn to mask their genuine feelings about others or they may actually evaluate other people more favourably.

These studies have been confirmed by Kohn, A.R. and Fiedler, F.E. (1960) in their investigation of differences in interpersonal perception between members of the two sexes. They find that females describe themselves and others more favourably than do males. The question of why this is so, as Kohn, A. R. and Fiedler, F.E. (1960) rightly point out, has remained unresolved. Is it because, the authors ask, females tend to be treated more favourably than do males or are less exposed to disillusioning interpersonal experiences? Or could it be that females may report more favourable attitudes because the culture teaches them to mask their genuine feelings? These questions, the writers believe, "can obviously not be answered on the basis of presently available data, but suggest further studies concerning perceptual characteristics of males and females both in our society and in other societies." The present study seeks to test the validity of these researches in a society - Nigeria - which is in many ways different from the United States where the foregoing studies were conducted. In this way, the study hopes to provide additional data for an area in which there has been relatively little empirical investigation.

A review of such studies as have some relevance to the present research, is not conclusive on the relationship between the foregoing variables, particularly, inter-ethnic contact and attitude change. The circumstances which lead to positive attitude change remain to be teased out. The approach adopted in the present study has therefore been,

rather than dwell on whether contact does or does not produce attitude change, to lay emphasis on the kind of contact made possible by a given situation, in this instance, the National Youth Service Corps programme, and the effect of such contact on the respondents' attitude towards national integration.

6.3.1: HYPOTHESES.

(1) Those who have served in the National Youth Service Corps programme will have a more positive attitude towards national integration, as measured by the National Identity Scale, than those who have not served in the programme.

(2) Those who have served in the NYSC programme in Igboland (Imo state) will have a more favourable attitude towards the Igbo ethnic group, as measured by the Semantic-differential (Igbo-group) Scale, than those who have not served in the national scheme.

(3) Corps members who have had frequent contact with the host community - Igbos - in local projects will have more favourable attitude towards national integration as measured by the Marriage Choice Scale, than those who have had no such interaction with the host community.

(4) Female respondents will have more favourable attitudes towards national integration, as measured by the Marriage Choice Scale, than male respondents.

(5) There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of Hausas and Yorubas towards national integration as measured by the National Identity Scale.

(6) There will be a significant difference between the attitudes of those who have learnt Igbo during the course of the service year, and those who have not, towards national integration, as measure by the Igbo-group semantic differential Scale.

(7) Christians will have more favourable attitudes towards the Igbos, as measured by the Friendship Choice Scale, than the Moslems.

(8) Corps members who are satisfied with their jobs, will have more favourable attitudes towards national integration, as measured by the National Identity Scale, than those who are dissatisfied with their jobs.

(9) Those corps members serving in the rural areas will have more positive attitude towards the Igbos as measured by the Igbo-group semantic-differential Scales, than those located in the urban area.

Figure 5 : TABULATED FORMAT OF RESEARCH VARIABLES.

Independent variables	Intervening variable.	Dependent variables
Interethnic group contact. Job satisfaction. Frequency of contact with the host community. Ethnic origin. Sex. Religion. Language. Location in terms of urban/rural environment.	Marital status.	Attitude change as measured by:- National Identity Scale. Marriage Choice Scale. Friendship Choice Scale. Igbo-group semantic-differential Scales.

6.4: NATIONAL INTEGRATION: OPERATIONAL MEASURES.

National integration is operationally defined as the willingness to accept other ethnic groups as fellow nationals and the creation of a sense of national identity. The concept is measured under two separate but related dimensions: (1) contact between the corps members and their host community - the people of Imo state, an Igbo ethnic group; (2) the loyalty choice between the nation (Nigeria and other ethnic groups), and their own ethnic group. Certainly, the ability to put the claims of the nation and the national community above those of own ethnic group when there is a real or apparent conflict of interest represents value reorientation and attitude change (national integration) for the individual.

6.4.1: INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGE AS A MEASURE OF INTEGRATION.

In societies marked by ethnic diversity as Nigeria is, one of the ways by which to test the level of integration lies in the examination of the capacity of members to tolerate cultural differences. One practical way to do this is to examine marriage patterns in order to find out whether they are mainly within peoples' own ethnic groups, or whether marriage partners are sought beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries. It is the assumption that the intensity of inter-ethnic antagonism can be expressed sharply in the willingness or unwillingness of members to participate in inter-ethnic marital relations. Therefore, evidence of such a far-reaching integration as readiness to engage in marriage with members of the host community - Igbos - and other ethnic groups different from their own is particularly looked for. Where there is a willingness on the part of the respondents to do so, especially at the end of their service year in Imo state, one may conclude that a sense of national integration is present; but where there is a general preference for their particular ethnic group, feelings of identification with a

community outside their own is either absent or only nascent. Indeed, a concern for the kind of society Nigeria is and might continue to be, makes the study of such 'ethnic boundaries' important. The study seeks to know the condition under which the cultural and psychological, as opposed to the geographical boundaries remain distinct and impermeable. It also wants to know the forces that might cause these boundaries to be reduced, and an indication that they have been reduced.

Marriage, particularly in Africa, and certainly in Nigeria, involves not only relations among the husband, wife, and children, but also relations with the extended family. Marriage is a knot in a broad and complicated net of social relations. In a classic paper, Merton, R.K. (1941) has pointed out that intermarriage brings into conflict a norm of social distance and deference between members of socially separate groups. Inter-ethnic marriage thus challenges the boundary separating two groups with the expectation that the relations between the married couple and their respective kin-groups will be cordial, since the act of marriage means the inclusion into the kinship system of the married persons or the ethnic groups. For these reasons, inter-ethnic marriage has been seen as one of the most important criteria when measuring the extent and quality of the integration of natives of different countries. Marriage indicates the extent to which ethnic groups have accepted each other, have shown what Roumani, M.M. (1978) calls "receptivity disposition," and have been able to adapt to and tolerate cultural differences. A multi-ethnic society with a low proportion of inter-ethnic marriage remains a largely segregated society. As Stevens, G. and Swicegood, G. (1987:73) put it:-

Ethnic endogamy perpetuates ethnic descent groups as viable social entities by allowing the intergenerational transmission of unique cultural attributes and the re-creation and solidification of bonds of ethnic group identification and affiliation.

Inter-ethnic marriage pattern on the other hand provides a key indicator of the significance of ethnic identity, and prejudice, since it may indeed produce children who

are, in their behaviour, an amalgam of the two ethnic groups, identifying less strongly than others with the ethnic group of either parent, thus blurring ethnic lines (Smith, T.W. 1980; Castonguay, C. 1982). The implications of inter-ethnic marriage were also summarized by Peres, Y. and Shrift, R. (1978:429) when they commented that:

Intermarriage is a major dimension of inter-ethnic integration. If it increases, more and more people become attached to several ethnicities simultaneously: i.e., a third, intermediate ethnic group is created. Eventually, ethnic differentiation might lose their sense of permanency, or even dissolve.

A number of studies in Africa however have revealed that such a close relationship as marriage is usually limited to one's particular ethnic group. Seibel, H.D. (1967) in his study of 'Some aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations in Nigeria' for example found that of the 509 industrial workers in Lagos and Ibadan studied, "the best friend or indeed marriage partner of 86% of the workers is of the same ethnic group." This led him to conclude that "affiliation to the same ethnic group is still most important in very intimate relationships like marriage." A later study in Nigeria which appears to confirm Seibel's finding is that by Peil, M. (1975). In the study, Peil made a study of four cities in Nigeria, assessing the amount and nature of interaction between the ethnic groups in the cities of Lagos (Yoruba), Kaduna (Hausa), Abeokuta, (Yoruba) and Aba (Igbo). In terms of marriage, she found that "there appears to be relatively little inter-ethnic marriage in Nigeria, partly because of social pressure against it" ((p.113). From the foregoing, it is assumed in the present study that the willingness of the respondents to enter into marriage with the host community at the end of their service year in that society will be seen as an indication of a positive attitude change - a sense of identity with and commitment to that community and the larger society. To investigate such possibility 'social distance' scale was employed.

A number of researches have employed Bogardus' Social Distance Scale in testing ethnic attitudes among diverse national groups. This method focuses on the degree of

social intimacy as a measure of favourable/unfavourable attitude towards a particular ethnic group. It lists a number of relationships to which members of the 'out-group' might be admitted. Operationally therefore, social distance is defined as " that distance that is indicated by a person to exist between himself and another person, by means of endorsement of certain statements." The scale, in other words, allows the respondent to indicate at which of several possible 'social distance' he would like to hold members of another group. Given the emphasis in this study on this aspect of integration - the attitudes of corps members from the Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups towards their host community, the Igbos - this method was seen as one of the most feasible measurements.

Four social distance items were supplied for the Igbo (host community), indicating that the respondent would be: willing to allow members of the Igbo ethnic group into his immediate family by way of marriage; be willing to employ members of the group, that is, have a work relationship with the group, but would not permit the greater intimacy of being included in his kin group, (this is relevant in view of the Federal Government's encouragement to corps members, through some form of loans, to establish their own businesses rather than depend on government jobs); willing to share a house simply as a co-tenant; prefer to have nothing to do with the Igbos if at all possible.

The distances are from the least , to most social distance; that is the items are in order of decreasing intimacy as follows:

ETHNIC GROUP	Marry one of them	Employ them only	Share a house with them as co-tenant only.	Have nothing to do with them if I can help it
IGBO				

The corps members' attitudes are measured by the closeness of relationship that each is willing to accept with the host community - the Igbos. Where the gap or rather social distance is wide, the level of integration is low.

6.4.2: SCORING.

Although in Bogardus' Social Distance scale, the lower the score the more favourable the attitude, in the present study the scoring for this scale is reversed to make it consistent with the 'friendship choice scale', which is discussed next. Therefore corps members who accept the Igbos as marriage partners score three, as employees score two, as co-tenants, score one, no association, score zero.

To determine the consistency of their responses, the intensity and persistence of inter-ethnic prejudice or otherwise, a further probing was deemed necessary on this particular measure - marriage relationship. The data on the second probing were hypothetical in character. For example, questions were in the form of "if you had a daughter/son of marriageable age, into which of these ethnic groups would you like her/him to marry." While these questions place a corps member in the position of parent acting as a marriage broker for his/her children, and therefore may not be making decisions based on real life situations, these questions are nevertheless considered important here as a further means of measuring the corps members' favourable/unfavourable disposition towards the host community, since their present attitudes are bound to be reflected in their choice of responses.

6.4.3: FRIENDSHIP PATTERN.

After marriage, the relationship of the 'best friend' ranks next in the realm of social networks. Such close association has also been shown to be a fairly reliable indicator of some of the socio-political attitudes and behaviour of peoples from different ethnic

groups in the same country. The study by Southhall, A. (1963) in Kampala, and that of Seibel, H.D. (1967) earlier cited, both show that friendship in multi-ethnic societies, like marriage, is usually with members of the same ethnic group. According to Seibel's study, "even in less close relationships the number of workers who associate with friends exclusively from their own ethnic group is quite high - 45%, and those who associate with colleagues exclusively from their own ethnic group is 39%." Such findings must be viewed as indication of mal-integration, especially when it is remembered that these countries are plagued by inter-ethnic conflicts, although recently, more so in Nigeria than in Kampala. It was reasoned that the choice of friends would be a good indicator of ethnic tolerance and national identity.

Two questions were derived to elicit responses concerning the corps members' choice of friends in terms of 'in-group', 'near in-group' and 'out-group.' Since the Hausas are predominantly Moslem, and a great many of the Yorubas not only share the Moslem faith with the Hausas but are located in the former Northern Region - Kwara State - which additionally gives the two ethnic groups historical link with each other, it was felt that for the respondents, their 'in-groups' would be people of their own ethnic group; the 'near in-group' would be those from either ethnic group. The Igbos who share neither the Moslem faith with the Hausas and Yorubas nor historically linked to them in any way, would constitute the 'out-group.'

The two socio-metric type questions are stated below.

(a) From which of the following ethnic groups is your best friend? (Please tick one).

- (i) Hausa
- (ii) Yoruba
- (iii) Igbo
- (iv) Other (Please specify)

(b) From which ethnic group would you like to have a close friend? (Please tick one).

- (i) Hausa

- (ii) Yoruba
- (iii) Igbo
- (iv) Other (Please specify)

6.4.4: SCORING.

Respondents who endorse friends from their own ethnic groups are awarded one point, those who choose from either the Hausa or the Yoruba ethnic group ('near in-group') depending on the ethnic group of the respondent, score two, while those who choose from the host community - Igbos ('out-group') score three points. The higher the score, the higher the level of national integration.

6.4.5: SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALES OF 'A TYPICAL IGBO.'

A further measure of the respondents' attitudes towards the host community is done through the use of semantic differential-type evaluation of a 'typical member of Igbo ethnic group.' This method provides a useful theoretical approach in the systematic analysis of the evaluation process. Being a bipolar factor which is graded in intensity and in both directions from a neutral point, the Evaluative factor meets the criterion of reflecting predispositions from 'extremely desirable' through 'neutral' to 'extremely undesirable.' Although Osgood, et al. (1957) devised three factors - the Evaluative - defined by scales superior-inferior, clean-dirty; a Potency factor identifiable by scales like large-small, deep-shallow; and a third, the Activity factor represented by scales like quick-slow, active-inactive; only the Evaluative factor is employed in the present study. This particular factor appears the most appropriate for tapping the attitudes of the respondents towards the host community. Attitude scores are derived by assigning a value of 7 to the 'favourable' end and 1 to the 'unfavourable' end of the scale, and summing across the scale.

6.5: NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION.

To assess this aspect of integration, the level of identification is broken into two dimensions, each delineating a particular area of identification - (i) loyalty to the country; (ii) high regard for all other ethnic groups.

The first which is national political loyalty is the specific aspect of identification with and loyalty to Nigeria in contrast to loyalty orientations towards one's own ethnic group. A second indication of national loyalty is in the area of identification with, and high regard for other ethnic groups; the general feelings of the corps members to associate with members of other ethnic groups in the country. This is not as specific a measure of affect as the social distance scale scores discussed in the previous section, although a similar personality dimension is involved. The difference is that here, the favourable/unfavourable attitude is more generalized, emphasis is not laid on the respondents' attitudes toward the host community. This aspect of identification or high regard for all ethnic groups is seen as a crucial element in national integration, and in so far as it can be termed identification with the political community, it is equally important as an aspect of national identification.

These aspects of national integration do not negate the fact that in a modern, and in the case of Nigeria, a multi-ethnic society, an individual is simultaneously a member of several groups, including the nation. But while it may not be possible to obliterate multiple identities, it is felt that persons with high ethnocentric orientations might reject efforts to integrate them into the nation-state. That is, they would be so well integrated into another political entity, defined by the close-knit bonds of ethnic loyalty that they would not surrender their loyalty to it in favour of the wider political entity. High positive ingroup feelings coupled with negative outgroup feelings might override identification with the nation-state which includes other ethnic groups. It is also felt that ethnocentric individuals will be unlikely to accept as legitimate the exercise of power

and authority by members of ethnic groups other than their own at the national level. National integration demands therefore that identity with the nation supersedes all other loyalties.

To measure the corps members' national loyalty to the nation as opposed to their loyalty to their ethnic group, Likert-type attitude statements are used. The statements deal specifically with the choice between loyalty to Nigeria and the respondents' ethnic group; and their attitudes towards other ethnic groups. The factors are: loyalty to the country Vs non-loyalty; and high regard/low regard for other ethnic groups. These two factors are measured by the respondents' endorsement of the statements designed to ascertain their level of identification with Nigeria.

6.5.1: SCORING.

The scoring system is the same as any Likert-type questionnaire where the responses to each of the statements is scored from 1 to 5, with the weight of 5 being assigned to the 'strongly agreed' response in the case of items expressing a favourable opinion. For negative items, the order is reversed. Each item could be replied by ticking any one of the five answers: "Strongly agree," "agree," "uncertain," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The range of possible scores is 12 to 60 with "uncertain" or neutral point at 36. A total score above neutral point is regarded as indicative of high level of national identification among the corps members, while a score falling below this point represents low level of national identification.

CHAPTER SEVEN : RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.

7.1 : INTRODUCTION.

Research design is concerned with among other things, the methods used to gather and analyze data. An adequate design enables the researcher to obtain answers to questions of research as validly, objectively and as accurately as possible, through the control of extraneous and other variances of the particular research. It is imperative therefore that the research problem and the nature of information sought must dictate the data-gathering methods employed. The present study aims to examine the relationship between participation in the National Youth Service Corps programme and national integration in Nigeria. This it hopes to do through identifying those variables within the NYSC framework which appears to help or hinder the process of integration.

7.2: RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND THEIR RATIONALE.

7.2.1: SAMPLING.

All sampling problems stem from the limitation that are imposed on observation. If one could observe directly all that one needs to know, there would be no occasion to make inferences about what has not been observed or to generalize one's knowledge. Science would merely be a systematic record of data, condensed, perhaps, by some convenient shorthand but never stretched over any void or extended into areas of ignorance. [But] all future, and most of the past and present is beyond the reach of direct observation. Generalization from limited observation is the rule, not the exception (Stephan, F.F. 1950:371).

On the above consideration, the sample for the present study was drawn from the total population of Hausa and Yoruba graduate youths deployed to serve in Imo state in the NYSC programme, in the April 1990 to March 1991 batch.

The population was 780 corps members, made up as follows:-

HAUSA - 314 (Male); 115 (Female).

YORUBA - 191 (Male); 160 (Female).

Total population = 780.

To obtain representativeness of this population, the sample was randomly selected using a table of random numbers, with ethnicity and sex as parameters (see Open University text, Block 2 -Research Design - p. 42 for a detailed discussion of stratified random sampling using a table of random numbers). 275 respondents were so selected for the research (see Table 7.1 below)

Table 7.1: THE SAMPLE (Experimental group).

Ethnic group	Population		Sample size		
	size.	%	(Proportionate)		
		Male	: Female	Male	: Female
Hausa	429	40	15	110	41
Yoruba	351	24	21	66	58
Total	780	64	36 (100%)	176	99

7.2.2: PRE-TEST POST-TEST CONTROL GROUP.

Without a control group it is impossible to evaluate the effects of the experimental treatment (Solomon, R.L. 1949:139).

Being aware of the possibility that responses to the research instruments may be influenced by other factors other than the NYSC experiences in Imo state, efforts were made to safe-guard against such intrusion by the introduction of pre-test post-test control

group. This element helps to improve the credibility of the findings. Since such confounding factors as the effects of history, testing, instrument decay, statistical regression, and so on would affect both the experimental and control groups, one might be justified in interpreting the differences between the two groups at the end of the one year (the length of service period), as indicative of some relationship between NYSC and the observed difference. For example outside historical events would have the same effect on both the experimental group - in this case the corps members - and the control group. Therefore, if the corps members change more than the control group, this greater change - the difference between the changes in the two groups - can, to a large extent, be attributed to the effect of the NYSC experiences.

The control group was drawn from the population of third year students of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, and equivalent students of Bayero University, Kano. These two universities are located in the heartland of Yoruba and Hausa ethnic groups respectively, and each draws the majority of its student population from the ethnic area in which it is located. The control group was examined for comparability with the corps members in factors such as age, sex, marital status, religion, and language. The control group had neither been to any part of Igboland , nor served in the national service programme.

All students at Bayero University are given identification numbers by their various departments. This was found useful during data collection. At Obafemi Awolowo University, the students had no identity numbers, so they were requested to insert their names in the space provided. Anonymity was assured and maintained.

7.2.3: THE QUESTIONNAIRES.

While respondents can, and usually give information directly, there is information, however of a more difficult nature that respondents may be unwilling, reluctant or unable to give readily, for example, information on ... attitudes towards religion and minority (read other ethnic) groups (Kerlinger, F.N. 1986:438).

No where else did the particular research problem in this study and the nature of information sought, dictate the data-gathering method employed more than in the researcher's use of the questionnaire instrument. As anyone familiar with inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria, particularly among the three major ethnic groups, will confirm, this is an area which is characterized by a certain degree of tension, and at best wide-spread alienation. The questionnaire provided the opportunity for questions to be constructed in such a way that respondents could state their innermost feelings without the need to self-monitor their attitudes. The questionnaire enabled the respondents to feel freer to express views they otherwise might have feared would be disapproved of.

Two nearly identical questionnaires were developed, one for BEFORE and the other for AFTER the service experience. The post-service questionnaires differ only by the inclusion of some questions pertaining to the corps members' experiences during the one year service. These include their interaction with the host community - the Igbos, the urban/rural location of their service post, and so on.

The questionnaire is a combination of newly developed questions and schedules used by others. Among the original questions are those which are devised to reflect statements of opinions made by past corps members from Imo state during an initial visit to the state between December 10, 1988 and January 11, 1989, in an effort to clarify the identified problem for the research. Among them are questions on interaction with the host community; and questions on the Likert scale. Among the borrowed questions are: those for the social distance scale (see Peil, M. 1967), except the one relating to employment

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which has been included by the researcher, being deemed most appropriate in this instance. There are also the four socio-metric-type questions on job satisfaction drawn from widely used scales reported in Robinson, J.P. et al. (1969), and slightly modified for the present study. The items represent some of those which have been found to affect employee attitudes. The first is a single measure of overall job satisfaction :- “How satisfied are you with the job assigned to you?” This is followed by questions concerning the degree to which the task is considered worthwhile (this^s phrased in terms of job significance); supervisory assistance, that is, the degree to which supervisors are perceived as supportive and helpful in job matters; and colleague assistance - the degree to which colleagues are perceived as supportive and helpful (Herzberg, F. 1957; Vroom, V.H. 1964; Locke, E.A. 1976). Additionally, participants are also asked to write comments indicating the reasons for some of their responses. Such written comments help to illuminate the sources of their attitude, be it favourable or unfavourable.

7.2.4: THE INTERVIEW.

... if the focal data for a research project are the attitudes and perceptions of individuals, the most direct ... approach is to ask the individuals themselves (Festinger,L. and Katz, D. eds. 1953:330)

An interview schedule was developed by the researcher to supplement the earlier data-gathering method - questionnaires. The schedule outlined the major areas of inquiry, focusing particularly on the corps members' feelings - their fears, anxieties, apprehensions, anticipations and sentiments concerning their posting to Imo state, and their reactions to the whole idea of the national service. The questions were also designed to go deeper into the attitudes of the respondents towards the country. As the respondents had not begun their service in the various workplaces when the first interview was conducted, it was necessary to determine their initial attitudes in these respects.

From the total sample, 20 respondents - 11 Males (7 Yorubas, 4 Hausas); and 9 Females (6 Yorubas , and 3 Hausas) were interviewed on individual basis, before and after their service period in Imo state.

The interview schedule was personally developed and was flexible in terms of method and time. The interview sessions lasted between 10 and 20 minutes. Most of the questions were open-ended enabling in-depth responses through probing. Some are set out below:

- (i) What is the major stated objective of the NYSC programme?
- (ii) What are your own ideas about the programme?
- (iii) If participation in the NYSC was not compulsory, would you have volunteered to serve in it?
- (iv) What were your feelings when you learnt you had been posted to Imo state?
- (v) How do you imagine your year long service in this state will be? (see Appendix A for the full text).

The After- service interview schedule included such questions as, how well they enjoyed their time in the state, what the contributory factors were to their enjoyment or otherwise, and so on.

Interviewing was, as is evident above, in the form of questioning, discussing, exchanging, probing and responding. All interviews were conducted by the researcher and responses written down as accurately as was possible. All respondents felt uneasy about the use of a

(i) The biographical-demographic section which was concerned with such factual information as age; ethnic origin, phrased in terms of state of origin; religion; and so^{on}. The section also contained questions on the amount of contact with host community, how much of the language they had learnt while serving in the state; location, and job satisfaction.

(ii) A section on attitudes towards the Igbos, which contained questions on choice of marriage partner; choice of friends; choice of business partner; semantic differential-type evaluation of a 'typical member of the Igbo ethnic group;' language accommodation while serving in the state, in the form of greeting; social activities with the host community; local projects embarked upon; a willingness to give one's child an Igbo name; preference for or rejection of an Igbo as their state governor; choice of state for permanent employment after service; and whether they would have willingly chosen to serve in Imo state.

(iii) National identity section was made up of : 12 Likert-type scale aimed at measuring loyalty/non loyalty to Nigeria, and high regard for other ethnic groups in the country.

The pilot study was carried out in the months of July and August, 1989 at the NYSC Secretariat, Owerri (Capital of Imo state), Nigeria.

7.4: RELIABILITY OF THE INSTRUMENT.

The reliability of a test instrument is usually defined in terms of its dependability, which means basically that the measurement procedure should consistently yield the same results on repeated occasions. The reliability co-efficient is ideally determined by the correlation between any two measurements of the same thing. However, as is often the case with many studies, the repetition of the measurement was not feasible on the pilot study for the present research since a retest could not be made without re-wording the test instrument to

avoid the problem of respondents remembering some of the items from the first test. A decision was therefore taken to use the split-half method to estimate reliability. This required the division of the pilot test into two halves, separating the odd-numbered items from the even-numbered, (in each scale), and correlating the scores made on each half of the test (r_1) by means of Spearman-Brown formula (shown below) to obtain the whole test reliability (r_2)

$$r_2 = \frac{nr_1}{1 - (n-1)r_1}$$

r_2 = corrected reliability

r_1 = uncorrected reliability

n = number of parts (e.g., for halves, $n=2$).

As a further measure of the internal consistency of the research instrument, Average Item-total Correlation method is applied. By correlating each item with the total score and averaging those correlation coefficients, the procedure gives a measure of how much the answer to each item agrees with the sum of answers to the other items. The reliability coefficient so produced show whether the instrument taps the same variable with each additional item. The use of SPSSX programme saves the laborious work these procedures will otherwise entail. The computer results obtained by using the SPSSX package are detailed in the succeeding pages, and Appendix A (Tables 7.6 to 7.8). Tables 7.2 to 7.4 show the item to total correlations of the items used in the pilot study. Those items with a low item total correlation of less than .45 are not performing as well as other items in the test, and are therefore dropped from the main study. On this criterion, the items asterisked are deleted from the main instrument.

The reliability coefficient obtained for each scale range between .85 and .95.

Table 7.2 RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - NATIONAL IDENTITY SCALE.

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E

[1].	NIGLANG	no nig language is better than another
[2].	MARIETHN	marry from your ethnic group
[3].	NGINTPAR	nig interest to be paramount
[4].	OWNETPOL	vote own group into politics
5.	GDIMPFOR	good impression to fori
6.	NTLUKNIG	not lucky to be a nigerian
7.	ACPTNYSC	acceptance of nysc
8.	SELSACR	self sacrifice for nigeria
9.	NIGMIST	nig always makes mistakes
[10].	ETNGPSAP	ethnic groups should stay apart
11.	NTCHOSNG	not choosing to live in nigeria
[12].	ALLETIMP	all ethnic groups are important

OF CASES = 160.0

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS

	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM- TOTAL CORRELATION	SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
NIGLANG	16.2875	45.1118	.6981	.8073	.9488
MARIETHN	16.1625	38.4137	.8824	.9577	.9425
NGINTPAR	16.1938	38.4339	.8800	.9673	.9426
OWNETPOL	16.2250	44.7415	.7440	.8821	.9477
GDIMPFOR	16.2125	44.8351	.7283	.8542	.9481
NTLUKNIG	16.2125	38.2187	.9006	.9804	.9417
ACPTNYSC	16.3125	45.1344	.7031	.8147	.9487
SELSACR	16.1500	38.4805	.8766	.9580	.9427
NIGMIST	16.2500	44.8302	.7336	.8341	.9480
ETNGPSAP	16.1938	45.0503	.6940	.7736	.9488
NTCHOSNG	16.1813	38.2877	.8939	.9690	.9420
ALLETIMP	16.2500	44.6541	.7615	.9215	.9474

102 Mar 92 First run frequencies

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS 12 ITEMS

ALPHA = .9502 STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .9605

Table 7.3 RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - MARRIAGE AND FRIENDSHIP CHOICE SCALES.

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E

1.	BESTFRET	best friends ethnic group
2.	CLOFRETH	close friends ethnic group
*3.	CHOOSIMO	choose imo for service
*4.	STATEGOV	choice of state governor
5.	CHLDMARI	pref for child's marriage partner
*6.	LANGUSE	which language do you use
*7.	NAMECHLD	name child in another language
*8.	WKAFTSER	choice of state for work after nysc
*9.	BISPATNA	choice of business partner
10.	SOCIADIS	degree of association allowed

OF CASES = 160.0

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS

	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM- TOTAL CORRELATION	SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
BESTFRET	10.6312	4.7625	.8791	.8922	.8107
CLOFRETH	10.6000	4.7698	.8020	.7425	.8177
*CHOOSIMO	10.7375	5.8552	.3745	.2703	.8567
*STATEGOV	10.6812	5.6273	.4110	.2885	.8559
CHLDMARI	10.6437	4.7842	.8850	.8999	.8106
*LANGUSE	10.7812	5.9959	.3626	.2477	.8566
*NAMECHLD	10.8000	6.1862	.2622	.3635	.8620
*WKAFTSER	10.6750	5.7176	.3763	.2868	.8584
*BISPATNA	10.7062	5.7685	.3829	.2753	.8569
SOCIADIS	10.6187	4.8537	.8059	.7889	.8181

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS 10 ITEMS

ALPHA = .8559 STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .8418

Table 7.4 SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALE OF "A TYPICAL IGBO."

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E (A L L)		
1.	SEMFRIEN	friendliness of ibos
2.	CLEAN	cleanliness of ibos
3.	QUIET	quietness of ibos
4.	INDUSTRI	industriousness of ibos
5.	RESPECT	ibos as respectful
6.	HUMBLE	humility of ibos
7.	COOPERAT	cooperativeness of ibos
8.	HONEST	honesty of ibos
9.	HELPFUL	helpfulness of ibos
10.	GENEROUS	generosity of ibos

OF CASES = 160.0

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS

	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM- TOTAL CORRELATION	SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
SEMFRIEN	10.6687	7.5059	.4632	.3323	.9248
CLEAN	10.7000	7.8843	.2934	.2672	.9308
QUIET	10.6625	7.2690	.5924	.5130	.9191
INDUSTRI	10.6687	7.0908	.7225	.6258	.9131
RESPECT	10.5812	6.6223	.7882	.6750	.9084
HUMBLE	10.5625	6.5495	.7959	.7487	.9079
COOPERAT	10.5562	6.4622	.8326	.7580	.9056
HONEST	10.5562	6.4245	.8528	.7852	.9043
HELPFUL	10.5250	6.4396	.8007	.6914	.9076
GENEROUS	10.5500	6.4755	.8160	.7054	.9066

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RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS 10 ITEMS

ALPHA = .9214 STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .9154

7.5: VALIDITY OF THE SCALES.

A valid scale is one that measures what it is intended to measure. In other words, an indicator of some abstract concept is valid in so far as it measures what it purports to measure. In this study recourse is made to the use of construct validity which involves selecting indicants for national integration, constructing scales for each of the respective sets of indicants, and calculating the correlation among the set of items.

Four major scales are constructed for the national integration concept. Three for the 'Attitudes towards the Igbo' dimension. They are the 'social distance' scale comprising of items relating to inter-ethnic marriage; choice of friends; and the semantic differential scale of 'a typical Igbo.' The national identity dimension is measured by the Likert-type statements which reflect loyalty/non-loyalty to Nigeria; and high regard/low regard for other ethnic groups. The items forming the latter scale are put in brackets in the Tables. These scales are believed to reflect the most salient aspects of national integration - inter-ethnic integration and national identification.

To determine the validity of the scales, factor analysis is performed. This procedure gives an indication of the extent to which an item measures what the scale measures. It tells whether or not an item is in step with all the other items in the scale, as it has the capacity to elicit an array of variable combinations (factors). Variables thus clustered are assumed to share some basic underlying characteristics. The results below show that most of the items in each scale load highly on the first or second factor, thereby providing a good estimate of the relative strengths of the several variables acting simultaneously on a criterion. Those items not performing well are asterisked and are excluded from the main study. With this result it is assumed that the scales can be used with these items since they show a homogeneity of content (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS (FACTOR ANALYSIS)-

NATIONAL IDENTITY SCALE.

FACTOR MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
[1]. NIGLANG	.78810	.35087
[2]. MARIETHN	.83681	-.50604
[3]. NGINTPAR	.83394	-.51874
[4]. OWNETPOL	.84889	.40142
5. GDIMFOR	.82602	.37582
6. NTLUKNIG	.85578	-.49952
7. ACPTNYSC	.79161	.34508
8. SELFSACR	.83070	-.51258
9. NIGMIST	.82479	.34924
[10]. ETNGPSAP	.78900	.36964
11. NTCHOSNG	.84886	-.50119
[12]. ALLETIMP	.86857	.40779

MARRIAGE AND FRIENDSHIP CHOICE SCALES.

FACTOR MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
BESTFRET	.95804	-.09487
CLOFRETH	.87580	.01254
*CHOOSIMO	.41768	.58243
*STATEGOV	.18746	.55100
CHLDMARI	.94919	-.08631
*LANGUSE	.41358	-.01224
*NAMECHLD	.44270	-.12118
*WKAFTSER	.16466	.72425
*BISPATNA	.32818	.26203
SOCIADIS	.78500	-.14424

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS - SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALES.

FACTOR MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
SEMFRIEN	.53991	-.37353
CLEAN	.35522	.80682
QUIET	.66001	.41616
INDUSTRI	.77814	.32471
RESPECT	.84384	.00975
HUMBLE	.84644	-.19776
COOPERAT	.87467	-.11484
HONEST	.89383	-.13084
HELPFUL	.85139	-.16418
GENEROUS	.86525	-.11087

8: CHAPTER EIGHT : THE MAIN STUDY

The sample for the present study consisted of:-

(1) an experimental group, which was made up of 260 graduate youths from the Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups. These were among the batch of corps members sent on the National Youth Service Corps programme in Imo state for the April 1990/March 1991 service year;

(2) a control group, which consisted of 200 final year students of two universities which are situated in the heartland of Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups - Bayero University, Kano, and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, respectively. 105 respondents were drawn from the former, and 95 from the later university. The entire sample was selected with gender (male/female) and ethnic origin (Hausa/Yoruba) as parameters.

Questionnaire administration was done solely by the researcher. However, on each occasion the presence of an NYSC official at Owerri, Imo state, in the case of the experimental group, and that of a university lecturer (at Bayero University and Obafemi Awolowo University) in the case of the control group, was secured to ensure there was no rowdiness.

A total of 275 questionnaires were administered to the experimental group, but 15 were not fully completed, and so were eliminated from the analysis. For the control group, 205 were issued, but 5 went missing, leaving 200 for analysis.

For data analysis, a composite score of each of the attitude scales - National Identity; Marriage Choice; Friendship Choice; and the Igbogroup (semantic-differential) are obtained. The t-tests, (and Anova where appropriate) are employed for significant differences between the score means.

To investigate the relative importance of the independent variables - sex, ethnic origin, religion, job satisfaction, location, language and frequency of contact - as determinants of attitudes towards national integration - Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis procedures are employed. The level of significance for all analyses in the present study is decided at the .05.

8.1 : NATIONAL IDENTITY SCALE.

The National Identity scale, it will be recalled, consists of twelve 5-point Likert-type questions, which range from 'strongly agree' (5 points), to 'strongly disagree' (1 point) for positive questions. The marks are reversed for negative questions. Each respondent has therefore a potential score of 12 (very negative attitude) to 60 (very positive attitude). 36 points represent a neutral cum negative attitude.

First, a t-test statistics is performed on the pre/post scores of both the experimental and control groups to assess the differences in their attitude towards national integration. In addition to analyzing the groups' total scores on this scale, t-test, and ANOVA (where appropriate) are performed separately with the independent variables - sex, ethnic origin of respondents, religion, and job satisfaction, to determine whether the scores on national integration do vary with each of these factors. The three remaining independent variables - frequency of contact , language, and urban/rural location of assignment, are included in later analysis, when the scales pertaining more closely to attitude towards the host community - Marriage choice scale, friendship choice scale, and Igbo-group semantic -differential scales are analyzed. The decision is consistent with the hypotheses on these variables (see Hypotheses 3, 6 and 9). In the t-test and ANOVA analyses presented in this study, the number of cases are enclosed in parentheses, where necessary.

Table 8.1.1: Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using National Identity total scores.

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t - value	P
IDENTITY					
EXP-POST	260	44.9344	10.323	3.11	sig beyond .005 level
EXP-PRE	260	41.4654	8.475		
CTRL-POST	200	42.2814	9.167	2.34	signf at the .05 level
CTRL-PRE	200	39.7789	9.361		
EXP-POST	260	44.9344	10.323	2.54	signf at the .01 level
CTRL-POST	200	42.2800	9.144		

Table 8.1.1 shows that there is a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of both the experimental and control groups ($t = 3.11, P < .005$; $t = 2.34, P < .01$ level respectively). The table also shows that the experimental group's post-test scores differ significantly from those of the control group ($t = 2.54, P < .01$ level). Although the group means at both the pre and post-test scores for the experimental and control groups are above the theoretical neutral point of the scale, which is 36, indicating a positive attitude towards national integration by the two groups, such positive attitude is reflected more so by the post-test scores of the experimental group. From the data therefore it seems reasonable to state that National Youth Service Corps programme appears to have had a favourable influence on the participants' attitudes. Having said that, it is necessary to interpret the result with a degree of caution at this stage since the corps members who have served in the youth programme in Imo state (part of Igbo ethnic group) may have been influenced by other factors tangentially related to the national service, rather than participation in the youth service per se. Further analysis is therefore needed to isolate other likely confounding factors.

SEX

Table.8.1.2.Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on sex using National Identity total scores.

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	t- VALUE	P
IDENTITY				
EXP-PRE	(161)	(99)		sigf at the
	42.5963	39.6263	2.84	.005 level.
EXP-POST	(161)	(99)		
	45.0062	42.2121	1.51	n.s.
CTRL-PRE	(114)	(86)		sigf at the
	38.9912	42.2442	-2.54	.01 level
CTRL-POST	(114)	(86)		
	42.5351	44.3605	-1.40	n.s.

The t-test computed on the score difference between the males and females in the experimental and control groups' pre and post test scores above show a significant difference between the two sexes in the pre test scores for both groups. The difference is at the .005 and .01 level of confidence, respectively. The post-test scores however show no significant difference by gender of the respondents. The high means indicate a favourable attitude towards national integration by both the males and females, but sex does not appear to exert an important influence in this regard.

ETHNIC ORIGIN.

Table.8.1.3..Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on ethnic origin using National Identity total scores.

VARIABLE	HAUSA	YORUBA	t- VALUE	P
IDENTITY				
EXP-PRE	(140)	(120)		sigf at the
	42.3857	40.3917	1.92	.05 level
EXP-POST	(140)	(120)		n.s.
	44.3571	43.4583	0.51	
CTRL-PRE	(105)	(95)		sigf beyond
	38.2000	42.8105	-3.56	.005 level
CTRL-POST	(105)	(95)		n.s.
	43.9524	42.6211	1.02	

Table 8.1.3 shows the result of the t-test computed on the score difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in the experimental and control groups' pre and post-test scores. There is no significant difference between the two ethnic groups in their attitudes towards national identification, as measured by the National Identity scale and reflected in the post-test scores.

RELIGION.

Table.8.1.4.Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on religion using National Identity total scores.

VARIABLE	MOSLEM	CHRISTIAN	t- VALUE	P
IDENTITY				
EXP-PRE	(142)	(96)		sigf beyond
	43.5634	38.9479	4.00	.005 level
EXP-POST	(142)	(96)		
	46.9896	43.4225	1.90	n. s.
CTRL-PRE	(117)	(80)		
	39.6667	41.2500	-1.09	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(117)	(80)		sigf beyond
	44.9138	40.8148	3.15	.005 level

Table 8.1.4 reveals no significant difference between the Moslems and Christians in their attitude towards national integration . The means are well above the theoretical mid-point of 36, indicating a favourable attitude among both the Moslems and Christians towards national integration as measured by the National Identity Scale.

JOB SATISFACTION.

Although responses to the degree of job satisfaction felt by respondents was assessed by a 4-point scale of "Very Satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," and "Very Dissatisfied," in the following analysis, job satisfaction table has been dichotomized, using the SPSSX Compute Command. This is done to enable the t-test statistics to be

carried out, and to make the results a great deal clearer to read. The 1s and 2s become 1 (satisfied group), while the 3s and 4s become group 2 (dissatisfied group).

Table 8.1.5. Experimental group post-test mean scores on job satisfaction using National Identity total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IDENTITY				
	(118)			signf beyond
SATISFIED	47.9167	12.781	4.36	.0005 level.
	(142)			
DISSATISFIED	40.5357	14.533		

There is a significant difference between the attitudes of those who are satisfied with their jobs and those who are not satisfied with their jobs, towards national integration. The t-value of 4.36 is significant beyond the .0005 level of confidence. One can therefore conclude that those who are satisfied with their jobs are more favourably disposed towards the national scheme and what it stands for which is national integration. Any explanation of job satisfaction itself no doubt requires the indexing of the respondents job perception - work-role, amount of supervision received, relationship with colleagues in the work-place, who in this instance are members of the host community, the Igbos . This task is necessarily undertaken in a later section. But suffice it to state here that the the higher means for the 'satisfied' group may have been induced by the characteristics of their work environment.

MARRIAGE CHOICE SCALE.

The marriage choice scale represents :-

1. a social distance scale which asked the respondents to indicate the degree of association each of them would allow with the Igbos. The main interest was on marriage relationship with the Igbos who have no historical or cultural relationships with the other two major ethnic groups - the Hausas and the Yorubas.- a people who are more commonly looked upon as aliens in other parts of Nigeria (Nevadomsky, J. 1989).Therefore:-

- (i) marriage with Igbos scores 3
- (ii) employ them scores 2
- (iii) sharing a house with them scores 1
- (iv) have nothing to do with them scores 0;

2. a question on respondents' preference for their children's marriage partner. On this :-

- (i) the choice of Igbos scores 3
- (ii) other ethnic group - Hausa or Yoruba - scores 2
- (iii) own ethnic group -Hausa or Yoruba - scores 1

Although a low score in Bogardus Social Distance Scale normally signifies a favourable attitude, the scoring here was reversed to make it consistent with the 'Friendship Choice' scale which is analyzed next.

The possible scores for the 'Marriage Choice Scale' are from 1 to 6. A high score reflects a favourable attitude towards national integration.

Table 8.2.1. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	<i>P</i>
MCHOICE				
EXP-POST	(260) 4.600	1.013	4.58	sigf beyond .005 level
EXP-PRE	(260) 4.2192	0.943		
CTRL-POST	(200) 4.2550	1.103	-0.19	n.s
CTRL-PRE	(200) 4.2750	1.022		
EXP-POST	(260) 4.6000	1.103	-3.53	sigf beyond .005 level.
CTRL-POST	(200) 4.2550	0.951		

An examination of Table 8.2.1 suggests that there is a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group ($P < .005$) and between the post-test scores of the experimental and control groups ($P < .005$). But there is no significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the control group. The overall trend of their attitudes is a positive attitude towards choosing the Igbo as a marriage partner.

SEX

Table.8.2.2. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on sex using Marriage Choice total scores.

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	t- VALUE	P
MCHOICE				
EXP-PRE	(161) 4.2671	(99) 4.4141	-1.19	sigf beyond .01 level
EXP-POST	(161) 4.7391	(99) 4.3737	2.64	sigf beyond .01 level
CTRL-PRE	(114) 3.9474	(86) 4.1628	-1.57	n.s.
CTRL-POST	(114) 4.1491	(86) 4.1628	-0.09	n.s.

Table 8.2.2 shows the results of the t-test computed on the pre and post-test scores of the males and females on their attitudes towards marrying outside their own ethnic groups. The pre and post-test scores of the experimental group show a significant difference between the sexes at the .01 level of confidence, respectively. But the pre and post-test scores of the control group show no significant difference between the males and females. The high means for the males indicate that the males are much more favourably disposed towards marrying from another ethnic group, than the females. The males in other words have a more favourable attitude towards other ethnic groups, and in this instance towards the Igbo ethnic group than the females. This contradicts earlier, although meagre research in this area which show that males have a greater tendency to express strong negative feelings about other groups, in contrast to women who have warmer feelings about other groups (Campbell, J.D. and Radke-Yarrow, M.J 1956; Hall, J.A. and Halberstadt, A G. 1986).

For an explanation to this finding, recourse is made to the Igbo culture. Could there be a characteristic which inhere in the Igbo ethnic group, particularly in their females and admired by the other ethnic groups? The most persuasive explanation may be the general belief, however exaggerated, of the dynamism and industriousness of the Igbos in general; the Igbo women's high regard for the marriage institution, and their commitment to their marital homes. Such beliefs which appear to have been confirmed more for the men by their service in Imo state as shown by the post-test scores of the experimental group's males are demonstrable by the tendency to marry the Igbo females.

ETHNIC ORIGIN.

Table.8.2.3. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on ethnic origin using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	HAUSA	YORUBA	t- VALUE	P
MCHOICE				
EXP	(140)	(120)		
PRE-TEST	4.2571	4.4000	-1.21	.n.s.
EXP	(140)	(120)		
POST-TEST	4.6214	4.5750	0.34	n.s.
CTRL	(105)	(95)		
PRE-TEST	4.0000	4.0842	-0.62	n.s.
CTRL	(105)	(95)		
POST-TEST	4.0952	4.2211	-0.79	n.s

Table 8.2.3 shows no significant difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in their attitudes towards marrying from another ethnic group, particularly the Igbo ethnic group. Both groups show a favourable attitude towards such a union. The scores of the experimental group are higher than those of the control group, particularly at the end of

the service year in Imo state. Such can be regarded as a more favourable attitude by those who have served in the national scheme among the Igbos of Imo state.

RELIGION

Table 8.2.4. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post mean scores on religion using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MOSLEM	CHRISTIAN	t- VALUE	P
MCHOICE				
EXP	(142)	(96)		signf at the
PRE-TEST	4.2394	4.4896	-1.96	.05 level
EXP	(142)	(96)		signf beyond
POST-TEST	4.1354	4.8873	-5.73	.0005 level
CTRL	(117)	(80)		
PRE-TEST	3.9573	4.1875	-1.62	.n.s.
CTRL	(117)	(80)		
POST-TEST	4.1121	4.2469	-0.82	n.s.

Table 8.2.4 reveals a significant difference between the Moslems and Christians in their attitude towards marrying from the Igbo ethnic group, the Christians showing a more favourable attitude in this regard; t-value of -5.73 is significant beyond the .0005 level of confidence. With the Igbos being predominantly Christians, the pattern appears to be a tendency to respect religious boundaries. This is consistent with research in this area which show that the greatest amount of intermarriage occur among nationality groups sharing a common religion. According to Rokeach, M. et al. 1960 and others (see Chapter Six for more references), the prejudiced person does not reject a person of another race or nationality because of his ethnic membership per se, but rather because he perceives that the other differs from him in important beliefs. It can be

concluded therefore that the national scheme has only allowed for slight toleration of the Igbos by the Moslems, as far as marriage relationship is concerned.

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

It needs to be restated here that the variable FREQUENCY OF CONTACT is measured in terms of the frequency of respondents' interaction with the host community by way of involvement in local projects. The youth corps members are assigned in groups to work side by side with the host community in local projects, which may range from building bridges, to erecting market stalls, depending on the primary needs of the particular society. Not all participants however get the opportunity to work on such projects, since such projects are either too few to engage all corps members in a particular year, or the funds to execute them are not forthcoming or meagre, thereby curtailing the number of projects that can be embarked upon. Additionally, participants are encouraged to voluntarily participate in local concerns with the host community, either in groups or individually.

Frequency of contact for the present study is specifically measured in relation to the number of times the respondent has been assigned to work with the locals on projects. By using this as a measure of 'frequency of contact,' the study has opted for a programme of activity which is devised by the national youth service scheme and to which the corps members are assigned rather than one in which the respondent participates in voluntarily. In such a case, it would have been almost impossible to disentangle the sequence of the changes in attitudes, and to claim any asymmetrical relationship between such contact and attitudes towards the host community. This is because in a voluntary situation an element of self-selection is present and the reverse sequence could then have been plausible since it is quite possible for the less prejudiced person to be more likely to develop close contacts across ethnic lines than one who is

highly intolerant of other ethnic groups, or the Igbos in this instance. But with such involvement being mandatory for those who are chosen to participate, the possibility of a reciprocal relationship is greatly minimized. The study can therefore safely measure the effect of such close interaction, and the frequency of such involvement with the local community in joint activity.

Table 8.2.5. Experimental group post-test scores on frequency of contact using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	F RATIO	F PROB.
<hr/>				
MCHOICE	(60)			
ONCE	4.5000	.9654		
TWICE OR MORE	(37) 4.9189	.9826	4.7967	sigf beyond .01 level
NEVER	(163) 4.3436	.9303		

The results show there is a significant difference between the attitudes of those who participated in local projects with the host community and those who had no or fewer such interactions, towards marrying outside their own ethnic groups, particularly from among the Igbos. The F-ratio is significant beyond .01 level of confidence. This indicates that intergroup interaction and cooperation in the form of local projects can induce inter-group acceptance by reducing prejudice through an increased knowledge about the other group. Neuberg ,S.L.and Fiske, S.T. (1987) have shown more generally that cooperative interdependence increases motivation to form more rational impressions of other groups. It is concluded here therefore that frequent participation in local projects with the local community has helped to transform the participants' cognitive representations of the the host community, and to reduce bias.

JOB SATISFACTION

Table 8.2.6. Experimental group post-test scores on job satisfaction using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-	P
MCHOICE				
SATISFIED	(118) 4.6695	1.055	1.42	n.s.
DISSATISFIED	(142) 4.4859	1.023		

The results show that there is no significant difference between the level of job satisfaction of respondents and their attitudes towards marrying outside their own ethnic groups. The high means indicate that both the "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" group are favourably disposed towards exogamous marriage, and to marrying from the host community in particular.

LANGUAGE.

Concerning Igbo language as a factor in attitude change among the participants, it is to be noted that since no formal systematic instruction is as yet offered in the language within the context of the National Youth Service Corps scheme, it was not possible to draw a profile of the language skills and abilities of the sample. The analysis therefore is based on the respondents' indication of their relative competence in the language, in line with the question asked in this regard. This is deemed sufficient for the present study since, as interview notes clearly show (see 'Further Analysis' section), Igbo is

not a language the respondents would claim to know if the case was otherwise. The responses are dichotomized using SPSSX Compute command. The 1s and 2s become group1 (Learn), while the 3s and 4s become group 2 (Not learn).

Table 8.2.7: Experimental group post-test scores on language using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
MCHOICE				
	(91)			
LEARN	4.7033	1.070	2.55	sigf. at .01
	(169)			level
NOTLEARN	4.3550	1.008		

Table 8.2.7 shows a significant difference between those who indicated that they had learnt Igbo during the service year and those who indicated that they had not. The difference is significant at the .01 level of confidence. It appears therefore that the knowledge of Igbo has had some effect on the respondents' attitudes towards the Igbos. What this means in effect is that since language acts as an agent in maintaining the cultural, political and social traditions of a sub-unit, the knowledge of another's language facilitates communication between the different groups, helping to develop a common, shared set of values, and the assimilation of these values by members of the the sub-systems. Indeed the creating of ties between ethnic groups in a political system requires the breaking down or modification of existing loyalties and ties, a function which language can serve.

LOCATION

Table 8.2.8..Experimental group post-test scores on location using Marriage Choice Scale total scores.

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>STANDARD DEVIATION</u>	<u>t- VALUE</u>	<u>P</u>
<u>MCHOICE</u>				
URBAN	(177) 4.3559	1.033	-2.36	signf at the .01 level
RURAL	(83) 4.6867	1.070		

Table 8.2.7 shows a significant difference between the attitudes of those located in the urban and rural areas, toward marrying from the host community. Those in the rural area show more favourable attitude in this regard than those in the urban area. The differential mean scores can be accounted for by the fact that the urban/rural environments provide different contact situations which differ in the extent to which they encourage interaction. The rural location it is argued provides the context which favours cross-cultural contact and interaction between the host community and the corps members. It has what could be described as 'high interaction potential.' With no other 'foreigners' around in the villages, the corps member, in the course of service in the rural community is in a much more encouraging position, than his urban counterpart, to engage, not only in more frequent, but also more closer interaction with the host community, and be thereby enabled to understand the people more. The rural situation as the data indicate, has had an important influence on the the participants' attitudes towards the host community, an element of national integration.

8.3 : FRIENDSHIP CHOICE SCALE.

The friendship scale is made up of two questions concerning the respondents' choice of friends in terms of ethnic groups. The two questions are as follows:-

- (1) From which ethnic group is your best friend?

- (2) From which other ethnic group would you like to have a close friend?

Points are awarded in terms of how near or distant an ethnic group is viewed in relation to the respondents' own ethnic group. In the present study the Hausas and the Yorubas are seen as two of the three major Nigerian ethnic groups who have a great deal more in common with each other in terms of religion, and language, than each of them has with the Igbo ethnic group which is different in these important respects. Therefore :-

- (i) friendship with own ethnic group is scored 1 point;

- (ii) friendship with either Hausa or Yoruba if different from the respondents ethnic group is scored 2 points;

- (iii) the choice of an Igbo as a friend is scored 3 points.

The maximum score obtainable for the two questions is 6, while the minimum is 2. The theoretical mid-point is 4. The higher the score, the more favourable the attitude.

Table 8.3.1. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Friendship Choice Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
EXP-PRE	(260) 3.1615	1.008	-4.42	sigf.beyond .0005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 3.5615	1.198		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 2.8995	0.765	-2.37	signf at .the .01 level.
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.1005	0.865		
EXP-POST	(260) 3.5615	1.198	4.80	sigf beyond .0005 level.
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.1000	0.862		

Table 8.3.1 indicates a significant difference between the pre and post test scores of both the experimental and control groups ($P < .0005$ and $P < .01$ level of confidence, respectively). There is a significant difference between the post-test scores of the experimental and control group ($P < .0005$ level). Although the post-test scores of the experimental group is significantly higher than the pre-test scores, and those of the control group, the scores are still below the theoretical midpoint of 4. However the huge difference in mean scores of the experimental group reveals that participation in the national scheme has had a favourable influence on the respondents' attitude, changing it from a negative to a marginally positive attitude towards forming friendships with other ethnic groups, in this instance, with the Igbos.

SEX

Table 8.3.2. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on sex using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
EXP-PRE	(161)	(99)		
	3.1180	3.2323	-0.84	n.s.
EXP-POST	(161)	(99)		sigf at the
	3.5901	3.1818	2.27	.01 level
CTRL-PRE	(114)	(86)		
	2.8772	2.9302	-0.50	n.s.
CTRL-POST	(114)	(86)		
	3.1228	3.0698	.043	n.s.

There is a significant difference between post-test scores of the males and females. The difference is significant at the .01 level of confidence, with the males, as in the "Marriage Choice Scale," showing a more favourable attitude than the females. The means, in spite of this difference indicate that the respondents are reluctant to form friendships with other ethnic groups, particularly the Igbos. This is rather puzzling in view of their readiness to form marriage relationships with the host community. One reason for this could be that in the case of marriage, the males have, or think they have something important to gain from such a relationship, in the form of a stable home and/or other characteristics which are admired in the other group - the Igbos. Such admired characteristics they would perhaps, wish to introduce into their culture through inter-marriage, whereas in the case of friendship such might not apply.

ETHNIC ORIGIN.

Table 8.3.3. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on ethnic origin using Friendship Choice Scale .

VARIABLE	HAUSA	YORUBA	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
EXP-PRE	(140)	(120)		
	3.1571	3.1667	-0.08	n.s.
EXP-POST	(140)	(120)		
	3.3571	3.5250	-1.12	n.s.
CTRL-PRE	(105)	(95)		sigf at the
	2.8000	3.0105	-1.94	.05 level
CTRL-POST	(105)	(95)		
	3.1714	3.0211	1.23	n.s.

There is no significant difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in their attitude towards national integration as far as friendship choice is concerned. The scores indicate that the two sub-groups are reluctant to form friendships with the Igbo ethnic group.

RELIGION

Table 8.3.4. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on religion using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLES	MOSLEM	CHRISTIAN	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
EXP-PRE	(142)	(96)		sigf at the
	2.9225	3.3958	-3.52	.001 level
EXP-POST	(142)	(96)		sigf at the .05
	3.6354	3.9507	-2.03	level.
CTRL-PRE	(117)	(80)		
	2.8632	2.9500	-0.75	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(117)	(80)		
	3.0862	3.0988	-0.10	n. s.

Table 8.3.4 shows a significant difference in the pre and post-test scores of the Moslems and Christians, the Christians showing a more favourable attitude than the Moslems. Here is a case where it is believed that values are consequentially important conceptions or standards of desirability which influence attitudes towards other ethnic groups. In the Moslem religion, religious values are indistinguishable from secular values, leaving little room for the sharing of non-religious values with groups of other faith. What the results have indicated is that the less compartmentalized the claims of a particular faith are, (in this instance the Moslem religion which is more than a religion, but a way of life of its believers), the more likely it is that religious group membership will be a divisive factor. Having said that, it is worth pointing out the improvement in

post-test mean scores of the Moslems. That indicates a positive attitude change which can be attributed to their service among the Igbos who are largely Christians. Religious affiliation ought therefore to be considered as one important criterion for deployment of corps members particularly those from the northern states. Such action will ensure interaction between people of the two major faiths in the country, and ultimately help reduce prejudice and hostility.

JOB SATISFACTION

Table 8.3.5. Experimental group post-test scores on job satisfaction using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-	P
FCHOICE				
SATISFIED	(118) 3.7966	1.230	4.53	sigf beyond .0005 level
DISSATISFIED	(142) 3.1338	1.106		

Table 8.3.5 shows a statistically significant difference in the attitudes towards choosing friends from another ethnic group, particularly from the host community, between those who report being satisfied with their jobs and those who report otherwise. With $t=4.53$, there is a strong association between attitudes towards choosing the Igbos as friends and job satisfaction. One reason for this relationship could be the sense of accomplishment at work. One's sense of accomplishment could offer psychological benefits generally which can be reflected in peoples' attitudes towards others, in this case the participants attitudes towards the people they work with, Igbos. Another could be the sense of friendship shown by the host community who form the bulk of the permanent staff in the work place. The corps members' experience in the work-place,

their association with the host community in the course of their assignments appear to have helped to disconfirm some of their ideas about the Igbos and to reduce prejudice.

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

Table 8.3.6. Experimental group post-test scores on frequency of contact using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	F RATIO	F PROB
FCHOICE				
ONCE	(60) 3.7833	1.0907		
TWICE OR MORE	(37) 3.9459	1.3322	9.7731	sigf beyond .005 level
NEVER	(163) 3.1902	1.1576		

Table 8.3.6 reveals a significant difference in attitudes ($P < .005$ level of confidence) towards forming friendships with the Igbos between those who had more contact with the Igbos through involvement in local projects and those who did not have such contacts. Those who had more contacts with the host community in projects are more inclined to forming friendships with the Igbos. A model which may account for the effects of such contact is Tajfel and Turner's (1979) on social categorization and social identity theory which proposes that intergroup cooperation promotes intergroup acceptance because it reduces the cognitive salience of the intergroup boundary. For the present study it is the case that the involvement in joint ventures which involves several features, including interaction, common problems and goals, and common fate between the memberships have had the potential of influencing, favourably, the attitudes of the participants.

LANGUAGE.

Table 8.3.7: Experimental group post-test scores on language using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
LEARN	(91) 3.4945	1.129	1.98	sigf at .05 level.
NOTLEARN	(169) 3.2130	1.024		

Table 8.3.7 shows a significant difference between those who have learnt and those who have not learnt Igbo language during the course of the service year. The difference is significant at the .05 level of confidence. Although the difference is weak, it can nevertheless be concluded that the increased knowledge of the host community through their language may have enabled the respondents concerned to move to an expanded set of values, and thereby to be more inclined than the rest, to widen their friendship choice. What this points to is the need for the development, through language, of new shared perspectives and values, all of which form the boundaries of acceptance action. Indeed, since the goal of the national scheme is to increase a feeling and a sense of oneness among the different groups that comprise Nigeria, language, that is, the acquisition of another Nigerian language apart from one's own must be seen as a crucial variable in the process.

LOCATION

Table 8.3.8: Experimental group post-test scores on location using Friendship Choice Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
FCHOICE				
URBAN	(177) 3.2542	1.214	-3.72	sigf beyond .005 level.
RURAL	(83) 3.8193	1.106		

Table 8.3.7 shows a significant difference between those deployed to the urban area and those serving in the rural areas in their attitudes towards forming friendships with the host community. The mean scores of those located in the rural areas are significantly higher than those of the participants in the urban area ($P < .005$ level of confidence). The rural location in the present study, could, in the light of the findings, be seen as a context with "high acquaintance potential," (Allport, G.1954, Brewer, M.B. and Miller, N. 1984), a condition which in the present study has helped to reduce inter-ethnic group prejudice.

8.4: SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES OF 'A TYPICAL IGBO.'

Semantic differential scales were developed and administered to the experimental group before and after the service; and also to the control group during the same periods. The instrument was designed to assess changes in the respondents' perception of the Igbos, who happen in this instance to be the host community for the experimental group in the national service in Imo state of Nigeria. The instrument consisted of 10 semantic differential bipolar adjective scales found through pre-testing to be relevant to the different ethnic groups in describing other ethnic groups, and the Igbos in this case. These are friendly-unfriendly, clean-dirty, quiet-noisy, industrious-lazy, humble-arrogant, respectful-disrespectful, cooperative-uncooperative, honest-dishonest, helpful-unhelpful, generous-stingy.

Since the study is partly concerned with the attitudinal reactions of the respondents towards the Igbos, it was necessary to determine how the Igbos are rated on the adjectives involved in the scales. All the respondents were asked to rate on a seven-point scale a 'typical member of the Igbo ethnic group' on the 10 opposing traits. Their response to each of the scales is taken to represent both the direction and intensity of their attitudes towards the Igbos on the particular scale. The scores range from 10 (most negative) to 70 (most positive) points.

To assess the extremity of their judgments of the concept 'The Igbos' t-tests, and ANOVA where applicable, were performed on the scores with sex, ethnic origin and religion as the independent variables for both the experimental and control groups. The four remaining variables - location, job satisfaction, language and frequency of contact, were included only when the experimental group post-test scores were analyzed. A Group Value score was computed for the characteristics assigned to the 'The Igbos.' The mean Group Value scores were then compared for the pre and post-test scores.

In addition to analyzing the total ratings' score, t-tests, were performed separately on each of the pairs of traits for the pre and post-test scores of the experimental and control groups, to find

out how the Igbos are rated on each of the scales.

IGBO GROUP SCALE.

Table 8.4.1 : Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Igbo-group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 43.1776	7.782	-6.19	sigf beyond .0005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 46.5367	4.092		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 42.1759	7.498	-2.56	signf at the .01 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 43.8040	9.768		
EXP-POST	(260) 46.5077	4.111	3.73	signf beyond .005 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 43.7650	9.759		

The results show a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental and control groups as measured by the 'Semantic-differential Scale of 'a typical Igbo' (P <.0005 and P < .01 level of confidence, respectively). There is also a significant difference between the post-test scores of the experimental and control groups (P <.005). The higher and significant post-test scores of the experimental group reflect the development of a more positive attitude towards the host community at the end of the service year in Imo state.

SEX

Table 8.4.2: Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on sex using Igbo-group Scale.

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(161)	(99)		sigf beyond
	43.9255	40.3434	3.35	.005 level
EXP-POST	(161)	(99)		sigf at the
	47.6265	45.6158	3.03	.005 level
CTRL-PRE	(114)	(86)		sigf at the
	42.8721	40.0439	2.47	.01 level
CTRL-POST	(114)	(86)		sigf beyond
	45.3023	41.8509	2.97	.005 level

Table 8.4.2 shows the pre and post-test scores of the males and females using the Igbogroup semantic-differential scale total scores. Both the pre and post-test scores show a significant difference between the males and females, with the males showing a more favourable attitude towards the Igbos than the females. This suggests that women to a greater extent than men, may rely on stereotype in forming impressions of people, and that they may, therefore tend to categorize people more readily without fully evaluating their characteristics. They may in other words have more 'intuitive' reactions to other groups, without offering reasons for their impression, than the men. This no doubt can only form part of the reason for the differential scores. Further study in this neglected area is needed. For the present study sex effect has a rather consistent effect on inter-ethnic group perception.

ETHNIC ORIGIN

Table 8.4.3: Experimental and Control groups' pre-test scores on ethnic origin using Igbo group total scores.

VARIABLE	HAUSA	YORUBA	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(140)	(120)		sigf at the
	44.0357	42.1833	1.95	.05 level
EXP-POST	(140)	(120)		
	46.8571	46.1000	1.49	n.s.
CTRL-PRE	(105)	(95)		sigf at the
	40.2000	42.4316	-1.93	.05 level
CTRL-POST	(105)	(95)		sigf at the
	45.0286	42.3684	1.91	.05 level

Table 8.4.3 shows that there is no significant difference between the ratings of the Hausas and Yorubas on Igbo-group scale. The post-test scores are higher than the pre-test scores but are not significantly different. The means indicate a fairly favourable attitude but ethnic origin is not an influential factor.

RELIGION

Table 8.4.4: Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test mean scores on religion using Igbo group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MOSLEM	CHRISTIAN	t VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(142)	(96)		
	43.4014	43.7083	-0.28	n.s.
EXP-POST	(142)	(96)		sigf beyond .005 level
	44.2606	46.9153	-3.75	
CTRL-PRE	(117)	(80)		sigf at the
	39.5726	42.6375	-2.72	.01 level
CTRL-POST	(117)	(80)		sigf at the .01 level
	41.0517	44.2346	-2.59	

The results indicate a significant difference between the Moslems and Christians in their ratings, the Christians rating the Igbos more favourably than the Moslems. This suggests that the adoption of the two major and different religions in Nigeria is not only associated with a marked prejudicial attitude, a we/them mentality, but has potential for serious religious/ethnic conflict. The data reveals a high religious prejudice among Moslem respondents. More needs to be done to effect greater interreligious understanding.

JOB SATISFACTION

Table 8.4.5: Experimental group post-test scores on job satisfaction using Igbo group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
SATISFIED	(118) 47.6667	4.576	4.55	sigf beyond .0005 level
DISSATISFIED	(142) 44.3944	6.522		

The result shows a significant difference between those who are satisfied with their jobs and those who are not, in their rating of the Igbos on the Igbo-group scale. The t-value of 4.55 which is significant beyond .0005 level of confidence signifies that those who are satisfied with their jobs view the Igbos - their host community - more favourably than those who are dissatisfied with their jobs. The reason for the job satisfaction felt could be found in the relevance of the job performed in the work place, and the sense of achievement such engenders. It could also be the result of the friendliness shown or the level of supervision received from the superiors all of whom are members of the host community in which the corps member is serving. A more detailed consideration of these issues is offered in a later section.

LOCATION.

Table 8.4.6. Experimental group post-test scores on location using Igbo group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
URBAN	(177)			
	41.2071	8.333	-3.78	Sigf beyond
RURAL	(83)			.005 level
	45.8417	9.015		

The results show a significant difference between the ratings score of those deployed to the urban and rural areas. The t-value of -3.78 is significant beyond .005 level of confidence. This indicates that those respondents serving in the urban area where contacts are largely superficial and where 'a stranger group' in the form of other corps members in the same position are readily available, are less likely to change their attitude towards the host community. This is so for the simple reason that fellow corps members can become credible providers of emotional support for each other in which case there will be little need for closer association with members of the host community. Location in the rural area on the other hand means that the corps members are surrounded by the host community. In such a strange environment, strong affiliative motives are likely to be aroused since one of the psychological results of being in a new situation is lack of security. This lack of security emanates from the ignorance of the potentialities inherent in the situation, which in turn leads to an increase in the need for reliance on the available group, and therefore closer association with the host community. All these possibilities must affect the corps members' attitude towards the host community - the Igbos in this instance.

LANGUAGE.

Table 8.4.7: Experimental group post-test scores on language using Igbo-group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
LEARN	(91)			
	46.9780	4.333	3.05	sigf .at 005
NOTLEARN	(169)			level.
	44.8757	6.723		

The results show a significant difference between those who indicated a knowledge of Igbo and those who indicated otherwise. The difference is at the .005 level of confidence. Language, as discussed in Chapter Six is one means by which new messages from new sources, carrying varying and unique conceptions of a particular language group are conveyed. A knowledge of another language opens the individual to both an increasing volume and means of communication. All these may have led to increased understanding of the host community and to the reduction of inter-ethnic prejudice, which the scores reflect.

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

Table 8.4.8: experimental group post-test scores on frequency of contact using Igbo group Scale total scores.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	F RATIO	F PROB.
IGBOS				
ONCE	(60) 42.7833	12.0030		
TWICE OR MORE	(37) 48.5405	8.1158	4.2641	sigf at the .01 level
NEVER	(163) 44.3804	8.8354		

The results show a significant difference between those who have had more frequent interaction with the Igbos in the form of joint community activity, and those who have not. The means indicate that although the three sub groups are favourably disposed towards the Igbos, those who have worked on communal projects with the host community are a great deal more favourably so, than those who have not . The mean difference is significant at the .01 level of confidence. What this shows is that intergroup interaction particularly in such cooperative endeavours can induce the participants in such ventures to conceive of themselves as one (superordinate) group rather than as two separate groups, thereby transforming their categorized representations from us and them, to a more we.

In the following section the pre and post-test means, standard deviation and t-value of the ten semantic-differential scales, for both the experimental and control groups , separately analyzed, are presented. This is done to show how the Igbos are rated on the individual scales. Brief comments on the scales are offered on pages 210 - 212.

8.4.9.: FRIENDLY-UNFRIENDLY SCALE. CONCEPT: THE IGBOS.

Table 8.4.9. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test ratings on the Friendly-Unfriendly Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260)	5.3423		
EXP-POST	(260)	5.7308	-3.42	signf beyond .005 level
CTRL-PRE	(200)	5.1256		
CTRL-POST	(200)	5.5226	2.54	signf beyond .01
EXP-POST	(260)	5.7308	1.86	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(200)	5.5200	1.252	

8.4.10: CLEAN-DIRTY SCALE.

Table 8.4.10: Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Clean-Dirty Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260)	5.1462		
EXP-POST	(260)	5.7231	-4.72	sigf beyond .0005 level
CTRL-PRE	(200)	4.5250		
CTRL-POST	(200)	4.9700	-2.28	sigf beyond .05 level
EXP-POST	(260)	5.7231	4.56	sigf beyond .005 level
CTRL-POST	(200)	4.9700	2.093	

8.4.11: QUIET-NOISY SCALE

Table 8.4.11 Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Quiet-Noisy Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 5.3385	1.582	-2.66	sigf beyond .01 level
EXP-POST	(260) 5.6615	1.066		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 4.8700	1.743	-1.67	n.s.
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.1750	1.989		
EXP-POST	(260) 5.6615	1.066	3.13	sigf beyond .01 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.1750	1.989		

8.4.12. HUMBLE-ARROGANT SCALE.

Table 8.4.12. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Humble-Arrogant scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 2.3115	1.620	-0.18	n.s.
EXP-POST	(260) 2.3385	1.782		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 3.5477	2.187	-2.62	sigf at the .01 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 4.0603	1.969		
EXP-POST	(260) 2.3385	1.782	-9.73	sigf beyond .0005 level
CTRL-POST	(260) 4.0650	1.965		

8.4.13: INDUSTRIOUS-LAZY SCALE.

Table 8.4.13. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Industrious-Lazy scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 5.7038	1.423	-3.12	sigf at the .005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 6.0962	1.368		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 5.3568	1.959	-2.39	sigf beyond .05 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.7739	1.727		
EXP-POST	(260) 6.0962	1.368	2.16	sigf at the .05 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.7750	1.723		

8.4.14. RESPECTFUL-DISRESPECTFUL SCALE.

Table 8.4.14. Experimental and Control groups' pre and post-test scores using Respectful-Disrespectful Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 3.4500	1.582	4.10	sigf beyond .005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 2.9231	1.384		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 3.6080	1.705	-1.91	sigf at the .05 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.9598	1.746		
EXP-POST	(260) 2.9231	1.384	-6.94	sigf beyond .005 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.9650	1.743		

Table 8.4.15. COOPERATIVE-UNCOOPERATIVE SCALE.

Table 8.4.15 Experimental and Control group pre and post-test ratings on the Cooperative-Uncooperative Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 4.9923	1.777	-2.11	sigf at the .05 level
EXP-POST	(260) 5.2615	0.951		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 4.0050	1.738	-2.25	sigf at the .05 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 4.4200	1.839		
EXP-POST	(260) 5.2615	0.951	5.89	sigf beyond .005 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 4.4200	1.839		

Table 8.4.16: HONEST-DISHONEST SCALE

Table 8.4.16. Experimental and Control group pre and post-test ratings on the Honest-Dishonest Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t- VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 5.3692	1.639	-2.85	sigf at the .005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 5.6885	0.790		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 4.7600	1.511	-2.60	sigf at the .01 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.2200	1.771		
EXP-POST	(260) 5.6885	0.790	3.48	sigf at the .001 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 5.2200	1.771		

Table 8.4.17: HELPFUL-UNHELPFUL SCALE

Table 8.4.17 Experimental and Control group pre and post-test ratings on the Helpful-Unhelpful Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 1.409	1.409	-2.99	sigf at the .005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 4.7269	1.312		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 4.1800	1.606	1.09	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.9750	2.328		
EXP-POST	(260) 4.7269	1.312	4.09	sigf beyond .0005 level
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.9750	2.328		

Table 8.4.18: GENEROUS-STINGY SCALE.

Table 8.4.18: Experimental and Control group pre and post-test ratings on the Generous-Stingy Scale.

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	t-VALUE	P
IGBOS				
EXP-PRE	(260) 3.2231	1.489	5.07	sigf beyond .005 level
EXP-POST	(260) 2.3346	2.115		
CTRL-PRE	(200) 2.8200	1.815	-1.44	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.0650	1.678		
EXP-POST	(260) 3.2231	2.115	0.89	n. s.
CTRL-POST	(200) 3.0650	1.678		

8.5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS SO FAR.

There is a statistically significant difference between the experimental and control group on all scales - National Identity, Marriage Choice, Friendship Choice, and the Igbo-group semantic-differential scales. The general trend is a positive attitude towards national integration as measured by the scales. Favourable attitude on all the scales was more evident in the experimental group scores than in those of the control group. This is shown in the post-test scores of the experimental and control groups.

The detailed analysis makes it possible for the effect of the different factors which have been hypothesized as major factors affecting national integration to be observed. The summary of the results so far obtained are as follows:-

8.5.:NATIONAL IDENTITY SCALE.

1. Although both the experimental and control groups have favourable attitude towards national integration as measured by the National Identity Scale, there are significant variations between the groups.

The post-test scores of the experimental group indicate a much more favourable attitude towards national integration than is revealed by the experimental group's pre-test scores ($P <.005$) or the pre and post-test scores of the control group ($P <01$). Participation in the national youth service as measured by the National Identity Scale seems therefore to have a significant influence on respondents' attitudes.

2. There is no significant difference between the attitudes of the males and females towards national integration.

3. On the basis of the data, it is concluded that both the Hausas and Yorubas do not differ in any important respect from each other in their attitudes towards national integration.

4. There is no significant difference between the Moslems and Christians in their attitudes towards national integration. However a higher post-test scores by the experimental group point to a more favourable attitude among the two sub-groups at the end of their service year than was revealed before the service or by the control group.

5. On job satisfaction, those who are satisfied with their jobs are significantly more favourably disposed towards national integration than those who are dissatisfied with their jobs ($P < .0005$).

8.6:MARRIAGE CHOICE SCALE.

There is a significant difference between the post-test scores of the experimental and control group towards marrying from another ethnic group, and particularly from the Igbo ethnic group ($P < .005$). There is also a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group on this measure. The post-test means indicate a much more favourable attitude towards such union at the end of their service year than before the service, in Imo state ($P < .005$).

2. There is significant difference between the males and females in their attitudes towards marrying out. The males are more favourably disposed towards marrying out than the females ($P < .01$).

3. Ethnic origin has no significant effect on attitudes towards marrying outside one's own ethnic group. The means indicate a favourable attitude.

4. There is a significant difference between the Moslems and Christians in their attitudes towards marrying from another ethnic group particularly from among the Igbos. The Christians show more favourable attitude in this regard than the Moslems ($P < .0005$).

5. Frequency of contact is correlated to attitude towards marrying from the host community - Igbos. Those who interacted with the Igbos more number of times in local projects have a more favourable attitude towards marrying from the Igbo ethnic group than those who had less or no such interaction ($P < .01$).

6. There is a significant difference between the attitudes of those who have learnt the Igbo language during the course of the service year, and those who have not, towards national integration ($P < .01$).

7. There is no significant difference between those who are satisfied with their jobs and those who are not, in their attitudes towards marrying from the host community - the Igbos.

8. Location of assignment in terms of urban/rural environment has a significant influence on attitudes towards marrying from the host community ($P < .01$). Those located in the rural areas are more disposed towards marrying from the host community than those in the urban area.

8.7: FRIENDSHIP CHOICE SCALE.

1. There is a significant difference between the post-test scores of the experimental and control group towards forming friendships with another ethnic group, and the Igbos in particular ($P < .0005$). For the experimental group, the post-test scores are

significantly higher than the pre-test scores, at the .0005 level of confidence. However the fact that the scores are below the theoretical mid-point of 4 shows that the groups are reluctant to form friendships with the Igbos.

2. Sex is a significant factor in attitudes towards national integration as far as friendship choice is concerned. The males are more favourably inclined towards forming friendships with other ethnic groups, the Igbos in this instance, than the females ($P < .01$).

3. There is no significant difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in their pattern of friendship choice. The difference in means between the control group and the experimental pre and post-test scores shows that those who have served in the national scheme have a slightly more favourable attitude towards widening their choice of friends than those in the control group who have not served in the national youth service.

4. Religion shows a significant effect in the pattern of friendship choice ($P < .05$). The Christians in the experimental group show a more favourable attitude towards widening their choice of friends than the Moslems. The control group shows no significant difference between the two sub-groups.

5. Job satisfaction is an important factor in friendship choice ($P < .0005$). The low means however show that both sub-groups are only moderately favourable in their attitude towards friendships with other ethnic groups, in this instance, the Igbos, although more so by the 'satisfied' group than the 'dissatisfied group.'

6. Frequency of contact variable show a significant effect on friendship choice. Those who have had more frequent contact with the Igbos on local projects are much more

favourably disposed towards the Igbos as measured by the Friendship Choice Scale than those who have had less or no such contacts with the Igbos ($P < .005$).

7. Those respondents who have learnt Igbo language during the course of the service year are significantly more favourably disposed towards forming friendships with the Igbos than those who have not learnt the Igbo language ($P < .05$).

8. Location of respondents' service station in terms of urban/rural environment is an important factor in their choice of friends ($P < .005$). Those in the rural areas show more favourable attitude than those in the urban area.

8.8:IGBO-GROUP SCALE (SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALES OF 'A TYPICAL IGBO.')

1. There is a significant difference between the post-test scores of the experimental and control group ($P < .005$). There is also a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group. While the control group's scores reveal a significant difference in the pre and post-test scores at the .01 level of confidence, the post-test scores of the experimental group show a significant increase in the group's evaluation of the Igbos on this scale ($P .0005$). The mean scores on the whole indicate a moderate attitude towards the Igbos.

2. There is a significant difference between the males and females in their evaluation of the Igbos, the males showing a more favourable attitude than the females ($P < .005$).

3. There is no significant difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in their ratings of the Igbos on this scale.

4. Religion is an important determinant of the respondents' evaluation of the Igbos on this scale, the Christians evaluating the Igbos more favourably than the Moslems ($P < .01$).

5. Job satisfaction has a significant influence on the respondents' ratings of the Igbos on the Igbo-group scale ($P < .0005$). Those who are satisfied with their assignments view the Igbos more favourably than those who are not satisfied with the jobs assigned to them.

6. Location is an important factor influencing the respondents' ratings of the Igbos on the semantic-differential scales ($P < .005$). Those serving in the rural areas have a more favourable attitude towards the Igbos than those serving in the urban areas.

7. A knowledge of Igbo language has a significant effect on respondents' attitude toward the Igbos as measured by the semantic-differential scales ($P < .005$).

8. Frequency of contact with the host community in the form of involvement in local projects makes a significant difference in the respondents' evaluation of the Igbos. The means indicate a favourable disposition towards the Igbos, particularly among those who have been more frequently involved with the local community in local projects ($P < .01$).

Below are the results of the 10 scales individually analyzed.

8.8.1: FRIENDLY-UNFRIENDLY SCALE.

Both the experimental and control group evaluate the Igbos as moderately friendly. The difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group is significant beyond .005 level of confidence. The post-test scores of the experimental and control groups show no significant difference between the two groups in their ratings on this scale.

8.8.2: CLEAN-DIRTY SCALE.

Both the experimental and control group evaluate the Igbos as people who keep clean. The difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group and between the post-test scores of the experimental and control group is significant at .0005 and .005 level of confidence, respectively. The Igbos are evaluated as moderately clean.

8.8.3: QUIET-NOISY SCALE.

There is a significant difference between the post-service scores of the experimental and control group ($P < .01$), and between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group ($P < .01$). The Igbos are rated as people who are moderately quiet.

8.8.4: HUMBLE-ARROGANT SCALE.

There is a significant difference between the mean ratings of the control and experimental group on the Humble-Arrogant Scale ($P < .0005$). The Igbos are rated as extremely arrogant.

8.8.5: INDUSTRIOUS-LAZY SCALE

There is a significant difference between the control and experimental groups' rating of the trait 'Industrious-Lazy' in the Igbo ethnic group ($P < .05$). The Igbos are evaluated as extremely industrious.

8.8.6: RESPECTFUL-DISRESPECTFUL SCALE.

There is a significant difference between the means scores of the experimental and control group in their ratings of the Igbos on the 'Respectful-Disrespectful' scale ($P < .005$) The Igbos are rated as extremely disrespectful.

8.8.7: COOPERATIVE-UNCOOPERATIVE SCALE.

The mean scores show a significant difference between the experimental and control group in their ratings of the Igbos on this scale ($P < .005$). The Igbos are rated as slightly cooperative.

8.8.8: HONEST-DISHONEST SCALE.

There is a significant difference between the scores of the experimental group and those of the control group ($P < .001$). The Igbos are rated as moderately honest.

8.8.9: HELPFUL-UNHELPFUL SCALE.

The mean scores show a significant difference between the experimental and control group ($P < .0005$). The Igbos are rated as slightly helpful.

8.8.10: GENEROUS-STINGY.

There is a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group ($P < .005$). The post-test scores of the experimental and control group show no significant difference between the two groups on their ratings of the Igbos on this scale. The Igbos are rated as extremely stingy.

On the whole the Igbos are considered as moderately friendly, moderately clean, moderately quiet, extremely arrogant, extremely industrious, extremely disrespectful, slightly co-operative, moderately honest, slightly helpful, and extremely stingy.

8.9: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF DATA

8.9.1 SECTION 1: JOB SATISFACTION SCALE.

National Youth Service Corps programme as practised in Nigeria involves posting graduate youths to different establishments to work for one full year. This is done with the stated objective that the corps members will be encouraged to seek permanent employment in those establishments which, usually, are in parts of the country which differ from those of the participants, thereby aiding national integration through people settling in different communities.

The work context is therefore an important aspect of the corps member's life in the community in which he is serving. It is the assumption in the present study that attitude change is more likely to occur in the work context than in any other type of situation. This change is deemed especially likely, when the respondents are in a new community or group where the norms are different from those previously experienced. The corps members in this research have not lived in any part of Igboland prior to their service in Imo state. In the service year therefore, they are confronting a community whose norms differ, hence one would prognosticate that a change in attitude is likely depending on a number of factors in and outside the workplace. However, since the work-place is where the corps member spends most of his time during the year, it must be expected that whether his attitudes do change favourably or unfavourably will depend a great deal more on factors emanating from the work-place, than from other situations.

This is particularly important when it is considered that the National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria is not a non-competitive interaction of participants with their host community in the work-place. The corps members are not expected to be a transient minority in the community, in the same way as Overseas Peace Corps Volunteers would be, rather, the expectation is that they seek and obtain permanent posts and settle in the community after their national service. Although relatively few do seek or secure permanent

posts in their service areas, the fact that they are potential job-seekers, for example, could have an effect on their relationship with the permanent staff who might see them as a threat. The context of contact or interaction is therefore very crucial. Obviously, some kinds of inter-ethnic interaction are more effective than others, but being in competition for scarce jobs, which is what the national youth service subtly encourages, may not be one of them. It is important therefore to find out those factors which have contributed to the respondents' job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is restated here as the corps members' affective response to the total work situation. This is measured in terms of 'job significance' which refers to the degree to which the job is perceived as significant or meaningful contribution to the work-place; supervision; and relationship with the permanent staff. A fuller discussion has already been offered in chapter six.

In the preceding section, the relationship between job satisfaction and attitude towards national integration was assessed through t-test procedures. In this section, attempt is made, through Step-wise Multiple Regression analysis to determine the relative importance of each of the identified variables (relationship with the permanent staff; task significance; and amount of supervision received) in accounting for job satisfaction. It is important to know for example whether supervision as opposed to relationship with permanent staff account mostly for the job satisfaction felt. Indeed, since part of the major interest of this study is to investigate the extent to which job satisfaction of the corps members might be associated with their attitudes towards the programme's major objective which is to help bring about national integration, a closer examination of the individual factors in the job satisfaction scale is deemed appropriate.

In the next section - section 2 - attempt is made to discover which of the overall independent variables that appear to have the most influence on national integration. For all the analyses in both sections 1 and 2 Stepwise Multiple Regression procedures are utilized.

The procedures assign relative importance to each independent variable as predictors of the dependent variable under consideration. This is done through the ranking of the independent variables entered into the various steps by the percentage of variance each accounts for in predicting the dependent variable - attitude towards national integration.

JOB SATISFACTION.

Table 8.9.1 showing step-wise multiple regression using Job Satisfaction total scores as the dependent variable for the post-service group

STEP NO.	VARIABLES ENTERED	MULTIPLE R	R ²	INCREASE IN R ²
1	Job significance	.7237	.5238	.5238
2	Permanent staff	.9063	.8214	.2976
3	Supervision	.9236	.8512	.0315

The three independent variables jointly account for a considerable proportion of the variance in overall job satisfaction - 85 per cent of the variance in the criterion variable. 'Job significance' alone accounts for 52% of the variance in the criterion variable. With the addition of 'relationship with permanent staff' 29% of the variance is added. The third and last step entered is the variable "supervision" which accounts for less than 3% of the variance. The result of the analysis suggests that two of the three variables - job significance, and relationship with permanent staff - are strongly related to corps members job satisfaction. In other words, the assignment of a worthwhile task and good relations with co-workers are considered the most important factors for job satisfaction while supervisory assistance is considered the least. Supervision is not seen as an important reason for their job satisfaction.

Behind these quantitative results however are the respondents' interview comments concerning their participation in the national service which give more meaning to the findings. When asked whether they would have volunteered to serve in the scheme if it was not compulsory, some of the respondents felt it was an experience worth having in view of its major objective which is to help bring about national integration. As one of them put it:-

Yes. It gives me the opportunity to unbias myself about other tribes. It gives room for harmony among youths through exchange of ideas and interaction with people from other cultural areas. It also exposes one to a full year of working experience.

Another commented that his co-workers made the experience worthwhile, and concluded by saying that with the end of service in sight:-

I will miss my kind and friendly officers in the department, they have been very good to me; and all my fellow corpsers.

These respondents felt that their presence did not evoke a great deal of insecurity on the part of the permanent staff who, they said, were pleasant to them, a factor which has contributed to their job satisfaction. The fact that the permanent staff did not feel highly threatened can in part be explained by the fact that very few of the respondents had a wish to remain in Imo state after the service year. They believed there were more job prospects in their home states than in Imo state. To them Imo state is a 'dry land' in that respect. As one of them put it:-

Already there is congestion of manpower in Imo state and very few industries. The jobs are not enough for them let alone to give out, whereas I will be employed immediately on arrival home.

In spite of the foregoing comments which are reasonably favourable, a number of respondents, however, felt that the scheme was a waste of time, and that corps members encounter numerous hardships. They also viewed it as the government's strategy to camouflage its inability to curb joblessness. As one of them commented when asked if he would have served voluntarily:-

No, God forbid bad thing! The scheme is fast losing focus. Many of us are not posted to our area of specialization, while others are made redundant. It is a waste of one whole year

and should be scrapped. Only unemployed people will be likely to volunteer.

Another concurred by enumerating the difficulties encountered in the scheme. He said:-

NYSC is a wasted year of intimidation and unwarranted insults. For me, NYSC is acronym for "Now Your Suffering Continues." The scheme is packed full of inconveniences; there is nothing of interest, everything is suffering. NYSC encourages unemployment and is an undue exploitation by employers who would not want to employ people but wait for yearly cheap labour. There is no real benefit to the server in terms of finance and future job opportunities. It is sheer exploitation of intellectual resources of graduates, ex-gratis. The programme should be completely overhauled.

While yet another respondent, commenting on what she disliked most about the scheme had this to say:-

The misuse of corper, like wrong posting, and the use of qualified graduates as cheap labour. In fact most employers do not regard their corporers as important workers. Corps members posted to private employers are treated as if they are their servants.

Underlying these comments, it appears, is an acknowledgement of the scheme's laudable objective which nevertheless is marred by the way the programme is currently managed.

SECTION 2.

This section examines first, the relative importance of all the independent variables on the dependent variable - national integration. To do this, the four sub-scales comprising the national integration measuring scales are combined to form the national integration total scores. The importance of combining all the sub-scales is that it offers the opportunity to assess the relative influence of each of the independent variables on national integration. It would be important to know for example whether job satisfaction has a more effective influence on national integration than sex or frequency of contact with the host community, or indeed religion. Furthermore, Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis is employed to examine, separately, the relationship between the sub-scales of the dependent variable -

Marriage Choice Scale; Friendship Choice Scale; and the Igbo-group Scale- and the independent variables

Table 8.9.2 showing Stepwise Multiple Regression using the post-test National Integration total score as the dependent variable for the experimental group.

STEP NO	VARIABLES ENTERED	MULTIPLE R	R ²	INCREASE IN R ²
1	Job satisfaction	.4709	.2218	.2218
2	Location	.5060	.2560	.0342
3	Frequency of contact	.5244	.2750	.0190
4	Religion	.5245	.2751	.0001
5	Language	.5289	.2797	.0047
6	Sex	.5324	.2835	.0037
7	Ethnic origin	.5327	.2838	.0003

Table 8.9.2 shows that for all the corps members in the sample the best predictor of attitudes towards national integration is their job satisfaction, which solely accounts for 22% of the variance of the dependent variable. The relationship is positive which shows that the job situation, which includes the task assigned to the corps members, and their relationship with the permanent staff affect their feelings towards the whole idea of the national scheme, and towards the host community, who are the 'permanent staff' in the various establishments. With the addition of the second step, the 'location', 3 % of the variance is added. With the third step, 'frequency of contact' only about 1% of the variance is added. 'Religion', 'language' and 'sex' jointly account for 1% of the variance. The one remaining variable, 'ethnic origin' accounts for less than 1% of the variance. The seven variables which are hypothesised as factors affecting national integration altogether account for 28% of the variance of the national integration total scores.

As can be observed from the above Table, there are no huge percentage variances of the dependent variable. It is suspected therefore that there are other important variables which have not been measured in the present study. To find out, recourse is made to the interview notes. There, it is shown that a number of respondents are resentful of the programme, but such resentment emanate not so much from the idea of serving in the scheme, but from such issues as their treatment by the employers, as cited earlier on; the allowance paid to them; and accommodation problem. Commenting on the accommodation problem one of them stated simply that:-

The problem of accommodation which NYSC members face is enough to discourage one;

while another, speaking on their stipends had this to say:-

The remuneration is neither commensurate with effort put in nor enough with the situation in the country. The payment is just too small for my maintenance ... It is simply not worth the suffering for a country that does not hold any concrete future for us youths.

The latter point sums up the feelings of a majority of those interviewed who saw their allowance as a major source of their dissatisfaction with the national scheme. Their perceptions correlate with Herzberg et al. (1966) finding that salaries and conditions in the workplace are 'dissatisfiers' and do result to dissatisfaction. The effect of these factors on attitudes towards the scheme's major objective is a matter for future research. In the meantime it is sufficient to state that these factors, separately, or in combination with each other detract from the corps members' commitment to the ideals of the NYSC. The fact that many recognise the scheme's major role as an avenue for inter-ethnic interaction and understanding is significant. The expressed views of some of them that serving in the scheme has enabled them to "unbias their views' concerning the host community, is significant as it may indicate the way in which the participants' future lives will be affected. These views were expressed irrespective of ethnic origin or gender of the respondents. More effort must therefore be devoted to minimizing those factors which reduce the effect of the scheme upon its participants, that pose barriers for the development of favourable

attitudes towards the NYSC and its major role of helping to bring about national integration.

Table 8.9.3 showing Stepwise Multiple Regression using the post-test Marriage Choice total score as the dependent variable for the experimental group.

STEP NO	VARIABLES ENTERED	MULTIPLE R	R ²	INCREASE IN R ²
1	Religion	.3275.	.1072	.1072
2	Location	.3369	.1135	.0063
3	Frequency of contact	.3387	.1147	.0013
4	Sex	.3398	.1155	.0007
5	Language	.3524	.1242	.0087
6	Job satisfaction	.3525	.1242	.0001
7	Ethnic origin	.3650	.1332	.0090

The results show that 'religion' of the respondents is the strongest predictor of respondents' attitude towards marrying outside their respective ethnic groups. The Christians have a more favourable attitude towards marrying out than the Moslems. The analysis reveals that 10% of the variance is accounted for by religion. With the inclusion of the variable 'location' 11% of the variance is accounted for, an increase of 1%. 'Frequency of contact', 'sex,' 'language' and 'Job satisfaction' altogether share an increase of over 1% of the variance. Ethnic origin which is the last variable in the Table adds less than 1% to the variance of the dependent variable. All the variables together account for 13% of the variance of the dependent variable.

Table 8.9.4. showing Stepwise Multiple Regression using the 'Friendship Choice' total scores as the dependent variable for the experimental group.

STEP NO	VARIABLES ENTERED	MULTIPLE R	R ²	INCREASE IN R ²
1	Job satisfaction	.2941	.0865	.0865
2	Location	.3256	.1060	.0195
3	Frequency of contact	.3263	.1064	.0004
4	Religion	.3354	.1125	.0061
5	Sex	.3361	.1129	.0004
6	Language	.3363	.1129	.0002
7	Ethnic origin	.3411	.1164	.0034

For the present sample, the analysis indicates that the most influential variable in their choice of friends from the three major ethnic groups, and particularly from among the Igbos who happen to be their host community, is job satisfaction. 8% of the variance is accounted for by this variable. This suggests that those who are satisfied with their jobs and their total experience in the workplace are more favourably disposed towards forming friendships with the host community than those whose experiences are not satisfactory. The size of the variance accounted for by this variable however point to other strong factors not catered for by the present study. With the inclusion of the variable 'location' 2% of the variance is added. The next five variables, 'frequency of contact,' 'religion,' 'sex', 'language' and 'ethnic origin together add about 2% to the variance of the dependent variable. The variables altogether account for a total of about 12 % of the variance.

Table 8.9.5. showing Multiple Regression analysis using Igbo-group (semantic-differential) scale total scores as the dependent variable for the experimental group.

STEP NO	VARIABLES ENTERED	MULTIPLE R	R ²	INCREASE IN R ²
1	Job satisfaction	.3827	.1465	.1465
2	Location	.4087	.1606	.0206
3	Religion	.4246	.1808	.0132
4	Ethnic origin	.4247	.1808	.0000
5	Sex	.4261	.1816	.0012
6	Frequency of contact	.4262	.1817	.0001
7	Language	.4277	.1829	.0013

The results indicate that 'job satisfaction' accounts for 14% of the variance of the dependent variable. The second step entered is the variable 'location' which accounts for 2%. The third step is religion which adds 2% giving a total variance of 18%. The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh steps of the analysis entered 'ethnic origin' 'sex,' frequency of contact' and 'language,' in that order. The four variables account for less than 1% of the variance thereby retaining a grand total of 18% of the variance of the dependent variable. This suggests strongly that 'Job satisfaction' 'location' and 'religion' are associated with attitudes towards the host community - the Igbos. In other words, those who are satisfied with their jobs in the national scheme are more favourably disposed towards the host community, and towards national integration which the NYSC embodies, than those who are dissatisfied with their assignments in the national service. Language, as the Table shows, has also had some effect on the attitudes towards the Igbos. However, on this latter variable, it was deemed necessary to determine, through interviews, how the respondents felt about other Nigerian languages since their language ability could not be determined before their

attitudes were measured to know which came first - language acquisition or favourable attitude towards the language. To do this, the corps members were asked about their attitude towards the learning of any of the three major Nigerian languages, in accordance with the government policy on language.

Here, the respondents' feelings concerning their attitude towards the three major Nigerian languages are illuminating. Almost all those interviewed preferred Hausa to any other Nigerian language; Igbo language was the the most disliked. When asked why they preferred Hausa and rejected Igbo so much, their reasons ranged from Hausa being an easier language to master, (a point which linguists will no doubt question) to it being spoken beyond the confines of Nigeria. As one respondent put it:-

The reason why I will like to learn Hausa is that Hausa is spoken in other countries and not in Nigeria alone. Therefore it may be an added advantage on my part to be able to understand other people in West Africa. And besides, Hausa is a comprehensive language and easy to learn.

Another felt that speaking Hausa had some economic rewards, as follows:-

Hausa is the language of the Nigerian rulers, and many of them are influential in government. My ability to speak it may afford me a lot of opportunities. I will become a beneficiary of the national cake. You see, Hausa people cherish you if you understand their language, and can speak it fluently, if you don't they are hostile.

Only one respondent out of the twenty interviewed was strongly disinclined to learning Hausa or indeed Igbo. This is what he had to say:-

No one really should choose to learn Hausa. The Hausas are technologically and scientifically underdeveloped, hence they should be urged to learn the language of the more developed group just as the colonial masters taught us their own language. The Yorubas on the other hand are the most educated people in the country hence they should be given the preference. And besides, the Hausas have a feudalistic attitude to other Nigerian tribes.

Concerning Igbo language, the overwhelming majority of those interviewed felt that Igbo language was "too difficult" to master, and moreover, that the Igbos themselves showed

little pride in their language, preferring to speak English to their language. Such attitude they say, can discourage an outsider wishing to learn the language. (The Hausa respondents, it needs pointing out, had little or no preference for any other language but theirs).

While one cannot subscribe to the reasons offered above for preferring Hausa language (or indeed Yoruba) to Igbo, as these views have ethnocentric overtones which must be abhorred, it is to be recognised that language barrier is a problem to national integration. Language forms a strong basis for communication and security. Indeed, the fact that the respondents are opposed to learning any other Nigerian language, (apart from some preference for Hausa), with the Hausas themselves having no wish to learn any other language apart from their own is a cause for concern as it reflects the the groups' attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Such attitudes suggest that those respondents who were able to acquire some Igbo did so out of the demands of the situation, the 'instrumental need' for the language, than for any attitudinal or liking for the language, or its people. The fact that those who understood the language during the course of the national service are more favourably disposed towards the Igbos shows that the acquisition of the language preceded the attitude change. It therefore makes more urgent the need for an organized language instruction. Indeed, more effort ought to be devoted by the government to finding more effective means, especially through the NYSC scheme to execute an effective and successful language programme for the unity of its diverse peoples.

8.10: SUMMARY IN TERMS OF THE HYPOTHESES FORMULATED.

1. The experimental group had a more favourable attitude (mean score = 44.9344 than the control group (mean score = 42.2800) t -value = .2.54 $P < .01$) (see Table 8.1.1).

Hypothesis 1 which states that those who have served in the National Youth Service Corps programme will have a more favourable attitude towards national integration as measured

by the national identity scale, than those who have not served in the scheme, was confirmed.

2. Hypothesis 2. Those respondents in the national youth service in Imo state will have a more favourable attitude towards the Igbos as measured by the Igbo-group (semantic-differential) scale than the control group. This hypothesis was also confirmed. The difference is significant at the .005 level of confidence (see Table 8.4.1).

3. Hypothesis 3 which states that those who have been in more frequent contact with the host community in local projects will have more favourable attitude towards national integration as measured by the Marriage Choice Scale, than those who have not, was also confirmed ($P < .01$; see Table 8.2.5)

4. Hypothesis 4: Female respondents will have more favourable attitude towards national integration than the males, as measured by the Marriage Choice scale. This hypothesis was not confirmed. The males showed a more favourable attitude than the females ($P < .01$; see Table 8.2.2).

5. Hypothesis 5: There will be no significant difference between the Hausas and Yorubas in their attitude towards national integration as measured by the national identity scale. This hypothesis was confirmed. There was no significant difference between the two ethnic groups in their attitudes towards national integration (see Table 8.1.3).

6. Those who have learnt the Igbo language during the service year will have a more favourable attitude towards national integration, as measured by the Igbo-group Scale, than those who have not. This hypothesis was confirmed ($P < .005$; Table 8.4.7).

7. Hypothesis 7: Christians will have more favourable attitude towards national integration as measure by Friendship Choice scale, than the Moslems. This hypothesis was confirmed.

The Christians are more inclined to choosing their friends from other ethnic groups than the Moslems ($P < .05$, Table 8.3.4 .)

8. Hypothesis 8: Respondents who are satisfied with their jobs will have more favourable attitude towards national integration than those who are dissatisfied with their jobs as measured by the National Identity Scale. This hypothesis was supported. The difference is significant beyond .0005 level of confidence (Table 8.1.5).

9. Hypothesis 9. Those respondents serving in the rural area will have more favourable attitude towards the host community - the Igbos- than those located in urban area, as measured by the Igbo- group semantic-differential Scales. This hypothesis was confirmed. The difference is significant beyond .005 in the scale (Table 8.4.6).

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The present study was undertaken to investigate the effectiveness of the National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria in relation to its major objective which is to help bring about national integration. It also aimed to identify those factors which have an influence in promoting or inhibiting integration in the context of the NYSC programme. In view of Nigeria's long history of inter-ethnic hostility and political instability, it is clearly important to see whether the attitudes of graduate youths, participants in the scheme, have changed in any significant way at the end of their service year. Indeed the political history, the ethnic and cultural diversities, and the attendant prejudices and suspicions in the country make progress conditional upon the sense of national integration. It is to be noted however that the research was not designed to attempt to change attitude, but to investigate whether change occurred as a result of their participation in the national service, and if so to what extent, in which direction, and what specific factors have enhanced the effectiveness of the national service in terms of attitude change.

The study is best understood in two parts. The first began by analyzing the geographic, historic, socio-economic and political realities of Nigeria, and the havoc caused by inter-ethnic prejudices and hostilities. In doing so, the political and traditional organisations associated with each of the three major groups, the differential impact of colonial administration, and the development of modern political institutions, had to be objectively described and their possible influences on national integration explored. The meaning of such confusing terms as ethnic group and ethnicity was conceptually examined. Included in the first section are the organizational structure of the NYSC and a discussion of national youth service programmes in global perspective. The concept of national integration, together with the problems of attitude measurement were also discussed.

The second part dealt, first, with the underlying theoretical expositions as well as empirical findings on the conditions of intergroup interaction, and their influence on the reduction of prejudice among different ethnic groups. Second, it dealt with the empirical verification of the major conclusions derived from the conceptual analysis. This latter part, in itself, fell into two parts. The first dealt with instrumentation to quantify the youth corps members' attitudes towards Nigeria and their host community, the Igbos. This was followed by tests of a number of conceptually derived hypotheses. Indeed the instrumentation and the pilot study were important parts of the research. The main study could not be effectively carried out without valid and reliable instruments. Most studies in the area of attitude change have been in the United States of America where there has been a long experience of white/black, majority/minority relationship. Such a situation is markedly different from the Nigerian situation where the issue is not the colour of one's skin, and where the three ethnic groups under study all claim equal social status. There is also the separatist approach of the American scene which made it imperative that the instruments should be modified to accommodate the differing cultural setting of the Nigerian society.

EFFECT OF THE NYSC PROGRAMME.

The results of the study involving 460 graduate youths showed there was a significant difference between the pre and post-test scores of the experimental group ($P < .005$). In the control group there was a smaller significant difference between the pre and post-test scores. ($P < .05$). Those who served in the scheme tended to become more favourably inclined towards national integration than those who did not serve in the scheme - the control group. ($P < .01$). The result also showed that the experimental group's attitude changed more favourably towards the Igbos (their host community) than that of the control group ($P < .01$). Overall, the findings suggest that the National

Youth Service Corps scheme could result in favourable attitude towards national integration, although the change was moderate.

The main factor responsible for the change in attitude, as indicated by the data was not so much their participation in the National Youth Service Corps programme per se, (considering the moderate significant difference between the experimental and control group scores), but rather their satisfaction with their assignments, and other environmental factors which are discussed below.

An important consideration in the assessment of the effectiveness of the National Youth Service Corps programme has been the respondents' job satisfaction which are associated with work-place variables. The research was not investigating the effect of the different kinds of jobs to which the participants were deployed, but rather the effect of such job factors as 'supervision' 'job significance' and 'relationship with the permanent staff' all of which sum up the job satisfaction index. The relationship between the nature of job performed by the respondents and their attitudes was not examined as it was felt that what was important in influencing a respondent's attitude was not what job he had so much as how he felt about it. Other factors considered were the job location in terms of urban/rural environment, the frequency of contact - involvement with the locals in joint community ventures; and such socio-demographic factors as sex, ethnic origin, language, and religion of respondents. In doing this, the objective was to observe whether attitudes changed under certain circumstances. Of the seven independent variables - sex, ethnic origin, religion, job satisfaction, frequency of contact, language and location which featured in the present research, it was found that the job satisfaction felt by respondents accounted for 22% of the variance of the dependent variable - national integration. The job satisfaction felt was mainly attributed to the significance of jobs assigned to the respondents and the relationship between them and the permanent staff. The degree of supervision had minimal influence.

A second finding of interest is that dealing with the effect of 'location of assignment' in terms of urban/rural environments. This factor was highly significant in whether corps members were favourably or unfavourably disposed towards national integration as measured by the Igbo-group semantic differential Scales. The results show that those located in the rural areas have a more positive attitude towards the host community (an aspect of national integration) as measured by the Igbo-group semantic-differential (stereotype) scales, than those in the urban areas. Thus, in spite of the commonly held view that the urban situation can help diffuse inter-ethnic conflict by broadening the framework for inter-ethnic contact (see Kofele-Kale, N. 1980:169, for example), it is the case that in the context of the National Youth Service Corps programme, the largely impersonal urban environment has not had a favourable influence on the respondents' attitude towards their host community among whom they live and whose way of life they are expected to understand.

The third strongest of the correlates was 'frequency of contact' in terms of their involvement with the host community in joint local projects. Here it was found that those who had been involved in local projects with the host community had a much more favourable attitude towards national integration than those who had not been involved in any such projects. The change factor in this case appeared to be, not only the closer interaction and cooperation demanded by such a situation, and which increased the respondents' understanding of the host community and its needs, but also the sense of achievement derived from having been tangibly useful to the host community and the nation at large. The fourth correlate of national integration was 'religion' of the respondents. More needs to be done to reduce religious prejudice, and thereby increase inter-religious tolerance and association. 'Language' had a relatively minor influence while 'sex' and 'ethnic origin' of respondents were not influential factors in the groups' attitudes towards national integration. The four most significant variables were 'job satisfaction', 'location', 'frequency of contact', and 'religion'.

What the foregoing findings suggest is that the mere movement of graduates across ethnic boundaries does not by itself bring about a feeling of oneness. What brings about the intended result - national integration - is a combination of ethnic movement across boundaries together with the nature of corps members' interaction with the local community.

Most of the respondents would have the Igbos as marriage partners but felt less inclined to having them for friendship, which was rather puzzling. The underlying assumption of a social distance measurement is that different arenas of social action can be considered additively in which case marriage relationship would be the closest form of intergroup relationship. That being the case, it was expected that more number of respondents would be more willing to form friendships with the Igbos or have them as co-tenants as opposed to marriage relationships. But the result from the present data suggests that this need not necessarily be the pattern. It is possible that the respondents in the present study did not see the relationship in this light. The data indicate instead that this realm of social action - marriage relationship - may include other value criteria. How are the Igbos in this instance regarded by the Hausas and the Yorubas when considering inter-ethnic association of this nature? What is in their culture and group characteristic that make marriage relationship with them particularly desirable? Could there be a marked degree of popularity of the Igbos in certain qualities with respect to this form of relationship, leading to what might be called ethnic 'trade mark'? In other words could there be a general consensus as to the industriousness or resourcefulness of the Igbo female, her life-long commitment to her family, or indeed physical beauty? The reason for choosing from a particular ethnic group, it now appears, can take the form of value orientation and value compatibility, or mere like or dislike for a particular ethnic group. Future research could reveal the predictive power of each of the various factors (including prejudiced attitude) in accounting for the inter-ethnic marriage choice.

Many respondents were disinclined to learning the Igbo language. Their favourite was Hausa. Their reasons for not liking or wanting to learn the Igbo language ranged from it being a more difficult language to learn than the other two major ones - Hausa and Yoruba - to sheer dislike for the language. The results also indicate that those who have acquired the language are more favourably disposed towards the host community, whose language they understand, than those who have not acquired the language. In terms of the Nigerian situation, it means therefore that a bilingual speaker in Nigerian languages, would or should have a more tolerant attitude towards other ethnic groups whose languages he/she speaks. The National Youth Service Corps programme, it is believed can provide the much needed environment for the acquisition of Nigerian languages.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The preceding summary of data has indicated the major research findings. The following section will concentrate, first on areas for the improvement of the National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria, and finally on areas where action is needed in terms of further research.

COURSES IN THE LOCAL LANGUAGE.

The National Youth Service Corps programme has produced language booklets in six Nigerian languages. These are mainly used during orientation to give the corps members a basic knowledge of the language of the particular ethnic group in which they are to serve, and of the other ethnic groups covered by the pamphlets. During the four-week orientation , therefore, the participants are taught the very basics of the six

different languages, one of which is the language of their host community. A great many more Nigerian languages are in written form nationally.

First, it is recommended that only the language of the particular area where the corps members are deployed is taught, since that will be the one they are most likely to need during their time in the locality. The system of teaching them or rather making them familiar with the basics of other major languages during their orientation period ought to be dropped.

Second, it is suggested that lectures and seminars be held once or twice a week in the evenings and/ or on Saturdays throughout the one-year service period to help corps members master the local language. Since the teaching of local languages are compulsory in both primary and secondary schools in Nigeria, recruiting language teachers for this exercise will not be very difficult. In this way, it will be possible for corps members deployed to a part of Nigeria with a local written language to master it before the end of the one year. The corps members will have the advantage of the local community to practise for fluency in the language. To ensure that it is taken seriously, that is, to motivate the participants, the NYSC administrative body could devise a means of assessing the language competence acquired, and should establish an appropriate means for formal recognition in the form of a language certificate and a possible monetary reward for efforts made in the language.

Such a programme of activity, it is believed, will solve two major problems. First, it will solve the problem of language policy implementation which in spite of government legislation, has been largely ignored by schools in the different parts of the country (Kalu, O.R. 1987). Instead of asking that every Nigerian school pupil should learn one of the three major Nigerian languages - Hausa, Yoruba, or Igbo - (a policy resented by those from other language groups who feel their languages are not recognised as important), it will be possible for most Nigerian languages to be learnt by the graduate

youths. This fact will in itself be an incentive for corps members to learn the language of the locality in which they are deployed knowing that others are learning theirs. In this way, most Nigerian languages, in fact all those languages in written form will be covered at no great financial cost.

Second, it makes sure that corps members acquire the language of the host community within the duration of their service year. With no other subject making demands on the corps member's time, unlike in the secondary schools where students have to cope with up to three 'foreign' languages and up to a total of eight or nine subjects at a time, here, the mastery of one Nigerian language during the course of one year, in the language community, cannot be too difficult to achieve. Success in this area, will enable the corps members to understand their host community, to feel more at home in that environment, a condition which will induce a more favourable attitude towards the host community. The National Youth Service Corps programme it is believed presents a good opportunity for the implementation of a broader, and workable Nigerian language policy, an opportunity which the NYSC administration cannot afford to miss.

PRIMARY ASSIGNMENTS.

The present data indicate that those assigned significant tasks, that is, worthwhile tasks derive a great deal of satisfaction from their jobs, and have a more favourable attitude towards national integration which the NYSC embodies. It is therefore imperative that in terms of primary assignment the administrators should ensure that participants are meaningfully deployed to ensure maximum utilization of their time and skills. States and employers in industries should not ask for more than their required manpower needs, and should redeploy over-supply to states where the skills are in demand, rather than assigning such surplus labour irrelevant tasks, which will not only breed resentment on the part of the corps members, with them viewing the scheme as a waste of time, but will also be a gross under-utilization of skilled manpower.

URBAN DEPLOYMENT.

The apparent deemphasis on rural deployment of corps members, and the rejection of rural postings by corps members do not aid in the nation building efforts. It does not help the host community whose schools in the rural areas are in desperate need of teachers to man them, and offers little opportunity to the corps members to know the cultures of the host community including its language. The argument that rural areas can only absorb fewer participants for lack of industries in their specialist areas (NYSC 151988) is untenable. Apart from those in highly specialist professions like medicine or the law, others can, broadly speaking, teach in schools where the staff level is very low. Surely, a corps member deployed to teach in his broad area of specialization is better than no teacher at all. It is also better than assigning corps members to minor tasks in urban establishments where their skills are under-utilized. In terms of opportunity for closer interaction with the host community, the rural area has the maximum potential to do so. In the urban area where there is a mixture of people of different ethnic groups and where relationships and associations tend to be impersonal, it is possible for corps members to complete their one year national service without having had close association with members of the host community. In the interest of integration and development, it is suggested that more emphasis is laid on rural deployment of corps members, and 'rural' allowance paid to those so deployed as a form of incentive to remain there rather than lobby for redeployment to urban areas.

STATE OF ORIGIN AS A CRITERION FOR DEPLOYMENT OUGHT TO BE MODIFIED.

The use of state of origin as the major criterion for deployment needs fundamental modification. The goal of achieving national unity will be defeated if a Youth Corps member born and raised in a particular cultural linguistic area, is posted to that same

area, for the simple reason that it is situated in another state. For instance, the Igbos presently occupy four of the 30 Nigerian states. Effort should be made to ensure that participants are not posted to states similar to their own in terms of language, as has been and still is the current practice. For example, in the 1982/83 service year for which information is available, out of 1699 participants from Anambra state (part of Igbo ethnic group), a total of 455 were deployed to the same state - their state of origin, and 338 were sent to Imo state which is also part of the Igbo ethnic group. In that instance a total of 793 in essence served in their own ethnic group (see Table 9.1 Appendix A). The picture is not different from that of Oyo State in the Yoruba ethnic group (see Table 9.2 Appendix A), to give another example.

A similar situation was observed by the present researcher during data collection in Imo state and was graphically portrayed in the maiden edition of The Integrator (1989) - an annual magazine published by Imo state NYSC. Such postings contravene the aim of the scheme which is to expose the youth "to the modes of living of the people in different parts of the country with a view to removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance, and confirming at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups" (NYSC objective as published in the NYSC Handbook 1974:11). Such opportunity is denied a large number of participants, a situation which does nothing to help amend their attitudes towards other ethnic groups. With the creation of states in Nigeria, a number of cultural/linguistic (ethnic) groups have undoubtedly been divided into two or more states. It is suggested that rather than using state of origin as the main index for posting, other criterion such as language group should be given more consideration to ensure that as far as possible, corps members are offered the opportunity, (which for many may be a chance of a life time), to serve in other parts of the country different from their own. The Directorate Headquarters whose job it is to deploy corps members to the various states, should ensure that appropriate action is taken in this regard.

YEAR-ROUND DEVELOPMENT SERVICE TO BE BETTER ORGANISED

The Year-Round Development Service need to be more systematically organised. The current system of leaving it to the participants' interest and discretion does not and cannot work. A programme ought to be devised whereby the needs of particular localities are identified, be it in the area of adult literacy, health education, or other such small ventures, and corps members assigned to execute such mini-programmes in the local communities. The corps members will have the choice to participate only in respect of the area of activity they wish to be involved in, depending on their interests and relevant knowledge. The choice ought not be to participate or not to participate in the Year-Round Community Development programme as is presently the case. Such close involvement will enable the corps members to gain deeper insights into local traditions, and customs, and thus reduce their ignorance of, and prejudice for the local community among whom they serve.

THE CURRENT EMPHASIS ON NYSC FARM-LANDS IN PREFERENCE TO COMMUNITY PROJECTS WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNITY OUGHT TO BE REVIEWED.

The present data indicate that a number of corps members do not have the opportunity of participating in community projects throughout their service year because of the enormous emphasis on NYSC Farm projects. What this means is that a great many never get a chance to work side-by-side with the local community in tangible projects which are of use to the local community. In this way they miss out on the opportunity to gain an insight into the rural communities, their needs, and their culture, all of which could have an impact on their attitude towards the host community. It is significant that those respondents who have had more contact with the host community through working together in community projects show a more favourable attitude towards

national integration than those who had minimal or no contact of this kind with the host community.

In the years preceding 1985, the NYSC programme ensured that local projects in the form of bridges, the building of market stalls and other minor projects were carried out in various communities by youth corps members in the form of Traditional Development Service. However, in 1985 the Community Development Service (C.D.S.) was greatly scaled down in terms of community projects with more emphasis on NYSC farms. What this has meant is the acquisition of many acres of land by the NYSC to which the corps members are regularly deployed to do their C.D.S. The corps members cultivate these farms. The result is that few local projects are embarked upon, thereby denying the corps members the opportunity to work on projects with the rural folks.

It is recommended that more effort is devoted to ensuring that the corps members work side-by-side with the local community on projects which are beneficial to the local people. Such ventures will not only increase interaction with, and understanding of the people of the host community, it will also give the participants a sense of achievement, of having contributed tangibly to the development of the host community. Indeed the group cooperation involved in such activity could help to produce some form of identification with the people thereby reducing the we/they identification and ethnic prejudice which are engendered in such feelings .

The local community should be involved in the planning of the Community Development activities - the community should be asked to identify their most pressing needs, which in turn ought to be given due consideration. The NYSC is manned by highly skilled men and women whose skills can be better used to improve the lot of the host community in many ways. Old projects already begun by local communities could be completed during Community Development Service while Local Government

authorities and state ministries responsible for social development should cooperate in making available the essential tools; endeavour to see that projects initially begun during the period of service of a particular batch are completed by a succeeding batch of corps members.

Furthermore, the need for rural development projects to be embarked upon by all corps members, particularly those in the urban areas becomes more necessary when it is realised that a large majority of corps members are deployed to the urban area. For such people participation in local projects with the host community may well be their only opportunity to reach 'the grass roots' in the host community, away from the educated ones in their place of primary assignment who may not be any different from those they studied with at university. Such opportunity affords corps members greater insights into local customs, and ought to be vigorously encouraged. The extent to which graduates are willing to take up permanent employment in the rural areas will depend largely on the extent to which the rural area is developed in terms of essential amenities. The NYSC has the necessary manpower for rural development; the NYSC administrators should show more commitment in this area to ensure that their skills are maximally utilized and inter-ethnic attitudes more favourably changed.

ALLOWANCE TO BE REVIEWED.

Interview notes suggest strongly that the remuneration paid the participants is a major source of their dissatisfaction with the National Youth Service Corps programme, and all it stands for. While the allowance paid to them was not frequently cited as a source of their satisfaction with the NYSC programme, it is a strong source of their dissatisfaction, as the interview notes reveal. Herzberg et.al. (1959) found that in terms of importance to job satisfaction, wage was assigned rank 7. But when the employees were asked to describe what made them satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs, wage was found to be the most frequent source of dissatisfaction and least frequent source of

satisfaction. The authors concluded that wage is a potential dissatisfier rather than a satisfier. Similarly, although the effect of wage or their allowance as a source of job satisfaction was not examined, it was evident from the frequent citations of poor allowance as a source of their dissatisfaction with the service, that poor remuneration was a potential dissatisfier. The present study supports the results of Herzberg et al. and others which indicate that wage is a weaker source of job satisfaction but a stronger source of job dissatisfaction. Low stipends are disincentives and contribute to low morale. Such feelings could hamper their job commitment and could strongly affect their attitudes towards the whole idea of the national service. Increasing the stipends it is believed will decrease dissatisfaction with the scheme and its objectives.

LIMITATIONS.

It would have been instructive to follow up the attitudes of the respondents say, a year after they have left the national service, to see how far their professed attitudes remain constant or change, but limited time and finance make this impossible for the present researcher. Future research may look into this area.

The inclusion of the members of the host community, their impression and attitudes towards the corps members deployed to serve in their locality may be informative, and may have explained why some of the corps members hold certain attitudes towards the host community.

Perhaps further research, building on the present study will attempt to discover the full impact of the corps members' allowance, and other possible missing variables. The work characteristics selected for analysis are by no means an exhaustive set of dimensions. The study could also examine personality factors, and the influence of family backgrounds of the respondents. It would be useful to carry out a similar study

in the two other major ethnic groups - Yoruba and Hausa _ in order that the findings in this study could perhaps have relevance beyond the present locality, Imo state, and the respondents who were involved. Nevertheless this research has shed some considerable light on several issues in the area of attitude change, in the context of national service programmes; has suggested avenues for improvement of the NYSC in other that its major objective can be more fully achieved; and has suggested avenues for future research.

FINAL NOTE.

In this study, national integration has been conceptualised as consisting of two related elements, the level of national identification, which is the "vertical" aspect of integration, and the willingness to accept other ethnic groups as fellow nationals - the "horizontal " aspect. The study has concentrated on both aspects of national integration because it believes that concentration on a single dimension is distorting, and also because it believes that social, cultural and political life in ethnically diverse society like Nigeria is determined by the interweaving of vertical and horizontal ties. These two aspects are, in other words inter-related although conceptually and analytically distinct.

The major hypothesis that those who participated in the National Youth Service Corps programme will have a more favourable attitude towards national integration was supported. However, when further analysis was performed to discover the nature of this relationship through the performance of the Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis, it was revealed that 'job satisfaction' and 'location' played the most important parts in the corps members attitude towards national integration. In this it emerged that 'job significance' and friendly 'relationship with the permanent staff' were important factors accounting for job satisfaction felt. 'Supervision' had a relatively minor influence. In the case of 'location' those in the rural areas who effectively were in a location which provide the highest interaction opportunity with the local community,

had a more favourable attitude towards the host community than their urban counterparts. 'Frequency of contact' in the form of participation in community projects with the rural folks also had a significant influence in effecting favourable attitude change.

The findings of this study demonstrate that participation in the National Youth Service Corps programme per se is not an unqualified technique for attitudinal change, and positive change in particular. Only in situations which offer favourable conditions may a positive change be expected. In the present study, work-place characteristics such as the significance of jobs assigned to respondents and friendliness of the permanent staff were found to have the strongest influence on attitude change. The study suggests that participation in the NYSC programme itself may not provide the basis for great optimism in terms of attitude change, as the organizers might expect. The extent to which the respondents are satisfied with the jobs assigned to them in terms of the above variables; the location of assignment in terms of urban/rural environment; and participation in joint ventures with the local community, are strong change factors.

The causative factors of Nigeria's national integration problem are varied as they are complex. One can only attempt to identify the functional ones among them for discussion, as was done in chapter two. These include the apparent "irreconcilable" differences among the peoples that constitute Nigeria in terms of religion, for example, educational imbalance, elite parochialism, regional politics which found expression in ethnocentrism, disunity and fear of domination. All these have prevented the development of real patriotism but have instead paved the way for inter-ethnic prejudice and hatred. Ultimately the country was plunged into confusion by the ruling elites who nurtured the above disintegrative philosophy. The army attempted to change things but because it had already been affected by the disease of sectionalism, its action instead led to a chain of events that ended in a civil war. The Nigerian leaders failed to develop real patriotism to the nation but nurtured micro-patriotism with ethnicity as instrument of

fostering it. But, the ability to disallow one's immediate world - personal, familial loyalties - to supersede national concerns, the willingness to associate and collaborate with others within a national community is an indication of national integration. The present data however indicate that this characteristic is not present in huge proportions in the sample investigated.

There is a great need to protect Nigeria's very existence. This does not simply mean the warding off of external aggressor. It also entails the need to maintain internal peace. Internal peace and unity would depend upon the different groups' willingness to assist each other, and above all the willingness to work together as members of the same political system, rather than treating one another as the "stranger next door." The Nigerian government realises these dimensions, which is the major reason for the creation of the NYSC, to serve as a mechanism for attitude intervention, to reshape the attitude of its citizens in favour of the national political system and fellow nationals.

The Europeans may have created Nigeria arbitrarily but it is only rational that integration is achieved for the nation's progress. Nigeria needs to be one to survive. It therefore behoves the National Youth Service Corps programme administrators who are assigned the major task of helping to bring about inter-ethnic understanding among graduate youths to make it a success. This they can do by ensuring that skills and talents are maximally utilized, that corps members are maximally exposed to their host community. The participants, the future leaders, who are likely to determine the direction in which the country would be moving, must develop attitudes of mind that make for national integration and the development of Nigeria.

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APPENDIX A.

QUESTIONNAIRE (PILOT STUDY).

INTRODUCTION TO RESPONDENTS.

(a) I am a Nigerian research student interested in obtaining information concerning the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme, for the purpose of suggesting further improvements to the scheme. Please answer the questions in this questionnaire as honestly, and as best as you can. Your co-operation is earnestly requested to make the study a success.

(b) You are requested to write your identity number in the space below. By using your ID number you can be sure that I do not know who you are, and that whatever information supplied will be treated in the strictest confidence, and anonymously presented in the analysis.

HOW TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Please answer all questions. Most of the possible answers to the questions are indicated below each question. After reading each question, please tick (✓) the appropriate answer. Where alternative answers provided do not precisely correspond to your opinion, please tick the one closest to your opinion. Some questions require you to give reasons for your answer. Please do so in the space provided. There are no right or wrong answers. The only right answers are those which best express your personal feelings.

YOUR IDENTITY NUMBER IS

.....

PLEASE TICK () ONLY ONE ANSWER

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

1. How old are you?
 - (a) Under 25 01
 - (b) 26 - 30 02
 - (c) 31 - 35 03
 - (d) 36 - 40 04
 - (e) Over 40 05
2. What is your sex?
 - (a) Male 01
 - (b) Female 02
3. What is your marital status?
 - (a) Single 01
 - (b) Married 02
 - (c) Separated 03
 - (d) Divorced 04
 - (e) Widowed 05
4. To which religious group do you belong?
 - (a) Islam 01
 - (b) Christianity 02
 - (c) Traditional 03
 - (d) None 04
- 5.

Which of the Nigerian States is your state of origin?

(Please indicate in the space below).

.....
.....

- 6 Which of these languages do you speak?
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
- 7 From which of the following ethnic groups is your best friend? (Please tick only ethnic group).
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
- 8 From which other ethnic group would you like to have a close friend? (Please tick only one ethnic group).
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
9. Where is your primary assignment located?
- (a) Urban 01
 - (b) Rural 02
10. Have you been involved in any local projects in your local community?
- (a) Yes 01
 - (b) No 02

- 11 How often have you been involved in local projects with the local community?
- (a) Once 01
 - (b) Twice or more 02
 - (c) Never 03
- *12. In which language do you greet the elders in the local community?
- (a) English 01
 - (b) Igbo 02
13. How satisfied are you with your primary assignment?
- (a) Very satisfied 01
 - (b) Satisfied 02
 - (c) Dissatisfied 03
 - (d) Very dissatisfied 04
14. How important do you see your job in relation to the firm's activities?
- (a) Very important 01
 - (b) Important 02
 - (c) Unimportant 03
 - (d) Not at all important 04

15. Which of the 4 responses below best describe your view of the permanent staff at your primary assignment?

(Please tick only one answer).

The permanent staff are:

- (a) Friendly and supportive 01
- (b) Unfriendly 02
- (c) Indifferent 03
- (d) Can't say 04

16. Which of the following responses best describe the way your supervisor relates to you in your place of primary assignment? Please tick only one answer.

He/She:-

- (a) Is supportive in job matters 01
- (b) Shows keen interest in my job performance 02
- (c) Ignores me most of the time 03
- (d) Offers no support what-so-ever 04

*17. If you had to choose a governor from any of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, from which of the three below would you choose? Please tick only one.

- (a) Hausa 01
- (b) Yoruba 02
- (c) Igbo 03

*18. In which State would you like to work after the national youth service?

- (a) Your home State 01
- (b) Other State 02
- (c) Imo State 03

*19. If you were to choose a business partner from any of three major ethnic groups, from which of the three would you choose? Please tick only one.

- (a) Hausa 01
- (b) Yoruba 02
- (c) Igbo 03

Please give reasons for your answer

.....
.....

20. Inter-ethnic marriages are becoming fairly common in Nigeria. If you had a son or a daughter of marriageable age, into which of the following ethnic groups would you prefer him or her to marry? Tick only one ethnic group.

- (a) Hausa 01
- (b) Yoruba 02
- (c) Igbo 03
- (d) Other (Please specify) 04

21. How well do you know Igbo language?
- (a) Very well 01
 - (b) Fairly well 02
 - (c) Not well 03
 - (d) Not at all well 04

- *22. I have always felt that one of my children's names should be in one of Nigeria's major languages. If you were to give your child a name in one of Nigeria's three major languages **apart from your own**, would you give him or her :-
- (a) an Hausa name 01
 - (b) a Yoruba name 02
 - (c) an Igbo name 03

24. How would you like to associate with the Igbo ethnic group?

(Please tick only one column below).

ETHNIC GROUP	Marry one of them	Employ them only	Share a house with them as co-tenant only.	Have nothing to do with them if I can help it
IGBO				

The items asterisked are excluded from the main questionnaire.

IN THE SET OF STATEMENTS BELOW, PLEASE TICK THE COLUMN WHICH BEST EXPRESSES YOUR PERSONAL OPINION.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
No Nigerian language is superior to another.					
People should marry those who speak their language.					
Nigeria's interest should be paramount over the interests of our local group.					
We should vote people of our own ethnic group into political power.					
We should always present a good image of Nigeria when discussing with foreigners.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I do not think myself lucky to be a Nigerian					
We should be prepared at all times to die for Nigeria should the need arise					
Nigerian society would be better off if ethnic groups kept to themselves as much as possible.					
Given the choice, Nigeria would be the last place I would like to live in.					
Even if NYSC was not compulsory, every Nigerian youth should serve in it.					
Every country has its rights and wrongs, but Nigeria is always wrong in the actions it takes.					
All ethnic groups in Nigeria are equally important.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

IN THE FOLLOWING ADJECTIVE PAIRS, PLEASE TICK ONLY ONE SLOT IN EACH ROW.

THE IGBOS ARE:

Tick one slot in each row	Extremely	Moderately	Slightly	Uncertain	Slightly	Moderately	Extremely	Tick one slot in each row.
Friendly								Unfriendly
Clean								Dirty
Quiet								Noisy
Industrious								Lazy
Helpful								Unhelpful
Respectful								Disrespectful
Honest								Dishonest
Cooperative								Uncooperative
Humble								Arrogant
Generous								Stingy

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR GIVING SO MUCH OF YOUR TIME.
IT IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED.**

QUESTIONNAIRE (EXPERIMENTAL GROUP - PRE-TEST AND CONTROL GROUP).

INTRODUCTION TO RESPONDENTS.

(a) I am a Nigerian research student interested in obtaining information concerning the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme, for the purpose of suggesting further improvements to the scheme. Please answer the questions in this questionnaire as honestly, and as best as you can. Your co-operation is earnestly requested to make the study a success.

(b) You are requested to write your identity number in the space below. By using your ID number you can be sure that I do not know who you are, and that whatever information supplied will be treated in the strictest confidence, and anonymously presented in the analysis.

HOW TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Please answer all questions. Most of the possible answers to the questions are indicated below each question. After reading each question, please tick (✓) the appropriate answer. Where alternative answers provided do not precisely correspond to your opinion, please tick the one closest to your opinion. Some questions require you to give reasons for your answer. Please do so in the space provided. There are no right or wrong answers. The only right answers are those which best express your personal feelings.

YOUR IDENTITY NUMBER IS

.....

PLEASE TICK () ONLY ONE ANSWER

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

1. How old are you?
 - (a) Under 25 01
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 - (d) 36 - 40 04
 - (e) Over 40 05
2. What is your sex?
 - (a) Male 01
 - (b) Female 02
3. What is your marital status?
 - (a) Single 01
 - (b) Married 02
 - (c) Separated 03
 - (d) Divorced 04
 - (e) Widowed 05
4. To which religious group do you belong?
 - (a) Islam 01
 - (b) Christianity 02
 - (c) Traditional 03
 - (d) None 04
- 5.

Which of the Nigerian States is your state of origin?

(Please indicate in the space below).

.....
.....

- 6 Which of these languages do you speak?
- (a) Hausa 01
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 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
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- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
- 8 From which other ethnic group would you like to have a close friend? (Please tick only one ethnic group).
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
9. Inter-ethnic marriages are becoming fairly common in Nigeria. If you had a son or a daughter of marriageable age, into which of the following ethnic groups would you prefer him or her to marry? Tick only one ethnic group.
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04

10. How well do you know Igbo language?

- (a) Very well 01
- (b) Fairly well 02
- (c) Not well 03
- (d) Not at all well..... 04

11. How would you like to associate with the Igbo ethnic group?

(Please tick only one column below).

ETHNIC GROUP	Marry one of them	Employ them only	Share a house with them as co-tenant only.	Have nothing to do with them if I can help it
IGBO				

PLEASE TURN OVER.

IN THE SET OF STATEMENTS BELOW, PLEASE TICK THE COLUMN WHICH BEST EXPRESSES YOUR PERSONAL OPINION.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
No Nigerian language is superior to another.					
People should marry those who speak their language.					
Nigeria's interest should be paramount over the interests of our local group.					
We should vote people of our own ethnic group into political power.					
We should always present a good image of Nigeria when discussing with foreigners.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I do not think myself lucky to be a Nigerian					
We should be prepared at all times to die for Nigeria should the need arise					
Nigerian society would be better off if ethnic groups kept to themselves as much as possible.					
Given the choice, Nigeria would be the last place I would like to live in.					
Even if NYSC was not compulsory, every Nigerian youth should serve in it.					
Every country has its rights and wrongs, but Nigeria is always wrong in the actions it takes.					
All ethnic groups in Nigeria are equally important.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

IN THE FOLLOWING ADJECTIVE PAIRS, PLEASE TICK ONLY ONE SLOT IN EACH ROW.

THE IGBOS ARE:

Tick one slot in each row	Extremely	Moderately	Slightly	Uncertain	Slightly	Moderately	Extremely	Tick one slot in each row.
Friendly								Unfriendly
Clean								Dirty
Quiet								Noisy
Industrious								Lazy
Helpful								Unhelpful
Respectful								Disrespectful
Honest								Dishonest
Cooperative								Uncooperative
Humble								Arrogant
Generous								Stingy

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR GIVING SO MUCH OF YOUR TIME.
IT IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED.**

QUESTIONNAIRE (EXPERIMENTAL GROUP - POST-TEST).

INTRODUCTION TO RESPONDENTS.

(a) I am a Nigerian research student interested in obtaining information concerning the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme, for the purpose of suggesting further improvements to the scheme. Please answer the questions in this questionnaire as honestly, and as best as you can. Your co-operation is earnestly requested to make the study a success.

(b) You are requested to write your identity number in the space below. By using your ID number you can be sure that I do not know who you are, and that whatever information supplied will be treated in the strictest confidence, and anonymously presented in the analysis.

HOW TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Please answer all questions. Most of the possible answers to the questions are indicated below each question. After reading each question, please tick (✓) the appropriate answer. Where alternative answers provided do not precisely correspond to your opinion, please tick the one closest to your opinion. Some questions require you to give reasons for your answer. Please do so in the space provided. There are no right or wrong answers. The only right answers are those which best express your personal feelings.

YOUR IDENTITY NUMBER IS

.....

PLEASE TICK () ONLY ONE ANSWER

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

1. How old are you?
- (a) Under 25 01
 - (b) 26 - 30 02
 - (c) 31 - 35 03
 - (d) 36 - 40 04
 - (e) Over 40 05
2. What is your sex?
- (a) Male 01
 - (b) Female 02
3. What is your marital status?
- (a) Single 01
 - (b) Married 02
 - (c) Separated 03
 - (d) Divorced 04
 - (e) Widowed 05
4. To which religious group do you belong?
- (a) Islam 01
 - (b) Christianity 02
 - (c) Traditional 03
 - (d) None 04
- 5.

Which of the Nigerian States is your state of origin?

(Please indicate in the space below).

.....
.....

- 6 Which of these languages do you speak?
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
- 7 From which of the following ethnic groups is your best friend? (Please tick only ethnic group).
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
- 8 From which other ethnic group would you like to have a close friend? (Please tick only one ethnic group).
- (a) Hausa 01
 - (b) Yoruba 02
 - (c) Igbo 03
 - (d) Other (Please specify) 04
9. Where is your primary assignment located?
- (a) Urban 01
 - (b) Rural 02
10. Have you been involved in any local projects in your local community?
- (a) Yes 01
 - (b) No 02

- 11 How often have you been involved in local projects with the local community?
- (a) Once 01
 - (b) Twice or more 02
 - (c) Never 03
12. How satisfied are you with your primary assignment?
- (a) Very satisfied 01
 - (b) Satisfied 02
 - (c) Dissatisfied 03
 - (d) Very dissatisfied 04
13. How important do you see your job in relation to the firm's activities?
- (a) Very important 01
 - (b) Important 02
 - (c) Unimportant 03
 - (d) Not at all important 04
14. Which of the 4 responses below best describe your view of the permanent staff at your primary assignment?
(Please tick only one answer).
The permanent staff are:
- (a) Friendly and supportive 01
 - (b) Unfriendly 02
 - (c) Indifferent 03
 - (d) Can't say 04
15. Which of the following responses best describe the way your supervisor relates to you in your place of primary assignment? Please tick only one answer.
He/She:-
- (a) Is supportive in job matters 01
 - (b) Shows keen interest in my job performance 02
 - (c) Ignores me most of the time 03
 - (d) Offers no support what-so-ever 04

16. Inter-ethnic marriages are becoming fairly common in Nigeria. If you had a son or a daughter of marriageable age, into which of the following ethnic groups would you prefer him or her to marry? Tick only one ethnic group.

- (a) Hausa 01
- (b) Yoruba 02
- (c) Igbo 03
- (d) Other (Please specify) 04

17 How well do you know Igbo language?

- (a) Very well 01
- (b) Fairly well 02
- (c) Not well 03
- (d) Not at all well 04

18 How would you like to associate with the Igbo ethnic group?

(Please tick only one column below).

ETHNIC GROUP	Marry one of them	Employ them only	Share a house with them as co-tenant only.	Have nothing to do with them if I can help it
IGBO				

PLEASE TURN OVER.

IN THE SET OF STATEMENTS BELOW, PLEASE TICK THE COLUMN WHICH BEST EXPRESSES YOUR PERSONAL OPINION.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
No Nigerian language is superior to another.					
People should marry those who speak their language.					
Nigeria's interest should be paramount over the interests of our local group.					
We should vote people of our own ethnic group into political power.					
We should always present a good image of Nigeria when discussing with foreigners.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

Tick Only One Column Per Statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I do not think myself lucky to be a Nigerian					
We should be prepared at all times to die for Nigeria should the need arise					
Nigerian society would be better off if ethnic groups kept to themselves as much as possible.					
Given the choice, Nigeria would be the last place I would like to live in.					
Even if NYSC was not compulsory, every Nigerian youth should serve in it.					
Every country has its rights and wrongs, but Nigeria is always wrong in the actions it takes.					
All ethnic groups in Nigeria are equally important.					

PLEASE TURN OVER.

IN THE FOLLOWING ADJECTIVE PAIRS, PLEASE TICK ONLY ONE SLOT IN EACH ROW.

THE IGBOS ARE:

Tick one slot in each row	Extremely	Moderately	Slightly	Uncertain	Slightly	Moderately	Extremely	Tick one slot in each row.
Friendly								Unfriendly
Clean								Dirty
Quiet								Noisy
Industrious								Lazy
Helpful								Unhelpful
Respectful								Disrespectful
Honest								Dishonest
Cooperative								Uncooperative
Humble								Arrogant
Generous								Stingy

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR GIVING SO MUCH OF YOUR TIME.
IT IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED.**

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1 (BEFORE-SERVICE).

- (1) What is the major stated objective of the NYSC programme?
- (2) What are your own ideas about the programme?
- (3) If participation in the national scheme was not compulsory would you have volunteered to serve in it?
- (4) What were your feelings when you learnt you had been posted to Imo state?
- (5) How do you imagine your year long service in this State will be? Are you optimistic about the experiences that await you?
- (6) If you had a choice would you have chosen to serve in Imo State?
- (7) It is the government's policy that every Nigerian should learn one other major Nigerian language apart from his/her own. Which of the major Nigerian languages apart from your own would you like to learn, and why?
- (8) Which of the major Nigerian languages would you be reluctant to learn, and why?
- (9) What is your major concern?
- (10) Are there any other comments you would wish to make?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2 (AFTER-SERVICE).

- (1) What is the major stated objective of the NYSC programme?
- (2) What are your own ideas about the programme?
- (3) Which aspect of the orientation programme would you say prepared you best for your period of service in Imo state?
- (4) If participation in the national scheme was not compulsory, would you have volunteered to serve in it?
- (5) What are your feelings now that your service year is drawing to an end?
- (6) If you had a choice, would you have chosen to serve in Imo state?
- (7) How would you describe your experiences in the national scheme?
- (8) What did you find most interesting?
- (9) What did you dislike most?
- (10) Can you speak the local language, Igbo? If so, how fluent are you? If not, why not?
- (11) Do you think you have made an important contribution to the local community? If so, in what way?
- (12) Are there any other comments you would wish to make?

Table 7.6 RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - (GUTMAN SPLIT-HALF) -
NATIONAL IDENTITY SCALE.

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E

[1].	NIGLANG	no nig language is better than another
[2].	MARIETHN	marry from your ethnic group
[3].	NGINTPAR	nig interest to be paramount
[4].	OWNETPOL	vote own group into politics
5.	GDIMPFOR	good impression to fori
6.	NTLUKNIG	not lucky to be a nigerian
7.	ACPTNYSC	acceptance of nysc
8.	SELSACR	self sacrifice for nigeria
9.	NIGMIST	nig always makes mistakes
[10].	ETNGPSAP	ethnic groups should stay apart
11.	NTCHOSNG	not choosing to live in nigeria
[12].	ALLETIMP	all ethnic groups are important

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

N OF CASES =	160.0	N OF ITEMS =	12
CORRELATION BETWEEN FORMS =	.9706	EQUAL LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN =	.9851
GUTTMAN SPLIT-HALF =	.9798	UNEQUAL-LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN =	.9851
6 ITEMS IN PART 1		6 ITEMS IN PART 2	
ALPHA FOR PART 1 =	.9062	ALPHA FOR PART 2 =	.8840

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - GUTTMAN SPLIT-HALF - MARRIAGE
CHOICE AND FRIENDSHIP CHOICE SCALES.

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E

1.	BESTFRET	best friends ethnic group
2.	CLOFRETH	close friends ethnic group
*3.	CHOOSIMO	choose imo for service
*4.	STATEGOV	choice of state governor
5.	CHLDMARI	pref for child's marriage partner
*6.	LANGUSE	which language do you use
*7.	NAMECHLD	name child in another language
*8.	WKAFTSER	choice of state for work after nysc
*9.	BISPATNA	choice of business partner
10.	SOCIADIS	degree of association allowed

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

N OF CASES =	160.0	N OF ITEMS =	10
CORRELATION BETWEEN FORMS =	.7835	EQUAL LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN =	.8786
GUTTMAN SPLIT-HALF =	.8407	UNEQUAL-LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN =	.8786
5 ITEMS IN PART 1		5 ITEMS IN PART 2	
ALPHA FOR PART 1 =	.8447	ALPHA FOR PART 2 =	.5643

Table 9.1: PARTICIPATION IN ONE'S OWN ETHNIC GROUP DURING 1982/83 SERVICE YEAR.

IGBO ETHNIC GROUP.

State of origin	Total No. produced	State of deployment	No. in own ethnic group
Anambra	1699	Anambra	455
		Imo	338
Total	1699		793

YORUBA ETHNIC GROUP.

State of origin	Total No. produced	State of deployment	No. in own ethnic group
Oyo	3369	Oyo	754
		Ogun	469
		Ondo	420
		Lagos	99
Total	3369		1742

Based on 12 Years of National Youth Service Corps in Nigeria: 1973-1985.: NYSC Publication (1985:104).

Table 7.8 RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - (GUTMAN SPLIT-HALF) -
SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALE OF "A TYPICAL IGBO."

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S - S C A L E (A L L)

1.	SEMFRIEN	friendliness of ibos
2.	CLEAN	cleanliness of ibos
3.	QUIET	quietness of ibos
4.	INDUSTRI	industriousness of ibos
5.	RESPECT	ibos as respectful
6.	HUMBLE	humility of ibos
7.	COOPERAT	cooperativeness of ibos
8.	HONEST	honesty of ibos
9.	HELPFUL	helpfulness of ibos
10.	GENEROUS	generosity of ibos

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

N OF CASES =	160.0	N OF ITEMS =	10
CORRELATION BETWEEN FORMS =	.7700	EQUAL LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN	=.8700
GUTTMAN SPLIT-HALF =	.8177	UNEQUAL-LENGTH SPEARMAN-BROWN	=.8700
5 ITEMS IN PART 1		5 ITEMS IN PART 2	
ALPHA FOR PART 1 =	.7633	ALPHA FOR PART 2 =	.9379

APPENDIX B.

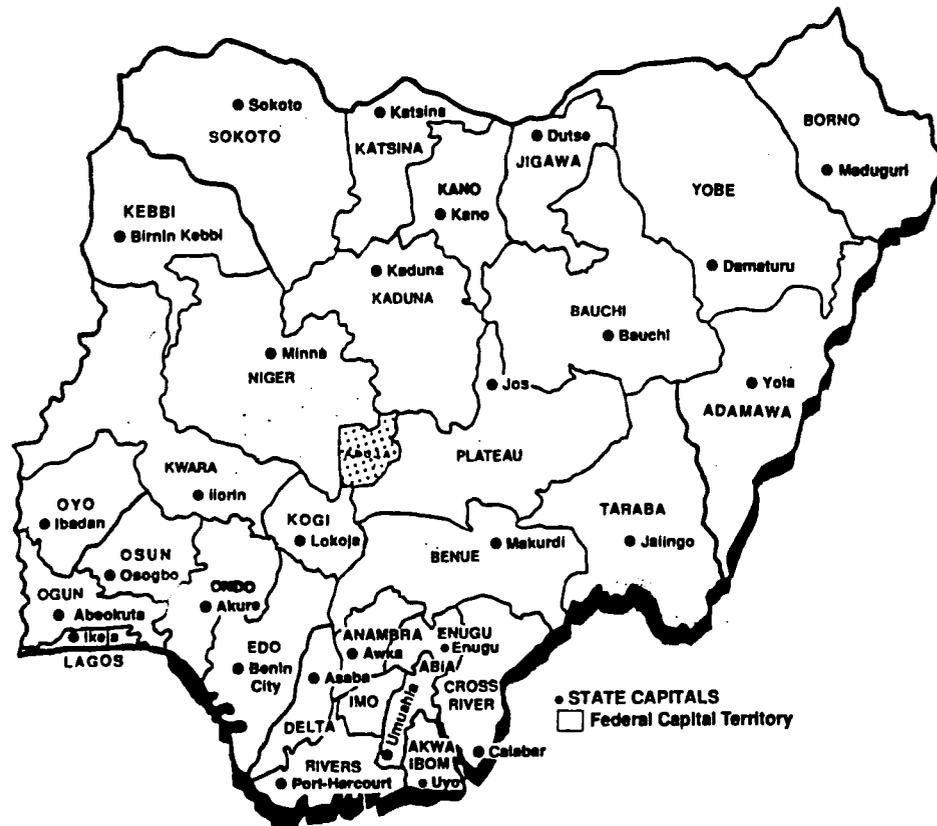
SCHEDULE FOR ORIENTATION LECTURES - FINAL LIST
1989/90 SERVICE YEAR - SECOND SEMESTER TIME TABLE
FROM 17TH APRIL TO 27TH APRIL: TIME: 10 A.M. - 11 A.M.

S/NO	NAME OF LECTURER	TOPICS OF LECTURE	NAMES OF COORDINATORS	DATE/TIME
1.	BRIEFING BY THE CAMP OFFICIALS	-	-	19/4/90 10 - 11 a.m.
2.	DR. Onumereobi A. I. C. E.	GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURE OF IMO STATE	MR. J. IBE A. I. C. E.	20/4/90 4 - 5 PM
3.	DR. Chukwuezi A. B. GENERAL HOSPITAL	TRADITIONAL KOLANUT HOSPITALITY IN IGBO LAND	MR. F. A. O. EKECHT MIN. OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	23/4/90 10 - 11 AM.
4.	MR. EMURUM, L.B.C. <i>Girls Res. Sch. Owerri.</i>	MUSIC IN IGBO CULTURE	NZE EZIAKAOHA A. I. C. E.	24/4/90 4 - 4.45 PM
5.	MR. Uramba, U. M. THE POLY. NEKEDE	EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION FOR CORPS MEMBERS	MR. AKAMANDAM G.S.S. OWERRI	25/4/90 10 - 11 AM
6.	BARRISTER KELECHIN 71 TETLOW ROAD, OWERRI	THE RULE OF LAW IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY: RELEVANCE TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC	MR. P. ONUNWA M A M S E R	25/4/90 4 - 4.45 PM
7.	MR. S. C. NSOPOR, THE POLY. NEKEDE	MANAGEMENT OF SCARCE RESOURCES	MR. UBA A. I. C. E.	26/4/90 4 - 4.45 P.M
8.	MR. CHARLES CHIKEZIE FED. INF. CENTRE.	NYSC IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC	MRS. ROSE NJOKU ROSY ARTS THEATRE	29/4/90 10 - 11 AM

PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION LECTURES START FROM 4 PM AND END BY 4.45 DATES IB PROFESSIONAL LECTURE DAYS.
 SECURITY LECTURES CAN DISCODE THE PERIOD FOR TOPICAL LECTURES DURING THE ORIENTATION COURSE PERIOD, AND LECTURERS
 ARE REQUESTED TO ASK FOR ALTERNATIVE PERIODS.


 VINCENT N. EMEKE
 Lectures Co-ordinator
 for: Director
 NYSC Secretariat, Owerri.

Map 3 : NIGERIA IN 1992.*



*It is important to reiterate the point that the creation of states in Nigeria has achieved very little in terms of ameliorating inter-ethnic prejudice. Indeed it is the case that in peoples' view the North is nothing but Hausaland, the East (minus the minorities) is Igboland, and the West remains Yorubaland. One finds that a Hausa at the top in Federal Government for example is enough for the Northerner to feel represented, whether he be from Kano, Borno or Benue states. The Yoruba man equally feels represented in the Federal Government, as long as a Yoruba - whether from Oyo, Ogun, Ondo or Lagos - is there; and the Igbo does not in the final analysis, draw a distinction between Imo, Anambra, Enugu or Abia state representations. Also from the point of view of the three major ethnic groups and their apprehension of each others domination, a change of leadership in the form of Northerner qua Northerner, or Westerner qua Westerner for example is usually seen as Hausa or Yoruba domination, respectively, irrespective of states of origin. So that although states have been created, to the extent that the former geographical regions and their respective ethnic groups continue to be highly salient, the present study has therefore focused squarely on the three major geographical/ethnic divisions, and the country, Nigeria (see also Osaghae, E. 1985).

