

ABSTRACT

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AND CROSS-TRIBAL INTEGRATION IN WEST CAMEROON

By

Walter Norman Haupt

This exploratory investigation sought to determine under what conditions the secondary school in West Cameroon is an agent of cross-tribal integration by determining and comparing students' levels of integration and by analyzing factors related to integration. Cross-tribal integration was conceptualized as a voluntary integration among persons, cross-tribal friendships being the key relationship as an interstitial element in voluntary associations and networks of relationships which provide matrices for the integration of a culturally pluralistic society. The measurement of cross-tribal friendship thus became a means of measuring cross-tribal integration. Concepts of types and dimensions of friendship were developed as a result of preliminary field research which was conducted in West Cameroon, the English-speaking state of the Federal Republic of Cameroun, from September to December, 1968. Questionnaires,

interviews, and sociometric techniques were used to obtain data from 524 randomly selected students from five secondary schools. Smaller groups of terminal primary school students, secondary-age non-students, and former secondary school students were also used for comparison purposes.

In addition to questions about demographic facts, the questionnaire used was composed of two behavior scales and an attitude scale of the Guttman-type. These scales were developed in the field after intensive interviews, judging, and pre-testing provided questions which would measure integration by means of behaviors and attitudes related to cross-tribal friendships. The data obtained from these instruments were analyzed by Guttman Scale Analysis, one-way analysis of variance, Pearson product-moment correlations, and chi-square tests. Comparisons of levels of integration were made between groups of students categorized by various demographic or educational factors in order to demonstrate (1) that the secondary school contributes to increases in levels of integration and (2) to determine what factors in the secondary school and students' backgrounds are related to levels of integration. Sociometric data were collected to provide additional information and to substantiate data gathered from the questionnaires. Factors which encourage or discourage cross-tribal integration were also investigated by student

and teacher interviews and closed and open-ended questions in the questionnaire.

Findings of general interest included the following:

1. The secondary school did contribute to increases in levels of cross-tribal integration, as defined in this study.
2. Levels of integration were influenced by school type and location.
3. Levels of integration were also influenced by environmental factors, but not by age, sex, academic ability, or polygynous family structure.
4. Tribal differentiation of educational opportunity was found in West Cameroon.
5. The factors which encouraged cross-tribal integration were prolonged contact, multi-tribal proximity, and interaction.
6. The factors which discouraged cross-tribal integration were misconduct, culture conflicts, and discrimination or favoritism.
7. The teacher's role as an integrative agent was perceived to be, at best, positive but weak.

8. Students' membership in voluntary associations or the number of African languages they speak were not indicators of levels of integration.
9. Levels of integration were found to be inversely related to the number of tribal representatives within a class or school.
10. The same school-related activities which encourage integration may, under certain conditions, discourage it.

It was therefore concluded that the secondary school is an integrative agent when it provides the integrative environment, motivation, and opportunities for interaction for its students to develop networks of cross-tribal, voluntary relationships thereby preparing them for participation in the urban, cross-tribal voluntary associations, the networks of which provide the matrix for a stable, culturally pluralistic society integrated around some common goals, tasks, aspirations, and values.

Specific recommendations suggesting means of strengthening the secondary school's role as an integrative agent were made on the basis of the findings of this research.

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INTEGRATION IN WEST CAMEROON

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

The new African nations are desperately seeking means of uniting their multi-tribal populations into consolidated, effective nations. This integration of tribal groups is perhaps the most pressing problem in "nation building" throughout Africa, as experiences in Nigeria and Congo bear witness. Mercier concisely stated the situation when he wrote:

The ethnic group in old Black Africa certainly presented an essential social framework. In spite of all the changes that took place during the last century, limits between ethnic groups can remain important, or become so again. In the present states where ethnic composition is complex, these ethnic divisions can constitute an impediment to nation-building. The problem of unification is acute for these states.¹

Although tribalism is being eroded today by increasing cross-tribal contact, nationalism, and education, the role which education plays in the process of social integration is not fully understood.² This

¹Paul Mercier, "On the Meaning of 'Tribalism' in Black Africa," Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict, P. L. van den Berghe, editor (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 484-485.

²James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 357.

study seeks to explore by empirical field research the role which the secondary school plays in social integration in West Cameroon, the English-speaking state of the Federal Republic of Cameroun.

I. TRIBAL LOYALTY VS. NATIONAL UNITY

In pre-colonial times, social relationships which were compounded into groupings and often termed "tribes" provided social integration within the tribe. These groupings also provided a measure of social integration between the different tribes because they formalized and recognized differences--often at a ritual level³--between tribes, thus making successful contact and interaction possible without hostility. In this sense tribes were functional to social integration during that period of history.

In colonial times an imposed integration was established in some areas where tribes were artificially brought together into single political units by foreign powers. Although such unions heightened suspicion, rivalry, and open hostility, much of this friction was forced to submerge due to colonial force and power. A second force which tended to minimize tribal conflict was the wish by nationalist leaders in many places to present a united front to the Europeans and thus enhance their struggle for independence.

³Colin M. Turnbull, The Lonely African (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 182.

With independence came release from a dominant colonial power and the need for a united front to gain independence disappeared. The result was that in the years following independence, tribalism in West Africa increased⁴ and came to be regarded as one of the major social ills against which politicians continually inveigh. This increase in tribalism is proving to be dysfunctional to nation building and social integration because, as Skinner wrote:

The various groups in contemporary African societies are not competing for ancestral rights or privileges, but for the appurtenances of modern power. In most cases they seek to control the nation-state where they find themselves, or at worst seek to prevent being dominated by other groups within the state.⁵

This is the heart of the problem in the current Nigerian-Biafran conflict, which vividly portrays the dysfunctional role of tribes in nation building. In addition to being an impasse between tribe and nation, such conflicts also include the struggle between tradition and change and the frustrations of the gap between fact and aspiration.

⁴P. C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change (London: Penguin Books Limited, 1967), p. 288.

⁵Elliott Skinner, "Group Dynamics in the Politics of Changing Societies: The Problem of 'Tribal' Politics in Africa," Essays on the Problem of Tribe, June Helm, editor (Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), p. 183.

Africa's national leaders see the need for tribal or social integration in their nations because tribal opposition is perceived as a highly disturbing threat to their regimes for several reasons:

1. The desire to maintain separate sub-identities is at variance with the African nationalists' dream of "unity."
2. Maintaining sub-identities involves perpetuation of traditional authorities, such as chiefs, which are considered "unmodern."
3. Dreams of territorial realignment are perceived as "treason" or "separatism."
4. Inevitably, opposition to national leaders almost always includes a tribal dimension.
5. Tribal demands usually involve a re-distribution of political and economic power.
6. Opposition stemming from tribal solidarity is very "difficult to control since it feeds on itself."⁶

These threats are powerful enough to evoke the following public statements from two of Africa's well-known leaders:

Says Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny: "Tribalism is the scourge of Africa." Unless tribalism goes, adds

⁶ Aristide R. Zolberg, Creating Political Order (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966), pp. 70-71.

Kenya's Minister of Economic Planning Tom Mboya, "much of what we have achieved could be lost overnight."⁷

II. DEFINING "TRIBE" AND "TRIBALISM"

Any study of the problem of social integration and tribalism must give some attention to the broad usage of such words as "tribe," "tribalism," and "ethnicity." That these terms rank high in ambiguity is reflected by the multifarious definitions which are currently in use. Three broad categories of definition are discernible:

1. The well-established anthropological definitions based upon common legend or ancestry, similarities of language, or related social or political institutions.⁸
2. The more recent definitions used by scholars of African sociology in which tribalism is conceptualized as an urban phenomenon, sometimes called "ethnicity," developing from colonial contact and the modernization process.⁹

⁷"On Tribalism as the Black Man's Burden," Time, XCII (August 23, 1968), p. 18.

⁸Morton H. Fried, "On the Concepts of 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society,'" Essays on the Problem of Tribe, June Helm, editor (Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 1-5.

⁹Paul Mercier, op. cit., pp. 483-501; Max Gluckman, "Tribalism in Modern British Central Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes

3. The very comprehensive definitions, exemplified by those of P. L. van den Berghe and P. C. Lloyd, which include a spectrum of concepts such as localized group living, common language, pre-colonial states, synonyms for "rural" in opposition to "urban," synonyms for "traditional" or meaning the opposite of "national," adherence to traditional norms which are inappropriate in the towns, or a transcendent loyalty to one's ethnic group.¹⁰

Certain aspects of these definitions have been considered pejorative by some Africans and by scholars who have relied upon the sophisticated term "ethnicity" to label these concepts and remove any possible pejorative qualities or Western value judgments. Lloyd explained this when he wrote:

It [tribalism] is used as a term of abuse--as might "bourgeois," "capitalist," or "communist" be used in other parts of the

Africaines, I (January, 1960), pp. 55-70; Immanuel Wallerstein, "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, I (July, 1960), pp. 129-139; and A. L. Epstein, Politics in an Urban African Community (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

¹⁰P. C. Lloyd, op. cit.; and Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Introduction," Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict, P. L. van den Berghe, editor (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), p. 3.

world. Yet the term is vague, and its current usage embodies a number of separate concepts.¹¹

Tribalism is perhaps most commonly used, however, to connote loyalty to an ethnic group (or tribe) which parallels or transcends loyalty to the new state. The term "ethnicity" is frequently used here by sociologists, though it has yet to find its way into colloquial usage in the English-speaking states.¹²

In the state of West Cameroon, where research for this study was done, the term "ethnicity" is little understood, while "tribe" and "tribalism" are commonly used and bear no pejorative implications. It is for this reason that the terms "tribe" and "tribalism" will be used in this study. "Tribe" is recognized by Cameroonians as indicative of normative relationships based upon common ancestry and a common myth of origin which generate group consciousness and related behavior patterns.¹³ This definition, without any pejorative implications, will be used in this study.

A definition of "tribalism" which can be derived from the above and which relates to the problem of nation building has been supplied for this study by Mayer when he wrote:

¹¹P. C. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 288.

¹²Ibid., p. 289.

¹³It is noteworthy that the Cameroonians who were interviewed perceived language as a differentiating factor but of a secondary nature because historically many Cameroon "tribes" are recognized as fragmentations of larger tribal groups which were originally more linguistically homogeneous than is now the case. Hence kinship and origin are considered the prime differentiators.

In studying multi-tribalism, then, we are concerned with "tribalism" in the sense of a narrow loyalty which may prove inimical to wider loyalties, rather than "tribalism" in the sense of a non-western quality of norms and values.¹⁴

It is clear that this is not a complete definition for such a complex concept. Instead it is a stipulated definition for the purposes of this study selected from a broad range of reportive definitions because of its importance to the process of nation building. Scholars wishing to pursue the problem of definition further may refer to the pertinent American Ethnological Society publication, Essays on the Problem of Tribe, which deals with this subject in greater depth.¹⁵

III. CAMEROUN--LAND OF DIVERSITY

The significant characteristic of contemporary African nations which must wrestle with the problem of tribalism is their high degree of pluralism and diversity which make their societies, in some respects, more complex and loosely integrated than those in most other parts of the world. Such a nation is the Federal Republic of Cameroun, which was selected as the area of research

¹⁴Philip Mayer, "Introduction: The Study of Multi-Tribalism," The Multitribal Society, A. A. Dubb, editor (Proceedings of the Sixteenth Conference of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute held at the Oppenheimer College for Social Service, February, 1962, Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1962), p. vi. Italics added.

¹⁵June Helm, op. cit.

because of the researcher's eight years' experience in education in this state, its unusually great tribal diversity, and its extraordinary integration problems as the former French and British trusteeships seek to unify. Cameroun,¹⁶ which is situated in the area where West Africa and Equatorial Africa merge (see Figure 1), has been labelled "an original puzzle of living diversities" by its president, Ahmadou Ahidjo.¹⁷ This puzzle includes diversities of tribe, language, religion, political institutions, geography, history, and attitude.

Tribal diversity. A cursory look at Murdock's tribal map of Africa shows that Cameroun is one of several areas in Africa where there is unusual racial and tribal diversity. Historically, this diversity was caused by local and foreign slave-trade, tribal wars, and by Foulbe invasions from the north. Cameroun is the

¹⁶ A word of explanation about the spelling used is always necessary when dealing with Cameroun. The French spelling of the word--Cameroun--is generally used to designate the former French trusteeship or the entire, independent Federal Republic of Cameroun. The English spelling--Cameroon--designates the former British trusteeship or the present western state of the Federation, now known as West Cameroon. This convention will be used throughout this study.

¹⁷ Ahmadou Ahidjo, As Told by Ahmadou Ahidjo, Political Bureau of the Cameroon National Union, editors (Monaco: Paul Bory Publishers, 1968), p. 40.



FIGURE 1

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROUN
WEST AFRICA

meeting place of three of Herskovits' great African sub-cultures: the Guinea Coast (Nigritic), the Western Sudan (Fulani and Arab), and the Congo Basin (Bantu). Murdock divides them into the Atlantic, the Bantoid, and the Chadic groups.¹⁸ Clarke divided the people by areas.¹⁹ In the south are the Bantus, a farming people who have been deeply influenced by Christian missions and European markets. In the forests of this area about 6,500 pygmies can be found also. In the central area of the country are the Semi-Bantus of lesser-known origin. Sudanese negroes are found in the north along with Hamitic Foulbe and Choa Arabs. Each of these major groups is divided into many smaller units, thus producing a great tribal diversity. The French-speaking state of East Cameroun has some 136 different tribes while the West Cameroon, where the research for this study was done, has about sixty-five.²⁰ It is difficult to be specific about the number of tribes because of the differences in replies which respondents offer when asked about their tribal origin.

Ardener reported that a respondent:

¹⁸Victor T. LeVine, The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 5-11.

¹⁹J. I. Clarke, "Cameroun," Focus (New York: The American Geographical Society, Vol. 16, No. 7, March, 1966), pp. 2, 4.

²⁰Victor T. LeVine, op. cit., p. 6.

. . . may give the name of his tribe, or of his village (even of a section of his village) or the nearest fair-sized town, or of another tribe which is more well-known. Whatever he says may be given in the phonetic form of his own language, but commonly in some other form he imagines, rightly or wrongly, to be more comprehensible.²¹

Appendix A lists those tribes which are generally recognized by anthropologists and government officials and was used as the definitive list for this research. Figure 2 clearly portrays the tribal diversity of the area in which the research for this study was done.

Linguistic diversity. Although over sixty tribes have been differentiated in West Cameroon, LeVine reports that the number of identifiable tongues in this small state approaches one hundred.²² Language fragmentation is so extreme that neighboring villages often speak mutually incomprehensible dialects or languages. Broadly speaking, the languages appear to be of three types: the Bantu languages spoken in the coastal areas, the Benue-Cross River languages--sometimes referred to as semi-Bantu or Bantoid--in the interior and highland areas, and the Tikar languages whose classification is still in question. The languages of the Fulani and Hausa

²¹ Edwin Ardener, Shirley Ardener, and W. A. Warmington, Plantation and Village in the Cameroons (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 23. The interested reader will find a more complete and interesting explanation of the problems of tribal identification on pp. 23-27 and Appendix C on pp. 368-370.

²² Victor T. LeVine, "The Cameroon Federal Republic," Five African States, Gwendolen M. Carter, editor (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 289.

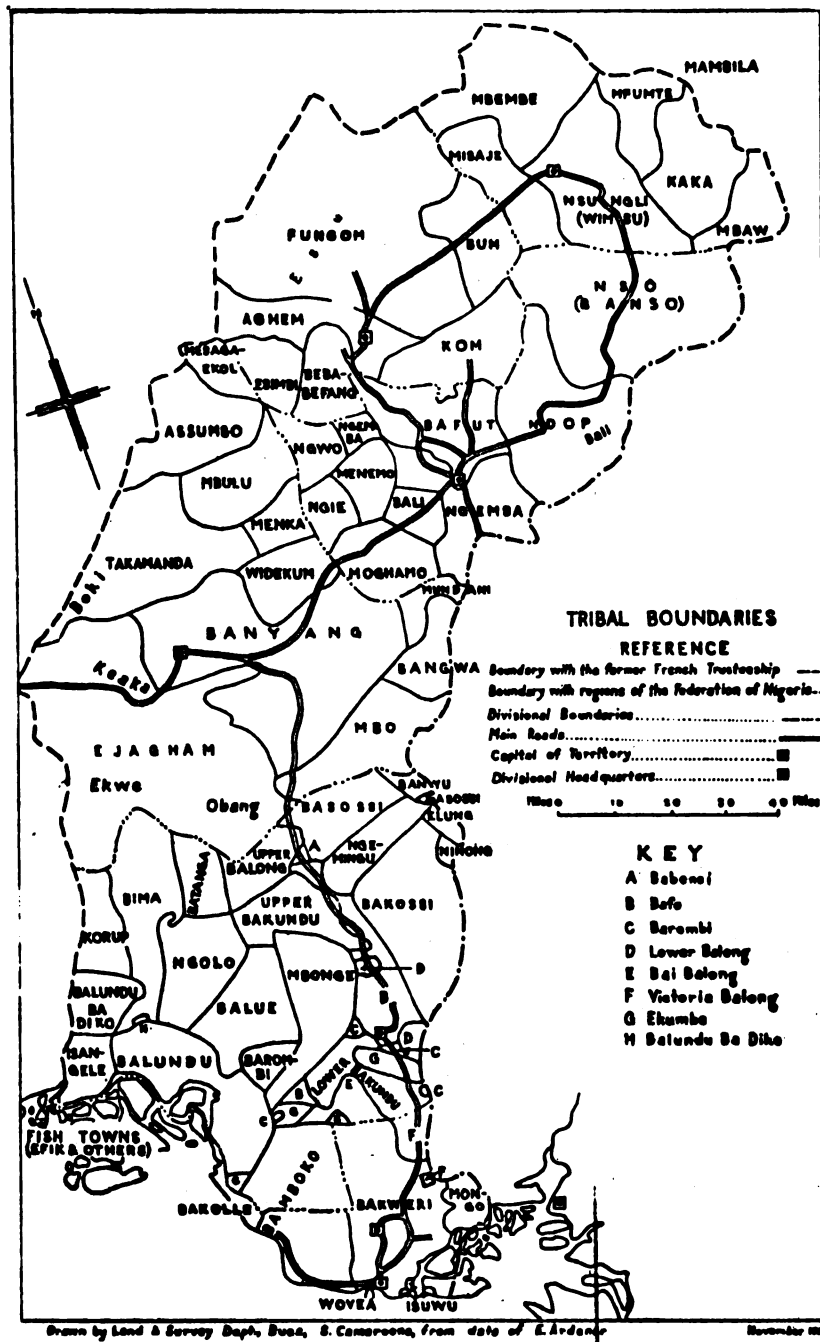


FIGURE 2

WEST CAMEROON
TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

are also found in the northern sectors of West Cameroon. The problem of linguistic diversity is described by Kwast who wrote:

There is no vernacular spoken in West Cameroon by more than fifty or sixty thousand people, and most are spoken by only a few thousand or less. No one vernacular has proved large enough to become a lingua franca, although attempts were made to make Bali and Douala such. To bridge these language barriers Pidgin English or "Wes Kos" has become the lingua franca and is used extensively throughout the territory by literate and illiterate alike.²³

Religious and political diversity. In addition to this tribal and linguistic fragmentation--and the cultural diversity which it potentially contains--religious and political institutions contribute their part to further complicate the scene. West Cameroon, and indeed all of Cameroun, is an arena in which Christianity, Islam, and a great variety of traditional religions are found. Political institutions vary from the powerful chiefdoms, which were formerly kingdoms, to more democratic forms of government by councils, societies, or associations.

Geographical and historical diversity. Possibly the source of much of this diversity is the geographical and historical inheritance

²³Lloyd E. Kwast, "West Cameroon Baptist Church Growth" (unpublished master's thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, Long-beach, California, 1968), pp. 24-25. This work gives a very exhaustive and scholarly description of the diversity of West Cameroon and is recommended for the interested scholar.

to which these people became heir. The traveller on his way from south to north passes through areas of marshes and swamps, dense forests which finally creep up into the plateau, and finally rolling savannah highlands or grasslands, as they are often called. West Cameroon lies on a fault zone with volcanoes and mountains which render the land rugged and inaccessible. This broken terrain and dense forest have undoubtedly led to tribal isolation with the linguistic and cultural differences which breed in such a situation. To this must be added the diversity which a unique history has brought to Cameroun. In pre-colonial times Cameroun was the scene of invasions from the south, the north, and the west--each with its myriad differences of peoples and cultures. With colonialism came the influence of the Germans, whose forty years in the land left a mark which is still visible, followed by French and British domination from the end of the First World War until independence in 1960. This historical and cultural diversity has created immense problems for the new nation as it seeks not only to unify the diverse tribes but also the French and British cultural heritages which lay heavy upon it.

This, then, is the mosaic of diversity which underlies the ground and being of approximately five million Camerounians,

twenty per cent of whom live in West Cameroon.²⁴ Kwast reports that "the people of West Cameroon are predominately young, according to population statistics. In 1964 eighty per cent of the people were 34 years of age and younger, whereas 46.8 per cent were 14 years of age and younger."²⁵ The nation's diversities with their resulting conflicts and frictions have permeated the youthful bulk of the population. In order to portray the conflicts which youth experience or perceive, a group of fourth year students at the secondary school at Bali was asked to write essays reporting instances of tribalism in their school. The most revealing examples are found in Appendix B. Although they deal primarily with school situations, they reflect elements of tribal friction reaching deeper into life and experience than just the school situation. The essays deal mostly with such subjects as stereotypes, teacher preference, regional conflicts, disciplinary favoritism, historical disputes, and minor grievances labelled "tribal" when in fact they probably are not.²⁶

²⁴Société d' Etudes pour le Développement Economique et Social, The Population of West Cameroon: Main Findings of the Demographic Survey of West Cameroon, 1964 (Paris: Rue de Lille, 1966), p. 53.

²⁵Lloyd E. Kwast, op. cit., p. 20.

²⁶For rather interesting and quite different attitudes toward tribal conflict among the laborers on the plantations in West Cameroon see Edwin Ardener et al., op. cit., pp. 101-106.

These attitudes make it clear that tribalism is more than a nominal problem in this complex African nation. The problem is real enough for the dominant political party of Cameroun to have announced a policy against tribalism. The party's sensitivity to this problem is evident in their leader's statement:

Cameroon is one of the African countries that has in this way inherited from history the greatest diversity. It has Bantus and Fans, Sudano-Bantus and Peuhls, Arabs and Pygmees. Its tribes and dialects are innumerable. Situated at the cross-roads of the migrations, it is a veritable Africa in miniature. To finish the picture, it should be noted that the vast majority of the North is Moslem, the South is animist, Catholic and Protestant, and the country has been colonized, successively or simultaneously, by the Germans, the French and the British, all of whom have left often contradictory imprints on the ways in which Cameroonians think and act. "We have different races and different customs," says Ahmadou Ahidjo. "We practise various religions. If this diversity is in reality a richness, it also constitutes a handicap in the achievement of our unity."²⁷

IV. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

The sum of the preceding material is not only a description of the scene in which this research was carried out, but also of the complexity and depth of the problem of integration in a modern African nation. Because of the immensity of the problem it seems reasonable to conjecture that no one institution in society will be

²⁷ Political Bureau of the Cameroun National Union, The Political Philosophy of Ahmadou Ahidjo (Monte Carlo: Paul Bory Publishing Company, 1968), p. 26.

able to bring about the integration which is so diligently sought. Much has been written about possible political solutions to this problem, but effective integration must be more than just a collection of diverse tribes in one political container. Economics has also been envisioned as the tie that will bind diversity together, but more must be hoped for than the bickering and bartering of the market place. Even religion, in its institutionalized form, seems as capable of division as of integration.

What, then, is the role of the school in integration? Certainly the school fosters political integration by developing new attitudes toward the government and the nation, by political socialization, and by the training and recruitment of elites.²⁸ Similarly, schools contribute to economic and religious integration, but can or do schools provide more than these? Schools alone cannot achieve integration; indeed, their contribution is inconclusive, as Anderson suggested when he wrote:

What schools or more diffuse sorts of education do to prejudice and perceptual frameworks about the social world depends primarily upon the broader context within which education operates. Additional or intervening variables are always crucial in these complex processes, and they may be so numerous or so subtle that we cannot reach firm conclusions with which to guide educational policy.²⁹

²⁸James S. Coleman, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

²⁹C. Arnold Anderson, "Sociological and Educational Constraints Upon International Understanding," Education and International Life: The Yearbook of Education, 1964, G. Z. F. Bereday

The school as an agent of integration. A few studies give support to the widely held contention that schools are integrative agents. This conviction is common in the United States where the school's role in the "melting-pot" process has been widely studied. Harding et al. have reported several studies which give credence to the integrative role of schools.³⁰ One such study reported that prejudice decreased and ethnic attitudes became more favorable with increasing years in school. Other studies indicated that knowledge about the other ethnic group, desirable teachers' attitudes, and healthy relationships between the teacher and his pupil can increase the integrative role of schools.³¹ In Africa little empirical research has been done which indicates that the school has played a positive role in integration. Musgrove, while making a case study of a Uganda secondary school, indicated that the school was conducive to integration because former groups, statuses, and loyalties were obliterated and reorganized within the school.³² Weeks' study of

and J. F. Lauwerys, editors (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated, 1964), p. 67.

³⁰ John Harding, et al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 1046.

³¹ Ibid., p. 1048.

³² F. A. Musgrove, "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change," Africa, XXII (1952), pp. 234-249.

cross-tribal friendship patterns, also done in a Uganda secondary school, indicated that cross-tribal integration does take place especially where similarities of language and culture exist.³³

Although research in Africa on this topic is limited, the contention is widely held that schools help integration. This is illustrated by Arensberg who wrote:

National school systems are primarily concerned with the dissemination of information about the national goals. Each new nation hopes at least to build a national system of universal education, though few have yet achieved it. Through such schools literacy and the national language can be taught, a means by which the central governments hope to communicate with all groups more easily and by which they hope to better integrate them. By many such nations literacy is viewed as a veritable key to the problem.³⁴

Johnson, in writing about the unification of English- and French-speaking Cameroun, indicated that similar sentiments exist in that nation.³⁵

³³S. G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Examination of the Role of Minority Students at a Day Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda," Papers of the East African Institute of Social Research, 1963, 14 pp. (mimeo).

³⁴Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Americans Overseas (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 135-136.

³⁵Willard R. Johnson, "The Cameroun Federation: Political Union Between English and French Speaking Africa," French Speaking Africa: The Search for Identity, W. H. Lewis, editor (New York: Walker and Company, 1965), p. 216.

The school as an agent of malintegration. Two studies made in West Africa have concluded that schools may be malintegrative agents. Clignet summarized his Ivory Coast research on secondary schools by writing:

Two additional conclusions can be drawn from this array of data. First, it is often tempting to emphasize the homogenizing influence of an educational environment. This effect is probably most definite when the functions performed by the school are reinforced by other agencies and by a mass communication system. Yet in Africa, ethnic differentials in attitudes do not seem to be deeply eroded by education. . . . Secondly, if the attitudes of students from various ethnic backgrounds remain quite distinctive, it may be seen that such diversity is even more characteristic of other social environments. Namely, the school population is relatively homogeneous in such areas as ability, age, aspirations, and living in sheltered institutions relatively close to external influences. Populations with an identical level of participation in the modern sector of the economy, or living in a comparable urban neighborhood are much more diversified and are therefore more likely to keep their traditional values and norms. At least for the short term, this observation leads us to think that social change does not eradicate traditional ethnic tensions and cleavages. The persistence of the stressing of ethnic particularisms remains one of the major obstacles of African nations to overcome in the process of their growth.³⁶

The second example of research done on this subject was Foster's study in Ghana in which he substantiated the point Clignet expressed when he said:

Most observers would agree that, in the long run, the extension of formal education among the masses tends to lessen many

³⁶Remi Clignet, "Ethnicity, Social Differentiation, and Secondary Schooling in West Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, VII (Summer, 1967), p. 378.

intercultural differences and helps to replace particularistic and local values by attitudes more consonant with the needs of the whole nation. This view may be correct but some caution is needed. . . .

We shall argue here that in the short run (and the short run can be a very long time) regional inequalities in the distribution of schooling can exacerbate ethnic conflicts. Further, it will be indicated that regional inequalities in provision of schools are virtually inevitable in areas where there has been a differential internal rate of economic and social change. This has been the case in virtually every African territory. . . .³⁷

Circumstantial and inconclusive evidence. To cite the previous studies as extremes is, of course, inconsonant with reality. They do suggest that the role of the school as an integrative agent depends a great deal upon circumstances and is still not completely understood. Abernathy and Coombe have presented both aspects of the schools' role.³⁸ On the one hand, they contend, the school is integrative by providing political socialization, equality of opportunity, and opportunities for contact with students from other tribes. On the other hand, they emphasize that multiplication of schools can lead to unemployment and social instability, to the localization of the students' experience, to newly educated elites challenging the

³⁷ Philip J. Foster, "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," Comparative Education Review, VI (October, 1962), p. 128.

³⁸ David Abernathy and Trevor Coombe, "Education and Politics in Developing Countries," Harvard Educational Review, XXXV (1965), pp. 288, 290.

existing power structures, and to the development of cliques of elites originating within the same schools. In these respects, schools would be malintegrative agents. Coleman also presents both aspects of the schools' role in integration. In addition to observations made in the previous reference, Coleman stresses the malintegrative role of the school in its creation of the elite-mass gap and the perpetuation or intensification of existing cleavages.³⁹ He sees the school as an integrative agent in circumstances where there are only a few schools or most schools are boarding schools. In these situations it is possible for political socialization to take place along with the broadening of perspectives of diverse peoples and the inculcation of homogeneous values. Coleman concludes that the process of integration and the role of education in it are "more complicated, uncertain, and variable than it was originally thought to be."⁴⁰

V. THE PROBLEM

In view of the magnitude of the problem of tribalism and nation building and of the limited understanding of the role of

³⁹James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 30, 39-40; and James S. Coleman, "The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa," The Politics of the Developing Areas, G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, editors (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 367.

⁴⁰James S. Coleman, op. cit., 1965, p. 19.

education in helping to solve this problem, the need for further study is apparent. Landecker described this need when he wrote:

Nowadays it seems less pertinent to ask: What is integration? If this question is asked at all, then it is only in preparation for the more fruitful question: How can integration be measured? And, again this latter question is not of interest of itself but merely a preliminary step, which leads to genuine problems of research such as these: Under what conditions does social integration increase? Under what conditions does it decrease? What are the consequences of a high degree of integration? What are the consequences of a low degree of integration? Sociology is in need of basic research oriented toward this kind of problem.⁴¹

In view of this need for research into the conditions under which social integration increases, it is the purpose of this study to seek to explore the question: under what conditions are the secondary schools agents of cross-tribal social integration in West Cameroon?, the assumption being that secondary schools are agents of cross-tribal integration in West Cameroon. In addition to the need for such studies to advance our general or theoretical knowledge about the role of education, there is a practical urgency about such a study in Cameroun. The Ministry of National Education has been in the process of harmonizing the British and French educational systems, which were the colonial inheritance of the two Camerounian

⁴¹Werner S. Landecker, "Types of Integration and Their Measurement," The Language of Social Research, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 19.

states.⁴² As Cameroun seeks to adapt its educational system and curricula to the needs of the nation, it is vital for the government to know whether these institutions are agencies promoting cross-tribal integration or, in fact, agencies inadvertently emphasizing tribal parochialism. Furthermore, considering the large percentage of the national budget which is designated for secondary education in Cameroun (2.9 per cent in 1963-64)⁴³, and that no research data are currently available to relate the impact of secondary schools of Anglophone Cameroon to cross-tribal integration, it appears that this study may be able to make some contribution to a relatively unexplored aspect of education in Africa.

The secondary school has been selected as the field of study for three reasons:

⁴²W. Norman Haupt, "The Unification of the British and French Educational Systems in the Federal Republic of Cameroun" (unpublished P. G. C. E. thesis, University of London Institute of Education, London, March, 1962); and W. Norman Haupt, "Toward an Understanding of East Camerounian Educational Policies and Practices" (unpublished article, Cameroon, October, 1965).

⁴³The total expenditure for education was 15.7 per cent of the 1963-64 operational budget. Of this, 2.92 per cent was for secondary education. These figures do not include the expenditures of the private sector. See Unesco, Report of the Second Unesco Planning Mission to Cameroon. United Nations: Unesco, 1965, pp. 72, 74.

1. It is often the first cross-tribal school which African students attend; their primary schools normally being very local in outreach.
2. The impact of the socialization process is more significant at the secondary school level.⁴⁴
3. The writer has had personal interest and experience as teacher and principal in secondary schools in West Cameroon.

While the secondary schools of East Cameroun are of the French type, those of West Cameroun are basically British-type grammar schools, the overwhelming majority of which are boarding schools operated by missionary organizations under the aegis of the government.

VI. OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

After exploring the subject of social integration in Africa, describing its scene of action, and stating the problem of this study in this chapter, relevant theories of integration and the basic conceptualizations of this study will be presented in Chapter II. The design of the study will be outlined in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to an explanation of the creation of the instruments used in

⁴⁴Joseph Fischer, "Indonesia," in James S. Coleman, op. cit., 1965, p. 107.

the research. The data are analyzed in Chapters V and VI. Final conclusions, implications, and recommendations constitute Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

To clarify the conceptual framework for this study, it is necessary to provide a more complete explanation of the activation of tribalism, explore relevant definitions of integration, and summarize three theoretical means by which integration may be achieved. It is then possible to establish, upon this foundation, the definition and model of integration to be used in this study as well as a conceptualization of the role of the school as an integrative agent. The concepts make it possible to outline the objectives of this study and suggest any other investigations which might be pertinent. Because it is possible to deal with only a fragment of the total phenomenon of tribalism and integration and that other aspects could be studied, limitations to this study must be established. The models and concepts developed within this chapter prescribe those limitations.

I. THE ACTIVATION OF TRIBALISM

In the first chapter tribalism was briefly described as "a narrow loyalty which may prove inimical to wider loyalties." In

order to develop a deeper understanding of integration, it was necessary to develop a more complete conceptualization of the formation and effects of tribalism than was presented in the preceding definition. The works of Epstein, Anderson et al., and Crawford Young provided the basis for this conceptualization. Kuper explained Epstein's thesis when he wrote:

Epstein's study provides a corrective for the point of view that tribalism is a unitary phenomenon, in the sense that tribal loyalties act with the same strength over the total field of social relations in which the urban African is involved. He emphasizes instead the principle of situational selection as operating within a developing system marked by the continuing conflict of different principles of social organization. Presumably situational selection is a general characteristic of all societies, and not a new principle of behavior evolved by Africans in a Copperbelt town.¹

Anderson's work stressed that tribalism is activated by external challenge, the nature of the situation, and the actor's perception of that situation.² Crawford Young's study outlined the causes of ethnic awareness, the basis of ethnicity, and the roots of ethnic tension.³

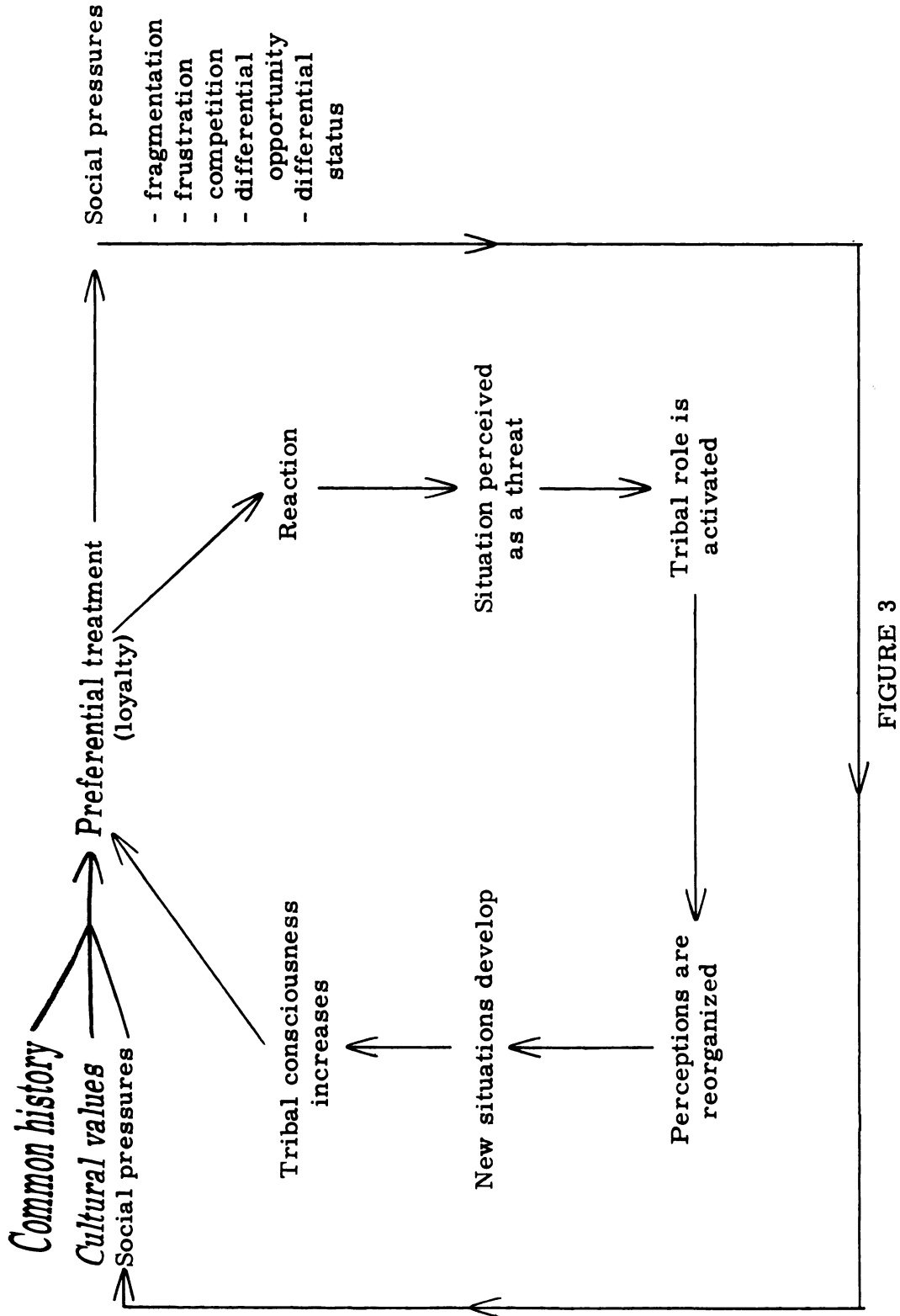
¹ Leo Kuper, "Sociology--Some Aspects of Urban Plural Societies," The African World, Robert A. Lystad, editor (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 120.

² Charles W. Anderson, Fred R. von der Mehden, and Crawford Young, Issues of Political Development (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1967), pp. 60-62.

³ Crawford Young, "The Politics of Ethnicity," Politics in the Congo, Crawford Young, editor (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 234.

From these sources the following conceptualization of the processes involved in the activation of tribalism was generated.

Tribalism develops from three basic roots: (1) common historical factors such as origin, kinship, language, institutions, culture, and geographical setting; (2) cultural values as exemplified by such values as the extended family, communality, and mutual assistance; and (3) social pressures including social instability and change, scarcity or poverty, limited opportunity and unemployment, competition, rising aspirations, and differentiation. These three roots demand the exercise of loyalty toward the kinship group which manifests itself as preference, favoritism, or nepotism, and in turn generates a reaction on the part of other tribal groups who perceive these situations as threats or challenges to their identity or solidarity. In this reactive phase, the nature of the situation and the actor's perception of it prescribe the appropriate tribal role to be activated within the actor. These tribal roles may include any one of several levels: family, lineage, clan, tribe, region, nation, or race. The frequent and intensive reactivation of this role by perceptions of challenging situations ultimately results in a deeply engrained tribal group consciousness and accompanying behavioral manifestations, such as loyalty or preference, which center on the common characteristics claimed by the actors and recognized by



A PARADIGM SUMMARIZING THE CONCEPT OF THE ACTIVATION OF TRIBALISM

the observers of the situation. These common characteristics may include origin or kinship, language, culture, political or religious institutions, race, occupation, associations, etc., and are of a centripetal nature. This centripetal action also has a centrifugal reaction in society which appears as social fragmentation, frustration, competition, and differential opportunity and status. As this entire process goes through its various cycles, it tends to feed upon itself, thus aggravating each successive situation until some form of violence develops to relieve the accumulated social pressures. This concept of the activation of tribalism may be summarized by the paradigm shown in Figure 3. An example of the activation of tribalism in the context of educational matters was provided by Anderson et al. when they wrote:

In most developing countries, the diffusion of social awareness has reached a point where both rural and urban populations are keenly conscious of the relationship between educational opportunity and social mobility. Thus access to education is a critical issue, and policy decisions which tend to culturally define educational opportunities provoke violent reactions. There are many points at which cultural pluralism and educational policy intersect. The choice of language of instruction may give what appears to be an unfair advantage to those for whom this is a maternal tongue. Identification of the schools with a given religion may virtually require parents to choose between renunciation of their faith and lack of education for their children. Regional differences in the density of the school network may operate a silent but highly effective selection of the future elite. One particular cultural group may contribute a disproportionate number of schoolmasters and then be suspected of favoritism in admissions and grades. Scholarships for university study

domestically or overseas may be thought to be awarded on cultural criteria: few Ministers of Education have not heard this charge raised against them. The payoff in prestige and material prospects from education is so high that the unsuccessful are bound to be bitter and quick to find an explanation in cultural partisanship.

A number of other less salient causes of cultural conflict might be listed, but these seem the most important. What characterizes all these types of conflict is the perception of the dispute in terms of cultural identity by large numbers of persons.⁴

II. THE BASES OF INTEGRATION

To talk of social integration in a tribalistic or pluralistic society seems incongruent, for pluralism implies structural and organic differentiation and segmentation. If there is to be integration, these cleavages dictate that the bases for integration must be able to span the entire multivariant texture of society. Although Comte, Parsons, and Durkheim predicated social cohesion on "common beliefs" or "value consensus," van den Berghe saw two alternative bases for integration in the absence of value consensus: coercion and compliance. Examples of integration by coercion include political unification or economic interdependence; compliance, on the other hand, is the "playing of the game" wherein, though they have differing values, people conform behaviorally as

⁴Charles W. Anderson et al., op. cit., p. 66. Italics added.

a result of their free choice.⁵ In contrast with these bases for integration, Coleman described two others when he wrote:

The concept of "national integration" has a variety of meanings which are not always clearly defined. For our purposes national integration is regarded as a broad subsuming process, whose two major dimensions are (1) political integration, which refers to the progressive bridging of the elite-mass gap on the vertical plane in the course of developing an integrated political process and a participant political community, and (2) territorial integration, which refers to the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities on the horizontal plane in the process of creating a homogeneous territorial political community.⁶

A third approach to defining the bases of social integration was provided by Landecker when he stated:

A typology of integration can be developed on the premise that for sociological purposes the smallest units of group life are cultural standards, on the one hand, and persons and their behavior, on the other. If one uses this premise as a criterion of types of integration, three varieties suggest themselves: integration among cultural standards, integration between cultural standards and the behavior of persons, and integration among persons.⁷

⁵ Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Toward a Sociology of Africa," Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict, P. L. van den Berghe, editor (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), p. 83.

⁶ James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 8-9.

⁷ Werner S. Landecker, "Types of Integration and Their Measurement," The Language of Social Research, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 20.

Out of these three varieties of integration he labelled four types: "cultural integration" and "normative integration," which were derived directly from his first two varieties, and "communicative integration" and "functional integration" derived from his third variety, integration among persons, which he defined as "exchange of meaning" and "exchange of services," respectively.

Out of the concepts of integration as suggested by van den Berghe, Coleman, and Landecker were drawn the elements of the concept of social integration used in this study. Those elements were that social integration was conceived as an integration among persons (Landecker) based upon compliance as a result of free choice (van den Berghe) and leading progressively toward the reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities on the horizontal plane in the process of creating an interacting community (Coleman) which is characterized by a national, tribally-transcendent loyalty among its constituent tribal groups. Coleman's word "homogeneous" was replaced with "interacting" because it seemed doubtful that the tribalistic composition of African societies would lead, in the foreseeable future, to homogeneous societies. The importance of these persons or small groups interacting rather than simply reacting, as in the case of tribalism, was explained in Breitkreuz' statement:

The group is a sociological concept defined as "any set of two or more persons who take each other into account in their actions and thus are held together and set apart from others by virtue of their interaction." The key word in the group concept is interaction; there must be mutual influence, otherwise there is only a collection of people. Mere physical proximity or possession of certain common characteristics does not make a meaningful group unless there is interaction among the persons involved.⁸

III. ACHIEVING INTEGRATION

Having delineated the concept of social integration, the next step in the formulation of the thesis of this study was a consideration of the locus and means by which cross-tribal integration may be approximated. General agreement was found among scholars of African sociology that the locus of cross-tribal integration is the urban center which is, in effect, an integrative environment. Gutkind wrote: ". . . the urban areas of Africa, both old and new, are the originators of change and the focus of a new social order."⁹ Little, in his very comprehensive conceptualization of the development of an integrated society, also named the urban center as the

⁸ Elmer A. Breitzkreuz, "An Analysis of School Influence and Subgroup Structures" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1967), p. 18.

Peter C. W. Gutkind, "Network Analysis and Urbanism in Africa: The Use of Micro and Macro Analysis," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, II (August, 1965), p. 128.

point of origin in the integrative process.¹⁰ As for the means by which cross-tribal integration may come about, no unilateral approach was suggested. Instead various possible means have been envisioned which, though often described individually, are highly interdependent and interrelated. Mitchell, in his study of African urban life, outlined three types of social relationships which can be identified:

1. Categorical relationships such as tribe, social class, or skin color in which people are labelled.
2. Structured relationships in which roles are played and described by organizational constitutions as found in churches or other voluntary associations.
3. Networks of relationships which are informal, unstructured, and include both kinship and friendship networks.¹¹

Stemming from the identification of these relationships, scholars have postulated that the means to cross-tribal integration may be

¹⁰ Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 1.

¹¹ J. Clyde Mitchell, "Types of Urban Social Relationships," Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban Life, R. J. Aphorpe, editor (Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, February, 1958), pp. 84-85.

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found in the structured voluntary associations, the unstructured networks of relationships, or upon the interpersonal relationships based upon friendship.

IV. VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AS A MEANS

Kenneth Little's conceptualization of the process of integration is summarized by the paradigm in Figure 4. He thought that the modernization process which gives birth to the urban center becomes the scene for new activities which in turn generate new motivations and new opportunities for those living there. These, in turn, provide new roles and new senses of identity which grow into new associations among those who are becoming urbanized. These new roles and associations, before becoming completely institutionalized, require a "system of relationships" which can link the old with the new structures of society. This is needed because the gap in terms of social values is so great. Therefore, traditional roles have to be adapted and fresh social institutions have to be integrated with a wider social system than previously prevailed. This "system of relationships" is composed of voluntary associations which Little defined as institutionalized groups in which membership is attained by joining rather than by kinship.¹² Wallerstein defined a

¹²Kenneth Little, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

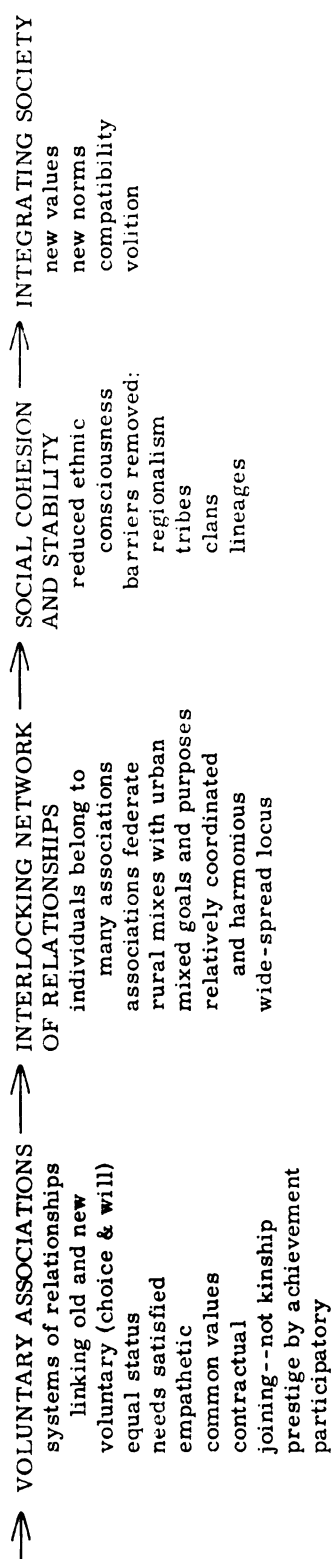
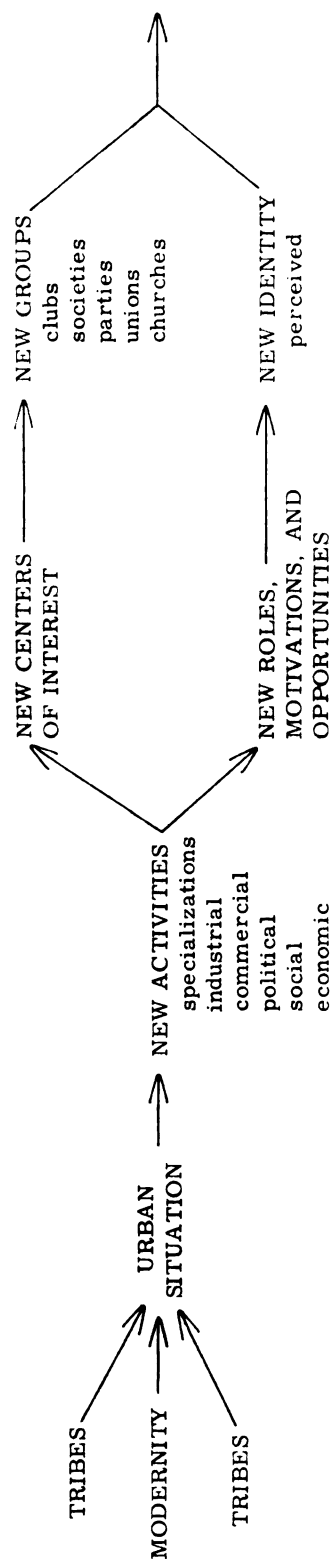


FIGURE 4

A PARADIGM SUMMARIZING LITTLE'S CONCEPT OF THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

voluntary association as "a contractual body, . . . a group whose purposes are limited, whose officers are chosen for limited periods, and in which continued membership is dependent on the payment of dues. . . ." ¹³ These associations are typified by various types of clubs, societies, and leagues which meet for social, political, occupational, educational, or religious purposes. They are found in every African community and an overwhelming majority of the population is involved with them. They have spread from the urban center in three directions: to the rural communities by those who went to the urban area but returned, to ethnic groups which were previously inarticulate, and, finally, to special-interest groups within the kinship organizations. Wallerstein described their functions when he wrote:

Finally we must look at the voluntary associations in terms of the functions they fulfill for the social structure. Here we distinguish three main functions: mediating changing values, counterbalancing the central authority, integrating the social structure. . . . It integrates the social structure insofar as it brings together members of the society who would otherwise not find occasion to come together. Durkheim early pointed out that:

A nation can be maintained only if, between the state and the individual, there is intercalated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individual to attract them strongly in their sphere of action, and drag them in this way into the general torrent of social life. ¹⁴

¹³ Immanuel Wallerstein, The Road to Independence (Paris: Mouton and Company, 1964), p. 104.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

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The crucial step in cross-tribal integration for the individual was, as Wallerstein saw it, the transfer of loyalty from the tribe to the new social group, the voluntary association. Beyond the individual, Coleman saw an important integrative step in the federations which these structured associations form with each other. Pyramidal structures of associations form as branches abroad and at home federate, these in turn federating with each other, and finally representing super-tribal or regional interests as this process continues.¹⁵ In this way, voluntary associations are means of integrating various segments of society.

V. NETWORKS AS A MEANS

These pyramidal structures which develop from the federating of voluntary associations led to consideration of a second means of bringing about cross-tribal integration: the networks. The federated voluntary associations were, in effect, networks which integrated a whole spectrum of persons, and were quite distinct from the kin-based networks which traditionally united tribes although they did meet and overlap. In addition to these networks, which

¹⁵James S. Coleman, "The Role of Tribal Associations in Nigeria," Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research (Ibadan: University College, 1952), p. 62.

Gutkind called institutional networks, there also exist situational networks about which Gutkind wrote:

Van Velsen has characterized situational networks as being "where agents in the system are not so much corporate groups as individuals interlinked through continually changing alignments in small and often ephemeral groups . . . with opposed interests and apparent lack of unity." The emphasis should clearly be on the words "apparent lack of unity" simply because there is order and regularity in African urban areas, however heterogeneous, but integration takes place around variables which in the past have not been associated with structural regularity.¹⁶

Epstein wrote about a similar dichotomy of networks which he labelled the effective network, which consists of persons who regard themselves as social equals and who interact most intensely and most regularly, and the extended network in which association is more perfunctory, but no less important, and which exists among people who are not social equals. He described the integrative role of these networks when he wrote:

The network as a whole, therefore, provides a covert or informal structure composed of inter-personal links which spread out and ramify in all directions, criss-crossing not only the whole of the local community, but knitting together people in different towns and in town and country.¹⁷

Thus, in pluralistic societies where consensus and interdependence of parts may be lacking, networks become means of holding societies

¹⁶Peter C. W. Gutkind, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

¹⁷A. L. Epstein, "The Network and Urban Social Organization," The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, XIX (June, 1961), p. 57.

together because each individual person is involved in various networks of social ties. Because each person is involved these networks are always egocentric: they exist and are defined with reference to that particular person only. As such, the person sees himself at the center of a collection of friends with whom he interacts and which form his personal and unique set of links with society beyond himself.

VI. FRIENDSHIPS AS A MEANS

After considering the macro-dimension of social integration by means of voluntary associations and their federations into networks, the micro-dimensions of integration by means of pairs of persons who interact was also considered. Brietkreuz stressed that these relationships based on affection may also produce networks when he said:

In all human social systems people like and dislike, accept and reject each other in varying degrees. These similarities and differences of persons and groups give rise to attractions and repulsions which form social networks or subgroups.¹⁸

The integrative possibilities in friendships lie in the fact that millions of such interpersonal subsystems are generated and activated every day even in multi-tribal societies. Their integrative power

¹⁸ Elmer A. Breitkreuz, op. cit., p. 19.

lies not only in their role as interstitial links, as Southall¹⁹ calls them, in the continuous chains and interlocking networks which link members of small groups to the structures of the wider society, but also in their micro-dimensions which Williams described when he explained:

So long as such small aggregates neither combine as subunits of larger and more definitely focalized organizations nor extend themselves beyond the established contexts of job, neighborhood, etc., in which they emerged, they may serve to bridge interethnic cleavages to some extent without having marked effects upon the basic structure of power within which ethnic categories have their life chances defined for them.²⁰

Herskovits reported that some societies underscore the importance of friendships and their role in social integration by institutionalizing them through regularized rituals, obligations, and conduct.²¹ Thus it can be seen that friendships may provide both the macro- and the micro-dimensions for integrating societies.

In concluding the preceding explanations of the three possible means of integration--friendships, networks, and voluntary associations--it is necessary to reiterate that, though they have been presented individually, they are, in fact, interdependent and may be

¹⁹A. W. Southall, Social Change in Modern Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 27.

²⁰Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1964), p. 362.

²¹Melville J. Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 178-179.

thought of in Parsonian terms as "a hierarchy of integrations."²²

Having reviewed the pertinent concepts from African sociology it was then necessary to draw this information together in order to provide the conceptual framework for this study.

VII. FRIENDSHIPS AND INTEGRATION

It was pointed out in the preceding section that the suggested means of cross-tribal integration are interdependent. Friendships are the basis of effective networks which in turn are the interstitial elements of the voluntary associations. Beyond these organizations are the extended networks, which again include friendships and voluntary associations as interstitial elements, and ultimately compound human relations through inter-personal and inter-organizational action into an interdependent, coherent society tending toward cross-tribal integration. Countering these integrative organisms are the traditional organisms such as the extended family, distant relatives, "country brothers" from the same area, the lineage or clan, the tribe, and the super-tribe or groupings of tribes on a regional basis. The individual is in the midst of these countering social organisms and in this position can determine the

²²Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 133.

direction toward which his own social relationships will cumulatively tend. The individual's position within his own sociological field with regard to integration is presented in Figure 5. In this conceptualization it is obvious that friendships are the first step or the doorway to the integrative relationships which tend toward nation building. Friendships also form the interstitial elements within networks and voluntary associations. In view of this pervasive role which friendships play in cross-tribal integration, it appeared reasonable to measure the depth or extent of an individual's integration by measuring the depth or extent of his cross-tribal friendships. Therefore, in this study, cross-tribal friendships became the measure of integration. Also for the purposes of this study a very narrow and limited definition of cross-tribal integration was used: cross-tribal integration was defined as the existence of voluntary inter-personal relationships (excluding marriage) between individuals from differing tribal groups.²³ Southall observed in his study of friendships in a suburb of Kampala that: "friendship is usually made with persons of the same tribe, but the number of cross-tribal friendships is considerable and certainly significant."²⁴ It was therefore a

²³The central theme of this study is cross-tribal social integration. For the sake of brevity and clarity, this will be referred to simply as integration.

²⁴A. W. Southall, "Kinship, Friendship, and the Network of Relations in Kisenyi, Kampala," Social Change in Modern Africa,

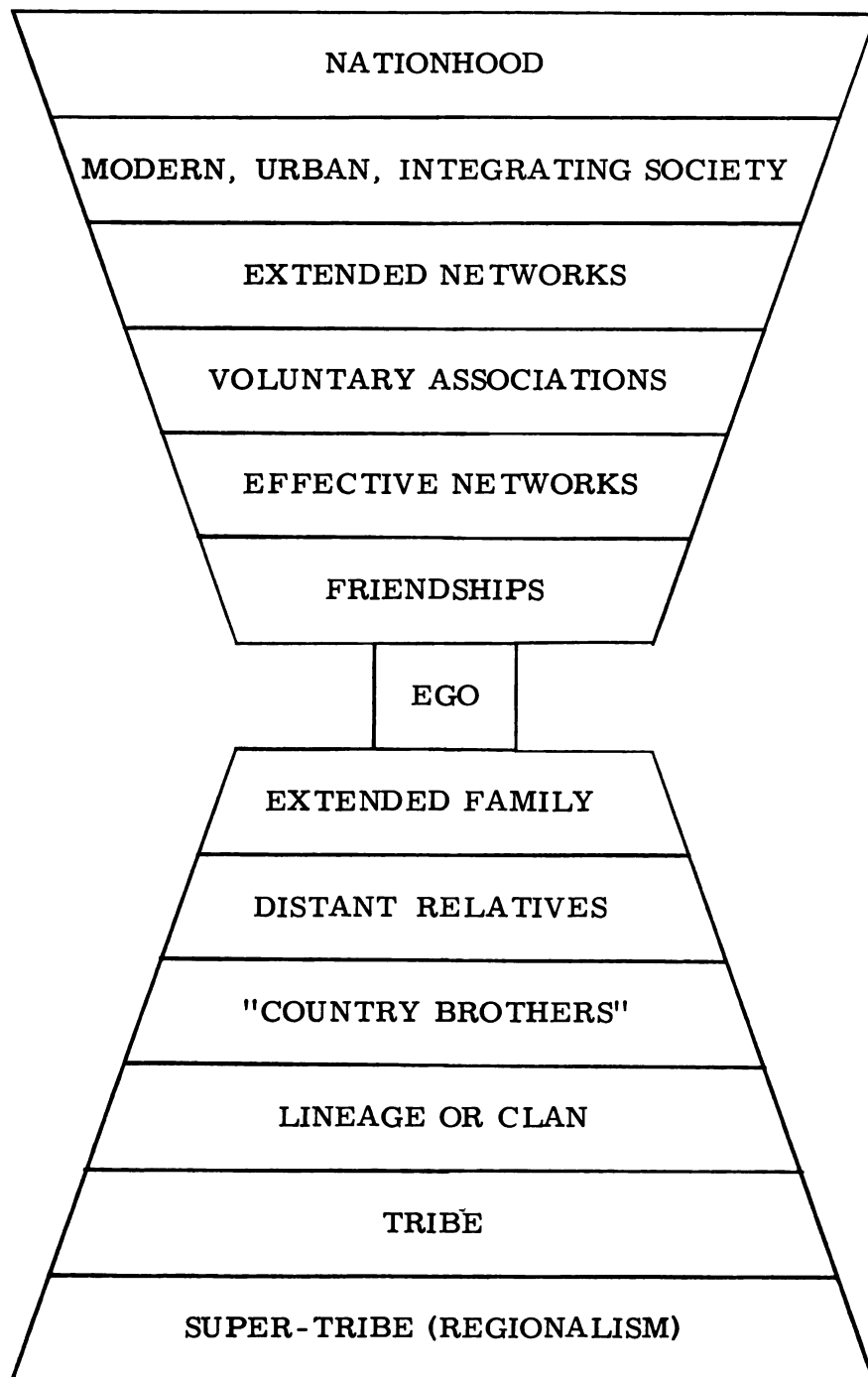


FIGURE 5

AN INDIVIDUAL'S SOCIOLOGICAL FIELD
IN THE INTEGRATIVE PLANE

basic assumption of this study that the existence of cross-tribal friendships is an indicator of integrative tendencies in an individual's social behavior. Furthermore, an institution or environment was called "integrative" when its structure and the processes going on within it provide opportunities for contact, interaction, and selection which lead to the development of inter-personal, cross-tribal relationships (friendships) which are the basic interstitial elements of ever-expanding networks of cross-tribal, voluntary associations which contribute toward the integration of a pluralistic society.

VIII. INTEGRATION AND THE SCHOOL

Kenneth Little's concept of the process of integration (see Figure 4) emphasized the importance of the urban center as the area in which integration is most likely to take place. It seemed feasible to broaden this idea beyond the urban center and instead refer to an "integrative environment," for modernity also produces other centers and institutions which may become integrative if properly structured for that purpose. Under the heading of "integrative environments" it is possible to subsume modern educational institutions such as schools. If this is done, "schools" can replace

A. W. Southall, editor (London: Oxford University Press, 1963),
p. 219.

"urban situation" in the paradigm in Figure 4 without doing violence to the basic conceptualization of the process of integration thereby demonstrating the schools' role in the process. This was done and the above-mentioned concept of the integrative environment as a source of cross-tribal friendships was also added, thus producing a comprehensive conceptualization of the role of the school in integration as conceived for the purposes of this study. This is graphically presented in Figure 6 which illustrates that modernity produces institutions such as schools which become filled with students from differing tribes. In the schools new activities such as lessons, sports, work, games, tours, and residential life if it is a boarding school, provide new centers of interests as abilities, capacities, and skills are developed and broadened. New roles, motivations, aspirations, and opportunities are also derived from these new activities and interests and lead to the development of new senses of identity among the students and the formation of new groups such as classes, forms, houses, clubs, dormitories, etc., all of which ultimately provide opportunities for contact, interaction, and selection among the students thereby producing cross-tribal friendships. As the number of cross-tribal friendships increases, effective networks are formed and become the interstitial elements of cross-tribal voluntary associations within the school and beyond such as

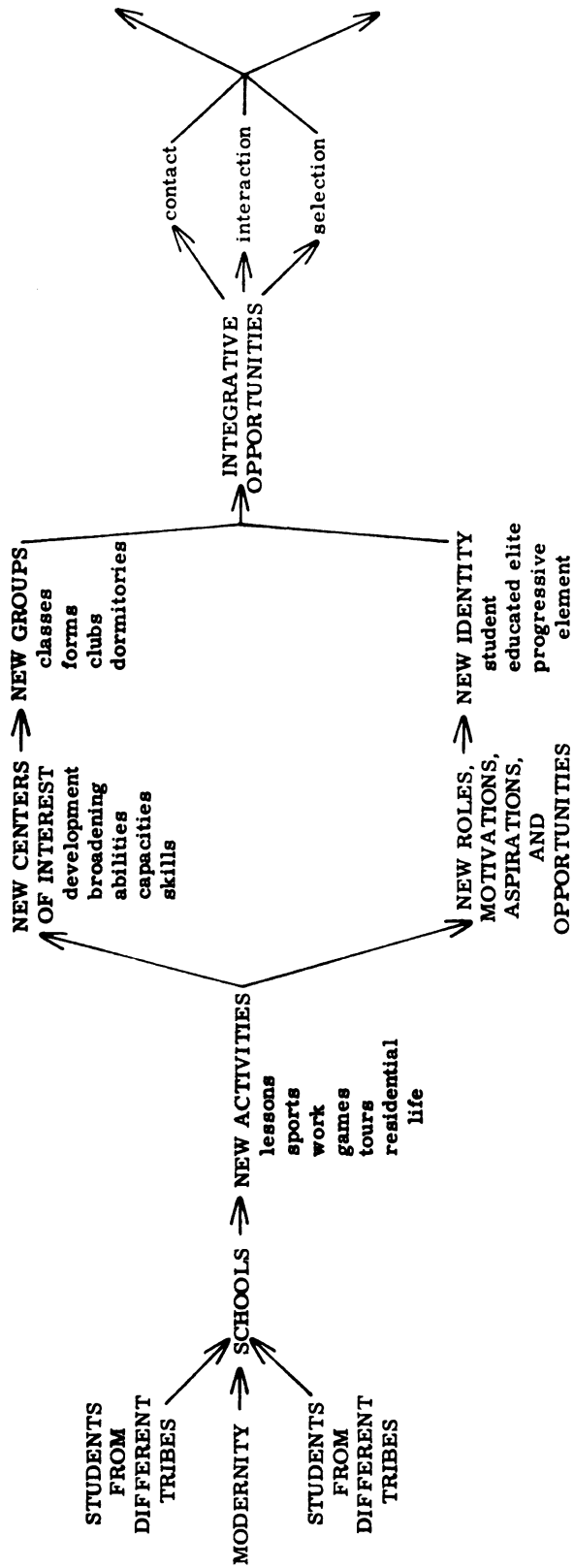


FIGURE 6

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

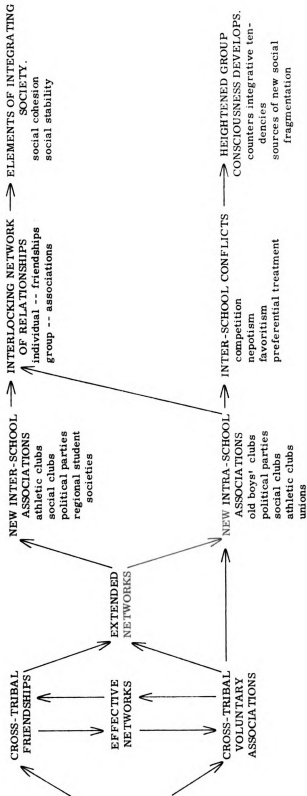


FIGURE 6 (continued)

clubs, societies, teams, etc. The role which these organizations play as they form extended networks may be two-fold: on one hand they may be integrative as they form parts of interlocking networks of relationships which extend out into society beyond the school, or, on the other hand, they may become intra-school centers for exclusive membership resulting in conflicts, favoritism, and elitism which can generate heightened group consciousness and thus counter the integrative forces present in society.

This formulation of the concept of the role of schools in integration supported by the previously developed concept of the role of friendship in integration formed the basic conceptual framework for this study and provided its limits. It was, then, possible to define the objectives of this study as derived from the original Problem: under what conditions are the secondary schools agents of cross-tribal integration in West Cameroon?

IX. QUESTIONS TO BE INVESTIGATED

BY THIS STUDY

The specific questions which this study sought to answer were:

- a. Is there a difference in the increase of cross-tribal integration between those who attended secondary school and those who did not during the five year

period after primary school, when compared with levels of integration at the end of primary school?

- b. Does cross-tribal integration increase with an increase in the number of years spent in secondary school?
- c. What relationships exist between students' backgrounds and their levels of cross-tribal integration?

Following Williams' suggestions,²⁵ the following aspects of students' backgrounds were investigated: rural-urban origin, sex, parents' socio-economic status, location of primary schools attended, length of urban experience, age, tribal membership, religion, academic standing, residence, and family structure.

²⁵Williams reported the following factors as being related to cross-tribal relations:

"To the extent that the foregoing description is valid, it leads to implications that should be testable. In the first place, it implies that greatest difficulty and resistance to the acceptance of interaction across ethnic lines in situations that require the gesellschaftliche principles (specificity, neutrality, universalism, performance) are likely to appear among those persons who: (1) are of rural origin; (2) are women rather than men; (3) of lower socio-economic position; (4) of lower educational level; (5) have experienced little geographic mobility; (6) have experienced little social mobility during their own occupational careers. These predictions, of course, would be expected to hold only if other relevant variables were constant in each instance."

Robin M. Williams, Jr., op. cit., 1964, p. 358.

- d. What relationships exist between the levels of cross-tribal integration of students and the environmental setting and type of their secondary schools?
- e. Which of the following factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by the students to be positively related to cross-tribal integration: academic subjects, extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities, school organization, and aspects of residential life in a boarding school?
- f. Which of the above factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by the students to be negatively related to cross-tribal integration?
- g. Are teachers perceived by students and teachers as being integrative agents?²⁶

²⁶ That the role of the teacher as an integrative agent is in question was revealed by Abernathy and Coombe's statement:

"Thus the teaching profession presents a paradox. Teachers are indispensable to the nation-to-be. Their primary function is to instruct the young, and they are also a vital link between rulers and ruled. However, the very forces of mass education and democracy which are expected to advance the growth of national consciousness stimulate the alienation of the teachers from their government and seriously inhibit their role as mediators to the masses of national values."

David Abernathy and Travor Coombe, "Education and Politics in Developing Countries," Harvard Educational Review, XXXV (1965), p. 297.

These seven questions were derived directly from the original problem of this study.

X. QUESTIONS RELATED TO PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Previous work done by other scholars also suggested additional questions which might be investigated because they were relevant to the basic concepts of this study.

Research carried out in West Africa by Foster and Clignet focused attention on the problem of tribal inequalities in secondary school admission and attendance.²⁷ This suggested investigation of the same problem in the Cameroon context as specified in the question:

- h. What relationships exist between tribal representation and secondary school admissions and attendance?

A second research-related question was suggested by the very important part which the voluntary associations play in the development of integration as conceptualized in this study. Clubs,

²⁷ Philip J. Foster, "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," Comparative Education Review, VI (October, 1962), pp. 127-135; Remi Clignet, "Ethnicity, Social Differentiation, and Secondary Schooling in West Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, VII (Summer, 1967), pp. 360-378; and Remi Clignet and Philip J. Foster, The Fortunate Few (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966).

societies, and associations are a very prominent feature of most segments of Cameroon society. Landecker suggested that it might be possible to measure communicative integration by individuals' participation in such groups when he wrote:

A more direct approach could be taken by attempting to discover the proportion of persons in a group who lack intimate social contacts. Communicative integration would vary inversely with the proportion of such persons. Research techniques which have been developed in studies of patterns of social visiting in a community and of the frequency of personal contacts in a neighborhood could be utilized for the purpose of determining the local number of isolated persons. Another useful technique would be that which has been employed by so-called "social participation" studies. These deal mostly with the participation of the individual in organized groups.²⁸

This suggested the following question for investigation by this study:

- (i) What relationships exist between the levels of cross-tribal integration of students and their membership in voluntary associations?

A third possible question was suggested by Weeks' study in East Africa in which he found languages spoken by students to be an important factor in social interaction among the tribal representatives in secondary school.²⁹ This was also substantiated by Hans Wolff whose linguistic studies indicated that:

²⁸Werner S. Landecker, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁹S. G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Examination of the Role of Minority Students at a Day Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda," Papers of the East African Institute of Social Research, 1963, 14 pp. (mimeo).

The evidence presented shows that inter-ethnic or inter-societal relationships have linguistic correlates and suggest, therefore, that certain features of linguistic behavior may serve as an index of these relationships.³⁰

The investigation suggested by these studies was:

- j. What relationships exist between the levels of cross-tribal integration of students and the number of African languages spoken by them?

These three research-related questions plus the original seven derived from the problem comprised the specific questions which this study sought to answer.

XI. SUMMARY

The fundamental theories and concepts of this study were presented in this chapter. The concept of the process of the activation of tribalism, including its roots, reactions, and self-perpetuating elements, was presented. In apposition to this, social integration was defined as an integration among persons based upon voluntary compliance and leading toward the reduction of cultural and regional differences and discontinuities on the horizontal plane in the process of creating an interacting community which is

³⁰Hans Wolff, "Language, Ethnic Identity, and Social Change," Anthropological Linguistics, IX (January, 1967), pp. 18, 24. Also see Hans Wolff, "Intelligibility and Inter-Ethnic Attitudes," Anthropological Linguistics, I (March, 1959), p. 39.

characterized by a national, tribally-transcendent loyalty among its constituent tribal groups. The suggested means by which social integration may be obtained were voluntary associations, networks of relationships, and friendships. Friendships were described in their role in the process of integration as the primary steps toward the formation of effective and extended networks ultimately culminating in the development of interlocking voluntary associations which provide the bases of integration in a pluralistic society. Because of the primary role of friendships in this conceptualization, cross-tribal integration was defined as the existence of voluntary interpersonal relationships (excluding marriage) between individuals from differing tribal groups.

The potential role of the school in the integrative process was defined in terms of its ability to provide an environment which fosters the development of cross-tribal friendships and voluntary associations through its provision of new activities, centers of interest and opportunities for contact, interaction, and selection. The development of these basic concepts made possible the statement of the questions to be investigated by this study as derived from the original statement of the problem and from previous research done by other scholars. The declaration of these specific questions led to the development of the design for this study which is presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The problem to which this study is addressed is complex. This complexity is reflected in the research design and led to the necessity to develop and use multiple instruments to obtain a greater depth of information and understanding than might have been obtained from a single approach. Another source of complexity in the design is the fact that two types of information were sought regarding integration. This required dividing the investigation into two aspects: (1) determining the level of cross-tribal integration, and (2) determining the factors relating to integration. Therefore the various constituents of the design are presented in segmented form in order to provide clarity. This chapter describes the procedures which the research design required, the sampling techniques which were used, and a brief outline of the instrumentation. A more complete treatment of instrumentation is provided in the next chapter because of the development of a new instrument. Statements of the testable hypotheses derived from the questions this study seeks to investigate

and the models and analyses used to test these hypotheses conclude the chapter.

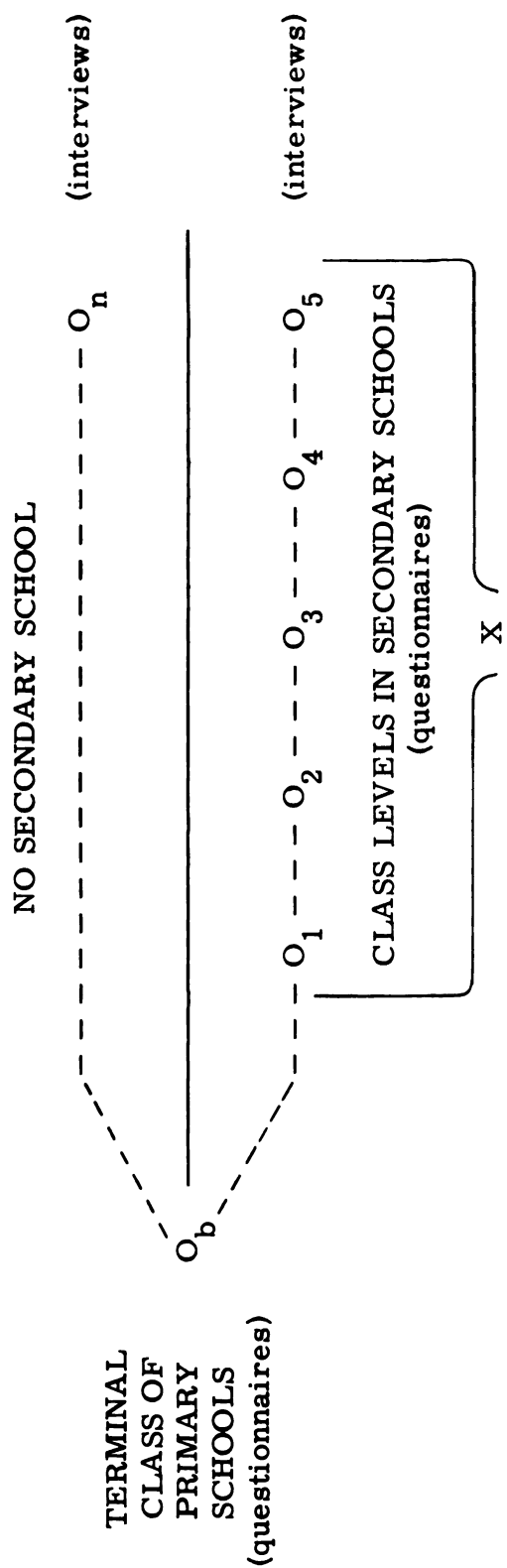
I. PROCEDURE

This research study involved the use of written questionnaires, interviews, and sociomatrices. The first aspect of the two-part design sought information to determine whether the secondary school is, in fact, an integrative agent and also to seek for relationships which might exist between students' backgrounds and their level of integration. This aspect, which provided the basic information for questions a through d, i and j in the previous chapter, included the administration of a written questionnaire to all students in the terminal year of the primary school and at every class level in the secondary school in order to compare the level of integration at the various class levels of the secondary school with the primary school level. Interviews on specific topics were also held with terminal secondary school students and primary school leavers who did not attend secondary school but were of comparable age, sex, and provenience (hereafter designated "secondary-age non-students") in order to determine their level of integration. Thus three comparisons were possible: (1) the primary school results with the results of the secondary-age non-students, (2) the primary school

results with those obtained in the secondary schools, class level by class level, and (3) a comparison of the terminal secondary school students with the results of the secondary-age non-students to determine whether any differences exist. A comparative paradigm illustrating this part of the design is presented in Figure 7. This paradigm is not meant to imply that this was an experimental design. The problems of control and contamination, though carefully investigated, appeared to be insurmountable for three reasons: (1) this study concerned an uncontrived situation in nature, (2) it was a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal study, and (3) the number of secondary schools studied was very limited.

The second aspect, dealing with factors which are perceived as influencing integration, sought information for questions e through g stated in the previous chapter. This included the administration of a written questionnaire to students at every class level in secondary school and interviews which were held with selected students and teachers in the same schools in order to determine the factors in students' and teachers' school experiences which related to cross-tribal integration.

The relationships between tribal representation and admission and attendance in secondary schools--question h in the previous chapter--were obtained by a comparison of the percentage of



O_b indicates the base-line observation made in the terminal class of primary schools.

$O_1, \dots, O_5$ indicate observations made in each class level of the secondary schools.

O_n indicates the observations made in the secondary-age non-student population.

X indicates the treatment: secondary school experience.

FIGURE 7

A COMPARATIVE PARADIGM ILLUSTRATING THE RESEARCH DESIGN

admissions by tribal groups with the percentage of those tribal groups' representation in the state-wide population.

In conducting the research, a routinized system of investigation was organized using the instruments developed. This routine included the following steps:

1. Administration of questionnaires to randomly selected secondary school students from each class in the school.
2. Holding of interviews with randomly selected secondary school students from each class in the school.
3. Holding of interviews with all members of the teaching staff who had at least one year's experience in secondary school.
4. Administration of questionnaires to all students in the terminal year of a nearby primary school.
5. Holding of interviews with a small group of primary school leavers who did not go to secondary school but were of comparable sex, age, and provenience with those of the terminal year in secondary school.
6. Gathering data to establish the per cent of tribal representation within the secondary school.

7. Gathering sociometric data and drawing sociomatrices as sources of data for comparison with the questionnaire responses of secondary school students.

This routinized system of investigation was developed and followed after the development, pre-testing and re-testing of instruments was done at the first secondary school visited (Ndu). It was also possible in this initial phase to obtain some evidence of the validity and reliability of the instruments used.

II. SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

Primary schools. The selection of the sample of primary schools was determined by two major criteria and three minor ones. The major criteria were geographic location and proximity to a secondary school. The geographic location of the schools resulted from the rural-urban and grassland-forest region dichotomies which exist in West Cameroon and made it possible to say something about the relationship of environment and integration. Thus three primary schools were selected in the grasslands: one in a rural area (Ndu), one in a mono-tribal town (Banso), and one in a multi-tribal urban area (Bamenda); and four primary schools in the forest region: one in an isolated rural area (Massaka), one in a rural area near the main road (New Bekondo), and two in multi-tribal

urban areas (Kumba and Victoria). In each case, the schools chosen were relatively near the secondary schools involved in the study in order to compare levels of integration in the two types of schools while keeping environment and tribal grouping relatively constant. The minor criteria included accessibility, the availability of permission from the operating authority, and the desire to obtain a mixture of schools from the various missions and local councils which sponsor them. Thus it was possible to include Catholic, Baptist, and local council schools among the six selected.

In all these primary schools, the questionnaires were administered to the entire terminal class, which was usually small, and resulted in 224 observations.

Secondary schools. The selection of the sample of secondary schools was determined by environment and type of school in order to investigate possible relationships between these variables and cross-tribal integration. In both primary and secondary schools, environments were identified as rural or urban and grassland or forest region. The three possible types of schools were boys' schools, girls' schools, and co-educational schools (often called "mixed schools" in West Cameroon). Selection of the schools was also determined by availability of permission to do the study and the requirement that each school be a complete five year institution--

this being the duration of the normal secondary school course in West Cameroon. The five schools included in this study were:

- Ndu: a rural, grassland region, boys' boarding school,
- Banso: a grassland region, co-educational boarding and day school, located in a mono-tribal town,
- Bali: a grassland region, boys' boarding school, located in a mono-tribal town,
- Kumba: an urban, forest region, co-educational boarding school,
- Victoria: an urban, forest region, girls' boarding school.

In these schools questionnaires were administered to approximately one-third of the students in each class, thus providing 524 randomly selected respondents.¹ Interviews were also given to a total of 120 randomly selected students on the basis of the following quota per school: eight from each fifth year class level and four from each of the other four class levels.² All available members of the teaching

¹ Students were selected with the aid of a table of random numbers.

² In West Cameroon the term "form" is used to designate all of the students at a particular grade level in school. Thus the "fifth form" is composed of the fifth year students who may be divided into as many "classes" as the administration deems necessary. There are usually approximately thirty students in a "class." For the sake of clarity the term "class level" will be used throughout

staff of each school were interviewed providing they had had at least one year's experience in secondary school. This selection, including both expatriate and Cameroonian teachers, provided forty-nine interviews. Names of students and teachers interviewed are listed in the Bibliography.

Secondary-age non-student samples. These samples were selected from the areas in which the five secondary schools were located so that it would be possible to make comparisons between secondary school students and the secondary-age non-students regarding levels of integration. In each area eight primary school leavers who had not gone to any post-primary institution, who had been out of primary school for five years, and who were of comparable sex and provenience with those interviewed in the terminal secondary school classes, were interviewed in order to determine their level of integration. Although it was very difficult in some areas to find people who met these criteria, it was possible to obtain forty-six interviews.

III. INSTRUMENTATION

In view of the exploratory nature of this survey, written questionnaires and informal interviews were considered the most

this study to designate what Americans call "grade level" and Cameroonians call "forms." This is done because the words "form" and "grade" have differing connotations for the American and Cameroonian readership.

appropriate instruments because of their adaptability. Four instruments were derived from these techniques and used to carry out this investigation. Two of them, the questionnaire and the sociometric measures, were developed on the field and included new concepts and approaches to measurement. They are discussed more fully in the next chapter and only mentioned briefly here.

Questionnaires. The questionnaire developed was in four parts. The first part included questions on demographic facts concerning the respondent; information which was needed in order to compare students' backgrounds with their level of integration. The second part was composed of two Guttman scales which measured the respondents' level of integration by his behavioral interaction in cross-tribal friendships. One scale was based upon the school situation; the other upon the holiday situation. The third part was a ten-item Guttman attitude scale designed to measure attitude in areas where cross-tribal interaction was forced upon students by the secondary school environment. The fourth part of the questionnaire consisted of two sets of questions designed to determine what factors in the students' secondary school experience were perceived as encouraging or discouraging them in seeking to make cross-tribal friendships and thereby influencing cross-tribal integration. A copy of this questionnaire is found in Appendix C. This questionnaire was

also adapted for use in the primary schools and in all interviews. In its adapted form two parts of the basic questionnaire were omitted: the Guttman scale concerning the school situation, and the entire fourth part which concerned secondary school experiences. Some of the questions in the demographic section were not pertinent to the primary school students and the non-students and were simply omitted at the time of administration. A copy of the shortened form of the questionnaire is found in Appendix D.

Students' interviews. Interviews held with students were in two parts. These two parts were suggested by the design of the study. The level of integration was determined in the interviews by using the shortened form of the questionnaire and administering it verbally. This made it possible to interject clarifying questions by the researcher in order to establish the depth of interaction as accurately as possible. Following this structured part of the interview, a second unstructured part sought to provide information on topics which were considered important not only as sources of factors related to integration but also as a means of establishing definitions, values, and conceptualizations in this cross-cultural study. The topics included were:

- a. The role of the school in integration.
- b. Factors in the secondary school experience which relate to integration or malintegration.

- c. Definitions of tribe and tribalism; tribal histories, tribal self-perception.
- d. Behavioral manifestations of integration among students: with whom do they eat, sleep, or sit in the classroom?
- e. Definitions and qualities of friends and friendship.
- f. Sources and cross-tribal aspects of institutionalized friendships.
- g. Membership in voluntary associations.

Information collected in this way was recorded for further analysis by the researcher taking notes during the interviews. Use of a tape recorder was found to be detrimental because of tensions which appeared to develop in the respondents during its use.

Teachers' interviews. Although interviews with teachers were unstructured, they were very valuable sources of information which helped clarify definitions and deepen conceptualizations. Interviews with Cameroonian teachers, both younger and older, were much more fruitful than those held with expatriate teachers because of the latter's limited understanding of their students' lives, backgrounds, and activities. Interviews with teachers included the same topics as those explored in the unstructured part of the students' interviews with an additional emphasis upon the integrative and

malintegrative roles which the teacher could play. In addition to these interviews, Cameroonian pastors also proved to be unusually valuable sources of information ranging over the same topics used with students and teachers.

Sociometric measures. After intensive field investigation into the Cameroonian concept of friendship and its behavioral manifestations, two sociometric questions were prepared and administered to all students in the five secondary schools studied. These were used to provide information for questions b, c, and d in the preceding chapter and also to demonstrate tribal groupings within classes and within schools. They also became source of four new questions which were investigated:

1. Is there a relationship between the number of cross-tribal friends and the distance of students' tribes from their schools?
2. Is there a relationship between the number of cross-tribal friends and the size of the tribal representation within that class?
3. Is there a relationship between the number of cross-tribal friends and the total state-wide tribal population?

4. Do the number of cross-tribal friendships of tribal groups vary from school to school?

At the same time that these sociometric data were gathered it was possible to determine the tribal representation in each school and compare it with the tribal representation in the state-wide population as required by question h in the preceding chapter. A more complete explanation of the sociometric questions used and their development is given in the next chapter because of the new concepts involved.

IV. TESTABLE HYPOTHESES

The questions which this study sought to investigate, as outlined in the previous chapter, were the source of thirty hypotheses which were tested with data obtained from the use of the instruments described in the preceding section. Their large number would have made analysis extremely difficult but for the fact that computer facilities were available to assist in the analyses. The hypotheses which this research tested were as follows:

1. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among primary school students, secondary-age non-students, and fifth year secondary school students.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from primary school students to secondary-age non-students to fifth year secondary school students.

2. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the various class levels in secondary school (determined by questionnaires).

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the number of years in school.

3. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the various class levels in secondary school, the ex-secondary school students, and the students at a post-secondary college (determined by interviews).

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase through the various class levels to the ex-secondary school students to the post-secondary college students.

4. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between male and female secondary school students.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration for male students will exceed that of female students.

5. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students in various age groups.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the age of students.

6. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students born in grassland or forest regions or among those born in rural, town, or urban areas.³

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region and from rural to town to urban areas.

7. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between grassland tribes and forest region tribes.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration for forest region tribes will exceed that of grassland tribes.

8. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students resident in grassland or forest regions or among those resident in rural, town, or urban areas.

³ Throughout these hypotheses "town" is used to indicate a relatively small, predominantly mono-tribal town while "urban area" refers to a larger, multi-tribal town or city.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region and from rural to town to urban areas.

9. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students of traditional religions, Islam, other religions, Baptist, Presbyterian, or Catholic churches.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from students of traditional religions to Islam to other religions to Baptist to Presbyterian to Catholic churches.

10. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose academic standing is in the lowest quarter, the third quarter, the second quarter, or the top quarter of their class.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in academic standing in class.

11. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students with varying lengths of urban experience.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the length of urban experience.

12. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose former primary school was located in grassland or forest regions or among those located in rural, town, or urban areas.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest locations and from rural to town to urban locations.

13. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose fathers' occupations are farming or fishing, unskilled labor, skilled labor, tribal political leadership, trade or commerce, and professional, higher technical, or administrative positions.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from farmer or fisherman to unskilled laborer to skilled laborer to tribal political leaders to traders or commercial men to people in professional, higher technical, or administrative positions.

14. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose mothers' occupations are farming, housekeeping, handcraft, trading, skilled or trained labor, and professional or administrative positions.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from farming to housekeeping to handcraft to trading to skilled or trained labor to professional or administrative positions.

15. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose fathers' education included no schooling, primary school, other training, teacher training, secondary school, or university.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the fathers' educational experience.

16. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose mothers' education included no schooling, primary school, other training, teacher training, secondary school, or university.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the mothers' educational experience.

17. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between students from polygamous families and those from monogamous families.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration of students from monogamous families will exceed that of students from polygamous families.

18. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among girls' secondary schools, boys' secondary schools, or co-educational secondary schools.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from girls' schools to boys' schools to co-educational schools.

19. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among secondary schools located in the grassland rural areas, grassland town areas or forest region urban areas.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland rural schools to grassland town schools to forest region urban schools.

20. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between boarding and non-boarding secondary school students.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration of boarding students will exceed that of non-boarders.

21. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the five schools studied.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from Ndu to Banso to Bali to Kumba to Victoria secondary schools.

22. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among primary schools located in the grassland or forest regions or among those located in rural, town, or urban areas.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region locations and from rural to town to urban locations.

23. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students having membership in one, two, three, or four mono-tribal voluntary associations.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase among students having from one to two to three to four voluntary association memberships.

24. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students having membership in one, two, three, or four multi-tribal voluntary associations.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase among students having from one to two to three to four memberships in multi-tribal voluntary associations.

25. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among those students who speak one, two, three, or four neighboring African languages.⁴

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase for those speaking from one to two to three to four neighboring languages.

26. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among those students who speak one, two, three, or four distant African languages.

Alternate hypothesis: The mean level of integration will increase for those speaking from one to two to three to four distant languages.

27. Null hypothesis: No relationship exists between the level of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the distances of their tribes from their schools.

⁴Neighboring language is defined as a language spoken in the respondent's region of origin. Distant language is defined as a language which is not spoken in the respondent's region of origin.

Alternate hypothesis: The level of integration will increase with an increase in the distance of the students' tribes from their schools.

28. Null hypothesis: No relationship exists between the level of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the number of tribal representatives in their class.

Alternate hypothesis: The level of integration will decrease with an increase in the size of the tribal representation in a class.

29. Null hypothesis: No relationship exists between the level of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the size of their state-wide tribal population.

Alternate hypothesis: The level of integration will decrease with an increase in the size of the state-wide tribal population.

30. Null hypothesis: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportion of in-tribe friendships) among students from the same tribe but in different schools.

Alternate hypothesis: The average level of integration will differ among students from the same tribe but in different schools.

V. ANALYSES OF THE DATA

The data for this study were collected in West Cameroon between September and December, 1968. All instruments were administered by the researcher with the exception of the interviews conducted with the secondary-age non-students and the students in a post-secondary school college. These were conducted by Cameroonian secondary school teachers and former students who had been instructed and prepared for the task by the researcher.

Questionnaire data. The demographic data from the first part of the questionnaire were the source of the independent variables used in the hypotheses listed in the preceding section. The two Guttman behavior scales of the second part and the Guttman attitude scale of the third part of the questionnaire were analyzed on the Michigan State University CDC 3600 computer by a Guttman Scale Analysis program.⁵ The Guttman analysis was considered

⁵The program used was: BMDO5S--Guttman Scale #1 in the Computer Institute for Social Science Research's Technical Report No. 27, adapted for use at Michigan State University by J. Robert Zerby from the work of the Health Service Computing Facility, Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health, School of Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles, in June, 1968.

appropriate because it provided a more powerful analytical technique than other attitude scale analyses and the construction of the scales, as described in Chapter IV, was based upon the two fundamental assumptions of the Guttman technique: unidimensionality and continuity. Unidimensionality is the assumption that the items of the scale deal with only a single dimension of an attitude universe--cross-tribal friendship, in this case. Continuity is the assumption that the items of the scale form a continuum such that agreement with one step of the scale (for example, item 4) implies agreement with the preceding scale steps of lesser degree (in this case, items 1, 2, and 3). The Guttman Scale Analysis program provided three statistics: (1) the Guttman coefficient of reproducibility (REP), (2) the minimal marginal reproducibility (MMR), and (3) the individuals' scale scores. Both REP and MMR are measures of internal consistency and reproducibility. Felty explained the difference between these two statistics when he wrote:

Whereas REP provides an estimate of the accuracy with which a knowledge of a respondent's total score enables the prediction of individual item's "pass" or "fail," according to the scale characteristics of the items, MMR (minimal marginal reproducibility) "represents the reproducibility of the matrix using a knowledge of the item proportions only" (Lingoes, 1963, p. 514).⁶

⁵ John E. Felty, "Attitudes Toward Physical Disability in Costa Rica and Their Determinants: A Pilot Study" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1965), p. 89.

Guttman has specified a REP of 0.90 as indicative of scalability while scales with a lesser REP are termed "quasi-scales." The specification of a REP of 0.90 is arbitrary and some authorities accept 0.85.⁷ For dichotomous responses, MMR ranges between 0.50, which indicates an equal proportion of "yes" and "no" answers, and 1.00, which indicates an extreme of either "yes" or "no" answers. The desirable ideal is a moderate value of MMR and as high a value for REP as can be obtained.⁸

After obtaining an indication of the internal consistency and reproducibility of the scales, the third statistic obtained from the Guttman Scale Analysis, the individual's score, was used to determine means for the various groups specified in hypotheses 1 through 26. In order to determine whether significant differences existed among the groups, these means were tested by the one-way analysis of variance model using the 0.01 level of significance. This analysis technique was used because it is the most powerful model which can be used with the disproportionality in number exhibited by the populations of this research. In using this technique it was assumed that the scores provided continuous data which were independently drawn from normal populations each having the same variance, and

⁷ John E. Felty, op. cit., p. 46.

⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

with error components independent across all groups compared.

The reliability of the questionnaire was determined by calculating the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient from data obtained in a test-retest program with a seven day interval carried out with thirty randomly selected secondary school students from all class levels.

The data from the fourth part of the questionnaire, which dealt with the factors in the students' secondary school experience related to cross-tribal integration, were analyzed by determining the cumulative frequencies of the responses and making comparisons. In the case of the open-ended questions, it was first necessary to categorize the information before a descriptive content analysis was made.

Students' interview data. The first part of the interview involved the use of the shortened form of the questionnaire, thus making it possible to analyze these data using the Guttman Scale Analysis and the one-way analyses of variance previously described. These analyses facilitated the testing of hypotheses 1 and 3 from the preceding section. The data obtained from the unstructured part of the interviews was categorized and summarized by descriptive content analysis.

Teachers' interview data. Data obtained from teachers were also categorized and summarized by descriptive content analysis because of its similarity to data gathered from the unstructured part of the students' interviews.

Sociometric data. It was originally intended to present the data gathered by these sociometric techniques as Weeks had done in the form of sociograms. This method of presentation was discarded and replaced by sociomatrices for two reasons:

1. A sociomatrix can easily be constructed by anyone without the assistance of the researcher. This is not the case with sociograms.
2. Kerlinger strongly recommends the use of sociomatrices rather than sociograms when the group size exceeds twenty because of the complexities of the choice relationships and interpretation difficulties.⁹

Therefore a sociomatrix was prepared for each class level in each school, plotting the data from the two questions by tribes rather than individuals as is usually done. This made possible the portrayal of tribal groupings within class levels and institutions thus

⁹Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 558.

presenting data which could be compared with data obtained from the questionnaire. Because of the difficulties of reproducing sociomatrices in printing, the difficulties of interpreting the information, and the limited statistical analyses which can be performed with data in that form, the decision was made to prepare all sociometric information by dichotomizing the data into "in-tribe friends" and "out-tribe friends" and presenting it in tabular form. In this way no significant information was lost and it was possible to summarize, evaluate, and present the information more concisely.

Two types of analyses were used with these data: the chi-square test and the Pearson product-moment correlations. The chi-square test was deemed appropriate because it can be used to establish the fact that the frequency distribution of a set of scores is distributed beyond what is expected by chance. Because the observations were mutually exclusive, independent and could be categorized, it was possible to use chi-square tests on these data by determining the frequencies of in-tribe and out-tribe friendships. Thus it was possible to test hypotheses 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, 21, and 30 using the 0.01 level of significance. The presence of relationships as suggested in hypotheses 27 through 29 was investigated by determining the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient which establishes the strength of a relationship between two variables or

specifies the degree to which one variable can be predicted by knowing the other variable. All analyses on sociometric data were done on the College of Education's IBM 1130 computing facility at Michigan State University.

VI. SUMMARY

The design of this study was in two parts: determining the level of integration and determining the factors relating to integration. The instruments used included questionnaires, interviews, and sociomatrices. Levels of integration of primary school students, secondary school students, and secondary-age non-students were determined and compared to ascertain the influence of secondary schools. Students' secondary school experiences were examined to determine those which were perceived as factors encouraging or discouraging cross-tribal integration. The sample of the primary schools was chosen by their location and proximity to secondary schools included in this study thus making it possible to say something about relationships between environment and integration on one hand, and the influence of the two types of schools upon cross-tribal integration on the other. The selection of the sample of secondary schools was determined by the environment and type of school in order to investigate possible relationships between these

variables and integration. Environmental factors included grass-land and forest region as well as rural, mono-tribal town, and multi-tribal urban locations. Types of schools included boys' schools, girls' schools, and co-educational schools. Students from these schools were randomly selected and provided 224 primary and 524 secondary school questionnaires plus 120 secondary school students' interviews. A non-student sample of forty-six was interviewed to determine their level of integration thus permitting comparisons with primary and secondary school levels. Forty-nine teachers' interviews were also held to determine the perceived role of the teacher in integration.

The four-part questionnaire contained demographic data, two Guttman behavior scales, a Guttman attitude scale, and a section investigating students' secondary school experiences for possible factors related to integration. A shortened form of this questionnaire was used in the primary school investigation, the secondary school student interviews, and with non-students. A second part of the student interviews consisted of unstructured discussions of topical questions designed to establish definitions, concepts, values, and the role of the school in integration. Teacher interviews followed the form of the unstructured questions used with the students.

In addition to using questionnaires and interviews, sociometric data were gathered in order to study tribal differentiation of educational opportunity, relationships between proportions of in-tribe friendships and tribal demographic factors, and to provide supportive evidence for information gathered from other sources.

Pursuant to the objectives of this study as presented in the preceding chapter, thirty hypotheses were specified to be tested by the data gathered. Data from questionnaires were analyzed by Guttman Scale Analysis and one-way analysis of variance using the 0.01 level of significance. Sociometric data were analyzed by chi-square tests and the Pearson product-moment correlation technique, both using the 0.01 level of significance. Pearson correlations were also used to establish the reliability of the instruments used. All interview data were categorized and summarized by descriptive content analyses.

The information obtained from these analyses is presented in chapters V and VI.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS AND INSTRUMENTS

The development of new operational definitions and instruments for this study was necessitated by the lack of congruity in cross-cultural definitions and concepts and the lack of previous research and instrumentation for measuring cross-tribal integration in a West African school. A review of previous research involving integration in East and Central Africa and a field investigation of West Cameroon concepts provided the bases for the operational definitions of friendship and cross-tribal integration which are used as the means of measuring integration among secondary school students. This chapter outlines the previous relevant research, the content of the interviews which provided these operational definitions, and the scales that were developed from them. The formulation of the questionnaire and the sociometric instrument with their adaptations, testing, and refinement are also included in this chapter.

I. EARLY EFFORTS TO MEASURE INTEGRATION

The study of relationships between different tribal groups has developed from two approaches: the first focusing on the groups themselves, the second on the individual. Because this study involved tribally mixed groups the approach followed was of necessity that of the individual. Harding et al. described the history of this method when they wrote:

The second approach to ethnic relations focuses on the attitudes and behavior of single individuals, and is concerned primarily with variations in attitudes and behavior from individual to individual within a particular population or ethnic group. For reasons of convenience most research in this tradition has dealt with attitudes rather than overt behavior, and the tradition may be said to begin with a series of attitude studies by E. S. Bogardus. It is worth noting that Bogardus in these studies was following a number of suggestions made by Park, and his basic concept--that of social distance--came from the same source.¹

In his studies of ethnic groups in the United States, Bogardus contrived a social distance scale in which subjects were asked whether they would agree to associating with different ethnic groups in the following social situations:

¹John Harding et al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," Handbook of Social Psychology, II, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 1021. The studies of Bogardus may be found as follows: "Social Distance and Its Origin," Journal of Applied Sociology, IX (1925), pp. 216-226; "Measuring Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, IX (1925), pp. 299-308; "Race Friendliness and Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, XI (1927), pp. 272-287. Interested readers may also refer to R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII (1924), pp. 66-83.

1. Would marry.
2. Would have as regular friends.
3. Would work beside in an office.
4. Would have several families in my neighborhood.
5. Would have merely as speaking acquaintances.
6. Would have live outside my neighborhood.
7. Would have live outside my country.

This concept and scale was later adapted to the Copperbelt region of Africa by Mitchell who modified the items as a result of field investigations to include the following:

1. Would admit to near kinship by marriage.
2. Would share a meal with him.
3. Would work together with him.
4. Would allow to live nearby in my village.
5. Would allow to settle in my tribal area.
6. Would allow as a visitor only in my tribal area.
7. Would exclude from my tribal area.²

The analyses of these data revealed two points: the seventh item had not succeeded because of the negative aspect of the question, and the order in which the situations were placed was not a set of regular

²J. Clyde Mitchell, The Kalela Dance (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), p. 22.

steps in social distance. Therefore they were rearranged to include:

1. Would admit to near kinship by marriage.
2. Would allow to settle in my tribal area.
3. Would allow to live nearby in my village.
4. Would share a meal with him.
5. Would work together with him.
6. Would allow as a visitor only.³

Although Mitchell's study in Central Africa provided a possible framework, it proved inadequate for this study for three reasons. First, the large number of West Cameroon tribes--more than sixty--made this approach far too cumbersome because it was necessary to multiply the six items of Mitchell's scale by the total number of tribes with whom association was possible. Thus Mitchell's instrument included 147 questions covering twenty-one tribes. To use this method in West Cameroon would mean the use of over 360 questions⁴--far too many for an instrument to be administered to the wide age-range of students covered in this study. The second drawback in

³J. Clyde Mitchell, "Some Aspects of Tribal Social Distance," The Multitribal Society, A. A. Dubb, editor (Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1962), p. 10.

⁴Using Mitchell's modified six-item scale instead of his original seven-item scale.

Mitchell's approach concerned the final analyses. In his analyses, Mitchell compared social distance between tribal groups. In the school context of the present study this was wholly inappropriate for school situations dictate the comparison of tribally mixed groups. Thirdly, some of the situations referred to in Mitchell's scale, such as marriage, are outside the experience of school-aged Cameroonians and were therefore considered to be inappropriate for use with this youthful population.

It was therefore evident that it would be necessary to create a new instrument to measure cross-tribal integration among students. Remembering that Harding et al. wrote that most research in the individual tradition had been with attitudes rather than overt behavior⁵ and that studies using both attitude and behavior are quite scarce,⁶ it was decided that this study would include both but retain a major emphasis upon overt behavior.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDE SCALES

Based on the researcher's previous experience with students in West Cameroon a list of fifty-two activities was made in

⁵John Harding et al., op. cit., p. 1021.

⁶Ibid., p. 1037.

which integration or cross-tribal friendship would be the issue.

This list was discussed with a Cameroonian student on the campus of Michigan State University before proceeding to the field.⁷ As a result of these discussions three important matters came to light:

(1) it would be necessary to modify the form of the questionnaire so that it could be easily handled by students inexperienced in this research technique, (2) it would be necessary to modify the language used in order to accommodate the wide range of age and experience which the population to be studied would represent, and (3) it would be necessary to make field investigations in order to bridge the incongruence of American and Cameroonian cultural values, definitions, and concepts. This Cameroonian informant was also able to suggest means and a vocabulary which would make it possible to determine which of these fifty-two activities are, in fact, relevant to integration or cross-tribal friendships.

Upon arrival in West Cameroon investigation was conducted by interviewing forty-two individuals representing a wide spectrum of experience, background, and education including teachers, pastors, students, administrators, missionaries, farmers, and laborers. The names and positions of these interviewees are

⁷Mr. Elias M. Awa, then a Master's degree candidate, to whom I am indebted for his help and understanding.

recorded in part B(4) of the Bibliography. During these interviews respondents were asked to sort fifty-two cards, each of which listed one of the previously mentioned activities, in order to determine (a) whether the issue of cross-tribal relations was involved and (b) how difficult it is to do the specified activity with a person from a tribe different from their own. As a result of this card sort some activities were discarded because they lacked the ability to differentiate while other activities recurrently appeared in the same pile, thus forming a pattern of activities. Five other activities were suggested by respondents as being highly indicative of cross-tribal integration and included: sharing each others' clothes, sharing personal secrets, discussing family problems, lending money, and sleeping in their house. These activities plus the surviving ones from the original list of fifty-two were submitted to a random sample of one hundred secondary school students from all class levels in the form of a scaling questionnaire in order to determine the level of difficulty of the activities in cross-tribal relationships. A copy of this questionnaire is found in Appendix E. These questionnaires were then analyzed to determine whether important differences existed between respondents of differing class level, tribe, region, or age. It seemed especially important to determine whether regional differences might invalidate certain activities as indicators

of integration. Although differences did appear, they were not significant or consistent. In a further effort to determine which items in the scaling questionnaire provided the best indicators and differentiators, a refined scaling questionnaire was produced by combining the five highest scoring items from each of the three categories hard to do, not so hard to do, and easy to do from the first questionnaire. A copy of this refined scaling questionnaire is found in Appendix F. This questionnaire was administered to thirty randomly selected secondary school students. Analysis showed that the greatest range of scores was obtained by using items from all three categories rather than "hard" or "easy" items only. It was deemed advisable to use items in the instrument which would yield a wide range of scores because the sensitivity of these items had not yet been established. Comparisons of the two questionnaires also showed that there were no significant differences in the mean or median scores. It was therefore decided that items from all three categories would be used in the final instrument. While conducting interviews to determine the indicative activities and their validity it became obvious that some criteria must be established to determine which activities would be acceptable in the final instrument because some activities involved issues other than integration and were considered confusing. Therefore the following criteria were used to select the activities to be used in the instrument:

1. The activity must be an action universal to all people.
2. The activity must be such that all people have the opportunity to do it.
3. The activity must involve the freedom to choose the person or persons with whom the participant interacts.
4. The activity must be a universal experience in the normal lives of Cameroonians.
5. The activity must be relatively free from parental or school control.
6. The activity must be moderately difficult to do with people from tribes different from their own.
7. The activity must be difficult to do because of the cross-tribal issue and not because of moral, cultural, religious, or other value systems or issues.

The application of these criteria resulted in the drastic reduction of the number of acceptable activities to the following eight:

- being best friends with someone from a different tribe.
- "moving in the town"⁸ with someone from a different tribe.

⁸ A pidgin-English expression meaning "to be seen in public" or "strolling down the street." The implications of this activity for a Cameroonian were ably expressed in one of fifty-five essays written on the topic "What I Look For in a Friend" in which a student wrote:

- sharing a room for a night with someone from a different tribe.
- making daytime visits to the home of someone from a different tribe.
- lending something to someone from a different tribe.
- borrowing something from someone from a different tribe.
- discussing family problems with someone from a different tribe.
- telling your own secrets to someone from a different tribe.

These were scaled on the basis of the per cent of students who reported these items as being difficult to do on the original scaling questionnaire and resulted in the above order.

Having defined the possible items for a scale, the possibility of using Guttman's technique of scale analysis appeared appropriate for three reasons:

1. The selected activities represented steps in a uni-dimensional continuum--an underlying concept for

"My friend is also a person with whom I move on the street or in town. If I move with a boy who is not my friend, he could misbehave in my presence and all the behaviour will be put on me because people will think that since I was moving with him and he is a bad boy, therefore I am also a bad boy."

Guttman scales. Felty explained this concept when he wrote:

Scale analysis provides a method for determining whether a set of items can be ordered along a single dimension. If a particular attitude universe is really one-dimensional, any sampling of items from it should also be one-dimensional, and should provide an ordering of respondents essentially the same as that provided by any other sampling of items from the universe.⁹

2. Although Guttman scales generally involve attitudes, Guttman himself had previously defined attitude as a "delimited totality of behavior with respect to something"¹⁰ thereby implying that his scaling technique could also be used on behavior scales.
3. Cross-cultural studies involve hazards of meaning equivalence, translation, and equivalence of terms and concepts. Felty explained the usefulness of scale analysis in such a study when he wrote:

In respect to problems of input equivalence, Suchman, in reporting methodological findings of the Cornell Cross-Cultural

⁹ John E. Felty, "Attitudes Toward Physical Disability in Costa Rica and Their Determinants: A Pilot Study" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1965), p. 44. A resume of Guttman's writings is difficult to find. Felty provides an elaborate, up-to-date discussion and summary of the literature on Guttman on pages 41-46 and 311-312.

¹⁰ Louis Guttman, "The Problem of Attitude and Opinion Measurement," Measurement and Prediction, S. A. Stauffer, editor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 51.

Methodology Project, has distinguished between "concept" equivalence and "index" equivalence. He reported that it was not possible to compare specific questions and indices across cultures because:

"Technical problems such as language translation along with more subtle factors of the meaning of words, combined to make it extremely difficult to compare responses from different cultures with any degree of confidence that they were indeed equivalent. On the other hand, it was found that while specific indices might not be comparable, broader concepts were."

He suggested that scale analysis offered a "particularly promising method" of determining concept equivalence.¹¹

Therefore, in the formulation of the instrument these items were presented as Guttman scales in two areas of the students' lives: activities at school and activities during the holidays. The face or content validity of these items as indicators of cross-tribal integration was established by the responses of interviewees and supported by the secondary school students' essays on the topic of friendship in which sharing secrets, lending, borrowing, visiting friends' homes, sleeping together, and moving together were the most frequently named activities which friendship implies.

In addition to the two behavior scales, an attitude scale was also developed from the same original set of activities. The criteria for the selection of items for this scale were as follows:

¹¹ John E. Felty, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

1. The activity must be traditionally difficult to do with persons from other tribes as indicated by a high percentage response on the scaling questionnaire as being difficult to do during holidays.
2. The activity is forced upon the person by school or public life and is indicated by a low percentage response on the scaling questionnaire as being difficult to do during school.

These items were then ordered by the difference between the two percentages mentioned in the above criteria and resulted in the following ordered scale:

- buying things from a person from a different tribe.
- sitting next to a person from a different tribe.
- washing clothes with a person from a different tribe.
- going to church with a person from a different tribe.
- working with a person from a different tribe.
- farming with a person from a different tribe.
- eating with a person from a different tribe.
- joining clubs whose members come from different tribes.
- bathing with a person from a different tribe.
- sleeping with a person from a different tribe.

This completed the construction of the basic scales for the measurement of integration.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

A further outcome of the forty-two interviews and fifty-five essays was the elaboration of the Cameroonian concept of friendship and the resulting operational definitions which this study demanded.

In his study of students' friendships in Uganda, Weeks found that:

Friendship has a number of meanings to the students. . . . There are a variety of factors that influence the formation of friendship bonds; that may be so but not necessarily are: same tribe, same clan, come from the same village, went to the same primary or junior secondary school, sit next to each other at school, walk home the same way together, live together at the same place, or are of the same religion. The shared expectations that accompany friendship, besides assistance when in need, academic tutoring, the provision of food and money, may include the following: the communication of secrets, discussion of personal problems, revelation of relationships with girls, provision of cigarettes, drinking together or going to the cinema when one has enough money. There is no specific ritual act that accompanies or confirms friendship.¹²

The data from Cameroon support these observations. Cameroonians agreed that friends are not relatives, the distinction being clearly understood, and that the tie of friendship involves affection, mutual

¹²S. G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Examination of the Role of Minority Students at a Day Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda," Papers of the East African Institute of Social Research, 1963, 14 pp. (mimeo).

help, doing things together, common interests, trustworthiness, sharing feelings, and being sensitive to each others' wants and preferences. Interviewed students agreed that their permanent friendships usually formed during the third or fourth year of secondary school and often incorporated a group of three or four mutual friends. They perceived the function of these friendships as a means of broadening their own knowledge, complementing their own weaknesses and reinforcing their self-concept.¹³ One aspect of friendship upon which there was divided opinion was whether it is easier to make friends with people from tribes similar to their own or with those which are distinctly different. Older informants (adults) believed that friendships were more easily established with neighboring tribes because of cultural and linguistic similarities. Many students, on the other hand, believed that friendships between dissimilar tribes were easier to develop because of their keen desire to "learn more about others."

Types of friendships. An important aspect of the concept of friendship in Cameroon which was agreed upon by all was that three types of friendship are recognizable:

¹³ This element of friendship which is usually expressed as "I like him because he is like me and he complements my weaknesses" seems to echo Lerner's concept of empathy and its role in modernization. See Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 49.

1. "Drinking friendships" which are extremely short-lived, casual, and based on contact or situation. These relationships lack the elements of inducement or affection and may easily be cross-tribal. Sometimes called "social" or "dancing" friendships, this type may result from chance contact in public or the forced interaction of persons in an institution such as a school.
2. "Bought friendships" are induced by material gifts or demonstrated affection often for ulterior motives. These relationships are reciprocal and terminate when reciprocity ceases. These also may easily be cross-tribal.
3. "Tight friendships"¹⁴ are long-term, affectionate and voluntary relationships which contain elements of interdependence and empathy. They will hardly be cross-tribal, especially for the traditional person, but may be so given the opportunity to participate in an integrative environment.

¹⁴The expressions "drinking friendships," "bought friendships," and "tight friendships" are delightfully descriptive pidgin-English expressions which the uninitiated reader will understand and which had to be used throughout this research because of the vague meaning of the expression "best friends"--"best" in what sense?

This typology of friendships was supported by the students' essays which often warned about "bread and butter friends." One student wrote:

There are various types of friends; for example, friends because of money, friends because of reputation, friends of love, etc.

Another described "tight friendship" as a "complete trust and sharing, where each other's needs are sensed rather than expressed, and resources are shared on the basis of this sensitivity and need."

In order to determine whether these three concepts of friendship were present in all regions of West Cameroon, inquiries were made into the vernacular names for these concepts in four languages which represent three regions: the coast, the forest area, and the grasslands. In the Bakweri vernacular of the coastal area the three types of friendship are designated by the following expressions:

"Drinking friendship"	--	"Yosa ya mimba"
"Bought friendship"	--	"Yosa ya woli" or "yosa ya molanga"
"Tight friendship"	--	"Yosa ya ndinge" or "mbunda ya ndinge."

In the Ejaghem dialect of the forest area two of the types of friendship are expressed as:

"Drinking friendship" -- "Okor e njaah"
 "Tight friendship" -- "Okor e mbenge."

In the grassland area the Kom people speak of:

"Drinking friendship" -- "E suin mulo"
 "Bought friendship" -- "Ekong iyuintiti" or
 "E suin ekong ni ma"
 "Tight friendship" -- "Ekong ufugeni" or
 "E suin lua ni ma,"

while the Ngemba people of the same region but from a different origin speak of:

"Bought friendship" -- "Akongne ankap"
 "Tight friendship" -- "Akongne nwi."

When these three types of friendship were compared with the behavior scales previously developed, the following pattern appeared:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Presence in Types of Friendships</u>		
	<u>"Drinking"</u>	<u>"Bought"</u>	<u>"Tight"</u>
Move in the town	X	X	X
Visiting homes		X	X
Lending		X	X
Borrowing		X	X
Sharing a room		X	X
Discussing family problems			X
Sharing personal secrets			X

In view of the evident relationships between activities and types of friendships it was then possible to arrive at an operational definition of best friend (pidgin-English: tight friend) as:

1. a person with whom you "move in the town."
2. a person with whom you visit at his house or compound.
3. a person to whom you lend something such as money or clothes.
4. a person from whom you borrow things such as money or clothes.
5. a person with whom you share a room for a night.
6. a person with whom you discuss your family problems.
7. a person to whom you tell your own secrets.

Dimensions of friendship. The second important concept derived from the interviews was the existence of four dimensions of friendship. The first dimension, labelled "depth," concerns the depth or degree of difficulty of participating in an activity with a person from a different tribe. It is easier to "move in the town" with someone from a different tribe than it is to tell them your personal secrets. Thus it was possible to list the selected activities in order of increasing depth or difficulty as: moving in the town, visiting, lending, borrowing, discussing family problems, and telling personal secrets. The second dimension, labelled "frequency,"

measures friendship by the frequency with which the actors engage in these cross-tribal activities. These frequencies may be categorized as never, a few times, or many times. The third dimension of friendship, labelled "breadth," is the quantitative one concerning the number of different tribes with which a person engages in these selected activities and may be expressed as with my own tribe only, with one or two different tribes, or with three or more different tribes. The final dimension, labelled "length," measures friendship by considering the culture gap between tribes as exemplified by neighboring tribes with similar cultures, distant tribes with widely differing cultures, grassland vs. forest region cultures, or semi-Bantu vs. Bantu cultures. In West Cameroon this culture gap may be conveniently expressed by a regional demarcation as forest region, grassland region, or both regions. The underlying assumption in each of these dimensions is that it is more difficult to carry on activities of increasing difficulty an increasing number of times with an increasing number of different tribes across a widening cultural gap than it is to remain within one's own tribal group for social interaction. The implication for this study is that as one progresses along these dimensions of cross-tribal friendship, one, in effect, progresses toward a greater degree of social integration. Therefore it is possible to use these dimensions of cross-tribal

friendship as an operational definition of cross-tribal social integration wherein individuals or groups of people are said to be more socially integrated when they:

1. increase the degree of difficulty of their cross-tribal activities or relationships,
2. increase the frequency of such cross-tribal activities,
3. increase the number of tribes involved in these activities, and
4. interact in these activities with tribes of increasing cultural difference.

These dimensions of friendship are reminiscent of Epstein's dimensions of networks which he defined as interconnectedness, range of intensity, effectiveness, and extendedness. Although the parallel is not complete, the relationships between friendships and networks is implied and has been suggested in chapter II.

IV. CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

With the establishment of these concepts and operational definitions it was possible to construct the written questionnaire which was to be the basic instrument in this research. The questionnaire (Appendix C) consisted of four parts including:

1. Demographic questions, questions about languages, friends, and voluntary association membership

as dictated by the hypotheses listed in chapter III.

2. Two Guttman scales on activities done at school and during holidays.
3. An attitude scale of the Guttman type covering enforced interaction.
4. Structured and open-ended questions to determine the factors in secondary school experience which relate to cross-tribal integration.

Trial administrations of the questionnaire were conducted at the secondary school at Ndu. The first trial brought to light problems of language and word usage. The second trial rectified these errors but by that time a fourth dimension of friendship (previously referred to as cultural difference) became evident and had to be included. This new dimension was incorporated in the third revision of the questionnaire. A test-retest program with a seven day interval was then carried out with thirty randomly selected students from all class levels to determine the reliability of the instrument and yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of +0.865. Statistical analyses on the dichotomized answers of one of each of the "school" and "holiday" Guttman scales produced a Guttman reproducibility factor of .883 and .913 respectively. Although these analyses had

been done with only a small sample in one school, the high factors of correlation and reproducibility encouraged the acceptance of this form of the questionnaire as the basic instrument for this study.

In order to use this basic instrument in the primary schools and with secondary-age non-students it was necessary to make some adaptations. Because primary school children and the secondary-age non-students did not live in a school as most of the secondary school students did, it was necessary to replace the Guttman scales on school and holiday activities with a Guttman scale of similar activities but in a general rather than a specific situational context (See Appendix D). A further modification in the basic instrument was the omission of irrelevant questions from the demographic part of the questionnaire and the entire fourth part concerning factors in the secondary school experience related to integration. When statistical analysis on dichotomized answers produced a Guttman reproducibility factor of .92 for the primary school population, the adapted instrument was also considered acceptable.

V. SOCIOMETRIC INSTRUMENTATION

The desire to study the question of secondary school students' cross-tribal friendships by an approach quite different from the scaling techniques used in the questionnaires and thus provide

additional information and perhaps a means of establishing the validity of the questionnaire led to the development of a sociometric instrument. Weeks had made fruitful use of sociometry in his study of students' friendships in a secondary school in Uganda.¹⁵ In addition to providing supportive evidence¹⁶ and establishing validity, sociometry appeared a desirable approach because it provided a technique by which: (a) the entire student body of each school could be measured rather than only a random sample as was used for the questionnaire, and (b) it provided a graphic portrayal of tribal groupings within classes and institutions, if indeed these did exist.

Lindzey suggested five basic requirements for the development of a sociometric test including:

1. indication of the groups' limits,
2. permitting an unlimited number of choices,

¹⁵ S. G. Weeks, op. cit.

¹⁶ Sociometricians agreed that sociometric techniques should be used along with other observation techniques rather than exclusively and that their use should be based upon a sound theoretical framework rather than simply being a curiosity or convenience. For further discussions about the limitations and weaknesses of this technique, the interested reader is referred to: Susan Deri et al., "Techniques for the Diagnosis and Measurement of Intergroup Attitudes and Behavior," Psychological Bulletin, XLV (1948), p. 256; and Gardner Lindzey and E. T. Borgatta, "Sociometric Measurement," Handbook of Social Psychology, I, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 407.

3. provision of specific criteria for choice or rejection,
4. assurance that results would be kept private, and
5. expressing questions at the respondents' level of understanding.¹⁷

These requirements were easily met. The organizational framework of the school provided the group limits--classes, forms or schools. Specific criteria for choice or rejection was provided by the operational definition of "best friend" previously developed. Fulfillment of the fourth and fifth requirements was augmented by the researcher's long experience of working with Cameroonian secondary school students. The matter of the number of choices to be permitted is still a matter of controversy among sociometricians. Northway specifically suggests that three criteria and three choices be used.¹⁸ In this research ultimately two criteria and unlimited choice were used. Permitting unlimited choice was later regretted because it complicated statistical analyses.

The sociometric test for this study was administered in all classes in each of the five secondary schools studied. The written test was preceded by an explanation of what is a "best friend" and the following operational definition written on the blackboard:

¹⁷ Gardner Lindzey and E. T. Borgatta, op. cit., p. 407.

¹⁸ Mary L. Northway, A Primer of Sociometry (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 3.

"A best friend (tight friend) is a person:

- to whom you lend money,
- to whom you tell your own secrets,
- with whom you move in the town, and
- with whom you share your clothes. "

The students were then asked to provide written answers to the following questions:

1. What is your name and class?
2. What is your tribe?
3. List the names of your best friends in this class only.
After their names, put their tribe. You may list as many as you wish.
4. List the names of your best friends in all classes of your form. After their names, put their tribe.
5. List the names of the students to whom you lend money.
After their names, put their tribe.
6. List the names of the students to whom you tell your own secrets. After their names, put their tribe.
7. List the names of the students with whom you move in the town. After their names, put their tribe.
8. List the names of the students with whom you share your clothes. After their names, put their tribe.

9. List the names of your best friends in any classes in this college. After their names, put their tribe and class.

Analyses of the preliminary results showed that the names given in answer to questions 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 were the same as those provided in answer to questions 4 and 9. Therefore the duplicating questions were eliminated and the sociometric instrument included only the following questions:

1. What is your name and class?
2. What is your tribe?
3. List the names of your best friends in all classes of your form in this college.¹⁹ After their names, put their tribe. You may list as many as you wish.
4. List the names of your best friends in any classes of this college. After their names, put their tribe. You may repeat the names from question (3) if you wish.

If you have no friends, write "nobody."

Although Northway wrote that "the usual measures of reliability and validity do not seem to be particularly appropriate for

¹⁹In West Cameroon the term "college" is universally synonymous with "secondary school."

sociometry,"²⁰ because of the variability of social grouping and interaction, Selltitz stated:

Studies of the reliability of sociometric data, on the basis of repeated tests, indicate that although there may be considerable variation in specific choices, patterns of group interaction and various scores or indices derived from the data are quite stable.²¹

The reliability of the sociometric instrument used in this study was established by the test-retest method with a seven day interval and yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of +0.881. As for validity, both Lindzey²² and Northway²³ suggest that no demonstration of it is necessary in sociometry as long as the responses were limited to written, inter-personal choices and that preferences had been disclosed honestly. The validity of the instrument used here was supported by the content or face validity established through the forty-two interviews in determining the operational definition of "best friend" and also by the agreement which became apparent between these data and data obtained from the scaling questionnaire.

²⁰Mary L. Northway, op. cit., p. 16.

²¹Claire Selltitz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), p. 269.

²²Gardner Lindzey and E. T. Borgatta, op. cit., pp. 420-424.

²³Mary L. Northway, op. cit., p. 16.

VI. SUMMARY

The development of new concepts, operational definitions and new instruments to measure cross-tribal integration were presented in this chapter.

Forty-two interviews and fifty-five students' essays provided information which led to the development of the concepts of types of friendships and the dimensions of friendship. Three types of friendships were evident in Cameroonian culture:

1. "Drinking friendships" which are extremely short-lived, casual, and based on contact or situation.

These relationships lack the elements of inducement or affection and may easily be cross-tribal. Sometimes called "social" or "dancing" friendships, this type may result from chance contact in public or the forced interaction of persons in an institution such as a school.

2. "Bought friendships" are induced by material gifts or demonstrated affection often for ulterior motives.

These relationships are reciprocal and terminate when reciprocity ceases. These also may easily be cross-tribal.

3. "Tight friendships" are long-term, affectionate and voluntary relationships which contain elements of interdependence and empathy. They will hardly be cross-tribal, especially for the traditional person, but may be so given the opportunity to participate in an integrative environment.

Four dimensions of friendship were also discernible:

1. Depth--the degree of difficulty of participating in an activity with a person from a different tribe,
2. Frequency--the number of times in which the actors engage in cross-tribal activities,
3. Breadth--the number of different tribes with which a person engages in cross-tribal activities,
4. Length--the cultural gap between tribes of similar or differing cultures whose representatives are involved in cross-tribal interaction.

In addition to these new concepts, information gathered from the same sources provided two fundamental operational definitions; one for best friends and one for social integration. Best friend (pidgin-English: "tight friend") was defined as a person with whom you do any or all of the following activities:

- "move in the town."
- visit their homes or compounds.

- lend something.
- borrow something.
- share a room for a night.
- discuss your family problems.
- share your personal secrets.

Integration was operationally defined by specifying that individuals or groups of people are more socially integrated when they:

- increase the depth or degree of difficulty of their cross-tribal activities or relationships,
- increase the frequency of such cross-tribal activities,
- increase the number of tribes involved in these activities, and
- interact in these activities with tribes of increasing cultural difference.

These operational definitions provided the bases for developing two Guttman scales with which to measure individuals' levels of integration in school and holiday situations. Statistical analyses on dichotomized answers produced a Guttman reproducibility factor of .883 and .913 respectively. Face or content validity of the items was established by interviews. Measurement of reliability of the instrument yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of +0.865 when using a test-retest method with a seven day interval. These Guttman

scales were incorporated into a questionnaire which also included a Guttman attitude scale, demographic information, and structured and open-ended questions to determine the factors in students' secondary school experience which they perceived as being positively or negatively related to integration. This basic questionnaire was adapted for use with primary school students and secondary-age non-students who were interviewed.

The operational definition of best friend was also used in the development of a second new instrument to measure students' levels of integration by a sociometric technique. The sociometric instrument, which was used with all students in the five secondary schools studied, included the following questions:

1. What is your name and class?
2. What is your tribe?
3. List the names of your best friends in all classes of your form in this college. After their names, put their tribe. You may list as many as you wish.
4. List the names of your best friends in any classes of this college. After their names, put their tribe. You may repeat the names from question (3) if you wish.

If you have no friends, write "nobody."

The validity of this instrument was based on face or content validity as established by the interviews and also by the agreement which

became apparent between these data and data obtained from the scaling questionnaire. Reliability was established by the test-retest method with a seven day interval and yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of +0.881.

The formulation of fundamental operational definitions and the new instruments which were derived from them provided a great quantity of data, the analyses of which is presented in chapters V and VI.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSES OF DATA PERTAINING TO LEVEL OF INTEGRATION

The great volume of data provided by the instruments used in this study necessitates the division of their analyses into six sections in order to present the findings concisely and intelligibly. These sections are subsumed under the two broad headings which characterize this study: the level of integration and the factors relating to integration. The analyses concerning the level of integration include the analyses of the instrument and the testing of the hypotheses using both questionnaire and sociometric data. They constitute the presentation in this chapter. The factors relating to integration are analyzed in the next chapter.

I. ANALYSES OF THE INSTRUMENT

In order to answer questions a through d, i and j it was necessary to prepare an instrument to measure the students' levels of integration and use this instrument to test the twenty-six hypotheses which these questions suggested.

Two analyses were made to establish the characteristics of the instrument: a Guttman Scale Analysis and a test for reliability.

Guttman Scale Analysis. The scale analysis program used on the Michigan State University CDC 3600 computer permitted the treatment of trichotomous answers and scales with a maximum of twenty-five items per scale.¹ The scales in the second and third part of the questionnaire were, therefore, analyzed in two ways. In the first case, the items in each of the "school" and "holiday" behavior scales were treated as three separate scales under each heading with six items per scale. One of the six item scales was composed of all a parts, another of all b parts, and the third of all c parts of the six questions. In the second analysis, all eighteen items of the "school" behavior scale were ordered by the program into one long scale rather than three short ones. The same was done with the "holiday" behavior scale. The ten items of the attitude scale were also ordered and treated as a Guttman scale. The program provided the Guttman coefficient of reproducibility (REP) and the minimal

¹ The program used was: BMDO5S--Guttman Scale #1 in the Computer Institute for Social Science Research's Technical Report No. 27, adapted for use at Michigan State University by J. Robert Zerby from the work of the Health Science Computing Facility, Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health, School of Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles, in June, 1968.

internal reproducibility (MMR), which are measures of internal consistency and reproducibility, for each of the scales formed and each of the groups to which it was administered. A tabulation of the coefficients (REP and MMR) is presented in Appendix G. The computer program also provided an indication of the possible REP which would be obtainable had the item answers been dichotomized. The possible REPs are also presented in Appendix G and are based on the logical combination of the answers into negative and positive responses to form the dichotomy. A brief summary of the REPs obtained from the long scales revealed the following minimum and maximum coefficients covering all groups:

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Minimum REP</u>	<u>Maximum REP</u>
behavior scale	0.68	0.78
day behavior scale	0.72	0.80
morning scale ²	0.71	0.84
leisure scale	0.59	0.90

A similar summary of the REPs which could be obtained by dichotomizing the responses in the same scales revealed the following coefficients:

² This scale on the shortened form of the questionnaire excluded the "school" and "holiday" behavior scales of the longer questionnaire because the latter were not appropriate to the population tested with the shortened questionnaire.

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Minimum REP</u>	<u>Maximum REP</u>
School behavior scale	0.73	0.85
Holiday behavior scale	0.77	0.84
Behavior scale	0.78	0.91
Attitude scale	0.60	0.93

It can be seen that the dichotomized responses provide higher REPs. Nevertheless, the scoring of these scales was done using all three responses without dichotomizing them in order to avoid collapsing data. A study of Appendix G revealed that the differences between the REPs of the short, six-item scales and that of the longer, eighteen-item scales was slight. Therefore, all hypothesis testing was done using the data in the form of the eighteen-item Guttman scales and scored accordingly.

The Guttman Scale Analysis program also ordered the items of each scale on the basis of individual response patterns within the group tested, with the result that each groups' scale was ordered differently. Therefore it was impossible to make direct comparisons between the Guttman orders and the ordering of items as established by the interviews during the development of the scales. Three generalized observations are noteworthy because of their repeated occurrence:

1. In the behavior scales the item "moving in the town" was always ordered above, and thus easier to do than,

the item "best friends." In the original scale "best friends" was ordered as the easiest to do.

2. In the behavior scales the items "lending something," "borrowing something," and "sharing secrets" tended to be ordered as the most difficult to do in cross-tribal relationships, with "lending" and "borrowing" being slightly favored. In the original scale, "sharing secrets" was ordered as the most difficult to do.
3. In the attitude scale the items "bathing" and "sleeping," which were originally ordered as the most difficult to do, maintained that position in most of the groups' scales.

Test for reliability. A field test of the reliability of the instrument had been made in Cameroon by using a test-retest method with a seven-day interval. This yielded a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient of +0.865 which was computed across all three scales combined. Computer analysis of the same data provided the following Pearson correlation coefficients for each of the scales:

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Pearson r</u>
School behavior scale	+0.8062
Holiday behavior scale	+0.7988
Attitude scale	+0.9070

These coefficients established an acceptable reliability for the questionnaire.

II. TESTING OF HYPOTHESES BY DATA FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The following twenty-six hypotheses were tested on the CDC 3600 computer by data from written and oral answers to the questionnaires.³ Computer print-outs of the analyses made are available from the author in the form on the following page.

Because of their large number, the hypotheses are grouped under the following categories:

1. Hypotheses related to the secondary schools' functional influence on the level of integration.
2. Hypotheses related to students' backgrounds.
3. Hypotheses related to the schools' structural influence on the level of integration.
4. Hypotheses related to previous research.
5. Hypotheses related to tribal factors.

For the same reason the presentation of the treatments of the data is in an extremely concise form and follows the general order:

³ Code books for the recoding of data from the questionnaires and from the sociometric questions are presented in Appendix H and Appendix I.

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ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Dependent Variable is Attitude Scale
Category Variable is Age

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>D. F.</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Significance Probability of F</u>
Between categories	48.6010	4	12.1502	0.7641	0.549
*Linear	1.9751	1	1.9751	0.1242	0.723
*Quadratic	1.7806	1	1.7806	0.1119	0.735
*Other	44.8451	2	22.4225	1.4101	0.245
Within categories	8220.9851	517	15.9013		
Total	8269.5862	521			

*"Linear," "quadratic" and "other" refer to relationships among the scores which were computed as part of the one-way analysis of variance program. They indicate that trends are present in the scores which composed the data analyzed.

- Category of the hypothesis.
- Statement of the hypothesis.
- Data treatment--specification of the tests or models used.
- Data-summation table--a tabular presentation of the data treated.
- Settlement of the hypothesis--a statement indicating whether the hypothesis was rejected or not rejected on the basis of available data.
- Trend statement--a reference to the presence of linear relationships which indicated trends in the scores analyzed.
- Summary statement--a concluding statement indicating possible alternate hypotheses which would describe the relationships tested in light of the settlement of the null hypothesis and the presence of trends.

In the following sections, this form of presentation begins at the top of a separate page for each hypothesis.

Hypotheses related to the secondary schools' functional influence on the level of integration. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, which were derived from questions a and b in chapter II, sought to investigate the secondary schools' influence upon integration by comparing

the levels of integration among primary school students, secondary-age non-students, and secondary school students.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' functional influence.

H-1: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among primary school students, secondary-age non-students, and fifth year secondary school students.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 1

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Groups of Varying Educational Level	N	Behavior Scale	Attitude Scale
Terminal primary school students	224	33.85	22.29
Secondary-age non-students	46	33.11	24.41
Terminal secondary school students	40	38.58	23.93

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the behavior scale ($F = 5.68$ with 2 and 309 d. f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 6.04$ with 2 and 309 d. f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in both scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from terminal primary school students to secondary-age non-students to fifth year secondary school students.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' functional influence.

H-2: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the various class levels in secondary school.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 2

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY CLASS LEVEL

Class Level	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
1	103	20.72	28.34	22.47
2	105	35.60	30.82	22.49
3	109	35.97	31.78	22.22
4	100	39.52	34.15	22.78
5	106	39.09	32.61	22.24

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 0.34$ with 4 and 522 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 16.98$ with 4 and 522 d. f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 6.35$ with 4 and 522 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" behavior scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the number of years in school.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' functional influence.

H-3: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the various class levels in secondary school, the ex-secondary school students, and the students at a post-secondary college.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 3
LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Groups of Varying Educational Level	N	Behavior Scale	Attitude Scale
Class level 1	20	32.45	25.65
Class level 2	24	32.42	24.21
Class level 3	21	38.95	26.29
Class level 4	19	36.53	23.26
Class level 5	40	38.58	23.93
Ex-secondary school students	8	40.50	24.38
Students in a post-secondary college	19	42.00	21.37

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the behavior scale ($F = 3.70$ with 6 and

150 d. f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 3.16$ with 6 and 150 d. f.).

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in both scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase through the various class levels to the ex-secondary school students to the post-secondary college students.

Hypotheses related to students' backgrounds. Hypotheses 4 through 17, which were derived from question c in chapter II, sought to investigate which factors in students' backgrounds are related to their levels of integration. The following were the background factors acting as independent variables in these hypotheses: sex, age, birthplace, tribal origin, residence, religion, academic standing, urban experience, location of former primary school, fathers' and mothers' occupation and education, and family structure.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-4: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between male and female secondary school students.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 4

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY SEX

Sex	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Male	352	35.79	31.66	22.69
Female	172	37.03	31.26	21.92

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 2.10$ with 1 and 523 d. f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.24$ with 1 and 523 d. f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 4.38$ with 1 and 523 d. f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-5: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students in various age groups.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 5

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY AGE

Age in years	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
11-12	21	33.05	29.57	21.90
13-14	146	34.01	30.14	22.84
15-16	163	36.08	31.54	22.10
17-18	129	38.98	33.71	22.44
19-20	63	37.05	30.83	22.44

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could be rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale alone ($F = 5.97$ with 4 and 521 d. f.), the data from the "holiday" scale ($F = 3.24$ with 4 and 521 d. f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 0.76$ with 4 and 521 d. f.) could not be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" scale.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-6: , No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students born in grassland or forest regions or among those born in rural, town, or urban areas.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 6

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY BIRTHPLACE

Birthplace	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Grassland-rural	253	33.09	28.89	22.41
Grassland-town	45	34.76	30.18	21.78
Grassland-urban	39	37.28	33.72	22.77
Forest-rural	92	40.66	35.40	22.60
Forest-town	13	38.38	31.77	22.15
Forest-urban	81	40.80	35.04	22.62

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 0.38$ with 5 and 522 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 16.81$ with 5 and 522 d. f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 12.43$

with 5 and 522 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region and from rural to town to urban areas.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-7: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between grassland tribes and forest region tribes.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 7

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY REGIONAL TRIBES

Regions	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Forest	160	41.11	35.14	22.36
Grassland	348	34.12	30.01	22.42

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 0.02$ with 1 and 507 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 70.95$ with 1 and 507 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 39.35$ with 1 and 507 d.f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean

level of integration for forest region tribes will exceed that of grassland tribes.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-8: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students resident in grassland or forest regions or among those resident in rural, town, or urban areas.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 8

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Residence Area	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Grassland-rural	222	32.02	28.04	22.45
Grassland-town	34	33.91	29.50	22.00
Grassland-urban	42	37.88	33.40	23.02
Forest-rural	51	40.08	35.78	23.71
Forest-town	18	37.22	34.28	23.72
Forest-urban	153	40.85	34.80	21.76

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 2.59$ with 5 and 519 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 23.73$ with 5 and 519 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 16.60$

with 5 and 519 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region and from rural to town to urban areas.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-9: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students of traditional religions, Islam, other religions, Baptist, Presbyterian, or Catholic churches.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 9

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY STUDENTS' RELIGIONS

Students' Religions	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Traditional	1	31.00	26.00	18.00
Islam	2	38.00	36.00	27.00
Other	3	46.67	41.33	21.67
Baptist	106	36.32	31.81	21.78
Presbyterian	274	38.34	33.18	22.31
Catholic	138	31.62	27.80	23.18

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 2.41$ with 5 and 523 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 11.73$ with 5 and 523 d. f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 8.26$

with 5 and 523 d.f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in all three scales.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from students of traditional religions to Islam to other religions to Baptist to Presbyterian to Catholic churches.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-10: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose academic standing is in the lowest quarter, the third quarter, the secondary quarter, or top quarter of their class.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 10
LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY ACADEMIC STANDING

Academic Standing	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Bottom 25%	34	27.00	31.85	23.47
Lower middle 25%	103	36.60	31.97	22.16
Upper middle 25%	122	35.40	31.17	22.57
Top 25%	166	34.87	30.57	22.55

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 1.06$ with 3 and 424 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.59$ with 3 and 424 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 0.99$ with 3 and 424 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis
would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-11: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students with varying lengths of urban experience.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 11

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY URBAN EXPERIENCE

Length of Urban Experience	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
None	162	30.26	26.29	22.31
Less than one year	120	37.83	33.14	22.83
One year	35	36.57	32.51	22.31
Two years	35	38.71	33.60	23.54
3 - 4 years	48	39.46	34.46	22.10
5 - 9 years	56	39.79	35.98	21.70
10 or more years	62	41.06	34.29	22.21

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not

be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone

($F = 1.08$ with 6 and 517 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale

($F = 21.71$ with 6 and 517 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 17.42$ with 6 and 517 d.f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would suggest the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the length of urban experience.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-12: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose former primary school was located in grassland or forest regions or between those located in rural, town, or urban areas.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 12

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY LOCATION OF FORMER PRIMARY SCHOOL

Locations	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Grassland-rural	229	32.58	28.21	22.29
Grassland-town	37	33.86	28.73	22.49
Grassland-urban	37	35.19	31.30	22.84
Forest-rural	67	40.46	36.01	22.88
Forest-town	33	38.09	34.73	21.94
Forest-urban	119	41.18	35.29	22.37

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 0.41$ with 5 and 521 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 21.29$ with 5 and 521 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 18.43$

with 5 and 521 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region locations and from rural to town to urban locations of former primary schools.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-13: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose fathers' occupations are farming or fishing, unskilled labor, skilled labor, tribal political leaders, trade or commerce, and professional, higher technical, or administrative positions.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 13

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY FATHERS' OCCUPATION

Occupations	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Farming, fishing	217	33.23	29.20	22.65
Unskilled labor	32	36.78	31.34	21.94
Skilled labor	72	39.33	34.93	21.82
Tribal leader	7	37.43	31.00	20.29
Trade, commerce	34	39.26	33.15	22.85
Professional, higher technical, administrative	145	38.21	32.96	22.42

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone

($F = 1.04$ with 5 and 506 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 8.95$ with 5 and 506 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 6.49$ with 5 and 506 d.f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from farmer or fisherman to unskilled laborer to skilled laborer to tribal political leaders to traders or commercial men to professional, higher technical, and administrative positions.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-14: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose mothers' occupations are farming, housekeeping, handcraft, trading, skilled labor, and professional or administrative positions.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 14

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY MOTHERS' OCCUPATION

Occupations	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Farming	338	34.59	30.41	22.55
Housekeeping	61	38.93	33.44	21.70
Trading	32	39.63	33.66	21.34
Handwork	40	40.38	34.75	22.38
Skilled labor	19	37.74	32.11	22.79
Professional or administrative	22	39.73	33.86	24.00

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 1.66$ with 5 and 511 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale

($F = 6.86$ with 5 and 511 d.f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 3.52$ with 5 and 511 d.f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from farming to housekeeping to handcraft to trading to skilled or trained labor to professional or administrative positions.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-15: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose fathers' education included no schooling, primary school, other training, teacher training, secondary school, or university.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 15

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

Level of Education	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
No schooling	191	32.42	28.86	22.51
Primary school	165	37.85	32.36	22.53
Teacher training	51	37.67	32.65	21.90
Other training	35	39.74	34.69	21.74
Secondary school	28	42.18	36.21	21.86
University	33	39.39	33.61	23.18

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 0.77$ with 5 and 502 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 13.38$ with 5 and 502 d. f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 7.19$

with 5 and 502 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" and "holiday" scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the fathers' educational experience.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-16: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students whose mothers' education included no schooling, primary school, other training, teacher training, secondary school, or university.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 16

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY MOTHERS' EDUCATION

Levels of Education	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
No schooling	356	35.36	30.89	22.61
Primary school	111	38.47	33.22	21.57
Teacher training	16	42.31	35.38	25.25
Other training	7	37.29	33.71	21.00
Secondary school	11	34.00	30.64	21.91
University	2	41.50	37.00	22.50

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the "holiday" scale alone ($F = 2.04$ with 5 and 502 d.f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 3.70$ with 5 and 502 d.f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 3.08$

with 5 and 502 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in the "school" scale.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase with an increase in the mothers' educational experience.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-17: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between students from polygynous families and those from monogynous families.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 17

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family Structure	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Polygynous	193	35.30	30.36	22.17
Monogynous	304	36.52	32.23	22.69
No answer	20	39.80	32.95	20.25

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 2.64$ with 2 and 516 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 2.90$ with 2 and 516 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 4.10$ with 2 and 516 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Hypotheses related to the schools' structural influence on the level of integration. Hypotheses 18 through 22, which were derived from question d in chapter II, sought to investigate which factors in the schools' structural aspects are related to students' levels of integration. These structural aspects include type of school (boys' , girls' , co-educational), location of the school, and the provision of boarding facilities in schools. These categories were the independent variables in the following hypotheses.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-18: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among girls' schools, boys' schools, and co-educational secondary schools.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 18

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Types of School	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Girls' schools	100	40.20	33.24	21.11
Boys' schools	183	35.17	30.89	22.33
Co-educational schools	241	35.32	31.30	23.07

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the "holiday" scale alone ($F = 2.43$ with 2 and 523 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 12.19$ with 2 and 523 d. f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 8.94$ with 2 and 523 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: No linear relationships exist.

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration varies among students from girls' schools, boys' schools, and co-educational secondary schools.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-19: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among secondary schools located in the grassland rural areas, grassland town areas or forest region urban areas.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 19

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Environments	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Grassland-rural	89	32.34	28.51	21.90
Grassland-town	235	33.65	29.49	23.15
Forest-urban	200	40.91	35.27	21.84

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 51.15$ with 2 and 523 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 30.73$ with 2 and 523 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 6.99$ with 2 and 523 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in all three scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following

hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland rural schools to grass-land town schools to forest region urban schools.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-20: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration between boarding and non-boarding secondary school students.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 20

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY TYPE OF STUDENTS

Types of Students	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Boarders	522	36.19	31.54	22.42
Non-boarders	2	35.50	28.00	26.50

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 0.01$ with 1 and 523 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.32$ with 1 and 523 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 2.08$ with 1 and 523 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-21: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among the five secondary schools studied.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 21

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY SCHOOLS

Secondary Schools	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
Ndu	89	32.34	28.51	21.90
Banso	141	30.85	27.05	23.43
Bali	94	37.85	33.15	22.73
Kumba	100	41.61	37.29	22.57
Victoria	100	40.20	33.24	21.11

Settlement of the hypothesis: Although the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale alone ($F = 5.72$ with 4 and 523 d. f.), the data from the "school" scale ($F = 38.46$ with 4 and 523 d. f.) and the "holiday" scale ($F = 29.01$ with 4 and 523 d. f.) could be used to reject the null hypothesis. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in all three scales.

(Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: The bulk of these data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from Ndu to Banso to Bali to Kumba to Victoria secondary schools.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-22: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among primary schools located in the grassland or forest regions or between those located in rural, town, or urban areas.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 22
LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY PRIMARY SCHOOL LOCATION

Location	N	Behavior Scale	Attitude Scale
Grassland-rural	40	30.30	24.45
Grassland-town	36	26.86	18.22
Grassland-urban	46	36.00	20.67
Forest-rural	23	31.22	22.22
Forest-town	0	-----	-----
Forest-urban	79	38.35	24.01

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the behavior scale ($F = 20.99$ with 4 and 223 d. f.) and the attitude scale ($F = 20.83$ with 4 and 223 d. f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: The presence of linear relationships indicated the existence of trends among the scores in both scales. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The mean level of integration will increase from grassland to forest region locations and from rural to town to urban locations of primary schools.

Hypotheses related to previous research. Hypotheses 23 through 26, which were derived from questions i and j in chapter II, sought to investigate whether the following factors are related to level of integration: mono- and multi-tribal voluntary association membership and neighboring and distant languages spoken. These factors were the independent variables in the following hypotheses.

Category of the hypothesis: previous research.

H-23: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students having membership in one, two, three, or four mono-tribal voluntary associations.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 23

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY MONO-TRIBAL
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

Number of Memberships	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
One	85	34.04	30.60	23.05
Two	44	36.02	30.20	22.43
Three	5	29.40	26.60	22.40
Four	7	37.71	32.43	23.00

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 1.64$ with 3 and 140 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.57$ with 3 and 140 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 0.24$ with 3 and 140 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: previous research.

H-24: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among students having membership in one, two, three, or four multi-tribal voluntary associations.

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 24

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY MULTI-TRIBAL
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

Number of Memberships	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
One	133	37.64	32.46	22.55
Two	57	39.21	33.77	22.49
Three	19	35.47	33.00	23.89
Four	10	36.00	31.90	21.50

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 1.18$ with 3 and 218 d. f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.36$ with 3 and 218 d. f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 1.00$ with 3 and 218 d. f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: previous research.

H-25: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among those students who speak one, two, three, or four neighboring languages.⁴

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 25

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES SPOKEN

Number Spoken	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
One	136	37.67	32.92	22.85
Two	56	37.09	32.02	22.23
Three	17	38.65	32.88	20.76
Four	5	41.20	33.40	20.60

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 0.43$ with 3 and 213 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.16$ with 3 and 213 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 1.81$ with 3 and 213 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

⁴Neighboring language is defined as a language spoken in the respondent's region of origin.

Trend indications: None.

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis
would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: previous research.

H-26: No difference will be found in the mean level of integration among those students who speak one, two, three, or four distant languages.⁵

Data treatment: one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 26

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
MEAN SCORES BY DISTANT LANGUAGES SPOKEN

Number Spoken	N	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale
		School	Holiday	
One	6	35.67	34.33	19.17
Two	5	40.20	35.00	23.20
Three	1	34.00	29.00	17.00
Four	0	-----	-----	-----

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale ($F = 0.39$ with 2 and 11 d.f.), the "holiday" scale ($F = 0.12$ with 2 and 11 d.f.), and the attitude scale ($F = 2.02$ with 2 and 11 d.f.). (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

⁵Distant language is defined as a language which is not spoken in the respondent's region of origin.

Trend indications: None

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

III. TESTING OF HYPOTHESES BY SOCIOMETRIC DATA

The following nine hypotheses were tested on the IBM 1130 computer by data from the school-wide and class friendship questions of the sociometric instrument. The computer determined frequencies and with this information made Pearson product-moment correlations and chi-square tests to investigate the hypotheses. The grouping of the hypotheses and the presentation of the treatments of the data remain the same as far as possible.

Hypotheses related to tribal factors. Hypotheses 27 through 29, which were suggested by the sociometric data, sought to investigate which of the following factors are related to level of integration: distance of students' tribes from their schools, size of state-wide tribal population, and size of class tribal representation. These factors were the independent variables in the following hypotheses.

Category of the hypothesis: tribal factors.

H-27: No relationship exists between the levels of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the distances of their tribes from their schools.

Data treatment: Pearson product-moment correlation. Data from 1803 students divided into 457 tribal groups in twenty-five class levels in the five secondary schools studied were analyzed by determining what relationship exists between the proportion of their in-tribe friendships and the distances of their tribes from their schools. The determination was made on two sociometric questions: one involving school-wide friendships, the other involving class friendships only.

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of the data obtained from the school-wide friendship question ($\underline{r} = -0.032$) and the class friendship question ($\underline{r} = -0.127$) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Category of the hypothesis: tribal factors.

H-28: No relationship exists between the levels of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the number of their own tribal representatives in their classes.

Data treatment: Pearson product-moment correlation. Data from 1803 students divided into 457 tribal groups in twenty-five class levels in the five secondary schools studied were analyzed by determining what relationship exists between the proportion of their in-tribe friendships and the number of their tribal representatives in their classes. The determination was made on two sociometric questions: one involving school-wide friendships, the other involving class friendships only.

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of the data from the school-wide friendship question ($r = +0.919$) and the class friendship question ($r = +0.951$) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) decreases with an increase in the number of tribal representatives in their classes.

Category of the hypothesis: tribal factors.

H-29: No relationship exists between the levels of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and the size of their state-wide tribal population.

Data treatment: Pearson product-moment correlation. Data from 1803 students divided into 457 tribal groups in twenty-five class levels in the five secondary schools studied were analyzed by determining what relationship exists between the proportion of their in-tribe friendships and the size of their tribe's state-wide population. The determination was made on two sociometric questions: one involving school-wide friendships, the other involving class friendships only.

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was not rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide friendship question ($\underline{r} = +0.200$) and the class friendship question ($\underline{r} = +0.155$) on the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data indicated that the null hypothesis would account for the data.

Hypotheses retested by sociometric data. Hypotheses 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, and 21 were retested using data from the sociometric

instrument and treating it with chi-square tests. These hypotheses involved the following independent variables: class level, sex, regional tribes, type of school, location of school, and the five schools studied.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' functional influence.

H-2: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) among the various class levels in secondary school.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 27

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS BY CLASS LEVELS

Class Levels	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
1	103	46.27%	38.85%
2	105	41.45	38.37
3	109	38.72	33.31
4	100	42.16	35.36
5	106	27.68	23.98

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 169.67$ with 4 d. f.) and the class question ($\chi^2 = 74.57$ with 4 d. f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following

hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration of students (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different in the various class levels in secondary school.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-4: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) between male and female secondary school students.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 28

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS BY SEX

Sex	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
Boys	352	75.45%	59.48%
Girls	172	52.93	40.86

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 96.54$ with 1 d.f.) and the class question ($\chi^2 = 50.57$ with 1 d.f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different for male and female secondary school students.

Category of the hypothesis: students' backgrounds.

H-7: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) between grassland tribes and forest region tribes.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 29

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS BY REGIONAL TRIBES

Regions	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
Forest	160	22.83%	17.89%
Grassland	348	47.88	43.13

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 772.19$ with 1 d. f.) and the class question ($\chi^2 = 407.08$ with 1 d. f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different for grassland and forest region tribes.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-18: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) among girls' secondary schools, boys' secondary schools, and co-educational secondary schools.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 30

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Types of school	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
Girls' schools	100	23.23%	18.42%
Boys' schools	183	35.67	30.42
Co-educational schools	241	50.28	45.51

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 699.83$ with 2 d.f.) and the class question ($\chi^2 = 376.93$ with 2 d.f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of

integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different among students from girls' schools, boys' schools, and co-educational secondary schools.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-19: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) among secondary schools located in the grassland rural areas, grassland town areas, or forest region urban areas.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 31

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS
BY SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS

Environments	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
Grassland-rural	89	42.23%	32.89%
Grassland-town	235	53.49	49.46
Forest-urban	200	21.80	18.37

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 1210.65$ with 2 d. f.) or the class question ($\chi^2 = 637.03$ with 2 d. f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance).

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following

hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different among secondary schools located in grassland rural, grassland town, and forest region urban areas.

Category of the hypothesis: schools' structural influence.

H-21: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) among the five secondary schools studied.

Data treatment: chi-square test.

TABLE 32

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS BY SCHOOLS

Schools	N	School-wide In-tribe Friendships	Class In-tribe Friendships
Ndu	89	41.31%	33.59%
Banso	141	66.83	62.18
Bali	94	29.67	25.73
Kumba	100	20.02	17.54
Victoria	100	23.35	19.01

Settlement of the hypothesis: The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the school-wide question ($\chi^2 = 2137.92$ with 4 d. f.) and the class question ($\chi^2 = 1053.22$ with 4 d. f.) of the sociometric instrument. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following

hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) is different among the students of the five secondary schools studied.

Summary of hypotheses retested by sociometric data. The following summary provides a comparison of results obtained when hypotheses were tested by two sets of data; one from the questionnaire, the other from the sociometric instrument.

TABLE 33
SUMMARY OF RETESTED HYPOTHESES

Ho:	Independent Variable	Questionnaire			Sociometric	
		"School"	"Holiday"	Attitude	"School"	"Class"
2	Class level	R	R	NR	R	R
4	Sex	R	NR	NR	R	R
7	Regional tribes	R	R	NR	R	R
18	School type	R	NR	R	R	R
19	School location	R	R	R	R	R
21	Schools	R	R	R	R	R

R = rejected NR = not rejected

Hypothesis related to tribal factors. The final hypothesis was tested by sociometric data and treated with the chi-square test only.

Category of the hypothesis: tribal factors.

H-30: No difference will be found in the level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) among students from the same tribe but in different schools.

Data-treatment: chi-square tests.

Data-summation tables: See Tables 34 and 35.

Settlement of the hypothesis: Table 36 summarizes the analyses made on tribes. Tribes represented in only one or two secondary schools and those which listed no in-tribe friends are omitted from this summary. (Criterion: 0.01 level of significance.)

Summary statement: These data suggested that the following hypothesis would predict the relationship: The level of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) varies among students from the same tribe but in different schools.

TABLE 34

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS OF TRIBAL
GROUPS IN VARIOUS SCHOOLS
(School-wide Friendships)

Tribe	Schools				
	Ndu	Banso	Bali	Kumba	Victoria
Bakweri	26.86%	4.34%	34.17%	24.88%	37.42%
Douala	0	0	-----	4.54	16.55
Bafor	-----	-----	13.63	20.57	21.00
Balong	0	-----	17.07	3.84	6.45
Bakossi	5.26	30.43	0	39.65	22.39
Nigerian	0	7.69	0	7.31	19.27
Banyang	15.38	11.11	20.91	16.54	24.81
Ejaghem	0	-----	7.01	0	10.52
Bangwa	-----	29.62	-----	15.38	0
Mbonge	22.22	-----	0	0	-----
Balue	13.04	-----	0	5.55	-----
Bakundu	18.75	-----	-----	25.00	33.33
Bamileke	28.78	11.36	7.69	19.28	12.79
Meta	40.31	77.66	21.77	20.15	31.21
Moghamo	44.70	30.76	42.52	21.49	12.00
Bali	19.04	15.44	19.44	3.33	35.00
Ngemba	45.45	13.00	37.96	8.33	16.58
Bafut	36.84	50.00	38.13	24.00	27.65
Ndop	25.37	28.67	16.44	0	11.42
Kom	49.41	30.64	7.14	0	29.35
Nsaw	47.82	84.06	43.75	-----	20.58
Oku	59.25	45.31	6.66	-----	17.33
Yamba	42.85	-----	49.23	-----	5.00
Noni	15.38	57.75	-----	-----	0
Aghem	-----	16.66	40.38	-----	7.14
Ngie	23.80	0	29.76	13.33	0
Fungom	-----	0	20.00	12.50	3.22
Mundani	0	-----	6.66	0	-----
Wimbum	61.01	59.31	7.69	-----	43.96

TABLE 35

LEVEL OF INTEGRATION:
PROPORTIONS OF IN-TRIBE FRIENDSHIPS OF TRIBAL
GROUPS IN VARIOUS SCHOOLS
(Class Friendships)

Tribe	Schools				
	Ndu	Banso	Bali	Kumba	Victoria
Bakweri	19.73%	9.09%	25.71%	19.46%	28.93%
Douala	0	0	-----	2.56	22.38
Bafor	-----	-----	13.04	20.68	14.28
Balong	0	-----	15.00	4.00	3.77
Bakossi	7.69	23.07	0	36.66	20.38
Nigerian	0	0	0	2.12	14.28
Banyang	11.11	14.28	21.05	11.72	18.34
Ejaghem	0	-----	4.34	0	16.66
Bangwa	-----	29.41	-----	0	0
Mbonge	21.42	-----	0	0	-----
Balue	0	-----	0	11.11	-----
Bakundu	20.00	0	-----	10.86	0
Bamileke	16.27	11.36	8.00	19.44	15.00
Meta	38.75	0	15.38	31.25	24.47
Moghamo	33.33	5.00	34.61	22.85	15.38
Bali	11.11	10.52	21.68	0	30.76
Ngemba	35.39	4.76	31.91	3.70	16.66
Bafut	29.03	37.68	34.78	11.90	13.20
Ndop	18.60	20.00	18.91	0	8.34
Kom	37.50	26.92	0	0	25.80
Nsaw	45.16	81.11	48.00	-----	13.04
Oku	44.92	22.22	0	-----	3.33
Yamba	30.00	-----	31.03	-----	0
Noni	0	50.44	-----	-----	0
Aghem	-----	33.33	38.46	0	4.00
Ngie	12.50	0	28.57	22.22	0
Fungom	-----	0	0	0	6.45
Mundani	0	-----	0	0	-----
Wimbum	55.73	45.83	10.00	-----	32.85

TABLE 36

SETTLEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS THIRTY

Tribe	School-wide Friendships	Class Friendships
Bakweri	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 21.45; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 6.42; df = 4)$
Douala	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 12.97; df = 3)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 11.51; df = 3)$
Bafor	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 1.21; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 1.33; df = 2)$
Balong	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 9.56; df = 3)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 5.40; df = 3)$
Bakossi	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 26.99; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 14.15; df = 4)$
Nigerian	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 11.41; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 8.12; df = 4)$
Banyang	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 7.33; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 4.18; df = 4)$
Ejaghem	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 6.08; df = 3)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 6.91; df = 3)$
Bangwa	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 3.61; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 4.26; df = 2)$
Mbonge	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 8.84; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 4.03; df = 2)$
Balue	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 2.31; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 2.27; df = 2)$
Bakundu	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 1.69; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 1.83; df = 3)$
Bamileke	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 13.53; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 2.56; df = 4)$
Meta	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 104.90; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 14.82; df = 4)$
Moghamo	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 23.32; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 10.16; df = 4)$

TABLE 36 (continued)

Tribe	School-wide Friendships	Class Friendships
Bali	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 24.13; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 16.10; df = 4)$
Ngemba	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 82.41; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 33.93; df = 4)$
Bafut	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 13.29; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 16.93; df = 4)$
Ndop	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 13.01; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 3.92; df = 4)$
Kom	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 30.00; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 9.06; df = 4)$
Nsaw	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 285.43; df = 3)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 140.74; df = 3)$
Oku	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 40.10; df = 3)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 22.24; df = 3)$
Yamba	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 12.65; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 2.54; df = 2)$
Noni	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 37.04; df = 2)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 20.73; df = 2)$
Aghem	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 18.42; df = 3)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 10.78; df = 3)$
Ngie	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 5.19; df = 4)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 2.87; df = 4)$
Fungom	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 3.38; df = 3)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 0.54; df = 3)$
Mundani	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 0.77; df = 2)$	Not rejected $(\chi^2 = 3.00; df = 2)$
Wimbum	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 53.31; df = 4)$	Rejected $(\chi^2 = 24.21; df = 3)$

IV. SUMMARY

Due to the great volume of data to be analyzed, this chapter presented the analysis of the data pertaining to levels of integration, leaving those pertaining to factors related to integration for the succeeding chapter.

Data pertaining to levels of integration were obtained from questionnaires developed for this purpose. Two fundamental analyses were made to establish the characteristics of the instrument: Guttman Scale Analyses and tests for reliability. Guttman Scale Analyses yielded the following coefficients of reproducibility (REP):

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Minimum REP</u>	<u>Maximum REP</u>
School behavior scale	0.68	0.78
Holiday behavior scale	0.72	0.80
Behavior scale	0.71	0.84
Attitude scale	0.59	0.90

A complete list of coefficients of reproducibility (REP) and minimum marginal reproducibility (MMR) is provided in Appendix G. The reliability of the questionnaire was established by Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients as follows:

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Pearson r</u>
School behavior scale	+0.8062
Holiday behavior scale	+0.7988
Attitude scale	+0.9070

After establishing the characteristics of the questionnaire, hypotheses 1 through 26 were tested by data from the questionnaires using the one-way analysis of variance model and the 0.01 level of significance. Data from the sociometric instrument were used to test hypotheses 27 through 29 by the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient using the 0.01 level of significance. Sociometric data was also used to test hypothesis 30 and retest hypotheses 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, and 21 using the chi-square model and the 0.01 level of significance. The settlement of these hypotheses is presented in tabular form for the sake of brevity. See Table 37 on the following page (R = rejected; NR = not rejected). It is noteworthy that in the majority of cases data from the "school" and "holiday" behavior scales could be used to reject the null hypotheses while the data from the attitude scale could not. In those cases where the null hypotheses were rejected, the presence of linear relationships at the 0.01 level of significance were indicated in most cases. The presence of linear trends among scores provided support for related alternate

TABLE 37

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES ANALYSES

Hypothesis	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale	Linear Relations
	School	Holiday		
1	---	R	R	yes
2	R	R	NR	yes
3	---	R	R	yes
4	NR	NR	NR	no
5	R	NR	NR	yes
6	R	R	NR	yes
7	R	R	NR	no
8	R	R	NR	yes
9	R	R	NR	yes
10	NR	NR	NR	no
11	R	R	NR	yes
12	R	R	NR	yes
13	R	R	NR	yes
14	R	R	NR	yes
15	R	R	NR	yes
16	R	NR	R	yes
17	NR	NR	NR	no
18	R	NR	R	no
19	R	R	R	yes
20	NR	NR	NR	no

TABLE 37 (continued)

Hypothesis	Behavior Scales		Attitude Scale	Linear Relations
	School	Holiday		
21	R	R	R	yes
22	R	R	R	yes
23	NR	NR	NR	no
24	NR	NR	NR	no
25	NR	NR	NR	no
26	NR	NR	NR	no
27	R	R	NR	yes
28	R	R	NR	yes
	Schoolwide	Class		
29	NR	NR	---	---
30	R	R	---	---
31	NR	NR	---	---
32	R	R	---	---
	School	Holiday		
2 (retest)	R	R	---	---
4 (retest)	R	R	---	---
7 (retest)	R	R	---	---
18 (retest)	R	R	---	---
19 (retest)	R	R	---	---
21 (retest)	R	R	---	---

hypotheses. When hypotheses were retested by sociometric data, there was agreement in the settlement of the hypotheses when compared with data from the behavior scales in all cases except one (hypothesis 4).

The information obtained by the analyses of data pertaining to levels of integration provides a raison d'etre for the analyses of data pertaining to factors related to integration, which are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES OF DATA PERTAINING TO FACTORS RELATED TO INTEGRATION

Having determined in the previous analyses that significant differences do exist in levels of integration among groups, it is appropriate in this chapter to investigate what factors were perceived by respondents as being encouraging or discouraging to integration. The means used to investigate these factors, which were suggested in questions e through h in chapter II, included closed and open-ended questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire, student interviews, teacher interviews, and comparisons of demographic and sociometric data obtained from the secondary school students. The analyses of these data were done by frequency determination and descriptive content analysis. Although data obtained from questionnaires and interviews overlapped in answering the questions of the study, for the sake of clarity the data are presented here under the headings of the questions rather than by the techniques used to obtain the information.

I. FACTORS ENCOURAGING INTEGRATION

Question e in chapter II asked: Which of the following factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by students to be positively related to cross-tribal integration: academic subjects, extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities, school organization, and aspects of residential life in a boarding school? The answers to this question were obtained from the closed and open-ended questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire and from student and teacher interviews.

Responses from closed questions of the questionnaire. In the fourth part of the questionnaire respondents were asked to mark those experiences in secondary school which encouraged them to seek to make friends with students from other tribes. The frequency of responses for the various factors may be briefly summarized by Table 38 on the following page. A more complete breakdown of the responses by school, class, and sex is provided in Appendix J. Although there were frequent significant differences between schools, there were none between classes across all schools. The apparent sex differences in response were characterized by disproportionately lower frequencies among factors encouraging integration and a disproportionately higher frequency in specifying no factors as encouraging among the girls.

TABLE 38

FACTORS ENCOURAGING CROSS-TRIBAL INTEGRATION:
QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Factors	Frequency	Per Cent*
1. Being in class together.	359	68.5%
2. Extra-curricular activities.	345	65.8
3. Religious instruction and activities.	317	60.5
4. Residential life in a boarding school.	307	58.6
5. Academic subjects.	278	53.1
6. Free-time activities on campus.	267	51.0
7. Off-campus activities.	209	39.9
8. Teachers.	202	38.5
9. Other experiences not listed.	186	35.5
10. None of these.	29	5.5

*Based on a total of 524 students.

Responses from open-ended questions of the questionnaire.

In these questions respondents were asked to explain what specific experience under each of the nine factors listed above encouraged them to make friends with students from other tribes. Summaries of their responses are presented here under the heading of each factor suggested in the questionnaire.

1. Being in class together. The following were the most frequently named experiences in the classroom which encouraged cross-tribal integration:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Interaction, i.e. working, studying, or cooperating together.	124
Learning about each others' customs, tribes, areas, etc.	92
Social contact including sitting together, discussions, good behavior of fellow students, and being sociable.	79

These responses were exemplified by the following quotations taken from various questionnaires:

"We do everything together and forget tribalism."

"Discussing a problem in class and my non-tribal man having a wide knowledge."

"While we study and play, we learn to know more of each other and come closer."

2. Extra-curricular activities. The following were the most frequently named activities which encouraged cross-tribal integration:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Games, including football, basketball, volleyball as well as indoor games.	162
Clubs	89
Work projects	72
Sports and athletics (organized)	61

3. Religious instruction and activities. The most frequently named religious activities which encouraged cross-tribal integration were as follows:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Bible studies and classes.	67
Preaching services.	62
Special activities such as camps, plays, rallies, and annual feasts.	44

4. Residential life in a boarding school. Although a multitude of experiences was listed as encouraging integration in the boarding school situation, they could easily be combined into three general headings:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Proximity--eating, sleeping, living together.	144
Learning from each other--table etiquette, social behavior, new foods, other life-styles, etc.	66
Sharing material things such as food, clothing, personal property, etc.	45

These responses were exemplified by the following quotations taken from various questionnaires:

"We have been together for a long time."

"We are not different from one another."

"We have a wider understanding of the other students as regards their traditions."

"We understand our angers because we belong to the dormitory football team."

5. Academic subjects. Few academic subjects were listed as encouraging cross-tribal integration in the academic or subject-matter aspect. More often, academic subjects were seen as integrative factors because of concomitant aspects. Listed in decreasing order of occurrence were:

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Concomitant Aspect</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1st	English	As a means of communication in a multi-lingual nation.	119
2nd	History	Learning about tribal origins and histories.	112
3rd	Mathematics	Its difficulty generated group study.	56
4th	French	As a means of communication.	43
5th	Geography	Learning about other places and people.	40
6th	Biology	"We are all the same."	33
7th	Physics	Its difficulty generated group study.	25
8th	Literature	Provision of a broader view of mankind.	17

The role which English plays was expressed by two students who wrote:

"I was forced to make friends in the first year because I couldn't understand English well."

"English made me to make friends with them because we speak and understand."

6. Free-time activities on campus. Most responses to this factor were readily grouped under two headings: doing things together (186 responses) and discussion and communication (122 responses). The former included playing, walking, eating, and helping each other; the latter included discussions, advice and "storying" together, as it is called in pidgin-English. The importance of play in cross-tribal integration was aptly described by one student who wrote:

"We play as if one mother has delivered us."

7. Off-campus activities. All responses in this category were combined under two broad headings of equal frequency. One heading, intimate contact, included such activities as visits to other students' homes and travelling together; the other, social interaction, included helping, sharing, playing, learning, and being sociable. One student explained his plight and dependence upon cross-tribal friends when he responded:

"Helping me when I am out of my tribal area."

8. Teachers. Although this factor was listed among others in the questionnaire, a presentation of information on this topic falls more appropriately under question g and is presented later in this chapter.

9. Other experiences. A multitude of experiences or activities was listed under this broad heading. They were categorized as follows:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Musical activities such as singing and dancing.	45
Emotive experiences of friendship (companionship, fellowship).	30
"Getting to know each others' manner of doing things."	24

The emotive experiences of friendship were described by students in such phrases as: "socialism, altruism, brotherhood," "devotedness to one another, practicing charity and making everyone to be always happy," "smiling with them," and "making friends according to my natural likeness for them."

As a summary of the data gathered from the open-ended questions it is of interest to note those factors from among all categories which appeared most frequently in the questionnaire responses. The factor most frequently named was "doing things together during free-time" (f = 186) followed in descending order by: "games"

(f = 162), "living, eating and sleeping together in a boarding school" (f = 144), "working, studying and cooperating together in the classroom" (f = 124), "discussion during free-time" (f = 122), and the two academic subjects: English (f = 119) and history (f = 112). Other factors were reported less frequently. It is noteworthy, too, that one factor--"learning from each other" or "learning about each other"--was not mentioned as frequently in any one category as the previously mentioned factors, but it did appear in the four categories: geography (f = 40), residential life in a boarding school (f = 66), being in class together (f = 92), and other experiences (f = 24). These written responses to open-ended questions were supported by the open-ended questions asked during student interviews.

Responses from student interviews. Interviews were held with 124 students. Oral responses to the question: "What experiences have you had in secondary school which encouraged you to seek to make friends with students from other tribes?" were summarized as shown in Table 39 on the following page. Other factors mentioned in the interviews which were also reported in the questionnaire included French, "doing things together," history, geography, sharing food and personal property, visiting each others' homes, and discussions and "storying" together but were mentioned less frequently than those listed in the table.

TABLE 39
FACTORS ENCOURAGING INTEGRATION:
INTERVIEW RESULTS

Experiences	Frequency Reported	Per Cent*
1. Sports, games, and athletics.	35	28.2%
2. Learning about each others' customs, areas, and life-styles.	34	27.4
3. Academic assistance in mathematics, physics, etc. from other students.	28	22.6
4. Prolonged proximity and contact.	22	17.7
5. Religious instruction and activities.	21	16.9
6. Teachers.	18	14.5
7. Working or studying together.	18	14.5
8. Friendliness and helpfulness of other students.	16	12.9
9. Residential life in a boarding school.	13	10.5
10. Musical activities such as singing and dancing.	13	10.5
11. English.	10	8.1
12. Clubs.	10	8.1
13. Good behavior in others.	10	8.1
14. Recognizing a need for future assistance.	10	8.1

*Based on a total of 124 interviews.

Responses from teacher interviews. Each of the teachers interviewed was asked what activities in school life were possible factors encouraging integration. Very few teachers gave as extensive a list of factors as the students did, but rather explained a few factors in greater depth. Therefore the presentation of a frequency determination is inappropriate as a summarizing technique for these interviews. The following factors were gleaned from notes taken while interviewing teachers:

1. History, biology, domestic science, and literature.
2. Religious activities.
3. Social activities such as clubs, dancing, singing, etc.
4. Speaking other people's vernacular or tribal language.
5. Games and sports.
6. Visiting each others' homes.
7. All-school assemblies and programs.
8. Work projects assigned without tribal references.
9. Students visiting other secondary schools.
10. Students' friendships which often spread to their parents and become a new matrix for social relationships.

To summarize the analyses of factors encouraging cross-tribal integration as suggested in objective e, it is possible to conclude that the following factors, stated in decreasing order of

frequency, may encourage cross-tribal integration: school organization ("being in class together"), extra-curricular activities, residential life in a boarding school, religious instruction and activities, and, finally, academic subjects.

II. FACTORS DISCOURAGING INTEGRATION

Question f in chapter II asked: Which of the above factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by students to be negatively related to cross-tribal integration? The answers to this question were obtained from the closed and open-ended questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire and from student and teacher interviews.

Responses from closed questions of the questionnaire. In the fourth part of the questionnaire respondents were asked to mark those experiences in secondary school which discouraged them from making friends with students from other tribes. The frequency of responses for the various factors is briefly summarized by Table 40. A more complete breakdown of the responses by school, class, and sex is provided in Appendix K. Although there were frequent significant differences between schools, there were few between classes across all schools. The apparent sex differences in responses were characterized by disproportionately lower frequencies among factors

discouraging integration and a disproportionately higher frequency in specifying no factors as discouraging among the girls. These response patterns were similar to those observed in the data on factors encouraging integration and cannot be accounted for by data from this study.

TABLE 40
FACTORS DISCOURAGING INTEGRATION:
QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Factors	Frequency	Per Cent*
1. No experiences were discouraging.	261	49.8%
2. Being in class together.	84	16.0
3. Extra-curricular activities.	81	15.5
4. Off-campus activities.	80	15.3
5. Religious instruction and activities.	74	14.1
6. Academic subjects.	71	13.5
7. Residential life in a boarding school.	69	13.2
8. Other experiences not listed.	65	12.4
9. Free-time activities on the campus.	63	12.0
10. Teachers.	52	9.9

*Based on a total of 524 students.

Responses from open-ended questions of the questionnaire.

In these questions respondents were asked to explain what specific experience under each of the nine factors listed above discouraged them from making friends with students from other tribes. Summaries of their responses are presented here under the heading of each factor suggested in the questionnaire.

1. Being in class together. The following were the most frequently named experiences in the classroom which discouraged cross-tribal integration:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Conflicts resulting from differences in language, custom, or feelings of inferiority.	29
Misconduct or "primitive" behavior including lying, gossiping, provocation, and uncleanness.	25
Academic competition, jealousy, and pride.	7

These responses were exemplified by the following quotations taken from various questionnaires:

"It makes me know those who dislike me, when something happens they save their own tribal friends."

"To see whether I am far in education by comparing with them."

2. Extra-curricular activities. The following were the most frequently named activities which discouraged integration:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Work projects--"only helping their tribal mates."	14
Arguments, quarrels, fights, and rudeness.	12
Discrimination and favoritism in sports and games.	9

3. Off-campus activities. The most frequently named off-campus experiences which discouraged integration were:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Misconduct, lack of self-control, and bad language.	17
Discrimination in social functions.	3
Conflict with local, non-school people.	3

4. Religious instruction and activities. The following were the most frequently named experiences in religious activities which discouraged cross-tribal integration:

<u>Experiences</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Denominational differences.	15
Utilization of traditional charms, fetishes, or superstitions.	8
Use of coercion to join or participate in activities.	6

One student explained his discouraging experience when he wrote:

"In services, they only follow their own members of his tribe."

5. Academic subjects. Few academic subjects were listed as discouraging cross-tribal integration. Those listed included:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
History	9
English	8
Mathematics	4
Chemistry	3
French	3
Physics	2

The following comments from two questionnaires throw some light on why these subjects were named:

"Their [referring to other tribes] history is not all that encouraging."

"They deceive people in English."

6. Residential life in a boarding school. Again a multitude of experiences was named as discouraging integration, but they could be combined into three general headings:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Misbehavior--poor eating habits, "bad" behavior, stealing, unjust punishment by prefects, not bathing.	28
Provocations--favoritism, poisoning, ¹ talking too much, ridicule.	16
Cultural differences--eating strange foods, different life-styles, use of tribal languages.	8

Under this heading appeared the first comments about the prefect system and its negative effects upon cross-tribal integration as demonstrated by the following quotation taken from one questionnaire:

"Dormitory heads [prefects] set those who don't give them garri [a kind of food] in the dormitory on punishment." ²

¹ In many schools student deaths have been attributed to poison.

² Many West Cameroon secondary schools use older students in minor administrative and disciplinary positions. This system of student management and participation in school administration is similar to those found in British public schools where these students are given the title "prefect."

7. Other experiences. Although many experiences were listed as discouraging integration, they could be summarized under two broad headings as follows:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Misconduct--being angry or abusive, disobedience, stealing, refusing help when needed, "bad" character, lack of cleanliness or friendliness, witchcraft, and anti-social attitudes.	36
Favoritism--talk of tribal wars, lack of unity, using tribal languages, not understanding others' traditional culture, partial prefects.	23

The most frequently named single experiences were using tribal languages, stealing, and "bad" character.

8. Free-time activities on the campus. All responses in this category were readily grouped under two headings of equal frequency: misconduct, including rowdyism and quarrelling; and tribalism, including speaking tribal languages and grouping together by tribes.

9. Teachers. Although this factor was listed among others in the questionnaire, a presentation of information on this topic falls more appropriately under question g and is presented later in this chapter.

As a summary of the data gathered from the open-ended questions in the questionnaire, it is of interest to note those factors

which appeared most frequently among all categories. The factor most frequently named was "bad behavior" (f = 89) especially stealing, followed in descending order by "cultural differences" (f = 37), especially the use of tribal languages, and "favoritism" (f = 23). It is also noteworthy that these same factors appeared repeatedly in more than half of the questions asked. These written responses to open-ended questions were supported by the open-ended questions asked during student interviews.

TABLE 41
FACTORS DISCOURAGING INTEGRATION:
INTERVIEW RESULTS

Experiences	Frequency	Per Cent*
1. Exclusiveness, discrimination, favoritism.	14	11.3%
2. Misbehavior.	10	8.1
3. Bad character.	10	8.1
4. Use of witchcraft, "medicine," and poison.	7	5.6
5. Cultural differences: "behavior different from mine."	6	4.8
6. Use of tribal languages.	6	4.8
7. Stealing.	5	4.0

*Based on a total of 124 interviews.

Responses from student interviews. Oral responses to the question: "What experiences have you had in secondary school which discouraged you from seeking to make friends with students from other tribes?" were obtained from 124 students and were summarized by Table 41 on the previous page.

Responses from teacher interviews. Each of the teachers interviewed was asked what activities in school life were possible factors discouraging cross-tribal integration. Very few teachers gave extensive lists of factors, but rather explained a few factors in greater depth. Therefore the presentation of a frequency determination is inappropriate as a summarizing technique for these interviews. The following factors were gleaned from notes taken during teacher interviews:

1. Tribal or regional favoritism practiced by prefects.
2. Use of tribal languages.
3. Tribal or regional student meetings or clubs.
4. Tribal or regional emphasis in sports.
5. Tribal or regional competition in any school activities.
6. Conflict and rivalry over girls in co-educational schools.
7. Reviving ancient tribal animosities while studying tribal wars in history.

8. Thefts with their resulting tribal accusations.
9. Tribal dances.
10. Elections of prefects or other officers from among the student body.
11. Denominationally-oriented religious activities.³

To summarize the analyses of factors discouraging cross-tribal integration as suggested in objective f, it is possible to conclude that the following factors, stated in decreasing order of frequency, may discourage cross-tribal integration: school organization ("being in class together"), extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities, academic subjects, and, finally, residential life in a boarding school. It must be emphasized that the greatest frequency of responses indicated that no experiences in secondary school had discouraged students in seeking to make cross-tribal friendships.

Fifty-five fourth year students at the secondary school at Bali were asked to write essays on tribal conflict in secondary schools. Some of the more poignant essays are reproduced in Appendix B as examples of students' experiences in school which were perceived as being detrimental to cross-tribal integration.

³ Certain Christian denominations tend to be associated with certain tribes for historic reasons.

III. THE TEACHER AS AN INTEGRATIVE AGENT

Question g in chapter II asked: "Are teachers perceived by students and teachers as being integrative agents?" The answer to this question was obtained from students' replies to the questions about factors related to integration in the fourth part of the questionnaire and from student interviews. Teachers also provided insight into this question during interviews conducted with them.

Responses from students' questionnaires and interviews.

In the closed questions of the questionnaire students were asked to indicate if they perceived teachers as a factor encouraging or discouraging integration. Although 38.5 per cent of the students responded that they perceived teachers as factors encouraging integration, the item "teachers" ranked eighth out of ten factors encouraging integration. The item "teachers" ranked tenth out of ten factors discouraging integration and was perceived as a discouraging factor by only 9.9 per cent of the 524 students questioned.

In the open-ended questions students were asked to tell specifically what experiences they had had which resulted in their perceiving teachers as factors encouraging or discouraging integration. The following were the experiences named by students which resulted in their perceiving teachers as agents encouraging integration:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Teachers' helpfulness and advice.	40
Professional competence.	35
Teachers' friendliness and kindness.	19
Learning new behaviors (non-academic) from teachers.	11
Teachers' impartiality.	7
Teachers' integration among themselves.	6

The experiences named by students which resulted in their perceiving teachers as factors discouraging integration were:

<u>Experience</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Favoritism	14
Injustice	7
Strictness or harshness	5
Failing students	3
Poor teaching techniques	2

In student interviews teachers were not mentioned as discouraging factors but were labelled as integrative agents by 14.51 per cent of those interviewed. Out of a ten-item list of factors which encourage integration, students ranked teachers as sixth in this list.

Responses from teacher interviews. During interviews, teachers were asked to express their views regarding the teacher's role as an agent for cross-tribal integration. Although most teachers perceived their role as encouraging integration, they were able to list substantially more ways in which a teacher could become an agent discouraging integration. Teachers reported the following as means by which they can encourage integration:

1. Arranging tribally-mixed seating and grouping for all student activities.
2. Demonstrating impartiality. Those teachers who have special responsibilities in a boarding school, such as house masters or advisors, must especially maintain impartiality.
3. Discouraging students from discriminating or making discriminatory statements.
4. Being a loved and respected teacher permits him to become an integrative influence among students.
5. Having a school staff which is integrated itself. Many teachers felt the staff of which they were a member was not integrated, racially or tribally. They believed that a tribally-mixed staff is necessary for encouraging integration among students.

6. Having expatriate teachers on the staff who maintain an objective, non-tribal attitude. Missionary teachers were perceived as integrative agents to the extent that their religious emphases are broader than denominational limits. Expatriate teachers with long service in Cameroon were also perceived as an integrative influence because of their understanding of student and national tribal problems.

Teachers reported that it is possible for teachers to discourage cross-tribal integration by the following means:

1. If teachers ridicule students regarding their tribal origin or characteristics, or, conversely, support or praise their own tribe with the implied depreciation of others.
2. If teachers tend to discipline one student frequently, others assume he is discriminating against that student's tribe. As one teacher said, "Tribal friction starts with teachers and spreads to students."
3. If teachers associate with students from their own tribe, others will react by withdrawing into tribal groups.
4. If teachers permit students to visit their homes, the suspicion of favoritism is created. Favoritism, the

most frequently mentioned factor discouraging integration, may also exist in admission policies or practices, dismissals, marking students' work, discipline, partaking in students' tribal societies, and in giving special advice or warnings.

5. If expatriate teachers show lack of knowledge or interest in fellow-staff members or students. Short-term expatriate teachers were perceived as a possible factor discouraging integration because of their limited experience with Cameroon students.
6. If teachers are quarrelsome and antagonistic.
7. If teachers emphasize their own tribal origin or expatriate teachers inquire too frequently into the tribal origins of students.
8. If teachers praise students from their own tribe.
9. If teachers originate from the schools' localities, they are placed in the role of helper and counsellor, thus becoming a source of discrimination.
10. If teachers hire students from a particular tribe for private work or for running errands, this is viewed as discrimination.

11. If the majority of teachers of a school are from one tribe, as was the case in two of the five secondary schools studied.
12. If teachers permit themselves to become involved in students' tribal problems or yield to the preferential treatment sometimes solicited by students.

Most teachers reported that they perceived themselves as being integrative agents; only a few would agree with the teacher who frankly said, "Teachers can't do anything effective to decrease tribalism."

IV. TRIBAL REPRESENTATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Research carried out in West Africa by Foster and Clignet focused attention on the problem of tribal inequalities in secondary school admission and attendance.⁴ This suggested the concurrent investigation conducted to answer question h which asked: "What relationships exist between tribal representation and secondary

⁴Philip J. Foster, "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," Comparative Education Review, VI (October, 1962), pp. 127-135; Remi Clignet, "Ethnicity, Social Differentiation, and Secondary Schooling in West Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, VII (Summer, 1967), pp. 360-378; and Remi Clignet and Philip J. Foster, The Fortunate Few (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966).

school admissions and attendance?" In the sociometric instrument students were asked to indicate their own tribal affiliation. This information was then compared with state-wide population statistics from the 1964 demographic survey in order to investigate this question.⁵ Unfortunately the report of this survey grouped the various tribes in West Cameroon into "strata" thus complicating the comparisons which were made with information gathered from students. Appendix L presents the tribal composition of the twenty-one strata. The population of each stratum is presented in Appendix M while regional populations are presented in Appendix N. The sociometric data obtained from students was tabulated by sex and tribal strata (Appendices O and P), by sex and regional population (Appendices Q and R), and by schools and tribal strata (Appendix S). These two sets of data were then used to provide an indicator showing the ratio between secondary school attendance and state-wide population among the tribal strata. The ratio for secondary school attendance was obtained by dividing the number of representatives of each tribal strata in each school by the total population of that school. State-wide population ratios of tribal strata were obtained by dividing the

⁵ Société d'Etudes pour le Développement Economique et Social, The Population of West Cameroon: Main Findings of the Demographic Survey of West Cameroon, 1964 (Paris: Rue de Lille, 1966), pp. A-5 to A-7.

population of each tribal strata by the total state-wide population.

The indicator of the ratio between these two ratios, called the "selectivity index," was calculated by dividing the school population ratio by the state-wide population ratio. This "selectivity index" was used in the following tables. A "selectivity index" of 1.00 indicates that the tribal representation in schools approximates the tribal representation in the state-wide population, while ratios greater or less than 1.00 indicate student populations which are greater or less than their tribal populations. Tables 42 and 43 compare male and female school populations in the five secondary schools studied by tribal strata and regions.

The following observations are clearly evident from a survey of these statistics:

1. Grassland male students exceed females in secondary school attendance while forest region females exceed males.
2. Grassland tribes exceed forest region tribes in secondary school attendance.
3. Among the male students sampled, tribal strata 11, 15, and "other" far exceed the remaining tribal strata in secondary school attendance. ("Other" includes Hausas, Fulanis, Nigerians, and East Cameroonians.)

TABLE 42

TRIBAL ORIGINS OF STUDENTS COMPARED WITH THE
DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION

Tribes by Census Strata	General Population Proportion %	Male Sampled Students %	Selectivity Index	Female Sampled Students %	Selectivity Index
Forest Region	36.3%	23.0%	0.6	30.9%	0.9
1	4.4	3.7	0.8	10.7	2.4
2	4.5	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.1
3	4.9	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.1
4	4.3	3.3	0.8	6.7	1.6
5	3.9	5.3	1.4	5.1	1.3
6	4.9	2.3	0.5	0.2	0.04
7	4.9	5.2	1.1	6.0	1.2
8	4.5	1.1	0.2	1.1	0.2
Grasslands	63.7%	77.0%	1.2	69.1%	1.1
9	6.1	6.9	1.1	7.1	1.2
10	3.8	3.7	1.0	0.6	0.2
11	3.4	8.4	2.5	6.8	2.0
12	3.0	3.3	1.1	3.4	1.1
13	6.1	5.9	1.0	3.6	0.6
14	6.4	3.8	0.6	2.5	0.4
15	8.6	26.5	3.1	26.0	3.0
16	2.7	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.1
17	4.1	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.1
18	3.9	2.3	0.6	3.1	0.8
19	5.4	7.4	1.4	3.1	0.6
20	4.2	1.5	0.4	0.3	0.07
21	3.1	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.2
Other	2.9	5.6	1.9	11.3	3.9
Total	100.0%	100.0% (1291)	---	100.0% (645)	---

TABLE 43

**REGIONAL ORIGINS OF STUDENTS COMPARED WITH THE
DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL REGIONAL POPULATION**

1964 Census Regions	General Population Proportion %	Male Sampled Students %	Selectivity Index	Female Sampled Students %	Selectivity Index
Forest Region	44.3%	24.9%	0.6	38.1%	0.9
Victoria	12.5	5.2	0.4	14.4	1.2
Kumba	19.9	11.2	0.6	16.4	0.8
Mamfe	11.9	8.5	0.8	7.3	0.6
Grasslands	55.7%	74.4%	1.3	61.9%	1.1
Bamenda	35.6	61.3	1.7	53.8	1.5
Wum	10.2	3.7	0.4	3.9	0.4
Nkambe	9.9	9.4	0.9	4.2	0.4
Totals	100.0%	99.3%* (1281)	---	100.0% (645)	---

***Not included are 10 foreign students.**

4. Among the female students sampled, tribal strata 1, 11, 15, and "other" far exceed the remaining tribal strata in secondary school attendance.

The tribal differentiation of educational opportunity portrayed by these tables follows many of the sexual, regional, and tribal trends observed in Foster and Clignet's studies.

V. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION FROM STUDENT INTERVIEWS

In addition to providing answers to the specific questions asked in this study, interviews with students provided supplemental information which had bearing upon this study but which is not readily included in the analyses of data presented under the previous headings. This supplemental information is presented here in order to preserve the information and also to add depth of understanding to the topics related to the problem of cross-tribal integration.

The role of the school. Students were asked whether they perceived the school as an integrative agent or as an agent reinforcing tribal particularism. The replies of 100 students interviewed were as follows:

- the secondary school encourages integration: 73.
- the secondary school discourages integration: 2.

- the secondary school can do both: 9.
- the secondary school has no effect upon integration: 16.

These observations are congruent with data obtained from the questionnaires even though the written questionnaire, its language, and the type of questions asked were relatively foreign to the students.

Institutionalized friendships. Some of the West Cameroon secondary schools have institutionalized friendship relationships between younger students ("smalls") and older students ("big's"). This relationship is a voluntary, mutual-aid agreement which is made consciously, but without formality, between one older student and one or more younger ones. In return for the older student's protection, academic and financial help, advice, and reflected status, the "small" agrees to wash or iron his "big's" clothes and dishes, run errands for him, or help him in other menial tasks. "Big's" choose their "smalls" after observing them during the first few weeks at school. In some cases "smalls" are chosen because of former acquaintance during primary school days or because of younger students' parents' requests. If the relationship is a happy one, it may terminate only when the "big" leaves secondary school at the completion of his course. This relationship has been institutionalized by the schools in an effort to avoid conflicts and abuse. During the interviews students were asked whether they had a "big"



or a "small," how the selection had been made, and what tribal affiliations were involved. Of the 100 students asked these questions, seventy-three were partners in such a relationship, 67.1% of them being partners with students from tribes other than their own and only 32.9% of them being partners with students from their own tribe. It is noteworthy that so few of these important relationships were with students from the same tribe.

Perception of "my tribe." Students were also asked how they perceived their own tribe in relation to other tribes whose representatives they had met at school or elsewhere. Of the thirty-five students asked, 57.1% felt their tribe was equally as good as any others, 22.9% felt their tribe was not as good as others, while 20.0% felt their tribe was better than most others. Considering the tribal consciousness and conflicts which exist among students, it is noteworthy that so few felt their tribe was not better than all the others; the implication being that tribal consciousness does not involve prejudice as much as it does attitudes of other dimensions, such as loyalty.

Voluntary associations. In chapter II the role of voluntary associations as a means of integrating society was presented. During interviews students were asked about their membership in such

clubs or societies. Because of their prominence in West African society, it was anticipated that most students would have membership in various types of voluntary associations. This was not the case. Among the 524 students who completed the questionnaire, only 141 belonged to non-school voluntary associations. In probing for the reasons for this, the following factors were revealed:

1. Remoteness of residence prohibits membership.
2. No voluntary associations exist in many students' home areas.
3. Most such associations are for older people only; not for students.
4. No time is available to participate because of studies or being away at school.
5. Students usually do not have the money needed to participate.
6. Membership in some is prevented because of lack of invitation, permission, or parents' approval.
7. Students fear participation with people of higher status.

It was to be expected, therefore, that voluntary association membership would give little indication of levels of integration.

Elements of friendship. A thorough explanation of the types of friendships recognized in Cameroon was presented in chapter IV in relation to the development of the instrument to measure level of integration. Student interviews were the prime source of this concept. In addition, students' very frequent reference to three elements of friendship makes their mention here appropriate. When asked why they had friends, students' invariable replies included one or both of the following concepts: empathy ("he is like me, " "I am like him, " or "I want to be like him") and help ("I have friends so they can help me"). Whether this great dependence upon others for "help" is the result of poverty, parental training, feelings of helplessness derived from a non-scientific world-view, disease, or other cultural values is a topic worthy of further research. A third element in friendships mentioned by students was the attraction they felt for those students who displayed the socially-acceptable behavior which they see as necessary for social mobility and acceptance in modern, urban society. They actively seek to befriend such fellow-students, especially if they come from tribes other than their own.

Origins of tribes. Crawford Young and other scholars have found cases of "tribes" which historically were not tribes at all but were rather groups of people who had been labelled as such by foreigners who had come in earlier days. Such a case was described

by one student during an interview and later confirmed, without solicitation, by two other interviews. The Balundu "tribe" is evidently not a tribe at all. Balundu is known to be a small village in Kumba Division and was the home of a former plantation foreman during the days of German administration of coastal plantations. When plantation workers were recruited from the area surrounding Balundu, men from such tribes as Bakundu, Balue, Ngolo, and Mbonge were all labelled "Balundu" tribesmen because the foreman from the village of Balundu was the only man on the plantation who could understand their dialect. Today, "Balundu" is generally accepted as being a tribe.

Interviews also revealed that students do not consider homogeneity of language or culture as a necessary part of the definition of tribe. Students repeatedly reported that their tribes' origins depend upon common kinship, myth, and point of origin. These were viewed as the ultimate criteria for the identification of a tribe. Most tribes in West Cameroon trace their origin to a time when a conflict over succession to the throne divided the parent group to which they had originally belonged.

Proximity relationships. In an effort to support the previously established validity of the instruments used in this study,

students were asked to specify the name, tribe and closeness of their relationship to those with whom they are in close proximity when in their classroom seats, their dining room seats, or their beds in the dormitories. The responses to these questions were summarized in Table 44. It was expected that percentages based on friends from their own tribe would decrease in the three categories (classroom seats, beds in dormitories, and seats at meals) over the five years represented by the five class levels, but this was not unanimous. The trend of increasing relationships with students from tribes other than their own was shown by increasing percentages over the five years. The increasing percentage of proximity to students who are not personal friends was unaccounted for except in the case of fifth year students, most of whom were prefects and were obliged by their responsibilities to position themselves for maximum disciplinary control.

Although student interviews were very productive, their fruitfulness was greatly enhanced by the frankness and openness of E. B. Ngafeeson, a secondary school student at Ndu, who, with his friends, was able to explain some of the cultural aspects of friendship in the Cameroonian context which ultimately led to the conceptualization of the three types of friendship.

TABLE 44

SPACIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

	Proximity Relationships															
	Adjacent Classroom Seats								Adjacent Beds in Dorms							
	Class Levels								Class Levels							
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
With friends from their own tribe	25.0%	17.6%	12.4%	20.0%	16.1%	16.7%	17.6%	6.3%	40.0%	35.5%	0	11.7%	12.5%	26.6%	12.9%	
With friends from outside their tribe	16.7	35.4	25.0	26.6	25.8	8.3	35.3	25.0	26.7	19.4	0	0	12.5	20.0	19.4	
With both types of friends	0	5.9	0	6.7	6.5	0	5.9	0	0	0	0	5.9	0	6.7	0	
Had no choice in the matter	41.6	17.6	31.3	40.0	29.0	58.3	29.4	37.5	13.3	16.1	91.7	41.2	25.0	40.0	41.9	
With students who are not personal friends	16.7	23.5	31.3	6.7	22.6	16.7	11.8	31.2	20.0	29.0	8.3	41.2	50.0	6.7	25.8	
Total	100.0% (12)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (31)	100.0% (12)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (31)	100.0% (12)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (31)	

VI. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION FROM TEACHER INTERVIEWS

Interviews with teachers were rich sources of supplemental information regarding the role of the school in the process of integration, the causes and manifestations of tribalism, voluntary associations, and friendships.

The role of the school. Thirty teachers of the forty-nine interviewed were asked what is the role of the secondary school in the process of integration. Fifty per cent expressed the belief that the secondary school encourages cross-tribal integration, 16.7% indicated that it discourages integration, 20% indicated that it can do both, and 10% did not know. The ways in which schools can encourage integration, as reported by teachers, are:

1. By enforcing proximity and prolonged contact.
2. By minimizing tribal differences.
3. By ensuring tribally-mixed admissions into new classes every year.
4. By teaching students how to interact with each other, regardless of tribe or origin.
5. By providing opportunities for travel with its resulting benefits.

6. By ensuring cooperative, positive staff attitudes towards students from all tribes.
7. By widening outlooks and perspectives.
8. By giving students the opportunity to learn from each other.
9. By presenting new roles and values in a new and relatively strange environment which may be more conducive to reorienting behavior.
10. By encouraging curiosity in the students, thus increasing their desire to learn about others.
11. By providing residential facilities which increase contact, interaction, and learning.
12. By providing students the opportunity to compare their cultural traditions and heritages.
13. By providing a set of common goals and standards of behavior within which students become a unitary "social body," as one teacher labelled it.
14. By locating schools in widespread areas rather than locating the majority of them in one area or one type of environment.
15. By providing sufficient playground and sports facilities.

16. By ensuring that students' basic needs are met, thus removing the insecurities of poverty and other social ills which can feed tribal competition.
17. By providing co-educational opportunities, thereby encouraging girls to broaden their experiences and perspectives.
18. By removing children from the inhibiting traditionalism which can be found in some students' homes or residential areas.
19. By emphasizing new, non-tribal affiliations.
20. By providing networks of non-tribal groups such as classes, forms, dormitories, clubs, sports teams, etc.
21. By encouraging former students to form "old boys' associations" which can become powerful in society after students' departure from secondary school.
22. By instilling self-discipline and self-reliance thus freeing students from a sense of helplessness and tribal dependence.

Although teachers recognized the school's possible integrative role in society, they also realized that the school can discourage integration by the following means:

1. By creating and perpetuating the elite-mass gap between the educated and the uneducated.
2. By becoming a haven for "problem children" whose selfishness and egotism disrupt the potential unity of the student body.
3. By perpetuating educational stratification on the basis of status of the schools attended.
4. By creating conflict and friction between school personnel and the local population.
5. By having one dominant tribe constitute the majority of students or staff members.
6. By accentuating tribal aspects of problems.
7. By permitting religious or political considerations in decisions regarding the admission of new students.
8. By producing more highly qualified people, thus increasing their economic power which increases competition and tribal rivalry. One teacher explained this when he said, "Education doesn't cause tribalism, but it does provide the opportunity to express it."
9. By preferential distribution of scholarships.
10. By creating emotional tensions which generate conflicts among students and staff members especially in the final year near examination time.

11. By permitting historic or current tribal tensions to be activated among the students.
12. By favoring the cultural fashions or traditions of one particular tribe or region.
13. By permitting or encouraging academic competition until it generates tribal conflict or jealousies.
14. By being controlled or financed by an agency which is tribally or regionally oriented.
15. By remaining secluded and isolated from the surrounding community.

During interviews teachers expressed the opinion that schools were not being used to further cross-tribal integration as they might be.

Tribes. No incongruences became evident between teachers' and students' reports concerning the definition and origins of tribes. Teachers agreed with students' statements that linguistic homogeneity is not a necessary characteristic of Cameroon tribes. Teachers' statements also supported the myths of tribal origin involving fragmentation of earlier groups because of power struggles, which students reported in their interviews. Teachers were able to elaborate upon these by adding the factors of migration, invasion, and slavery which also contributed to fragmentation and division. Because today's

Cameroon tribes recognize that they originated from larger groups, a problem of determining tribal affiliation arose, for one was never sure, unless deeper inquiry was made, whether the answer to the question, "What is your tribe?" would be the name of the fragmented group recognized today or the name of the older, larger group of origin. For example, a Widekum man may also be a Moghamo man, or a Meta man, or an Ngemba man, or an Ngie man, or an Ngwaw man, for Widekum is the name of the older group of origin as well as the name of a small tribe and a small village today. Teachers also reported that the names of some tribes, as used today, are not tribal names at all but derived from foreigners' classifications of groups. In some cases, during the earliest days of foreign contact, Cameroon place names or descriptive words were used by the foreigner to label tribes. An example is the name Kembong which is accepted today as the name of a specific group but which was derived from a mispronunciation of a Cameroon expression meaning "those who travel." It is also commonly reported, and supported by teacher and student interviews, that the groups who are known today as Ngemba, Menemo, and Moghamo were labelled as such by foreigners who recognized that these people used the words "ngemba," "menemo," and "moghamo" as does the Englishman who says "I say" to gain someone's attention before continuing his statement.

As a result of this information from teachers, it was possible to be very careful when trying to determine students' tribal affiliations during the sociometric questions. Because of the cultural differences between grassland and forest region tribes, it was also necessary to carefully determine the line of demarcation between these cultural areas. From information gleaned from teachers it was possible to distinguish between the geographical boundary and the cultural boundary between the two. The problem arose with the Widekum people who are located in the forest region adjacent to the grasslands. Through teacher interviews it was possible to determine that these people are culturally related to the grassland tribes rather than the forest region tribes surrounding them. This cultural difference is manifested by differences in marriage customs, palm oil production, death celebrations, and language--all of which was described by one teacher as "a terrible difference." This was found to apply to the Bangwa and Mundani people also.

Tribalism. Lengthy discussions were carried on with teachers about tribalism, its source, and its manifestations. Many teachers reported that they believe that tribalism has increased since 1940 because of increased personal ambition, rising expectations, and, more recently, rising unemployment. Three female teachers candidly reported that they believe that tribalism has

increased since independence in 1960. Tribalism was described as superseding friendships should a situation arise which called for a choice of allegiance. Teachers explained that parents tend to be more tribalistic than their children because of unemployment and economic competition from which their children in school are still shielded to some extent. In Cameroon, children are often trained by their grandparents, with the result that traditional behaviors and stereotypes are instilled early and endure longer.

Teachers offered several interesting definitions of tribalism during interviews. One teacher described tribalism as a culturally-based group consciousness in which normative behavior demands that you "put your own first." When "your man is up in the plum tree," the saying goes, your people will benefit. Teachers reported that tribalism, or familial favoritism as some described it, is a "natural thing" in Cameroon society. Another teacher defined tribalism as a "group manifestation of individualism." Others equated tribalism with the "struggle for existence" which is made more difficult in Cameroon by geographic and technological factors. Some teachers expressed the opinion that tribalism developed only when the colonial administrators established "qualifications" for various jobs and social statuses. Other teachers believed that tribalism originated before "qualifications" became the criteria for desirable

and powerful positions. All agreed that unemployment, poverty, scarcity, a drive for security in a changing society, desire for prestige, and trying to maintain or enhance one's standard of living are factors which support or perpetuate tribalism.

During interviews teachers were asked which man they believed to be the most tribalistic: the uneducated farmer, the trained primary school teacher, or the university graduate in a high administrative post. Their insightful response was that the farmer was probably the most tribalistic but in his situation in the rural area among his own people he had little opportunity to demonstrate his tribalism. The highly educated administrator, on the other hand, may have many, many more cross-tribal friends and associations, but in his position he can demonstrate his tribalism in the most dramatic ways, and is expected by his relatives to do so, although he may not feel the need to do so for his own gain. Therefore, the teachers decided, the man who is the most tribalistic is the insecure, poorly educated and therefore unqualified leader who must meet the demands made upon him for favors, maintain his insecure, high position of leadership, and at the same time raise his own standard of living. These three elements form a self-perpetuating cycle of interaction in which each element supports the other two and any weakness causes a deterioration of relationships and status.

Tribalism was a very popular topic of discussion among the teachers, possibly because they did not feel themselves immune to its consequences or its obligations.

Voluntary associations. Teachers' responses to questions concerning the part which secondary school students play in voluntary associations supported the students' responses on the same topic. Teachers considered secondary school students too young and financially unable to participate in cross-tribal voluntary clubs or societies. They also agreed that students from rural areas have very few opportunities to join such groups because rural clubs or societies tend to be mono-tribal and exclusive in membership.

Friendships. Interviews with teachers also contributed toward the conceptualization of the types of friendship and their behavioral manifestations presented in chapter IV. They emphasized that friends are often sought for personal gain in their society where scarcity is a prominent factor in life. Affectionate or "tight" friendships develop among those who are similar in various characteristics or who share similar interests and abilities. Another powerful force drawing students together, they reported, is the desire to learn socially-acceptable behavior from those who display these talents. This attractive element in friendships was also

frequently mentioned in student interviews. Teachers also recognized the element of "help" in friendships, which was so frequently reported by students in their interviews. Teachers explained this strong emphasis upon "help" by noting that they consider the idea of "stretching the hand to help" a cultural value which is taught by parents and considered normative and desirable behavior.

Teachers had some interesting comments to make concerning the "after secondary school" aspects of school friendships. A majority of the teachers interviewed believed that school friendships persist after students leave school and cited examples of enduring cross-tribal friendships which even withstood recent violent tribal conflicts. Teachers also reported that two of the older secondary schools in West Cameroon are known as the source of "old boys' associations" which were formed by their former students and which have, in recent years, become active and powerful in administrative circles in many areas of the nation. These associations are cross-tribally integrated but become the source of new social differentiations and tensions, they reported. For those secondary school students who go on to post-secondary school institutions for further education, tremendous social and political pressures exert their influence on those students and result in increased social and political sensitivity and activity within student-based voluntary associations.

Although these new associations may be the sources of additional cross-tribal friendships, they are also the frequent source of new cleavages, the ramifications of which, because of their political involvement, extend far beyond the educational institutions which house them.

VII. SUMMARY

Information on factors related to cross-tribal integration was obtained by closed and open-ended questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire, by student and teacher interviews, and by comparisons of demographic and sociometric data. Data obtained from these sources were analyzed by frequency determination and descriptive content analysis.

One of the objectives of this study was to determine the factors in secondary school which encourage integration. Responses from the closed questions of the questionnaire indicated the four most encouraging factors to be (1) being in class together, (2) extra-curricular activities, (3) religious instruction and activities, and (4) residential life in a boarding school. Responses from open-ended questions in the questionnaire supported these observations and added games, doing things together during free-time, and learning from each other. In student interviews the factors most frequently mentioned were: games, sports and athletics, learning

about each other's customs and traditions, and helping each other with academic problems. During interviews teachers stressed the importance of history, religious, social and sports activities, student friendships and visits to other's homes and schools as factors encouraging integration.

Another objective of this study was to determine which factors in secondary school discourage cross-tribal integration. The most frequent response from the closed questions in the questionnaire was that nothing in the students' experiences had discouraged their efforts to integrate. Misbehavior, cultural differences, and favoritism were the factors most frequently named by students in the open-ended questions of the questionnaire. Student interviews emphasized favoritism, discrimination, and exclusiveness as the most powerful discouraging experiences influencing integration. During their interviews, teachers listed favoritism by prefects, use of tribal languages, tribal or regional emphasis in sports, academic competition, clubs, and dances, and denominationally-oriented religious activities as being detrimental to integration.

In reply to questions about the role of the teacher as an integrative agent, students ranked teachers eighth out of ten factors encouraging integration and tenth out of ten factors discouraging

integration. In the open-ended question of the questionnaire, teachers were never mentioned as factors discouraging integration, but teachers' helpfulness and professional competence ranked high as factors encouraging integration. In student interviews teachers were ranked sixth out of ten factors encouraging integration. In their interviews, teachers named the following means by which they could be more effective integrative agents:

1. Arranging tribally-mixed seating and grouping for all activities.
2. Demonstrating impartiality.
3. Discouraging student discrimination.
4. Being a loved or respected teacher.
5. Having a school staff which is integrated itself.

Teachers also realized that it is possible for them to hinder integration by ridiculing students, discriminating, associating with students from only one tribe, failing to understand students' tribal conflicts, being antagonistic, emphasizing their own tribal origins, or permitting themselves to become involved with students' tribal problems.

The fourth question investigated in this chapter was the existence of relationships between tribal representation and secondary school attendance. Sociometric data were compared with statistics from the 1964 demographic survey of West Cameroon to

determine whether tribal differentiation of educational opportunity existed in West Cameroon. Statistics from the five secondary schools studied indicated that regional male-female imbalances exist among students, grassland tribes exceed forest region tribes, and tribal strata 1, 11, 15, and "others," which includes Nigerians and East Camerounians, markedly exceed other tribal strata in secondary school attendance.

Supplemental information gained from student interviews was also presented on the topics of the role of the school in integration, institutionalized friendships, tribal self-perceptions, voluntary associations, elements of friendship, origins of tribes, and proximity relationships with other students.

Supplemental information obtained from teacher interviews included the positive and negative role of the school in integration, definitions and histories of tribes, sources and manifestations of tribalism, voluntary associations, and the post-secondary school aspects of friendships.

In addition to the information presented in this chapter, teachers made specific suggestions how the secondary school could be developed into a more potent agent to encourage cross-tribal integration. Because their recommendations constitute part of the recommendations of this study, they will be summarized in the next

chapter in which all conclusions, evaluations, and recommendations are presented.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This concluding chapter is divided into two parts in an effort to present adequately the conclusions, implications, and recommendations which result from this research. The first part is concerned with possible answers to the basic problem of this study: under what conditions are the secondary schools agents of cross-tribal, social integration in West Cameroon? The specific questions derived from this problem are answered by information gathered and analyzed in terms of the two aspects considered in the preceding two chapters, namely levels of integration and factors related to integration. After a summary of the conclusions and implications of these parts of the study, recommendations are suggested concerning means by which secondary schools may be made more effective agents encouraging cross-tribal integration. The second part of this chapter attempts to clarify concepts used in the light of what was learned in this study and suggests their wider

implications for Cameroon and today's world in general. Suggestions for possible future research conclude the chapter.

I. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The previous two chapters presented analyses of data without evaluations, interpretations, or conclusions. These are presented here under the headings of levels of integration and factors related to integration, each being subdivided according to the questions for which they supply possible answers. These conclusions and interpretations culminate in the presentation of specific recommendations regarding means of strengthening the school's role as an integrative agent.

Levels of Integration

The analyses of data based upon levels of integration were made by testing each hypothesis by several scales or questions, depending upon the instrument used. Before making conclusions and interpreting these analyses, it was necessary, therefore, to establish some criteria upon which to base the evaluation of the analyses results. A cursory glance at Table 38 reveals that agreement among all tests used was rare. It was therefore necessary to establish the following criteria for the interpretation of the analyses:

1. In cases where the null hypothesis was rejected or was not rejected on the basis of data from all three scales of the questionnaire or from both questions of the sociometric instrument, that conclusion was, of course, retained and labelled NOT SUPPORTED or SUPPORTED, respectively.
2. In cases where the null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the two behavior scales, and was not rejected on the basis of data from the attitude scale, the hypothesis was concluded as being rejected and labelled NOT SUPPORTED. In cases of disagreement in the data from the two sociometric questions, the hypothesis was concluded as being rejected and labelled NOT SUPPORTED.
3. In cases where the null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale, and could not be rejected on the basis of data from the "holiday" and the attitude scales, the hypothesis was concluded as being not rejected and labelled SUPPORTED.
4. In cases where the null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of data from the "holiday" scale, and could not be rejected on the basis of data from the "school" scale

and the attitude scale, the hypothesis was concluded as being not rejected and labelled SUPPORTED.

The underlying assumptions in these criteria were as follows:

1. The fact that all except four of the null hypotheses in which the attitude scale was used, could not be rejected on the basis of data from that scale, suggested that either the attitude scale was a weak differentiating instrument or that attitudes simply did not vary that much among the students tested.
2. Behavior scales were considered more powerful indicators of cross-tribal integration, or lack of it, than were attitude scales which asked respondents what they "thought" or "felt" about various activities.
3. The "holiday" scale was probably the most significant of all. Activities conducted in holiday situations are usually carried out in an atmosphere which is relatively less integrative or less permissive with regard to integration than that found in secondary schools.

Hypothesis related to question a. Question a asked: Is there a difference in the increase of cross-tribal integration between those who attended secondary school and those who did not during the five year period after primary school, when compared with levels of

integration at the end of primary school? Hypothesis 1, which predicted no difference in levels of integration between terminal primary school students, secondary-age non-students, and fifth year secondary school students, was NOT SUPPORTED. It was therefore concluded that differences do exist and, in light of the higher mean score of the secondary school sample, that the secondary school did contribute to this increased level of integration.

Hypotheses related to question b. Question b asked: Does cross-tribal integration increase with an increase in the number of years spent in secondary school? Hypotheses 2 and 3, which predicted no difference in the levels of integration between students in the various class levels of secondary school, former secondary school students, and students at a post-secondary school institution, were found to be NOT SUPPORTED. Hypothesis 2 was also tested by sociometric data and NOT SUPPORTED. Linear trends in the scores with respect to both hypotheses suggested that levels of integration increase with an increase in the number of years spent in secondary school. The implication derived from this observation was that a positive relationship exists between level of integration and time spent in secondary school.

Hypotheses related to question c. Question c asked: What relationships exist between students' backgrounds and their levels

of cross-tribal integration? Hypotheses 4 through 17 investigated possible relationships between levels of integration and students' backgrounds by predicting no difference in the levels of integration among groups categorized by various background factors. Following the established criteria, hypotheses 4, 5, 10, and 17 were SUPPORTED while all others were not. Hypotheses 4 and 7 were also tested by sociometric data and NOT SUPPORTED. Thus hypothesis 7 was NOT SUPPORTED by both tests, but hypothesis 4 was SUPPORTED by all three scales of the questionnaire but NOT SUPPORTED by the sociometric data. The explanation for this incongruence was not apparent. Therefore the following general summary was made concerning students' backgrounds and their levels of integration: sex, age, academic standing, and polygynous family structure apparently have no significant influence upon level of integration, while birthplace, region, residence, religion, urban experience, location of former primary school attended, fathers' and mothers' occupation and education may be factors influencing level of integration. Linear relationships among the scores of all groups, except the dichotomized tribes in hypothesis 7, indicated that levels of integration increase from rural to urban areas, from traditional religions to other religions, from no urban experience to increased urban experience, from rural to urban and from grassland to forest region

primary school locations, from unskilled to skilled parental occupations, and from unschooled to trained parental backgrounds.

Hypotheses related to question d. Question d asked: What relationships exist between the levels of integration of students and the environmental setting and type of their secondary schools?

Hypotheses 18 through 22 investigated possible relationships between levels of integration and type of school (girls' schools, boys' schools, or co-educational schools), school environments (grassland rural areas, grassland town areas, or forest region urban areas), and boarding and non-boarding schools by predicting no differences in the mean levels of integration of students from these schools. Of the five hypotheses, only hypothesis 20, which compared boarding and non-boarding students, was SUPPORTED. All others were NOT SUPPORTED. Hypotheses 18, 19, and 21 were also NOT SUPPORTED by tests using sociometric data. It was therefore concluded that no significant differences exist between boarding and non-boarding students, but differences do exist between students who come from schools of different sexual composition and schools in different environments. When comparing environmental settings the highest mean score in level of integration was obtained by students from forest region urban schools. In comparisons of boys', girls', and co-educational schools, students from girls' schools had the highest

mean score in level of integration. This resulted from the fact that the extremely low scores of students from a mono-tribal, co-educational school masked the very high scores of students from a multi-tribal, co-educational school. In comparisons among schools, highest scores were obtained by students from a multi-tribal, co-educational, forest region school located in an urban area.

Hypotheses related to question i. Question i asked: What relationships exist between the levels of integration of students and their membership in voluntary associations? It was impossible to investigate relationships between levels of integration and school club memberships because some schools had no clubs while others required club membership of all students. Hypotheses 23 and 24 were, therefore, concerned with non-school club membership. Hypothesis 23 predicted no difference in levels of integration among students who belonged to various numbers of clubs with multi-tribal membership while hypothesis 24 compared students belonging to clubs with mono-tribal membership. In both cases the hypotheses were SUPPORTED, indicating no significant differences existed between students who belong to one or more voluntary associations.

Hypotheses related to question j. Question j asked: What relationships exist between the levels of integration of students and

the number of languages spoken by them? Hypotheses 25 and 26 predicted no difference in the levels of integration between those students who speak one or more neighboring languages or those who speak one or more distant languages. Both these hypotheses were SUPPORTED, indicating that no significant differences existed in levels of integration between students who speak one or more African languages.

Hypotheses related to tribal factors. Four additional factors were investigated as a result of sociometric data gathered. These investigations sought to determine whether relationships existed between students' levels of integration (as expressed by proportions of in-tribe friendships) and (a) the distance of the students' tribes from their schools, (b) the total state-wide population of the students' tribes, (c) the number of tribal representatives in their classes, and (d) whether differences existed in levels of integration between students from the same tribes but in different schools. Hypotheses 27 and 29, which concerned relationships of distance and state-wide tribal population, were SUPPORTED, indicating that no relationships between these factors and levels of integration existed. Hypothesis 28, which predicted no relationship between levels of integration and the size of the students' tribal representations in classes, was NOT SUPPORTED. It was therefore concluded that some relationship

does exist between these two factors. Hypothesis 30 predicted that no differences in levels of integration exist between students from the same tribes but in different schools. This hypothesis was tested by data from over thirty tribes. For some tribes the hypothesis was SUPPORTED; for others it was NOT SUPPORTED. No general pattern was apparent among the tribes with the exception that proportions of cross-tribal friendships among tribal groups in the various schools tended to be more stable in class friendships than in school-wide friendships.

General conclusions derived from studies of levels of integration. These findings suggested the following nine general conclusions which were derived from the studies of levels of integration of various groups.

1. The school is a contributing force in increasing levels of cross-tribal integration. This was supported by student and teacher interviews and by questionnaire responses to questions investigating factors related to integration.
2. Factors in students' hereditary background, such as sex, intelligence (as indicated by academic standing), and age are apparently not related to their levels of integration.

3. Environmental factors in students' backgrounds, including birthplace, region of origin, residence, urban experience, location of former primary school, and religion are apparently related to their levels of integration.
4. Parental factors in students' backgrounds, including father's and mother's occupation and level of education, apparently are related to their levels of integration, although family structure is not.
5. School location, both primary and secondary, is apparently related to students' levels of integration. Levels of integration tended to be higher among students who attend schools located in the more developed, tribally-mixed, and urban areas.
6. Type of school is apparently related to students' level of integration. Levels of integration tended to be higher in multi-tribal, co-educational schools while those in mono-tribal schools were the lowest.
7. Membership in voluntary associations and number of African languages spoken are apparently not related to integration and are not, therefore, indicators of cross-tribal integration.

8. The number of tribal representatives in a class is related to students' levels of integration. No relationship existed between distance from school or state-wide tribal population and levels of integration.
9. Levels of integration tended to be higher and more stable among class groups than among school-wide groups.

Factors Related to Integration

The second aspect of integration considered in this study was an investigation of factors in secondary schools which are related positively or negatively to cross-tribal integration. The following conclusions, interpretations, and implications are derived from data obtained from student and teacher interviews and from closed and open-ended questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire.

Factors encouraging integration. Question e asked: Which of the following factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by the students to be positively related to cross-tribal integration: academic subjects, extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities, school organization, and aspects of residential life in a boarding school? The factors most frequently

reported by students were: being in class together (school organization), extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities, and residential life in a boarding school. The specific activities mentioned by students under these four headings were "doing things together in class," games and sports, religious instruction which emphasizes love, integration, and equality, and "learning from each other" or "learning about each other" in the residential situation in boarding schools. Academic subjects were seldom reported as encouraging integration although students did report potential possibilities for English, history, and geography.

Factors discouraging integration. Question f asked: Which of the above factors in the secondary school experience are most frequently reported by the students to be negatively related to cross-tribal integration? The most frequently reported factors were: none of these factors, being in class together, extra-curricular activities, off-campus activities, and religious instruction and activities. The frequent reporting of "none" suggested that students did not perceive their secondary school experiences as discouraging cross-tribal integration. It was interesting to note that the very factors reported as encouraging integration most frequently (being in class together, extra-curricular activities, religious instruction and activities) were the same ones reported as discouraging

integration most frequently. The integrative role of the school was emphasized by the frequent reporting of off-campus activities as discouraging experiences for students. The specific activities mentioned by students as discouraging integration were: misbehavior by other students, partiality and favoritism practiced by prefects, tribal or regional competition or segregation in sports, academic, social, or religious activities, use of tribal languages, and intolerance for varying life-styles and traditions. It is noteworthy that in urban schools these negative factors were not reported as frequently as in other schools.

Teachers as integrative agents. Question g asked: Are teachers perceived by students and teachers as being integrative agents? Students' frequency reports ranked teachers sixth out of ten factors encouraging integration compared with a rank of tenth out of ten factors discouraging integration. Interviewed teachers reported they perceived themselves as being integrative agents but recognized that they could, with relatively little effort, become agents discouraging integration, thus setting their schools afire with tribal tensions and conflicts. Teachers were integrative agents, the students reported, when they were impartial, helpful, and integrated among themselves. Teachers who demonstrated favoritism or ridicule, emphasized tribal differences, or were ignorant of

tribal tensions and problems were perceived as being discouraging factors in students' experiences.

Tribal differentiation of educational opportunity. Question h asked: What relationships exist between tribal representation and secondary school admissions and attendance? Comparisons of male and female tribal representation in the secondary schools studied with the total state-wide tribal populations revealed the following percentage imbalances in educational opportunity:

1. Boys exceed girls in the grasslands while girls exceed boys in the forest region.
2. Students from the grasslands exceed those from the forest region in both sexes.
3. Among the girls, tribal strata 1, 11, 15, and "other" (composed predominantly of Nigerian and East Camerounian tribes) greatly exceeded all other tribal strata while strata 2, 3, 6, 16, 17, and 20 were greatly under-represented.
4. Among the boys, tribal strata 11 and 15 greatly exceeded all other strata while strata 17 and 21 were greatly under-represented.
5. Much of the regional imbalance is the result of the unusually high representation in schools of strata 11

and 15, both of which are from Bamenda Division in the grasslands.

A factor contributing to the tribal imbalance portrayed by the statistics of this study was the inclusion of a secondary school which is unusually large and predominantly mono-tribal.

General conclusions derived from studies of factors related to integration. These findings suggested the following eight general conclusions which were derived from investigations of factors related to integration.

1. The important elements in factors encouraging integration are multi-tribal proximity, contact through shared goals or interests, interaction, and advocacy of unity.
2. The important elements in factors discouraging integration are misbehavior among students, cultural conflicts, and favoritism or discrimination.
3. The same school-related activities which encourage integration may, under certain conditions, discourage it.
4. Academic subjects have an unused potential for encouraging integration and could do so by the use of interactive teaching methods, the advocacy of integration,

the addition of courses such as civics, and the avoidance of divisive historical factors.

5. Teachers, who were not perceived as powerful integrative agents, could improve their effectiveness by encouraging and exemplifying integration, by demonstrating impartiality toward students, by high professional competence, and by increasing the interaction between themselves and their students. Teachers have the potential for encouraging or discouraging integration.
6. The school is perceived as an agent of cross-tribal integration, most of the factors encouraging integration being in-school activities rather than activities outside the school.
7. Urban environment apparently weakens both the positive influences of such factors as religious and extra-curricular activities and the negative influences of most factors discouraging integration.
8. Tribal differentiation of secondary school admission and attendance is present in West Cameroon, thus offering unequal opportunities for cross-tribal integration to future generations of some tribes.

Suggested Recommendations

The studies of levels and factors of integration led to the following recommendations as means by which the role of the secondary school as an agent encouraging cross-tribal integration could be strengthened. It must be emphasized that these recommendations were made with the following reservations:

- they are based upon terms as defined in this study,
- they are based upon research carried out in a limited number of schools over a very limited period of time,
- they are based upon factors of school experience rather than a wider context, and finally,
- they are presented with the recognition that the school is a contributing force but not the only force in integration.

Recommendations from two sources are presented: those from teachers interviewed and those derived from the hypotheses which were tested.

Recommendations from teachers interviewed.

1. A national emphasis should be given to educational goals and activities.
2. Students' opportunities to participate in clubs, sports, and other voluntary activities which are conducive to

cross-tribal integration should be increased during school time.

3. Tribal political influences should be removed from educational institutions.
4. Schools should make a conscious effort to educate for integration.
5. Cameroon teachers should be trained in psychology and other relevant subjects in order to increase their ability to seek and utilize means of relieving tribalism and combating its influences.
6. Prefects should be taught, advised, or warned about their delicate role vis-a-vis tribalism. Administrators should ensure that prefects represent various tribal groups and that representation changes annually.
7. Teachers should stress the positive factors among tribal groups and not permit themselves to speak or act derogatorily toward any tribe.
8. The staff of each school should have Cameroonian teachers from various tribes and regions.
9. More courses and texts should be provided in such subjects as Cameroonian history, geography, and civics in order to develop a national consciousness in students.

10. Schools should avoid favoring any tribal or regional foods, dances, songs, or other cultural distinctives.
11. Secondary schools should not be "regionalized," that is, they should be permitted to draw their students from all areas of the state rather than from their own locality only.

Additional recommendations derived from this research.

In addition to the recommendations made by teachers during interviews, the following recommendations were suggested by other data obtained from this research. Each of the following recommendations should be prefaced with the phrase, "If the secondary school is to be an effective agent encouraging cross-tribal, social integration, then . . ." in order to emphasize the fact that these recommendations are made with this single goal in mind.

1. Secondary schools should be co-educational, residential institutions.
2. They should be located in the more developed, tribally-mixed, and urban areas as much as possible.
3. The locations of future secondary schools should be distributed as widely as possible to insure equality of educational opportunity for all tribal groups.

4. Secondary schools should be large enough to permit a wide range of tribal representation but should be structured internally to provide many small, overlapping, goal- or interest-oriented groupings.
5. The entire curriculum should be consciously oriented toward education for cross-tribal, social integration. Where necessary, subjects should be added to strengthen students' understandings and attitudes toward their state, their government, and the peoples which compose their nation.
6. Increased emphasis should be placed upon the advocacy of social integration in religious instruction and activities conducted in secondary schools.
7. Secondary schools should provide increased opportunities for travel and educational excursions as measures to counteract the isolation in which some schools and students find themselves.
8. Teachers should be encouraged to use teaching methods which provide maximum opportunity for interaction between students rather than the passive methods which are commonly used.

9. In schools having multi-racial and multi-tribal teachers, every effort should be made to encourage the development of integrated, cooperating staff.
10. The administration should make every effort to ensure multi-tribal admissions to secondary schools with no tribal group or region predominating.
11. The administration should attempt to ensure that all groups within the secondary school contain an approximately equal number of tribal representatives.
12. Perhaps the prefect system should be abolished and replaced with a system of junior administrators (such as the surveillantes used in French schools) whose service would be part of a teacher-internship program.
13. The administration should attempt to mix students from various socio-economic backgrounds.
14. If possible, students from various religious backgrounds should also be mixed together within the school.
15. The administration should be very careful to avoid tribal or regional competition, preference, or differentiation in any aspect of school life--especially sports.
16. Perhaps the use of tribal vernaculars or tribal languages should be discouraged or prohibited.

17. Secondary schools should not be sponsored or controlled by tribally-oriented or regional agencies.
18. Conscious efforts should be made by administrators to rectify the tribal imbalance which presently exists in secondary school attendance by admitting more students from the under-represented tribal groups.
19. Those who shape educational policy must seek ways to harmonize the goal of cross-tribal, social integration with the goals and demands of government, parents, teachers, students, and the agencies sponsoring schools.

In concluding these recommendations, it is appropriate to cite Williams' note of warning concerning the implementation of programs or actions designed to increase cross-tribal integration. At the close of his study, The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, he cautioned:

. . . complex interdependence often leads to various indirect and unanticipated or "boomerang" effects of specific actions. Insofar as the theorems of multiple causation and of interdependence of variables are valid, they have at least these implications:

- a. The effects of isolated actions or programs are likely to be small. Frequently these effects will be attenuated, obscured, or reversed by other factors operative in the total situation.
- b. The effects of a given action or program are not necessarily confined to the most direct or obviously related

areas. Both research and action must be sensitized to the possibility of repercussions which are indirect and far reaching.

- c. Other things being equal, programs of action are likely to have greatest effects when they operate simultaneously on several strategic factors, rather than upon one or a few.
- d. Causal inferences must be made with great care, and in the light of all possible relevant known factors.
- e. Panaceas for control of group hostility definitely will not be found.¹

II. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH IN THE WIDER CONTEXT

The second part of this concluding chapter is devoted to the presentation of implications of this research in the wider context of theory and the needs of today's world. This part is divided into the following sections: concept clarification, implications for Cameroun social development, and general implications for today's world. Suggestions for possible further research conclude the chapter.

Clarification of Concepts

Information and data gathered during this research indicated the need to clarify some of the concepts which formed the foundation

¹Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 44.

of this study and were presented in chapters I and II. Among those needing clarification were tribalism, the role of voluntary associations, elements of friendship, and the role of the school in social integration.

Tribalism. Although defined in terms of parochial loyalty earlier in this study, all interviewees defined tribalism in terms of economic competition. All tribal conflict or tensions, even in areas such as politics, education, and land disputes, were ultimately re-expressed in economic terms by the interviewees. Because of the powerful relationship between economics and tribalism, tribalism was not perceived as a serious problem among young people who are still in school. Tribalism becomes an active factor in life only upon the individual's entry into the world of economic productivity and competition. This was also borne out in the students' perceptions of their own tribes. Most students perceived their tribe as being approximately equal to most other tribes. Hatred or feelings of superiority or inferiority seemed to play a smaller part in tribal consciousness than was earlier assumed to be the case. The great activator of tribalism today, therefore, was perceived to be economic conditions.

In chapter II tribalism was described as being a situational phenomenon. This was supported during teacher interviews in an

interesting way. When asked which man--the uneducated farmer, the trained primary school teacher, or the university-trained administrator--was the most tribalistic, teachers' replies were explained in terms of the situations surrounding these men. In his situation the farmer was expected to be the most tribalistic but had the least opportunity to demonstrate it. The administrator, on the other hand, was probably the least tribalistic but had the greatest opportunity to demonstrate it and the greatest pressure upon him to do so. Teachers concluded that the man most likely to be very tribalistic was the man with relatively little education but who had been able to acquire a high administrative position for which he was not qualified or in which he felt himself very insecure. In this situation the favoritism which is part of tribalism became a means of maintaining himself in office and was considered a necessary part of life.

Another example of the situational influence on tribalism was provided by the comparisons of behavior and attitude scores of the students of three primary schools located near each other but in entirely different environments. In the primary school in a village at the end of the road (Masaka), behavior scores were the lowest (least tribalistic) but attitude scores were the highest of all three schools. In the primary school in a village along the main road leading to an urban area (New Bekondo), behavior scores were

higher while attitude scores were the lowest of the three schools.

In the primary school in the urban area (Kumba Town), behavior scores were the highest while attitude scores were between those of the previous schools. This analysis led to the following conceptualization of the locus of tribal conflict.

1. In the village there is no tribal conflict because the group is almost homogeneous tribally.
2. Along the main road tribal conflict is higher because it is the place of initial contact and competition with other tribal groups.
3. In the urban areas tribal conflict is highest because of scarcity, contact, and competition. Tribal integration is also high in this situation because of increased opportunity for contact.

This may be summarized by the paradigm on the following page. In these situations, attitudes often reflect experiences, or lack of them, with people from other tribal groups. Thus the students in the primary school at the end of the road may have had high attitude scores because they had no experience with people from other tribes --experience which might have been negative. Students in the primary school along the main road may have had the lowest attitude scores because they represent those who may have only recently had

	<u>Tribal Conflict</u>	<u>Tribal Integration</u>
<u>Village</u>	None: there are no other tribal groups.	None: there is no opportunity for contact. There is integration within the tribal group itself.
<u>Main road.</u>	Increasing conflict due to opportunities for contact plus the strength of the tie to the kinship group.	Increases due to increased opportunity for contact (sporadic).
<u>Urban area.</u>	High incidence of conflict due to competition and scarcity plus constant contact.	Highest incidence of integration due to constant contact, opportunity, and common interests and goals.

contact with various other tribal groups. Such persons would be in a transitional situation between rural and urban influences. Perhaps the students from the urban primary school had middle-range attitude scores because their positive and negative cross-tribal experiences had blunted their willingness yet increased their tolerance for cross-tribal interaction. These observations suggest directions of possible further research.

Voluntary associations. In chapter II voluntary associations were described as means of integrating various segments of society. It was postulated that voluntary association membership in the lives of secondary school students would also contribute toward their

cross-tribal integration. While doing this research study, it became evident to the writer that secondary school students seldom belong to voluntary associations during their school days and that such groups are often controlled or prohibited by school authorities, thus making their role in the integrative process less vital. In Figure 6, which portrayed the role of the school in the process of integration, the position which is given to voluntary associations would, therefore, have to be changed to interest- or goal-centered activity groups. This label would indicate those clubs, societies, teams, and committees which form a normal part of secondary school life but which do not fit the usual description of voluntary associations which are, by definition, voluntary and controlled from within rather than by some external authority such as school authorities or policies. This change does no violence to the basic concept of the role of the school in the process of integration, but does clarify and refine it.

Elements of friendship. In chapter IV the concept of friendship with its three categories of friends was presented. Further analysis of the data gathered from interviews revealed the prevalence of three elements of friendship which were very frequently reported by students in responses to the question, "Why do you have friends?" The three reasons given were: (1) to get help from them, (2) to learn from them, and (3) for empathic reasons which were expressed

by "He is like me" or "I am like him" or "I want to be like him."

Though the affective element in friendships was often reported, these elements were more frequently and more readily mentioned. Certainly these three elements could be present in "bought" friendships and "tight" friendships, but their presence in "drinking" friendships is not clear. Further research would be required to clarify the relationships between types of friendship and the elements involved in each.

The role of the school. In chapter VI long lists were presented which summarized teachers' reports concerning ways in which the secondary school may be an integrative or malintegrative agent. The great number of items suggested that the school has powerful potentials to become EITHER type of agent. The direction in which the school influences society can be directly controlled by the school's administrators and policy-makers. In view of this, it is important to clarify the concept of the role of the school as an integrative agent and as a malintegrative agent. The refined conceptualizations of these roles are presented in Figures 8 and 9. They may be summarized as follows:

The secondary school is an integrative agent when it provides an integrative environment, integrative motivation, and integrative opportunities. An integrative environment includes

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL IS AN INTEGRATIVE AGENT WHEN IT

PROVIDES THE

INTEGRATIVE
ENVIRONMENT

- students tribally mixed
- co-education
- staff tribally mixed
- unbiased administration
- urban setting

MOTIVATION

- interests
- activities
- academic subjects
- religious instruction
- advocacy of integration
- aspirations

OPPORTUNITIES
FOR INTERACTION

- in classrooms
- in dormitories
- in dining rooms
- in work groups
- in study groups
- in religious activities
- in sports teams

FOR ITS STUDENTS TO DEVELOP NETWORKS OF CROSS-TRIBAL,

VOLUNTARY RELATIONSHIPS

- friendships
- clubs and societies
- sports teams
- holiday visits
- church groups
- student government

FIGURE 8

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AS AN INTEGRATIVE AGENT

	-- by qualifications	
	-- by attitudes	
THEREBY PREPARING THEM	-- by interests	FOR
	-- by aspirations	
	-- by other qualities	

PARTICIPATION IN THE URBAN, CROSS-TRIBAL

	-- leagues
	-- clubs and societies
	-- congresses
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS	-- parties
	-- unions
	-- committees
	-- churches
	-- movements

THE NETWORKS OF WHICH PROVIDE THE MATRIX FOR A
 STABLE, CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC SOCIETY INTEGRATED
 AROUND SOME COMMON GOALS, TASKS, ASPIRATIONS, AND
 VALUES.

tribally-mixed, co-educational institutions with tribally-mixed staffs and an unbiased administration, located in a more developed, tribally-mixed, urban area. Integrative motivation may be obtained from interests, activities, academic subjects, religious instruction, advocacy of integration, and various aspirations. Integrative opportunities are provided in school by encouraging interaction and contact among students in classrooms, dormitories, dining rooms, work groups, sports teams, study groups, and religious activities. The result of this contact and interaction is the development of cross-tribal associations and friendships, thereby preparing students in qualifications, attitudes, interests, aspirations, and other qualities for participation in urban, cross-tribal voluntary associations, the networks of which provide the matrix for a stable, culturally pluralistic society integrated around common goals, tasks, values, and aspirations.

The secondary school is a malintegrative agent when it hinders students from developing networks of cross-tribal friendships and associations. This may be accomplished by a basic tribal-orientation in the school's location, organization, personnel, and its educational process. A tribally-oriented location is exemplified by an isolated, mono-tribal, traditional environment. Tribal-orientation in the school's organization exists when students are

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL IS A MALINTEGRATIVE AGENT WHEN
IT HINDERS STUDENTS FROM DEVELOPING NETWORKS OF

- | | |
|--|--|
| CROSS-TRIBAL, <u>VOLUNTARY RELATIONS</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- friendships -- clubs and societies -- study groups -- sports teams -- church groups -- student governments |
| BY A TRIBALLY-ORIENTED <u>LOCATION</u> , | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- being in an isolated, mono-tribal, traditional environment |
| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> , | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- permitting or establishing tribal groupings for work, study, sports, or other activities |
| <u>COMPOSITION OF PERSONNEL</u> , | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- most students from one tribe -- most teachers from one tribe -- tribally-conscious administration -- discriminating prefects |
| OR <u>EDUCATIONAL PROCESS</u> . | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- not consciously teaching integration -- emphasizing tribal differences -- emphasizing competition -- using inactive teaching methods |

FIGURE 9

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AS A MALINTEGRATIVE AGENT

grouped along tribal lines for work, study, sports, or other activities. Tribal orientation of school personnel refers to mono-tribal student bodies and staffs, tribally-conscious administrations, and discriminating prefects. Education processes which are malintegrative are those which permit little or no interaction among students, emphasize competition, refer to tribal differences, or are not consciously teaching integration. (See Figure 9.) As implied by these conceptualizations and the data gathered in this research, the secondary school can be structured to be an integrative agent. The burden, therefore, rests upon educators and policy-makers to structure their schools in such a way that they will be able to contribute to the process of nation-building in Cameroun or in any multi-tribal society.

National Unity in Cameroun

In an earlier part of this study the problem of tribalism in nation-building was discussed and the tribal diversity of Cameroun portrayed. It seems fitting in conclusion, therefore, to describe some prospects for an integrated Camerounian society and the ~~school's~~ contribution toward that goal. Scholars have described three possible models which could be the goal for the integrating nation. One model is the complete acculturation of different tribal groups to one relatively homogeneous set of beliefs and behavior patterns. This model is typified by the American "melting-pot"

theory of assimilation. The second model is a mosaic type of society in which many separate groups retain their cultural characteristics, reduce contact among different groups to a minimum, and seek integration in philosophies of tolerance, in interlocking economic and political interests, or in various kinds of authoritative controls and suppression. The third model was aptly described by Williams:

Somewhere between these contrasting points of view, so far as cultural groups are concerned, is the orientation known as cultural pluralism or "cultural democracy." Although often a vague and somewhat inconsistent position, cultural pluralism as usually represented envisions an end-situation in which (1) a considerable portion of the cultural distinctiveness of various groups will be retained, but (2) there will be extensive interaction among all groups, and (3) at least a minimal body of shared values and traditions will be emphasized.²

Although the temptation may exist to dream of the completely acculturated, homogeneous society, or to establish and exercise the controls and authority of the mosaic type of society, Cameroun's greatest hope for a stable, coherent society lies in a cultural pluralism as described above. If this is the case, the secondary school's contribution to national unity will be clear. Its functions will be twofold: (1) educating for interaction by providing opportunities for training and practice in interaction and by encouraging the development of capacities and attitudes which will make such interaction successful, and (2) educating for concord by inculcating those values,

²Ibid., p. 11.

interests, traditions, and aspirations which will be the foci of cross-tribal interaction. These functions would constitute an education for integration.

Implications for Today's World

The world social scene today is filled with contrasting movements in which some nations are seeking to integrate multi-tribal societies while other nations seem to be fragmenting more and more. The tribal problem dealt with in this study is to some extent a reflection of the world's racial and ethnic problems. It is conceivable that those factors in secondary school which encourage integration in a multi-tribal society will also be the factors which assist in relieving present tensions and contribute toward a desirable stability in society. Although the secondary school is only a contributing force and not an ultimate force in integration, evidence from this research indicates that it is possible to increase its effectiveness as an integrative agent by consciously orienting its facilities, organization, and programs toward that goal. Not only must provision be made for instruction in the interactive processes of integration, but also for instruction in values and facts with an international perspective.

Recommended Further Research

Three categories of further possible research were suggested by this study: research to strengthen the weaknesses of this study, research in the area of African studies, and research in education in Africa.

Concerning the weaknesses of this study. The following investigations were suggested by the weaknesses which appeared in this study.

1. A study involving the use of Guttman facet design for the formation of scales to measure integration. This theoretically sound method of developing scales would be an improvement on the way scales were prepared in this study.
2. A study of correlations between methods of measuring levels of integration among the various categories of individuals studied. This treatment of the data gathered was not done because of the great volume of work involved in making the Guttman scale analyses.
3. A replication of this study using all secondary schools and equal numbers in the samples would permit the use of two-way analyses of variance to indicate possible interaction effects among the factors investigated.

4. Analyses of the data from the primary school sample remain to be done. These analyses were beyond the scope of this study but the data is available for further investigations concerning levels and factors of integration among terminal primary school students.
5. A longitudinal replication of this study in which levels of integration would be measured in the same group of students over a long period of time. This would overcome the obvious short-comings of a cross-sectional study such as this one.

Concerning African Studies. This study also suggested the following investigations in the wider area of African studies:

1. What relationships exist between tribal self-concept and the demographic factors of the population involved?
2. What are the psychological bases of cross-tribal relationships?
3. What are the influences of traditional African philosophy and religion upon the elements or structures of friendships?
4. What are the influences of historic tribal stereotypes upon cross-tribal relationships?

5. What indicators of cross-tribal integration can be developed to measure integration among the illiterate?
6. Do levels of integration vary among similar populations in different areas of Cameroun?

Concerning education in Africa. The following investigations more specifically in the area of education in Africa were also suggested by this study:

1. Replication of this study in post-secondary schools and universities.
2. Developing curricula fostering integration.
3. Developing plans for administrative reorganization which would favor integration.
4. A study of what and how African students learn from each other.
5. A study of the historic roots, present manifestations, and possible future uses of the institutionalized friendships known as "bigs" and "smalls."
6. A study of the political influence of voluntary associations among students in post-secondary school institutions.

The great number of suggestions for further research derived from this study emphasizes the fact that this was an exploratory

investigation into an aspect of secondary school life which has been little studied in Africa. The ultimate conclusion of such a study is that it is only a beginning.

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4. LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED TO DEVELOP
BASIC CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS (TOTAL: 42)

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
1.	Mr. E. Awa	Cameroonian graduate student at Michigan State University, East Lansing.	September 7, 1968
2.	Mr. C. L. Awanda	Primary school teacher, Soppo.	September 14, 1968
3.	Mr. A. N. Bang	Clerk, Land and Survey Department, Buea.	September 14, 1968

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
4.	Mr. P. Tebe	Agricultural Officer, Mbengwi.	September 17, 1968
5.	Mr. M. B. Fobuzie	Primary school teacher, Mbengwi.	September 17, 1968
6.	Mr. D. W. Iwoi	Primary school teacher, Bamenda.	September 18, 1969
7.	Rev. S. Nteff	Executive Secretary, Cameroon Baptist Convention, Bamenda.	September 18, 1968
8.	Mr. J. Mbeng	Supervisor of Schools, Bamenda.	September 18, 1968
9.	Rev. E. Ngwang	Teacher, Baptist Bible Training Centre, Ndu.	September 1968
10.	Rev. N. Nyanganji	Teacher, Baptist Bible Training Centre, Ndu.	September 1968
11.	Mr. J. N. Nkerbu	Primary school teacher, Ndu.	September 1968
12.	Rev. Matuba	Student, Baptist Bible Training Centre, Ndu.	September 1968
13.	Rev. L. E. Kwast	Missionary, Ndu	September 1968
14.	Rev. G. Lang	Missionary, Ndu	September 1968
15.	Mr. P. P. Njom	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
16.	Mr. Nibot	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 4.	October 1968

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
17.	Mr. Ngafeeson	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
18.	Mr. Nkwentamo	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
19.	Mr. Wm. Ebot	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 4.	October 1968
20.	Mr. C. Chomilo	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 4	October 1968
21.	Mr. M. B. Fonkenmun	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
22.	Mr. Fontama	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
23.	Mr. Toh	Student, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu, form 5.	October 1968
24.	Mr. Wm. Nzante	Carpenter, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
25.	Mr. O. P. James	Foreman, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
26.	Mr. G. Mbunkur	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
27.	Mr. Tamnjong	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
28.	Miss E. Edinger	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
29.	Miss C. Hell	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
30.	Mr. I. N. Sayani	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
31.	Mr. Matumamboh	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
32.	Mr. D. S. Njini	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.	October 1968
33.	Mr. M. Nganji	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu	October 1968
34.	Mr. P. Vugar	Teacher, Merrick Baptist College, Ndu	October 1968
35.	Mr. L. D. Sama	Primary school teacher, Oku.	October 1968
36.	Rev. J. N. Waindim	Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Victoria.	December 1968
37.	Rev. Rhodeson	Fisherman and former pastor, Victoria.	December 1968
38.	Rev. Yonkuma	Teacher, Baptist Teacher Training Centre, Great Soppo.	December 1968
39.	Mr. S. Becke	Principal, Baptist Teacher Training Center, Great Soppo.	December 1968
40.	Mr. E. K. Martin	Educational Administrator, Buea.	December 1968
41.	Miss Woloa	Teacher, Saker Baptist College, Victoria.	December 1968

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
42.	Mr. B. A. Latche	Primary school teacher, Victoria.	December 1968

5. LIST OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS
INTERVIEWED (TOTAL: 49)

SCHOOL: Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.
DATE: Between September 20 and October 12, 1968.

NAMES:	1. Mr. D. S. Njini	6. Mr. I. N. Sayani
	2. Mr. Matumamboh	7. Mr. P. Vugar
	3. Mr. G. Mbunkur	8. Mr. Tamnjong
	4. Miss E. Edinger	9. Mr. M. Nganji
	5. Miss C. Hell	

SCHOOL: St. Augustine's College, Banso.
DATE: Between October 20 and 30, 1968.

NAMES:	10. Fr. J. Nielen	14. Mr. Ndinayi
	11. Mr. Bamboye	15. Mr. Barah
	12. Fr. Barnicle	16. Mr. Sitar
	13. Mr. Azefer	17. Mr. Yenwo

SCHOOL: Cameroon Protestant College, Bali.
DATE: Between November 4 and 17, 1968.

NAMES:	18. Mr. van Eerten	24. Mr. Che
	19. Mr. F. K. Martin	25. Miss Schaetti
	20. Mr. Mbah	26. Rev. Schurian
	21. Mr. Renger	27. Mr. S. N. Sayani
	22. Mr. Broenniman	28. Mr. Muluh
	23. Rev. G. Gordon	

SCHOOL: Presbyterian Secondary School, Kumba.

DATE: Between November 18 and 30, 1968.

NAMES:

29. Mr. S. N Sumbele	35. Mr. Mbeneya
30. Mr. A. Mauerhofer	36. Mr. Ayuknchong
31. Mr. Ngone	37. Mr. Elango
32. Miss Ejole	38. Mr. Forjindam
33. Mrs. Thomas	39. Mr. Akpey
34. Mr. Tche	

SCHOOL: Saker Baptist College, Victoria.

DATE: Between December 1 and 13, 1968.

NAMES:

40. Mr. D. Witt	45. Miss Ndando
41. Mrs. R. Witt	46. Miss Kingdon
42. Mrs. E. Mbongo	47. Mrs. Abunaw
43. Mrs. Henshaw	48. Mr. Chapoton
44. Mrs. Quan	49. Mr. Ressiguie

6. LIST OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS INTERVIEWED (TOTAL: 124)

SCHOOL: Merrick Baptist College, Ndu.

DATE: Between September 20 and October 12, 1968.

FORM ONE:	1. Mr. Ntang	3. Mr. Monkwe
	2. Mr. Azange	4. Mr. Akenji
FORM TWO:	5. Mr. Ahman	7. Mr. Fomufod
	6. Mr. Lanyuy	8. Mr. Nkewah
FORM THREE:	9. Mr. Njualement	11. Mr. Ngollo
	10. Mr. Dasi	12. Mr. Timah
FORM FOUR:	13. Mr. E. F. Ade	15. Mr. J. E. Efange
	14. Mr. N. Gwaya	16. Mr. J. A. Mbah

FORM FIVE: 17. Mr. Adamu 21. Mr. Halle
 18. Mr. Ndifon 22. Mr. Sab
 19. Mr. Shei 23. Mr. Ngwayi
 20. Mr. Njeh 24. Mr. Nyadi

SCHOOL: St. Augustine's College, Banso.
 DATE: Between October 20 and 30, 1968.

FORM ONE: 1. Mr. A. A. Kinkenin 6. Mr. G. Veye
 2. Mr. E. Visha 7. Miss A. Fenafe
 3. Mr. B. Wirsa 8. Miss D. Gensang
 4. Mr. H. Tarh 9. Mr. J. T. Sunjo
 5. Mr. Tangwa

FORM TWO: 10. Miss D. Ekokobe 12. Miss H. Ndifon
 11. Mr. C. Vidzem 13. Miss M. Ayonghe

FORM THREE: 14. Mr. J. Ntantan 16. Mr. C. Mbah
 15. Miss M. Lukong 17. Mr. D. Fondzeyuf

FORM FOUR 18. Miss F. Singe 21. Mr. A. Kangson
 19. Mr. L. Mborong 22. Mr. G. Tanjo
 20. Miss E. Nsamelu

FORM FIVE: 23. Miss J. Yensi 27. Mr. W. Ngala
 24. Mr. R. Suinyuy 28. Mr. H. Kinyuy
 25. Mr. D. Chi 29. Miss A. Bongmoyong
 26. Mr. G. Chifu

SCHOOL: Cameroon Protestant College, Bali.
 DATE: Between November 4 and 17, 1968.

FORM ONE: 1. Mr. Ngwa 3. Mr. Abongnifor
 2. Mr. Penn 4. Mr. Ndango

FORM TWO: 5. Mr. Asanji 7. Mr. Forsuh
 6. Mr. Ghogomu 8. Mr. Tiku

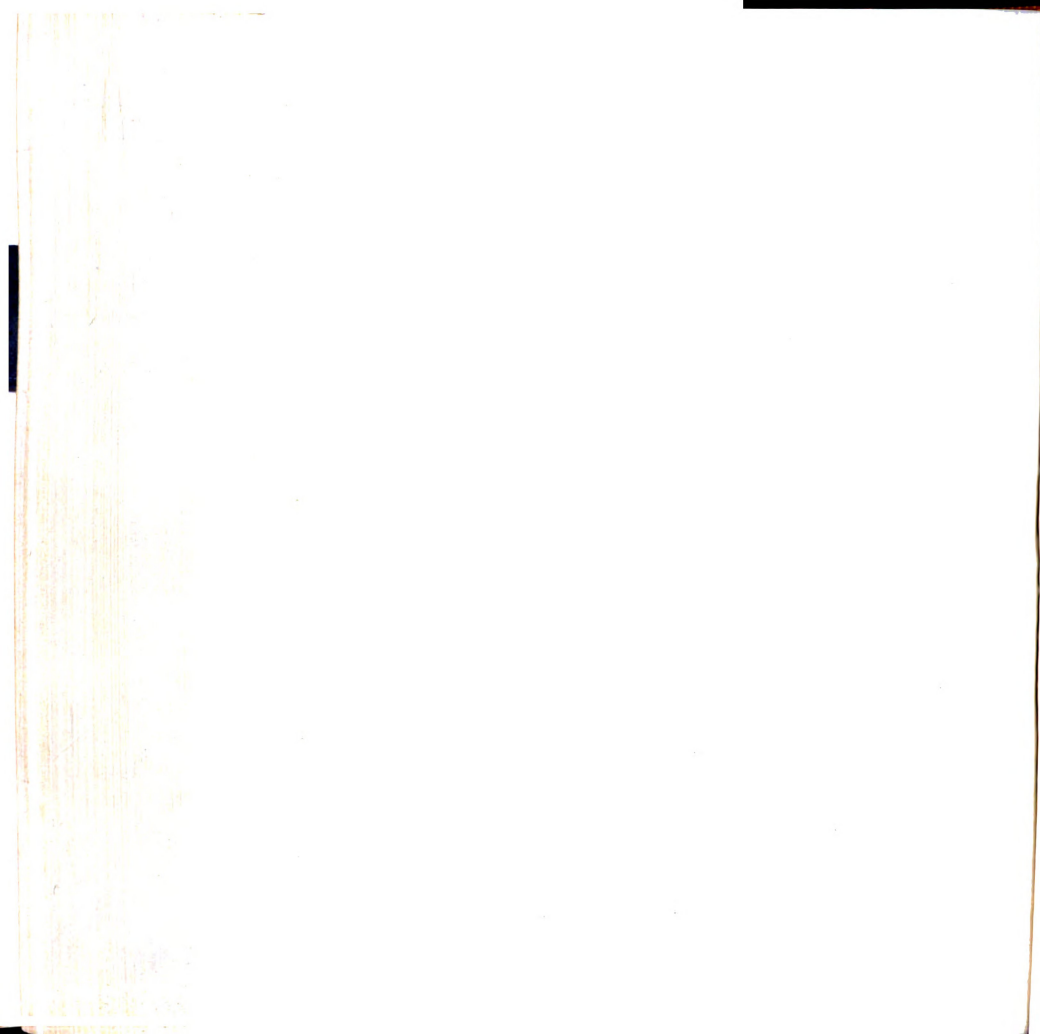
FORM THREE:	9. Mr. Che	12. Mr. Takwa
	10. Mr. Numfor	13. Mr. Tamba
	11. Mr. Penn	
FORM FOUR:	14. Mr. Mengot	16. Mr. Aweh
	15. Mr. Divine	17. Mr. Jam
FORM FIVE:	18. Mr. Mbuyah	22. Mr. Kadzem
	19. Mr. Ambe	23. Mr. Kweti
	20. Mr. Agbor	24. Mr. Monono
	21. Mr. Mokube	25. Mr. Awuro

SCHOOL: Presbyterian Secondary School, Kumba.
DATE: Between November 18 and 30, 1968.

FORM ONE:	1. Mr. S. E. Nyinty	3. Miss J. Ngeyep
	2. Mr. V. N. Ngonga	4. Miss C. Ngando
FORM TWO:	5. Mr. J. T. Fangtang	7. Miss V. Takwi
	6. Mr. E. B. Nchamkong	8. Mr. J. B. Kay
FORM THREE:	9. Mr. M. M. Ngembane	11. Mr. S. M. Meme
	10. Miss A. Itoe	12. Mr. E. M. Fomunuh
FORM FOUR:	13. Mr. E. T. Takang	15. Mr. P. B. Nyimen
	14. Mr. A. M. Fondo	16. Mr. E. M. Njang
FORM FIVE:	17. Mr. J. C. Abangma	21. Miss H. Bakosah
	18. Miss C. Gango	22. Dr. D. A. Bisong
	19. Mr. J. Y. Ngwafon	23. Miss C. Makia
	20. Mr. V. N. Baseh	24. Mr. C. A. Arrey

SCHOOL: Saker Baptist College, Victoria.
DATE: Between December 1 and 13, 1968.

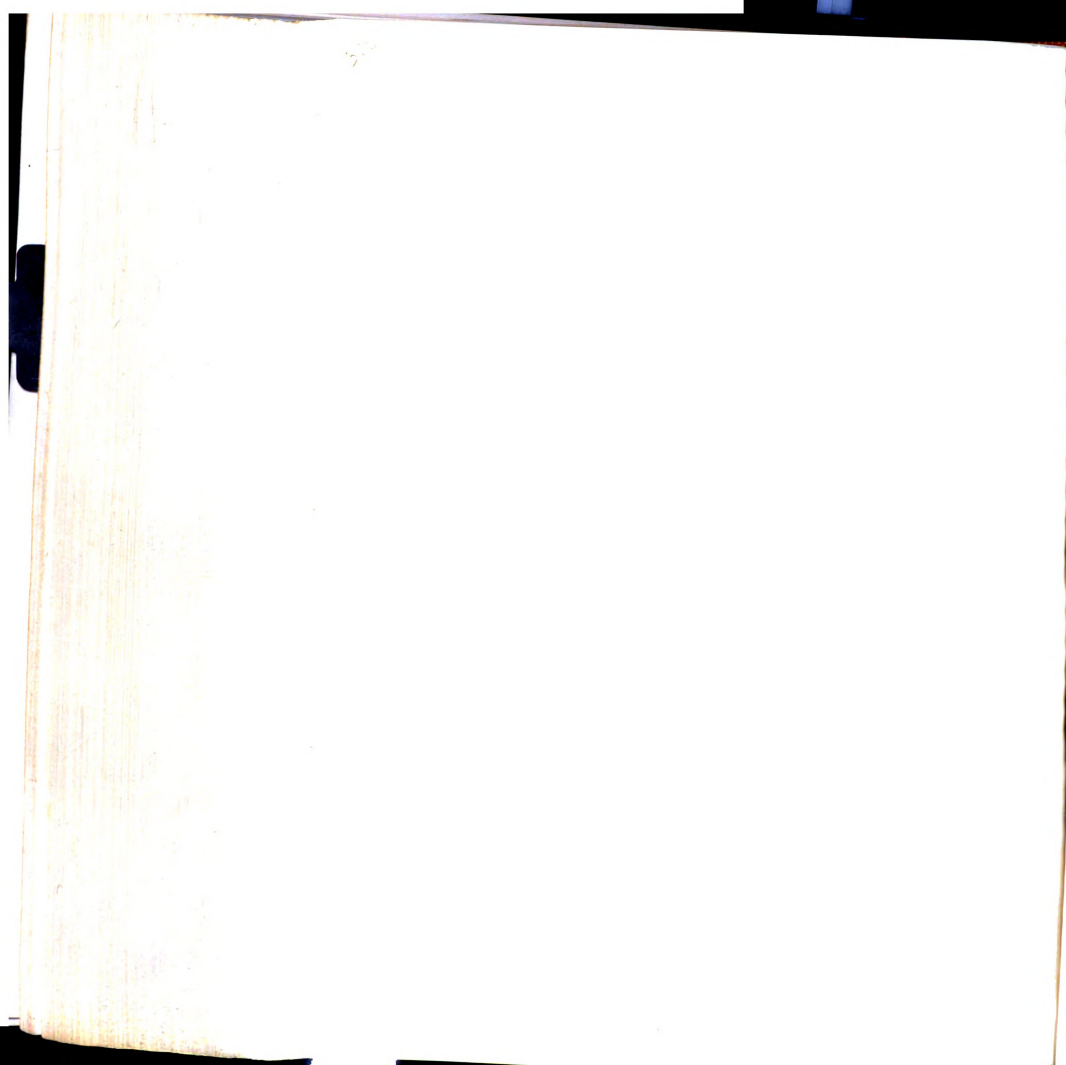
FORM ONE:	1. Miss H. Ndiva	3. Miss R. Tibi
	2. Miss M. Younku	4. Miss L. Ngonde



FORM TWO:	5. Miss B. Epie	7. Miss G. Ekwoke
	6. Miss B. Masalla	8. Miss E. Ndayon
FORM THREE:	9. Miss J. Ateh	11. Miss C. Ijomah
	10. Miss A. Chia	12. Miss G. Mokake
FORM FOUR:	13. Miss M. Eyong	14. Miss H. Dimla
FORM FIVE:	15. Miss P. Alima	19. Miss C. Inyang
	16. Miss C. Ewusi	20. Miss R. Ituka
	17. Miss M. Gashu	21. Miss S. Eko
	18. Miss C. Mofor	22. Miss F. Nghoh



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

TRIBAL COMPOSITION OF WEST CAMEROON

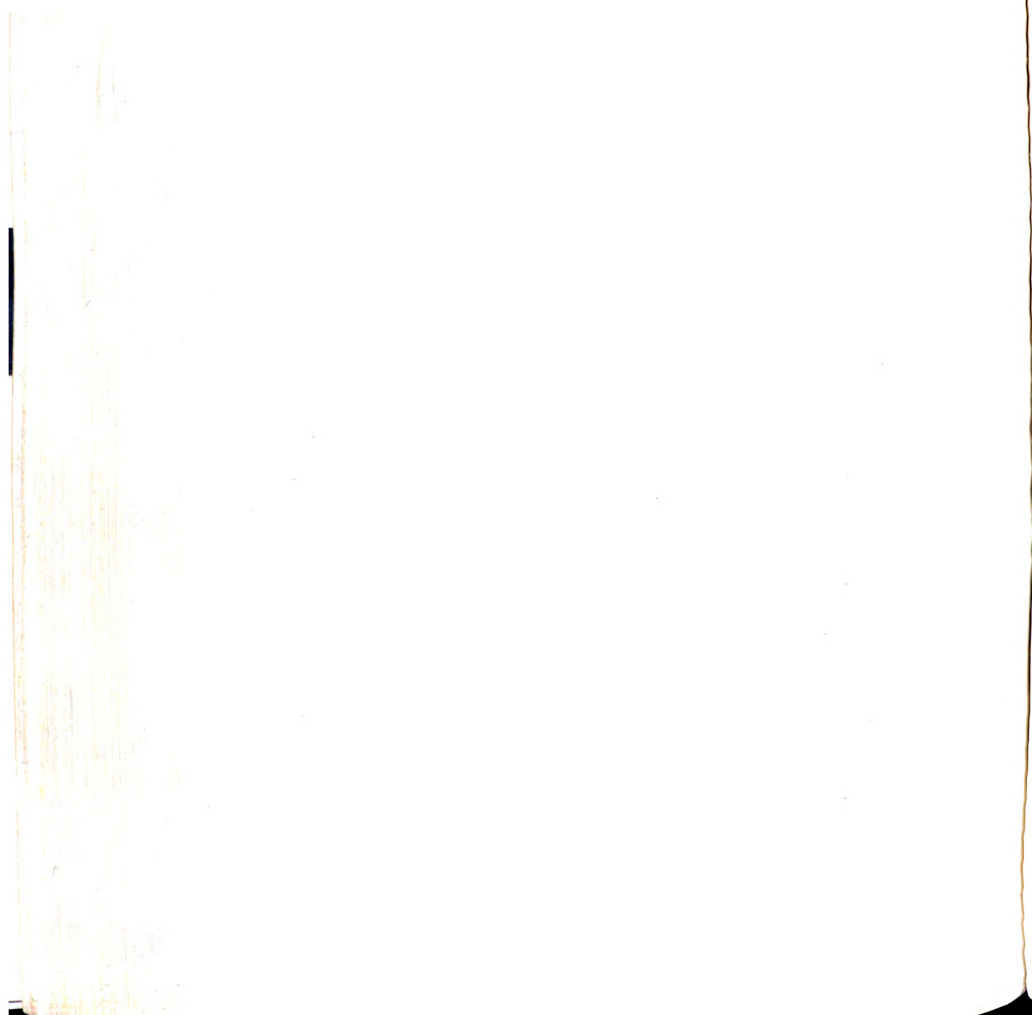
Source: Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report of Her Majesty's Government to the Assembly of the United Nations on the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration for the Year 1958 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959), pp. 3-4.

(i) Victoria Division:

Bakweri (Kpe)	}	Bantu-speaking forest peoples.
Balong		
Bamboko		
Isubu (Bimbia)		
Wovea (Bota)		
Bakolle		

(ii) Kumba Division:

Bafo (Bafaw)	}	Bantu-speaking forest peoples.
Bakossi (with related Ninong and Elung)		
Bakundu		
Balue		
Balundu		
Balundu-ba-Diko		
Bamboko		
Barombi		
Bassossi (with Banyu and Ngemingu)		
Ekumbe		
Lower Balong (with Bai sub-tribe)		
Mbonge		
Ngole-Batanga		



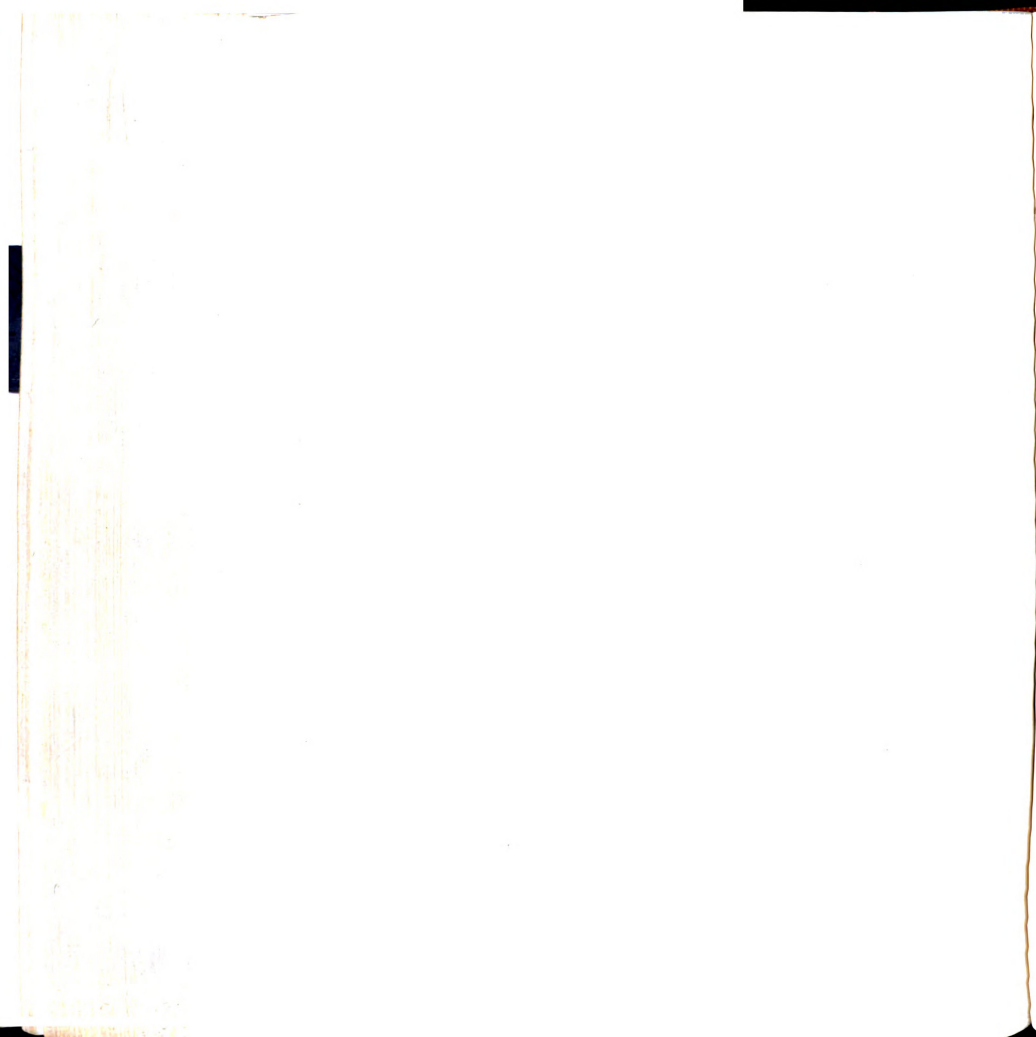
Upper Balong (Bafu and Batswi)	}	A people speaking a Bantoid language similar to Banyang (Mamfe).
Korup	}	A people speaking a Bantoid language of Cross River type.
Isangele	}	A composite group of Efik (Nigeria) and Balundu origin.

(iii) Mamfe Division:

Assumbo	}	Forest peoples speaking Bantoid languages of various origins and types.
Bangwa		
Banyang		
Ejagham (Keaka, Obang and Ekwe)		
Mbulu		
Menka		
Mundani		
Takamanda	}	A people speaking a Bantu language.
Widekum		
Mbo	}	

(iv) Bamenda Division:

Menemo (Meta)	}	Mainly grassland peoples speaking Bantoid languages, claiming origin from Widekum (Mamfe).
Moghamo		
Ngemba		
Ngwo		
Ngi	}	
Bafut	}	Grassland people of Tikar origin speaking Bantoid languages.
Banso		
Ndop		



Bali

A grassland people of Chamba (Northern Cameroons) origin, different branches speaking Bantoid and non-Bantu languages.

(v) Wum Division:

Kom
Bum
Fungom

Grassland peoples mainly of Tikar origin speaking Bantoid languages.

Aghem (Wum)

A grassland people of obscure origin but speaking a Bantoid language closely similar to that of Fungom.

Beba-Befang
Esimbi

Peoples of obscure, possibly Widekum, origin, speaking Bantoid languages.

(vi) Nkambe Division:

Wiya
War
Tang
Kaka (Mbem)

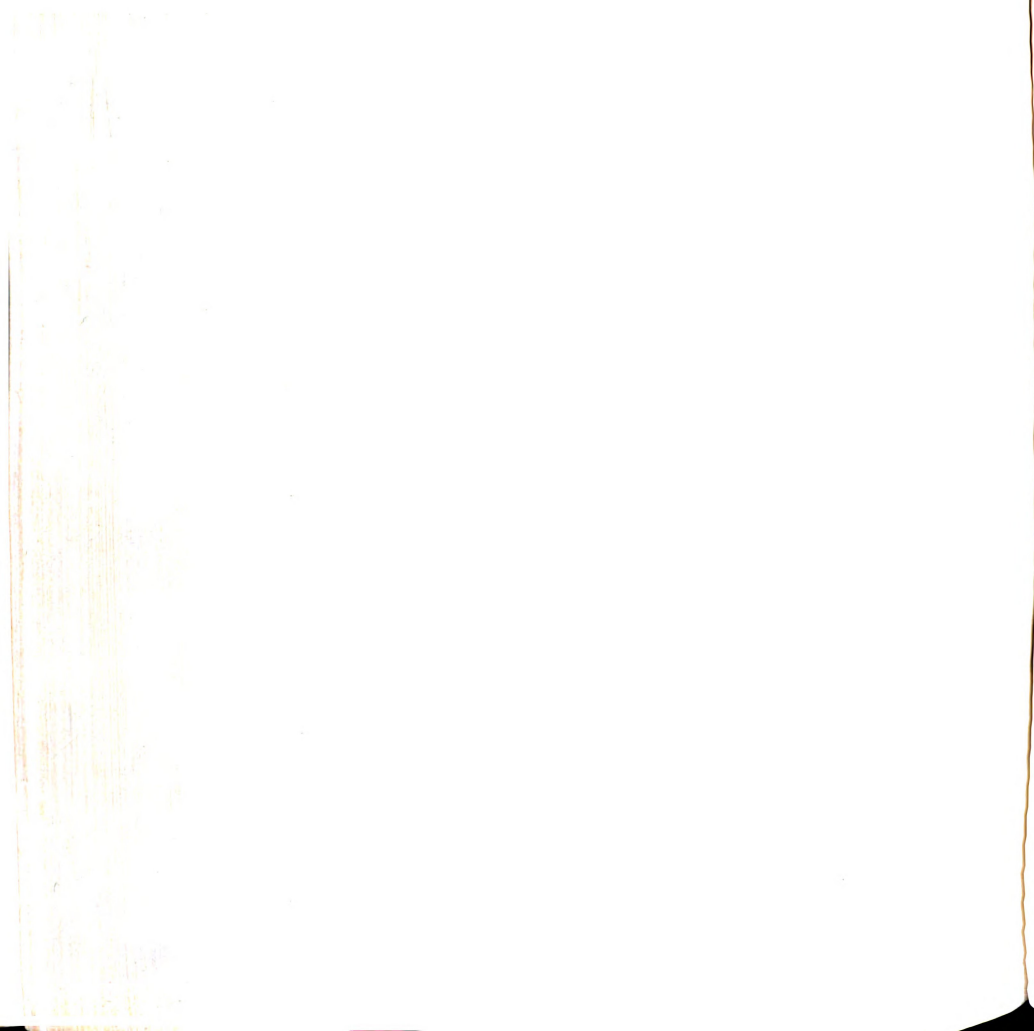
Grassland peoples of Tikar origin speaking Bantoid languages.

Mbaw

A people of mixed Tikar and Mambila (Northern Cameroons) origin speaking Bantoid and non-Bantu languages.

Mfumte

A people of non-Tikar origin speaking a Bantoid language.



Mbembe
Misaje



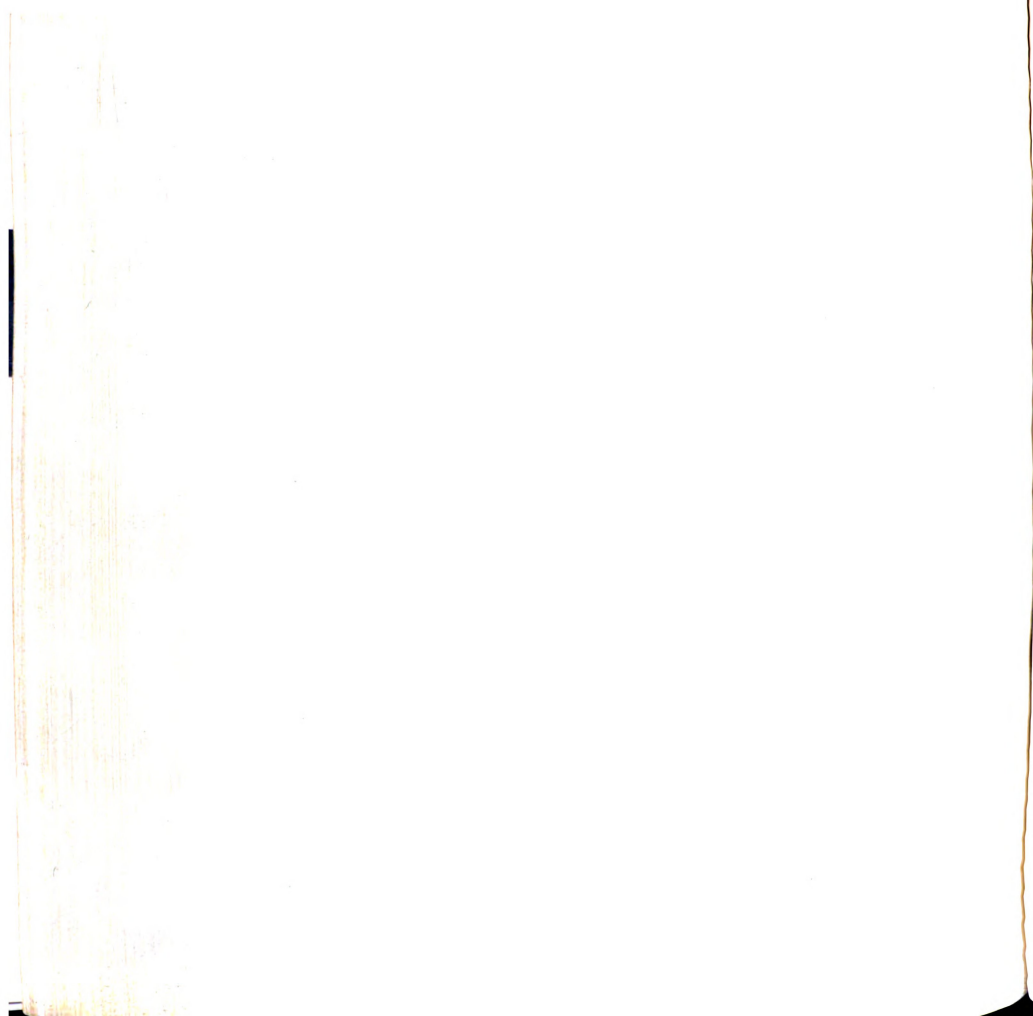
Peoples of non-Tikar
origin speaking
non-Bantu languages,
partly allied to
Jukun.

(vii) Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe Divisions:

Fulani



A pastoral people of
disputed ultimate
origin, but most
recently from
Adamawa.



APPENDIX B

ESSAYS ON TRIBAL CONFLICT

The following are six essays selected out of fifty-five which were written by the Form four students of Cameroon Protestant College, Bali, in October, 1968, at the request of their English teacher. They are presented here as portrayals of the tribal conflict in the secondary schools which have roots in the larger aspects of the total experience of society. These essays are presented as written by the students; no corrections have been made so that the original flavor would not be diluted. Two words of explanation are needed:

1. The abbreviation "CPC" stands for the name of their school, and
2. The word "graffi" means "grasslander"--one who lives in the savanna or grassland area of West Cameroon.

"An Instance of Tribal Conflict in College Franco-Britannique in Bamako

"College Franco-Britannique is a government college in Bamako in East Cameroon. This college had some tribal conflicts



between the students. This college consisted of two main groups that is, those from West Cameroon and those from East Cameroon as it is a bilingual college.

"This conflict arose one day when a football match was played. The boys from the West played against those from the East. The boys from the East were very proud and they went into the field with full confidence that they were going to get the game. They were surprised by the boys from the West who had the game by five goals to two.

"After the match, the boys from the East started hating those from the West. They started some discriminations and as they out-numbered the boys from the West, they proved higher.

"The boys from the East showed discrimination in that they did not like to mingle themselves with those from the West. In the refectory they occupied one part which was good, while the bad part was for the boys from the West. The Easterners did not move about anywhere with the Westerners.

"This event went as far as the tutors. The tutors from West Cameroon were despised by those from the East. The news was reported to the Cameroon government who took steps against such by dismissing the principal who was even involved in such deeds and also the ring-leaders among the staff and students. The



government promised to close the school if such conflicts arose again. "

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"Tribal Conflict in CPC

"Cameroon Protestant College is made up of boys drawn from nearly all tribes in West Cameroon hence there are frequent tribal conflicts within the whole student body. These conflicts arise mainly from political differences within and without the college, position of some tribes in relation to so-called civilized towns or how civilized a certain tribe is and finally tribal set ups and even historical background.

"A certain boy whose tribesman happens to be a high ranking official, say the Prime Minister, brags outwardly to his friends hence he is mocked and jeered at by other boys. Such boys as well as the mocked boy are always alert to hear whether this Prime Minister had done something good to his tribe even if it be just or unjust, he is criticized and nepotism consequently boys from that tribe fight back. These then are at loggerheads with each other. This again even happens during the election of prefects that boys from a particular tribe vote only for a boy who happens to come from there too.

"Other boys, remarkably those from the south, turn to look down on their colleagues from the north as uncivilized. Those from the north fight back and again there is high tension. Even up here in the north there is still disagreement: a boy comes from say, Mankon, says Ngie is backward hence the word "Ngieish" becomes a sort of insult to the others. Others carry tribal conflicts from home and easily transform them to duals here in CPC. Furthermore there are still hot arguments as to whether your tribe beat mine during a certain tribal war and again they are at feud.

"Finally, tribal conflicts here are all in the hands of the students. They are very reactive to talks about their tribes. The question whether they can be eradicated or not remains to be answered."

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"A Tribal Conflict at CPC

"The students of Cameroon Protestant College have formed a society of people through their unity. This unity has been brought about by the principal who selects all these youths from all over the country. Among all these students, there are those who prove intellectually fit and those that prove otherwise. Their being bad having been contributed from where they come from and the previous lives they had been living. If this has been adapted naturally, it

obviously comes from heredity which in very few cases is predominant among them.

"Since all of them cannot govern themselves there is then the need for others whom they will elect and under whose jurisdiction they are subjects. They will make rules and enforce them and to restrict them to a limit the students don't feel suppressed if it happens that most of the electors come from the same village, they will perhaps during their tribal meetings decide not to punish boys from the same village who intentionally commit crimes. This will then give them the access to crime committing which eventually leads to lawlessness and obstinacy. Since dismissal is the only ultimatum for lawlessness the other students from different villages who commit very minor crimes, may be out of ignorance, is always subjected to punishment. During punishment, he grumbles and tells his friends about the punishment which might lead to his dismissal. All this is due to absence of friendship and as a result of consequence, leads to enmity. Sometimes some students intentionally steal their friends' property especially towards vacation days. This is to help him make up for an occasion which might take place during the vacation. Three years ago I went to college and during this time I have heard threats being made by boys whose property has been stolen. There is a sorcerer in Chomba village and he is believed to prove thieves

whenever one of such students has been proved by this man through psychology, this goes into the speculation of all the students and usually boys who come from the same village with this boy, on any instance of theft, these boys are termed thieves.

"In the class, there is usually a struggle between the intelligent boys against who should come first in class. Those that are lazy tend to hate these students, for instance when the studious boy makes his notes during class the lazy one who merely sits down cogitating on some love affairs snatches the book and studies for his test and only brings it back after the test. In the dining hall, it is obvious that some students do not eat much while some do. Those that don't eat much may be because of lack of appetite or with some occasion being that the food was not properly cooked tried to buy in order to obment and subsidize their meals. In the process of doing so, friends crowd around him and wish to share with him. When he refuses, hatred takes over. Any other boy who tries to behave likewise follows the same procedure. Occasionally, conflicts arise from different angles."

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"The 'Graffi' Boys

"' Sit down you foolish "graffi" man. No "graffi" man has sense.' This is what Agbor would always say in the dormitory. But

why should he always say this rubbish? Well, most of the top students in Ashili house are from the southern zone so when Agbor utters his statements, he is always supported. At first the 'graffi' boys (the word is properly grassfield) bore his insults, but it soon became so monotonous that the boys would not bear it any longer. The grassfield boys started murmuring so that it was plain that on any other occasion when the word 'graffi' was uttered they would protest. It did not take long. The opportunity came sooner than the boys expected.

"'Why are you late for rest, you stupid "graffi" man,' Agbor asked Kum.

"'What do you always mean by "graffi"?' asked Mbuyah in an angry tone.

"'I say "graffi" because no "graffi" man has sense,' replied Agbor with a higher tone. It did not remain a problem between Mbuyah and Agbor. Enyong immediately joined in in support of his comrade, Agbor. The opportunity the grassfield boys had so longed for had arrived. Mudoh opposed Enyong and the whole house was led in a commotion. The Bamenda boys against the southern boys. The Bamenda boys argued that the Vice President of the Cameroon Republic and Prime Minister of West Cameroon were both 'graffi' men.

"That is how we deceive the 'graffi' people so that they work for us,' replied the southern boys.

"Of course it was a difficulty for the house captain to cool down the racket, but when he finally succeeded, every 'graffi' boy was satisfied for the famous Agbor was defeated."

* * * * *

"Instances of Tribal Conflict Between Students and Staff at CPC"

"Most tutors have the belief that when a student is not from his tribe, he is a bad student. It seems they do not like to live in socialism with people from other tribes. Thus they are forced to speak well only of boys of their tribe and no one else.

"There is a member of staff at CPC who is a good example of this mess. He had caused the downfall of several students from other tribes in the past and he is yet on the same tracks. He had fought for the prosperity of his tribe students and is still struggling harder for them. He punishes boys from other tribes falsely and marks their test papers of some of them with a wicked mind. Thus he fails boys messlessly. He pretends to do his duty well by just punishing boys in a situation he would have excused them with a warning. When even he was on a boy's tracks, he made sure he did his best to see that he left the school. He bullies boys everywhere

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and even in town during school holidays in order to gain fame for himself. He takes boys up to their masters, principal, and even to the staff meeting for subjugation because of minor crimes he would have overlooked.

"He does all this mess to boys of other tribes but always warns his tribal students against such things or kicking against major crimes. He even leaks out some secrecy of the staff to secure the stay of any of his tribal students.

"Well, we know this is typical of African staff though with some few white staff, thus we call on those who feel themselves out of this mess to see about these wicked acts."

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"Aspects of Tribalism Resulting from Previous Land Disputes

As a result of the Widikum-Menka land dispute:

"Young men of today in these tribes do not associate just due to this inconvenience that happened sometimes. A child who grows up and hears of this story think of evil things against the other tribe. School boys do not like to attend schools in Widikum if he or she is from Menka. They have fear and think that they can somehow be badly treated. Students, when they have a small argument, will take it serious and provoke themselves which can result to a fight."

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1

Tick the correct answer or fill in the blank which is provided.

1. Are you a boy ____ or a girl ____?
2. What is your age? ____
3. Where were you born?
_____ in _____ Division.
4. What is your tribe? _____
5. When you are not in school, where do you usually stay?
_____ in _____ Division.
6. What is your religion? ____ Catholic ____ Islam (Muslim)
 ____ Presbyterian ____ Traditional
 ____ Baptist ____ Other
7. What was your position in class at the last report?
_____ out of _____.
8. Have you ever lived in any big town like Victoria, Tiko, Kumba,
Buea, or Mankon? Yes ____ No ____

If you have, how long did you live there?
(Number of months) ____.
9. What is the name of your present school? _____

10. Is it a boys' school ____?
 a girls' school ____?
 a mixed school ____?
11. Is the school located in a village ____ or a town ____?
12. What is your form? first form ____ fourth form ____
 second form ____ fifth form ____
 third form ____ primary seven ____
13. When you are at school, do you live in the dorms ____ or the town ____?
14. What primary school did you attend last? _____
 Is it located in a village ____ or a town ____?
15. What is your father's present occupation? Be very careful to explain the work he actually does. If he is dead, then write in what he used to do, if you know.

16. What work does your mother usually do? _____
17. How much education did your parents have? Put a tick in the space opposite the highest level that they each reached.
- | <u>Father</u> | <u>Mother</u> | |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| _____ | _____ | Did not go to school |
| _____ | _____ | Had some primary schooling |
| _____ | _____ | Completed primary school |
| _____ | _____ | Had some secondary schooling |
| _____ | _____ | Completed secondary school |
| _____ | _____ | Attended a teacher training centre or college |
| _____ | _____ | Went to a university |
| _____ | _____ | Completed at another kind of school |
| | | If so, what kind? _____ |
| _____ | _____ | I do not know. |
18. Has your father more than one wife at present?
 ____ Yes ____ No

19. Think of the names of your four best friends in this school. In the space below write the first letter in the names of your four best friends and then write the name of his/her tribe.

	<u>First Letters</u>	<u>His/Her Tribe</u>
Best friend	_____	_____
Second best friend	_____	_____
Third best friend	_____	_____
Fourth best friend	_____	_____

20. Think of the names of your four best friends outside of this school. In the space below write the first letter in their names and then write the name of his/her tribe.

	<u>First Letters</u>	<u>His/Her Tribe</u>
Best friend	_____	_____
Second best friend	_____	_____
Third best friend	_____	_____
Fourth best friend	_____	_____

21. What African languages other than your own do you know? List them and indicate whether you speak it or only understand it.

<u>Language</u>	<u>I speak it</u>	<u>I understand it only</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

22. List the names of all clubs and societies to which you belong in this school and which you joined voluntarily (not because of age, family, inheritance, etc.). Place a mark after those clubs or societies which have members which come from different tribes.

<u>Name of club or society</u>	<u>Members from different tribes?</u>	
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____

23. List the names of all clubs and societies to which you belong outside of school and which you joined voluntarily (not because of age, family, inheritance, etc.). Place a mark after those clubs or societies which have members which come from different tribes.

<u>Name of club or society</u>	<u>Members from different tribes?</u>	
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____

Part 2

Instructions:

The following questions concern activities which you are doing while in this school. Answer each question by underlining the word or words which describe what you have done.

Question One

- a. How many best friends do you have in this school this year who come from tribes different from your own?

None

One or two

Three or more

- b. You have as best friends students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Two

- a. How often during this year did you move in the town with students who come from tribes different from your own?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You moved in the town with students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Three

- a. How often this year did you make day-time visits to the compounds of students who come from tribes different from your own?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You visited the compound of students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Four

- a. How often this year did you lend something to students who come from tribes different from your own?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You lent something to students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Five

- a. How often this year did you borrow something from students who come from tribes different from your own?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You borrowed something from students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Six

- a. How often this year did you discuss family problems with students who come from different tribes?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You discussed family problems with students from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regionsInstructions:

The following questions concern activities which you do during the holidays when you are not at school. Answer them in the same way as the previous questions.

Question One

- a. How many best friends do you have this year who are not students and who come from tribes different from your own?

NoneOne or twoThree or more

- b. You have as friends people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Question Two

- a. While on holiday this year, how often did you move in the town with people who come from tribes different from your own?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You moved in the town with people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Question Three

- a. How often during holidays this year did you share a room for at least one night with people who come from different tribes?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You shared a room with people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Question Four

- a. How often during holidays this year did you lend something to people who come from different tribes?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You lent something to people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Question Five

- a. How often during holidays this year did you borrow something from people who come from different tribes?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You borrowed something from people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Six

- a. How often during holidays this year did you tell your own secrets to people who come from different tribes?

Never

A few times

Many times

- b. You told your secrets to people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Part 3Instructions:

Answer the following questions by placing a mark (✓) under I DO NOT LIKE IT, I LIKE IT, or IT DOES NOT MATTER according to the way you think about each question. Before answering, think how you feel about each question in a general way, not just in a school or holiday situation.

	<u>I Do Not Like It</u>	<u>I Like It</u>	<u>It Does Not Matter</u>
1. Do you like <u>to buy things</u> from a person who comes from a tribe different from your own?	_____	_____	_____
2. Do you like <u>to sit next</u> to a person who comes from a tribe different from your own?	_____	_____	_____
3. Do you like <u>to wash clothes</u> with a person who comes from a tribe different from your own?	_____	_____	_____
4. Do you like <u>to go to church</u> with a person who comes from a tribe different from your own?	_____	_____	_____
5. Do you like <u>to work</u> with a person who comes from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
6. Do you like <u>to farm</u> with a person who comes from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
7. Do you like <u>to eat</u> with a person who comes from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
8. Do you like <u>to join clubs</u> whose members come from different tribes?	_____	_____	_____
9. Do you like <u>to bathe</u> with a person who comes from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
10. Do you like <u>to sleep</u> with a person who comes from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____

Part 4

Question One

Which of the following experiences in college life has encouraged you to seek making friends with students from other tribes? Mark only those which have encouraged you. You may mark as many as you wish.

1. My experience of being together with students from other tribes in my class
2. My classroom studies such as English, history, etc. which I study
3. My experiences in religious activities, classes, and services
4. My experiences in out-of-class activities such as games, sports, work, clubs, etc.

For each item that you marked, name or explain the actual activity or experience which encouraged you to seek making friends with students from other tribes.

1. (name the experience) _____
2. (name the subjects) _____
3. (name the event) _____
4. (name the activity) _____

Continued on Next Page

Question One---Continued

5. My experience of living in the dormitory and eating in the dining hall
5. (explain the experience) _____
6. My experiences with the teachers of the college
6. (name the experience) _____
7. My experiences off the compound during term-time
7. (name the experience) _____
8. My experiences on the compound during free-time
8. (name the experience) _____
9. Other things or experiences (not named above) have encouraged me to seek making friends with students from other tribes
9. (list them) _____
10. If nothing in secondary school has encouraged you to seek making friends with students from other tribes then mark here (if you have marked none of the above)

Part 4

Question Two

Which of the following experiences in college life has discouraged you from seeking to make friends with students from other tribes? Mark only those which have discouraged you. You may mark as many as you wish.

1. My experience of being together with students from other tribes in my class
2. My classroom studies such as English, history, etc. which I study
3. My experiences in religious activities, classes, and services
4. My experiences in out-of-class activities such as games, sports, work, clubs, etc.

For each item that you marked, name or explain the actual activity or experience which discouraged you from seeking to make friends with students from other tribes.

1. (name the experience) _____
2. (name the subjects) _____
3. (name the event) _____
4. (name the activity) _____

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Question Two--Continued

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|--|-----------------------------------|
| 5. My experience of living in the dormitory and eating in the dining hall | 5. (explain the experience) _____ |
| 6. My experiences with the teachers of the college | 6. (name the experience) _____ |
| 7. My experiences <u>off</u> the compound during term-time | 7. (name the experience) _____ |
| 8. My experiences <u>on</u> the compound during free-time | 8. (name the experience) _____ |
| 9. Other things or experiences (not named above) have discouraged me from seeking to make friends with students from other tribes | 9. (list them) _____ |
| 10. If nothing in secondary school has discouraged you from seeking to make friends with students from other tribes then mark here (if you have marked none of the above . . | _____ |

APPENDIX D

SHORTENED FORM OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1

Tick the correct answer or fill in the blank which is provided.

1. Are you a boy ____ or a girl ____?
2. What is your age? ____
3. Where were you born?
_____ in _____ Division.
4. What is your tribe? _____
5. When you are not in school, where do you usually stay?
_____ in _____ Division.
6. What is your religion? ____ Catholic ____ Islam (Muslim)
 ____ Presbyterian ____ Traditional
 ____ Baptist ____ Other
7. What was your position in class at the last report?
_____ out of _____.
8. Have you ever lived in any big town like Victoria, Tiko, Kumba,
Buea, or Mankon? Yes ____ No ____

If you have, how long did you live there?
(Number of months) ____.
9. What is the name of your present school? _____

10. Is it a boys' school _____?
 a girls' school _____?
 a mixed school _____?
11. Is the school located in a village _____ or a town _____?
12. What is your form? first form _____ fourth form _____
 second form _____ fifth form _____
 third form _____ primary seven _____
13. When you are at school, do you live in the dorms _____ or the town _____?
14. What primary school did you attend last? _____
 Is it located in a village _____ or a town _____?
15. What is your father's present occupation? Be very careful to explain the work he actually does. If he is dead, then write in what he used to do, if you know.

16. What work does your mother usually do? _____
17. How much education did your parents have? Put a tick in the space opposite the highest level that they each reached.
- | <u>Father</u> | <u>Mother</u> | |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| _____ | _____ | Did not go to school |
| _____ | _____ | Had some primary schooling |
| _____ | _____ | Completed primary school |
| _____ | _____ | Had some secondary schooling |
| _____ | _____ | Completed secondary school |
| _____ | _____ | Attended a teacher training centre or college |
| _____ | _____ | Went to a university |
| _____ | _____ | Completed at another kind of school |
| | | If so, what kind? _____ |
| _____ | _____ | I do not know. |
18. Has your father more than one wife at present?
 _____ Yes _____ No

19. Think of the names of your four best friends in this school. In the space below write the first letter in the names of your four best friends and then write the name of his/her tribe.

	<u>First Letters</u>	<u>His/Her Tribe</u>
Best friend	_____	_____
Second best friend	_____	_____
Third best friend	_____	_____
Fourth best friend	_____	_____

20. Think of the names of your four best friends outside of this school. In the space below write the first letter in their names and then write the name of his/her tribe.

	<u>First Letters</u>	<u>His/Her Tribe</u>
Best friend	_____	_____
Second best friend	_____	_____
Third best friend	_____	_____
Fourth best friend	_____	_____

21. What African languages other than your own do you know? List them and indicate whether you speak it or only understand it.

<u>Language</u>	<u>I speak it</u>	<u>I understand it only</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

22. List the names of all clubs and societies to which you belong in this school and which you joined voluntarily (not because of age, family, inheritance, etc.). Place a mark after those clubs or societies which have members which come from different tribes.

<u>Name of club or society</u>	<u>Members from different tribes?</u>	
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____

23. List the names of all clubs and societies to which you belong outside of school and which you joined voluntarily (not because of age, family, inheritance, etc.). Place a mark after those clubs or societies which have members which come from different tribes.

<u>Name of club or society</u>	<u>Members from different tribes?</u>	
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____
_____	Yes _____	No _____

Part 2

Instructions:

The following questions concern activities which you often do. Answer each question by underlining the word or words which describe what you have done.

Question One

- a. How many best friends do you have this year who come from _____ tribes different from your own?

None

One or two

Three or more

- b. You have best friends from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe only

From 1 or 2
different tribes

From 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest region

Grassland region

Both regions

Question Two

- a. How often during this year did you move in the town with people who come from tribes different from your own?
- Never A few times Many times
- b. You moved in the town with people from how many different tribes?
- From my own From 1 or 2 From 3 or more
tribe only different tribes different tribes
- c. From what region do these different tribes come?
- Forest region Grassland region Both regions
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Question Three

- a. How often during this year did you make day-time visits to the compounds of people who come from tribes different from your own?
- Never A few times Many times
- b. You visited the compound of people from how many different tribes?
- From my own From 1 or 2 From 3 or more
tribe only different tribes different tribes
- c. From what region do these different tribes come?
- Forest region Grassland region Both regions
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Question Four

- a. How often this year did you lend something to people who come from tribes different from your own?
- Never A few times Many times
- b. You lent something to people from how many different tribes?
- From my own From 1 or 2 From 3 or more
tribe only different tribes different tribes
- c. From what region do these different tribes come?
- Forest region Grassland region Both regions
-

Question Five

- a. How often this year did you borrow something from people who come from tribes different from your own?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You borrowed something from people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Question Six

- a. How often this year did you tell your own secrets to people who come from tribes different from your own?

NeverA few timesMany times

- b. You told your secrets to people from how many different tribes?

From my own
tribe onlyFrom 1 or 2
different tribesFrom 3 or more
different tribes

- c. From what region do these different tribes come?

Forest regionGrassland regionBoth regions

Part 3Instructions:

Answer the following questions by placing a mark (✓) under I DO NOT LIKE IT, I LIKE IT, or IT DOES NOT MATTER according to the way you think about each question.

	<u>I Do Not Like It</u>	<u>I Like It</u>	<u>It Does Not Matter</u>
1. Do you like <u>to buy things</u> from a person who <u>comes</u> from a tribe different from your own?	_____	_____	_____
2. Do you like <u>to sit next</u> to a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
3. Do you like <u>to wash clothes</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
4. Do you like <u>to go to church</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
5. Do you like <u>to work</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
6. Do you like <u>to farm</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
7. Do you like <u>to eat</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
8. Do you like <u>to join clubs</u> whose members <u>come</u> from different tribes?	_____	_____	_____
9. Do you like <u>to bathe</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____
10. Do you like <u>to sleep</u> with a person from a different tribe?	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX E

SCALING QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a list of activities which you do with fellow-students in school. When doing various activities with students, it is sometimes hard to do them with students who come from a tribe other than your own. When it is hard to do, you sometimes give serious thought before doing it with a student from another tribe. Other activities are not so hard to do with students from other tribes, but you still give it a bit of thought before you do them. Then again, other activities are very easy to do with students from other tribes and in these cases you give no thought to the matter. In the following list, read each activity and decide whether you think it is hard to do with students from other tribes, or only a bit hard, or it is easy to do with students from another tribe. When you have decided, place a tick in the space after each of the activities listed, indicating whether you think it is "hard to do," "not so hard to do," or "easy to do" by ticking in the column under the proper heading. ALL THESE ARE ACTIVITIES DONE DURING TERM-TIME AT SCHOOL. In each case imagine that you are going to do it with a student from another tribe.

		Not So		
		Hard	Hard	Easy
		To Do	To Do	To Do
<u>Activity</u>				
1.	Sit next to during meals	_____	_____	_____
2.	Belong to out-of-school clubs or societies with	_____	_____	_____
3.	Play football on the same team . .	_____	_____	_____
4.	Going to prayers or chapel with . .	_____	_____	_____
5.	Short, daytime visit to his compound	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
6.	Move about the town with	_____	_____	_____
7.	Sitting next to in class	_____	_____	_____
8.	Washing your clothes with	_____	_____	_____
9.	Lending something to	_____	_____	_____
10.	Dance with girls from	_____	_____	_____
11.	Borrowing something from	_____	_____	_____
12.	Drinking in a bar with	_____	_____	_____
13.	Drinking in the market with	_____	_____	_____
14.	Being best friends with	_____	_____	_____
15.	Sleep next to in the dorms	_____	_____	_____
16.	Work with on school work project	_____	_____	_____
17.	Bathing with	_____	_____	_____
18.	Dance with boys from	_____	_____	_____
19.	Have as a "big"	_____	_____	_____
20.	Play games with	_____	_____	_____
21.	Work on the school farm with	_____	_____	_____
22.	Belong to school clubs or societies with	_____	_____	_____
23.	Have as a "small"	_____	_____	_____
24.	Go to church or Sunday school with	_____	_____	_____

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
25. Move and talk with during free-time	_____	_____	_____
26. Study or work with in the library	_____	_____	_____
27. Share secrets with	_____	_____	_____
28. Discuss family problems with	_____	_____	_____

The next list includes activities done during holidays when you are not at school. Tick them in the same way as above. Remember these are holiday activities which you might do with people (not necessarily students) who are not from your tribe.

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
1. Lend something to	_____	_____	_____
2. Stay overnight at the compound of	_____	_____	_____
3. Do community development work with	_____	_____	_____
4. Drink in the market with	_____	_____	_____
5. Short, daytime visit to his compound	_____	_____	_____
6. Sell something to	_____	_____	_____
7. Play football on the same team with	_____	_____	_____
8. Drink in a bar with	_____	_____	_____

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
9. Be best friends with	_____	_____	_____
10. Share a house or room with	_____	_____	_____
11. Going to church or Sunday school	_____	_____	_____
12. Borrow something from	_____	_____	_____
13. Move about the town with boys from	_____	_____	_____
14. Dance with girls from	_____	_____	_____
15. Sleep with	_____	_____	_____
16. Belong to same club or society	_____	_____	_____
17. Go out for evangelism with	_____	_____	_____
18. Move about the town with girls from	_____	_____	_____
19. Going to the cinema with	_____	_____	_____
20. Eating with	_____	_____	_____
21. Bathing with	_____	_____	_____
22. Buy something from	_____	_____	_____
23. Play games with	_____	_____	_____
24. Work on a farm with	_____	_____	_____
25. Washing your clothes with	_____	_____	_____
26. Dance with boys from	_____	_____	_____
27. Share secrets with	_____	_____	_____
28. Discuss family problems with	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX F

REFINED SCALING QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a list of activities which you do with fellow-students in school. When doing various activities with students, it is sometimes hard to do them with students who come from a tribe other than your own. When it is hard to do, you sometimes give serious thought before doing it with a student from another tribe. Other activities are not so hard to do with students from other tribes, but you still give it a bit of thought before you do them. Then again, other activities are very easy to do with students from other tribes and in these cases you give no thought to the matter. In the following list, read each activity and decide whether you think it is hard to do with students from other tribes, or only a bit hard, or it is easy to do with students from another tribe. When you have decided, place a tick in the space after each of the activities listed, indicating whether you think it is "hard to do," "not so hard to do," or "easy to do" by ticking in the column under the proper heading. All these are activities done during term-time at school. In each case imagine that you are going to do it with a student from another tribe.

<u>Activity</u>	Not So		
	<u>Hard</u> <u>To Do</u>	<u>Hard</u> <u>To Do</u>	<u>Easy</u> <u>To Do</u>
1. Borrow something from	_____	_____	_____
2. Drink in a bar with	_____	_____	_____
3. Drink in the market with	_____	_____	_____
4. Share secrets with	_____	_____	_____
5. Discuss family problems with	_____	_____	_____

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
6. Short, daytime visit to his compound	_____	_____	_____
7. Washing your clothes with	_____	_____	_____
8. Lend something to	_____	_____	_____
9. Be best friends with	_____	_____	_____
10. Dance with boys from	_____	_____	_____
11. Sit next to during meals	_____	_____	_____
12. Play football on the same team	_____	_____	_____
13. Going to prayers or chapel with	_____	_____	_____
14. Sitting next to in class	_____	_____	_____
15. Go to church with	_____	_____	_____

The next list includes activities done during holidays when you are not at school. Tick them in the same way as above. Remember these are holiday activities which you might do with people (not necessarily students) who are not from your tribe.

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
1. Stay overnight at the compound of	_____	_____	_____
2. Borrow something from	_____	_____	_____
3. Sleep with	_____	_____	_____
4. Share secrets with	_____	_____	_____
5. Discuss family problems with	_____	_____	_____

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hard To Do</u>	<u>Not So Hard To Do</u>	<u>Easy To Do</u>
6. Share a house or room with	_____	_____	_____
7. Move about the town with boys from	_____	_____	_____
8. Belong to same club or society	_____	_____	_____
9. Move about the town with girls from	_____	_____	_____
10. Eat with	_____	_____	_____
11. Do community development work with	_____	_____	_____
12. Play football on the same team with	_____	_____	_____
13. Going to church with	_____	_____	_____
14. Buy something from	_____	_____	_____
15. Play games with	_____	_____	_____

Before handing this in, please check that you have answered each one and that you have not ticked one question twice by mistake. Thank you.

What is your class? _____

What is your tribe? _____

APPENDIX G

TABULATION OF GUTTMAN SCALE ANALYSES

The following coefficients of reproducibility (REP) and minimal marginal reproducibility (MMR) were obtained as a result of data analyzed by Guttman Scale Analysis on the CDC 3600 computing facility. The program also provided an indication of possible coefficients of reproducibility were the original data to be dichotomized rather than trichotomized as it was in the instrument used in this study. This possible REP from dichotomized data is recorded under the heading Possible REP.

Scales labeled A, B and C represent three distinct six-item scales, while those labeled "total" represent the same items but analyzed as one Guttman scale of eighteen items.

Group	Scale	REP	MMR	Possible REP
Secondary School Questionnaires (N = 524)	School A	.65140	.46024	.8470
	School B	.71947	.46947	.8461
	School C	.83747	.57188	.8553
	Total School Behavior	.68140	.50053	.7342
	Holiday A	.66667	.48696	.8127
	Holiday B	.72201	.49014	.8623
	Holiday C	.84637	.63581	.8624
	Total Holiday Behavior	.72890	.53764	.7778
	Attitude	.59828	.50611	.6044

Group	Scale	REP	MMR	Possible REP
Secondary School Questionnaires: Test-Retest (N = 29)	School A	.77160	.48765	.8704
	School A (retest)	.84568	.54321	.9198
	School B	.79012	.51235	.8766
	School B (retest)	.85802	.53704	.9320
	School C	.80247	.64815	.8272
	School C (retest)	.79630	.62346	.8580
	Total School Behavior	.73251	.54938	.8188
	Total School Behavior (retest)	.78601	.56790	.8579
	Holiday A	.82099	.56790	.8703
	Holiday A (retest)	.80864	.51852	.8517
	Holiday B	.82716	.57407	.8519
	Holiday B (retest)	.85185	.52469	.8641
	Holiday C	.83951	.70988	.9197
	Holiday C (retest)	.85185	.69136	.9198
	Total Holiday Behavior	.77366	.61728	.7943
	Total Holiday Behavior (retest)	.80247	.57819	.8478
	Attitude	.82963	.52222	.8666
	Attitude (retest)	.81481	.51111	.8888
Secondary School Interviews (N = 124)	Behavior A	.71371	.47581	.8535
	Behavior B	.74731	.45161	.8454
	Behavior C	.82930	.55242	.8562
	Total Behavior	.71147	.49328	.7890
	Attitude	.77500	.57581	.7920

Group	Scale	REP	MMR	Possible REP
Primary School Questionnaires (N = 224)	Behavior A, B, C	Not available		
	Total Behavior	.66592	.49454	.7311
	Attitude	.66027	.47143	.6871
Non-secondary School Interviews (N = 46)	Behavior A	.78261	.51449	.8985
	Behavior B	.84420	.53623	.8876
	Behavior C	.86594	.57246	No change
	Total Behavior	.78744	.54106	.8794
	Attitude	.82826	.59130	.8892
Pre-university Students' Interviews (N = 19)	Behavior A	.85088	.55263	.9123
	Behavior B	.90351	.58772	.9210
	Behavior C	.89474	.63158	.9649
	Total Behavior	.84503	.59064	.9180
	Attitude	.90526	.70526	.9316
Former Secondary School Students' Interviews (N = 8)	Behavior A	.79167	.60416	.8333
	Behavior B	.83333	.68750	No change
	Behavior C	Not scalable because one question (54) was answered the same by all. The program required at least two different answers.		
	Total Behavior	Not scalable for the same reason.		
	Attitude	.86250	.57500	No change

APPENDIX H

CODE BOOK FOR QUESTIONNAIRE AND
INTERVIEW DATA

The following system of coding was used to record data from questionnaires and interviews on computer punchcards which were used in the analyses.

Card 1

Column

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 1 | <u>Card Number</u> |
| 1 | First card |
| 2 | Second card |
| 3 | Score card |
| 2-4 | <u>Empty</u> |
| 5 | <u>Data Description</u> |
| 0 | Secondary school questionnaire |
| 1 | Primary school questionnaire |
| 2 | Non-secondary school interview |
| 3 | Teacher interview |
| 4 | Secondary school interview |
| 5 | Ex-secondary school student interview |
| 6 | Secondary school questionnaire retest |
| 7 | Post-secondary school students in college |

Column6-9 Individual Identification Number10 Sex

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl

11 Age

- 0 Eleven years
- 1 Twelve years
- 2 Thirteen years
- 3 Fourteen years
- 4 Fifteen years
- 5 Sixteen years
- 6 Seventeen years
- 7 Eighteen years
- 8 Nineteen years
- 9 Twenty or more years

12 Birth Place

- 0 Coast--rural
- 1 Coast--urban (Victoria, Tiko, Kumba, Buea)
- 2 Grassland--rural
- 3 Grassland--urban (Bamenda, Mankon)
- 4 Coast--town (Mutengene, Muyuka, Mamfe, Tombel)
- 5 Grassland--town (Banso, Bali, Bafut)
- 6 Foreign (Ghana, Nigeria, India, Sudan)

13 Tribes

- 0 Bakweri
- 1 Balong
- 2 Bamboko
- 3 Isubu (Bimbria)
- 4 Wovea (Bota)
- 5 Bakolle
- 6 Bafor (Bafaw)
- 7 Bakossi
- 8 Bakundu
- 9 Balue

Column14 Tribes

- 0 Balundu
- 1 Balundu-ba-Diko
- 2 Barombi
- 3 Bassossi
- 4 Ekumbe
- 5 Mbonge
- 6 Ngolo-Batanga
- 7 Korup
- 8 Isangele
- 9 Bangwa

15 Tribes

- 0 Banyang
- 1 Ejagham (Keaka, Obang, Ekwe)
- 2 Mbulu
- 3 Menka
- 4 Mundani
- 5 Takamanda and Anyang
- 6 Widekum
- 7 Mbo
- 8 Meta (Menemo)
- 9 Moghamo

16 Tribes

- 0 Ngemba
- 1 Ngie-Ngwaw
- 2 Bafut
- 3 Babanki
- 4 Nsaw (Banso, Nso)
- 5 Ndop
- 6 Bali (Chamba)
- 7 Kom
- 8 Bum-Fungom
- 9 Aghem (Wum)

Column17 Tribes

- 0 Beba-Befang
- 1 Wimbum
- 2 Yamba (Kaka, Mbem)
- 3 Mbaw
- 4 Mfumte
- 5 Misaje-Mbembe
- 6 Hausa-Fulani
- 7 Coastal Nigerians
- 8 Bamileke, Bangante, or Grassland East Cameroonian
- 9 Coastal East Cameroonian, Bassa, Douala

18 Holiday Residence

- 0 Coast--rural
- 1 Coast--urban (Victoria, Tiko, Kumba, Buea)
- 2 Coast--town (Mutengene, Muyuka, Mamfe, Tombel)
- 3 Grassland--rural
- 4 Grassland--urban (Mankon, Bamenda)
- 5 Grassland--town (Bali, Banso, Bafut)

19 Religion

- 0 Catholic
- 1 Presbyterian
- 2 Baptist
- 3 Islam (Muslim)
- 4 Traditional
- 5 Other

20 Position in Class (Academic Standing)
(for non-school = primary school standing)

- 0 Top quarter
- 1 Upper middle quarter
- 2 Lower middle quarter
- 3 Bottom quarter

Column21 Urban Experience

- 0 No
- 1 Yes--3 months
- 2 Yes--6 months
- 3 Yes--9 months
- 4 Yes--1 year
- 5 Yes--1½ years
- 6 Yes--2 years
- 7 Yes--3 years-4 years
- 8 Yes--5 years-9 years
- 9 Yes--10 or more years

22 Name of School
(for non-school = location of interview)

- 0 Merrick Baptist College, Ndu
- 1 St. Augustine College, Banso
- 2 Cameroon Protestant College, Bali
- 3 Presbyterian Secondary School, Kumba,
and Massaka primary school
- 4 Saker Baptist College, Victoria,
and Victoria primary school
- 5 Primary school, Ndu
- 6 Primary school, Banso
- 7 Primary school, Bamenda
- 8 Primary school, New Bekondo
- 9 Primary school, Kumba

23 Type of School (Student Body)
(for non-school: omit)

- 0 boys' school
- 1 girls' school
- 2 mixed school

Column24 School Location

(for non-school: omit)

- 0 Coast--urban (Victoria, Buea, Kumba, Tiko)
- 1 Coast--rural
- 2 Coast--town
- 3 Grassland--urban (Mankon, Bamenda)
- 4 Grassland--rural
- 5 Grassland--town (Banso, Bali, Bafut)

25 Form or Class

(for non-school: omit)

- 0 First form
- 1 Second form
- 2 Third form
- 3 Fourth form
- 4 Fifth form
- 5 Primary seven
- 6 Ex-secondary school

26 Boarding Student

(for non-school: omit; for primary: omit)

- 0 in the dorms
- 1 in the town

27 Location of Former Primary School

- 0 Coast--urban (Victoria, Buea, Kumba, Tiko)
- 1 Coast--rural
- 2 Coast--town
- 3 Grassland--urban (Mankon, Bamenda)
- 4 Grassland--rural
- 5 Grassland--town (Banso, Bali, Bafut)

Column28 Father' s Occupation

- 0 Farmer
- 1 Raises cash crops (coffee, bananas, cocoa, etc.)
- 2 Skilled worker (mason, carpenter, tailor, shoe-mender, driver)
- 3 Medical field
- 4 Teaching
- 5 Clerical
- 6 Government position
- 7 Banking
- 8 Trade
- 9 Construction

29 Father' s Occupation

- 0 Wine-tapping and rubber tapping
- 1 Laborer--unskilled
- 2 Sawyer, carver
- 3 Cattle-farmer
- 4 Ministry--pastor, evangelist
- 5 Court, justice
- 6 Traditional ruler, chief
- 7 Hunting

30 Mother' s Occupation

- 0 Farming
- 1 Nurse
- 2 Cook
- 3 Trading
- 4 Wine-seller
- 5 Sewing, handwork
- 6 Housewife
- 7 Teaching
- 8 Telephone operator, bank clerk
- 9 Typist

Column31 Father' s Education

- 0 Did not go to school
- 1 Had some primary school
- 2 Completed primary school
- 3 Had some secondary school
- 4 Completed secondary school
- 5 Attended a teacher training college
- 6 Went to a university
- 7 Completed at another kind of school--commercial or technical
- 8 BBTC or theological
- 9 Do not know

32 Mother' s Education

- 0 Did not go to school
- 1 Had some primary school
- 2 Completed primary school
- 3 Had some secondary school
- 4 Completed secondary school
- 5 Attended a teacher training college
- 6 Went to a university
- 7 Completed at another kind of school--commercial or technical
- 8 BBTC or theological
- 9 Do not know

33 Polygamous Family

- 0 Yes
- 1 No
- 3 No answer

34 School Friends

- 0 Same tribe--one
- 1 Same tribe--two
- 2 Same tribe--three
- 3 Same tribe--four

Column35 School Friends (same region)

- 0 Neighboring tribe--one
- 1 Neighboring tribe--two
- 2 Neighboring tribe--three
- 3 Neighboring tribe--four

36 School Friends (other region)

- 0 Distant tribe--one
- 1 Distant tribe--two
- 2 Distant tribe--three
- 3 Distant tribe--four

37 Non-school Friends

- 0 Same tribe--one
- 1 Same tribe--two
- 2 Same tribe--three
- 3 Same tribe--four

38 Non-school Friends (same region)

- 0 Neighboring tribe--one
- 1 Neighboring tribe--two
- 2 Neighboring tribe--three
- 3 Neighboring tribe--four

39 Non-school Friends (other region)

- 0 Distant tribe--one
- 1 Distant tribe--two
- 2 Distant tribe--three
- 3 Distant tribe--four

40 African Languages (same region)

- 0 Neighboring tribes--one
- 1 Neighboring tribes--two
- 2 Neighboring tribes--three
- 3 Neighboring tribes--four

Column41 African Languages (other region)

- 0 Distant tribes--one
- 1 Distant tribes--two
- 2 Distant tribes--three
- 3 Distant tribes--four

42 School Clubs
(for non-school: omit)

- 0 Yes--one
- 1 Yes--two
- 2 Yes--three
- 3 Yes--four

43 School Clubs
(for non-school: omit)

- 0 No--one
- 1 No--two
- 2 No--three
- 3 No--four

44 Non-school Clubs

- 0 Yes--one
- 1 Yes--two
- 2 Yes--three
- 3 Yes--four

45 Non-school Clubs

- 0 No--one
- 1 No--two
- 2 No--three
- 3 No--four

Part 2 -- School ItemsColumn46 Question 1a--Best Friends

- 0 None
- 1 One or two
- 2 Three or more

47 Question 1b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

48 Question 1c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

49 Question 2a--Move in Town

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

50 Question 2b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

51 Question 2c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

Column52 Question 3a--Day-time Visits

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

53 Question 3b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

54 Question 3c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

55 Question 4a--Lend Something

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

56 Question 4b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

57 Question 4c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

58 Question 5a--Borrow

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

Column59 Question 5b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

60 Question 5c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

61 Question 6a--Secrets or Family Problems

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

62 Question 6b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

63 Question 6c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

Part 3 -- AttitudesColumn64 Question 1--Buy

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

Column65 Question 2--Sit Next

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

66 Question 3--Wash Clothes

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

67 Question 4--Church

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

68 Question 5--Work

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

69 Question 6--Farm

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

70 Question 7--Eat

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

71 Question 8--Join Clubs

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

Column72 Question 9--Bathe

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

73 Question 10--Sleep

- 0 Do not like
- 1 Like it
- 2 No matter

74 Non-school Person's Occupation

- 0 Laborer
- 1 Clerk
- 2 Local N. A. (messenger)
- 3 Trader
- 4 Tailor, seamstress
- 5 Baby tender
- 6 Bar maid
- 7 Farmer
- 8 Teacher
- 9 Unemployed

75 Miscellaneous Tribes

- 0 Oku
- 1 Sudanese
- 2 Noni

Card 2Column1 Card Number

- 1 First card
- 2 Second card
- 3 Score card

2-4 Empty5 Data Description

- 0 Secondary school questionnaire
- 1 Primary school questionnaire
- 2 Non-secondary school interview
- 3 Teacher interview
- 4 Secondary school interview
- 5 Ex-secondary school student interview
- 6 Secondary school questionnaire retest
- 7 Post-secondary school students in college

6-9 Individual Identification NumberPart 2 --HolidayColumn10 Question 1a--Best Friends

- 0 None
- 1 One or two
- 2 Three or more

11 Question 1b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

Column12 Question 1c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

13 Question 2a--Move in Town

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

14 Question 2b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

15 Question 2c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

16 Question 3a--Share a Room

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

17 Question 3b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

18 Question 3c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

Column19 Question 4a--Lend

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

20 Question 4b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

21 Question 4c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

22 Question 5a--Borrow

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

23 Question 5b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

24 Question 5c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

25 Question 6a--Secrets

- 0 Never
- 1 Few times
- 2 Many times

Column26 Question 6b--Number of Tribes

- 0 Own tribe
- 1 One or two different
- 2 Three or more different

27 Question 6c--Regions

- 0 Own
- 1 Other
- 2 Both

Part 4--Question 1Column28 Number 1--Classroom Experiences

- 0 Not marked
- 1 Marked (yes)

29 Number 2--Academic Subjects

- 0 Not marked
- 1 Marked (yes)

30 Number 3--Religious Activities

- 0 Not marked
- 1 Marked (yes)

31 Number 4--Curricular Activities

- 0 Not marked
- 1 Marked (yes)

32 Number 5--Residential Life

- 0 Not marked
- 1 Marked (yes)

Column

- 33 Number 6--Teachers' Influence
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)
- 34 Number 7--Off-compound Experiences
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)
- 35 Number 8--Free-time Experiences
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)
- 36 Number 9--Other Experiences
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)
- 37 Number 10--Nothing Encouraged
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)

Part 4--Question 2Column

- 38 Number 1--Classroom Experiences
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)
- 39 Number 2--Academic Subjects
- 0 Not marked
1 Marked (yes)

Column

40	<u>Number 3--Religious Activities</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
41	<u>Number 4--Extra-curricular Activities</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
42	<u>Number 5--Residential Life</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
43	<u>Number 6--Teachers' Experiences</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
44	<u>Number 7--Off-compound Experiences</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
45	<u>Number 8--Free-time Experiences</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
46	<u>Number 9--Other Experiences</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
47	<u>Number 10--Nothing Discouraged</u>
	0 Not marked
	1 Marked (yes)
48-80	<u>Empty</u>

APPENDIX I

CODE BOOK FOR SOCIOMETRIC DATA

Card 1

Column

1-3	Empty
4-6	<u>Tribal Distance from School in Miles</u>
7-9	Empty
10-12	<u>State-wide Tribal Population in Thousands</u> (e. g. 72.5)
13-15	Empty
16-18	<u>Number of Persons Responding</u>
19-21	Empty
22-24	<u>Total Number of Friends Listed</u>
25-27	Empty
28-30	<u>Number of In-tribe Friends</u>
31-34	Empty
35-36	<u>Number of Out-tribe Friends</u>
37-39	Empty
40-42	<u>Proportion of In-tribe Friends by Percent</u> (e. g. 26.8)

Column43 Schools

- 1 Ndu
- 2 Banso
- 3 Bali
- 4 Kumba
- 5 Victoria

44 Types of Schools

- 1 Boys' school
- 2 Girls' school
- 3 Co-ed school

45 School Location

- 1 Grassland, rural
- 2 Grassland, town
- 3 Forest, urban

46 Class Level

- 1 First year
- 2 Second year
- 3 Third year
- 4 Fourth year
- 5 Fifth year

47 Problem Scope

- 1 Friends in entire school
- 2 Friends in their own class level

Column48-49 Tribes

1	Bakweri	24	Ehaghem
2	Douala	25	Oku
3	Barombi	26	Bum
4	Balundu	27	Yamba
5	Bafor	28	Bangwa
6	Balong	29	Noni
7	Bakossi	30	Aghem
8	Bassossi	31	Anyang
9	Nigerian	32	Ngie
10	Banyang	33	Fungom
11	Bamileke	34	Hausa
12	Meta	35	Misaje
13	Moghamo	36	Widekum
14	Bali	37	Mbonge
15	Ngemba	38	Balue
16	Bafut	39	Mundani
17	Ndop	40	Ngwaw
18	Kom	41	Mfumte
19	Nsaw	42	Batanga
20	Wimbum	43	Dikume Balue
21	Fulani	44	Sudanese
22	Mbembe	45	Ngolo
23	Bakundu	46	Mbo

50 Sex

- 1 Males
- 2 Females

51-62 Tribal Names Printed Out in Alpha

63-80 Empty

APPENDIX J

FACTORS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EXPERIENCE REPORTED BY STUDENTS AS
HAVING ENCOURAGED THEM TO MAKE FRIENDS WITH STUDENTS FROM OTHER TRIBES

A. Frequency Distribution by Schools

Factors	Schools													
	Ndu (89)		Banso (141)		Bali (94)		Kumba (100)		Victoria (100)		Total (524)			
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%		
1. Being in class together.	72	80.9	82	58.2	65	69.1	73	73.0	67	67.0	359	68.5		
2. Academic subjects studied.	46	51.7	76	53.9	46	48.9	62	62.0	48	48.0	278	53.1		
3. Religious activities and classes.	63	70.8	76	53.9	68	72.3	53	53.0	57	57.0	317	60.5		
4. Extra-curricular activities.	63	70.8	97	68.8	63	67.0	63	63.0	59	59.0	345	65.8		
5. Living in a boarding school.	62	69.7	72	51.1	51	54.3	63	63.0	59	59.0	307	58.6		
6. Teachers.	42	47.2	39	27.7	34	36.2	46	46.0	41	41.0	202	38.5		
7. Off-campus activities.	48	53.9	41	29.1	36	38.3	48	48.0	36	36.0	209	39.9		
8. Free-time activities on campus.	62	69.7	52	36.9	54	57.4	54	54.0	45	45.0	267	51.0		
9. Other experiences.	43	48.3	43	30.5	32	34.0	29	29.0	39	39.0	186	35.5		
10. None of these.	2	2.2	11	7.8	2	2.1	3	3.0	11	11.0	29	5.5		

B. Frequency Distribution by Classes

Factors	Classes											
	1 (104)		2 (105)		3 (109)		4 (100)		5 (106)		Total (524)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Being in class together.	72	69.2	67	63.8	70	64.2	72	72.0	78	73.6	359	68.5
2. Academic subjects studied.	52	50.0	55	52.4	63	57.8	57	57.0	51	48.5	278	53.1
3. Religious activities and classes.	66	63.5	65	61.9	67	61.5	56	56.0	63	59.4	317	60.5
4. Extra-curricular activities.	72	69.2	68	64.8	70	64.2	68	68.0	67	63.2	345	65.8
5. Living in a boarding school.	56	53.8	60	57.1	66	60.6	56	56.0	69	65.1	307	58.6
6. Teachers.	39	37.5	45	42.9	40	36.7	41	41.0	37	34.9	202	38.5
7. Off-campus activities.	33	31.7	43	41.0	54	49.5	43	43.0	36	34.0	209	39.9
8. Free-time activities on campus.	53	51.0	54	51.4	57	52.3	46	46.0	57	53.8	267	51.0
9. Other experiences.	39	37.5	34	32.4	43	39.4	32	32.0	38	35.8	186	35.5
10. None of these.	6	5.8	7	6.7	2	1.8	5	5.0	9	8.5	29	5.5

C. Frequency Distribution by Sex

Factors	Boys (352)		Girls (172)		Total (524)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Being in class together.	253	71.9	106	61.6	359	68.5
2. Academic subjects studied.	185	52.6	93	54.1	278	53.1
3. Religious activities and classes.	219	62.2	98	57.0	317	60.5
4. Extra-curricular activities.	246	69.9	99	57.6	345	65.8
5. Living in a boarding school.	213	60.5	94	54.7	307	58.6
6. Teachers.	141	40.1	61	35.5	202	38.5
7. Off-campus activities.	149	42.3	60	34.9	209	39.9
8. Free-time activities on campus.	201	57.1	66	38.4	267	51.0
9. Other experiences.	127	36.1	59	34.3	186	35.5
10. None of these	1	3.1	8	10.5	29	5.5

APPENDIX K

FACTORS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EXPERIENCE REPORTED BY STUDENTS AS HAVING DISCOURAGED THEM FROM MAKING FRIENDS WITH STUDENTS FROM OTHER TRIBES

A. Frequency Distribution by Schools

Factors	Schools											
	Ndu (89)		Banso (141)		Bali (94)		Kumba (100)		Victoria (100)		Total (524)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Being in class together.	21	23.6	20	14.2	22	23.4	12	12.0	9	9.0	84	16.0
2. Academic subjects studied.	19	21.3	19	13.5	14	14.9	7	7.0	12	12.0	71	13.5
3. Religious activities and classes.	20	22.5	25	17.7	12	12.8	8	8.0	9	9.0	74	14.1
4. Extra-curricular activities.	23	25.8	22	15.6	10	10.6	16	16.0	10	10.0	81	15.5
5. Living in a boarding school.	23	25.8	13	9.2	10	10.6	14	14.0	9	9.0	69	13.2
6. Teachers.	14	15.7	14	9.9	15	16.0	5	5.0	4	4.0	52	9.9
7. Off-campus activities.	21	23.6	22	15.6	16	17.0	11	11.0	10	10.0	80	15.3
8. Free-time activities on campus.	15	16.9	20	14.2	8	8.5	9	9.0	11	11.0	63	12.0
9. Other experiences.	14	15.7	12	8.5	18	19.1	10	10.0	11	11.0	65	12.4
10. None of these.	31	34.8	69	48.9	37	39.4	53	53.0	71	71.0	261	49.8

B. Frequency Distribution by Classes

Factors	Classes											
	1 (104)		2 (105)		3 (109)		4 (100)		5 (106)		Total (524)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Being in class together.	13	12.5	21	20.0	18	16.5	20	20.0	12	11.3	84	16.0
2. Academic subjects studied.	17	16.3	15	14.3	16	14.7	18	18.0	5	4.7	71	13.5
3. Religious activities and classes.	18	17.3	12	11.4	19	17.4	17	17.0	8	7.5	74	14.1
4. Extra-curricular activities.	15	14.4	19	18.1	16	14.7	17	17.0	14	13.2	81	15.5
5. Living in a boarding school.	12	11.5	21	20.0	12	11.0	15	15.0	9	8.5	69	13.2
6. Teachers.	6	5.8	12	11.4	14	12.8	15	15.0	5	4.7	52	9.9
7. Off-campus activities.	18	17.3	14	13.3	14	12.8	19	19.0	15	14.2	80	15.3
8. Free-time activities on campus.	14	13.5	13	12.4	12	11.0	12	12.0	12	11.3	63	12.0
9. Other experiences.	8	7.7	13	12.4	21	19.3	12	12.0	11	10.4	65	12.4
10. None of these.	60	57.7	54	51.4	49	45.0	40	40.0	58	54.7	261	49.8

C. Frequency Distribution by Sex

Factors	Boys (352)		Girls (172)		Total (524)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Being in class together.	63	17.9	21	12.2	84	16.0
2. Academic subjects studied.	50	14.2	21	12.2	71	13.5
3. Religious activities and classes.	53	15.1	21	12.2	74	14.1
4. Extra-curricular activities	57	16.2	24	14.0	81	15.5
5. Living in a boarding school	48	13.6	21	12.2	69	13.2
6. Teachers.	42	11.9	10	5.8	52	9.9
7. Off-campus activities.	64	18.2	16	9.3	80	15.3
8. Free-time activities on campus.	45	12.8	18	10.5	63	12.0
9. Other experiences.	51	14.5	14	8.1	65	12.4
10. None of these.	152	43.2	109	63.4	261	49.8

APPENDIX L

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE TWENTY-ONE STRATA OF THE RURAL ZONE¹

I. Victoria Division, East

Stratum 1: Coastal Group

Balong, Bakweri, Bamboko, Bimbia (Isubu), Mungo, Wovea (Bota), and Tiko areas. Characterized by the presence among small ethnic groups of similar origin of large numbers of immigrants from other areas.

II. Victoria Division, West and Kumba Division, Southwest

Stratum 2: Western Creek Group

Various groups of different origins, have been combined on the basis of similar ecology; the "Fish Towns," a large stranger fishing population along the coast and estuaries (Bakolle, Isangelle, Oron, Ekundu Nene, Iloani Loe, show further concentration), Balundu, Balundu-Badiko and Barombi. Most of this population now forms part of Kumba Division and so the remainder has also been added to that Division.

¹ Source: Societe d'Etudes pour le Developpement Economique et Social, The Population of West Cameroon: Main Findings of the Demographic Survey of West Cameroon, 1964 (Paris: Rue de Lille, 1966), pp. A-5 to A-7.

III. Kumba Division

Stratum 3: Inland Kumba Group

Bima, Ngolo, Batanga, Balue, Mbonge, Korup. These people are generally among the most inaccessible in Kumba Division. All are closely related with the exception of Korup, which is treated here for convenience.

Stratum 4: Central Mixed Group

Bafo, Balong (all groups), Barombi of East Kumba, Ekumbe and Bakundu, an ancient area of ethnic fragmentation on the main north-south route, now compounded with modern developments in Kumba Town and elsewhere. The Kumba Bambako are included in this stratum--they are peculiarly situated and do least stratigraphical harm here. They are closely related to Stratum 1, but have not been subject to the same modern developments.

Stratum 5: Bakossi Group

A compact, closely connected group of people (Bakossi, Elung, Ninong, Bassossi, with Banyu, Babesi, Nge-mingu) to which has been added the related Mbo, who since 1963 have formed part of Kumba Division. There is a considerable stranger population in the Tombel area.

IV. Mamfe Division

Stratum 6: Mamfe Overside Group

Ethnic groups much intermingled, isolated and without communication: Assumbo groups (Assumbo proper and Ama), Messaga-Ekol, Takamanda groups (Anyang, Buki), Mbulu groups (Anyang, Manta), Menka groups (Ambele, Otutu, Wetchu), Widekum area (Befang, Biteku, Widekum).

Stratum 7: Cross River Group

The most economically developed people of the Division. Banyang and Ejaghem (Ekwe, Obang, Keaka).

Stratum 8: Plateau-Edge Group

Bangwa and Mundani. Stratum 6 and 7 having been established, this group is statistically too small to subdivide further. Although they are not strictly of the same ethnic origin, apart from sharing the geographical unity implied in the name given here, they are all fragments of populations, some of which are mainly in the East Cameroun (Bamileke and Mbo).

V. Bamenda DivisionStratum 9: Menemo-Moghamo Group

Menemo² and Moghamo areas.

Stratum 10: Ngie-Ngwaw Group

Ngie, Ngwaw (Ngunu, Ngwo).

Stratum 11: Ngemba Group

Ngemba area, excluding the urban portion of Mankon.

Stratum 12: Bali Group

Bali excluding the villages established in the Ndop area, which have been added to Stratum 14 for geographical convenience.

Stratum 13: Bafut Group

Excluding the urban portions of Bafreng and Bamenda Station.

² More frequently known as Meta.

Stratum 14: Ndop Group

Ndop "clan," an administrative grouping.

Stratum 15: Nsaw Group

Nso (Nsaw).

VI. Wum DivisionStratum 16: Wum Western Group

Aghem, Esimbi, Beba-Befang. Although Aghem is assigned to this stratum for statistical reasons, Aghem has historical and ethnic connections with both this stratum and the next.

Stratum 17: Wum Northern Group

Fungom and Bum areas.

Stratum 18: Kom Group

Kom (Bikom).

VII. Nkambe DivisionStratum 19: Wimbu³ Group

Tang, War, Wiya (also known as Nsungli).

Stratum 20: Nkambe Eastern Group

Mfumte, Mbem⁴, Mbaw.

³ More frequently known as Wimbun.

⁴ Now known as Yamba.

Stratum 21: Mbebe-Misaje Group

Mbebe⁵ and Misaje. The arrangements of these two groups into one stratum of not very large size seemed to do least damage to the ethnic picture.

⁵More frequently known as Mbembe.

APPENDIX M

WEST CAMEROON POPULATION BY TRIBAL STRATA

Strata	Major Tribes Included	Rural Population	Percent of Total
1	Balong, Bakweri	27,524	4.4
2	Balundu, Barombi	27,846	4.5
3	Balue, Mbonge	30,761	4.9
4	Bafor, Balong, Bakundu	27,184	4.3
5	Bakossi, Bassossi	24,124	3.9
6	Anyang, Widekum	30,374	4.9
7	Banyang, Ejaghem	30,952	4.9
8	Bangwa, Mundani	27,990	4.5
9	Menemo, Moghamo	37,984	6.1
10	Ngie, Ngwaw	23,488	3.8
11	Ngemba	21,429	3.4
12	Bali	18,811	3.0
13	Bafut	37,898	6.1
14	Ndop	40,184	6.4
15	Nsaw, Oku, Noni	53,657	8.6
16	Aghem, Beba-Befang	17,196	2.7
17	Fungom, Bum	25,857	4.1
18	Kom	24,694	3.9
19	Wimbum	33,839	5.4
20	Yamba	26,103	4.2
21	Mbembe, Misaje	19,119	3.1
Others	Fulani	18,360	2.9
	Total	625,374	100.0%

*Source: Societe d'Etudes pour le Developpement Economique et Social, The Population of West Cameroon: Main Findings of the Demographic Survey of West Cameroon, 1964 (Paris: Rue de Lille, 1966), pp. A-8 and A-9.

APPENDIX N

WEST CAMEROON POPULATION BY REGIONS*

Divisions	<u>De Jure</u> Population	Proportion %
Victoria	128,888	12.5
Kumba	205,280	19.9
Mamfe	122,388	11.9
Forest Region Total	456,556	44.3
Bamenda	366,574	35.6
Wum	105,710	10.2
Nkambe	101,880	9.9
Grassland Region Total	574,164	55.7
Grand Total	1,030,720	100.0%

*Source: Societe d'Etudes pour le Developpement Economique et Social, The Population of West Cameroon: Main Findings of the Demographic Survey of West Cameroon, 1964 (Paris: Rue de Lille, 1966), p. 57.

APPENDIX O

MALE SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION BY TRIBAL STRATA

Strata	Ndu	Banso	Bali	Kumba	Total	Proportion %
1	11	2	12	22	47	3.7
2	--	--	--	12	12	0.9
3	8	--	2	6	16	1.2
4	3	2	9	28	42	3.3
5	5	2	2	59	68	5.3
6	28	--	1	--	29	2.3
7	9	2	23	33	67	5.2
8	2	3	5	4	14	1.1
9	15	5	44	25	89	6.9
10	3	1	38	6	48	3.7
11	36	7	60	6	109	8.4
12	5	8	25	5	43	3.3
13	23	13	31	9	76	5.9
14	13	17	16	3	49	3.8
15	32	295	15	--	342	26.5
16	--	1	10	2	13	1.0
17	--	3	--	2	5	0.4
18	21	2	5	2	30	2.3
19	56	34	6	--	96	7.4
20	9	--	11	--	20	1.5
21	1	2	--	1	4	0.3
Others*	11	16	15	30	72	5.6
Total	291	415	330	255	1291	100.0%

*Includes Fulanis, Hausas, various East Cameroun tribes, and expatriates.

APPENDIX P

FEMALE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT POPULATION BY TRIBAL STRATA

Strata	Banso	Kumba	Victoria	Total	Proportion %
1	2	9	58	69	10.7
2	--	2	2	4	0.6
3	--	3	--	3	0.5
4	--	16	27	43	6.7
5	3	9	21	33	5.1
6	--	--	1	1	0.2
7	2	5	32	39	6.0
8	4	2	1	7	1.1
9	4	7	35	46	7.1
10	--	3	1	4	0.6
11	12	3	29	44	6.8
12	9	--	13	22	3.4
13	11	2	10	23	3.6
14	6	--	10	16	2.5
15	154	1	13	168	26.0
16	--	--	2	2	0.3
17	1	--	2	3	0.5
18	7	--	13	20	3.1
19	4	--	16	20	3.1
20	--	--	2	2	0.3
21	--	1	2	3	0.5
Others*	9	10	54	73	11.3
Total	228	73	344	645	100.0%

*Includes Fulanis, Hausas, various East Cameroun tribes, and expatriates.

APPENDIX Q

MALE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT POPULATION BY REGIONS

Areas	Schools				Total	%
	Ndu	Banso	Bali	Kumba		
Victoria	12	3	14	38	67	5.2
Kumba	19	4	15	106	144	11.2
Mamfe	39	5	29	37	110	8.5
Forest Region	70	12	58	181	321	24.9
Bamenda	133	352	240	66	791	61.3
Wum	21	6	15	6	48	3.7
Nkambe	67	36	17	1	121	9.4
Grassland Region	221	394	272	73	960	74.4
Total	291	406 ^a	330	254 ^b	1281	99.3%

^aDoes not include nine Sudanese expatriate students.

^bDoes not include one Indian expatriate student.

APPENDIX R

FEMALE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT POPULATION BY REGIONS

Areas	Schools			Total	%
	Banso	Kumba	Victoria		
Victoria	3	16	74	93	14.4
Kumba	6	30	70	106	16.4
Mamfe	6	7	34	47	7.3
Forest Region	15	53	178	246	38.1
Bamenda	201	19	127	347	53.8
Wum	8	0	17	25	3.9
Nkambe	4	1	22	27	4.2
Grassland Region	213	20	166	399	61.9
Total	228	73	344	645	100.0%

APPENDIX S

STUDENT POPULATION IN SUBJECT SECONDARY SCHOOLS LISTED BY TRIBAL STRATA

Strata	Ndu	Banso	Bali	Kumba	Victoria	Total	Pro- portion %
1	11	4	12	31	58	116	6.0
2	--	--	--	14	2	16	0.8
3	8	--	2	9	--	19	1.0
4	3	2	9	44	27	85	4.4
5	5	5	2	68	21	101	5.2
6	28	--	1	--	1	30	1.5
7	9	4	23	38	32	106	5.5
8	2	7	5	6	1	21	1.1
9	15	9	44	32	35	135	7.0
10	3	1	38	9	1	52	2.7
11	36	19	60	9	29	153	7.9
12	5	17	25	5	13	65	3.4
13	23	24	31	11	10	99	5.1
14	13	23	16	3	10	65	3.4
15	32	449	15	1	13	510	26.3
16	--	1	10	2	2	15	0.8
17	--	4	--	2	2	8	0.4
18	21	9	5	2	13	50	2.6
19	56	38	6	--	16	116	6.0
20	9	--	11	--	2	22	1.1
21	1	2	--	2	2	7	0.3
Others	11	25	15	40	54	145	7.5
Total	291	643	330	328	344	1936	100.0%

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



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