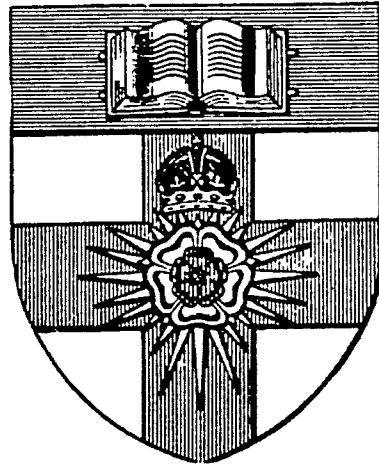


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SOCIAL PERCEPTION
AND ANXIETY IN
NIGERIAN AND BRITISH STUDENTS

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of London

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ABSTRACT

The thesis reports a cross cultural study investigating some aspects of anxiety and social perception in British and Nigerian students. Five main questions were considered:

1. The level of social perception in both groups.
2. The level of anxiety in both groups.
3. The relationship between anxiety and social perception.
4. The level of social perception and anxiety in the Nigerians as compared with a 'more favoured' foreign student group, viz. the Australians.
5. The levels of social perception and anxiety within the Nigerian group.

Method

Social perception is generally defined as every manner of social awareness of the Other. The area of 'awareness' under study in the present research involved specific opinions previously established as characteristics of the two groups. In measuring social perception, a more inclusive score was derived in place of the usual 'accuracy' score. This new score considered the 'inaccuracies' as well as the accuracies in a formula that gave credit to a willingness to suspend judgement in predicting the response of the Other.

The Anxiety level was measured by the Cattell IPAT Anxiety Scale. This test measures Cattell's factorially independent

anxiety response pattern, by combining five personality components that were found to be significantly related to the pattern.

Findings

The findings are as follows:

The Nigerians score significantly lower on social perception and significantly higher on anxiety than the Australians and the British.

Nigerians who have been in Britain for more than three years score significantly higher on social perception and significantly lower on anxiety than Nigerians who have been in Britain for three years and less.

The relationship between social perception and anxiety is discussed in terms of Rokeach's view on the relationship of 'openness' and 'threat' to cognitive efficiency. It is argued that if the higher anxiety scores of the Nigerians indicate a greater sense of threat, then they are more 'closed' in their approach to cognitive problems, and this results in significantly lower social perception scores.

The comparative results on the Nigerians and the Australians are in the predicted direction.

The analysis of the cross sectional anxiety scores of the Nigerians reveals some differences from the usual pattern found in 'foreign' students, and some possible reasons for these differences are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION - OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This is a cross-cultural study investigating certain aspects of social perception and anxiety in British and Nigerian students studying at the University of London. The aspects under consideration are formulated into five problems:-

1. The first problem considers the question: How well do Nigerian students perceive British students' views as compared with the British students' perceptions of Nigerian views? On the cognitive side, this is an attempt to examine the understanding and communication between these two cultural groups and, as such, it falls in the field of what is now commonly known as social perception. (The meaning of social perception is considered in more detail in Chapter II.)

Essentially, social perception in the broadest sense implies every manner of social awareness of the Other. Most social psychologists would probably agree that social perception is of vital importance to the whole area of social psychology. They imply that, not only is there a basic need to understand and relate to other people, but also that understanding enables one to anticipate and to control happenings which affect one's own welfare. It is further recognized that in order to have harmonious intercommunication or interaction, it is important to ascertain mutual compatibility or incompatibility. Therefore, social perception can play an important role in our everyday lives and gross errors in discrimination can lead to serious difficulty.

In the present circumstances, the possibility of gross errors in social perception is increased by the gulf of cultural and social differences. Despite this gulf, the first problem seeks to explore social perception in terms of 'opinions' and to see how these two cultural groups compare. Do the Nigerians have a better grasp of British student opinion than the British have of Nigerian student opinion?

There are several possibilities as to the direction the results might take. For example, the Nigerians may receive better social perception scores since they may have had more contact with British views than the British student may have had with Nigerian views. However, the Nigerians' opinions, before they arrived in Britain, would be of doubtful validity. The British views expressed in Nigeria are not necessarily shared by the English students in London. On the other hand, one would expect the Nigerians to have a greater urgency or motivation to understand these new surroundings. The average British student would feel no such urgency to learn of the Nigerian views. However, as hosts, the British students may probably make some attempt to learn about or meet these foreign students. (This is particularly true in some of the International Clubs connected with the University of London, such as the GOATS. This club not only aims at helping the British student to meet and learn about foreign students, but also attempts to inform the foreign students about the British.) The most that can be assumed for the present is that social perception scores will probably be low for both groups. It is

an open question as to which group will be lower, or conversely, which group is more effective with regard to social perceiving. Therefore, it is hypothesized that there will be no significant difference in scores between the two groups.

2. The second problem investigates the level of anxiety as measured by Cattell's IPAT Test (1957). It is hypothesized that the Nigerians will show a significantly higher level of anxiety than the British students. This assumption is based on the fact that Nigerians experience more difficulty living in London than the average British student. Their different cultural and social background exposes them to a certain amount of isolation and discrimination. Full participation in the life of London is limited, and frustration and anxiety would be expected. Therefore, the Nigerian level of anxiety should reflect the numerous difficulties they encounter. It should be much higher than the British students' level. Since anxiety as a term carries various meanings, the meaning it has in this study will be outlined in Chapter III.

3. The third problem concerns the relation of anxiety to social perception. There has been a great deal of controversy about this relationship. In general, it is agreed that adjustment, and particularly various measures of social adjustment, are positively related to certain types of social perception. This finding is in keeping with personality theory and with the remarks made above concerning the importance of social perception in everyday life. However, the form of social perception studied here does not fall in the general

agreement area. In some cases, adjustment and this form of social perception have been related; in other cases, there has been no relationship. Most of the measures used in examining this problem have been adjustment scales. The relationship between anxiety and the present type of social perception has not been established. However, it is assumed here that since relationships between adjustment and social perception have been found, and since anxiety and adjustment are related, a relationship between anxiety and social perception is possible. Therefore, the hypothesis to be examined is that there is a negative association between anxiety and social perception, so that if anxiety is high, social perception will be low.

4. The fourth problem compares the Nigerians to a 'more favoured' overseas group - the Australians. The Australians are considered 'more favoured' because their cultural and social ties with the British students are much closer. They would not encounter any problems of race discrimination, and their cultural similarity to the British enables them to assimilate more readily. It is hypothesized that (a) the Australians will obtain significantly better social perception scores than the Nigerians, and (b) they will be less anxious than the Nigerians.

However, it is not implied that because the Australians are less anxious than the Nigerians, they will receive better scores, although this may be true. The Australians should receive better scores because they can assimilate more easily with the British students and therefore will be more aware of British student opinion. In other words, the social perception problem

is more difficult for the Nigerians.

The results from this problem will also serve as a check on the discrimination ability of the two measures - social perception and anxiety - since theoretically, it seems most unlikely that the Australians and Nigerians should get similar scores.

5. The final problem investigates the relationship between the time spent in Britain by the Nigerians and social perception. It is hypothesized that (a) the longer a Nigerian has been in Britain the more successful is his social perception, and that (b) the longer the Nigerian has been in London, the lower is the anxiety level.

The first hypothesis is based on the assumption that the longer a Nigerian has been in London, the greater the chance he would have had to check his original ideas about British students' views. In the second hypothesis, there is the possibility that the longer the Nigerian stays in London, the more anxious he might become. However, it seems more likely that these more anxious individuals would make every attempt to return home as soon as they complete their studies, and the extremely anxious might return before their study programme was complete. Therefore, the students who remain are probably those who have made a suitable orientation to their new surroundings and so the anxiety level should be reduced. In any case, both possibilities will be examined, although the predicted direction indicates a lowering of anxiety.

These are the five problems that this study sets out to

examine. A great deal has been written about the various countries of Africa, and often sweeping generalizations are made about African behaviour. The danger of over-generalizing is also present in discussing 'Nigerians', since they differ so widely from region to region. (A brief outline of the three main regions of Nigeria is given on page 53). Therefore, the sample was divided into regions and the results on social perception and anxiety were examined for any serious inconsistencies that might distort the interpretations given to the results.

S O C I A L P E R C E P T I O NA. General Definition

Historically, social perception has never had any clear theoretical framework. In fact, the term 'social perception' is relatively new, since 'perception' was once reserved for the traditional psychophysicists and their search for correlations between stimulus and sensation. The extension of the term 'perception' in social perception represents an expansion of the problem of perception from the isolated area of psychophysics to the areas of social and personality dynamics.

MacLeod (1951) has noted that social perception can refer to 'perception of the social' or 'social factors in perception'. In the present study, social perception is concerned with 'perception of the social'. Social perception refers to a social awareness of 'the Other'. It is the perception (awareness) of another individual or group ('the Other') and of the possible traits, beliefs, opinions, etc., that this individual or group might possess. This is a general definition that embraces all studies of personal or interpersonal perception, social sensitivity, empathy, diagnostic ability, expressive behaviour, etc., under social perception. The operational design of these studies is similar. A perceiver is asked to judge some characteristic of the Other and his perceptions are compared with the responses that the Other actually gives.

The object of such research has varied from trying to trace the genetic development of accurate perceptions (Gates 1923)

to analyzing interpersonal relations (Heider 1958). The general thinking today on the purpose of social perception research is typified in this statement by Gilbert (1961, p.247): "The motive underlying self-other appraisal (i.e. social perception by the general definition) is broadly speaking the vital necessity to ascertain mutual compatibility or incompatibility with a view to possible harmonious or inharmonious interactions or intercommunication". Most psychologists acknowledge the importance of social perception in the study of human behaviour, but many of the problems facing social perception remain unsolved. The greatest difficulty has been the lack of clear conceptualization of what social perception entails. Gage and Cronbach (1955) have tried to remedy this lack and have offered some conceptual and methodological ideas for consideration. However, before examining their operational approach to social perception, there is a much wider theoretical problem that needs attention, concerning the use of 'perception' in the present context.

B. Perception Theory and 'Social' Perception

Perception, when used in the term Social Perception, is a reflection of the changing attitudes in Perception theory and in social psychology. This change was brought about by the increasing influence of Gestalt and New Look theories in perception.

MacLeod (1948) states that there are three broad schools in perception theory. First, there are the traditional psychophysicists with their search for correlations between stimulus

and sensation. Some of the more modern psychophysicists are Graham (1950) and Gibson (1950).

Secondly, the Gestalt psychologists - with their insistence that meaning and organization are given immediately in perception. They were among the earliest to recognize the importance of asking why objects appear as they do, and to use phenomenological descriptions (Koffka 1935).

Thirdly, the perceptual functionalists - (the New Look theorists) with their demonstration that what we perceive is partly determined by our pre-existing attitudes or sets (e.g. Bruner and Postman 1949). It was their approach that indicated the value of perceptual analysis as a major tool of social psychology.

The meaning and use of perception in social perception obtained most of its vitality from findings in the last two groups, the Gestalt and the New Look psychologists. Perception was seen as a possible basis for the understanding of social behaviour and experience. In the Gestalt camp, Asch, Heider and MacLeod were three significant psychologists who sought a Gestalt explanation to problems in social perception.

Asch (1946), in his early studies, was interested in the configural nature of impressions, the process of organization and grouping of traits. His famous study involving discrete qualities forced him to conclude that one quality produced a basic change in the entire impressions of another person. Thus, directly apprehended human characteristics are only part processes of a configuration of the perceived personality.

These Gestalt characteristics in 'forming impressions' (social perception) resembled any other organized or cognitive field. The idea that discoveries in the field of 'perception' can be applied to 'perception of the social' is one of the main reasons why predicting the responses of the Other is considered 'perceptual'. The justification for this extension is dubious, and is discussed below.

Heider (1944, 1958) was also interested in this general problem of whether the principles involved in the studies of the processes of organization in the perceptual field could be applied to social perception. He came to the same conclusion as Asch, using different methods and arguments. Heider tackled this problem from the standpoint of phenomenal causality. He stated that one of the main features of the organization of the social field was the attribution of a change to a perceptual unit. A change in the environment gained its meaning from the source to which it was attributed. This causal integration was of major importance in the organization of the social field. It was responsible for the formation of units which consisted of persons and acts, and which followed the laws of perceptual unit formation. Heider's 'attribution' theory is extremely complex and subtle. However, the influence of the Gestalt tradition is evident throughout his theorizing.

MacLeod (1948, 1958) also advocated the Gestalt theoretical approach for social perception. His argument was that since there was no social world different or superimposed upon the world of perception, there was therefore a single set of

phenomena that should presumably reveal a single set of laws. The problems of social perception should be approached from the phenomenological viewpoint: "What we need is a descriptive analysis of the objective field which is unbiased by hypotheses about our deeper motivation".

These three examples point out the Gestalt approach to social perception, in which 'perception' refers to the cognitive value of organized configurations or organized behavioural patterns. The New Look psychologists treated perception in an even broader behavioural context. The Bruner and Postman position was stated thus: "For a full understanding of the perceptual process, it is necessary to vary not only the physical stimulus and the sensory state of the organism, but also those central conditions - motives, predispositions, past learnings - which have largely remained outside the formal limits of the perceptual system" (1949 p. 15). Thus, the interest in perception turned towards the relation between perception and other aspects of behaviour.

The effect of the New Look approach to perception was to make social behaviour dependent on the process of perception. Perception had to be related to needs and attitudes, subject to adaptation by success and failure. In order to understand perception, it was necessary to make inferences about attitudes, emotions, ideas, beliefs, purposes, etc., i.e. about events 'inside' the Other. This is also what social perception attempts to do. However, the antagonists - and these would include among others the psychologists in the first group, the

psychophysicists - argue that perception used in this sense is indistinguishable from apperception or cognition. Students of social perception maintain that since the organization of the social environment follows similar laws, it is reasonable to treat perception, apperception and cognition from a common point of view. Social perception is closely attached to the Gestalt and New Look traditions, where the involvement of cognition in perception is so intertwined that it is difficult to isolate the two processes. However, it must be admitted that the meaning of perception in some forms of social perception (like the present study) is far removed from the traditional meanings of perception. The discrimination in this form of social perception is usually of covert, personal characteristics of the Other. It is extending the meaning of perception to mean 'inference' or 'opinion'.

This state of affairs can be misleading, and as Hochberg (1956) has suggested, there is the danger that a feeling of false unity is created among the various disciplines which really use perception in quite different forms. The present writer is aware that social perception in this study cannot be equated with studies in perception proper. At the same time, it is the practice to refer to studies of this nature as problems in social perception, person perception, inter-personal perception, etc., and a new term would only add further confusion to the issue. It is felt that the general term social perception can be maintained, but a much sharper conceptualization is essential so that the inevitable confusion

may be reduced. At present, social perception is so disorganized that most writers adopt a simple operational definition,^{*} and then proceed from there. An attempt is made in the present study to avoid some of the major 'operational' pitfalls.

C. Problems inherent in an Operational Definition of Social Perception

Bronfenbrenner (1958 p. 110) has said: "For an American psychologist, nothing is so attractive as an operational definition. And when such a definition can be combined with an 'objective' procedure yielding a numerical score, the temptation to gather data is irresistible." Dangers arise when measures obtained from an objective procedure are taken to refer to concepts defined otherwise than operationally. For example, Beiri and Ratzburg (1953) studied parental identification of college students by noting how similar their responses were to their impression of their fathers' responses, on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. It is questionable whether the technique is measuring the more complex process of 'identification' between parent and child as understood by psychoanalysts. There are other possible explanations for the various scores obtained, because of several difficulties inherent in measuring 'accuracy' in social perception. Most of these difficulties have been revealed

* Tajfel (1962) suggests that to attempt a definition would be "a sterile task." However, some progress has been made to delimit the term conceptually by Gage and Cronbach (1955); Gage, Leavitt, and Stone (1956) Tagiuri and Petrullo, (1958).

by Gage and Cronbach (1955) in an attempt to formulate a sharper conceptualization in measuring and interpreting 'accuracy' in social perception.

In this analysis, they showed that there are four components of the typical experimental design:-

1. a judge or perceiver;
2. the other;
3. the input or information concerning the other which is available to the judge;
4. the out-take - the perceptions about the other obtained from the judge.

There are possibly two ways of classifying these components: firstly, in terms of degree of acquaintance, i.e. extent of interaction the perceiver has had with the other; secondly, the degree of extrapolation, i.e. how much interpretation or inference is required. An experiment may be designed to make great demands on the intake process, (little acquaintance), or the interpretative process (much extrapolation), both, or neither. Therefore, accurate perception cannot mean the same thing to all experiments, and so they are difficult to interpret and impossible to compare.

Gage and Cronbach also classified 'others' into five categories: (1). persons in general; (2). a particular category of persons; (3). a particular group; (4). an individual; (5). an individual on a particular occasion. Thus, by combining

these five types of Others with the four components, there are twenty different ways in which to test social perception, and yet generally, all these are subsumed under a simple operational definition.

Another problem with the simple operational definition concerns the interpretation of scores. Bender and Hastorf (1952) observed the possibility that a high assumed similarity score might give a high social perception score. (They were dealing with empathy, which by present definition, is a type of social perception). In other words, by assuming that the Other was similar, they could have produced a spurious high social perception - if in fact the Other was similar. They attempted, however, to control this by subtracting the assumed similarity score from the total score, thus giving a raw social perception score. Gage and Cronbach criticized this procedure since it failed to consider the possibilities of Warranted Assumed Similarity and Difference, and Unwarranted Assumed Similarity and Difference. Their point to be noted, however, is that assumed similarity and assumed difference may contaminate the social perception measure.

Finally, the operational definition also has to take into account the problem of types of ability in social perception. The simple operational definition assumes that there is a degree of generality in social perception. From studies by Cline and Richards (1960) and Bronfenbrenner, Harding, and Galloway (1958), this assumption seems valid. However, some further qualifications should be noted. While there is a degree of

generality in social perception, there is also a degree of specificity. In other words, there are two types of social perception ability. The assumption made by the simple operational definition fails to consider this second ability in social perception. These two types of ability have been found in two independent studies and have been given different definitions.

The first type is called the 'Sensitivity to the Generalized Other' (Bronfenbrenner et al.,1958) or 'Stereotype Accuracy' (Gage and Cronbach,1955). In this type of ability an individual can perceive the typical response of a large class or group. Cronbach states that the individual with this type of ability operates on the basis of an accurate stereotype. This ability is demonstrated in studies that concentrate on perceiving community attitudes, or the 'typical response' for some special class of people. An individual is not asked to perceive how a particular person might respond.

The second type of ability is called by Bronfenbrenner et al., 'Interpersonal Sensitivity', and by Gage and Cronbach, 'Differential Accuracy'. In this ability, a person can perceive ways in which one person may differ from another, or from the average.

This difference in types of social perception ability points up the possibility that a person may excel in one type, but not in the other. As Bronfenbrenner et al.,state, a teacher may be keenly aware of individual differences among her pupils, and yet completely overestimate what an average student

in her class can do. By using a general operational definition, these finer distinctions are lost, despite the fact that there is a general degree of social perception ability. What is necessary is to state on what one is concentrating and observe the limits of the operational definition. The above discussion has drawn attention to the numerous difficulties encountered in using a simple operational definition. It is, therefore, the task of the present writer to clarify the position taken with regard to social perception in this study, in view of these difficulties.

D. The Operational Position

The area of social perception in this cross-cultural study is equivalent to Bronfenbrenner et al.'s 'sensitivity to the generalized other', or Cronbach's 'stereotype accuracy'. The discriminating events are a set of propositions. An individual has to express his opinion on each proposition, as well as what stand he feels the other would take. (A copy of the propositions can be found in Appendix A.) Social perception scores for each individual in the two groups are then obtained in order to measure how effectively each subject perceived the Other. This social perception score is not a simple accuracy score as used in many social perception studies. The method and rationale used to derive this score will be explained.

E. Method and Rationale of Social Perception Scores

(1) The propositions

As mentioned above, this study selected the area of social perception called 'sensitivity to the generalized Other'. The 'generalized Other'⁽¹⁾ defined in this context is similar to the Bronfenbrenner usage, i.e. 'any collection of persons to which a perceiver attributes common characteristics'. The groups used here have 'common characteristics' such as race, personality traits, attitudes, etc. However, in this study the focus is on the opinion characteristic; so the first problem is to find opinion stands that are common to a specific group.

The operational procedure was to draw up a set of thirty-five statements or propositions. The simple criteria used in the selection of the propositions were (a) that both groups understood what was meant by the questions, and (b) that the statements should be common conversational pieces in university circles. After a preliminary discussion with fifteen Nigerian and fifteen English students, a final thirty statements were selected and called a 'Study in Beliefs' (Appendix A). A subject was permitted three possible answers - agree, disagree, or undecided (neutral).

(2) Establishing Positions

Positions were established on each statement for the two groups. A position was considered established when at least sixty percent of the group held the same view. It was decided

(1) The term comes from Mead (1934)

arbitrarily for the purpose of the inquiry that this indicated a general trend and, therefore, qualified as a common characteristic of that group.

In the 'generalized Other' complete uniformity in a characteristic is not expected before that characteristic is considered common. Variability is admitted by definition. What is required is that there should be general trends that can be associated with a specific group. Thus, by finding trends on the thirty statements for the two groups, it is possible to describe these trends in terms of common characteristics. The social perception problem would be to see if members of one group can perceive these common characteristics or trends of the 'generalized other'.

(3) Measuring Social Perception

One of the basic differences between the present measure of social perception and conventional measures concerns the quality of the non-accurate perceptions. In most operational definitions of social perception, differences in non-accurate responses are not considered. In the present measure of social perception, the non-accurate perceptions are divided into two categories: (a) Misperceptions, and (b) Nonperceptions.

A Misperception is scored when a subject gives the opposite position to that held by the Other - i.e. a subject in predicting the response of the Other says "agree", while the established position of the Other is "disagree".

A Nonperception is scored when a subject replies in the 'undecided' column in predicting the response of the Other -

i.e. a definite opinion is not given although the Other does have a definite opinion. There was the possibility that this response was intended as a definite opinion, meaning that the subject saw the Other as 'undecided'.⁽¹⁾ This alternative interpretation was possible because the instructions⁽²⁾ may have been misleading, and so led to some uncertainty about interpretation. To clarify the situation, the two possible interpretations were afterwards given to a sample of ten British and ten Nigerian subjects who had filled in the forms. In all cases the interpretation given was that the subject was not sure what opinion the Other held. Therefore, a nonperception, while falling in the non-accurate category of responses, differs from a misperception in that it is an indication of 'doubt'. This attitude of doubt is considered of value in the problem of social perception because it suggests a concern about the correctness of one's judgments. The subject is aware that he may be wrong but does not feel the need to take a definite stand on what the Other believes.

The underlying attitude in the nonperception response also bears some similarity to Rokeach's (1960) conception of the 'open system of beliefs'. In the open system, the cognitive need to know is of prime importance, while in the

(1) If the established opinion of the Other was 'undecided', then this would be an accurate response.

(2) See Appendix B.

closed system, the individual's cognitive need is to defend himself from threatening aspects of reality. To the extent that the nonperception response indicates a willingness to suspend judgment (or at least, freedom from the need for defence against admitted ignorance), then the number of nonperceptions can be an indication of the degree of openness in a subject.

In view of these theoretical considerations, the operational procedure in measuring social perception considers not only the accurate responses, but also the number of misperception and nonperception responses. To express the relative importance of these responses arithmetically, an accurate perception (AP) receives a score of +2; a misperception (MP) a score of -2; and a nonperception (NP) a score of +1. Thus, a subject who made seven accurate perceptions (14), three nonperceptions (3), and two misperceptions (-4), received a score of 13, $(14 + 3 - 4)$.

This combination gives credit to the 'doubt' response so as to indicate its value in the cognitive problem of social perception. It is felt that the more 'open' a subject is to the problem of social perception (or any cognitive problem), the greater the chance that he is not only accurate in his response, but he is more effective. He is considered more 'effective' because he would be more willing to consider carefully a proposition before taking a firm stand. A more 'closed' approach to the cognitive problem is considered less effective because the subject is less aware of the possibility of bias affecting his judgments.

This study uses the term 'effective' to distinguish these

two attitudes (open and closed) to the social perception problem, as well as to separate the social perception score from those which only imply accuracy. The single accuracy score does not indicate the nature of the inaccuracies and, as discussed above, these inaccuracies need not all be of the same type. It has not been possible to find any studies that consider social perception in this operational framework. The technique of Travers (1941) did consider an individual's errors in his judgment of group opinion, but this was a separate part of his whole technique. Most studies have concentrated entirely on the accuracy of social perception, and its various implications. One exception, in a more theoretical vein, is the analysis of social perception by Ichheiser (1949). He was acutely aware of the importance of studying 'misunderstanding' in social perception. His point about the importance of Socratic wisdom in social perception is reflected in the operational definition given here for nonperception. By Socratic wisdom he referred to the idea that an individual who does understand that he does not understand is much closer to the truth than one who, deceiving himself by pseudo-understanding, does not even understand that he does not understand. The present technique makes it possible, not only to study this kind of nonperception, but also accuracy and misperception. It will be possible to obtain an 'effective social perception score' and then analyse this score into its components in order to observe how the contributing factors are related, and how they compare among

the various groups.

Summary of Chapter II

Social Perception in a broad sense implies an awareness of the Other (an individual or a group), and the possible traits, beliefs, opinions, etc., that the Other may possess. The development of this approach to perception has been due to a large extent to the increasing influence of Gestalt and New Look theories. Unfortunately, much of the research in social perception has relied solely on operational definitions that lack conceptual clarity. The present approach recognizes the many pitfalls inherent in a simple operational definition and attempts to concentrate on effective social perception of the 'generalized other.' The focus of social perception is on a specific area of the generalized other, namely, the views and opinions held by the two groups as established by their agreement or disagreement with a set of thirty propositions. Effective social perception of the established positions is measured by a formula which considers the errors and nonperceptions, as well as the accurate perceptions.

ANXIETYA: General Approach

The meaning and measurement of anxiety, like social perception, need clarification. The conceptual approach used in the present study is based on Cattell's rigorous factor analytic study (1957a). Even this type of approach is open to question, since Cattell, Eysenck (1953) and Spence (1953) all arrive at different factorial decisions. Theoretically, while differences regarding origin, purpose, and nature of anxiety exist, there are certain points of agreement. Dixon (1955) in an analysis of the concept of anxiety, summarized the following points about anxiety on which most psychologists would agree: (1) Anxiety is an affective response to an anticipated threat to the integrity of the organism; (2) there are certain physiological correlates which accompany this response; (3) anxiety may be produced experimentally with a variety of techniques and sometimes reduced by certain procedures such as deconditioning, 'physical' or 'somatic' therapies, psychosurgery, etc.

These points of agreement about the meaning of 'anxiety' still leave much to be desired in conceptualization, since all of these points could equally apply to 'fear' or 'stress'. The Cattell-Scheier (1961) approach passes beyond these general points and tries to isolate 'anxiety' from its intimate conceptual relation with 'fear', and 'stress', by examination of the various response patterns. They have had some success

in isolating a stress response pattern as distinct from an anxiety response pattern (p. 170, 1961), but their success with fear has been more limited. Conceptually, Cattell and Scheier accept the usual distinction in which anxiety is distinguished from fear as being an alerting by cues and symbols rather than by concrete present danger. But they admit that it is still difficult to demonstrate the process of modification from fear to anxiety.

The Cattell-Scheier anxiety response pattern demonstrates statistically (factorially) that anxiety is a single entity. They disagree with those psychologists who assume that there are several empirically independent varieties of anxiety such as bound, free, unconscious, etc. Their approach to anxiety recognizes the different forms anxiety may take, but, at the same time, maintains that there is one 'anxiety' that is factorially independent of other close cousins such as neuroticism, fear, stress, etc. This approach differs from that of Eysenck and Spence, in that Cattell locates three independent factors - anxiety, neuroticism and extroversion-introversion. Eysenck (1953) has located two, neuroticism and extroversion-introversion - while anxiety is a combination of neuroticism plus introversion. Spence (1953) thinks in terms of one general factor which he calls emotional responsiveness⁽¹⁾. Whether one takes a monist, dualist, or trinitarian approach depends to a great extent on one's faith in the methods employed by the three men concerned, especially as far as

(1) This emotional responsiveness factor is measured by Taylor's Manifest Anxiety Scale (1953).

Eysenck and Cattell are concerned. Cattell, in his factor analysis, ignores all other factors than those extracted by the oblique simple structure, while Eysenck stresses orthogonal factors. The bias expressed in the present study favours the trinitarian approach, since it appears more hopeful in cross-cultural research. The separation of the anxiety factor from the neuroticism factor makes more theoretical sense if one is to apply a test to Nigerians. Neuroticism measures are more culture-bound than an independent anxiety measure. The Cattell IPAT Anxiety Test used in this cross-cultural study is based on Cattell's factor analytic finding of a single unified factor of anxiety. To appreciate the meaning of this anxiety factor, a resume of Cattell's method and procedure is essential.

B. Anxiety Factorially Defined

Cattell applied the factor-centred approach to a large number of clinical tests that supposedly measure anxiety, and observed the broad patterns and cleavages among the tests (1957a). Analysing the data, he found a group of first order factors forming a pattern that always agreed with clinical evaluations of anxiety. It is this pattern of first order factors that Cattell called the anxiety factor of F.Q. II (Factor Questionnaire- data, second order). No one member of the pattern obtained a sufficient loading by itself to meet the anxiety criteria, i.e. characteristics which clinicians agree indicate anxiety. Together, the group did meet this 'trait definition, and was also able to qualify as anxiety on 'type' definition

grounds, since scores on the group of factors could discriminate significantly between persons with higher and lower levels of anxiety, as clinically judged. Thus, Cattell's single unitary factor of anxiety - the pattern obtained from first order factors - is closely identified with clinical evaluations of anxiety. The members of the pattern that form the anxiety factor can be defined in terms of Cattell's personality structure ((1957, 10)). Since the IPAT Anxiety Test is made up of five members of the pattern that contribute the most to the anxiety dimension, these five anxiety-components will be explained in order of their loading importance on the second order anxiety factor.

1. High Ergic Tension or Q4+

This contributory component refers to all the various stimulated but unsatisfied drives aroused within an individual. It may be described as general or repressed drive, giving rise to tension or id pressure. The theoretical reasoning states that high Q4 is energy excited in excess of the ego strength capacity to discharge it, and is generally disruptive of emotional balance, resulting in behaviour that is tense, irritable, anxious, impulsive and hyperactive.

The way Q4 would affect an individual's anxiety level, then, would depend on the manner in which he handles his tension level, i.e. the degree to which he is able or willing to give it expression. Of course, the type of drive involved would make a great deal of difference, since exposure of certain drives (e.g. sex or pugnacity), would supposedly result in

greater anxiety depending on the cultural limitations. It is this component that has the highest loading of the second order factors of anxiety.

2. High Guilt Proneness or O+

This is the second largest contributor to the anxiety factor. It refers mainly to a 'poorness in spirit', sometimes associated with piety. High O+ is noted by feelings of unworthiness, inadequacy, and over-fatigue. Cattell is still unsettled as to whether this factor is an acquired superego structure and therefore, part of the superego pattern, or a more temperamental tenderheartedness and submissiveness. If it is part of the superego pattern, then it is possible to explain its relation to anxiety in Mowrer's terms (1950). The Mowrer position is that an increasingly strong conscience should show no increased anxiety if it encounters no resistance. However, resistances are the rule rather than the exception, so anxiety increases. On the other hand, it could be hypothesized that a more powerful superego means more generation of anxiety, resulting in behaviour reflected in the feeling of a 'poorness in spirit'.

If O+ is a more temperamental tenderheartedness and submissiveness, then it may represent a constitutional proneness to anxiety. The final conceptualization of O+ and its relation to anxiety will depend on further experimentation. At present, the best descriptive explanation is that the O+ factor is known to represent depressive anxiety guilt, where the central depressive characteristic is a feeling of

unworthiness. The exact position of the 'proneness' in this factor is not clear.

3. Lack of Will Control or Low Self-Sentiment or Q3-

This contributor to the anxiety factor refers to the control of impulse and excitability by the self-sentiments. Generally, it represents the level of development of the conscious self-sentiment, i.e., the extent to which an individual has crystallized for himself a clear, consistent, admired pattern of behaviour, to which he strives to conform.

The strength of this factor will be of great importance to anxiety, since a poor self-sentiment formation raises the whole level of internal conflict, and therefore, of anxiety. Cattell considers this component to have a high temperamental determination, as well as situational characteristics, and therefore, some temperamental capacity to integrate may be necessary. However, it may be that anxiety is in some way unfavourable to the development of a strong integrated self-sentiment. In any case, there is a definite positive relationship between anxiety and low self-sentiment development.

4. Lack of Ego Strength or C-

The next contributory component is the well-known concept of low ego-strength, i.e. the inability to control and express drives in a suitable way. This component resembles Eysenck's 'general neuroticism' pattern (1953), and on the positive side is related to Q3+ in the sense that both are concerned with control. However, in Q3, the interest is in degree of motivation to integrate behaviour around the self-sentiment

or crytallized ideal, and the level of development attained. In C, the focus is on immediate ability to control and express stimulated drives realistically.

This factor possibly contributes to anxiety in two ways. First, a weak ego is unable to effect realistic discharge and therefore reduce drive. Secondly, anxiety would be generated through a 'fear of overthrow of the ego' or 'loss of control'. This would be proportionally more acute in a weaker ego and so lead to a rigid defence mechanism. Cattell suggests that 'loss of control' may be a partly innate fear trigger - such as the strangeness one feels when one loses grip on a physiological function or the inability to control a muscle - producing immediate anxiety. On the other hand, fear of losing control may be a learned phenomenon from previous punishment for losing control. Cattell admits that the relationship between C- and anxiety is not clear.

5. Protension or Suspiciousness or L+

The final major component loading the second-order anxiety factor refers to paranoid suspiciousness, jealousy and poor judgment. The term protension signifies 'projection and inner tension', which are the essentials of this component.

Cattell offers two possible hypotheses as to how this component contributes to the anxiety factor. Firstly, it may be that anxiety, operating as a pattern of insecurity over a long period, induces the paranoid suspicion leading to such things as poor judgment, 'biased perfection' (overevaluation of the self), and the whole paranoid defence system. Secondly, it may be that social isolation produced by the paranoid

behaviour increases insecurity and anxiety.

These are five of the major components that group together to form the single second-order factor of anxiety. It is this independent, factorially defined anxiety that is incorporated in the IPAT Anxiety Scale. With the above background information, it is now possible to describe the actual make-up of the anxiety scale.

C. The IPAT Anxiety Scale

(1) General Format

The IPAT Anxiety Scale (Cattell 1957b) consists of forty items scored trichotomously, and measures Cattell's factorially defined anxiety (see Appendix C). The first twenty items are disguised 'cryptic' statements and the last twenty items are 'overt symptomatic' statements, and it is possible to obtain a comparison between the two types of items. It is also possible to get a rough analysis into the five distinct anxiety-contributory components described above: Q4, Ergic Tension; O+, Guilt Proneness; Q3-, Lack of Integration in Self-Sentiment; C-, Low Ego Strength; and I+, Suspiciousness.

(2) Validity and Reliability

The validity of the test is established in two ways. Firstly, there is a conceptual, internal or construct validity. Each of the forty items has been established by the fact that it correlates significantly and most highly out of 2,000 questionnaire response items tried out with the primary factors that load the second order anxiety factor. These items are

taken from Cattell's 16PF Test (1957c) and yield a uniform mean validity for each of the five components.

Secondly, there is external validity which has been established in three ways: (a) by correlating with the estimates of anxiety level in eighty-five patients, made independently by two psychiatrists; (b) by correlating with physiological, behavioural laboratory tests of anxiety; (c) by comparing scores of normals, neurotics, and anxiety hysterics. These three methods have significantly supported the unique structure of Cattell's 'factorial anxiety' measure.

The split-half reliability of the test is .84 on a sample of 240 normal adults and .91 on a mixed population sample of normals and hospitalized neurotics.

(3) Relationship to Other Tests

Cattell and Scheier (1961) report that the IPAT Test correlates about .80 with the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (1953). (Various correlations have been found ranging from .85 to .75 by Bendig (1959)). It correlates .77 with Eysenck's Neuroticism Scale. The test correlates negatively with the MMPI Lie Scale (-.50), the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (-.71) and the Eysenck Extraversion-Introversion Scale (-.29).

All these correlations are in the right direction. Although the IPAT test correlates highly with the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale and with Eysenck's Neuroticism Scale (1959), the IPAT scale is preferred for three reasons. Firstly, the items, on inspection, in the IPAT test appear less

threatening than on the other tests. The first twenty items on the IPAT test are covert or hidden, and the latter twenty overt, symptomatic items are even more disguised than on most of the other anxiety tests.

Secondly, the IPAT test considers differences between momentary anxiety (or state) and more permanent anxiety (or trait). This distinction is noted in popular speech in that one can recognize an 'anxious' person, a person who all his life is characteristically operating at a higher anxiety level, and a typically non-anxious person, who is temporarily in a highly anxious state. This state-trait distinction has been central to much of Cattell's theorizing and experimentation. Theoretically, he recognizes a psychological state when a set of variables alter together, rising and falling over time, independently of other states. Experimentally, Cattell and Scheier have been able to show that the IPAT test does show incremental changes in anxiety rousing situations. This is an important distinction because it separates anxiety from only being considered in terms of neuroticism. While neurotics usually score high on anxiety, non-neurotics, in what is actually, realistically, an anxiety-provoking situation, may also score very high on the general anxiety factor. However, Cattell and Scheier do not adequately distinguish this state anxiety from fear in terms of questionnaire data, although, they have found some changes in psychophysiological response patterns, in terms of temporal persistence of the responses to sudden situational fear and state anxiety (p. 203, 1961).

Further, it has been determined that Q3- (low self-sentiment) and Q4 (drive tension) are aspects of personality more highly determined by environment than the other components in the test. In short term situational changes, Q4 and C- (low ego strength) change most while O (Guilt) and L (Suspiciousness) stay very steady. This information would be invaluable to a clinician, since one of the first problems in the clinic is to separate out a 'healthy' situational anxiety, from a pathological, neurotic or psychotic anxiety.

Thirdly, the IPAT test is analyzable into distinct components (described above), about which there is a background of information built up over years of experimental research. Very little is known about many other anxiety tests such as the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale.

This third reason for preferring the IPAT test has been questioned by Bendig (1960). He administered the IPAT Anxiety Scale to 200 students and analyzed the correlations. He found little relationship to the assumed factor content and none of Cattell's five contributory components could be clearly identified. He further discovered two second-order factors, rather than the single second-order factor of anxiety. In view of the overwhelming support for the existence of a unitary second-order dimension (Cattell and Scheier 1961), the most likely explanation for Bendig's results is that they represent a sampling or methodological artifact. Furthermore, Cattell has stated that the components that contribute to the second-order factor of anxiety cannot be considered measures of the

actual factors themselves. To obtain pure measures of the contributory components, it is necessary to administer the 16 PF Personality Test (1957c). Therefore, it is not surprising that Bendig was unable to isolate the five contributory components from the IPAT Anxiety Scale. These five components are rough guides or indications to assist in further investigations.

Bendig, in another study (1959), concludes that both anxiety and neuroticism are manifestations of a more general emotionality factor. In this approach, he draws close to Spence. However, he is not a monist, since he also acknowledges the existence and independence of the extroversion-introversion factor, and so, is also close to Eysenck's framework. The present writer is committed to the Cattell trinitarian approach and specifically, to the second-order factor of anxiety as measured by the IPAT Anxiety Scale because of the three reasons outlined above. The Spence, Eysenck, and Bendig approaches fail to consider normal anxiety when they include anxiety in a conceptual framework of emotional responsiveness, or neuroticism plus introversion. Their approach appears strictly negative, in that all anxiety is a sign of illness. Cattell, by his state-trait distinction and his general theoretical framework, presents a more balanced approach to anxiety.

D. Anxiety and Social Perception

1. The Comparative Levels

The second, fourth, and fifth problems to be examined

in this study compare various levels of anxiety. In the second and fourth problems, it is hypothesized that the Nigerians will score significantly higher than the British and the Australian samples. It has not been possible to find any specific research reported in the literature on a cross-cultural comparison of this nature. Cattell and Scheier (1961) have conducted a number of cross-cultural studies using the anxiety and neuroticism factors. They were trying to establish cross-cultural constancy of the two response patterns, but they never included an African or Australian group in their studies. (Most of their studies were with subjects from the United States, Britain, France, Italy, India and Poland.)

There have been many studies on the 'adjustment' problems of 'foreign' students and these have been thoroughly examined by Singh (1961). The general conclusions from these studies give support to the assumptions made in this study—that the Nigerians will score significantly higher on anxiety than the British or Australians because they have so many difficulties to face. However, these studies have not considered this problem on a comparative basis. The Australians are really 'foreign' students studying in Britain, but they have none of the major handicaps facing an Indian or African (such as race, religion, language, etc.). Therefore, the problems of 'adjustment' for Australians are considerably reduced and therefore, their anxiety level should be significantly lower than that of the Nigerians. In other words, the problems

facing 'foreign' students will vary considerably, and Singh (1961) has emphasized this point. The results from the present cross-cultural study should also give some indication of the wide differences in anxiety between the two 'foreign' groups - the Australians and the Nigerians.

The fifth problem concerns the comparative levels of anxiety within the Nigerian sample. Singh (1961), studying the 'adjustment' of Indian students in Britain, found that his subjects conformed to a pattern noted by other writers (Coelho 1958; Lysagaard 1955; Swell and Davidson 1956). This pattern has four stages:

- (a) First three months - comparatively high adjustment.
- (b) 3 months - 2 years - adjustment lowers.
- (c) 2 - 3 years - adjustment high.
- (d) 3 years and more - adjustment declines.

The present sample does not have such fine discriminations for the 'length of residence in Britain' question, nor is the sample large enough to adequately observe this pattern. However, the results may give some indication as to the consistency of this pattern for Nigerian students.

Most of these studies on 'foreign' students concern their adjustment and attitudes to the host country. The only specific work on 'anxiety' in Nigerian students in Britain, (i.e. known to the writer) is that by the Nigerian psychiatrist Lambo (1960). This work was not a comparative study, and the manuscript has not been published. However, Lambo has made various references to this study (both

directly and indirectly - Lambo 1961, 1962) and it is possible to obtain some general impressions.

Lambo was mainly interested in the mental health problems of Nigerian students in Britain. It seems he found that many of the students displayed a pattern of behaviour, in some respects, similar to most educated detribalized Nigerians, living in Nigeria. The cause of this behaviour he hypothesized, was due to 'malignant anxiety'. Lambo describes 'malignant anxiety' as a protracted mental reaction to situational factors, that can be crippling, usually in the interpersonal sphere, but without measurable or demonstrable deterioration or disintegration of the personality. It develops under the impact of social and emotional difficulties encountered by personalities psychologically ill-equipped to meet them. Lambo, in another article (1962), describes some of the symptoms of 'malignant anxiety' as (a) an impairment of the familiar quality of perceptions of the outer world, (b) disturbed insight, (c) mortal fear and (d) intense anxiety.

Lambo states that this condition is frequent in 'marginal' Africans, who are in the process of renouncing (or have unsuccessfully renounced) their age-old culture, but have failed to assimilate the new. It therefore develops into a permanent state of mind and so he calls it 'malignant'. Unfortunately, he has not given any objective measures or comparisons to reinforce his findings.

Since the actual report by Lambo is not available, it is difficult to be sure in what respects the Nigerians living in Britain show similar patterns of anxiety. In the cross-sectional analysis of the present results, it may be possible to put forth a point of view based on the Cattell approach to anxiety and then compare this view with the Lambo thesis.

2. The Relationship between Social Perception and Anxiety

The relationship between anxiety and social perception in terms of the definitions given here or otherwise, has rarely been examined cross-culturally. Probably, the main reason for avoiding this area, is the feeling that the range of one's insight into the personality of another cultural group is limited. Thus most studies investigating the relation between anxiety and social perception are conducted on similar cultural groups. The general hypothesis in most studies is that the presence of personal problems and conflicts cloud or distort the view of the perceiver and render his perceptions of others biased and inadequate. Another way of stating this general hypothesis is that the emotional state of the perceiver affects his perceptions of Others.

The measures of 'emotional state' in these studies have varied from personality adjustment inventories (e.g. Bell Adjustment Inventory or the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) to various anxiety

measures (e.g. Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale).^{*} It has not been possible to locate any study using the IPAT Anxiety Scale. In order to give some impression of the general state of affairs, with regard to this relationship between anxiety and social perception, the findings will be discussed in the broad context of 'emotional state' and social perception.

Bruner and Tagiuri (1954) examined the problem in a review of social perception studies. They found some instances of direct contradiction such as in the findings of Estes (1937) and Murray (1938). Estes examined social perception ability for those who had been analyzed and those who had not and found no difference. Murray, on the other hand, supposedly using the same criteria, found differences favouring those who were analyzed and supposedly, in a better 'emotional state'. Bruner and Tagiuri realized that there are several difficulties in a comparison of this kind, and this comparison did point out many of the general problems involved in social perception research. (Many of these problems have been noted in the previous chapter.) Despite the few contradictions, Bruner and Tagiuri came to the conclusion that the emotional state of the perceiver probably does affect social perception, but under certain conditions, and these conditions need to be defined.

raft (1955) in his review of social perception studies, took this conclusion a step further. He stated that "good

* cf. Travers (1941); Davitz (1959,1960); Schmidt and Doane (1957).

emotional adjustment and integration" was fairly consistently found to be positively correlated with the ability to perceive in certain cases and then defined these cases. He accomplished this by dividing all studies in social perception into two groups: (a) those which required an individual to make analytical judgments (perceptions), and (b) those which did not. Analytical perceptions, (a), were those where a perceiver conceptualized or quantified specific characteristics of the subject in terms of a given frame of reference. The non-analytic perceptions, (b), were those where the perceiver responded in a global form. The positive correlation was found on the analytical studies, while the evidence for the non-analytical studies was contradictory. In other words, the Taft conclusion applies only in cases where Interpersonal Sensitivity or Differential Accuracy (as Bronfenbrenner et al., and Cronbach and Gage would describe the analytic approach) was required, and not in non-analytic (Sensitivity to the Generalized Other or Stereotype Accuracy) cases. In these latter cases, the relationship was not clearly defined.

Many recent studies have failed to clarify the overall situation for various reasons. For example, Bieri, Blacharsky, and Reid (1955) studied the restrictive effect of conflict and repression on social perception. They anticipated a negative relationship, but were unable to find one. As Erickson (1957) and Chance (1958) have noted, the Bieri et al. study was probably measuring both Differential Accuracy and

Stereotype Accuracy, yet their experimental design only considered differential accuracy. One problem here, as pointed out by Bronfenbrenner et al. (1958), is that an individual may be good at one type of social perception, but bad at the other.

Chance (1958) attempted to repeat the Mieri et al. study, guarding against the Stereotype Accuracy pitfall, and concentrating on Differential Accuracy. She still failed to produce the expected positive correlation that Taft had found common to these analytic-type studies. But analyzing her data, she found that certain aspects of adjustment were definitely related to social perception, while others were not. Thus, it is necessary to define carefully, not only the type of social perception, but also the type of adjustment or emotional state that is being considered. Therefore, Chance's findings can still support Taft's conclusion, while also adding the further condition - that certain emotional states affect Differential Accuracy in social perception. For the present, that is the most that can be said for the overall picture regarding emotional state and social perception.

This conclusion still leaves the problem of stereotype accuracy in social perception and emotional state unresolved. In a study similar to the present one, but not cross-cultural, Travers (1941) did find some relationship between social adjustment and stereotype accuracy-(his and the present study are investigations into this area of social perception).

But Taft (1955) has reported on so many other negligible or negative correlations, that a definitive position cannot be adopted. This study tackles the problem from a different angle in that it is (a) cross-cultural, (b) interested in effective social perception rather than mere accuracy, and (c) has limited the meaning of anxiety by using Cattell's IPAT test, which can be analyzed into components. It is hoped that this shift in focus may produce some new ways to observe the problem of anxiety and social perception.

Summary of Chapter III

While there are many different conceptual approaches to the term anxiety, there are areas of agreement. It is generally accepted that anxiety is an affective response to anticipated threat; that there are certain physiological correlates and that it can be produced experimentally. The Cattell-Scheier approach, accepting these general ideas, further distinguishes anxiety from its conceptual neighbours (fear, stress, neuroticism, etc.) by finding different response patterns. The distinct anxiety response pattern is incorporated in the IPAT Anxiety Scale. This scale consists of the five major components that contribute most to the trait-state definition of anxiety. They are: Q4+ - Drive Tension, O+ - Guilt Proneness, Q3- - Low Self-Esteem, C- - Low Ego Strength, and L+ - Suspiciousness. The test is validated internally and externally, has a high reliability, and compares favourably with other tests of anxiety. It has the advantage over most other tests in that

it (a), has been analyzed for state-trait variations (and therefore can measure situational as well as possible pathological anxiety), and (b), has analyzable components, (which have been thoroughly studied).

It has not been possible to find any studies using the IPAT scale in an English-Nigerian cross-cultural analysis, although other groups have been considered. Singh has described a pattern of 'adjustment' for Indian students studying in Britain, and Lambo has described some aspects of 'anxiety' in Nigerian students, and these will be considered later in conjunction with the IPAT findings for Nigerians.

The relation between 'emotional state' and social perception depends on the type of measure used for 'emotional state' and the kind of social perception ability measured. The most that can be said at present is that certain aspects of adjustment are definitely related to differential accuracy in social perception. This study hopes to clarify the situation with regard to stereotype accuracy in social perception and anxiety.

PROCEDURE AND METHOD

This chapter discusses the procedure and method used to examine the five problems outlined above in terms of the definitions given to social perception and anxiety.

A. Procedure

All subjects were given two copies of thirty propositions (labelled 'a Study in Beliefs') and one copy of the Cattell IPAT Anxiety Scale, in a stamped, addressed envelope. An explanatory letter was included, explaining the nature of the project, and requesting the subject to fill in one copy of the propositions in terms of his own opinions, and the second copy in terms of how he felt the 'Other' would respond. He was also required to complete the IPAT Scale, and the Nigerian subject was asked in addition to state the region in Nigeria from which he came and the length of time he had been in Britain. Complete anonymity was guaranteed.

The response to this procedure varied among the three groups. The highest percentage of returned forms came from the British students, and the lowest from the Nigerians. There was also an added failure on the part of the Nigerians in that only sixty percent stated how long they had been in Britain. In order to obtain a better picture of the effectiveness of the procedure, it is necessary to analyze the three samples.

(1) The Nigerian Sample

The Nigerian sample consisted of students studying in London who frequent the University of London Union building. (The latter criterion was also used in obtaining the British sample, in order to ensure that both these groups studied had had at least some opportunities for contact and mutual acquaintance.) These Nigerian students come from a country whose social and political structure is relatively unknown.

Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, and thus became the largest independent territory in the African continent. The people are diverse in their cultures and origins and there are at least 300 tribes with most possessing their own language. There are over 14 million Muslims and over 6 million Christians and many millions following a wide variety of beliefs based on Animism. It has only been in recent times that these various threads have been woven together into a single coherent design.

The present design of Nigeria is a Federation of three main regions. Each region is dominated politically and culturally by one tribal group - the Hausa in the North, the Yoruba in the West, and the Ibo in the East. The North is the largest single region and so it has the largest party in the Federal Legislature. The three regions have governments of their own wielding powers over a wide range of subjects.

The Northern Region consists of nearly three quarters of the area of Nigeria and over half the total population of the country. There are two large tribal groups in the north,

the Hausa and the Fulani, but the dominating group is the Hausa who account for approximately six of the twelve million inhabitants. The Northern people are mostly Muslims and have a long tradition of established government. In 1900, the British did not interfere with the existing native rules or with the Islamic religion and customs, but inaugurated the policy of 'indirect rule' - governing through indigenous native institutions, assisted by British advisers. It is said that this policy encouraged an innate Islamic conservatism to resist new European ideas, and reinforced a natural parochialism. Thus, the North has lagged a long way behind the other two regions in political and social development.

The Western Region: the south-west section of Nigeria is the richest of the three areas. The dominant group, the Yoruba (approximately six million), is an aggressive people and has benefitted from long contact with the Christian missionaries, particularly in the educational field. They have a strong sense of tribal unity founded upon the belief in a common ancestor and an indigenous culture.

The Eastern Region: the south-east section of Nigeria is dominated by the Ibos, who, it is said*, are the most virile and industrious of all Nigerians. They have no known traditions of indigenous government and have seized upon the opportunities offered to them by European contact to advance rapidly in all spheres of life.

At present the Federal Government is controlled by a coalition between the North and the East, with the West in

*Royal Institute of International Affairs on Nigeria, (1960).

Opposition. The various difficulties posed by the wide differences in culture and attitude put Nigeria in a precarious situation. However, their leaders are pledged to unity and this sentiment is echoed constantly among the students working in London. This is a difficult pledge, since the more aggressive Western and Eastern Nigerians are often disturbed by Nigerian Federal policy, which to a large extent is controlled by the more conservative Muslim north. (The Prime Minister of Nigeria is from the North.)

The Nigerian sample consists of fifty male students, representing fifty-five percent of the number invited (90 forms were distributed). The corresponding percentages for the English and the Australian students are 63 and 60 respectively. The lower percentage of Nigerian students is due to several factors: (a) the examiner had to rely on friends to distribute the forms to students from the three regions, since the authorities were unco-operative. (The authorities approached included Nigeria House, The British Council, Hostels and Colleges). The most common reasons given by the authorities were 'the inflamed nature of race relations', or 'Africans are very suspicious and we do not want to give the impression that we are prying'. The authorities were more co-operative in dealing with English and Australian subjects.

(b) most of the examiner's friends are from the East and so the attempt to get a balanced sample of East, West and North failed. The Easterners far outstrip those from the West and the North.

(c) The Nigerian students complained that the forms were too long and that they were too time consuming. The English and the Australian students never expressed this objection.

The above factors produced a biased sample in favour of the Eastern Region. The sample percentages for the three regions are as follows:- East 48.9%; West 29.2%; North 22.2%. In other words, there are approximately twice as many Easterners in the sample as Westerners and Northerners. Attempts were made to correct this imbalance by asking various Western and Northern Nigerians to invite students from their respective areas to co-operate, but the response was very poor. Also, the writer found it difficult to break into the relatively closed societies of the Western and Northern Nigerians; the Eastern Nigerians were more open and readily accepted the writer into their society. Thus, the Eastern Nigerians understood the nature of the research and willingly co-operated.

The above discussion points up the difficulty facing Nigeria. While most of the students emphasize the importance of unity (especially the Nigerian Students Union of Great Britain and Ireland), the students from the three regions maintain relatively separate social groups. The Easterners are probably more individualistic as many writers have noticed but they are becoming so powerful as to be feared by the other

regions. The East and the West fear the North because of its large population.

One further bias in the sample affects the fifth problem - the effect of the time spent in Britain on the relation between Social Perception and Anxiety. Only sixty percent of the sample stated how long they had been in Britain. In attempting to find out from some Nigerian colleagues why so many students failed to answer this question, it was suggested that it was probably 'convenient forgetting'. They believed that such a question had a traumatic effect on many students because they do not want to remember how many years they have been in Britain. Many of the students are supported by their families at great sacrifice, and many feel that they have wasted too much time already. Also, present day Nigeria places great emphasis on education, and most students prefer to spend several years getting some qualification, rather than returning home empty-handed. Thus, 'convenient forgetting' may well account for some of the failure mentioned, but the writer feels that natural forgetting was also a cause.

In conclusion, the Nigerian sample is biased in favour of the East, and this fact will be considered to see if it affects the results. However, it has a common feature with the English and Australian samples, in that most of the subjects frequent the University of London where the initial contact was made. For the Nigerians the initial contact was through the president of the Nigerian Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The London branch of this Union consists of

students from all parts of Nigeria, but few Northerners are regular members. It is a dynamic, nationalist union with the emphasis on political activity in Nigeria. It was through this union that the writer was able to make many friends among the Nigerian students, and the bias in the sample may be due partly to the writer's own blind spots. In any case, the sample does not hinder the investigation of the first four problems, but it might limit the interpretation of the results of the final problem.

2. The British Sample

The British sample consists of seventy (70) male students, representing sixty-three percent of the number invited (110 forms were distributed). These students come from all parts of the United Kingdom. The initial contact was made in the University of London Union with two English students who were willing to co-operate. Other British students from their hostel were invited to participate in the study, and so it was possible to obtain most of the British sample from this hostel.

No attempt was made to stratify the sample as it met the basic criterion, i.e. students frequenting the London Union building and being British. The hostel, which is near the University of London Union Building, is reserved mainly for British and Commonwealth students attending University College. Approximately eighty percent of the students are British, with the remaining twenty consisting of Canadians,

Australians, West Indians, Indians, and Africans - four of whom were Nigerians. The British sample does not contain the serious bias that was evident in the Nigerian sample. These students would be typical of the many British students studying at the University of London and mixing in the Union Building.

3. The Australian Sample

The Australian sample is small since not many Australian students attend the Union Building. Also, a large Australian sample is not essential as there is no interest in the present study in the social perceptions of Australian opinions. The Australian sample was requested to report their impressions of the British opinions, and their views were compared with those of the Nigerians.

The sample was obtained through a friend of the writer, and with the co-operation of the British Council. It was discovered that there were approximately twenty-five to thirty Australians who visited the Union Building, and twenty-five were contacted. Fifteen responded (60%), and they made up the Australian sample. Although there may be many more Australian students in London, it was not easy to locate them.

B. Opinion Characteristics of the Nigerian and British Samples

1. The Non-Discriminating Propositions

It was explained above that social perception in the present context concentrates on perceiving some opinion

characteristic of the generalized other. A characteristic opinion was defined as one shared by sixty percent of the sample. Table 1 in Appendix D shows how the Nigerian and British students expressed themselves on the thirty propositions.

The Nigerian sample commits itself on 16 propositions and the British on 12. Of the thirty propositions, neither sample expressed any definite opinion on eight propositions: i.e. neither sample showed at least sixty percent agreement in any one category (agree, disagree, neutral) on these eight propositions. The propositions showing no consensus were:-

- Numbers 1: Democracy is the most effective form of government.
- 8: Strong governments are able to guarantee jobs, not merely to assure opportunities.
- 15: Formality in dress and behaviour implies a means of defining class status.
- 16: The future of man depends on our ability to cope with Communist ideology.
- 18: The Christian view that ideally we could all love one another is sentimental nonsense.
- 19: University education indicates that one is now more capable of coping with world affairs.
- 22: A person is only accepted as a friend after he displays a real wish for friendship.
- 27: Acceptance in a group is earned by the social ease one creates in conversation.

Therefore, in describing the opinion characteristics of the two samples, these eight propositions, where no definite trend of opinion can be established, are excluded. Of the remaining twenty-two propositions, the samples express similar opinion patterns on four, opposed opinions on two, and sixteen

distinctive trends.

2. Similar Opinion Characteristics

The Nigerian and British samples expressed similar opinions on only four propositions. These four were numbers:

- 2: Money is the most important value in taking a job - Disagree.
- 3: Self-control implies reason has control over emotional thinking - Agree.
- 21: Since many of our emotions have a biological basis, they cannot be controlled - Disagree.
- 26: Without obedience and respect for authority, there would be social chaos - Agree.

Both samples are fairly consistent on these four propositions, with the British sample being a little more cohesive. The mean percentage in the British sample agreeing with the stand taken is 79.7, while the mean percentage for the Nigerian sample is 72. The two samples part company on the remaining eighteen propositions.

3. Opposed Opinion Characteristics

The Nigerian and British samples expressed opposite opinions on two propositions. These were numbers 7 and 14:

- 7. Nationalization of major industries is essential to ease poverty.
Nigerians - Agree (60%); British - Disagree (67%)
- 14: Loyalty to one's country comes before considering world brotherhood.
Nigerians - Agree (68%); British - Disagree (61%)

These were the only two propositions where the samples took opposite views. On the remaining sixteen propositions, one finds the situation where one group commits itself on a certain proposition, while there is no consensus in the other group.

4. Opinion Characteristics Peculiar to the Nigerian Sample

The Nigerian sample commits itself to ten of the remaining propositions. These ten are as follows:-

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 4: | National pride is more important than racial origin. | Agree (68%) |
| 5: | Privacy indicates self-sufficiency or a desire to be independent | Disagree (60%) |
| 6: | Sane, normal people cannot agree to war. | Disagree (60%) |
| 9: | There is no need for a great deal of superficial sociability, since the behaviour lacks sincerity. | Agree (66%) |
| 10: | The Commonwealth will always remain a powerful force in world affairs. | Disagree (68%) |
| 11: | Disciplined behaviour implies law and order. | Agree (66%) |
| 12: | People should talk less and work more. | Agree (68%) |
| 13: | The political and economic future of the newer nations has more to gain from unity with Western man than from unity with the East. | Disagree (70%) |
| 17: | Resort to force can be avoided both in national and international life. | Disagree (88%) |
| 28: | A university education implies immediate acceptability in most university circles. | Disagree (60%) |

The mean percentage on these ten opinions for the Nigerian sample is 67.4, and the highest group agreement is on proposition 17. The British sample, on the other hand, is more diverse in opinion on these ten propositions and commitment to a particular view is avoided. This finding is reversed on the final six propositions, where the British sample shows a consensus of opinion while the Nigerian sample is diverse.

5. Opinion Characteristics Peculiar to the British Sample

The six opinion characteristics peculiar to the British sample are as follows:

Numbers:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 20: | Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering. | Disagree (73%) |
| 23: | Love has no real meaning as far as interpersonal relationships are concerned. | Disagree (69%) |
| 24: | The family, in the Western world with all its divorces, is now too disorganized to be of any great benefit to the state. | Disagree (76%) |
| 25: | An insult to our honour should always be punished. | Disagree (71%) |
| 29: | If someone is deprived or handicapped, you ought to let him be one of your companions even though you don't like him personally. | Disagree (62%) |
| 30: | It is human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's profit. | Disagree (63%) |

The mean percentage on these six propositions for the sample is 69.0 - slightly higher than the Nigerian sample. The highest group conformity is on proposition 24 for the British.

6. Summary of Findings from Nigerian and British Samples

From the above results, it can be noted that the Nigerian sample differs from the British on 12 propositions:

Numbers: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 28

while the British sample differs from the Nigerian sample on 8 propositions:

Numbers: 7, 14, 20, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30.

On four propositions: 2, 3, 21, 26, both samples express similar opinions. There are eight propositions in which no definite trend could be established: 1, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 27.

The mean percentage of agreement on the opinions expressed by Nigerians is 68.13, and for the British it is 70.75. The mean percentage of the Nigerian sample expressing 'undecided opinions' - i.e. using the undecided column - is 12.9, and for the British sample it is 13.2.

Ignoring the eight propositions where no definite trend could be established, the Nigerian and the British samples give two distinct outlines of their opinions on twenty-two propositions. It is now possible to measure effective social perception as

defined in Chapter II by applying the formula:

$$SP = AP (+2) + NP (+1) + MP (-2)$$

where a score of 2 is given for every accurate perception (AP), i.e. correctly perceiving the established opinions of the Other; a score of +1 is given for every nonperception (NP), i.e. unwillingness to commit oneself as to what opinion the other holds; a score of -2 is given for every misperception (MP), i.e. perceiving the opposite opinion of that held by the other. Thus, the social perception problem is to observe how effectively a subject perceives the established opinion characteristics noted above. Since there are 16 Nigerian opinions and 12 British opinions established, the scores will be analysed in percentages. When the scores have been obtained for all the subjects, it will then be possible to apply the results to the problems outlined in Chapter I.

C. Measuring Anxiety by the IPAT Anxiety Scale

The method used to obtain the anxiety scores from the IPAT Anxiety Scale followed Cattell's directions. The test gives a total of eight scores:

(1) A General Anxiety Score (AX), which can be expressed in standard scores. The interpretation or categorization of these norms is of no interest to the present study, since this is not an attempt to classify the groups into various categories.

(2) Q3(-) or the Self-Sentiment Score.

- (3) C(-) or the Ego Strength score.
- (4) L or Suspiciousness score.
- (5) O or Guilt proneness score.
- (6) Q4 or Drive Tension score.

These five scores [(2) to (6)] indicate the role played by the various contributory components of anxiety.

- (7) Overt Symptomatic Anxiety Score.
- (8) Covert or unrealized Anxiety Score.

These two scores give the measure of the degree to which an individual is or is not conscious of his anxiety. Together they combine to give the total or general anxiety score.

The eight 'anxiety' scores were obtained for all the subjects in the samples.

D. Other Scores Derived

In addition to the social perception and anxiety scores obtained for each subject, three further scores were noted. In view of the conceptual difficulties facing social perception with regard to Assumed Similarity and Assumed Difference, scores of these were obtained to check the effect they might have on the social perception measure. Both scores were obtained by comparing the replies to the thirty propositions, and noting the number of similar opinions expressed by each group. These scores were converted into percentages and correlated* with the social perception scores. Tables II and III give the results of this procedure.

*The correlation procedure used throughout is the Coefficient of Correlation, Siegal (1956)

There are no significant differences in the mean percentage scores of Assumed Similarity and Assumed Difference between the British and Nigerian students. The British students assume more difference, while the Nigerians assume that the British are similar to themselves in their views. However, the variation is slight and by no means significant.

In Table III there are no significant correlations although the British students have a higher correlation than the Nigerians. This suggests that Assumed Similarity and Assumed Difference may affect social perception, but not significantly. Thus, the Assumed Similarity problem does not appear to be as serious in this study as it has been noted to be in others by Gage and Cronbach (1955) and Hastorf and Bender (1952).

TABLE II

Comparison of Assumed Similarity (AS)
and Assumed Difference (AD) mean percentage
scores between the British and Nigerians

	AS	AD
B	45.2	47.4
N	54.8	52.6
Diff.	9.6	5.2
	N.S.	N.S.

TABLE III

Correlation between Assumed Similarity (AS)
and Assumed Difference (AD)
with Social Perception (SP)

	AS-SP	AD-SP
B	.13	.17 N.S.
N	.04	.09 N.S.

The final score, a 'Conformity' score, was derived to check on the possibility that the more 'typical' a subject was of his group, the better his social perception score. This score was derived in much the same way as the social perception score, except that it was conducted in a subject's own group findings. The same formula was applied:

$$\text{Conformity} = A (+2) + U (+1) + D (-2)$$

where A is agreement with the opinion of the group, U is the undecided, and D is disagreement with the opinion held by the group. Thus if a subject had seven opinions that agreed with those established for his group, three undecided

and two that disagreed with his group's established position, then he would receive a Conformity score of 13 ($7 \times 2 + 3 \times 1 - 2 \times 2$).

The mean Conformity Score for the British is 65.0, and for the Nigerians 56.2 (the difference is not significant). There was no correlation between this score and SP.

Summary

The procedure used to obtain subjects varied from sample to sample. The Nigerian sample proved the most difficult to obtain, and the result was a slightly biased group favouring Nigerians from the East. Also, fifty percent of the Nigerian sample failed to answer an important question, thus making interpretations in problems five open to question.

From an analysis of the findings from the propositions, the Nigerian and the British samples fell into two distinctive patterns. The social perception problem is to see how effectively a subject in one group can perceive the pattern in the other.

Eight scores were obtained from the IPAT Anxiety Scale, and they were calculated according to Cattell's directions.

Three further scores were obtained - 1. Assumed Similarity; 2. Assumed Difference; 3. A Conformity Score. There were no significant differences between the Nigerian and the British subjects in terms of Assumed Similarity, Assumed Differences, or in Group Conformity. Furthermore,

these three scores are not significantly related to the measure of effective social perception.

On every subject, a total of 15 scores was obtained. These were as follows:-

(a) Social Perception - Four Scores:

1. Effective Social Perception (SP);
2. Accurate Perceptions;
3. Nonperceptions;
4. Misperceptions.

(b) Anxiety - Eight Scores:

5. General;
6. Overt;
7. Covert;
8. Q3;
9. C-;
10. L;
11. O;
12. Q4

(c) Assumed Similarity (13);

(d) Assumed Difference (14);

(e) Conformity Score (15).

It is now possible to consider the six problems outlined in Chapter I in relation to the above scores.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS ON THE FIVE PROBLEMSProblem 1

The first problem involves a comparison of effective social perception (SP) between the British and Nigerian groups, using the formula:

$$SP = AP (+2) + NP (+1) + MP (-2)$$

A comparison of the mean percentage scores for the two groups is given in Table IV. The British score is much higher than the Nigerian and this difference is significant at the .05 percent level.

TABLE IV

Comparison between the British and Nigerians
on Social Perception Mean Percentage Scores

B	-	31.2
N	-	19.2
Diff.	-	12.0
$\chi^2 = 4.19$		$p < .05$

The range of scores for the British is from -9 to +68 and for the Nigerians from -33 to +71. Only 11% of the British subjects make a score of zero or less, while 24% of the Nigerians score zero and below. In other words, it appears that more of the Nigerians, than of the British, grossly misperceive the other group.

In order to analyze the individual group differences more clearly, Table V gives the results of the three components

that make up SP, viz., the Accurate Perception (AP), Nonperceptions (NP) and Misperceptions (MP). In terms of accuracy (AP) the Nigerian score is slightly, but not significantly, better than the British score. It is the Nigerian performance in the Misperception and Nonperception categories that lowers their effectiveness in social perception. The British subjects are significantly more cautious or vague, and resort to the 'don't know' or 'neutral' attitude in considering what the Nigerian opinion would be on some issues. The Nigerian, on the other hand, is more categorical, thus lowering his nonperception score and increasing his misperception. Thus, in both groups a considerable amount of fairly accurate perception occurs, but their SP scores drop considerably because of the degree of misperceptions which both groups have of each other, and the Nigerians have significantly more misperceptions than the British.

TABLE V

Comparison between British and Nigerians on
Accurate Perception (AP), Misperception (MP),
and Nonperception (NP)
Mean Percentage Scores

	AP	MP	NP
B	47.0	27.7	24.8
N	50.6	37.0	12.0
Diff.	3.6	10.7	12.8
	χ^2 - N.S.	$\chi^2 = 4.65$	$\chi^2 = 6.49$
		$p < .05$	$p < .02$

There is the possibility that the lower nonperception score of the Nigerians is due to a methodological artifact. Can it be that the Nigerians are not aware of the neutral alternative? This does not seem to be the case, since the Nigerians and British subjects compare favourably for frequency on the use of the neutral alternative in stating their own opinions. The Nigerians used the neutral column on the average 12.9% of the time in giving their own opinions, and the average British use of this alternative is 13.2% (cf. p. 64). In other words, both groups make approximately the same use of the 'undecided' column in giving their own opinions, but in perceiving the opinion of the Other, the British use the neutral alternative to a much greater extent. The mean percentages for this procedure are British - 24.8, and Nigerian - 12.0. The British use of the neutral alternative doubles in perceiving the Other, while the Nigerian use drops. Both groups seem fully aware of the neutral alternative, so that the lower nonperception score of the Nigerians does not appear to be due to a methodological artifact. This view is further supported by the results given below on Problem 5, where it seems that the Nigerians with longer residency in Britain, use the neutral alternative more frequently in perceiving the Other. This implies that these 'long residents' are not as 'certain' as their relatively new Nigerian colleagues regarding British students' beliefs.

The Opinions most frequently Accurately Perceived, Misperceived and Nonperceived

The most frequently misperceived opinion by the Nigerians (by 84% of the sample) was on statement number 14, where the Nigerians assume that the British held a view similar to theirs, while in fact the British held the opposite.

No. 14: Loyalty to one's country comes before) N - Agree;
 considering world brotherhood.) B - Disagree.

Two other frequently misperceived opinions by the Nigerians (more than 60%) occurred on statements 25 and 30. On both these issues, the Nigerians themselves do not show any significant trend, but they perceive the opposite opinion to that held by British students:

No. 25: An insult to our honour should) B - Disagree;
 always be punished.) N - Not committed

No. 30: It is human nature never to do) B - Disagree;
 anything without an eye to) N - Not committed
 one's profit.)

The most frequent opinion misperceived by the British subjects (by 58%) occurred on Statement 6. On this statement, the British perceive the Nigerians as agreeing, while the Nigerians actually disagree. The British themselves are not committed to any opinion on this statement:

No. 6: Sane, normal people cannot) N - Disagree;
 agree to war.) B - Not committed

The only statement where more than 20% of the Nigerian sample was 'undecided' as to what opinion the British held, was

number 21. On this statement, both groups hold similar views, but 22% of the Nigerians were undecided as to what the British view would be:

No. 21: Since many of our emotions have)
 a biological basis, they }
 cannot be controlled. } Both disagree.

More than 35% of the British sample were 'undecided' about Nigerian opinion on two statements, numbers 13 and 5, and on nine statements, 20% of the sample was 'undecided'. On the most undecided statement, (13), the British themselves were not committed.

No. 13: The political and economic)
 future of the newer nations }
 has more to gain from }
 unity with Western man than }
 from unity with the East } N - disagree;
 } B - not committed.

The opinion most frequently perceived accurately by both groups occurred on statement 26. Eighty-nine percent of the Nigerian sample, and seventy-five percent of the British sample correctly perceived this opinion of the Other, which is similar for both groups. Both groups agree with the statement:

No. 26: Without obedience and respect
 for authority, there would
 be social chaos.

The Nigerians also frequently perceived the British opinion on statement 3 (82% of the sample). The second most

frequently perceived opinion by the British occurred on statement 11:

No. 3: Self-control implies reason has control over emotional thinking.	}	Both agree.
No. 11: Disciplined behaviour implies law and order.		
	}	N - agree;
		B - not committed.

Problem 2

In the second problem it was hypothesized that the Nigerians would show a higher level of anxiety than the native British students. The results given in Table VI are in the predicted direction and the difference in anxiety scores is significant at the five percent level.

TABLE VI

Comparison between British and Nigerian Mean Scores on the IPAT Anxiety Scale

	Ax
B	6.19
N	7.07
Diff.	.88
$\chi^2 = 4.26$	$p < .05$

The mean scores of the components contributing to the general anxiety picture are given in Table VII. The paranoid component, L+ (Suspiciousness and/or social insecurity), is the highest for both groups, and the Nigerians are significantly higher than the British on this component. The Nigerians are

also significantly higher on Guilt (O+) and Unsatisfied Drive or Tension (Q4) components. The two groups do not differ significantly on Q3- or C-, but the Nigerians score lower than the British in Q3- (i.e. they have better integration).

TABLE VII

Differences between the British and Nigerians
on the Five Anxiety Components and Overt (Ov)
and Covert (Co) Anxiety Mean Scores

	B.	N.	Diff.	Sig.Level
Q3-, Lack of Integration	5.71	5.31	.40	N.S.
C-, Ego Weakness	5.72	6.55	.83	N.S.
I+, Social Insecurity	5.74	6.89	1.15	p < .01
O+, Guilt Proneness	5.02	6.18	1.16	p < .02
Q4+, Unsatisfied Drive	5.18	6.11	.93	p < .02
Cv, Covert not consciously displayed Ax	15.39	16.33	.94	N.S.
Ov, Overt symptomatic Ax	13.21	16.75	3.54	p < .05

The final two scores in Table VII are not converted into standard scores. These two scores combine to give the general anxiety raw score which is then converted into a standard score. However, since very little is known about the Cv-Ov ratio, it is better to treat these scores as merely rough guides. The above Cv-Ov scores indicate that the Nigerian pattern on the two types of anxiety is very similar, while the British have a difference of 2.18 between the two scores. The British are also significantly lower than the Nigerians on Overt Anxiety.

Relation of the Anxiety Components to General Anxiety

A check on the consistency of the contribution of the anxiety components to the general anxiety score is given in Table VIII. The most atypical finding concerns the correlation between the component L (Social Insecurity) and general anxiety for the British sample. This low non-significant correlation indicates social insecurity is not confined to the more anxious subjects as Cattell indicated, at least not for British students. It is most likely that social insecurity is a trait, common to most British students. However, the correlation between L and Ax for the Nigerians is also very low, although it is still significant. It may be that if the Nigerian was in Nigeria, a correlation between L and Ax might be just as low as the British correlation. A great deal of Nigerian 'anxiety' associated with social insecurity, is due to the environmental conditions that a Nigerian must endure while living in London (e.g. discrimination in housing, vacation work, etc.). Thus the L+, Ax correlation may not just be a British peculiarity, but a weakness inherent in the test itself. Cattell has admitted that the L+ is the weakest contributory component in the whole test, thus it may be that with students, this weakness is more prominent. All the other contributory components, as expected, correlate very highly with the general anxiety factor.

TABLE VIII

Correlations between the Anxiety Components and
General Anxiety Scores for the British and Nigerians

			C	Sig. Level	
Q3-	+	Ax	B	.40	p < .001
			N	.57	
C-	+	Ax	B	.37	p < .01
			N	.41	
L	+	Ax	B	.05	N.S.
			N	.29	
O	+	Ax	B	.60	p < .001
			N	.45	
Q4	+	Ax	B	.45	"
			N	.57	

Problem 3

This problem centres on the relationship between social perception and anxiety. It was hypothesized that a high level of anxiety would reduce an individual's effectiveness in social perception. The correlation between social perception and anxiety within each group is given in Table IX. These results do not supply much evidence. However, between the two groups anxiety and social perception do indicate some relationship, since it has already been established that (a) the British have significantly higher social perception scores than the Nigerians and (b) the Nigerians have significantly higher anxiety scores than the British.

TABLE IXCorrelations between Anxiety (Ax) and Social Perception (SP) in the British and Nigerian Samples

B	-	-.04	NS
N	-	-.03	NS

This intergroup relationship between social perception and anxiety is demonstrated further by the results in Table X. This table indicates what happens to social perception scores when anxiety is held constant by matching twenty-four Nigerian scores with twenty-four British.

TABLE XComparison of Social Perception Scores between 24 British and 24 Nigerian subjects with the same anxiety level

	Ax	SP
B	6.64 (6.19)	25.0 (31.2)
N	6.64 (7.07)	20.1 (19.2)
	- (.88)*	4.9**(12.0)*

* p < .05

** N.S. (The scores in the brackets are the total sample scores)

While there is still a difference in social perception scores for the matched groups, the difference is no longer significant. In matching these two groups, the extreme

anxiety scores are missing. This is because there are not enough Nigerians at the lower end, or sufficient British subjects at the upper limits. Therefore, the mean anxiety score for the matched group is slightly above the British mean, and lower than the Nigerian mean. At the same time, the British social perception scores drop and the Nigerian scores rise.

A correlation was done on the matched groups to retest the hypothesis of a negative relationship between social perception and anxiety within each group. These results are given in Table XI and, while the correlations are not significant, they are more indicative of a relationship than the correlations in the whole samples. This finding does suggest that the anxiety scale at the extremes is not as sensitive as it is in the middle. Furthermore, it is most likely that if the scale had been more sensitive in the middle, a more significant correlation may have occurred.

TABLE XI

Correlations between Anxiety and Social Perception
in the British and Nigerian Matched Samples

B	-.10	(.04)	N.S.
N	-.12	(.03)	N.S.

(The correlations for the whole samples are in brackets)

It is possible to pursue this problem further by studying the relationships among the individual components of social

perception and anxiety. Table XII gives the correlations between general anxiety and the three parts of social perception (AP, NP, MP). All six correlations are not significant, although there appears to be some relationship between Anxiety and Nonperception for both groups. These latter correlations are probably indicative of the often quoted relationship between 'indecisiveness' or 'not knowing what to say or do' and being anxious. Anxiety is not related to accurate perception nor misperception.

TABLE XII

Correlations between Anxiety and AP, MP, and NP
in British and Nigerians

Ax + AP	B	-.01	N.S.
	N	-.02	N.S.
Ax + MP	B	-.03	N.S.
	N	-.06	N.S.
Ax + NP	B	-.22	p < .15 N.S.
	N	-.18	p < .15 N.S.

The correlations between the individual anxiety components with social perception are given in Table XIII. The most significant finding is the correlation between the component L+ (social insecurity) and effective social perception in the British sample. This result suggests that the more insecure the subject is, the lower his efficiency in social perception. This is true also for the Nigerians but the correlation is not as great, nor as significant.

TABLE XIII

Correlations between Anxiety Components
and Social Perception
Scores for the British and Nigerians

			C	Sig. Level
Q3- + SP	B		-.01	N.S.
	N		-.04	N.S.
C- + SP	B		-.05	N.S.
	N		-.29	p < .05
L + SP	B		-.34	p < .01
	N		-.22	p < .07
O + SP	B		-.07	N.S.
	N		-.15	N.S.
Q4 + SP	B		-.02	N.S.
	N		-.01	N.S.

The most significant correlation for the Nigerians occurs between the component C- (low ego strength or emotionality) and social perception. The higher the C- score, the less the social perception. This C(-) - SP finding in the Nigerian sample appears to be a cultural phenomenon since there is no significant difference in scores between the British and Nigerians on C-. Low ego strength affects the social perception score for the Nigerians, but not for the British. The only other component that shows some indication of affecting social perception scores is O+ (Guilt) for the Nigerians, but the correlation is not significant.

The relatively high correlation between L+ and SP makes sense when L+ is considered in terms of paranoid suspiciousness. It should be recalled that Cattell gave two possibilities for L+ score - (a) that it represented paranoid behaviour or (b)

that it represented social insecurity - paralleled by the development of paranoid defences. In other words, the L+ component measures, in a limited sense, some features of paranoid behaviour. It has frequently been advocated by many psychologists, particularly the New Look theorists, that a reduction in cognitive efficiency often accompanies paranoid behaviour. Since social perception is a form of cognitive activity, it is not unreasonable that efficiency is reduced when L+ is high. However, it is somewhat obscure as to why C- or ego weakness should affect SP scores for the Nigerians, but not for the British, unless it implies that the emotionality of the Nigerian is often bound up with his view of the British, whereas the British student's emotionality is unlikely ever to have found focus in the supposed characteristics of Nigerians.

The correlations between anxiety components and the three parts of social perception are given in Table XIV. Component L+ shows no relationship whatever to the individual parts of social perception for either group. The C- component is related to AP for the Nigerians and slightly related to MP for the British. The remaining three anxiety components maintain the same low non-significant correlations with the three parts of SP that were evident with SP in Table XIII.

TABLE XIV

Correlation of the Anxiety Components with Accurate Perception (AP), Misperception (MP), and Nonperception (NP), for British and Nigerians

		AP	MP	NP
Q3-	B	-.06	-.02	-.07
	N	-.04	-.03	-.06
C-	B	-.05	-.19	-.09
		-.26 p < .07	-.05	-.09
L	B	-.01	-.07	-.03
	N	-.04	-.04	-.12
O	B	-.08	-.06	-.08
	N	-.08	-.09	-.08
Q4	B	-.04	-.01	-.02
	N	-.03	-.06	-.04

The apparent conflict between Tables XIII and XIV over the relation of the L component of the IPAT scale to the SP score and its components is puzzling. It shows that the significance of the composite SP score cannot be predicted from its components, but its relation to the L+ score seems to be more than a chance methodological effect since it appears in both the British and the Nigerians. The C- component does not present such a puzzle in this respect, as it is related to the Nigerian composite SP score, and their AP score. However, the C- score is not related to the British composite score nor any of the components, and the possible reasons for this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Problem 4

The fourth problem concerns the relation of anxiety and

social perception among the Nigerians as compared with the Australians. It was hypothesized that (a) the Australians would perceive British students' views more effectively than the Nigerians, and (b) that the Australians would be less anxious. The results in Tables XV and XVI on social perception are in the predicted direction. The Australians are significantly better than the Nigerians at perceiving the British views. Their better score results because they are more accurate (AP) and make fewer mistakes than the Nigerians. The two groups do not differ significantly on the NP scores.

TABLE XV

Difference between Nigerian and Australian Social Perception Mean Percentage Scores

	SP	
N	19.2	
A	45.5	
Diff.	26.3	$p < .001$

TABLE XVI

Differences between Nigerian and Australian Accurate Perception (AP), Misperception (MP), and Nonperception (NP) Mean Percentage Scores

	AP	MP	NP
N	50.6	37.0	12.0
A	61.1	22.3	17.0
Diff.	10.5	14.7	5.9
	$p < .05$	$p < .001$	N.S.

A check was made on the possibility that the Australians were obtaining a high social perception score by assuming similarity to the British. Using the Fisher Exact Probability Test recommended by Siegel (1956), no association could be established. The Australians are not particularly different from the Nigerians nor the British with regard to assumed similarity. The comparative figures are given in Table XVII. It appears that while the Australians do not assume similarity to the British any more than the Nigerians assume similarity to the British, they can identify much more readily and so are aware of the British student opinion. That they can identify so readily probably implies that they have more access to the British students.

TABLE XVII

Comparison of Assumed Similarity (AS) and Assumed Difference (AD),
Mean Percentage Scores for British,
Nigerian and Australian Groups

	AS	AD
British	45.2	54.8
Nigerian	47.4	52.6 χ^2 - N.S.
Australian	50.5	49.5

The Australian general anxiety mean score is also significantly lower than the Nigerian score. Table XVIII gives the results of all the 'anxiety' scores, showing the significant differences. On two scores, Q3- and Overt Anxiety, the Australians and Nigerians do not differ significantly. In fact, the Nigerians have a lower mean score on Q3- (integration)

than both the Australians and the British groups. The Australian pattern in Overt-Covert anxiety is similar to the British, and the difference between the two scores is slightly higher in the Australian sample (B - 2.18; A - 2.60). Like the British, the Australians do not differ significantly from the Nigerians on Covert anxiety, but they do differ significantly on Overt anxiety.

TABLE XVIII

Differences between Nigerian and Australian Mean Anxiety Scores

	N	A	Diff.	Sig. Level
Ax	7.07	5.92	1.15	p < .01
Q3-	5.31	5.43	.62	N.S.
C-	6.55	5.17	1.38	p < .05
L	6.89	5.10	1.39	p < .01
O	6.18	5.00	1.18	p < .05
Q4	6.11	4.80	1.31	p < .05
Cv	16.33	15.00	1.33	N.S.
Ov	16.75	12.40	4.35	p < .01

Problem 5

The fifth problem concerns the relation between the length of time spent in Britain by Nigerians and their social perception and anxiety scores. As was mentioned above, the results are based on only sixty percent of the sample, since the remainder failed to state how long they had been in

Britain. The most convenient method of studying this problem is to divide the group into those who have been in Britain for three years or less (Short Residence) and those who have been here for more than three years (Long Residence). The mean number of years spent in Britain for the first group is 1.9, and for the second group, 6.4. The range in the second group is from 4 to 12 years spent in Britain.

The results in Table XIX give the comparative mean scores for social perception, and the three parts of the social perception formula. The subjects who have been in Britain for more than three years show a significant improvement in social perception. In terms of accuracy, both groups are almost equal. However, social perception effectiveness increases for the Long Residence group because they make significantly fewer misperceptions and significantly more nonperceptions.

TABLE XIX

Comparison between Short Residence and Long Residence
in Britain and Social Perception Mean Scores
(SP, AP, MP, NP)

	Short Residence	Long Residence	Diff.	Sig. Level
SP	22.3	41.7	19.4	p < .05
AP	50.5	50.0	.5	N.S.
MP	42.3	31.7	10.6	p < .05
NP	6.8	17.5	10.7	p < .06

The findings in Table XIX support the hypothesis that the longer a Nigerian has been in Britain, the more opportunity he has had to check his views about the British. The Nigerians who have been in Britain for more than three years exercise more 'restraint' in perceiving the opinions of the British students. The increase in nonperception for the longer residence group reduces their misperception score and so increases their effective social perception score. The Nigerians who have been in Britain for less than three years are more categorical, and rarely consider the possibility of the 'undecided' alternative in perceiving the British views. The differences in anxiety scores are also in the predicted direction. Although only three differences are statistically significant, the Long Residence Group does indicate a definite trend in Table XX.

TABLE XX

Difference between Short Residence and Long Residence
Mean Anxiety Scores

	Short Residence	Long Residence	Diff.	Sig. Level
Ax	7.39	6.80	- 1.09	N.S.
Q3-	5.62	6.00	+ .38	N.S.
C-	7.56	6.00	- 1.56	N.S. (p < .10)
L	7.00	7.30	+ .30	N.S.
O	7.06	5.60	- 1.46	p < .01
Q4	7.13	5.60	- 1.53	N.S.
Cv	18.38	16.70	- 1.68	p < .05
Ov	20.00	14.80	- 5.20	p < .01

The raw scores of overt and covert anxiety give the best indication of change in overall anxiety level. The Long Residence Group has significantly lower mean scores than the Short Residence Group on both types of anxiety-with the Overt Difference particularly marked. The change in general anxiety mean scores, given in standard scores, does not reflect this significant difference. However, it is the sum of the Cv, Ov raw scores that gives the general anxiety score.

The Long Residence Group also shows lower scores on three of the five anxiety components, and the drop is significant on component O+ (Guilt). It shows a slight increase in scores on Q3- (Low Integration) and L (Social insecurity or suspiciousness). The drop in O+ is probably related to the fact that most of the Long Residence group are post graduate students and so do not feel 'unworthy' or 'inadequate'. The slight rise in Q3- and L+ might suggest that the situational pressures on Nigerians are taking their toll. The whole Nigerian sample, and the Short Residence Group, obtain a lower mean score on Q3- than the British or Australians, suggesting as a group, they are better integrated in terms of a clear self concept. The Long Residence Group seems to lose some of this 'integration', and some possible implications of these findings will be discussed in the next chapter. It should be noted, however, that only sixty percent of the sample answered the question regarding the length of residence in Britain and, as some Nigerian colleagues have suggested, one reason for not answering the question was a desire to forget

how long they have been here. Therefore, an important consideration is the similarity in scores of the forty percent who evaded the length of residence question, to the remainder.

It can be observed by comparing Tables VII (p. 77) and Table XX (p. 90) that three scores in the whole Nigerian sample do not fall anywhere between the Short and Long Residence mean scores - Q3-, Lack of Integration; L+, Social Insecurity; and Cv, Covert Anxiety. It appears that the forty percent of the sample who evaded the length of residence question are more integrated, less socially insecure, and indicate less unconscious anxiety than the sixty percent of the sample who answered the question. Also, in terms of social perception scores, the forty percent are slightly lower than either of the Short and Long Residence groups, (cf. Tables IV and XIX).

In case this forty percent may be confined exclusively to one region of Nigeria, a check was made on the regional status of these subjects as compared with the whole sample. The percentages of the two groups differ very slightly as the results in Table XXI indicate, so that region does not seem to be an important variable in the make-up of the forty percent group. It is more likely that the discussion on components Q3- and L+ may shed some light on the problem, and they will be considered in the next chapter.

TABLE XXIRegional Distribution of the Subjects

	The Forty Percent	The Sample
East	52.6	48.9
West	26.3	29.2
North	21.1	22.9

The Problem of Sample Bias

An examination was made to check the possible effects of the regional bias in the Nigerian sample for social perception and anxiety. In Table XXII the differences are noted, and there are no statistically significant findings. While the sample is heavily biased in favour of the Eastern Region, this has not disrupted the results. The Northerners and Easterners are very similar in social perception and anxiety. The Westerners drop slightly in social perception, and they also obtain a slightly higher mean anxiety score, but none of these findings is significant.

TABLE XXIIComparison Among the Three Regions of Nigeria in Mean Social Perception and Anxiety Scores

	East	North	West	χ^2
SP	33.1	34.2	26.1	N.S.
AX	6.95	7.01	7.31	N.S.

These results do suggest that as far as social perception and anxiety are concerned, the Nigerian students living in

London do not differ significantly from region to region, in spite of the wide differences in culture, language, religion, etc. This probably means that the project did not tap the more subtle aspects of the cultural and personality differences in the three regions.

Summary of Results

1. The Nigerians score significantly lower than the British in Social Perception. The main reason for the lower Nigerian score can be traced to the frequency with which a definite conviction was held about British opinion. This approach reduces their nonperception score and increases their misperceptions. In terms of pure accuracy, both groups are similar. Despite the higher British social perception scores, their mean percentage score is only 31.2.

2. The Nigerians score significantly higher on the IPAT Anxiety Scale, supporting the general hypothesis. They do not differ significantly from the British on the anxiety components Q3- (Low Integration) or C- (ego weakness), but they do differ significantly on all the other anxiety scores. This higher general anxiety appears to be due mainly to their higher scores on social insecurity (L+), guilt (O+), and unsatisfied drive (Q4+). The L+ component is not related to anxiety in the British sample, and appears to be a cultural or personality trait independent of anxiety.

3. There is definite evidence to support the hypothesis

that anxiety and social perception are related from an analysis of the various scores between groups. However, the evidence for this relationship within groups is not as significant. Part of the reason for the failure to establish the relationship within groups seems due to the lack of sensitivity of the anxiety measure in extreme scores. Significant relationships are found between the anxiety components L+ and C- and social perception, with the latter component only significant for the Nigerians. It was not possible statistically to establish a relationship between L+ and the anxiety components.

4. The Nigerians are significantly more anxious and obtain significantly lower social perception scores than the Australians - thus supporting both hypotheses regarding these two groups.

5. The Nigerians, who have been in Britain for more than three years, obtained significantly better SP scores and lower anxiety scores than the Nigerians, who have been in Britain for three years or less. These results are in the predicted direction. However, the Long Residence Nigerians do obtain slightly higher scores on anxiety components Q3- and L+. Both groups obtain similar accuracy scores, but the Long Residence Nigerians do not make as many misperceptions as the Short Residence Nigerians.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTSA. The Measure of Social Perception1. The criteria

The measure of social perception adopted differed from those depending on the extent of accurate prediction alone. It was felt that effective social perception should not only include the accuracy responses, but also (a) how often one is wrong (MP), and (b) how often one admits uncertainty and suspends judgment (NP). Very frequent recourse to the 'uncertain' position would be an admission of poor understanding, but if two people are accurate an equal number of times, their relative effectiveness will depend on the ratio of their admitted uncertainty to their mistakes. By adopting this procedure, it is possible to analyze social perception in more detail than a simple accuracy score would permit, since this procedure will give indications of the different attitudes (open or closed) to the social perception problem.

The value of this more inclusive measure is evident in comparing the British and Nigerian scores (Tables IV and V). Accuracy alone would have concealed important differences in awareness of ignorance and freedom from false belief. While both groups accurately perceive approximately 50 percent of the Other's views, the Nigerians obtain significantly lower effective social perception scores, since they are more often wrong (higher MP) and rarely admit uncertainty (lower NP).

The Nigerians' lower effectiveness may be due to a 'closed' attitude towards uncertainties in general, but more probably results from cultural factors, political generalizations, etc., which strengthen an over-simple stereotype of the British. This reasoning is supported by comparing the Nigerian and British 'uncertainty' scores in giving their own opinion, with their 'uncertainty' (NP) scores in giving the opinion of the Other. The British and Nigerians are very similar in the first instance (13.2, 12.9), but in giving the opinion of the Other, the Nigerian uncertainty drops, and is significantly lower than the British (cf. p 72). In other words, the British stereotype of Nigerian views is not as fixed as the Nigerian stereotype of the British.

2. The Relatively Low Scores by All Subjects

Examining the social perception scores reveals that, while there is considerable accurate prediction in both groups, the overall SP scores are relatively low, because of the amount of inaccuracy. These relatively low SP scores (31.2; 19.2) are probably due to (a) the demand for prediction of rather detailed opinions and (b) restricted contact between the groups. The demand for prediction of rather detailed opinions is also complicated by the cross-cultural nature of the study. As Ichheiser (1949) has suggested, there are certain limits and limitations placed upon our understanding when dealing with people who are different from ourselves. Furthermore, in ordinary interpersonal relations, an individual usually

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responds to entire persons and composite events and only meets a rather small number of the specific opinions of the Other. Therefore, any problem of this nature is bound to be difficult, and so high scores are not to be expected.

The restricted contact between the two groups may reflect a certain amount of defensive insulation because they are suspicious of each other's motives. It is possible that the Nigerians are afraid of being treated in a patronizing manner, and that the British are uncertain as to what constitutes a 'non-patronizing' attitude. The British difficulty is further complicated by the increase in 'taboo words' which cannot be expressed in African circles. (One of the most recent additions is 'underdeveloped'. One should speak of the new emerging nation as in a stage of 'development'!) But even without a sense of threat, there may be other barriers such as those connected with past colonial history. This record has attracted many emotional labels such as 'imperialism', 'exploitation', etc., and these labels are perpetuated in all political speeches by the Nigerian students at their Union meetings and can be extremely embarrassing to the British students.

It must not be assumed that because of this restricted contact, there is a great deal of hostility to the British. On the contrary, as Trevor Huddleston has implied: "... they (educated Africans) did not like white people in general; rather, they maintained excellent relationships with individual Europeans, although they might dislike others on grounds of

personal defects or incompatibilities." (cf. Jahoda (1961) p. 118). Rogers (1959) goes even further and suggests that race attitudes in Nigeria have undergone considerable changes, and that educated Nigerians today agree that the philanthropic efforts of the British outweigh any lingering memories of the more seamy side of colonial history. However, when the Nigerian leaves his own territory and comes to Britain, it is just possible that this egalitarian attitude will not be as prominent, but rather, the Nigerian student's attitude will be more 'wary'. He has never experienced racial prejudice in Nigeria, although he has heard of the term 'colour bar', but he is not aware of its emotional connotations. Therefore, it is not so much hostility, but suspiciousness that guides the Nigerian's movements.

These two factors - (a) detailed opinions and (b) restricted contact, obviously account in large measure for the low social perception scores. However, it is most likely that as far as 'threat' is an important factor in this lowering, it will be felt more by the Nigerians than by the British, and it may further explain why the Nigerian scores are even lower than the British. In order to examine this possibility more fully, it is necessary to investigate the relation of anxiety to social perception.

B. Anxiety and Social Perception

1. Criteria of anxiety

The IPAT Anxiety Scale proved useful in measuring anxiety

and gave results in the predicted direction. Some of its component measures were illuminating, but theoretical difficulties arose in the relation that appeared between L+ and general anxiety. In the British sample this relationship is negligible, and in the Nigerian sample the relationship is the least significant of the five contributory components.

In Cattell's preliminary investigations, the finding, that L+ constantly gave a positive loading on the anxiety factor, was unexpected. It has the lowest loading of the five components, but has always significantly contributed to general anxiety. The finding in the present study implies that L+ is independent of anxiety for the British subjects, and so neither of the two hypotheses suggested by Cattell to account for the positive loading on the anxiety factor appears valid. These hypotheses are (1) that anxiety operating as a pattern of insecurity can induce 'biased perfection' and the whole paranoid-type defence system, and (2) that the social isolation produced by the paranoid behaviour creates increasing insecurity and anxiety. It is not doubted that a pattern of insecurity may induce a paranoid-type outlook, but for the British, and to a lesser extent the Nigerians, anxiety does not seem to be the basis. Neither is social isolation in the British students necessarily anxiety producing.

Cattell has studied the effects of culture on anxiety using five nations (U.S., Britain, France, India and Poland), but the estimate of anxiety level was derived from scores on

only the three highest contributory components - O+, Q4 and C-. Thus he was not able to report on the contribution of L+ to general anxiety in his cross-cultural analysis. The L+ finding in the present study does question the purity of the anxiety factor in a cross-cultural setting. The other four components are more reliable, and if a measure of 'pure' anxiety is required, further study on the L+ component is necessary.

2. General Anxiety in the Three National Groups

As expected, the Nigerian anxiety level is significantly higher than the British or Australian levels. The British and Australian levels, on the other hand do not differ very much from each other. These findings were expected, since it was assumed that the Nigerians experience more difficulty in living in London than either the British or Australians. These extra difficulties of the Nigerians are due to a culmination of factors, e.g. cultural and racial differences, causing various forms of discrimination and cultural stresses; financial pressure - many Nigerian students are privately financed by their families, etc. Most of these problems have been discussed more fully by Lambo (1962)^{*1} and by Singh (1961)². It is understandable, therefore, that the Nigerians would exhibit more anxiety symptoms than the British or Australians.

*1: This report by Lambo is part of his main survey (1960) which is printed in the Nigerian Students' Union journal 'The Beacon' (1962).

2: Singh's work concentrates on problems facing Indian students, but many of his general conclusions could easily apply to Nigerians.

When the anxiety level is compared with the social perception level, high anxiety is associated with poor social perception. The British and Australians have significantly higher social perception scores and significantly lower anxiety scores than the Nigerians. Within the British group and the Nigerian group, however, there is no significant correlation between social perception and anxiety. This finding suggests two possibilities:

(a) Nigerians happen to have lower social perception and higher anxiety, but the two are not causally related;

(b) Anxiety contributes a little (among many other influences) to reduce social perception, and this is enough to produce an inter-group difference detectable by χ^2 , but too little to produce the closer relationship that would be needed to give a correlation within each group.

On theoretical grounds, the latter possibility seems the likelier because of the relationship of social perception to the 'open' and 'closed' attitude. According to Rokeach (1960), the degree of openness depends on the strength of the cognitive need to know, in relation to the need to ward off threatening aspects of the environment. An enduring state of threat in an individual gives rise to a more closed approach to cognitive problems, since the individual feels the greater need to defend himself (by psychoanalytic defence mechanisms), than to judge the relevant facts objectively. Since the low social perception score of the Nigerians is due to their significantly lower

nonperceptions (which are a reflection of openness), then it appears that the Nigerians are more 'closed' in their approach to the social perception problem. Therefore, their significantly higher anxiety level probably indicates that they feel more threatened than the British or Australians. An examination of the components of the anxiety scale and the measure of social perception throws some further light on the problem.

G. Anxiety components* and social perception (SP)

1. Nigerian Group as a whole

The Nigerians have higher scores on three of the five anxiety components. Two of these were significantly (or almost significantly) related to social perception - L+ and C-. The L+ component is a measure of a type of paranoid egoism that produces such social relations as generate social insecurity - through discrepancies of prestige as seen by the individual person and others. Paranoid behaviour is a reaction to threat and is generally associated with a reduction of cognitive efficiency. Since social perception is a cognitive task, it is not unreasonable that the L+ component should be associated with social perception (SP). Furthermore, the Nigerians score significantly higher on the L+ component than the British or the Australians, and this finding does offer some support for the thesis that 'threat' is an

* In studying the IPAT components, it must be noted that they can have only suggestive value, since the scale is too short for the component measures to be reliable.

important variable in the degree of openness, and consequently, in social perception.

The C- component (ego weakness) is a measure of one's control (or, in this case, lack of control) over one's emotional energy. A person with high C- is described as 'impulsive', 'immature', 'excitable' or 'emotional', and is generally unable to express emotional energy along integrated channels. Accompanying low ego strength is the fear that the ego may be overthrown, which could have serious consequences for the individual, such as losing his reputation or self-esteem. The fear that one may lose control can lead to a rigid defence system and reduce cognitive efficiency. This can explain why C- is associated with SP, but the association does not exist in the British group. Furthermore, the Nigerians do not differ significantly from the British in C- scores, although the Nigerian scores are higher. There are two possible reasons why C- is more detrimental to the Nigerians than the British.

Firstly, the function of C- is to find realistic expression of emotional energy and the success of this task will depend to a large extent on how much emotional energy there is to discharge. Therefore, the effectiveness of C- must be related to the strength of Q4 or unsatisfied drive. Q4 measures the level of excited drives that have not been satisfied and includes such drives as sex, the need for recognition, and situational fear. (Cattell often refers to Q4 as 'id pressure' or 'tension'). Thus a person with

more total drive (Q4) experiences greater pressure on his ego to discharge this drive than a person with less total drive. The Nigerians have significantly higher scores on Q4 than the British, indicating that they have considerably more unsatisfied drive. At the same time, the Nigerian ego strength is slightly lower than the British. Therefore, since the Nigerians have so much more drive to release, it is understandable that their ego strength level is less effective than the British.

Secondly, Cattell and Scheier (1961) report that in the C- component, environment is about three times as important as heredity. An individual must 'learn' control. The Nigerians, being visitors in a strange environment, are handicapped in that they must learn new appropriate channels to express their emotions, which in many cases, may be completely foreign to their former learning. The expression of such drives as 'sex' and the 'need for recognition' in appropriate channels, is bound to be a more difficult task for Nigerians, than for the native British, since so many possibilities are closed to the Nigerians by being African. Therefore, the demands on the Nigerian's ego strength will be much greater than those on the British, simply because of the importance of learning to the development of ego strength.

These two reasons show why the level of C- is more detrimental to the Nigerians than to the British, although they do not differ significantly in C- scores. The fear that they may lose control probably encourages the Nigerians

to erect a more rigid defence system which, unfortunately, reduces their cognitive efficiency. This fear is by no means as great in the British, and so presents less of a threat to their integrity. Further evidence to show the importance of C- to SP and to support the Rokeach thesis, comes from an inspection of the differences associated with the length of residence in Britain.

2. Long Residence and Short Residence Nigerians

It can be observed that the Nigerian subjects who have been in Britain for more than three years (Long Residence Nigerians, LRN) have SP scores that are significantly higher than the Short Residence Nigerians (SRN). In fact, a comparison between the LRN and the British reveals that all former significant differences have disappeared except the difference in L+ (See Table XXIII below). The LRN are still slightly higher on all aspects of anxiety, but the results are not statistically significant.

These findings add further support for the Rokeach thesis of the motivation behind the open and closed attitude. It can be seen that the reason for the LRN obtaining significantly higher SP scores than the SRN is the increased non-perception (doubt) scores of the LRN. In other words, the LRN take a much more 'open' approach to the social perception problem, and so make fewer misperceptions. At the same time, it can be seen that C- (and Q4) scores of the LRN are much lower than the SRN. Therefore, it is most likely that their

increased cognitive efficiency is related to this decrease in C- and Q4.

TABLE XXIII

Comparison of British, Australian and Long Residence Nigerian Mean Scores on Social Perception and Anxiety

	B	A	LRN	Sig. Level
SP	31.2	45.5	41.7	N.S.
AP	47.0	61.1	50.0	"
MP	27.7	22.3	31.7	"
NP	24.8	17.0	17.5	"
Ax	6.19	5.92	6.80	"
Q3-	5.71	5.43	6.00	"
C-	5.72	5.17	6.00	"
L+	5.74	5.10	7.30	p < .01
O+	5.02	5.00	5.60	"
Q4+	5.18	4.80	5.60	"
Gv	15.39	15.00	16.70	"
Ov	13.21	12.40	14.80	"

The overall difference in the LRN scores from the SRN may suggest some departure from the findings on adjustment patterns of 'foreign' students. The pattern found by Singh (1961) and others* suggests that adjustment declines after three years and therefore one might expect higher anxiety scores in the LRN. However, the record of time spent in Britain for the SRN and the LRN requires finer

* Coelho (1958) Lysagaard (1958)

discriminations, than the present study permits, in order to contradict the usual findings. At the same time the results do add some confusion to the issue and one wonders whether Nigerians may have a different pattern from Indians or Norwegians.

The mean number of years spent in Britain by the IRN is 6.7, which is well over three years. Thus one possibility is that the often noted decline in adjustment after three years may only be temporary and adjustment probably rises again. In other words, the pattern possibly depends to a large extent on 'situational' factors (Singh has suggested some), and from the results of this study some support can be given to this point of view.

One can observe that the anxiety components which are lower are those which Cattell suggests are situationally determined: e.g. Q4 and G-. Thus the pattern observed by Singh and others is not contradicted by the present results, but they suggest that there are further changes after the three year decline.

These speculations on the nature of change in Nigerians suggest that Lambo's ideas on 'malignant' anxiety might be qualified. Situational factors can change the whole anxiety picture, and Cattell's theorizing and measuring of anxiety open up wider horizons than the usual clinical observations. The present sample is much too small to generalize, but it does indicate some interesting trends.

3. The Australian Group

It was assumed that the Australians would gain better social perception scores than the Nigerians because they would have more contact with British student opinion. It was suggested that they would have more social contact with British students than the Nigerians would have because the cultural gulf is not as wide. The importance of these variables - the degree of similarity and the amount of interaction - in social perception has been frequently noted (Allport 1956, 1961; Bieri 1948; Calvin and Schmidt 1957; Halpern 1955). The present results indicate the importance of these variables, since the Australians obtain significantly higher social perception scores than the Nigerians.

The theoretical model of the present social perception measure suggests the importance of another variable, i.e. anxiety. It has already been shown that general anxiety and three of the anxiety components (C-, Q4 and L+) do affect social perception. The Australians obtain significantly lower anxiety scores, especially on the anxiety components C-, Q4 and L+. Thus, the lower anxiety scores of the Australians may indicate that they, like the British, feel less need to defend themselves from threat, and so their cognitive efficiency is much superior to that of the Nigerians. Thus, it is most likely that all three variables - degree of similarity, amount of interaction and freedom from threat (degree of openness) - are of importance in effective social perception.

D. The Self-Sentiment Among Nigerians

1. The indication of 'uncertainty'

One of the most interesting comparisons of the anxiety components occurs on factor Q3-, the self-sentiment component. The Nigerian sample does not differ significantly from the British or the Australian on this component, and in fact, their main score is slightly lower than that of the other two groups (i.e. their self-sentiment is stronger). The Q3-component is a measure of an individual's degree of motivation to integrate about an approved self-sentiment, and socially approved standards. This measure, to a large extent, reflects knowing one's goals and thus being clear on how one would like to see oneself. Thus, at first glance, it appears that the Nigerians are as developed in their self-sentiment as the Australians or British are in theirs. However, the Q3-score rises slightly (5.31 to 6.00) in the Long Residence Nigerians, suggesting that they are not as certain of their self-sentiment organization, and yet they are less anxious and appear more 'open'. These findings invite speculation over the possible relationship between Q3- and the Nigerian's image of himself or the self-image of the African in general. Is it possible that Q3- scores reflect changes in the African's self-image?

There is considerable evidence that numerous changes have, and are taking place in the African's value orientations. One striking evidence of this change can be noted in the greater interest Africans are taking in various aspects of their own heritage. In a recent conference on African

Studies, Oliver (1963) reports that Africans are trying to assert some leadership in this field since the leading research centres in African Studies are to be found in countries outside Africa. In the past, African studies were regarded by Africans with deep suspicion, as they were not thought to be connected with the progress of Africans towards intellectual liberation. The African wanted the best the British (or European) had to offer, and as Jahoda (1961) observed: "At one time the inclusion of anything specially devised for African circumstances would have led to the suspicion that the Authorities (British) were trying to pass off shoddy goods" (p. 122). With political independence, this attitude is changing [although one would still suspect some of the psychological work done in South Africa, e.g. de Ridder (1961)]*⁽¹⁾ The idea that academic success based on European standards is the only key which opens 'the cave' and reveals 'the truth' is now questioned by those who have achieved this success.

Educated Africans also question some of the philosophies advocated by Africans to re-establish the primacy of African values. Philosophies such as 'Pan Africanism' (Nkrumah 1960), or 'Negritude'*⁽²⁾ (Senghor 1961, Césaire 1958) are found

*⁽¹⁾ S. G. Lee writes of this book: "This book is truly autistic psychology, the reality check throughout being held in abeyance". However, some other work from South Africa has been most illuminating, e.g. Biesheuvel (1958), Danziger (1958).

*⁽²⁾ 'Pan Africanism' is mainly a British West African view while 'Negritude' is a French African philosophy.

lacking in internal consistency by many educated Africans (cf. West Africa, 1962 p. 1041). The intellectual African sees some of these ideas as backward looking, rather than progressive. The 'African Personality' and the 'African attitude' as expounded in these doctrines are more of political significance and, as many writers have observed, 'scientifically meaningless' (Jahoda 1961, Frantz 1958, The Round Table 1956). The Round Table further suggests that the people who advocate the emergence of an 'African Personality' are the same people who must destroy many features that are associated with the generalization 'African'. These would include the 'Chiefs' who hold back political reforms; the family structure, which holds back economic initiative; and the fetish colleges which hold back the development of hospitals and modern schools. The same difficulties are experienced with a philosophy of Negritude. Negritude, by exalting the immediate life of the senses, the rhythm of the drum, the belief in extra sensory powers, has alienated many intellectual Africans who are unable to integrate these ideas with their European education. Their problems are increased by the numerous varieties of 'Negritude' and 'Pan Africanism'!

It seems most likely that the increased Q3- score of the LRN indicates that these Nigerians are trying to grapple with some of these value-orientation difficulties. The lower Q3- scores of the SRN suggest that they have not as yet fully considered these problems. What has probably happened is that the SRN have accepted uncritically the

value system of the British and organized their behaviour around socially approved British standards. The LRN on the other hand, having achieved a certain degree of success by Western standards, are in a better position to re-examine some aspects of their own Nigerian values. This view is strengthened when the comparative scores on components O+ and L+ are considered.

2. Confidence and Re-evaluation

The O+ anxiety component measures depressive guilt. The central characteristics are a feeling of unworthiness, a sense of inadequacy, and a general poorness in spirit. The Long Residence Nigerians score significantly lower than the Short Residence Nigerians, indicating that they are much more confident than the SRN. Thus, while the LRN may not have as clear a self-sentiment structure as the SRN, they are by no means as dissatisfied as the SRN (nor as anxious in general). These findings suggest a pattern outlined by Jahoda (1961): at first the educated African's value system is in many aspects largely that of the sophisticated Westerner; then he passes through a temporary phase of inferiority, before returning to an enlightened appreciation of things African. Jahoda equates this last stage with 'autonomy' or 'independence', and with Riesman's (1950) ideas about the 'autonomous' person. He noticed in Ghana that many educated Africans were able to move with confidence in and out of Western and African roles in accordance with the social situation. In other words, these Africans had achieved a

certain measure of integration in their value systems. (In this approach Jahoda disagrees with Mannoni (1956) who considered 'autonomy' in Africans (Malagasies) an impossibility. He believed that the Malagasies were destined to feel dependent or inferior.)

The pattern of scores on Q3- and O+ for the two groups, the Long Residence Nigerians and the Short Residence Nigerians, seems to fit Jahoda schema. The SRN's value system is probably in many respects like that of the sophisticated Westerner (low Q3-), and he is passing through a temporary phase of inferiority (high O+). The LRN, on the other hand, appear more confident (low O+) and are possibly reorganizing their value system (high Q3-) in an attempt to achieve a better integration of Western and African values.

These interpretations must be largely speculative, but it seems that the SRN see the self-sentiment problem as a choice between 'alternate modes of existence' (Doob, 1958). If this is so, then one might suppose that this immediate choice (conscious or otherwise) is to reject most things 'African' in favour of the more rewarding (economically and socially) European values. Thus, in many ways the SRN would seem prone to a passive and uncritical acceptance of the standards of the dominant social group. The LRN, on the other hand, have probably reached the stage of re-examination and re-evaluation of their value structure. This change will probably be spurred on after the Nigerians are more frequently exposed to some of the doubtful values of the

British that are often displayed when Africans are refused lodgings because of their colour. The loss of self-respect that Africans (and Coloured generally) feel at being discriminated against, while at first depressing, forces the individual to reassert or reassess his own worth. The LRN appears to be doing the re-evaluation while the SRN feel inadequate.

It should be noted, however, that while the LRN indicate fewer feelings of inadequacy, they are still very suspicious and insecure. In fact, the LRN's L+ score, like their Q3-score, is slightly higher than that of the rest of the Nigerian sample. This high L+ score, in conjunction with the LRN lower O+ score, helps to give a further explanation, apart from academic success, why the LRN have a greater sense of adequacy.

It will be recalled that L+ is a measure of social insecurity, and that the presence of social insecurity for long periods of time often leads to paranoid suspicion, and that one prominent feature of paranoid suspicion is defensive over-evaluation of oneself or 'biased perfection'. On the basis of the cross-sectional results, it seems more than likely that the LRN have been suspicious (high L+) for a long time - at least as long as they have been in Britain, and the mean for this group is 6.7 years. Therefore, the high L+ score of the LRN probably represents not only social insecurity, but also paranoid suspiciousness and all that this entails. Thus, it is quite possible that the greater sense of adequacy felt by the LRN is a result of their over-

evaluations of themselves (and their country?) in relation to British or any other non-African students. In this way, they can maintain a feeling of respect and dignity.

Summarizing, it does seem that the low score on Q3- in the SRN is not necessarily a 'good thing'. The increase in Q3- in the LRN, on the other hand, is a step in the right direction, in that it signifies a move toward a more adequately based integration. When they return to Nigeria, this integration may achieve greater stability, and make it possible for the Nigerians to move with ease from Western to African roles.

3. The Evaders and the Self-Sentiment

It should be recalled that forty percent of the Nigerian sample failed to answer the question concerning the length of time spent in Britain. In comparing the scores on Q3- and L+, these evaders obtain even lower scores than the Short Residence Nigerians. On all other scores, the Evaders fall somewhere between the two groups - the LRN and the SRN. Therefore, the Q3- and L+ scores appear to be distinguishing features of these Nigerians who evaded this question.

In view of the above discussion on Q3- and L+ with regard to the self-sentiment, it appears that the Nigerian evaders have a close compact self-sentiment (low Q3-) associated with fairly high social security (low L+). In some ways this picture seems more 'tribal' or 'insular' in outlook. However, the Evader group does not follow a tribal pattern, since both groups (the Evaders and the Answering

group) have a similar regional make-up.

g. Some Qualitative Aspects of Social Perception

The British and Nigerians are fairly effective in predicting each other's responses on the issues dealing with social organization (e.g. proposition 26:- Without obedience and respect for authority, there would be social chaos.) They experience less success in the wider problems dealing with national and world issues, where both groups harbour misconceptions about each other.

The Nigerians, as might be expected, are very nationalistic, and this can be noted from their agreement with propositions 4 and 14 (4:- National pride is more important than racial origin; 14:- Loyalty to one's country comes before considering World Brotherhood).

It is most likely that if the British students had been asked to predict the response of a Ghanaian, they would have had less difficulty. In other words, the British stereotype of the 'African' is undergoing a certain amount of change, and the question is whether these changes will move toward a better understanding or to new and different misconceptions.

Indications that different socio-political ideals may lead to further misconceptions, are suggested by the various responses to statement number 6:- Sane, normal people cannot agree to war. The Nigerians disagree with this statement, while the British are divided. However, the British feel that the Nigerians would agree with this proposition. This decision by the British students does suggest a shift in the

traditional stereotype, but the shift is incorrect. If it is assumed that an individual who does agree with this statement is 'primitive' or lacks 'sophistication', then it can be assumed that the British are rejecting these stereotypes. Furthermore, war in the present world situation would mean annihilation of a large part of the world, and so sane people cannot agree to war. However, the Nigerians do disagree with the statement, although it is not clear why they disagree. Possibly war is not seen by them as being 'primitive' or 'necessary', and the probability of war is not reduced just because people are sane and normal.

This misconception on the part of the British can have serious consequences, since it may lead to a gross misapprehension of the limits of behaviour of 'sophisticated' Nigerians. Annihilation probably does not carry the same impact that it does for the British, nor does war convey a quality of 'primitiveness'. Both groups recognize that resort to force can be avoided in national and international life (statement 16), but if further questioning had been possible, one would like to know in what circumstances would the Nigerians and the British agree to the use of force. The recent political turmoil in the Congo is of interest in this context. The Nigerian students favoured the use of force in the Congo. The position of the British students is not known, but the British government's policy was to condemn the use of force. While there are several missing factors in this problem on the 'use of force' and 'war', it does seem

that the danger of misconception can be complicated by the many changes in socio-political ideals. However, in analyzing the social perception scores for the British and the Long Residence Nigerians, they suggest that both groups are at least aware of the danger.

CHAPTER VIICONCLUSIONSA. The Statistical Findings

The Social Perception and Anxiety measures used in this study have been successful in discriminating inter-group differences among the three cultural groups - the British, Australians, and Nigerians - as well as indicating differences within the Nigerian Group. The major statistical findings are as follows:

1. The British and Australians obtain significantly higher social perception scores than the Nigerians.
2. The Nigerians obtain significantly higher anxiety scores than the British or Australians.
3. Nigerians who have been in Britain for more than three years (LRN) score significantly higher in social perception than Nigerians who have been in Britain for three years or less (SRN).
4. The LRN group scores significantly lower than the SRN group in anxiety.
5. The above results are consistent with the hypothesized relationship between anxiety and social perception, although it was not possible to demonstrate this relationship significantly within the British or Nigerian groups. However, the correlations are in the predicted direction when the groups are matched for anxiety, and former significant differences in social perception disappear. Further evidence to support

this claim of a relationship between social perception and anxiety was found when the anxiety component scores were related to social perception.

6. Two anxiety components, L+ (social insecurity) and C- (ego weakness) showed a significant negative association with social perception. While both the British and Nigerian samples revealed the significance of L+ to social perception, the C- correlation with SP occurred only in the Nigerian sample. The reason for the peculiar functioning of C- can be understood when certain theoretical problems are considered. Firstly, the development of effective ego strength is dependent to a large extent on learning and the Nigerians are faced with the problem of new learning, since they are living in a foreign environment. Secondly, ego strength must be related to the total amount of drive (drive strength) with which an individual has to cope. An indication of this strength can be obtained from the anxiety component Q4 or unsatisfied drive. The Nigerians indicate significantly higher unsatisfied drive than the British.

It can be observed that when the C- and Q4 scores drop, as they do in the LRN group, social perception rises.

7. In the cross-sectional analysis of the anxiety components, it was found that all the scores are much lower for the Long Residence Nigerians except Q3- (self-sentiment) and L+ (social insecurity).

8. When the LRN and the British subjects are compared,

all former significant findings disappear.

B. The Theoretical Implications of the Results

1. The first set of theoretical implications of the results concerns the measure of social perception and its relation to Anxiety. The various discriminations found in social perception are due mainly to the inclusion in the social perception measure of nonperceptions or 'doubts', and misperceptions, as well as accurate perceptions. Rather than consider all inaccuracies as being equal, the present measure considers a 'doubt' response (nonperception) in perceiving the Other as being of value. The reasoning is that 'doubt' gives an indication that one is aware that one may be wrong. This awareness is considered qualitatively different from other inaccuracies and so in the quantitative measure this difference is noted.

The qualitative nature of the 'doubt' response is considered similar in some ways to Rokeach's ideas about 'openness' or the 'open system of belief'. The important feature of openness is determined by how great this concern for knowledge is for its own sake, rather than knowledge as a defence against threat. To the extent that 'doubt' indicates a concern for correctness, it is considered similar to the expression of openness.

Analyzing the major statistical findings in these theoretical terms, one can show that:

(a) the Nigerians obtain significantly lower social perception scores because they obtain significantly lower nonperception scores and significantly higher misperception scores.

(b) the LRN obtain significantly higher social perception scores than the SRN because they obtain significantly higher nonperception scores and significantly lower misperception scores.

If the degree of openness is dependent on the amount of 'threat' felt by the individual, then the greater the threat, the more 'closed' is the individual, and the lower the social perception. In as much as anxiety and the anxiety components are indications of 'threat', it can be seen that the Nigerians appear more threatened than the British, since their anxiety scores are significantly higher. Thus, it might be expected that their attitude would be more 'closed' than the British, and so they would receive lower social perception scores. The statistical results support these theoretical speculations.

These results have further implications for the more specific problem of stereotype accuracy and anxiety. The relationship between this type of social perception and anxiety has been vague. There have been so many methodological and conceptual difficulties that many of the results have appeared contradictory. The present cross-cultural approach to social perception and anxiety, in which both concepts are

analyzable into their component parts, indicates that there is a negative relationship between this type of social perception (stereotype accuracy) and anxiety.

2. The second set of theoretical implications of the statistical results concerns anxiety. The cross-sectional analysis of the anxiety scores indicates that Nigerians who have been in Britain for more than three years (LRN) have a slightly lower anxiety level than the Nigerians who have been in Britain for three years and less (SRN). These results appear to differ from the usual pattern found in 'foreign' students in that usually adjustment declines after three years. However, the average number of years spent in Britain by the LRN is 6.7. Thus, it is possible that the usual pattern noted after a three year stay, i.e. a decline in adjustment, may be 'temporary' and dependent on situational conditions. This possibility is suggested after one observes the differences in the anxiety component scores between the two groups - LRN and SRN. Most of the lowered scores of the LRN are found on those components known to be dependent to a large extent on 'situational' or 'learning' factors. For example, C- (low ego strength) and Q4 (unsatisfied drive) are two of these components, and the LRN are much lower on both. These results suggest that the anxiety level does change but unfortunately, it is not possible from the present LRN sample to indicate at what stage after three years this noticeable change takes place.

A more elaborate cross-sectional and/or longitudinal study would be required to establish this point. However, the Cattell test, with its various 'state' and 'trait' distinctions can be of immense value in such a study.

3. The final set of theoretical implications of the results concerns the self-sentiment structure of Nigerians. A great deal of speculation on the possible interpretations of scores relating to the self-sentiment has been offered in the 'Discussion', but much of it lacks sufficient foundation. Specifically, it can be shown that the Long Residence Nigerians have a higher low self-sentiment score (Q3-) than the Short Residence Nigerians, but they are significantly more confident (lower O+, guilt score) and have a significantly lower anxiety level. The general interpretations of these findings suggest:(a) it appears that the low Q3- score of the SRN is not necessarily a 'good' thing for Nigerians; (b) the LRN appear to be undergoing a certain amount of 'change' in their value orientation, and their higher Q3- score is a sign of some reorganization and re-evaluation of their self-sentiment.

C. Suggestions for Further Research

1. In view of the success of the social perception and anxiety measures in this study, they should be applied to the other type of social perception, i.e. differential accuracy. This would require more rigorous control of

such variables as assumed and warranted similarity and amount of acquaintance. Since it seems that the extremes on the anxiety measure are not as discriminating as the middle, this too may have to be checked.

2. The differences in social perception and anxiety within the Nigerian group require further extensive study. The pattern found in other 'foreign' students could be checked, and extended to recheck the findings in the present study. One would like to know what happens to this pattern after four, five or six years. Since the Cattell test considers the difference between 'state' and 'trait', this test might give valuable clues in a cross-sectional study. However, the Cattell 16 PF Test might prove more reliable than the IPAT Anxiety Scale, and give more information.

3. Finally, the comparison between the Australians and the Nigerians should be repeated with other 'foreign' groups. For example, what are some of the differences between the Indians and Nigerians studying in London. In many cases, the problems faced by the different groups vary, and a comparative study gives some indication of how the different groups cope with these problems.

The cross-cultural comparative procedure can also be used to observe the extent of 'awareness' the different groups have of each other. This study has explored only the surface of an extremely complex problem, but it is hoped that it would prove useful in further research.

APPENDIX AStudy in Beliefs

1. Democracy is the most effective form of government.
2. Money is the most important value in taking a job.
3. Self-control implies reason has control over emotional thinking.
4. National pride is more important than racial origin.
5. Privacy indicates self-sufficiency or desire to be independent.
6. Sane, normal people cannot agree to war.
7. Nationalization of major industries is essential to ease poverty.
8. Strong governments are able to guarantee jobs, not merely to assure opportunities.
9. There is no need for a great deal of superficial sociability, since this behaviour lacks sincerity.
10. The commonwealth will always remain a powerful force in world affairs.
11. Disciplined behaviour implies law and order.
12. People should talk less and work more.
13. The political and economic future of the newer nations has more to gain from unity with Western man than from unity with the East.
14. Loyalty to one's Country comes before considering World Brotherhood.
15. Formality in dress and behaviour implies a means of defining class status.
16. The future of man depends on our ability to cope with Communist ideology.
17. Resort to force can be avoided both in national and international life.

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16. The future of man depends on our ability to cope with Communist ideology.
17. Resort to force can be avoided both in national and international life.

18. The Christian view that ideally we could all love one another is sentimental nonsense.
19. University education indicates that one is now more capable of coping with world affairs.
20. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.
21. Since many of our emotions have a biological basis, they cannot be controlled.
22. A person is only accepted as a friend after he displays a real wish for friendship.
23. Love has no real meaning as far as interpersonal relationships are concerned.
24. The family, in the Western world with all its divorces, is now too disorganized to be of any great benefit to the state.
25. An insult to our honour should always be punished.
26. Without obedience and respect for authority, there would be social chaos.
27. Acceptance in a group is earned by the social ease one creates in conversation.
28. A University degree implies immediate acceptability in most University circles.
29. If someone is deprived or handicapped, you ought to let him be one of your companions even though you don't like him personally.
30. It is human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's profit.

APPENDIX B
INSTRUCTIONS

Each subject was presented with two copies of the 'Study in Beliefs'. On the first copy, the instructions were as follows:-

"Here is a list of statements. Would you please indicate by a tick (√) the appropriate category showing your views. If you feel that the statement does not warrant agreeing or disagreeing, use the neutral or undecided column."

On the second copy of the 'Study in Beliefs', the instructions were as follows:-

"Would you please fill in this form as you think the _____ student would answer it. It is understood that you do not know exactly how he would answer, but would you please make a guess at how you think he might answer."

The instructions for the IPAT Self-Analysis Forms (Anxiety) followed Cattell's instructions.

APPENDIX CIPAT ANXIETY ITEMSCovert Items

1. I find that my interests, in people and amusements, tend to change fairly rapidly.
2. If people think poorly of me I can still go on quite serenely in my own mind.
3. I like to wait till I am sure that what I am saying is correct, before I put forward an argument.
4. I am inclined to let my actions get swayed by feelings of jealousy.
5. If I had my life to live over again I would:
(a) plan very differently, (b) want it the same.
6. I admire my parents in all important matters.
7. I find it hard to "take 'no' for an answer", even when I know what I ask is impossible.
8. I doubt the honesty of people who are more friendly than I would naturally expect them to be.
9. In demanding and enforcing obedience my parents (or guardians) were: (a) always very reasonable, (b) often unreasonable.
10. I need my friends more than they seem to need me.
11. I feel sure that I could "pull myself together" to deal with an emergency.
12. As a child I was afraid of the dark.
13. People sometimes tell me that I show my excitement in voice and manner too obviously.
14. If people take advantage of my friendliness I:
(A) soon forget and forgive, (B) resent it and hold it against them.
15. I find myself upset rather than helped by the kind of personal criticism that many people make.
16. Often I get angry with people too quickly.
17. I feel restless as if I want something but do not know what.

18. I sometimes doubt whether people I am talking to are really interested in what I am saying.
19. I have always been free from any vague feelings of ill-health, such as obscure pains, digestive upsets, awareness of heart action, etc.
20. In discussion with some people, I get so annoyed that I can hardly trust myself to speak.

Overt Items

21. Through getting tense I use up more energy than most people in getting things done.
22. I make a point of not being absent-minded or forgetful of details.
23. However difficult and unpleasant the obstacles, I always stick to my original intentions.
24. I tend to get over-excited and "rattled" in upsetting situations.
25. I occasionally have vivid dreams that disturb my sleep.
26. I always have enough energy when faced with difficulties.
27. I sometimes feel compelled to count things for no particular purpose.
28. Most people are a little queer mentally, though they do not like to admit it.
29. If I make an awkward social mistake I can soon forget it.
30. I feel grouchy and just do not want to see people:
(A) occasionally, (B) rather often.
31. I am brought almost to tears by having things go wrong.
32. In the midst of social groups I am nevertheless sometimes overcome by feelings of loneliness and worthlessness.
33. I wake in the night and, through worry, have some difficulty in sleeping again.
34. My spirits generally stay high no matter how many troubles I meet.
35. I sometimes get feelings of guilt or remorse over quite small matters.

36. My nerves get on edge so that certain sounds, e.g., a screechy hinge, are unbearable and give me the shivers.
37. If something badly upsets me I generally calm down again quite quickly.
38. I tend to tremble or perspire when I think of a difficult task ahead.
39. I usually fall asleep quickly, in a few minutes, when I go to bed.
40. I sometimes get in a state of tension or turmoil as I think over my recent concerns and interests.

APPENDIX D

T A B L E I

BRITISH AND NIGERIAN RESPONSES TO

PROPOSITIONS IN PERCENTAGES

	Agree		Disagree		Neutral	
	BA	NA	BD	DD	BN	NN
1	56	46	34	32	10	22
2	7	26	86*	70*	7	4
3	84*	78*	10	16	6	6
4	47	68*	19	24	34	8
5	24	28	51	60*	24	12
6	41	29	47	60*	12	11
7	19	60*	67*	34	14	6
8	24	58	47	30	29	12
9	46	66*	33	26	21	8
10	20	10	54	68*	26	22
11	54	66*	32	28	14	6
12	36	68*	34	24	30	8
13	53	6	10	70*	37	24
14	21	68*	61*	20	18	12
15	32	42	57	54	11	4
16	53	24	32	52	16	24
17	59	88*	23	4	18	8
18	54	58	59	30	18	12
19	24	44	57	44	19	12
20	16	58	73*	32	11	10
21	19	10	71*	68*	10	22
22	32	54	47	16	21	30
23	12	50	69*	26	18	24
24	10	36	76*	40	14	24
25	18	34	71*	56	11	10
26	78*	72*	14	12	7	6
27	47	56	35	36	18	8
28	25	36	51	60*	24	4
29	20	42	62*	42	18	16
30	26	32	63*	56	11	12

* - Established Position.

British E.P. - 12

Nigerian E.P. - 16

Subjects - British - 70

Nigerian - 50

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