

BETWEEN CONFLICT AND PEACE:
INTERGROUP RELATIONS AT THE FEDERAL UNITY COLLEGES IN NIGERIA

by

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ABSTRACT

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Schools have a position in society that could provide tools for students to move toward more positive intergroup relations and to shape their nation as desired. In this dissertation, I present an analysis of how and whether schools in Nigeria, particularly unity schools (FUCs), achieve this. Schools are a concentrated site for interactions among young people, yet research in the field of education and conflict settings is limited in its exploration of *how* schools facilitate intergroup relations that deter hostility and increase intergroup tolerance while shaping positive and peaceful social relations. To address this gap, this project explores tolerance levels, national identities, and social interactions among students in Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs) in Nigeria. The FUCs are secondary boarding schools utilizing a nationwide quota system to ensure an ethnically and religiously representative student body in Nigeria—a place with a history of instability, conflicts, and complex politically prominent group categorizations that overlap across ethnic, religious, regional, and socioeconomic lines.

This mixed methods longitudinal research was based on extensive fieldwork in 8 secondary schools (6 FUC and 2 State) over one academic year in Nigeria (2017-2018). The research includes a unique combination of methods: (a) pre- and post- student surveys including data on social (friendship) networks with 643 students, (b) pre- and post- interviews involving 47 students (group and individual), (c) 17 teacher and 8 administrator interviews, (d) 56 hours of classroom and school observations, and (e) an analysis of curriculum and policy documents.

The findings indicate the following three points: (1) Maintaining an illusion of unity only serves to reproduce existing social relations, (2) Boarding schools have great potential for the reshaping of intergroup relations in areas of conflict and should be further utilized and explored, and (3) Simply removing students from the conflict in a boarding school bubble is not sufficient. Schools must use this unique position to have students view conflict, their identities, and one another from a different vantage point.

The findings contribute to literature and theory related to education in conflict, peace and sustainable education, diversity, friendship networks, and school relationship to the nation.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my Daddy as he turns 70
*The one who taught me to appreciate diversity, to explore boundlessly, to always
challenge social norms—and to do it all with love.*

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

If I was in another school, I don't think I would have accepted some things, I really think if you haven't come to a unity school and met people with different social, economic, cultural, religious like a lot of differences you will surely not be the same.
(Unity School Student Interview – 4.25.18)¹

During a time when religious extremism, unequal access to resources and increasing intra-state conflicts threaten the stability of nation-states within a highly globalized world, it is imperative to understand the experience of young people in conflict settings. Youth have an important role in continuing or potentially interrupting conflict, as researchers argue that youth bulges and youth discontent are associated with instability and conflict (Goldstone, 2002; Urdal, 2004). Schools hold a particularly powerful role as socializing institutions (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005; Russell & Bajaj, 2015) through which young people can learn to harness conflict in a way that either positively or negatively shapes social relations. Meanwhile, their perceptions, identities, and notions of citizenship are also contoured through their school experience (Reisner, 1922; Weber, 1976). Within Africa, generally, and Nigeria, specifically, colonizers have historically manipulated notions of group identity—both ethnic and religious—to benefit their own power structure (Mamdani, 1996). This has contributed to structural inequalities favoring particular groups and has strengthened group identities around ethnicity and religion. These strong group categorizations

¹ The school is undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality.

compete with nationalistic notions of citizenship, challenging national unity efforts (Keller, 2014). This research looks more closely at ethnically and religiously diverse secondary schools in a context where school practices and curriculum oscillate between (1) a push to “unite” students as “one Nigeria” and (2) a multicultural approach celebrating their differences through clearly categorized and defined traits. This research explores how youth—a critical population—are engaging within diverse schools amidst these competing practices, a complex colonial history, structural inequalities, and tense intergroup relations. This research also seeks to understand how students within diverse schools relate to one another and how the exposure to diversity shapes student relations to the nation-state.

Unless schools have strategies to harness conflict as an instrument for working through differences and building positive social relations, optimal intergroup contact within diverse schools may become increasingly more challenging to attain with intrastate conflicts growing worldwide along with the ‘War on Terrorism,’ massive refugee and immigration movements, and conflict over resources as the global climate rapidly changes (Allport, 1954; Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Irwin, 1991; Kokkonen, Esaiasson, & Gilljam, 2010). In these settings and in non-Western settings more generally, research is lacking on the influence of diverse schooling on intergroup relations, the way diversity within schools shapes relations to the nation-state, and tolerance—defined in this research as² (a) openness to treating those from other

² In the literature, tolerance is viewed as both a necessary aspect of a democratic society (Sullivan & Transue, 1999) and also as an important antidote to social discrimination (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) conceptualize tolerance as the psychological understanding of different groups pertaining to a higher inclusive category in which the differences between the groups become normalized, or as a lack of inclusion of the groups in this higher category altogether. This definition of tolerance indicates a common link, or categorization, among students that thus allows this tolerance. Fritzsche (2006) distinguishes between different degrees of tolerance ranging from a pragmatic approach of

groups with equal concern and consideration as for one's own group and (b) neutral or positive attitudes toward those in other groups.

In Nigeria, historical ethnic and religious tensions exist alongside present-day conflicts, such as with the terrorist group Boko Haram violently fighting against western influences and the violent conflict between nomadic herdsman who want to feed their livestock and the farmers who do not want the cattle destroying their crops. These tensions may inhibit optimal intergroup contact in diverse school settings. In this context, we witness complexities in schools amidst coexisting attempts to instill intergroup appreciation and a united national identity (Moland, 2015), which both have the potential to exclude or dangerously represent particular groups. Intergroup contact may interact with other school efforts and influence the views of individuals in majority and minority groups differently (Jugert et al., 2017); it cannot be used as a solution in itself (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). We might then ask, what exactly is going on among students in diverse educational settings that allows for varying effects? And how can we break down the specific aspects of the school environment and students' active engagement that are reproducing existing social relations or positively/negatively reshaping them? While

passive acceptance of difference to a more active approach of creating a tolerant environment. This view of tolerance does not focus on the way groups are linked but rather on the internal attitudes of a person and the external environment that shapes the way people interact. My definition includes both (1) a common link that connects students at a higher categorical level or at least an equal status as well as (2) a focus on students' internal attitudes.

I also view social distance as an indicator of tolerance with tolerance being on a continuum as indicated by different levels of social distance. Bogardus (1959) defines social distance as, "the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group, and between groups" (p. 7). Intergroup marriage is viewed as the most intimate social connection according to Bogardus, the creator of the social distance scale, and thus an indicator for the highest level of intergroup tolerance. According to Bogardus, the next levels of social distance after intermarriage in order from least to most socially distant involve having people from other groups as close personal friends, followed by neighbors, coworkers, citizens of the same country, visitors to one's country, and finally as having access to enter the country. With this in mind, I included survey questions about marriage, friendship, neighbors, and citizenship issues in measuring tolerance in the survey for this research. I also measured close friendships via social network analysis and ask questions about intergroup marriage in the student interviews. Together, these measures give a broader indication of intergroup tolerance among the students.

research indicates that diverse schooling—defined as ethnically and/or religiously diverse schools—is complex and implemented in a variety of ways (Bekerman & Nir, 2006; McGlynn, Niens, Cairns, & Hewstone, 2004; Stringer, Irwing, Giles, & McClenahan, 2009), little is known about the interplay between a simultaneous celebration of diverse ethnic and religious groups and a push for national unity³ within an integrated school⁴ setting in the context of a society riddled with unresolved intergroup conflict, structural inequalities, and a deep colonial history.

Problem Statement and Significance

This research seeks to understand the shifting identities of young people, who have the potential to transform social relations yet are most often recruited to follow extremist ideas, and how others create hostile environments via their relationship to their own identities—including ethnic and religious—and those of others (Irwin, 1991). Hostile school environments and societies incubate (a) vulnerability to recruitment into extremist groups, such as Boko Haram, ISIS, and Christian extremist groups, or (b) the perpetuation of ideas that support them. This, in turn, wards off opportunities for productive social relations (Falcone, 2012; Goldstone, 2002; Urdal, 2004). In the emerging field of education in conflict settings, scholars debate education's role in either fueling (Davies, 2011; Lange & Dawson, 2010) or ameliorating (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Thyne, 2006) conflict.

³ The focus on national unity specifically encompasses a cohesive national community that can clearly identify cohesiveness among its members. This cohesiveness may or may not allow for diversity within itself.

⁴ I define integrated schools as schools in which various groups that have historically been in conflict in that particular context are combined into one school setting; in other words, integrated schools are a specific subset of diverse schools.

In defining social conflict, I recognize that it is a part of social life and can be a driver for both positive change and atrocious violence (Coleman, Kugler, Bui-Wrzosinska, Nowak, & Vallacher, 2012). Coleman et al. (2012) define social conflict “as a relational process influenced by the presence of incompatible activities” that typically occurs “in a relational context” with a history that shapes the current conflictive relations (p. 10). Accordingly, I view conflict as having potential for both positive social change and/or negative social relations depending on how the various parties and related institutions (such as schools) work with individuals and groups to harness conflict for overall positive social change. Schools are a concentrated site for interactions among young people, yet research in the field of education and conflict settings is limited in its exploration of *how* schools facilitate intergroup relations and deter hostility so that conflict can be an impetus for shaping positive and productive social relations. My research begins to resolve that gap by looking closely at student tolerance levels, friendship networks, student interactions, curriculum, and school practices.

In secondary schools with mixed ethnic and religious populations, the salience of these ethnic and religious identities could potentially both inhibit school unity and magnify group identities while shaping student perceptions of the nation (Bekerman & Maoz, 2005; Carter, 2012; Donnelly, 2004). Conversely, ethnically and religiously integrated schools present the opportunity for either a reformation of identity or a psychological restructuring of what it means to be a part of the in-group/out-group (McGlynn et al., 2004; Oikonomidou, 2018); in other words, being part of the nation or not. Either of these could serve as an impetus to either improve or aggravate social relations. I pose that education, defined as the formal schooling system, and integrated

schools specifically can simultaneously agitate and ease intergroup relations. Identity is possibly the most malleable during pre-adolescence through adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Irwin, 1991), rendering this an opportune time to learn about relations that could either ameliorate or contribute to further conflict within conflict settings during a pivotal moment in young people's identification formation.

By placing students into a new situation with various ethnic and religious groups represented within a single setting, students engage in self-categorization processes based on perceived similarities and differences, many of which are formed within the students' homes, communities, and friendship circles. School interventions seeking to either "unite" (citizenship or national unity education practices) or increase "appreciation" (multi-cultural education practices) between groups can influence these self-categorizations. Practices that shape how students view various in-groups/out-groups can alter attraction to an entire group or to the nation (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux, & Carney, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998).

Students must navigate where they place themselves amidst a diverse student population, their own prejudices, and potentially conflicting messages across these national unity and diversity⁵ appreciation efforts (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Change in identity formation and tolerance levels amidst these coexisting, and possibly competing, efforts could influence how students relate to one another and may either shift or maintain perceptions of in-groups versus out-groups. The purpose of this research is to explore changes in (a) students' ethnic, national, and religious identities and (b) students' tolerance levels and friendships over time within

⁵ I focus on ethnic and religious diversity. I also use it to encompass an understanding of diversity for the individual, within the school, and at the national level. An extreme focus on diversity would allow only for the recognition of differences between ethnic and religious groups without a link that unifies the groups.

ethnically and religiously integrated schools in a conflict setting, and to consider active student engagement and school practices that are shaping these changes both positively and negatively.

Understanding (a) integrated schools in a tense setting with a complex background that affects intergroup tensions and national unity efforts today and (b) how students change amidst the various practices implemented within these schools can lead to the development of more effective school practices around diversity appreciation and national unity efforts—particularly within diverse schools in conflict settings and those in areas impacted by ethno-religious tensions.

Research Questions

This research is directed by the following overarching question and sub-questions:

1. How do students' (a) ethnic, religious, and national identities, (b) tolerance levels, and (c) friendship networks change over time within the FUCs as compared with state secondary schools?
 - a. What aspects of the school design influence these differences? And how?
 - b. How do these changes compare with the stated goals of the Nigerian nation-state?

Rationale for Choosing Nigeria

As one of the most deeply divided African states, Nigeria has dealt with challenges to structuring its state as envisioned by Western powers and has struggled with national unity, democratization, and stability (Moland, 2015; Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). In addition to more than 250 smaller ethnic groups, the

country is divided into three majority ethnic groups (with great diversity among each of them)—the Hausa-Fulani (27%), Yoruba (14%), and Igbo (14%) (“Africa: Nigeria — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2018). A religious majority is also non-existent, and Nigeria is the largest country in the world with almost equal numbers of Christians and Muslims, each fearing ascendancy of the other (Campbell, 2013; Paden, 2008). Economic and educational inequalities between ethnic and religious groups in the North and the South, combined with a state with little accountability due to its dependence on oil revenue, have led to deepening ethno-religious tensions and a further undermining of efforts to increase national “unity,” a term widely disseminated by politicians, schools, and the media (Moland, 2015; Paden, 2008). Throughout Nigeria’s history, suspicion of another ethnic or religious group’s power has led to clashes such as the Biafran War in 1967-1970 (Mustapha, 2004). Since 1999, at least 13,500 people have died in ethno-religious conflict (Campbell, 2013), and the extremist group, Boko Haram, has killed at least 1,200 more and displaced more than 200,000 in the northeast during 2018 alone (Human Rights Watch, 2018). At least 1.7 million people remain internally displaced in northeastern Nigerian (Amnesty International, 2018). Another conflict between nomadic herdsman and farmers that has spanned decades worsened in 2018. This led to the deaths of at least 1,600 and the displacement of 300,000 and worsened the overall security and well-being of Nigerians (Human Rights Watch, 2018).

Within Africa, generally, and Nigeria, specifically, colonizers have historically manipulated notions of nationalism and group—both ethnic and religious— identity to benefit their own power structure (Mamdani, 1996). This has contributed to structural inequalities favoring particular groups and has strengthened group belonging around

ethnicity and religion. These strong group identities compete with varying nationalistic notions of belonging, challenging national unity efforts (Keller, 2014). While many former colonies share remnants from their colonial past, each former colony has its own unique story. Nigeria faces a history of instability, conflict, and the complexity of politically prominent group categorizations that overlap across ethnic, religious, regional and socioeconomic lines (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). With competing ethnic and religious identities amidst inequalities and poor provision by the state, individuals may experience a weakened sense of national identity when compared to ties to other groups and institutions that provide them with more direct resources and empowerment (Lockwood, 1996). This has shaped a fragile national consciousness—a weak sense of what the nation is and how individuals relate to it (Fanon, 2007)—that has made room for the creative molding of ethnic, religious, and national group boundaries which this study seeks to deeply understand within diverse secondary schools in Nigeria.

Nigeria grants the unique opportunity to closely observe the ways young people and those within schools work together to construct notions of national, ethnic, and religious group belonging and exclusion through the Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs). The FUCs are secondary boarding schools that utilize a nationwide quota system to ensure an ethnically representative student body. In other words, ethnic and religious groups from around the country are represented within a single school. FUCs simultaneously attempt to unite students as “Nigerian” while also celebrating diversity (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013). FUCs are one of the ways that the state can assert that it exists as an overarching political entity or network with authority over the regions and divisions whose populations are represented in the schools. However, national, ethnic, and religious belongings are often

competing and never settled discourses and are mobilized as power and economic situations shift. Unity is a word that is deployed at certain times in certain ways, and these schools demonstrate how the state is trying to reconcile and adjudicate amongst the nationalist discourses buoyed by ethnic, religious, and regional groups. This attempt by the state has to be examined critically, and this research seeks to understand how it plays out in this unique school setting that brings students together across overlapping contentious divides spanning history and political/social life. This study seeks to understand the occasions, consistencies, and contradictions of displays of unity and difference in the setting of an FUC. How are students, teachers, administrators, and other actors performing and creating notions of unity and difference within this setting and in relation to the unity and multicultural practices taking place in the FUC? How does this oppose or reinforce the intention of the nation-state to “unite” groups across divisions?

Background

This section provides the background imperative to better understanding the African and Nigerian context, conceptualizations around unity and diversity, and Nigerian educational history as nested within the political history.

Colonial history. Amidst the European Scramble for Africa beginning in the mid-1880s, colonizers dissected Africa into numerous pieces that were meaningful only to the colonizers. Their lack of consideration for future independence of these arbitrarily formed nations has marked a difficult path on which colonial *subjects* must find a meaningful way to transform themselves into *citizens* of a nation-state (Keller, 2014). Beyond a careless division of borders, colonizers’ use of both direct and indirect rule throughout

Africa served as a base for ethnic and religious loyalties and divisions (Mamdani, 1996). Both types of rule are designed to control an assumed inferior native population. Indirect rule, used as the primary tactic of Nigeria's colonizer (Britain), refers to a decentralized method in which tribal leadership is manipulated to serve the needs of the colonizer. In using indirect rule, Britain and other colonizers sought to diffuse loyalties in order to increase their own power.

The colonizers' own people, on the other hand, benefited from direct rule of the colonizer as first-class citizens of civil society. Mamdani (1996) points out that the benefits and rights of those within civil society revolved around the core of direct rule while those under indirect rule, or the rule of native authorities, as decided by the colonizers, did not receive these benefits: "Thus, whereas civil society was racialized, Native Authority was tribalized" (p. 19). This created a situation where natives living within the "civil society" core were struggling against racial discrimination while those in the periphery, ruled by customary law and native authorities, were struggling against these native leaders who were often upholding the desires of the colonizers in return for favor. In doing this, the colonizers were able to diffuse the struggle against their own regime. This set the stage for a deepening of rifts and strengthening of dividing categories within the native population that persist today. Britain, and other colonizers, manipulating native authority and customary law, used a single law system to unite what they considered to be "civil society" and dispersed Africans among multiple law systems, one ascribed to each tribe. Colonizers used the communal cultures of these tribes to create opposition between the individual and the group. Mamdani (1996) explains this phenomenon in the following:

The colonial states all over Africa were organized based on ethnicity and/or religion, and the uprisings against the state mirrored these same organizations. Indirect rule at once reinforced ethnically bound institutions of control and led to their explosion from within. Ethnicity (tribalism) thus came to be simultaneously the form of colonial control over natives and the form of revolt against it. It defined the parameters of both the Native Authority in charge of the local state apparatus and of resistance to it. (p. 24)

While ethnicity and religion were not the only categories prevalent in the revolt against authorities, they are pertinent to the focus of this project. Britain's claims of benevolently using indirect rule as a way to respect native cultures are challenged by current ethno-religious tensions fueled by the readily available and highly divisive ethno-religious categorizations inherited from the colonial period. Mamdani (2001) discusses the legacy of identities that persists as a consequence of colonial societal organization. He argues that the formal recognition of ethnicities and religions in the political realm further solidify these as group categorizations. Notions of citizenship within many former colonies remain strongly tied to ethnicity (linked with tribes) and religion, thus, challenging efforts to enhance ties of citizenship to a nation-state left in the colonial backwash (Wallerstein, 1960).

Ethno-religious formation. While many former colonies share remnants from their colonial past, each former colony has its own unique story. Nigeria is challenged with a history of instability, conflicts, and the complexity of politically prominent group categorizations. As one of the most deeply divided African states, Nigeria has dealt with challenges to its legitimacy as a state and has struggled with national unity, democratization, and stability (Moland, 2015; Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Osaghae and Suberu (2005) discuss the interconnectedness of ethnicity, religion, and regionalism in forming group categorizations in Nigeria. As a result of Britain's

indirect rule strategy, the country can be described regionally in terms of ethnicity and religion. The Hausa/Fulani are the majority in the northern region, the Igbo (spelled Ibo on the map below) in the Eastern region, and the Yoruba in the Western region as indicated in Figure 1. The south of Nigeria is made up of a majority Christian population while the northern region, made up of primarily Hausa/Fulani, is majority Muslim. Osaghae and Suberu (2005) argue that in the north, religion is perhaps the strongest group categorization, as evidenced by the politicization of religion with the adoption of “Sharia Law” in several of the northern states, while in the southern region, ethnicity is the most commonly used category. They contend that a Christian in the northern region would be more likely deemed as the out-group while in the southern region, ethnicity would be the determining factor. While their argument is not entirely amiss, these assumptions are only relevant for those who stay within these regions. For example, what categories are most prominent for those who integrate into urban areas such as Abuja and Lagos? Additionally, religion is a regular part of everyday life throughout Nigeria whether in the political, economic, or communal realm (Achunike, 2013; Lewis & Bratton, 2000). Thus, distinct determination of where ethnicity and religion are more or less relevant to group categorizations is less fruitful than an overall recognition that ethno-religious categories are prominent throughout the country. As previously referenced, ethnic and religious identities in Nigeria have deep connections to pre-colonial intergroup relations as well as to Britain and post-independence administrations’ exploitation of these group categorizations (Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Lewis and Bratton (2000) found ethnicity to be extremely prevalent as a group label and individual identifier in Nigeria. Ethnic identities in

Nigeria are complex, with over 250 ethnic groups around the country (“Africa :: Nigeria — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2018).

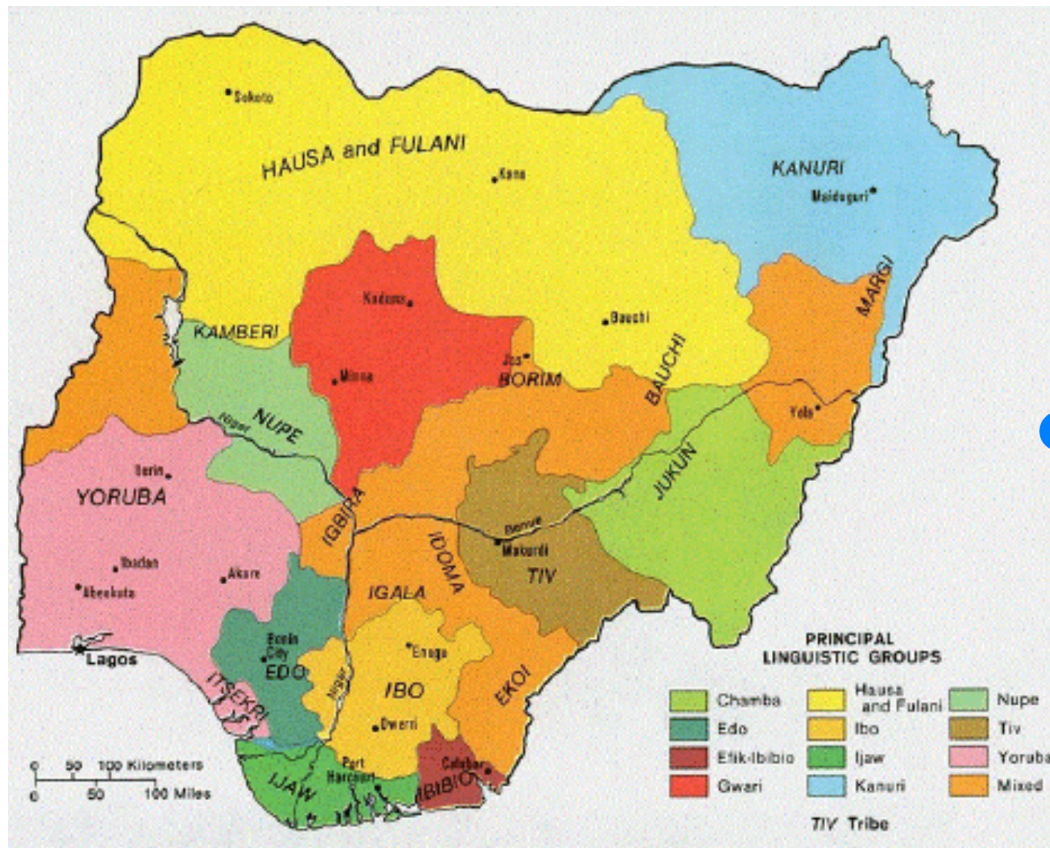


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria with Ethnic Groups (Bakare, 2015, p. 1)

To further complicate the concept of ethnicity in Nigeria, individual ethnic identities come with evolving definitions of what it means to be part of a particular group (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005; Turner et al., 1987). Historically, ethnic identities as group categorizations were strengthened by the colonial organization of power in Nigeria. Britain organized Nigeria into regions in which the larger ethnic groups—the Hausa/Fulani in the North, the Igbo in the East, and the Yoruba in the West—played a

central role in its strategy. These divisions continue to be reflected in societal boundaries both inside and outside the study sites (i.e., the schools) as will be presented in this research. Britain's definition of these three regions stimulated an unprecedented availability of group categorizations in the country. Prior to this, there were not such distinctions between more or less dominant groups within the newly defined space of Nigeria. Britain's division of these three regions has fueled the upheld identification of the three major ethnic groups. Nigeria has continued to divide into more and more sub-regions, or states, organized within these three initial regions. In 1967, the country was divided into 12 states, and in 1996, this increased to the current number of 36 states. This further division of the country has initiated new available group categorizations—particularly around states—while the three principal ethnicities as defined during colonial times remain the most-recognized ethnic groupings (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). During the struggle for equal access to power in the 1990s, several sub-groups of the three majority groups redefined themselves as “minorities” as a stance against marginalization and unequal access to power and resources (Osaghae, 1998). This illustrates the evolving group categorizations that stem from the colonial time period.

Religion, often overlapping with ethnic and regional divisions, is an important group category in Nigeria. Religious identities are widely classified into Christian, Muslim, or Traditional, with traditional religions being the least politically prominent. Among Christians, there are multiple sub-groupings including Protestants, Catholics, Evangelicals, Seventh Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, among other Christian pop-ups and Pentecostal churches. Pentecostal churches have been growing with many practitioners moving over from more traditional denominations (Osaghae & Suberu,

2005). Islam in Nigeria is also varied with practitioners belonging to various sects including the Ahmadiyya, Sanusiyya, Tijanniyya and Quadriyya. Just as there has been an increasing move toward fundamentalism in Christianity, there has also been an increase in Islamic fundamentalist activities since the Iranian Islamic Revolution in the 1970s (Haynes, 2009; Ibrahim, 1989; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). It is within this context that some of the fundamentalist sects shifted toward a “purist” Islam. Purist is, of course, a relative term, which is why it finds itself inside quotation marks. The religious conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s in the northern region spawned from the activities of these sects. The majority of these conflicts have been between Christians and Muslims with ethnicity as an important factor. Christianity has been politicized amidst these conflicts, and Islam as an identity has also been politicized due to state policies and practices that Christians deem to be pro-Muslim. These include attempts to expand “Sharia” law (also relative and contextually interpreted) to the national level and the adoption of “Sharia” law as the ruling law of several states in the North (Ibrahim, 1989; Onapajo, 2012; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005).⁶

British colonial policy supported unbalanced socioeconomic and political development among the various groups. For example, it banned Christian missionary activity, including mission-sponsored schools, from the majority Muslim North. This policy has contributed to the present-day educational and westernization gap between the North and the South, with the South more linked to economic and cultural connections in the West and with a higher average educational quality (Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). As previously considered, British policy inflicted a partition of the

⁶ Interestingly, a recent study shows that in more religiously diverse settings in Nigeria, religious observance is positively associated with respect for religious freedom when religious leaders from both sides more openly advocate for religious tolerance (Dowd, 2016).

country into three primary ethnic groups and regions supporting a tripartite federal structure. This particularly promoted the political hegemony of the Hausa-Fulani in the North which made up more than two-thirds of Nigeria's territory and where more than half of the population lived. This imbalanced structure, coupled with inconsistent policies across regions, has fueled ethno-regional polarization and a "bi-polar north-south confrontation" (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005, p. 16). Presently, Nigeria's multi-state federalism has additionally fostered intergroup instability and conflict over issues such as oil revenues and resources, among others (Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005).

All of this has led to the inseparable overlapping of ethnic and religious identities that correspond with geographic region. For example, Hausas, primarily in the north and almost entirely Muslim, have the overlapping identity of ethnic (Hausa), location (north), and religion (Muslim). Igbos, primarily in the southeast and almost entirely Christian, have the overlapping identity of ethnic (Igbo), location (southeast), and religion (Christian). Yorubas are primarily in the southwest and are a mix of Christians and Muslims and thus have a slightly more fluid link between their ethnic and religious group as compared with the Hausas and Igbos who are more religiously homogenous—as primarily Muslim and Christian respectively. This spanning of the Yoruba ethnicity across both main religions in Nigeria shows up in the research as Yoruba students often serving as intermediaries amidst the trend of polarization between the Igbo and Hausa students. In this research, I found a particular stigmatization of Hausas—with this identity also linked to being from the north and being Muslim. This stigmatization has roots in colonial history, with socioeconomic and educational disparities between those in the north (primarily Hausas who are also mostly Muslim and associated groups) and the

south as I discuss in the following sub-section (Fafunwa, 1974; Mamdani, 1996; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). With current conflicts (e.g., Boko Haram and the herdsmen) also tending to be associated with Hausas, Muslims, and/or those from the north—all overlapping identities—I found a hierarchy in the schools included in this research where the overlapping identity of being both Hausa *and* Muslim (and thus also likely from the north) is at the lowest end.

Educational background in relation to the political background. Education serves as a fundamental expression of the nation-state and a key aspect to this research; thus we will explore the educational history of Nigeria here. Educational history is inseparable from political development, so education is considered in relation to the political history of Nigeria. In beginning a discussion on educational background, it is imperative to first recognize the existence of traditional African education that existed prior to the arrival of the colonists with the primary purpose of inducting young people into society and preparing them for adulthood. I recognize that this era covers a rich history; however, for the purposes of this research, I start with the educational history related to religion and colonization that transformed existing traditional structures (Fafunwa, 1974).

Both Islam and Christianity have influenced the formation of schools in Nigeria. Islam, pre-dating Christianity in Nigeria by more than 300 years, reached the land of the Hausas in the early 1300s through traders and scholars. Arabic is highly respected among many Muslims worldwide as a spiritual language in which the Qur'an was first written and is thus widely studied in relation to Islam. An educational system involving the

teaching and learning of the Qur'an and Arabic began in Northern Nigeria and later spread to Southern Nigeria—particularly among the Yoruba—by the 1600s.

After the British came to Nigeria, Christian churches began to focus on education by opening schools and colleges largely based on English models. Students graduating from these schools were easily able to get jobs in the government while students graduating from Qur'anic schools were not. Among Muslims, tension existed between disapproval of Western education—primarily executed through the efforts of Christian missionaries with the intention to convert—and a desire to improve the status of Islamic education. Many Muslim leaders and followers opposed sending children to study in Christian schools to avoid conversion efforts by the missionaries. Interestingly, the British government agreed to rule Northern Nigeria through the Muslim nobility and in so doing spared Qur'anic school teachers and Islamic education, leaving space for the widening division along educational and religious lines (Fafunwa, 1974).

Christian missionaries initially came to Nigeria in the 1840s. They organized the first schools with the main objective of using education to convert Muslims and those practicing traditional religions, hence disregarding the richness and ethics within African culture and African and Muslim religions. Fafunwa (1974) writes, “A ‘good’ citizen in Nigeria and elsewhere between 1850 and 1960 meant one who was African by blood, Christian by religion and British or French in culture and intellect” (p. 71). This was the basis of forming these schools and may have rooted present-day divisions around and conceptualizations of national identity.

Until 1882, the colonial government left education entirely up to missions. The concentration of Christian missionary education in Southern Nigeria allowed for

inconsistent educational administration across Nigeria. At the turn of the century, however, the Protectorate of Northern and Southern Nigeria—comprising (1) Western, (2) Eastern, and (3) Mid-Western Nigeria/the Delta—were established, covering the entire land of the modern-day nation-state of Nigeria. This considerably impacted educational development within Nigeria with the government becoming more involved in the educational realm. Formalization and expansion of the educational sector in Nigeria took off at this important point in Nigerian history. However, Northern Nigeria continued to resist educational efforts due to the connection with Christian conversion efforts. This situation led to slower educational development in the north. By the turn of the century, more and more people, particularly in Southern Nigeria, became convinced that education was the link to good employment and living, and the school system continued to expand. With the return of relative prosperity to Nigeria following World War I, both the missions and people started to invest more in education, and this expansion continued until the start of the worldwide economic depression in 1930 (Fafunwa, 1974). This disparity in education between the north and the south persists today and is particularly important in shaping stigmatization amidst the overlapping identities discussed previously—with Hausas (also primarily Muslim and from the north) continuing to have a lower education and socioeconomic status on average when compared with Igbos and Yorubas in the south. In other words, this is not simply an educational and economic disparity between the north and the south—it also overlaps with ethnic and religious identities, and this in turn shapes existing social relations.

During the period of 1930-50, Nigeria felt the global economic depression, the effects of World War II, and the Nigerian nationalist movement (spanning 1930-1950)

that led to self-government between 1952-1959 and independence in 1960. Education contributed to increased political enlightenment among Nigerian elite, and it was during this period that Nigerians intensified political activities. While the depression and Second World War adversely affected many educational plans, this period initiated the Nigerianization efforts—the replacing of expatriates with Nigerians in high responsibility governmental and educational posts (Agbowuro, 1976)—provoked by (a) the shortage of expatriate staff and funds, (b) the founding of Yaba Higher College to meet the needs caused by these shortages, and (c) the establishment of the Nigerian Union of Teachers. Higher education was also firmly established in Nigeria during this time although Nigerians had already been sending young people to study in Britain and other places since the 1850s. This period is important in Nigerian educational history due to the establishment of an orderly educational base at all levels that led to extensive growth in the educational sector in the following decade (Fafunwa, 1974).

At the end of World War II, a new constitution (the Richards Constitution) was imposed, dividing the country into the East, West, and North also corresponding to the three largest ethnic groups (East – Igbo; West – Yoruba; North – Hausa/Fulani) as previously discussed. This marked the start of active politics along ethnic/tribal lines within Nigeria. Following the implementation of this constitution, Nigeria reached a “fever point” in terms of political climate (Fafunwa, 1974, p. 166). The three major political parties at the time (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons – N.C.N.C.; Action Group – A.G.; Northern People’s Congress – N.P.C.) played a key role in injecting nationalism and tribalism into the Nigerian political realm following the military *coup d’état* in 1966. Between 1950 and 1963, each of the political parties took

charge in one of the three regions of Nigeria with the N.C.N.C. (Igbo dominated) in the East, the A.G. (Yoruba dominated) in the West, and the N.P.C. (Hausa-Fulani dominated) ruling in the North. The British colonial administration passed power to the Nigerians more rapidly in this time period than in all ninety years prior to it, and this era marks possibly the most turbulent political period in Nigerian history. With the regionalization that took place during this period, intense political competition developed, and each party attempted to provide more social resources for its own region. The Western (A.G./Yoruba) and Eastern (N.C.N.C./Igbo) governments placed education as the highest priority (Fafunwa, 1974).

Free universal primary education expanded differently in each region. The Western region introduced free primary education in 1955, drastically increasing enrollment numbers from 457,000 students in primary school in 1954 to 811,000 in 1955 and to more than one million in 1958 (Fafunwa, 1974). The Eastern region launched universal primary education in 1957 but with inadequate teacher training and facilities leading to school closings and teacher layoffs in 1958 (Fafunwa, 1974). Additionally Catholics resisted free primary education because they owned more than 60 percent of the primary, secondary, and teacher-training institutions in the East (Fafunwa, 1974). Due to these difficulties, the Eastern government modified its plans by introducing a three-year non fee-paying system and a three-year fee-paying system, which collected from local contributions. In the Northern region, educational development lagged behind due to financial reasons, large numbers of school-age children (with at least half of the school-age children living in the North), and hesitance by most leaders in the North to accept Western education and not the Islamic education already established. Even so,

between 1947 and 1957 the enrollment of primary school children in the Northern region rose from 66,000 to 205,769, in the West from 240,000 to 982,755, and in the East from 320,000 to 1,209,167 (Fafunwa, 1974). Secondary education for the entire country rose from 10,000 to 36,000 during this same time period, with 90 percent of those enrolled in secondary school located in the south (Metz, 1991).

Formal education continued to be of central importance in Nigeria. By 1984-85 more than 13 million students were enrolled in nearly 35,000 public primary schools while at the secondary level, an estimated 3.7 million students were attending 6,500 schools (likely including private) (Metz, 1991). Universal primary education became the official policy of Nigeria in the 1970s (Metz, 1991), but the goal has not yet been reached in Nigeria, with 33 percent of primary-age school children out of school and 34 percent of secondary-age children out of school (“Nigeria National Education Profile 2018,” 2018). For both primary- and secondary-age out-of-school children, more than 70 percent of children coming from the poorest income quintile are out of school while 6 percent of primary age and 12 percent of secondary age children from the highest income quintile are out-of-school (“Nigeria National Education Profile 2018,” 2018). This indicates that those from higher socioeconomic classes disproportionately access both primary and secondary schooling. With a burgeoning youth population, the Nigerian government has not been able to meet the growing educational needs (Education in Nigeria – WENR) of children and youth between the ages of 0-14 and 15-24—who make up 43 percent and 20 percent of the population respectively (“Africa :: Nigeria — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2018).

Current educational system and Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs). Currently approximately more than 36 million students are enrolled in both primary (ages 6-11) and secondary school (ages 12-17) in Nigeria (“Nigeria National Education Profile 2018,” 2018). More than 80 percent of those students (more than twenty-five million) are enrolled in primary school. Schooling is divided into primary, lower secondary (ages 12-14), and upper secondary (ages 15-17), lasting 6 years, 3 years, and 3 years respectively (“Nigeria National Education Profile 2018,” 2018). Compulsory education is in place for nine years (from age 6 to 14) requiring students to complete through lower secondary school.

The school year generally lasts from September until July (“UNESCO Institute of Statistics County Profiles: Nigeria,” 2016). Lower secondary school includes grades JS1, JS2, and JS3; senior secondary school includes SS1, SS2, and SS3. Among other subjects, students take courses in Social Studies, Civic Education, Nigerian Languages (Igbo, Hausa, or Yoruba), and Islamic or Christian Religious Studies (Awofala & Sopekan, 2013).

Nigeria has federal, state, and private schools. The Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs)—a particular type of federally run school that combines lower and upper secondary into one boarding school—grant the unique opportunity to closely explore schools’ role in shaping identities and tolerance among students. Their stated goal is to promote “national unity and integration of students and staff of diverse cultures and religions of Nigeria” (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013, p. 4). The FUCs are secondary boarding schools that utilize a nationwide quota system to ensure an ethnically representative student body. In other words, ethnic and religious groups from around the country are represented within a

single school. Because of the current security situation related to Boko Haram, not all FUCs well represent the variety of ethnic groups since many parents do not want to send their kids to schools in areas with more active violent conflict or to schools that are too far away from home. Two areas where schools remain highly integrated across region, ethnicity, and religion are Abuja (the capital) and Lagos. The first FUCs were established in 1964 as a way to unite Nigerians in the midst of political tensions across ethnic, religious, and regional divides, and the majority of FUCs were established in the 1970-80s (Okoro, 2015). FUCs simultaneously attempt to unite students as “Nigerian” while also celebrating diversity (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013). The schools attempt to do this in a variety of ways including cultural nights. In the meantime, however, Muslim and Christian students are separated for religious courses and activities (explored further in Chapter IV). The influence of these schools on students’ identities, tolerance levels, and intergroup relations is currently unknown and is further explored through this research.

Citizenship and national belonging in Nigeria. Although the Nigerian Constitution delineates fundamental human rights in theory (“Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,” 1999), Nigeria as a nation-state does not guarantee all of its citizens the full set of rights and resources that are enjoyed in most well-governed democratic nations. Nigerians experience unequal access to quality and affordable education (UNESCO, 2015), healthcare (Odeyemi & Nixon, 2013), and protection of human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2018), which are all fundamental expectations of a nation-state (Marshall, 1964). The distribution of resources is, as previously discussed, unequal across regions, ethnicities, and religious groups (Mustapha, 1986). Marginalization and inequalities across Nigeria have fostered the rise of Boko Haram, an Islamic extremist

group, and other violence (Fanon, 2007). Due to these inequalities and poor provision by the state coupled with Nigeria's informal economy and inconsistent taxation structure, individuals may experience a weakened sense of national citizenship when compared to ties to other groups and institutions that provide them with more direct resources and empowerment (Lockwood, 1996). For example, social life and validations often revolve around religious life in Nigeria (Kिताuse & Achunike, 2013; Lewis & Bratton, 2000). Churches, many well endowed via donations or Western support, provide safe spaces where electricity is consistent, due to expensive generators, in a country where electricity is chronically intermittent. In terms of self-categorizations, it is possible that individuals feel a stronger affiliation, or citizenship, toward an ethnic or religious group—that they perceive to provide direct protection and resources—than they do toward “being Nigerian” as a form of citizenship (see Turner et al., 1987). This loyalty toward an ethnic or religious group may compete with a feeling of national citizenship and has roots in pre-colonial nationalistic-like tribal and ethnic groups that were redefined within British colonialism (Mustapha, 1986). Mustapha sums up the complexity of national identity within Nigeria noting eight principal conflicts.

Nigeria versus imperialism; the contradiction between the majority nationalities, i.e., Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba; the North-South divide; between the three major nationalities on the one hand, and the smaller nationalities on the other; inter-state rivalry....; inter-ethnic rivalries in a mixed state....; inter-sectional rivalries within an ethnic group of nationality....; and finally, inter-clan rivalries within a province or district.... Thus the National Question in Nigeria is of two dimensions: it deals with the relationship between Nigeria and world imperialism, and the relationship between the various nationalities and administrative-cum-political units that have historically characterized the Nigerian society. (p. 83)

Nigeria's Federal Character principle attempts to disperse these conflicts by ensuring that all areas of Nigeria are represented by an ethnic composition that reflects that of the state. Efforts such as the Federal Unity Colleges and the National Service

Youth Corps—a compulsory year of service for university graduates away from their city of origin— attempt to promote national unity and integration among ethnic/tribal/religious groups (“National Youth Service Corps | Home,” n.d.). However, the gaping inequalities across regions, ethnicities, and religions must also be addressed in order for national unity to be a viable possibility (Mustapha, 1986).

Conceptual Framework

Schools, and the microcosms of people within them, function as a part of the global, political, historical, and social spheres. In this research, I consider the various levels that work together as the whole of which these schools and students are a part (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). As discussed in the Background section, Nigeria’s colonial history has shaped social tensions and inequalities across ethnic, religious, and regional groups and cannot be separated from the analysis associated with this research. These tense intergroup relations form an unsteady base for Nigeria as a nation-state. As one of the most deeply divided African states, Nigeria has dealt with challenges to structuring its state as envisioned by Western powers and has struggled with national unity, democratization, and stability (Moland, 2015; Mustapha, 1986; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). While many former colonies share remnants from their colonial past, each former colony has its own unique story. Nigeria faces a history of instability, conflicts, and the complexity of politically prominent group categorizations that overlap across ethnic, religious, regional, and socioeconomic lines (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). This has shaped a fragile national consciousness (Fanon, 2007) that has created space for the remolding of

ethnic, religious, and national group boundaries, which this study seeks to deeply understand within diverse secondary schools in Nigeria.

Because the Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs) are secondary boarding schools that use a quota system to bring in students from all over the country, they purport to demonstrate that all groups represented are part of the nation (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013). Yet the curriculum—both formal and informal—and school practices oscillate between (1) a push to “unite” students as “one Nigeria” and (2) a multicultural approach celebrating their differences through clearly categorized and defined traits. Thus the cultures and diversity within Nigeria are oversimplified and often expressed through stereotypes that have developed amidst the colonial structuring of various groups and the ongoing tensions among them. The FUCs are located at a juncture among populations whose differences have also been foregrounded during and after colonial rule by colonial and state discourses.

In the emerging field of education in conflict settings, scholars debate education’s role in either fueling (Davies, 2011; Lange & Dawson, 2010) or ameliorating (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Thyne, 2006) conflict. I agree with Bush and Saltarelli (2000), who propose that education can simultaneously agitate and ease conflict and should be considered in its full complexity. However, this position is wide-sweeping and can be vague when working to understand the intricacies of an educational system, school, or classroom. How can we break down the specific aspects of the school environment that are having a positive and/or negative influence? And how can we determine for whom they are positive or negative? Bush and Saltarelli present the positive and negative aspects as if they are positive and negative for *all* students equally. I view these positive

and negative effects as embedded in the economic, political, and social system in which the students are a part. In other words, students of a dominant ethnic group may positively benefit from the way colonial history has shaped the representation of their ethnic group while those in a non-dominant group may suffer from perpetuated biases. Thus, I recognize that the same school practice can have varying effects on different groups of students triggering both positive and negative outcomes for individuals, groups, and society at large. Rather than oversimplify positive and negative aspects of education, I instead consider the positive and negative faces of education and school practices in terms of a school's role in social reproduction—or the perpetuation of existing social organization and distribution of power—and social transformation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). If we make the assumption that not all aspects of a society are negative, then we can say that social reproduction can be both positive and negative depending on the cultural or societal aspect that is being reproduced. Bourdieu views education as a means for the reproduction of existing social structures—such as intergroup relationships and hierarchies—through formal curriculum, school practices, and informal interactions. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus (i.e., the embodiment of deeply ingrained ideas, habits, and perceptions about one's role in society and one's relationship to others) and field (i.e., the place where people and other agents interact with each other) are not limited to social reproduction, as many would argue; rather, they leave room for the possibility of social transformation, or an interruption in existing social organization, intergroup relations, or perceptions (Mills, 2008). This could occur through both intentional and unintentional means, and/or formal and informal curriculum and school practices, as well as through the active creation of new understandings and relationships by the students

and other agents within the school. Particularly in the situation of the FUCs with a quota system that places students from around Nigeria (with historically tense relations and who might not otherwise be together) into the intimate long-term living situation of a boarding school, normal social situations have already been interrupted. Potential exists

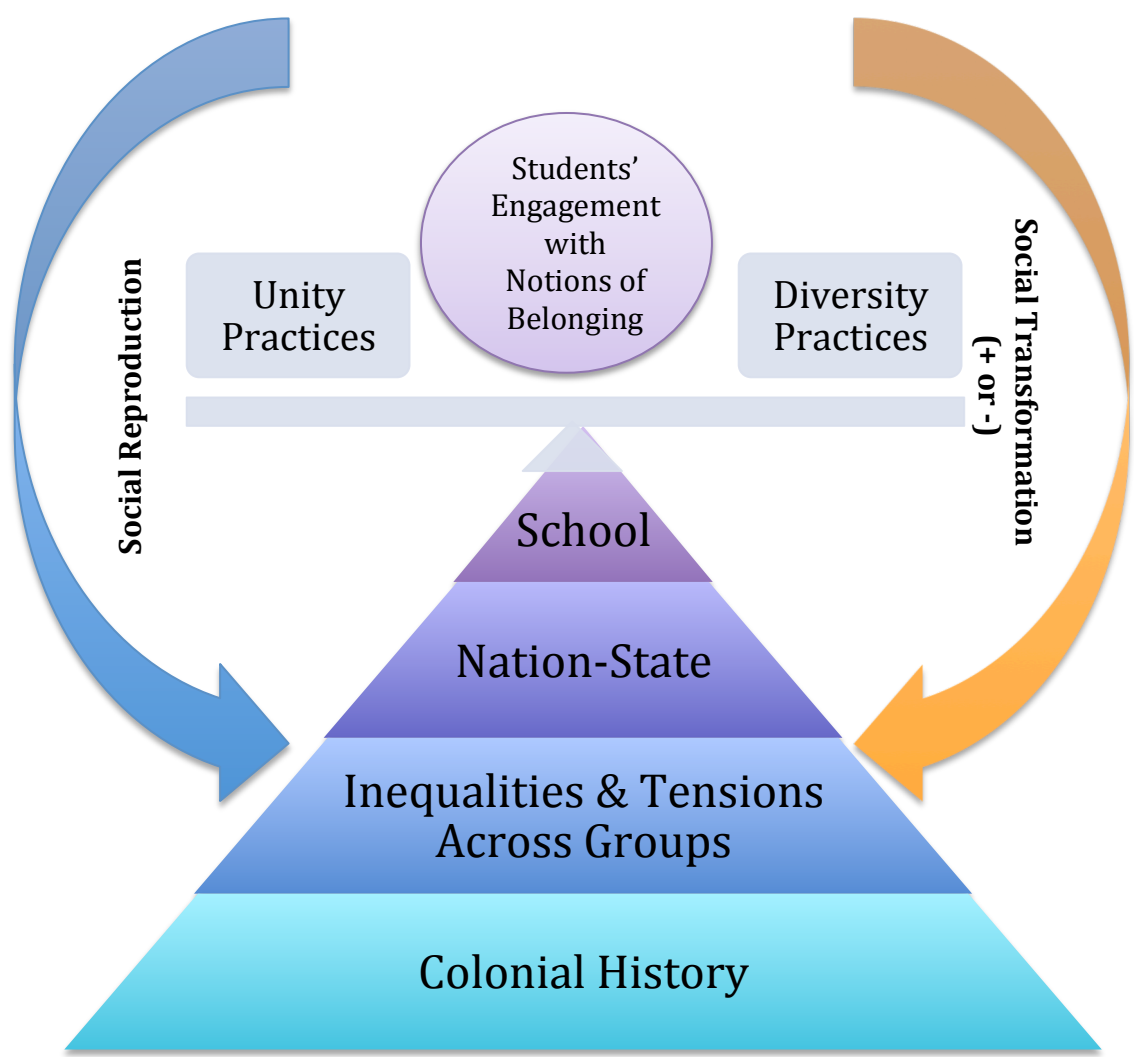


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

for the active creation of students along with other actors in the school setting, such as teachers and administrators, to interact in ways that might strengthen existing habitus, leading to social reproduction, or shape a new habitus, leading to social transformation. Meanwhile, the field, in which social relations exist in a larger context outside of the school setting, is also mutable and may shape relationships within the school. The relationship between the field and the development of habitus within schools is cyclical. When students interact outside the school setting and ultimately finish formal schooling, the habitus they develop within school feeds back into the existing social organization, shaping societal intergroup relations and tensions. This reproduction or transformation feeds back up into the system shaping the stability of the nation-state, schools' association with it, and relationships within schools. The cycle is thus perpetual, not stagnate nor hopeless.

Students must navigate where they place themselves amidst a particular school culture, diverse student population, their own prejudices, and among potentially conflicting messages across these diversity appreciation and national unity efforts (Turner et al., 1987). They are active participants working together to create meaning around the various notions of belonging, including ethnic, religious, and national among others. Scholars have noted that ethnic and group identifications exist only in our relation to one another (Eriksen, 2002), and this research considers students to be active participants amidst school practices that intercede in their active creation and embodiment of boundaries, thus creating moments of social reproduction or transformation. The coexisting, and possibly competing, efforts between unity and diversity practices in schools could influence how students think about themselves and relate to one another.

This change in student perception across all groups could lead to a variety of possible outcomes that either perpetuate the reproduction of existing social organization or lead to its transformation (Pettigrew, 1998). In understanding the nuances within schools and moving beyond a strict categorical view of positive and negative faces of education, we can more deeply understand schools' role in reproducing marginalization of particular groups and the maintenance of power among others. We can also dissect the moments where this reproduction is interrupted by school practices or the active engagement of the students themselves, leading to both positive and negative social transformation.

In this research, I work to breakdown school practices that contribute to social reproduction and social transformation, both positive and negative. While I hypothesize that the schools will have practices that lead to both reproduction and transformation, I will consider how these practices and interactions can be pushed forward so that schools can move toward those that foster overall positive social transformation, which is broadly defined and variable depending on the context and social situation. In this context, social transformation is associated with more equitable treatment of and peaceful interactions among ethno-religious groups. Thus, the move toward social transformation may not have positive effects on all groups with some of the groups (i.e., dominant) possibly experiencing perceived negative effects as schools promote a transformation of power structures among ethnic and religious groups.

This project asks how, or whether, FUCs established by the Nigerian government contribute to their stated goal of social transformation in the constructing of solidarities that bind students together across ethnic, regional, linguistic, and religious divisions within the Nigerian state, thereby strengthening the base of the nation-state and

promoting democratic political processes, economic stability, and peaceful resolution of grievances.

Implications for this Research

This research and its implications are valuable to a variety of contexts and school types. Contexts with historical and/or intergroup tension—whether related to ethnic identity, religious identity, sexual orientation, politics, gender, resources, socioeconomic differences, environment, and/or injustices—can benefit from these findings in seeking to address relations within schools. These findings are relevant to contexts outside of Nigeria in both Western and non-Western settings. Countries such as the United States with historical and current issues of intergroup tension, discrimination, and separation across racial, religious, and political lines could benefit from more strategically shaping schools to improve intergroup relations both in practice and in terms of the way students think about related history, policies, and perspectives.

In addition to its applicability to many different contexts, this study is also relevant to a range of school types including diverse schools in settings with ongoing and/or historical conflict, schools with intergroup student divisions of various types (ethnic, religious, sexual orientation, socioeconomic, political, gender), schools in settings of diverse languages, religions, and/or ethnic groups, boarding schools generally and particularly those with diverse populations and/or in areas of intergroup tension, and all secondary schools generally in terms of strengthening school community and intergroup relations. This research and its findings are useful to (a) schools, (b) ministries of education, (c) education boards, and (d) educational organizations including NGOs

and international organizations in seeking to more effectively address intergroup relations and conflict.

This research holds implications for several subfields of education particularly in the way we think about and implement diverse schools in areas of intergroup tension and conflict. For comparative and international education (CIE) generally, this study provides a unique combination of a longitudinal survey, social network analysis, and qualitative data and contributes to literature and theory related to education in conflict, diverse schools, school relationship to the nation, and national identity. It also provides specific insight into a highly unique set of diverse schools implemented as a national unity effort (FUCs) that have not been previously studied in depth. As its possibly most valuable finding—particularly for those working in peace education, conflict studies related to education, and sustainable development—this research also demonstrates the great potential for boarding schools to reshape intergroup relations in areas of conflict while providing a more sustainable form of education that works toward peace and more stable intergroup relations while using the current conflict as a mode for societal growth.

Overview of Dissertation

In Chapter II, I provide an overview of literature widely focused on education in conflict, diverse schools, and practices within those schools that may influence student relationships, identities, and relationship to the nation-state. The first half of the literature review focuses on education, conflict, and diverse schools with a specific focus on diverse schools in conflict settings. The second half reviews literature related to practices within these schools that intend to unite diverse groups of students or celebrate diversity.

I include literature that considers identity formation amidst these practices including national and group identity formation. I also venture into literature that explores the way students interact with schools in the context of the nation-state. The chapter concludes with a presentation of literature that leads to the consideration of a tension between different school practices—specifically those that promote intergroup unity and those that emphasize diversity.

Chapter III provides a detailed overview of the methods used in this longitudinal mixed methods dissertation research. Both quantitative (survey and social network analysis) and qualitative (group/individual student interviews, teacher interviews, administrator interviews, classroom observations, and curriculum analysis) methods are central to this study. Because each of the three chapters presenting findings (Chapters IV, V, and VI) includes multiple methods, I have provided this chapter on methods as a reference to avoid repeating details about methods throughout the three chapters.

In the next three chapters, I present the empirical findings. The first empirical chapter, Chapter IV – Tolerance Amidst Conflict, considers the difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students and the reasons for this difference. Findings in this chapter come from the longitudinal survey, social network, and qualitative analyses. The survey unexpectedly shows no difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students. When I analyze the social networks (i.e., close friendships by classroom), I find varying friendship patterns between unity and state school students with unity school students tending to divide close friendships along religious lines while state school students do so along ethnic lines. These variant friendship patterns may explain the lack of difference in tolerance levels (as will be

explored further in the chapter), and they lend insight into varying practices within unity and state schools. When I use interview, observation, and curriculum analysis data to explore the possible influence of school practices and curriculum on these findings, I find that unity schools do show more opportunity for religious division through the separation of religious spaces and religious events that occur during the more intimate “living together” of a unity school boarding set-up. I also find that neither the curriculum nor the teachers delve deeply enough or encourage critical thinking that is necessary to teach students to challenge the status quo (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995), which I argue maintains the mirage of unity within the schools that is also supported by national discourses (Kirkham, 2016). I pose that by maintaining an illusion of unity without a deeper analysis of its construction, unity schools serve as an institution that perpetuates existing social relations in terms of curriculum and school practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). I pose that schools and curriculum should purposely address this by teaching students to think critically about and to have the space to challenge social norms—particularly those regarding intergroup relations.

In Chapter V – Friendships and Discrimination, I use social network analysis and interviews to show how friendship patterns and interactions vary across ethnic and religious groups. I explore the way ethnic and religious relations permeate school life through jokes, relationships among students, discrimination, and thoughts on marriage. A significant pattern that emerges indicates that Hausa Muslims are the ethno-religious group most separated and stigmatized within the schools. This particular stigmatization has roots in colonial history, with socioeconomic and educational disparities between those in the north (primarily Hausa Muslims) and the south (Fafunwa, 1974; Mamdani,

1996; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). I argue that this reflection of society within the school without the proper interventions detracts from the goals of intergroup unity within unity schools (Irwin, 1991; Spivak, White, Juvonen, & Graham, 2015).

The final empirical chapter, Chapter VI – School Community and the Shaping of National Identity, explores students' national identity in unity versus state schools. I present findings from the survey and interview analysis that explore the aspects of school design that influence national identity. An analysis of the survey findings indicates a different type of national identity among unity school students in comparison with state school students—with unity school students showing a lower national identity as measured in the survey. I argue that this lower national identity among unity school students is actually a different type of national identity from that shown by state school students. The national identity shown by unity school students appears to be less linked to an uncritical patriotism belonging to a particular ethnic group and more related to an incorporation of ethnic diversity into a higher category of national membership (see Turner et al., 1987). I argue that this difference in national identity is due to the unique setting of the unity school. To better understand this unique setting, I turn to the interview data where the school community created in unity schools seems to be the most important aspect in shifting student social relations and student relationship to the nation. I argue that this school community in unity schools serves as a bubble that mimics the ethno-religious diversity in Nigerian society yet is protected from the pressures and conflict outside the school community thus allowing for a distinct reformation of intergroup relations. I pose that this replacement of groups into a more peaceful setting at an age when students are ripe for identity formation (Erikson, 1968) presents great opportunity

for the reformation of social relations that lasts beyond school years—launching into wider society with the potential for long-term change (see Mills, 2008). However, I contend that unity schools show immense room for improvement in better developing (a) strategic school practices, (b) implementation of effective curriculum, and (c) a school design that compliments the power of school community. I argue that this would make the efforts of unity schools more directed and aligned with their original stated purpose.

In the final concluding Chapter VII, I present a summary of the findings, their connection to each other, the implications of the research, and ideas for future research.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is organized into two main sections. The first is focused on literature related to education, conflict, and diverse schools where I show previous literature on the subject and carve out a niche for diverse schools as a unique setting in areas of conflict. This section broadly focuses on how these schools influence student relationships, identities, and relationship to the nation-state. The shortcoming of in-depth studies demonstrates the need for expansion of longitudinal qualitative and quantitative research focused on diverse schools in conflict settings, as is contributed by this dissertation research.

The second section of this literature review moves from the general presentation of diverse schools as a setting of interest and gradually zooms in to school practices and student interactions that are shaping intergroup relations and identities in relation to the nation-state. In this section, I argue that in these unique settings, a tension or disconnect often exists between (a) school practices and curriculum that intend to promote intergroup unity and those that emphasize diversity and (b) the goals of the nation-state and the way intergroup relations are actually shaped within schools. Overall, this literature review demonstrates the complexity of intergroup relations particularly among students attending diverse schools in settings of conflict. I pose that the more we understand the many ways these schools reproduce social relations, the better we can use

that information to reshape practices that will encourage positive social transformation (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mills, 2008).

Education, Conflict, and Diverse Schools

Conflict and education demonstrate a powerful and complex relationship that I will explore throughout this literature review and further expand upon in the presentation of my research. As stated in Chapter I, I define conflict as a disagreement or abuse of power that leads to the physical, emotional, or mental harm of a geographic, ethnic, religious, gender, age, or other social group, with this research focusing on intergroup conflict specifically. In many post-conflict settings, particular groups experience inequality, injustice, and oppression as a result of previous conflict and intergroup dynamics, and for this reason, I will incorporate into the term “conflict” that which much of the literature would refer to as conflict *and* post-conflict settings.

In order to understand education’s relationship to conflict, one must first understand the causes of conflict. Scholars take three main approaches to explaining the causes of intergroup conflict—economic, political, and sociocultural. The economically focused shape their arguments around the idea of resources, competition among groups to control these resources, and rational choice (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Le Billon, 2001). Scholars that take a more political approach suggest that conflict stems from inequality and discrimination while focusing oftentimes on the relationship between conflict and the state (Duffield, 2001; Goldstone, 2002). Duffield (2001), for example, explores conflict through policy, noting its “distinct quality” of reflecting relationships on the ground while demonstrating power exerted over these groups (p.

109). The political realm is thus seen as both a reflection of existing tensions and a driver of further conflict. Lastly, scholars that use a sociocultural lens to explain the causes of conflict focus on defined social groups, such as ethnic or religious groups, their relationships to historical influences such as colonialism and modernization, and the cultural views that shape relationships among various groups (Horowitz, 1985; Huntington, Ajami, & Bartley, 1993). While these are all valuable approaches to dissecting conflict and understanding it on a larger scale, I argue that the combination of factors that stimulate conflict are dependent upon the context, and that all three of these approaches must be considered. Understanding the causes in a particular setting requires attention to the historical context, political actors, economy, intergroup relations, culture, and power dynamics. A comprehensive consideration of the causes of conflict is essential to designing school policies and curriculum that can address the roots rather than the symptoms of the conflict. This suggests a link between education and conflict, one that I will explore now.

In the emerging field of education in conflict settings, scholars debate education's role in either fueling (Davies, 2003; Lange & Dawson, 2010) or ameliorating (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Thyne, 2006) conflict. I agree with Bush and Saltarelli (2000) who propose that education can have both positive and negative effects on conflict, but what aspects of education? For whom are the effects positive and negative? This research seeks to address these questions.

Rebuilding positive relationships among groups that have historically experienced conflict and that may have residual animosities is a complex undertaking (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Christie, 2009; Russell, 2019). Curriculum, teaching practices,

and school policies can all influence students to understand their relationship to others in both positive and negative ways. Carter (2012) names this the “sociocultural context” of the school defined by school norms, organization, culture, practices, and intergroup relations (p. 4). As a socializing institution (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006a; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005; Russell & Bajaj, 2015), education can be the starting point for addressing problems related to intolerance, racism, diversity and social cohesion (Booth, 2014), yet doing this effectively requires a deep consideration of the positive and negative implications of proposed school practices (Carter, 2012) and how they are contributing to either social reproduction (i.e., the maintenance of existing social relations) or transformation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In this research, I work to breakdown school practices that are contributing to social reproduction and/or change as related to ethnic, religious, national, and global identities, and tolerance levels. In later chapters, I consider how these can be pushed forward so that schools can move beyond social reproduction. I do not pose that this move will have positive effects on all groups; in fact, some groups (i.e., dominant) may experience perceived negative effects as schools promote a transformation of power structures among ethnic and religious groups. While there exist many types of schools in conflict settings, diverse schools in these settings provide the best opportunity to explore the way that schools influence intergroup relations; thus, in the following, I present literature with this particular focus.

Diverse Schools in Conflict Settings

Diverse schools in settings with a history of intergroup conflict add a new layer of analysis when considering the role of education within conflict settings. Diverse schools,

defined as ethnically and/or religiously diverse schools, should be seen as a unique context that shapes student interactions and practices (Knifsend, Bell, & Juvonen, 2017; Malsbary, 2016). Kokkonen, Esaiasson, and Gilljam (2010) describe schools as “social laboratories” where students must interact on a daily basis (pp. 334-5). When these interactions are among students affiliated with a diverse range of groups, we can observe the interactions as a reflection of intergroup social relations providing an opportunity to learn about education’s relationship with them. I center this research on secondary schools because it is during adolescence that students grapple with their cultural and societal identities (Erikson, 1968). I focus on intergroup interactions—specifically interactions among students of varying ethnic and religious groups—and tolerance levels, because whether conflict is caused by economic, political, or sociocultural factors, groups serve as the vehicles through which conflict either manifests or suffocates (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005). Group identity is possibly the most malleable during pre-adolescence through adolescence, rendering this an opportune time to learn about relations within conflict settings during a pivotal moment in identification formation that could either ameliorate or contribute to further conflict (Irwin, 1991).

As previously mentioned, I define tolerance as (a) openness to treating those from other groups with equal concern and consideration as for one’s own group, and (b) neutral or positive attitudes toward those in other groups. In the literature, tolerance is viewed as both a necessary aspect of a democratic society (Sullivan & Transue, 1999) and also an important antidote to social discrimination (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) conceptualize tolerance as the psychological understanding of different groups pertaining to a higher inclusive category in which the

differences between the groups become normalized, or as a lack of inclusion of the groups in this higher category altogether. In other words, despite our differences, we are all either part of or outsiders to something. This definition of tolerance indicates a common link, or categorization, among students that thus allows this tolerance. Fritzsche (2006) distinguishes between different degrees of tolerance, ranging from a pragmatic approach of passive acceptance of difference to a more active approach of creating a tolerant environment. This view of tolerance does not focus on the way groups are linked but rather on internal attitudes and the external environment that shapes the way people interact. My definition includes both (1) a common link that connects students at a higher categorical level (or at least an equal status) as well as (2) a focus on students' internal attitudes. I also view social distance as an indicator of tolerance with tolerance being on a continuum as indicated by different levels of social distance. Bogardus (1959) defines social distance as "the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group, and between groups" (p. 7). Intergroup marriage is considered the most intimate social connection according to Bogardus, the creator of the social distance scale, and thus an indicator for the highest level of intergroup tolerance. According to Bogardus, the next levels of social distance after intermarriage in order from least to most socially distant involve having people from other groups as close personal friends, followed by neighbors, coworkers, citizens of the same country, visitors to one's country, and finally as having access to enter the country. With this in mind, I include survey questions about marriage, friendship, neighbors, and citizenship issues in measuring tolerance in the survey for this research. I also measure close friendships via social network analysis and ask questions about intergroup marriage

in the student interviews. Together, these measures give a broader indication of intergroup tolerance among the students.

I will now present several studies that have focused on integrated schools in conflict settings. As previously stated, I define integrated schools as schools in which various groups that have historically been in conflict in that particular context are combined into one school setting; in other words, integrated schools are a specific subset of diverse schools. This diverse student body presents another dynamic to consider when thinking about school practices and how they lead to either social reproduction or social transformation.

Integrated schools are widely seen as positive interventions in improving social relations among groups (Stringer et al., 2009). The benefits acclaimed by these studies emphasize a variety of aspects including academic advantages (Lucker, Rosenfield, Sikes, & Aronson, 1976); preparation for diversity post-schooling (Holme, Wells, & Revilla, 2005); impact on identity, intergroup attitudes, forgiveness, and reconciliation (McGlynn et al., 2004); and relationship with interracial attitudes (Burns, 2012; Holtman et al., 2005). These studies largely lack strong empirical and longitudinal evidence, however. For example, Stringer et al. (2009) conduct a large-scale quantitative study involving more than 1,700 students in which they assess inter-religious contact, the quality of this contact, and political attitudes in both religiously integrated and segregated schools in Northern Ireland. They focus primarily on the relationship among contact between groups, school type, and political attitudes, finding that students in integrated schools demonstrate increased intergroup contact and more moderate political attitudes than those attending segregated schools. While this study is important and the first

quantitative survey comparing integrated and non-integrated school students and considering factors such as friendship quality, age, and religion, I challenge the assumption that school type itself is the driving force behind the change in political attitudes. This study lacks a qualitative and longitudinal component (gathering data at only one time point) leaving out the critical exploration of school practices and the change in students over time that may be contributing to these results. It also does not take into account the possible relationship between students' shifting religious, and other, identities over time at the school and how this may be related to the results. In other words, the study indicates that integrated schooling may increase intergroup contact and that this may have a positive impact on political attitudes, but it gives us little insight into the *how* and *why* this is happening. Methodologically, the study complicates intergroup contact by including measures for both in- and out-of-school contact, but it limits the definition of friendship to factors that may not apply to many students, such as frequency of intergroup contact in sports and games. The study also measures friendship quality based on students having one friend of another religion; however, this one friend may be an outlier and unrepresentative of overall intergroup friendship quality for this student. For this reason, this research includes a more expansive analysis of friendship networks using social network analysis.

Another study by Bekerman and Nir (2006) rectifies the lack of longitudinal and qualitative components with its ethnographic observations in integrated bilingual Arab and Jewish schools in Israel. Bekerman and Nir focus on school practices and challenges that the school faces amidst integration, but they do not highlight how students change over time in the school. In research related to integrated schools, studies combining both

the critical quantitative component of looking at how students change over time with a qualitative aspect exploring the intricacies of how this is occurring are largely absent. However, neither the quantitative component, even if longitudinal, nor the qualitative component alone gives us a sufficiently complete image to critically analyze and move toward improving integrated and diverse school practices. My research fills this gap by considering both the student and school level while combining longitudinal quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Other scholars recognize this gap and discuss the importance of strategic integration of students noting that integration is not an inevitable solution (Gurin et al., 2004). Integrating students of diverse groups may affect dominant and non-dominant groups differently (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004), and contextual considerations must remain at the forefront when considering how to integrate students effectively (Janmaat, 2012). Janmaat (2012) uses data from the IEA 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) that took a sample of 90,000 14 year olds in 28 countries to explore the relationships among ethnic and racial diversity in classrooms, tolerance related to ethnicity, and political participation in Germany, Sweden, and England. In each country Janmaat had 3,000-4,000 participants. Janmaat based the study on the widespread belief that diverse classrooms and schools contribute to increased tolerance levels, contradicting political science studies that have found trust and participation lower in diverse neighborhoods (Putnam, 2007; Stolle, Soroka, & Johnston, 2008). The study finds that increased ethnic tolerance is related to classroom diversity in Germany and Sweden but not in England. This indicates that contextual factors and/or practices within the school and classroom

may be shaping the effect of diverse educational settings on students. These contextual and school factors deserve further exploration, which I consider in this dissertation.

Among social psychologists, it is widely argued that intergroup contact, such as that within integrated schools, reduces prejudice across groups (Burns, 2012; Ellison & Powers, 1994; Jugert et al., 2017; Knifsend et al., 2017; McKenna et al., 2018; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Williams Jr, 1947). However, intergroup contact can only promote positive relations should certain conditions be in place including (1) equal status within the situation, (2) shared goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) support from authority (Allport, 1954; Kokkonen et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1998; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Zirkel, 2008), and the level of diversity may influence the effectiveness of intergroup contact in improving social relations (Spivak, White, Juvonen, & Graham, 2015). In their study of a diverse group of 119 South African students, Holtman et al. (2005) survey the students and find that “quality of contact” is indeed an important factor in improved intergroup attitudes (p. 473). This study, however, involves only a small sample size and does not take change over time into consideration. As is the problem in many related studies, we cannot thus consider the specific school practices that may be shaping the quality of students’ intergroup contact.

Irwin (1991) also challenges the notion that integrated schooling is universally positive noting that in certain contexts, positive social integration is more difficult to attain because of societal, cultural, and school policy factors. Kokkonen et al. (2010) further confirm Irwin’s notion in their own analysis of the IEA 1999 Civic Education Study data in which they explored 3,000 Swedish high school students’ attitudes toward immigrants. They find that diversity in educational settings has a “detrimental contextual

effect on system performance in terms of civic knowledge” (p. 351) and that native-born and immigrant students react differently to diverse educational settings—with immigrant students showing increased positive attitudes to their group rights. Their study demonstrates that diverse interethnic contact should not be considered an infallible tool for improved intergroup relations and tolerance levels.¹ They recommend working on overcoming the problems of acquiring civic knowledge and believe that in doing so, ethnic diversity in schools could strengthen democratic citizenship. While the findings are valuable, this study lacks a consideration of *how* and *why* diverse settings are resulting in different outcomes for varying types of students.

There is a lack of quantitative longitudinal studies considering the influence of integrated schools on students over time. However one study attempts to rectify this by having former U.S. students of racially integrated high schools reflect on their past experience (Holme et al., 2005). In doing so, the researchers report that students see the benefit of their diverse high school experience which reportedly left them with a deeper cross-racial understanding. Graduates attributed this deeper understanding to the exposure of other races rather than to a particular curricula or program. Retrospective self-reported accounts, however, are contestable sources for explaining the mechanism through which factor X causes factor Y, and longitudinal studies should be conducted on the influence of integrated schools on students. Overall, empirical and longitudinal studies looking at integrated and diverse schooling are widely lacking, and those that do exist focus primarily on schools in a western context.

¹ Another study shows that increased diversity in cities is not associated with increased tolerance levels (Reese & Zalewski, 2015).

The extended contact hypothesis expands upon the intergroup contact hypothesis to include social networks. It proposes that knowledge of a close relationship between an in-group and out-group member can increase positive intergroup perceptions among group members who do not necessarily have close intergroup relationships themselves (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Peer modeling of positive intergroup relations (i.e., extended contact) has shown to improve intergroup tolerance between groups with tense relations (Liebkind & McAlister, 1999). While extended positive contact and knowledge of cross-group friendships show a positive relationship with intergroup attitudes, direct friendships have a stronger positive relationship (Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007). Within these friendships, time together and the level of self-disclosure between individuals serve as important factors related to improved intergroup attitudes (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). Accordingly, school practices that can move students beyond intergroup contact to widespread intergroup friendships could positively influence social relations.

Self-categorization theory, a social psychological theory attributed to John Turner and colleagues, expands upon the more simplistic notion of intergroup contact in considering the psychological formation of groups and the influence of group membership on behavior (Turner et al., 1987). Self-categorization theory consists of assumptions and hypotheses about self-concept in comparison to other people (i.e., within social interaction). The theory involves a definition of self-concept as the cognitive element of the psychological system. Self-concept is seen to be multifaceted because one individual holds multiple self-concepts, and each of these self-concepts can function independently and according to the situation. Within a given situation, an individual can

draw on a particular self-concept. These self-concepts take the form of self-categorizations, which Turner et al. (1987) define as the “cognitive groups of oneself and some class of stimuli as the same (identical, similar, equivalent, interchangeable, and so on) in contrast to some other class of stimuli” (p. 44).

This becomes particularly important in a nation like Nigeria where strong ethnic and religious categories are readily available for self-categorizations along with a less clearly defined option of national identity, or “being Nigerian” (Eifert, Miguel, & Posner, 2010; Fanon, 2007; Mamdani, 1996; Miles & Rochefort, 1991; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). While an individual will self-categorize into various groups at multiple levels of abstraction, the individual’s perception of these groups at each level will interact with each other (Turner et al., 1987). If a person holds a strong tie to the categorization of a particular ethnicity and/or religion, might this interfere with the individual’s perceived self-categorization of being Nigerian (i.e., national identity or citizenship)? It may depend on the level of inequalities and exclusionary aspects used to define Nigerian citizenship (i.e., “being Nigerian”) (Lockwood, 1996).

In secondary schools with mixed ethnic and religious populations, the salience of these ethnic and religious categories could potentially both inhibit school unity and magnify nationwide group categorizations (Bekerman & Maoz, 2005; Carter, 2012; Donnelly, 2004). Conversely, ethnically and religiously integrated schools present the opportunity for either a reformation of self-categorizations or a psychological restructuring of what it means to be a part of the in-group/out-group (McGlynn, Niens, Cairns, & Hewstone, 2004). Either of these could serve as an impetus to either improve or aggravate social relations. By placing students into a new situation with multiple

ethnic and religious groups represented within a single setting, students will engage in self-categorization processes based on perceived similarities and differences, many of which are formed within the students' homes, communities, and friendship circles. School interventions seeking to either “unite” or increase “appreciation” between groups can influence these self-categorizations. Practices that shape how students view various in-groups/out-groups can alter attraction to an entire group (Holtman et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Students must navigate where they place themselves amidst a diverse student population, their own prejudices, and potentially conflicting messages across these diversity appreciation and national unity efforts (Turner et al., 1987). Change in identity formation amidst these coexisting, and possibly competing, efforts could influence how students relate to one another and may shift perceptions of in-groups versus out-groups—potentially demonstrated by friendship choices and patterns. This change in student perception across all groups could lead to multiple outcomes and is considered further as a part of this research (Pettigrew, 1998).

This section has considered diverse schools in conflict settings, yet of particular interest to this research is the attempt to break down what is specifically happening within the schools that shapes intergroup relations and student identities. To provide deeper insight into what we currently know, I present literature in the following section that is focused on school practices and curriculum within diverse schools.

Unity and Diversity School Practices

This section zooms into explore the parts and pieces—school practices and curriculum—of diverse schools that influence student conceptions of unity and diversity.

First, I start with literature considering national identity separately due to the high volume of related literature and its important role as an overarching group identity that shapes student conceptions of unity. I follow this by discussing group identity formation within schools—specifically related to ethnic, religious, and national identities in diverse schools. I then consider the role students play as active participants within the identity formation process in the context of the school embedded within the nation-state. I conclude with a discussion of unity and diversity practices in diverse schools, framed within literature related to citizenship and multicultural education, curriculum, and school practices. As discussed in the background section, it is imperative to consider the celebration of diversity versus the focus on building an inclusive national identity in diverse school settings. Each has the potential to aid or aggravate intergroup relations, but there remains a tension between their ultimate goals (Bekerman, Zembylas, & McGlynn, 2009; Loader & Hughes, 2017).

National Identity

National identity is another important concept that is key to understanding the way students form groups and the way that schools link national identity to the concept of unity, yet, “national identity” is a loaded term that is interpreted and employed in a variety of ways. Thus, I will now give a brief overview of the literature pertaining to national identity, its meanings, and how it links to ethnic and religious identity. This will allow for a deeper understanding of the concept of national identity in the rest of the literature review.

National identity is both psychological and political (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013), banal or taken as normal (Billig, 1995), and evolving (Campbell, 2015). It also has the potential to unite a group of people (Charnysh, Lucas, & Singh, 2015). Rarely is national identity discussed as unimportant (cf. Malešević, 2011) but has rather been famously likened to religion (Bellah, 1967; Greenfeld, 1996). Williams (2013) discusses the “role civil religion plays in collective social and political life...” as it affords an array of “...beliefs, rites, and understandings that foster collective identity and gives that identity a transcendent meaning” (p. 240).

National identity is widely discussed as having two primary distinctions —civic and ethnic (Brubaker, 1992). An ethnic outlook on national identity leans more on ancestry or descent and involves greater deterministic criteria for who is and is not part of the nation. A civic view of national identity references the nation’s social institutions and presents citizenship as more dependent upon the acceptance of these social institutions and corresponding values (Wakefield et al., 2011). Much of the literature exploring national identity references the ethnic/civic conceptualization of national identity. For example, Miller (1995) says that an increased national identity can positively relate to cross-group trust, especially if the national identity is defined in civic rather than ethnic terms. Putnam (2007) follows Miller’s logic in saying that nations that conceptualize national identity in civic terms are better able to handle increased diversity with social capital.

In one study, Reeskens and Wright (2013) use the 2008 European Values Survey and country-level data on immigrant diversity and find that a civic national identity generates trust. An ethnic take on national identity is strongly associated with lower

levels of social capital (especially generalized trust) with an increased negative relationship as population diversity increases. In another study, Jones and Smith (2001) analyze survey data for 23 countries from the 1995 International Social Science Program in which participants were asked about criteria that make someone a true member of their nation. Using exploratory factor analysis, the items clustered along ethnic (objectivist criteria relating to religion, birth, and place of residence) and civic (criteria relating to feelings of membership and belief in principal institutions). They found that in most nations the ethnic dimension of national identity was more prominent than the civic. Overall, their findings suggest a surprising homogeneity in the way that citizens of various countries view national identity. Expanding further on the comparison of cross-national views of national identity, Golob, Makarovič, and Suklan (2016) find a relationship between national development and national identity. Using data from the United Nations measure of Human Development Index (HDI), the International Social Survey Programme, and the Eurobarometer, the authors find that “[u]nderdeveloped nations” are more likely to produce strong ethnic national identities while more “modern” societies are associated with higher civic notions of national identity (p. 12).

One of the most important and relevant ideas to my research is that national identity is not a unitary construct. The way that it develops and is shaped in schools varies across countries, contexts, and demographics (Russell & Quaynor, 2017), and it is constructed of many different layers and meanings within each context. In *Nationalisms of Japan*, McVeigh (2004) argues the following:

Regarding nationalism as plural allows us to see how social groups, various economic strata, different regional identities, and minorities employ a nationalist idiom for their own goals while simultaneously reproducing and supporting supralocal and state-wide nationalism. (p. 6)

To illustrate this, he compiles examples of the many official and nonofficial nationalisms in Japan as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples of Official and Nonofficial Nationalisms in Japan
Reprinted from *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity*, by Brian McVeigh, 2004, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

<i>Example</i>	<i>Official</i>	<i>Linkage/Impact/ Reaction</i>	<i>Nonofficial</i>
<i>Militarist</i>	Imperialism, Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere	↔	Mobilized Masses
<i>Imperial</i>	Family Nation-State, National Polity/Essence (<i>kokutai</i>)	↔	Mobilized Masses
<i>State</i>	Statist Projects, Educational Policies	↔	Anti-state Nationalism
<i>Economic</i>	GNP-ism, Industrial Policy, Administrative Guidance, Full-employment Policies, Techno-nationalism	↔	Middle-class Aspirations Linked to Economic Growth, Egalitarianism, Socialist, Communist Parties, Labor Movement
<i>Education</i>	Moral Education, Official Advocacy of "Japanese Values"	↔	Diploma-Oriented Society (<i>gakureki shakai</i>)
<i>Ethnic</i>	Imperial: Japan as "Mixed Nation" Postimperial: Japan as "Homogenous Nation"	↔	<i>Minzoku</i> Ideology (see below)
<i>Racial</i>	Eugenics Movement	↔	Bloodline, Lineage
<i>Popular</i>	Advocacy of "Traditional Values," Officially sanctioned Ideologues	↔	Everyday Customs, Ethnolaudism, <i>nihonjin-ron</i> , Imperial Family Enthusiasts, <i>Minkan</i> ("among the people") Ideologues
<i>Ethnos</i>	"One Nation–One State" Ideology, Proprietary Nationalism	↔	Uniqueness, Racialism, Proprietary Nationalism
<i>Linguistic</i>	National Language (<i>kokugo</i>), Suppression of Okinawan, Ainu and Local Dialects	↔	"Unique" Japanese Language
<i>Aesthetic</i>	Cultural Policy, High Art, Elite Culture	↔	Popular Culture
<i>Gendered</i>	"Good Wives–Wise Mothers" Ideology	↔	Femininity/Masculinity Linked to Reproduction/Production
<i>Religious</i>	State Shintō	↔	Certain New Religious Movements
<i>Anti-War</i>	Article 9 of "Peace Constitution"	↔	Pacifism, Anti-nuclear Movement
<i>Populist</i>	Political Clientelism	↔	Agrarianism
<i>Fundamentalist Nationalism</i>	Militarist Étatism	↔	Reactionary, Right-wing Organizations, National Socialist Party

(McVeigh, 2004, p. 5)

This table encompasses the many different ways in which national identity can solidify and seep into society. An individual can experience their national identity through multiple different lenses, and these heterogeneous lenses through which one views national identity do not necessarily imply contradiction because the various aspects of national identity matter in context (Werbner, 2013). Werbner argues the following:

...none of the social unities we evoke – identity, diaspora, community, nation, tradition – are consensus-based wholes; all are the products of ongoing debates and political struggles or alliances. (Werbner, 2013, p. 411)

Nations differ in terms of what degree the various aspects of national identity dominate and individuals vary in which aspects they endorse (Medrano & Koenig, 2005). These meanings vary across contexts and historical periods (Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Krauss Whitbourne, 2010) and are influenced by spheres of conflict and power (Winter, 2007). Within a nation, citizens may love and have pride for the nation yet still have different criteria for what it means to be part of that nation (Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012) and individuals within the nation help to create its meaning (Wakefield et al., 2011).

A connection between the collective and the individual exists in creating and shaping national identity. As David and Bar-Tal (2009) discuss in their detailed analysis of collective identity (with national collective identity as the case example), “The collective identity goes beyond the individual group member’s cognitive-emotional processes to the characterization of the entire collective....” (p. 358). They recognize the multidimensionality of identity in its involvement of cognitive, emotional, and motivational aspects (p. 359). They create the chart below (Figure 3) as a model of national identity that shows both the individual and collective levels and the way national

identity is processed and created within each level. The individual level includes a psychological understanding of belonging, importance attached to this belonging, and a choice or willingness to belong. The collective national identity involves a widespread awareness of a shared identification that holds the nation group together; it is held together by aspects such as a sense of a common fate, shared beliefs, and perception of continuity. They also delineate the content that influences collective identity by giving it meaning (territory, culture and language, collective memory, and societal beliefs).

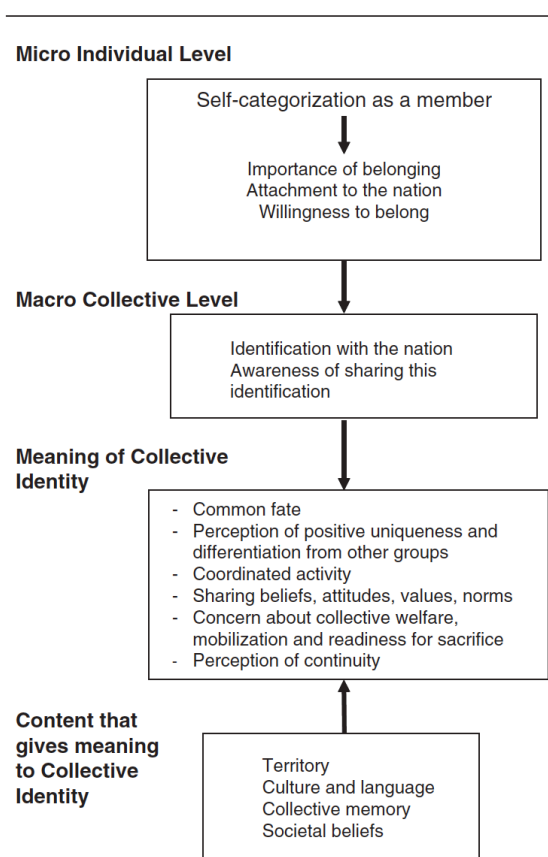


Figure 3: Model of National Identity. Reprinted from “A Sociopsychological Conception of Collective Identity: The Case of National Identity as an Example,” by Ohad David and Daniel Bar-Tal, 2009, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, p. 359.

In one unique study, Terracciano and team compare widely accepted understandings of national identity and stereotypes with individual personalities using aggregate personality data. The authors used national character ratings from 3,989 individuals across 49 cultures and compared them with the average personality scores of people from their culture. Interestingly, perceptions of national identity did not correspond with average personality traits of people from that culture indicating that widespread understanding of national identity does exist but does not correspond with individual traits (Terracciano et al., 2005). This study differentiates between the individual and the collective but also demonstrates that they are not uniform or streamlined. As is emphasized throughout related literature, attention to context is critical to understanding national identity— especially in considering that of adolescents and young adults where identity is more volatile (Jensen, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2010).

In Nigeria, we see a lack of agreement among ethnic and religious groups on what constitutes the Nigerian nation and on what the nation should be (Onwuegbuchulam & Mtshali, 2017). How does national identity relate to ethnic and religious identity? The literature points to their interrelatedness (Rodriguez et al., 2010; Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008). One model, called the ethnic pluralism model (EPM), states that people can maintain simultaneous positive identities with both ethnicity and nation (Phinney, 1996; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). In contrast, social dominance theory (SDT) argues that ethnic and national identities conflict in contexts where the ethnic group was subjugated by the majority culture (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Others suggest that both processes can occur simultaneously and independently because the EPM explains how one manages multiple types of social identities while the

SDT is related to how social groups interpret their shared experience within a particular context (Rodriguez et al., 2010).

Several studies consider the interaction of ethnic and national identity in a diverse society. In one study, Masella (2013) uses data from the World Values Survey (WVS) to distinguish between individuals who define themselves more in terms of national or ethnic identity. The study finds that minority groups in less diverse (more homogenous) countries show stronger national identities than the majority group. Masella argues that the larger the ethnic group is in relation to other ethnic groups in the nation, the more likely they are to relate more strongly to ethnic identity as opposed to national identity. He suggests that for minority groups in a more homogenous society, identifying more strongly with the nation may help compensate for a feeling of distance with one's ethnic identity. This has implications related to targets for nation building programs and again suggests that context and the level of diversity influence national identity and its relationship to other forms of identity.

In another study using data collected from 132 Russian-speaking students across 15 secondary schools in Finland, Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Liebkind, (2011) found that when an individual did not experience cultural discordance, ethnic and national identities were independent of one another. When one of these minority youth students felt discrimination, only their national identification was negatively affected. This suggests that experiences of discrimination may push an individual closer to their ethnic identity and further away from their national identity. Karell (2015) also considers the relationship between ethnic and national identity in a study looking at Ceuta and Melilla (native-born Muslims communities) in Spain and finds that there are "localised variants

of national identity among peripheral groups” (p. 441). His main argument is that these localized variants do not necessarily translate to an ethnic identity that is in conflict with the national identity, but rather points toward varied notions of national identity that differ by local context. Even when considering countries that have experienced ethnic civil war, ethnic identity does not show a set pattern in the way that it interacts with national identity, but rather individuals demonstrate that their own experiences are important in determining the way they conceive of their ethnic and national identity (Dyrstad, 2012).

The link between religious and national identity is also relevant (Verkuyten, 2007). Using a questionnaire distributed to 217 Turkish-Dutch participants ranging in age from 16-62 years, Verkuyten finds an expected negative association between Muslim (religious) and Dutch (national) identity, but the study also finds that approximately one-third of the participants indicated both high religious and national identities. This points to the widespread lack of acceptance of Muslims within Dutch society but also to the potential for a uniting national identity that includes Muslims. In another study comparing Moroccan-Dutch adolescents to their parents, Verkuyten, Thijs, and Stevens (2012) find that parents’ religious identification is important in shaping early adolescents identities, but this relationship was not significant for middle adolescents. However, Tartakovsky (2011) finds that social support provided by peers is associated with adolescents’ more positive national identities while that provided by parents and teachers is unrelated—again indicating the importance of friendship discussed previously. The study, using a questionnaire to look at national identities of high-school adolescents in Russia and the Ukraine with studies in both 1999 (n=468) and 2007 (n=646), also finds

that adolescents belonging to the ethnic majority reported a more positive national identity compared with ethnic minorities. Another study draws from a large-scale survey (Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey) among Muslim minority and non-Muslim majority youth—along with other minority youth—in schools across five European countries (Belgium, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden) (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018). It also looks at the role of social interactions in influencing religious and national identity. The results show that national identities are weaker among minorities in comparison with majority youth; more specifically, national identities are lowest among Muslims. Interestingly, they find that interpersonal relations with majority youth is important in shaping stronger national identity. This indicates the importance of schools in creating interactions that could lead to intergroup friendships across religions and majority/minority youth. The study shows, however, that these close interpersonal relationships with majority youth are least likely to manifest among Muslims who are found to be the most stigmatized group. This study emphasizes the strong boundary in friendships based on religion (with Muslims strongly avoided by non-Muslims in forming friendships) and the implications this has for national identification.

Overall, national identity is complex and multidimensional. It relates to ethnic and religious identity in varying ways depending on the context. Exclusionary uses of national identity are shown to be more effective in mobilizing (or manipulating) groups and shaping national identity (Helbling, Reeskens, & Wright, 2016) while strengthening dual identities (i.e., identifying equally with more than one group)—such as ethnic/national or religious/national—may lessen conflict's polarizing effects (Hierro & Gallego, 2018). National identity can thus be a powerful tool in shaping social relations,

but it is complex in its necessarily exclusive nature that gives it power, balanced with the need to incorporate other identities and include the diversity of people within a society.

Group Identity Formation in Schools

Now that we have explored national identity and its relation to ethnic and religious identities more deeply, we can use this foundational knowledge to move forward in looking at group identity formation in schools more generally. Many scholars argue for the need to create a common identity that can unite students across groups. In their famous study, “The Robbers Cave Experiment,” Sherif, Harvey, White, and Hood (1961) divide 22 young people into groups and create situations in which they can observe various hypotheses related to intergroup dynamics. They find that the creation of a superordinate goal, one that supersedes other group goals, can be successful in uniting groups. However, this study does not involve group formation influenced by preceding historical issues, which is important in many schools in conflict settings such as Nigeria. Instead, the researchers included participants sharing the same gender, religion, and socioeconomic group. This study lacks insight into how these might influence the creation of a superordinate identity such as national identity.

Other more recent scholars support Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, and Rust's (1993) common in-group identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014; West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton, & Trail, 2009; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). This model is aligned with Sherif et al.'s (1961) conceptualization of a superordinate goal but considers “identity” instead of “goals” and uses the language of social categorization. Those who support the common in-group identity model widely view “inclusive identity” as a mode

for ameliorating divisiveness among groups (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005, p. 300). In a school setting for example, this could happen through school practices and curriculum that attempt to unite students around a national identity. School practices and curriculum that celebrate diversity among groups can contribute to divisiveness while encouraging a common identity can encourage more inclusive relations (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011).

The primary lens through which I consider unity, or common identity, efforts within schools is through national identity and belonging. However, frictions can exist among one's loyalties. One can feel duties toward and receive benefits from entities other than the nation-state. As previously discussed, ethnicity² and religion may compete with the nation-state for citizen loyalty in the case of Nigeria and many African countries (Keller, 2014). Fanon (2007), writing about Africa generally and from a post-colonial critical theory perspective, makes the following observation:

...National consciousness is nothing but a crude, empty, fragile shell. The cracks in it explain how easy it is for young independent countries to switch back from nation to ethnic group and from state to tribe— a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the nation and national unity. (p. 97)

His insight on the fluidity between ethnicity, national identity, and, in Nigeria, religion, supports a more expansive conceptualization of citizenship. Theoretically, an individual will move toward categorizing oneself as a citizen of that entity from which the individual perceives to obtain maximum protection and rights. It could be argued that there are emotional ties to a nation-state that could maintain an individual's loyalty as a citizen even when other groups might offer more protection, but in the case of Nigeria and many African countries, this bond with the nation-state is not deeply rooted historically. National loyalty in these contexts is contentious. For this reason in this

² Language also being a significant part of ethnic identity (Chhim & Bélanger, 2017; Souza, 2016).

research, I consider ethnic and religious identity alongside national identity in the midst of various school efforts intended to strengthen each of these identities. It may be that unity efforts within schools unite and divide students along identity lines other than the national.

In their comparative study of integrated schools in Northern Ireland and Israel, McGlynn and Bekerman (2007) conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with (a) eight co-principals at four Palestinian-Jewish integrated schools in Israel, (b) principals from a sample of 10 percent of the 57 Catholic-Protestant integrated schools in Northern Ireland, and (c) officials from the Ministry/Department of Education and other government and non-government organizations in both areas. They found that Northern Ireland schools placed a greater emphasis on creating a common identity among students, although little information is provided as to what practices actually guide these efforts. Two of the Northern Ireland principals noted that recognizing their different backgrounds “belittles” the students, emphasizing that students are already aware of their differences (p. 699). McGlynn and Bekerman find that principals in the Israeli integrated schools place more emphasis on recognizing the differences and variant histories between Palestinian and Jewish students through recognition of different historical narratives and events. Thus while the Northern Ireland schools focus more on strengthening a shared national identity (i.e., unity), the Israeli schools attempt to address both ethnic and national identity. The study does not provide details on how these two efforts are implemented within the school or on how they conflict. While this study gives insight into the approaches of adult leaders in the school with respect to integrated education, it

provides no empirical evidence on how students are actually responding to these approaches nor does it provide details on the approaches themselves.

As evidenced in the McGlynn and Bekerman (2007) study in Israel and Northern Ireland, another issue in diverse schools revolves around recognition of and learning about diverse groups within a school setting (Andreouli, Howarth, & Sonn, 2014; Salomon, 2004; Tadmor, Hong, Chao, Wiruchnipawan, & Wang, 2012). While this is often assumed to improve students' attitudes and views of other groups (Chang, 2002), it may also contribute to further division among groups especially in a conflict setting where intergroup relations may already be contentious (Andreouli et al., 2014; McLaren, 1995). In relation to their ethnographic research in integrated Palestinian-Jewish schools, Bekerman and Nir (2006) observe these tensions as the schools attempt to balance the celebration of historical days that are widely viewed as positive among Jewish students and memorialized as violent among Palestinian students.

Bekerman (2003) conducted research on a school practice intended to celebrate the diversity within an integrated school in Israel. The research involves a two-year ethnographic study in one integrated school that included interviews primarily with parents and teachers along with several informal student interviews. He focuses specifically on a school ritual named the Festival of Light, intended to celebrate Hanukkah, Christmas, and Ramadan. In the interviews with parents, he finds that they commonly support the need to strengthen ethnic/religious identity of students but do not have a clear idea on how to balance this need when it conflicts with unity efforts. For example, when ethnic/religious identity is the basis for a particular tension within society, what if its strengthening leads to the continuation of this conflict? Parents were not sure

how to answer this question, but within the ritual combining the three religious traditions, parents and school leaders made efforts to present each religion and tradition equally. Bekerman's study is important in presenting this tension and incorporating a closer look into a specific school practice related to diversity efforts within an integrated school setting. The weakness in this study is that he again does not capture the influence this has on students but instead focuses the interviews primarily on parents and other adults. He also fails to critique the monolithic presentation of each of the holidays that may have oversimplified the diversity within—and thus increased stereotypes of—each larger group (Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 2006). Later in another paper, Bekerman (2009) critiques similar school practices as promoting notions of identity that are static and nationalistic and deems them as ultimately inhibiting the potential of these schools to promote more peaceful social relations and lasting change. More studies should be conducted looking at these specific school practices, but it is imperative that we also learn about their influence on students. How else can we assess the effectiveness of practices within diverse school settings and thus advance them forward?

As another part of this same study, Bekerman and Shhadi (2003) spend time exploring the perspectives of students by presenting photographs to them representing various events in Israeli/Palestinian history as well as photos they deem important to Israeli and Palestinian identities respectively such as the Israeli and Palestinian flags and religious sites. They use this interview method to see how students in both an integrated school and the standard segregated schools conceptualize their ethnic and national identities. They find that students in the integrated school appeared more able to distinguish among various levels of ethnic identities of the “other” group. For example,

they discuss Jewish students in the integrated school as being more able to distinguish between (1) a perceived Palestinian enemy and (2) Israeli-Palestinians in their own school. The same was true for Palestinian students in the integrated school being able to distinguish between Israeli-Jews who are enemies versus those they know within the school who are not enemies; however, this ability to differentiate was not evident among Palestinian students in the segregated school. This research thus evidences the influence of integrated schools on perceptions of diversity—on one's own ethnic/religious identity and on students' ability to differentiate between the ethnic/religious identities of others and those perceived as the enemy. The research findings are extremely broad, however, and indicate a need to explore more methodically the influence of integrated schools on ethnic, religious, and national identities. The researchers themselves admit that this project is merely the beginning of further research that must be conducted to better understand the influence of integrated and diverse schools on students' conceptualizations of group identity and diversity. In further considering group identity formation as influenced by schools, we will now look closely at the ways in which students as individuals relate to their group identities and their concept of the nation as they actively shape boundaries among themselves.

Student Boundary Work Embedded Within Schools and the Nation-State

Education scholars explore the role of the nation-state in shaping daily experiences within schools (Bellino, 2016; Coe, 2005; Russell, 2018) and the contradiction between (a) state-level attempts to shape school practices and (b) the actual treatment and interactions of various groups (Sørensen, 2008). Zembylas (2013) finds, in

his extensive ethnographic study on schools with both Greek Cypriot and Turkish-speaking students, that the efforts to integrate students within schools “take place within the societal structures of the nation-state” in which forms of difference and unity may have a distinct connotation from that which is desired, understood, and performed at other levels—such as within the school and among students (p. 451). Using empirical evidence from case studies in Rwanda and South Africa, Russell and Carter (2018) dexterously demonstrate the way that students and educators within schools contradict national discourse and policies as they negotiate and form their own intergroup boundaries within schools—often reinforcing the very historical boundaries the state is attempting to blur. According to Barth (1998), these boundaries—persisting despite intergroup contact—are continually negotiated through processes of social inclusion and exclusion. He argues that boundaries can be indispensable to a social system and are not contingent on increasing interdependence. In other words, increased exposure to diversity does not mean that boundaries will blur, and boundaries do not necessarily correspond to an unhealthily divisive society. They may instead function to support the greater social system or nation in positive ways.

The nation-state, however, is imagined (Anderson, 2006) and continuously created by those within it. In exploring the role of the nation-state and nationalism within India through the lens of an elite boys boarding school, Srivastava (1996) recognizes the active creation of national belonging within schools, which he calls “little performance houses” that form a theatre which is the nation-state itself (p. 177). We have learned about the performance of identity from Goffman (1976) who notably recognizes the display of gender and the role each of us plays in these displays. Current anthropologists

have expanded this lens to other aspects of identity and in spaces that include schools. In an ethnographic study of schools within India, Benei (2008) discusses the embodiment of nationalism and its nurturance through school practices and activities. Recent studies within diverse schools have also considered boundaries and their embodiment or performance. Chikkatur (2012) uses ethnographic methods including participant observation, interviews, and document collection over a period of 18 months to explore how students and teachers perceive and embody social differences. Her work takes place in a large urban public U.S. high school with a nearly half African-American, half white population. She focuses specifically on racial and gender differences and finds that racial and gender identities are widely viewed and portrayed within schools as biological and static. She explores the ways in which students and teachers reinforce racial and gender boundaries through their words and actions. Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder (2014) expand upon the notion of boundary formulation and maintenance by also exploring the practices that conceal them. They focus on ethnic boundaries within an Israeli school that was formed with the intention to promote social integration across two Jewish ethnic and class groups. They view schools as a site of constant boundary construction, concealment, and reformulation. Their extensive ethnographic work, spanning 2.5 years, involves observations and interviews and focuses on classes and public events during which teachers and students interact. They find a gap between (a) the ideology of the staff at the school who tend to deny difference across groups and (b) the original intention of the school being the “uniting” of two well-defined groups, as might be similar to the situation with FUCs in Nigeria. They view the various actors within the school as engaging in boundary work within the context of the school’s founding ideology

promoting integration that they work to redefine and shape to a new reality. I look beyond boundaries or displays of difference but also at displays of “unity” across various boundaries, including ethnic, but also religious and national.

Additionally, in negotiating boundaries, it is essential to look at the informal interactions when students engage during social activities and interact outside formal (such as participating in routines or rituals during class or an assembly) organized school time (Iqbal, Neal, & Vincent, 2017, p. 134; Sedano, 2012). Students find their own ways to sidestep stereotypes and negative social relations (Andreouli et al., 2014). In highly diverse schools, students have been found to engage resources and opportunities presented by diversity to connect with other students and to create a sense of belonging. This appears to occur despite differences in school practices (Malsbary, 2016) and can occur in a wide range of activities including sports (Cockburn, 2017).

While this section has considered the ways students negotiate social boundaries, the following presents more literature on the complex school context in which they do this.

Tensions Between Unity and Diversity Efforts in Schools

Within a diverse school setting, it is imperative to consider the focus on building a unified national identity (unity) versus the celebration of diversity (Andreouli et al., 2014; Banks, 2008). Each of these has the potential to aid or aggravate intergroup relations, but there remains a tension between their ultimate goals (Bekerman, Zembylas, & McGlynn, 2009). As already discussed, many scholars argue for the need to create a common identity that can unite students across groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014; Sherif et al.,

1961; West et al., 2009; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). I use Abowitz and Harnish's (2006) definition of civic republican education as an extreme example of a school practice promoting national unity. They define civic republican education as drawing a clear-cut outline of what it means (either in definition, actions, or characteristics) to be a citizen of a particular national community thus clearly delineating those who are a part of a national community and encouraging unity among those who fit the definition.

Other scholars support an approach that recognizes and encourages learning about diverse groups within a school setting (Tadmor et al., 2012). They widely view this approach as a mode to improve students' attitudes and views of other groups (Chang, 2002). Carter (2012) emphasizes the sociocultural aspect of schools and argues that integrated schools can function at three different levels: open, semi-open/semi-closed, and closed. The following table summarizes her analysis:

Table 2: Domains of Inclusion in Diverse Schools
Reprinted from *Stubborn Roots: Race, Culture, and Inequality in U.S. and South African Schools*, by Prudence Carter, 2012, Oxford University Press.

Type	Material or resource Context		Sociocultural context	
	Practice	Moral condition	Practice	Moral condition
Open	Full desegregation (spatial proximity)	Justice Fairness Equality/Equity	Integration Radical inclusion Radical egalitarianism	Sharing/Caring society Egalitarian pluralism Communitarian
Semiopen/ Semiclosed	Semidesegregation (tracking by race/class/ gender or other social status)	Mildly tolerant Laissez-faire	Acculturation/Anglo-conformity Cultural difference model Symbolic multiculturalism	Tolerant Liberalism Free market competition Rugged individualism
Closed	Segregation	Intolerant Inegalitarian	Ethnic Separatism	Intolerant Inequality Inequitable distribution of resources

She discusses the potential downfalls of diversity-celebrating educational practices within a semi-open or closed setting using the example of a cultural day where students share aspects of cultural or ethnic practices. Thus, the school context dictates the effect of school practices; the students might experience the same practice in an open school differently from the students in a closed school because of the school culture. For this reason, this research takes a more holistic approach rather than focusing only on formal curriculum related to unity/diversity efforts. McLaren (1995) would refer to Carter's extreme celebration of diversity without a proper critical lens as left-liberal multiculturalism in which difference is exoticized rather than appropriately situated in the complex context in which it has developed.

How can schools then effectively incorporate unity and diversity efforts? Abowitz and Harnish (2006) present liberal citizenship education as an alternative to the other two more extreme forms, which may occur simultaneously in a single school setting leading to contradicting efforts. Liberal citizenship education, however, involves a less-defined notion of a national community, allowing room for various identities and processes through which diverse groups can experience equality and justice. The authors also present critical citizenship education as another potential alternative to these two more mainstream forms. Critical citizenship education, more common in scholarly discourse than in actual practice, encourages the challenging of and discussion around cultural, ethnic, and political norms.

Scholars argue that discussion and critical thinking are key components to developing a healthy national identification and understanding of citizenship (Hahn, 1999; Torney-Purta, 2002). The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study

(ICCS) in 2009 gathered data from more than 140,000 Grade 8 students across 38 countries, although none were in Africa. Teacher data from more than 62,000 teachers along with contextual data were also gathered. The research focused on features of education systems, schools, and classrooms as related to citizenship education. The researchers found a strong positive association between (a) student perception of openness during classroom discussion regarding social and political issues and (b) civic knowledge—defined as including critical thinking and citizens’ rights and responsibilities. This positive effect remained even when accounting for home-background factors, and, in a number of countries, even after accounting for school socioeconomic status (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). The way unity and diversity efforts are implemented and expressed within a school setting can influence how students shape their national identifications (Solano-Campos, 2015) and how these interact with their ethnic and religious identities.

Ultimately, schools, in failing to properly balance unity and diversity efforts, may serve as tools of social reproduction of unhealthy intergroup relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). If unity and diversity efforts are balanced, however, schools have the power to influence the lasting transformation of intergroup relations, for better or worse. Currently, studies critically exploring these contradictions and potential overlap are limited as has been evidenced within this review of the literature. Carter (2012) argues that education that builds a shared national identity, common understanding, and appreciation of social differences is a step toward fostering “diverse coalitions” and diminishing fears among groups (p. 171). While she makes a strong case, one must also address the exclusionary aspect of citizenship and question the reality of creating a pure

“caring” atmosphere (Noddings, 2013), especially in an environment where ethnic and religious categorizations hold deep roots as nationalistic-type categories of their own and with conflictive relationships amidst one another (Banks, 2008). In attempting to create such an environment, schools, teachers, and administrators should remain aware of the ways in which students are generating notions of belonging and work to integrate this into the curriculum and daily practices, instead of producing a vaguely “caring” environment that might negate these more intricate and less visible boundaries.

This points to the importance of a sense of “school community” in diverse schools (Dewey, 2013; Milner & Tenore, 2010), particularly in the way a positive school community fulfills a person’s need to feel belonging (Osterman, 2000). A close school community is defined by the following occurring simultaneously: a set of shared values, a common activity agenda (such as graduations, assemblies, sports days), and distinct social relations that create a caring space (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Noddings, 2013). Studies show that a sense of school community increases student well-being (Prati & Cicognani, 2018) and is associated with lower levels of aggression (Prati, Albanesi, & Cicognani, 2018). How to create a caring school community in a diverse post-conflict setting must be researched further and is explored in this study.

Additionally, “national unity” is not a streamlined concept. It has multiple interpretations and could itself be on a spectrum, with one end having (1) a group of individuals aware of a national group categorization but who consider themselves highly unique from others within the categorization, and at the other end (2) a group of individuals who see themselves completely aligned with the perceived definition of the national categorization and similar to others who fall under the perceived definition.

However, if a national identity group is established yet individuals see themselves as more different from others within that category than similar, how does this influence intergroup relations? “National unity” in this context may only exist weakly. Moreover, does strengthening the presence of a national identity inevitably imply that individuals categorize themselves less ardently in terms of ethnicity or religion? There is some evidence that a stronger identification with one’s ethnic or racial group is associated with less positive attitudes toward others (Holtman et al., 2005) and other evidence that a stronger national identity is associated with less tolerant attitudes toward out-groups (Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014). However, the relationship between ethnic/religious identities and national identity along with students’ negotiation of them remains hazy at best, and research on integrated schools has failed to delve deeply into this question. To better design school practices within diverse educational settings, this must be further understood (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2017).

Conclusion

Education holds a complex relationship with intergroup dynamics particularly within diverse schools in conflict settings. Both celebrating diverse group identities and incorporating students into an inclusive identity can each have positive and negative effects on intergroup relations and can vary among students. Schools function in the midst of societal complexities, interacting with them and serving as socializing institutions (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005; Russell & Bajaj, 2015). Schools have been used to shape conceptualizations of citizenship and national identity (Reisner, 1922; Weber, 1976) and inculcate ties to national stories and symbols

(Smith, 1986). While school is a key point of socialization at the institutional level, other factors interact with its influence including structural inequalities, historical factors (such as colonization), and students' active engagement via ethnic and religious identities (Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005). Wolsko, Park, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2000) note that students:

...require new modes of perception, characterized by fluid, flexible, and cooperative modes of relating to one another as unique individuals, as members of cultural subgroups, and as constituents of a common humanity. (p. 649)

Effective strategies and methods on how to do this have yet to be properly researched and developed for diverse schools within conflict settings, and this research contributes to this realm.

Chapter III

METHODS

This study used an explanatory sequential triangulation mixed methods longitudinal research design combining qualitative and quantitative methods into a single study over the course of one academic year in Nigeria (2017-2018). An *explanatory sequential* design involves a quantitative phase followed by a qualitative phase with the qualitative phase helping to explain the quantitative findings (Creswell & Clark, 2011). The study is longitudinal because I conducted both phases at both the beginning and end of the year. I administered surveys and conducted interviews (each at the beginning and end of the school year), ethnographic observations, and curriculum/document analysis. The surveys included a section on friendship networks to allow for social network analysis across time. Generally, the mixed methods design allows for a deeper understanding of the research problem than does using a qualitative or quantitative approach alone (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). It allows for the power of numbers and words in answering the research questions. Gathering both types of data allowed for effective data triangulation, strengthening my ability to compare and contrast quantitative and qualitative results and resulting in a richer data analysis and overall interpretation (Creswell & Clark, 2007).

This research design and methodology were informed by two previous visits to Nigeria. The first included seven weeks in May-July 2015 during which I spent time

visiting schools, networking, and connecting with the Federal Ministry of Education of Nigeria to get permission to do the project. I then returned in May 2016 with the support of two grants to conduct a three-week pilot study at the same eight schools I included in the full research. This pilot study included administration of the survey to approximately 170 students, 18 student interviews (8 group and 10 individual), and an identity-mapping exercise (with approximately 60 students). The pilot study also allowed me to test and revise the survey and student interview protocol (see *Appendices*). In the rest of this chapter, I present the methods used during the full dissertation study (2017-2018).

Location

This research involved a purposive selection of eight schools: six FUCs out of the total 104 (of these 104, I do not have information on how many of them are actually representative of the Nigerian population) and two state secondary schools out of an unknown number of state secondary schools in Nigeria. Because of the current security situation in Nigeria, not all Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs) are representative of all ethnic groups since many parents do not want to send their kids to schools in compromised areas or to schools that are too far away from home. During my time in Nigeria, I learned that two areas where schools are still highly integrated across region/ethnicity/religion are in Abuja (the capital) and Lagos. While this situation may have shifted the characteristics of students who now choose to attend FUCs, it also created the opportunity to speak with students who may have chosen a different school location because of conflict. Within each Abuja and Lagos, there are three FUCs: an all-female, all-male, and mixed. I thus conducted my research at these six schools along with a mixed sex state secondary school

in each area, which served as comparison. I chose the state secondary schools based on their mixed sex make-up and central location within Abuja and Lagos, allowing for a more ethnically and religiously diverse student body compared with a school that is located within a smaller village outside the city. This allowed for a more equal comparison with unity schools that are also diverse and enabled me to pinpoint variations in school practices between unity and state schools that influence students differently despite each having diverse populations. Table 3 below provides details about each of the schools.

State secondary schools do not have a specific emphasis on national unity or diversity appreciation while the FUCs were designed with both of these emphases as core constructs. The state secondary schools also do not have a quota system but rather incorporate students from the local area. However, especially in Abuja, the population is still highly varied ethnically and religiously, so I was able to consider whether it is the mixture itself or the school design/practice that influences the students. Because I did not have the time nor resources to follow JS1 students throughout their six years in secondary school, I surveyed first-year and final year students at the beginning and end of one academic year in an attempt to understand how students change over their time in integrated schools. Ideally, this study would have followed the same group of students across time for six years within the school; however, due to time and funding limitations, I instead included both first and final year students as a way to facilitate understanding about how students change over time within a shorter timeframe.

Table 3: School Information

School ^a	Type	Student Population ^b	Sex Make-Up	Teacher-to-Student Ratio ^c
1	FUC	1,960	All-Girl	1:16
2	FUC	1,674	Mixed	1:16
3	FUC	1,287	All-Boy	1:09
4	FUC	3,441	All-Girl	1:16
5	FUC	3,333	All-Boy	1:21
6	FUC	2,828	Mixed	1:45
7	State ^d (Total Population: 1,386)	Junior Section: 575	Mixed	Junior Section: 1:15
		Senior Section: 811		Senior Section: 1:11
8	State ^e (Total Population: 1,691)	Junior Section: 1080	Mixed	Junior Section: 1:39
		Senior Section: 611		Senior Section: 1:19

^aI do not provide the location of the schools for reasons of confidentiality.

^bInformation for FUC student population is based on data from the Federal Ministry of Education for December 2017. Information for state schools is based on interviews and post-interview follow-up.

^cInformation for FUC teacher/student ratio is based on data from the Federal Ministry of Education for February 2014. The average Teacher Student Ratio for all 104 FUCs was 1:40 in February 2014. Information for state schools is based on interviews and post-interview follow-up.

^dInfo for this school comes from the Education Board and provides information for 2019.

Detailed Description of Each Method

In this section, I provide a detailed description of each method followed by a chart summarizing the number of participants involved in each method. In the following chapters presenting the quantitative and qualitative results and analysis, I will provide more details about schools and participants as needed.

Survey

(See *Appendix A*): This included a purposive sample of six FUCs and two state secondary schools with data clustered by school and classroom. As previously mentioned, I purposively selected the FUCs based on ethnically and religiously diverse student populations and the state secondary schools based on central location within Lagos and Abuja. Within each school, I surveyed the same JS1 (first-year) and SS3 (final-year) students in the first and final months of the school year. The JS1 students start school later than the SS3 students so I first surveyed the SS3 students followed by the JS1 students. At the end of the year, I was able to overlap the survey distribution with both JS1 and SS3 students taking the surveys during the same school visits in some cases. There were a total of 643 students taking the survey: 502 FUC students and 141 state secondary school students, and 309 SS3 students and 334 JS1 students (i.e., approximately 40 SS3 and 40 JS1 students per school).¹ This sample size allowed for a

¹ These numbers are based on students who took both the pre- and post- surveys. At the beginning of the year, I had a total of 693 surveys but could not get the follow up surveys for 50 of the students at the end of the year. In the survey analysis, I was able to use 622 of the surveys, dropping another 21 surveys from the 643 due to missing information on important questions. I also dropped the only survey that marked an answer choice option other than Christian or Muslim for “Religion.” I did this to allow for a true (MM: this is a tricky word) comparison between Christian and Muslim students. I anticipated this and surveyed many more students than I needed to be sure to have at least 400 FUC students in the final analysis.

disaggregation of data by sub-group based on religion and ethnicity as well as comparisons across school types. Because the focus of my research is on FUC students, I wanted to allow flexibility for participant attrition over the course of the year while still maintaining at least 400 FUC students in the survey sample, which I was able to maintain with 102 students above my goal—having 502 FUC students in the survey sample.

During the pilot study, I asked the administrators to bring the students to me. My experience with the pilot study occasionally involved administrators choosing all of the students from a particular track within each grade (such as the “science” or “arts” track) thus skewing the data to a particular type of student studying with teachers who may be emphasizing particular topics. For this study I surveyed by classroom to facilitate administration of the survey, the tracking of students over time, and social network analysis by classroom. I selected 1 to 3 JS1 and 1 to 2 SS3 classrooms from a variety of academic tracks that I then tracked over the year. Due to electrical and internet instability, the surveys were administered using paper and writing utensils. I administered the surveys myself, guiding students through each section by reading the directions and answering any logistical questions during the survey. At the beginning of the year with the JS1 students, I read each question out loud to them in order to facilitate the administration of the survey and allow for any clarifying questions. SS3 students did well with taking the survey by reading the questions themselves and asking any clarifying questions as needed. In both situations, I went over the directions for each section, addressing special directions and any more challenging questions that I knew would cause confusion among some students. I also made sure the students had completed all sections and answered any last questions as they turned the surveys in to me. Secondary

schools in Nigeria are conducted in English, and, based on the pilot study, I knew that administering the surveys in English was feasible. Also, during the pilot study, I observed that younger and older students take the survey at different rates making survey administration difficult, so dividing the survey-taking groups by JS1 and SS3 classrooms helped avoid this issue. After the students completed the survey, my assistant and I would review the surveys for any missing questions or single-answer questions with multiple answers marked, and I would take the surveys back to the schools as soon as possible after survey administration to have the corresponding students communicate their responses appropriately. This helped to reduce the amount of missing information in the survey. While there was not usually a lot of missing data within an individual survey, it was common for students to skip individual questions or to mark two answers for a single question. When I returned to the schools with the surveys, the students usually responded with surprise, thinking they had answered every question appropriately—indicating that the missing information and double-marking of questions was not systematic. In almost every class, one to five students had one to a few missing questions.

In Table 4, I include a description of the survey sample. Students taking the survey ranged in age from 9-22 years of age (averaging 13 years old), and the questions were designed to be age-appropriate and used local terms per the feedback of locals and testing during the pilot study, during which students notified me of any terms or questions they did not understand. Subsequently, these terms and questions were all revised based on this feedback and the pilot study. For both unity and state schools, approximately half of the students are female. A lower percentage of students in both unity and state schools are Muslim and Hausa. This is partly related to half of the

participant population attending schools in Lagos that are majority Christian and Yoruba, which also explains the higher percentage of Yoruba participants in state schools since state schools draw from the local population and do not depend on a quota system to evenly distribute ethnic groups. Hausa students are slightly more represented in unity schools compared with state schools, although interestingly not as much as they should

Table 4: Description of Survey Sample (N=622)

	Unity (n=483)	State (n=139)
Sex (%)		
Female	56.73	50.36
Male	43.27	49.64
Ethnicity (%)		
Yoruba	28.99	46.76
Hausa	7.25	4.32
Igbo	41.41	27.34
Other	22.35	21.58
Religion (%)		
Muslim	17.39	28.78
Christian	82.61	71.22
Traditional Religion	0	0
No Religion	0	0
Grade (%)		
JS1	50.52	57.55
SS3	49.48	42.45
Age (mean in years)		
Age (9-22)	12.84	13.52
Location (%)		
FCT	48.03	48.20
Lagos	51.97	51.80

be if the FUC quota and enrollment system were implemented entirely as originally intended. This is evidence of the continued socioeconomic and educational disparities by ethnic/religious group that stem from the colonial period as discussed in Chapter I.

To analyze the survey data, I used Stata to explore relationships among student background characteristics, identities, and tolerance levels. A section of the survey assesses students' relation to various aspects related to their identity such as their ethnic or religious group. I ask "How close do you feel to..." items such as "your ethnicity/tribe" "your religion." I use a Likert scale with the following range (1=Not at all; 5=Very close).² If I included more specific measures, I would capture identities as interpreted by me rather than leave room for those perceived by the students. I also included a measure for school identity borrowed from Anderman's (2002) measure of school belonging (i.e., feeling connected with one's school) in a study on adolescents. It asks students "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?" and includes items such as "I feel like I am part of this school" and "I feel safe at this school." I use a Likert scale with the following range (1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree).

Tolerance is one of the main dependent variables (Chapter IV) included in the study and was formed using factor analysis (*Beginning of Year*: alpha = 0.6967; minimum= -3.051; maximum= 2.556; *End of Year*: alpha = 0.7597; minimum= -2.874;

² Sinnott (2006) attempts to find the best measure of identity by evaluating cross-national studies that have attempted to measure identity at the national, sub-national, and/or supranational levels. He divides the identity measurement into three categories—(1) identification rankings, (2) proximity ratings, and (3) identification ratings—and notes that many surveys include a combination of any two of these. An (1) identification ranking asks respondents to rank the identity groups to which they belong. However, attempting to capture complex feelings of identity could lead to high measurement error via a truncated ranking survey item. The second category, (2) proximity ratings, requires the respondent to rate rather than rank each object using a relationship of proximity with questions such as "How close do you feel to..." (p. 5). The final identity measurement category, (3) identification ratings, could involve starting out with a categorical question such as, "Do you ever think of yourself not only as a Texan but also as a citizen of the U.S.?" and following up to affirmative respondents with the question, "Does this occur often, sometimes or rarely?" (p. 8). While this is a rating question, as in the first category, it focuses instead on a relationship of identification. Sinnott tentatively concludes that the final category, (3) identification ratings, is the strongest predictor of identity followed by (2) proximity ratings. Identification ratings take into account the complexity of identity and open the possibility of capturing varying identities that one might feel across time. (1) Identification rankings, on the other hand, force respondents to push identity categories into a rigid format that may or may not be true across time.

maximum= 2.378). To measure tolerance levels, I included questions that start out with general assessments of how others should interact with situations involving diversity using a Likert Scale assessing comfort with suggested situations (1=Not at all comfortable; 5=Completely comfortable). I then move into personal questions asking how the students themselves might interact or feel within situations of diversity again using a Likert scale assessing agreement with how one would interact in certain situations (1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree).³ The questions involve various levels of social distance with other ethnic/religious/linguistic groups including situations of marriage, friendships, neighborly interactions, and national belonging (Bogardus, 1959) as social distance is commonly accepted as a measure of intergroup prejudice (e.g., Fossett, 2006; Storm, Sobolewska, & Ford, 2017; Weaver, 2008). I start with the general questions to capture how their views might change when the questions are about others versus when they are directed at them personally. This is a survey strategy that can help capture dissonance between how students think others should act and how they view similar situations when it becomes more personal. Some questions have been reversed so that the more tolerant answer is not the highest number on the Likert scale. This allows me to locate students who may have answered questions without properly reading or understanding them.

³ I designed my tolerance measures to include items that appeal at the personal level similar to that of Liebkind and McAlister (1999). They attempt to measure the tolerance of 13-15 year old Finnish students toward foreign students. They include relevant items measured on a scale score that look at what kind of teacher a student would be comfortable having, whether or not they approve of using names that might hurt people of another religion, and who they would mind or not mind living next to them. I also worked with Nigerians to make the questions appropriate to the context as inspired by Gieling, Thijs, and Verkuyten (2014) who stray away from broad general questions and the more typical survey items used to measure tolerance. Instead, they use real-life situations to gauge Dutch adolescents' tolerance toward Muslim immigrants. They focused the real-life scenarios around highly debated topics within Dutch society so as to avoid fictitious scenarios or overly broad questions, as we saw in the previous study. They created scenarios around the headscarf, Islamic schools, female Muslims not shaking hands with males, and public shaming of homosexuality by imams. According to the authors, this type of question design increased the relevance and ecological validity of the study.

National identity, also formed with factor analysis, (*Beginning of Year*: alpha = 0.7003; minimum= -3.309; maximum= 2.068; *End of Year*: alpha = 0.7507; minimum= -2.984; maximum= 2.291) is the other dependent variable included in the multiple regression analysis exhibited in Chapter VI. The national identity measure includes information about closeness to the Nigerian national anthem, the Nigerian flag, a political party, Nigerian political leaders, being Nigerian, and being African. The answer options are on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. Just as with the tolerance measure, a higher national identity score indicates increased closeness to Nigeria as defined by the student.

I formed each of the constructs (tolerance and national, ethnic, religious, and school identities) through factor analysis. Cronbach's alpha shows the internal reliability of the scale, and the corresponding alpha for each of the constructs indicates a stable and reliable variable. Table 5 provides descriptive information for the variables used in the multiple regression analysis results presented in Chapters IV and VI. When looking at the constructs, notice the decrease in standard deviation for each of them over time. This suggests that students become more similar to each other over time in relation to these constructs, and this points to the socializing role of schools (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005; Russell & Bajaj, 2015). I use the tolerance and national identity measures in Chapter IV and VI respectively as the dependent variables to explore the way the constructs differ across unity and state schools.

The independent variables included measures to understand school attendance ("unity" – 0=state school; 1=unity); ethnicity ("Yoruba"/"Hausa"/"Igbo" – 0=no; 1=yes);

religion (“Muslim” – 0=Christian; 1=Muslim); sex (“Female” – 0=male; 1=female); grade (“JS1” – 0=no; 1=yes); and location (“FCT” – 0=Lagos; 1=FCT).

Table 5: Definitions, Metrics, and Descriptive Statistics of Variables in Study (N=622)

Variable	Definition/Metric	Mean (Beg.)	SD (Beg.)	Mean (End)	SD (End)
<i>Dependent Variable Chapter 4</i> Tolerance	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6967; minimum= -3.051; maximum= 2.556; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7597; minimum= -2.874; maximum= 2.378). The variables that form the index include information about students’ tolerance toward other ethnic, religious, linguistic, and state groups different from one’s own. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All Comfortable to 5= Completely Comfortable or 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher score on this index indicates increased tolerance levels as related to ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups different from one’s own. The index thus demonstrates an overarching measure of tolerance as related to subcomponents associated with tolerance within the Nigerian context. Questions about tolerance started with general questions to capture how students’ views might change when the questions are about others versus when they are directed at them personally.	0	1.190	0	1.152
<i>Dependent Variable Chapter 6</i> National Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7003; minimum= -3.309; maximum= 2.068; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7507; minimum= -2.984; maximum= 2.291). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to the Nigerian national anthem, the Nigerian flag, a political party, Nigerian political leaders, being Nigerian, and being African. Answer	0	1.171	0	1.125

options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher national identity score indicates increased closeness to Nigeria as defined by the student.

Independent Variables

Ethnic Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6873; minimum= -3.355; maximum= 1.425; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7139; minimum= -3.157; maximum= 1.448). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's ethnic group, hometown, state, family, and extended family. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher ethnic identity score indicates increased closeness to one's ethnic group as defined by the student.	0	1.180	0	1.155
Religious Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum= -6.790; maximum= 1.350; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7498; minimum= -6.086; maximum= 1.388). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's religion, religious beliefs, others who practice one's religion in the school/nation/globally, religious practices, and place of religious practice. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher religious identity score indicates increased closeness to one's religious group as defined by the student.	0	1.160	0	1.126
School Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7283; minimum= -4.018; maximum= 1.697; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum= -3.236 maximum= 1.709). The questions were borrowed from Anderman's (2002) measure of school belonging in a study on adolescents. It asks students "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?" and includes items such as "I feel like I am part of this school" and "I feel safe at this school." Answer options	0	1.159	0	1.133

were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher school identity score indicates increased closeness to one's school as defined by the student.

Unity	School attendance: 0 = state school, 1 = unity school	.777	-
Ethnicity			
Yoruba	0 = no, 1 = yes	.330	-
Hausa	0 = no, 1 = yes	.0659	-
Igbo	0 = no, 1 = yes	.383	-
Muslim	Religion of respondent: 0 = Christian, 1 = Muslim	.199	-
Female	Gender of respondent: 0 = male, 1 = female	.553	-
JS1	0=SS3 student, 1=JS1 student	.521	-
FCT	School location of respondent: 0 = Lagos, 1 = FCT	.481	-

Social Network Analysis

Friendships can be an important link to understanding intergroup attitudes and shifting identities (Davies et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2007). Social network theory hypothesizes that an actor's position in a network can help to predict outcomes for that individual including behavior and beliefs. At the group level, it is hypothesized that what happens among the group is partly due to the connections among them (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2018). This social network analysis portion of the research allows for a closer look at the relationships within the classroom. In the analysis included in Chapters IV and V, I use the words *vertex* and *node* to refer to an individual student within the network. An *edge* or *connection* is what links a vertex to another vertex in the same network.

Using the data analysis program R, I conducted social network analysis by classroom based on the students writing the names of their five closest friends in their

classroom as one of the survey questions. I asked this question at the beginning and end of the year to track any changes in patterns over time allowing for a detailed social network analysis tracked by classroom. I only included students who participated both at the beginning and end of the year to have participant symmetry in the classroom networks. Because many of the schools are very large and I was not able to include all students in the survey, I could not conduct social network analysis at the school-wide level.

I include two primary measures of social networks in this dissertation: eigenvector centrality and assortativity. Eigenvector centrality is a measure of how interconnected the network is and measures which vertices (students) are the most important to the network. Assortativity measures the level of homophily within the network—or to what degree students choose friends based on having similar characteristics to their own (Newman, 2002). Assortativity ranges from -1 to 1. A score of -1 means the network is completely disassortative on that measure (i.e., students perfectly choose friends different from themselves), and a score of 1 means that students only choose friends the same as themselves. This similarity or difference can be focused on particular characteristics such as ethnicity and religion.⁴ For the purposes of this research, I focus on assortativity by sex, state of origin, ethnicity, and religion. A higher assortativity degree, however, indicates a stronger pattern of students choosing friends based on having the same sex, state of origin, ethnicity, or religion. To assess assortativity, I ran randomization tests to determine the likelihood of the observed

⁴ Assortativity degree, included in the results but not a primary focus in this analysis, measures whether students with a high number of connections are also connected with other students with high levels of connection.

assortativity in the classroom network given the characteristics of that network. I provide more details about the specific assortativity measures by classroom in Chapter IV.

In Table 6 below, I include a description of the sex, ethnic, and religious make-up of each classroom analyzed using social network analysis.⁵ It is important to note that some classrooms are all male or all female as demonstrated by the percentage represented by males and females in each classroom. Also, as already discussed in the previous chapter, Hausa students are underrepresented and are not present in all classrooms. This points to the continued socioeconomic and educational disparities by ethnic/religious group that stem from the colonial period.

Student Interviews

(See *Appendices B and C*): Based on the survey results, I chose 5 to 6 JS1 and 6 SS3 students from 3 FUCs (one all-male, one all-female, and one mixed-sex) and one state secondary school to interview in groups (total of 8 group interviews with 2 at each of the 4 schools). I also interviewed one head girl of an FUC (the highest position in the school) only at the end of the year because she asked to be interviewed and had relevant information to share with me that was a valuable contribution to the qualitative data. In choosing the other students, I included a heterogeneous sample across ethnic/religious

⁵ This section includes two more students (N=624) than the full survey analysis as I was able to include students who had properly completed the social network portion of the survey. Because I am looking at many small networks, taking out two extra students to exactly match those I analyzed in the survey results (N=622) could have greatly shifted the findings of the individual classroom network, so I decided to keep them.

Table 6: Social Network Descriptives by Classroom (N=624)

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Class D	Class E	Class F	Class G	Class H	Class I	Class J	Class K	Class L	Class M	Class N	Class O	Class P	Class Q	Class R	Class S	Class T	Class U	Class V	Class W	Class X
Number	13	11	12	19	19	19	22	28	25	35	28	45	36	27	16	22	42	31	33	27	15	32	37	30
Sex																								
% Female	-	-	-	-	-	100	100	100	100	45.71%	75.00%	-	-	59.26%	56.25%	50.00%	33.33%	41.94%	100	100	100	100	62.16%	70.00%
% Male	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	-	-	54.29%	25.00%	100	100	40.74%	43.75%	50.00%	66.67%	58.06%	-	-	-	-	37.84%	30.00%
Ethnic																								
% Hausa	23.08%	27.27%	16.67%	0.00%	15.79%	21.05%	9.09%	17.86%	8.00%	5.71%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	3.23%	9.09%	3.70%	0.00%	0.00%	8.11%	6.67%
% Yoruba	7.69%	27.27%	8.33%	21.05%	10.53%	15.79%	18.18%	7.14%	12.00%	42.86%	25.00%	55.56%	16.67%	14.81%	12.50%	22.73%	73.81%	74.19%	57.58%	59.26%	20.00%	46.88%	27.03%	6.67%
% Igbo	38.46%	27.27%	41.67%	57.89%	57.89%	47.37%	45.45%	21.43%	40.00%	42.86%	57.14%	35.56%	63.89%	55.56%	18.75%	22.73%	19.05%	12.90%	27.27%	40.74%	60.00%	25.00%	29.73%	50.00%
% Other	30.77%	18.18%	33.33%	21.05%	21.05%	15.79%	27.27%	53.57%	44.00%	14.29%	17.86%	8.89%	19.44%	18.52%	56.25%	54.55%	7.14%	12.90%	9.09%	3.70%	20.00%	28.13%	35.14%	36.67%
Religion																								
% Muslim	23.08%	45.45%	16.67%	15.79%	15.79%	15.79%	22.73%	25.00%	16.00%	8.57%	7.14%	20.00%	5.56%	7.41%	31.25%	13.64%	38.10%	22.58%	36.36%	29.63%	6.67%	6.25%	24.32%	26.67%
% Christian	76.92%	54.55%	83.33%	84.21%	84.21%	84.21%	77.27%	75.00%	84.00%	91.43%	92.86%	80.00%	94.44%	92.59%	68.75%	86.36%	61.90%	77.42%	63.64%	70.37%	93.33%	93.75%	75.68%	73.33%

*For those who identified as having multiple ethnicities, I counted them once for each.

groups as well as students with varying tolerance levels as demonstrated in the survey. This included a total of 47 students (12 per school /11 at one FUC) for the group interviews. I conducted the group interviews with the JS1 and SS3 students separately so as to capture the varying experiences and perspectives of the first and final year students. From the 12 participants in the group interviews at each of the 4 schools, I chose 3 JS1 and 3 SS3 students for individual interviews for a total of 24 individual student interviews. I chose students from the group interviews for the individual interviews to include a range of tolerance levels as measured in the survey (low/medium/high) and diverse ethno-religious backgrounds. These 45 minute – 1 hour semi-structured group and individual interviews took place with the same students at the beginning and end of the school year.⁶ The individual interviews followed the group interviews so that students had more time to get to know me and feel comfortable with the interview process. I waited to start the interviews more than one month after being in the schools so that I was able to build relationships and trust among the students who graciously shared their time with me.

I asked questions to capture students' experiences in the school with other students, groups, teachers/administrators, and school practices/curriculum. The purpose of these interviews was to bring depth to the survey results and explore how students create their own categorizations and understand their experiences, particularly those within the school, around identity and tolerance. I requested students' permission to audiorecord the individual and group for transcription purposes. In the next table I include descriptive information about the students interviewed. As evident in Table 7

⁶ I was unable to complete an end-of-year interview with one FUC SS3 student because she did not want to participate in the final interview.

showing descriptive data on student interview participants, I worked to diversify students based on ethnic and religious group.

Table 7: Students Interviewed (N=48)

<i>Age Range</i>	9-18 years
<i>Sex</i>	23 Female (48%)* 25 Male (52%)
<i>Ethnicity*</i>	15 Igbo (31%) 9 Hausa (19%) 19 Yoruba (40%) 7 Other** (15%)
<i>Religion</i>	29 Christian (60%) 19 Muslim (40%)

*I counted students once for each ethnic group with which they identified. Some students identified as two groups, so I counted them once for both.

**I do not expand upon this for reasons of confidentiality.

***All percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number and thus each section may not exactly add up to 100%.

Teacher and Administrator Interviews

(See *Appendices D and E*): After completing the student surveys and interviews at the beginning of the year, I arranged interviews with 2 to 3 teachers (17 teachers total) and 1 administrator (8 administrators total) at each of the schools. The teachers included 7 social studies teachers, 8 civic teachers, 1 civic and history teacher, and 1 history teacher. These semi-structured interviews lasted around 45 minutes – 1 hour. Interviewing teachers and administrators gave greater insight into their unique perspectives on the formation of ethnic, religious, and national identities within the schools and the ways students interact. The interviews also aided in understanding teacher/administrator vision and aims and how they work to achieve them.

In the following two tables (Tables 8 and 9), I present descriptive information on teacher and administrator interview participants. I interviewed 17 teachers and 8 administrators. I selected teachers who teach subjects of interest to this research including civic, social studies, and history teachers—with a focus on civic and social studies teachers as these subjects focus specifically on issues of unity and diversity in Nigeria. While I attempted to include a variety of ethnic and religious groups, I was also reliant on the teachers who were available and able to participate in interviews. As I did not survey teachers prior to the interviews as I did with the students, I was not able to be as strategically selective in diversifying ethno-religious groups. It is notable that there are no Hausa participants and fewer Muslim participants. This is representative of the teacher and administrator populations in schools and likely points to socioeconomic and educational disparities along ethno-religious lines that extend back to colonial times (as discussed in Chapter I).

Table 8: Teachers Interviewed (N=17)

<i>Subjects Taught</i>	8 Civic (47%)* 7 Social Studies (41%) 1 History (6%) 1 History and Civic (6%)
<i>Sex</i>	13 Female (76%) 4 Male (24%)
<i>Ethnicity</i>	4 Igbo (24%) 4 Yoruba (24%) 9 Other (Annag, Atyap, Bassa, Bura, Gbagy, Ibibio, Ikali, Ishan, Tiv) (53%)
<i>Religion</i>	14 Christian (82%) 3 Muslim (18%)

*All percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number and thus each section may not exactly add up to 100%.

Table 9: Administrators Interviewed (N=8)

<i>Sex</i>	5 Female (63%)* 3 Male (38%)
<i>Ethnicity</i>	3 Igbo (38%) 4 Yoruba (50%) 1 Other (Kanuri) (13%)
<i>Religion</i>	7 Christian (88%) 1 Muslim (13%)

*All percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number and thus each section may not exactly add up to 100%.

I include an overview of the participants involved in the different types of interviews in the following table.

Table 10: Overview of Participants Involved in the Interviews

Interview Type	Total Number of Participants	Number of Participants per School	Timing	Method for Choosing Participants
<i>Group - Student</i>	47 students	11-12 per school at 3 FUCs (one all-male, one all-female, one mixed-gender) and 1 state school (4 schools)	Beginning and End of Year	Chosen from survey participants to diversify tolerance levels, sex, ethnicity, and religious groups
<i>Individual - Student</i>	24 students (and one student participating in a one time interview at the end of the year)	3 JS1 and 3 SS3 students at each of the 4 schools	Beginning and End of Year	Chosen from those interviewed in groups
<i>Teacher</i>	17 teachers	2-3 per school (all 8 schools)	One Time Interview	Civic and Social Studies given preference but also interviewed one History teacher
<i>Administrator</i>	8 administrators	1 per school (all 8 schools)	One Time Interview	As willing and able

Ethnographic and Classroom Observations

Once the initial survey and student interviews were completed, I began ethnographic and classroom observations in all 8 schools spanning from September 2017-June 2018.⁷ I conducted almost 56 hours of observations in both state and FUC classrooms across all 8 schools through regular observation of civics, social studies, security education, and religious studies courses because these courses are the most likely to involve discussions around ethnicity, religion, and the divisive history of Nigeria. I focused my observations on the classrooms that participated in the survey (as I surveyed students by classroom), but I also observed other classes on occasion. I conducted observations daily when I was not administering surveys or conducting interviews. Sometimes I even conducted observations on days that I also administered surveys and conducted interviews depending on the timing of classes and events that I was interested in observing. Flexibility became important as I would often arrive at classes where the teacher did not show up or where the class had been changed for some reason. In these cases, I would ask teachers and administrators about other classes I could observe to take advantage of my travel out to the school. This turned out to be a good strategy as it allowed for an expansion of observations beyond only the classrooms/students that I had surveyed.

During the observations, I observed the school life (mostly within the classroom) on an ongoing basis, giving me a deeper understanding of the social make-up, interactions, interpretations, complexities, and cultural lives of those within the school

⁷ I conducted one observation prior to finishing surveys and interviews at the beginning of the year. The observation involved an orientation for JS1 FUC students.

(Pole & Morrison, 2003). As Landes (1965) notes, “There is a constant exchange of cues—in words, voice tones, body bearing, dress, silence” as groups negotiate cultural gaps, hierarchies and blocks (p. 45), and I attempted to understand these in the unique setting of an FUC.

Document Analysis

Finally, I reviewed civics, social studies, and religious studies curriculum, student books, student workbooks, and teacher guides that I purchased from a school bookstore and from one of the boards of education. These included 9 textbooks/workbooks/teacher guides related to civics, 5 related to social studies, and 6 related to religious studies (both Christian and Islamic). I also analyzed 2 relevant policy documents that influence FUC school design and those that are relevant to national unity and diversity issues within both FUC and state secondary schools. These included the National Policy on Education and a document focused specifically on FUCs written by the Federal Ministry of Education. I coded these documents by hand, using codes related to the way curriculum presents issues of diversity, tolerance, or lack thereof; codes highlighting specific school practices; and codes related to aspects of curriculum and their relation to the expressed goals in the policy documents.

Qualitative Data Analysis

I used NVivo to analyze student interviews, observation notes, teacher/administrator interviews, and various documents (such as photos of offices, school vision/mission statements, school posters, student notes, and classroom boards with class notes written on them). I coded according to the conceptual framework using etic codes such as “ethnic identity,” “religious identity,” “national identity,” “intergroup

interactions,” and “tolerance.” As expected, emic codes also emerged (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I also kept a list of the research questions visible to maintain my focus during the coding and analysis process. See Appendix F for a full list of codes used during analysis of the observations and interviews.

While coding, I made note of atypical situations and aspects that surprised me to compare with those that I expected (Creswell, 2015). Additionally, I kept a daily record throughout the research tracking the seemingly mundane aspects of the research such as where I went that day, with whom I spoke, atypical situations, and interesting conversations. This became an important reference during the data analysis.

Below in Table 11 is a summary of the participants involved in each applicable method along with a timeline.

In the interview excerpts included throughout this dissertation, all names have been changed to one or a combination of the following: (a) a pseudonym that reflects the sentiments of the original name, (b) a more general characterization based on ethnic/religious group if these characteristics are important to understanding the context (such as Igbo Student 1), or (c) “student” as a general name in order to protect an identity that may otherwise be deduced or due to the inability to identify a student from the audio-recording. All participants signed an informed consent form as approved during the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process.

Validity, Reliability, and Trustworthiness

Within a mixed methods research design, Creswell and Clark (2007) define validity as “the ability of the research to draw meaningful and accurate conclusions from

all of the data in the study” (p. 146). It is important to recognize that this study does not

Table 11: Participants by Method Type

	Number of Participants Involved	Organization	Site	Timing
Survey	643 students	~40 JS1 and ~40 SS3 students at each of the 8 schools (6 FUCs and 2 state secondary schools)	All 8 schools	(Pre) September/October 2017 & (Post) April/May/June 2018
Student Interviews	47 Students	<i>8 Pre/Post Group Interviews with 47 students: 5-6 JS1 and 6 SS3 students at 3 FUCs (one all-male, one all-female, one mixed-sex) and one state school</i> <i>24 Pre/Post Individual interviews:</i> From those interviewed in groups, 3 JS1 and 3 SS3 students at each of the 4 schools	4 schools (all-male FUC, all-female FUC, mixed sex FUC, and state)	(Pre) October/November 2017 & (Post) April/May/June 2018
Observations	~56 hours	Ongoing observations of school life and classes. Some observations were planned while others were spontaneous based on an event or class that was happening at a time I was at the school.	All 8 Schools	September 2017 - June 2018
Teacher/Administrator Interviews	17 Teachers/ 8 Admin	One administrator from each school (8 administrators total) and at 2-3 teachers from each school (17 teachers total)	All 8 schools	February - June 2018 Scheduled at the convenience of the interviewees

involve a randomized control trial nor were the schools randomly selected; thus I recognize issues around the external validity of this study and that it may not be generalizable outside the schools included in the study. Maintaining internal validity has been at the forefront of my research design and considered at every step. More than one data collection method has been included to assist in answering the research question allowing for data triangulation. The study was also designed to include perspectives from multiple levels so as to avoid attributing links between factors that require a more complex understanding.

To address issues of internal validity, this research was informed by significant on-site preparation including a pilot study during which I piloted the survey and group/individual student interviews. The survey and student interview protocol were adjusted according to the pilot study that tested the scales used for internal reliability. The pilot study also allowed me to address wording and questions that elicited confusion. As students took the survey during the pilot study, I took notes of any confusing sections and questions. Additionally, during the analysis of the pilot study survey and interview data, I adjusted questions that were confusing or demonstrated results that seemed skewed due to a leading question or poor wording. Prior to the pilot study, the survey underwent two reviews by questionnaire design experts, three content expert reviews, and two cognitive interviews during which I had participants take the survey and “think aloud” as they took it to discover points of misinterpretation and confusion.

In addition to my own ethnographic and classroom observations, the research has been designed to include the perspectives of different actors including both first and final year students, teachers, administrators, and policymakers (through document analysis). I

have taken all of these perspectives into account during the data analysis and presentation stage to reduce bias and skewed data.

To address quantitative reliability—meaning “that scores received from participants are consistent and stable over time” (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 416)—I used Cronbach’s alpha after forming each of the constructs (tolerance and national, ethnic, religious, and school identities) through factor analysis. Cronbach’s alpha shows the internal reliability of the scale. In other words, Cronbach’s alpha measures whether the same combination of items included in each construct would prompt the same responses in a re-administration of the same survey to the same respondents (Santos, 1999). The corresponding alpha for each of the constructs created in this research indicates a stable and reliable variable.

Positionality

I am a white female foreigner from the United States who went to Nigeria to conduct this research. I recognize that this has given me advantages in making connections within Nigeria and has shaped my relationships with all involved in my research. I took great care in clarifying my intentions throughout this research, specifically that I have come in to learn *from* and explore *with* those involved in this research. I made it clear that I was not seeking to come up with a solution that will “fix” the very deep and complex issues in Nigeria and its diverse schools. Instead, I will share my work with those who may be able to use it in ways that only a person with a deep connection to the local context could do. In presenting my work, I will keep the “white savior” complex at the forefront as one that I refuse to adopt. Because I am an outsider, I

have and will continue to take great care in the conversations I have and the way I build relationships, avoiding the view of myself as a more powerful individual. I also designed this research to be longitudinal so that I could normalize relationships and my presence as much as possible in order to get a more candid view of the schools and what is going on within them. I worked for two years prior to the launch of the full research study to build relationships and trust with leaders in the educational realm both at the national and school levels, and I continued to do this throughout the research. I was clear with those in the schools where I worked that I was not evaluating them and that I would not be disclosing names or other identifying information to their superiors. I also took care in working to understand the perspectives of those at each level without letting my relationships with education leaders limit the way I learned and observed at other levels such as within the classroom.

Limitations of the Study

While I have taken great care in designing this research, there are several limitations that I would like to acknowledge. First, I did not conduct a survey during the middle of each year, so I was not able to have an understanding of how the quantitative data changed within the academic year. I did, however, collect qualitative data throughout the year that was intended to gauge this, but it does not directly align with the survey data collected at the beginning and end of the year. I also was not able to get survey information from JS1 students prior to their arrival at the FUC or state secondary school. Thus, I did not get a true “before” effect.

Additionally, this research did not include *all* students within *all* eligible (i.e., schools that are truly representative of the diversity) Nigerian integrated schools in this study. Instead, I focus on two urban regions of Nigeria due to ongoing conflict in other parts of the country that has deterred enrollment in other FUCs. While FUCs are supposed to draw students from all over the country, it became apparent that students who lived in those urban regions—although still identifying with a particular state as is common in Nigeria—made up a larger portion of the student population. It is thus possible that students coming from these urban regions are more tolerant and/or think a certain way because of their experience in a more diverse urban environment. This research thus gives me data on students and schools within a particular setting; however, because the FUCs are boarding schools using a quota system, students still come from diverse backgrounds which is most important to this research. Socioeconomic and educational disparities that are present throughout Nigeria are thus also present within the FUC student population. Students who come from (or who identify as coming from) states with lower educational opportunities have a lower score requirement to enter into the FUC, and this shapes disparities and the ethno-religious make-up of students within the school. I draw attention to this in more detail throughout the following chapters presenting the findings (Chapters IV-VI). It is possible that Lagos and Abuja are two of the few regions with FUCs that have student bodies that are diverse and representative of the population.⁸ However, I do recognize that this is not a random sample so the findings are not necessarily generalizable to the wider population. If this research had been conducted in schools further away from these urban settings, it is possible that tolerance levels and student interactions may have been different. Even though the particular

⁸ The teachers at each FUC are also from diverse parts of the country.

identities and tolerance levels may be influenced by the context, this research still contributes to breaking down school practices in diverse schools that influence these identities and intergroup interactions.

Finally, I have included only two mixed sex state secondary schools in the study and did not include state secondary schools that parallel the sex make-up of the all male/female FUCs in which I will be working. The focus of this study is on FUCs; thus I concentrated my time and resources on them.

Chapter IV

TOLERANCE AMIDST CONFLICT

The JS1 students, the newest to the unity schools, saunter into a large hall mid-morning with the heat of the day thick in the air around them. I sit in the back of the hall watching them droop slowly into their seats ready for their unity school orientation to begin. A speaker leads them in the school song, and they sit down with teachers and staff roaming the room ready to nudge anyone who drifts off. I admire their strength to remain awake in the heat, although it is clear we are all struggling. It is not until more than three and a half hours after students entered the hall that one of the speakers finally talks about diversity saying, “Some of you are leaving your houses for the first time. We have different people from different backgrounds, different religions, different beliefs. Some of you are Christians. Some of you are Muslims. Some traditionalists am I right?” Students seem to hesitate with this last part, as practicing a traditional religion is widely seen as taboo, and even if done, is done privately. The speaker briefly tells them they must learn to tolerate the next person and that they must learn to live together. Shortly after, he moves on to discuss washing clothes and orderliness (School 2, JS1 Orientation Observation, October 18, 2017).

While unity schools were developed with the purpose to increase unity among different groups in Nigeria, school practices and curriculum are not always aligned or primarily focused on this purpose. Listed as the first achievement of unity schools in a

publication by the Federal Ministry of Education is the “[p]romotion of national unity and integration of students and staff of diverse cultures and religions of Nigeria in line with the founding ideology of the Unity Schools” (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013, p. 4), yet many of the school practices and curriculum only serve to perpetuate existing social relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Are students in unity schools actually developing a greater intergroup tolerance? If not, what is going on in school practices and curriculum that stops unity schools from achieving their stated purpose?

In this chapter, I will take a closer look at the difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students using results from the survey analysis. To further explore these results, I will follow by looking more closely at friendship networks within unity versus state schools using social network analysis, and then at school practices and curriculum using interview, observation, and curriculum analysis data. I finish the chapter with a joint discussion that links the survey, social network analysis, and qualitative findings.

Survey Results and Findings

For the survey, I designed tolerance measures to include items that appeal at the personal level similar to that of Liebkind and McAlister (1999) who attempt to measure the tolerance of 13-15 year old Finnish students toward foreign students.¹ I also worked with Nigerians to make the questions appropriate to the context as inspired by Gieling, Thijs, and Verkuyten (2014) who stray away from broad general questions and the more typical survey items used to measure tolerance. Instead, they use real-life situations to

¹ Liebkind and McAlister (1999) include relevant items measured on a scale score that look at what kind of teacher a student would be comfortable having, whether or not they approve of using names that might hurt people of another religion, and who they would mind or not mind living next to them.

gauge Dutch adolescents' tolerance toward Muslim immigrants.² According to the authors, this type of question design increased the relevance and ecological validity of the study.

I included questions that start out with general assessments of how others should interact with situations involving diversity using a Likert Scale assessing comfort with suggested situations (1=Not at all comfortable; 5=Completely comfortable). I then move into personal questions asking how the students themselves might interact or feel within situations of diversity again using a Likert scale assessing agreement with how one would interact in certain situations (1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree). I start with the general questions to capture how their views might change when the questions are about others versus when they are directed at them personally. A higher score on the tolerance index indicates increased tolerance levels as related to ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups different from one's own.

Analysis

To explore differences in tolerance levels between unity and state school students, I used Stata to analyze data using multiple regressions.³ The variables used in the analysis are described in the following table with tolerance as the dependent, or outcome variable. I provide the mean and standard deviation for both the beginning and end of the year for easy comparison; however, to simplify the discussion, I will only include the regression

² Gieling, Thijs, and Verkuyten (2014) focused the real-life scenarios around highly debated topics within Dutch society so as to avoid fictitious scenarios or overly broad questions, as we saw in the previous study. They created scenarios around the headscarf, Islamic schools, female Muslims not shaking hands with males, and public shaming of homosexuality by imams.

³ For more details on methods, see Chapter III.

table and discussion for the end of the year when the schools have had time to influence the JS1 students. Additionally, the tolerance results for the beginning and the end of the year are highly similar.

As seen in Table 12 below summarizing the dependent and explanatory variables used in this analysis, the overall tolerance score encompassing all schools (state and unity) decreases in standard deviation over time meaning that the average distance from the mean decreases. This indicates that over time, students across schools become slightly more similar in terms of tolerance levels. This also holds true when looking at tolerance scores for unity and state schools separately.⁴ This may be due to the influence of peers or the school environment that shape tolerance levels in a particular way. Both of these will be explored later in this chapter through social network analysis and qualitative data. For a more in depth description of the survey sample, see Chapter III – Methods.

Table 12: Definitions, Metrics, and Descriptive Statistics of Variables in Study (N=622)

Variable	Definition/Metric	Mean (Beg.)	SD (Beg.)	Mean (End)	SD (End)
<i>Dependent Variable</i>					
Tolerance	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6967; minimum= -3.051; maximum= 2.556; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7597; minimum= -2.874; maximum= 2.378). The variables that form the index include information about students' tolerance toward other ethnic, religious, linguistic, and state groups different from one's own. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All Comfortable to 5= Completely	0	1.190	0	1.152

⁴ The standard deviation of tolerance for unity schools is 1.179 at the beginning of the year and 1.131 at the end of the year. The standard deviation of tolerance for state schools is 1.232 at the beginning of the year and 1.225 at the end of the year.

Comfortable or 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher score on this index indicates increased tolerance levels as related to ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups different from one's own. The index thus demonstrates an overarching measure of tolerance as related to subcomponents associated with tolerance within the Nigerian context. Questions about tolerance started with general questions to capture how students' views might change when the questions are about others versus when they are directed at them personally.

*Explanatory
Variables*

Ethnic Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6873; minimum = -3.355; maximum = 1.425; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7139; minimum = -3.157; maximum = 1.448). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's ethnic group, hometown, state, family, and extended family. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher ethnic identity score indicates increased closeness to one's ethnic group as defined by the student.	0	1.180	0	1.155
Religious Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum = -6.790; maximum = 1.350; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7498; minimum = -6.086; maximum = 1.388). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's religion, religious beliefs, others who practice one's religion in the school/nation/globally, religious practices, and place of religious practice. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher religious identity score indicates increased closeness to one's religious group as defined by the student.	0	1.160	0	1.126
National Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly	0	1.171	0	1.125

across both the beginning and end of the year (*Beginning of Year*: alpha = 0.7003; minimum = -3.309; maximum = 2.068; *End of Year*: alpha = 0.7507; minimum = -2.984; maximum = 2.291). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to the Nigerian national anthem, the Nigerian flag, a political party, Nigerian political leaders, being Nigerian, and being African. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher national identity score indicates increased closeness to Nigeria as defined by the student.

School Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7283; minimum = -4.018; maximum = 1.697; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum = -3.236 maximum = 1.709). The questions were borrowed from Anderman's (2002) measure of school belonging in a study on adolescents. It asks students "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?" and includes items such as "I feel like I am part of this school" and "I feel safe at this school." Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher school identity score indicates increased closeness to one's school as defined by the student.	0	1.159	0	1.133
Unity	School attendance: 0 = state school, 1 = unity school	.777	-		
Ethnicity					
Yoruba	0 = no, 1 = yes	.330	-		
Hausa	0 = no, 1 = yes	.0659	-		
Igbo	0 = no, 1 = yes	.383	-		
Muslim	Religion of respondent: 0 = Christian, 1 = Muslim	.199	-		
Female	Gender of respondent: 0 = male, 1 = female	.553	-		
JS1	0=SS3 student, 1=JS1 student	.521	-		
FCT	School location of respondent: 0 = Lagos, 1 = FCT	.481	-		

To determine the difference in tolerance between unity and state school students, I ran a multiple regression with ten regression models in a hierarchical framework with robust standard errors and variables entered in nine steps to explore the association between unity school attendance and tolerance levels.⁵ In the first model, I examined the unadjusted relationship between unity school attendance and tolerance levels. In the second model, I controlled for ethnic identity. The third model adjusted for national identity, the fourth for religious identity, and the fifth for school identity. I then included beginning of the year student characteristic explanatory variables including grade in the sixth model, religion in the seventh, ethnicity in the eighth, sex in the ninth, and school location in the final model. Identity and student characteristic variables are included as explanatory variables that might help to explain the outcome variable—tolerance.

Prior to presenting the survey findings, I want to emphasize that higher or lower tolerance levels by some ethnic and religious groups compared with others should not be seen as an evaluation of that group but as a reflection of history, marginalization, and privilege that shapes the way individuals and groups view each other and interact within diverse settings. My intention is not to single out an ethnic or religious group for having higher or lower tolerance levels, but rather to consider these patterns and the way that schools can intervene, amidst larger social patterns, to increase tolerance across all groups. I use quantitative data to uncover tolerance and identity patterns among ethnic and religious groups within this ongoing ethno-religious conflict in hopes that it will lead to schools that more effectively facilitate positive intergroup relations.

⁵ During the analysis, I ran regressions with both the beginning and end of the year tolerance levels as outcome variables, but here I include the results of the end of the year measure for simplicity. Both regressions came out with similar results.

Findings

I first wanted to see the change over time of tolerance in unity schools (FUCs) compared with state schools.⁶ Using t-tests to compare beginning and end of year tolerance measures, I found that there was no statistically significant change across time for either unity schools or state schools ($p>0.1$). This also held true when looking more specifically tolerance by grade breakdown (JS1 and SS3) in both unity and state schools (see *Appendix H*). The following table shows the changes in tolerance from the beginning of the year to the end in unity and state schools. In unity schools tolerance levels go down slightly while in state schools the reverse is observed. Further, t-tests comparing differences in tolerance levels across state and unity schools suggest no difference in tolerance levels between the school types at either the beginning or the end of the year ($p>0.1$).

Table 13: Tolerance Change Over Time in FUCs (N=483) vs. State Schools (N=139)

	FUCs	State Schools
Variable	Change	Change
Tolerance	-0.019	0.065

Based on two-tailed t-test: *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.005$, * $p<0.01$

I went on to explore the correlation between tolerance and identity measures (ethnic identity, religious identity, national identity, and school identity). Interestingly, all variables at the end of the year (tolerance, ethnic identity, religious identity, national identity, and school identity) are positively correlated with those at the beginning of the year ($p < 0.001$)—meaning that a higher tolerance or identity at the beginning of the year

⁶ I include an analysis of change in other identity variables in unity and state schools in the appendices (see *Appendix G*).

is associated with a higher tolerance at the end of the year.⁷ I also, unexpectedly, found that tolerance is inversely associated with ethnic ($p < 0.001$), religious (beginning of year: $p < 0.05$; end of year: $p < 0.01$), and national identities ($p < 0.001$) at both the beginning and end of the year.⁸ In other words, a student who feels less tied to a nation, ethnicity, or religious group is more likely to have a higher tolerance for those in ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups other than their own (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). While relationships do exist, none of the variables are highly correlated; thus multicollinearity is not an issue in the multiple regression analysis.

These findings lend important insight into the relationship between tolerance, ethnic, religious, and national identities. First, the inverse relationship between tolerance and each of the national, ethnic, and religious identities is interesting but unsurprising. A person who feels less tied to an ethnic or religious group is likely to have more tolerance for those in other ethnic or religious groups. If the ethnic or religious group boundary is less defined in the mind of the student, then the distinction between an in-group and out-group based on ethnicity and religion may be less important for that student (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009); although, this is not always the case. For example, one could conceivably identify greatly with their ethnicity yet still hold tolerance for other groups. One could highly identify with their ethnicity or religion as a sub-group while also simultaneously identifying with a higher category group that encompasses other sub-groups along with their own sub-group (Turner et al., 1987). This would allow them to

⁷ I include a multiple regression analysis testing the relationship between beginning and end of year tolerance in the appendices (see *Appendix I*). Again, I find that beginning of year tolerance predicts end of year tolerance even when controlling for student characteristics and other end of year identity measures ($p < 0.01$).

⁸ I compared beginning of the year tolerance with beginning of the year identity measures and end of the year tolerance with end of the year identity measures.

incorporate others into their own higher category group (within the nation, for example) allowing for higher tolerance. In other words, the way that students view their own identities and the overlapping of these identities with other identities influence intergroup tolerance (Brewer & Pierce, 2005).

Multiple regression. The multiple regression analysis provides deeper insight on the relation between tolerance and school type. Model 1 in Table 14 establishes the unadjusted relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels. The results suggest no difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students ($p>0.1$).

In the second model, I accounted for ethnic identity and find that this does not change the relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels. As indicated by the correlation measures previously discussed, we see a negative association between tolerance and ethnic identity ($p<0.01$) meaning that as a student's identity with their ethnic group decreases, tolerance is more likely to increase.

Model 3 then further adjusts the estimated relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels for national identity. Even in doing so, there remains no difference in tolerance levels across unity and state schools ($p>0.1$). Ethnic and national identity both appear as negatively associated with tolerance levels ($p<0.01$) as indicated by the correlation results.

In the fourth and fifth models, I adjust for religious and school identity respectively. Neither of these is shown to have an association with tolerance levels ($p<0.01$) nor do they change the relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels. Meanwhile, ethnic and national identities remain negatively associated with tolerance levels in both models ($p<0.01$).

In the sixth model, I further accounted for grade. While this did not change the relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels ($p>0.1$), it does indicate that JS1 (the youngest) students have lower tolerance levels on average compared with SS3 (the oldest) students. Ethnic identity ($p<0.01$) and national identity ($p<0.05$) remain negatively associated with tolerance levels.

In Model 7, I controlled for religion and again find no change in the relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels ($p>0.1$). Those with higher ethnic identity ($p<0.01$), higher national identity ($p<0.05$), and JS1 students ($p<0.01$) continue to show lower tolerance levels.

Model 8 includes ethnicity as an explanatory variable and shows Igbo students as having lower tolerance levels on average compared with other ethnic groups ($p<0.01$) while Hausa and Yoruba show no difference in tolerance levels with other ethnic groups ($p>0.1$). This adjustment does not change the relationship between unity schools and tolerance levels. Ethnic and national identities remain negatively associated with tolerance levels ($p<0.05$) as does being a JS1 student ($p<0.01$). After adjusting for ethnicity, being Muslim is also associated with lower tolerance levels ($p<0.1$).

The ninth model adjusts for sex and indicates a higher tolerance level for females on average ($p<0.01$). Again, there is no difference suggested in tolerance levels between unity and state schools. Ethnic identity ($p<0.1$) and national identity ($p<0.05$) remain negatively associated with tolerance levels, and JS1 ($p<0.01$), Muslim ($p<0.1$), and Igbo ($p<0.01$) students all show lower tolerance levels on average while females have higher tolerance levels compared with males ($p<0.01$).

In the final model, the multiple regression results suggest no difference in tolerance levels between those in state and unity schools ($p > 0.1$). However, the results suggest lower tolerance levels for those with higher ethnic ($p < 0.1$) and national identities ($p < 0.05$). Religious identity and school identities, on the other hand, are not associated with a difference in tolerance levels ($p > 0.1$). In terms of student characteristics, JS1 (i.e., the youngest) students demonstrate lower tolerance levels ($p < 0.01$) as do Igbo students ($p < 0.01$) while females show higher tolerance levels ($p < 0.01$), which is unsurprising based on previous studies showing females having higher tolerance levels (see Avery, 1988; Jones, 1980).⁹ This indicates that tolerance levels increase over time in the schools with SS3 students in both state and unity schools showing higher tolerance levels compared with JS1 students. The lower tolerance levels among Igbo students compared with other ethnic groups may be expressed through greater discrimination toward Hausa students that will be discussed in the next chapter.

I also find some variation in tolerance by school suggesting that students' sex and/or the way sex interacts with school factors are important in shaping tolerance levels. This aligns with the survey findings showing a higher tolerance on average for female students ($p < 0.01$). I have included an analysis and tables in the appendices (see *Appendix J*) and plan to expound upon more in-depth school-specific analysis in future publications and research.

Social Network Findings

Friendships can be an important link to understanding intergroup attitudes and shifting identities (Davies et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2007). In this section, I present an

⁹ These results are the same at the beginning of the year although with slightly different p-values.

analysis of friendship networks in unity and state schools using findings from the social network analysis portion of this research.¹⁰ The results in this section show differences in friendship patterns between unity and state school students that provide a deeper understanding into why there is a lack of difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students. For this chapter, I use assortativity and eigenvector centrality to explore which students are the most important or influential to the network. I use the words *vertex* and *node* to refer to an individual student within the network. An *edge* or *connection* is what links a vertex to another vertex in the same network.

Assortativity

Assortativity measures the level of homophily within the network—or to what degree students choose friends based on having similar characteristics to their own (Newman, 2002). Assortativity ranges from -1 to 1. A score of -1 means the network is completely disassortative on that measure (i.e., students perfectly choose friends different from themselves), and a score of 1 means that students only choose friends the same as themselves. This similarity or difference can be focused on particular characteristics such as ethnicity and religion.¹¹ For the purposes of this research, I focus on assortativity by sex, state of origin, ethnicity, and religion. I focus on assortativity scores at 0.1 or above because this indicates at least a slight tendency toward homophily. A higher assortativity degree, however, indicates a stronger pattern of students choosing friends based on

¹⁰ For more information on the social network analysis data and method, see Chapter III – Methods.

¹¹ Assortativity degree, included in the results but not a primary focus in this analysis, measures whether students with a high number of connections are also connected with other students with high levels of connection.

having the same sex, state of origin, ethnicity, or religion. To assess assortativity, I ran randomization tests to determine how likely the observed assortativity is in the classroom

Table 14: Relationship Between School Type and Tolerance Levels (End of Year) N=622 Students

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
School Type										
Unity	0.0462	0.0571	-0.00434	-0.00481	0.0213	-0.0435	-0.0553	-0.0274	-0.0595	-0.0462
	-0.116	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.114	-0.114	-0.113	-0.114	-0.114	-0.114
Identities										
Ethnic Identity (EoY)		-0.240***	-0.179***	-0.183***	-0.181***	-0.119***	-0.118***	-0.102**	-0.0830*	-0.0852*
		-0.0368	-0.0399	-0.0406	-0.0404	-0.0429	-0.043	-0.0447	-0.0441	-0.0443
National Identity (EoY)			-0.153***	-0.157***	-0.164***	-0.117**	-0.113**	-0.116**	-0.100**	-0.105**
			-0.0473	-0.0496	-0.0493	-0.0492	-0.049	-0.0485	-0.0477	-0.0476
Religious Identity (EoY)			0.0132	0.0114	0.00143	0.00512	0.00117	0.00117	-0.019	-0.0227
			-0.0434	-0.0437	-0.0432	-0.0433	-0.0432	-0.0432	-0.0435	-0.0438
School Identity (EoY)			0.0437	0.0437	0.0437	-0.023	-0.022	-0.0316	-0.0441	-0.0333
			-0.0425	-0.0447	-0.0447	-0.0447	-0.0447	-0.0444	-0.0436	-0.045
Student Characteristics										
JS1					-0.493***	-0.487***	-0.486***	-0.487***	-0.487***	-0.473***
Muslim					-0.103	-0.103	-0.107	-0.104	-0.104	-0.105
Yoruba					-0.13	-0.13	-0.208*	-0.216*	-0.216*	-0.220*
					-0.114	-0.114	-0.123	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12
Hausa							-0.0575	-0.0564	-0.0564	-0.00517
							-0.123	-0.121	-0.121	-0.127
Igbo							-0.306	-0.32	-0.32	-0.338
							-0.212	-0.203	-0.203	-0.206
Female							-0.330***	-0.324***	-0.324***	-0.303***
							-0.113	-0.11	-0.11	-0.112
FCT							0.414***	0.414***	0.414***	0.406***
							-0.0873	-0.0873	-0.0873	-0.0872
							0.112	0.112	0.112	0.112
Constant	-0.0359	-0.0443	0.00337	0.00374	-0.0165	0.290**	0.323***	0.482***	0.278*	0.187
	-0.104	-0.0994	-0.098	-0.0981	-0.101	-0.117	-0.116	-0.141	-0.146	-0.161
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0	0.058	0.076	0.076	0.078	0.113	0.115	0.131	0.162	0.164

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

network given the characteristics of that network. For the purposes of space and simplicity, I do not include these randomizations in this dissertation.

In the following table (Table 15), I have listed all classrooms using the same code names (Class A, B, C, etc.) as provided in the descriptive data in Chapter III – Methods. I have included details about the classroom—sex make-up (all male, all female, mixed) and grade (JS1 or SS3)—but have left out school name and location to maintain confidentiality. This table includes the beginning of the year (BoY) and end of the year (EoY) results for each of the classrooms with the BoY and EoY rows next to each other for easy comparison. All assortativity scores 0.1 or above are highlighted in yellow. These highlighted boxes demonstrate homophily based on the designated variable in that column (sex, state of origin, ethnicity, and religion). In other words, if the box is highlighted yellow, students choose friends who identify the same on that particular characteristic.

Sex. As shown in Table 15, sex remains an important assortative factor at both the beginning and end of the year for all mixed classrooms both state and unity.¹ Unsurprisingly, this means that students tend to choose friends of their same sex.

State of origin. State schools appear to be more segregated by state of origin with both SS3 classes and one JS1 classroom showing homophily by the end of the year (i.e., with students choosing close friends from their same state of origin). The other state JS1 class does not show homophily for state of origin either at the BoY or EoY.

Among the unity schools, four out of five of the mixed schools either never have students choosing friends based on same state of origin (i.e., above 0.1) or change to

¹ All “N/A” in the table represent classrooms that are single sex (all-boy or all-girl).

Table 15: Assortativity Measures of Classroom Friendship Networks

Class	Assortativity Degree	Assortativity Sex	Assortativity State of Origin	Assortativity Ethnicity	Assortativity Religion
Class A - JS1 - All Boys - BoY	0.00	N/A	-0.41	-0.07	-0.07
Class A - JS1 - All Boys - EoY	0.08	N/A	-0.13	-0.03	0.24
Class B - JS1 - All Boys - BoY	0.31	N/A	0.40	-0.06	0.17
Class B - JS1 - All Boys - EoY	-0.03	N/A	0.03	0.12	0.20
Class C - JS1 - All Boys - BoY	0.02	N/A	-0.12	0.17	0.13
Class C - JS1 - All Boys - EoY	-0.32	N/A	0.10	-0.04	0.23
Class D - SS3 - All Boys - BoY	0.01	N/A	0.29	0.21	0.20
Class D - SS3 - All Boys - EoY	0.21	N/A	0.34	0.19	0.29
Class E - SS3 - All Boys - BoY	0.33	N/A	0.17	-0.25	0.46
Class E - SS3 - All Boys - EoY	0.14	N/A	0.32	-0.21	0.76
Class F - JS1 - All Girls - BoY	-0.17	N/A	-0.06	0.01	0.14
Class F - JS1 - All Girls - EoY	0.02	N/A	-0.09	-0.09	0.17
Class G - JS1 - All Girls - BoY	0.10	N/A	-0.26	-0.13	-0.17
Class G - JS1 - All Girls - EoY	-0.02	N/A	-0.09	-0.06	0.05
Class H - SS3 - All Girls - BoY	0.06	N/A	0.15	0.22	0.40
Class H - SS3 - All Girls - EoY	-0.18	N/A	0.49	-0.27	0.31
Class I - SS3 - All Girls - BoY	0.07	N/A	-0.20	0.05	0.06
Class I - SS3 - All Girls - EoY	-0.10	N/A	-0.28	0.02	-0.04
Class J - JS1 - Mixed - BoY	0.15	0.88	0.08	0.00	-0.09
Class J - JS1 - Mixed - EoY	0.04	0.88	0.34	0.45	0.18
Class K - SS3 - Mixed - BoY	0.05	0.48	0.11	0.14	-0.05
Class K - SS3 - Mixed - EoY	0.00	0.33	0.04	0.03	-0.11
Class L - JS1 - All Boys - BoY	0.05	N/A	0.29	0.26	0.20
Class L - JS1 - All Boys - EoY	0.06	N/A	0.29	0.32	0.28
Class M - SS3 - All Boys - BoY	-0.12	N/A	-0.11	-0.10	-0.06
Class M - SS3 - All Boys - EoY	-0.14	N/A	-0.27	-0.34	-0.06
Class N - JS1 - Mixed - BoY	0.12	0.94	0.06	0.12	0.08
Class N - JS1 - Mixed - EoY	0.12	0.96	-0.06	0.02	0.10
Class O - SS3 - Mixed - BoY	-0.01	0.31	-0.04	-0.01	0.31
Class O - SS3 - Mixed - EoY	0.25	0.40	-0.08	0.19	0.52
Class P - SS3 - Mixed - BoY	-0.21	0.69	0.10	-0.08	-0.04
Class P - SS3 - Mixed - EoY	0.01	0.01	-0.06	-0.08	0.07
Class Q - JS1 - Mixed - BoY (State)	0.11	0.73	0.06	-0.01	-0.04
Class Q - JS1 - Mixed - EoY (State)	0.01	0.69	0.07	0.17	0.06
Class R - SS3 - Mixed - BoY (State)	-0.08	0.50	0.17	0.15	-0.10
Class R - SS3 - Mixed - EoY (State)	0.05	0.57	0.13	0.10	-0.08
Class S - JS1 - All Girls - BoY	-0.04	N/A	0.19	0.34	0.16
Class S - JS1 - All Girls - EoY	0.11	N/A	0.28	0.46	0.19
Class T - JS1 - All Girls - BoY	0.16	N/A	0.02	0.07	0.09
Class T - JS1 - All Girls - EoY	0.10	N/A	0.10	0.09	0.11
Class U - SS3 - All Girls - BoY	0.07	N/A	-0.04	-0.17	N/A
Class U - SS3 - All Girls - EoY	0.54	N/A	0.02	-0.11	N/A
Class V - SS3 - All Girls - BoY	0.11	N/A	0.00	0.00	-0.10
Class V - SS3 - All Girls - EoY	0.01	N/A	0.17	0.17	-0.10
Class W - JS1 - Mixed - BoY (State)	-0.03	0.77	0.19	0.09	0.07
Class W - JS1 - Mixed - EoY (State)	-0.04	0.74	0.16	0.02	0.15
Class X - SS3 - Mixed - BoY (State)	-0.08	0.40	0.32	0.23	-0.02
Class X - SS3 - Mixed - EoY (State)	0.00	0.28	0.18	0.13	0.00

students not choosing friends of the same state of origin by the end of the year (i.e., drop below 0.1). Two of the three schools that change by the end of the year are SS3 mixed classrooms. By the end of the year, half of the unity school classrooms have students that show homophily by state of origin. By the end of the year at unity schools, students choose friends based on state of origin in half of the classrooms making it unclear how important state of origin is to unity schools specifically.

Ethnicity. In the state schools, two classrooms stay assortative by ethnicity from the beginning to the end of the year, another is unassortative by ethnicity across time, and the fourth state school classroom becomes assortative by ethnicity at the end of the year. By the end of the year, $\frac{3}{4}$ of state classrooms are assortative by ethnicity. This is the same pattern shown in assortativity by state of origin for state schools. Thus, ethnicity and state of origin appear to be important markers of choosing friends in the state schools.

By the end of the year, seven out of 20 unity schools have students choosing friends based on the same ethnicity. Contrasting with state of origin, ethnicity at unity schools seems to be less of an assortative factor. This could be due to unity school students interacting in dorms and spending more time together in conjunction with the unity school emphasis on integrating all the different groups.

Religion. In state schools, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the classrooms never show assortativity above 0.1 for religion. One JS1 mixed state school classroom becomes assortative by religion by the end of the year although it does not start out that way. Of the unity school classrooms, 13 out of 19² are assortative by religion at the end of the year. The number of unity school classes that are assortative by religion increases by four classrooms over the year with

² One SS3 all girls class only has one Muslim student so assortativity cannot be calculated by religion, which is why there are only 19 possible unity school classrooms.

four of the classrooms becoming assortative by the end of the year and none dropping out of being assortative by religion (i.e., dropping below 0.1) by the end of the year. All of the classes that become assortative by religion by the end of the year are JS1 classes (including one all boys, one all girls, and two mixed). Four of the nine SS3 classrooms³ are assortative across time while five of the nine are not assortative in either time period. Only one JS1 classroom is never assortative by religion—a JS1 All Girls class. That means that nine of the ten JS1 classrooms in the unity schools are assortative by religion at the end of the year. While ethnicity and state of origin appear to be important ways that students choose friends in state schools, religion seems to be a more important marker for students in unity schools.

Eigenvector Centrality

Eigenvector centrality is a gauge of how interconnected the network is and measures which vertices (students) are the most important to the network determined by their connection to other highly connected students. In analyzing the various classroom friendship networks, it is evident that religion, sex, and ethnicity are important markers of friendship in different classrooms. However, as suggested by the assortativity measures, religion appears to be the most important divider in friendships among unity school students and ethnicity among state school students. In the following, I provide two examples of networks with vertex sizes based on eigenvector centrality scores to illustrate the patterns shown by the assortativity measures. The larger the vertex, the higher the eigenvector centrality score (i.e., the more important that student is to the network).

³ One of the SS3 classrooms is not included in the assortativity by religion because it only has one Muslim student.

Within the networks, the square vertices are male students while the circular vertices are female students. The orange vertices are Muslim students while the blue vertices are Christian students.

Pattern 1: Unity School Students with Friendships Divided by Religion

In Class N, we see one example of a unity school classroom that shows a clear division in friendships based on religion. In this JS1 Mixed Sex Unity School classroom, Muslim students are less connected with other highly connected students despite the increased interconnectedness across ethnic groups over time. This is demonstrated by the large size of the blue vertices (Christian students) while the orange vertices (Muslim students) can barely even be seen. This class indeed shows a decrease in assortativity by ethnicity over time (BoY: 0.12; EoY: 0.02) along with a slight increase in assortativity by religion over time (BoY: 0.08; EoY: 0.10). Over the year, interethnic friendships become more common (as evidenced by the network below), yet Christians and Muslims tend to maintain more friendship ties with those of their own religious group. This pattern is common among unity school classrooms.

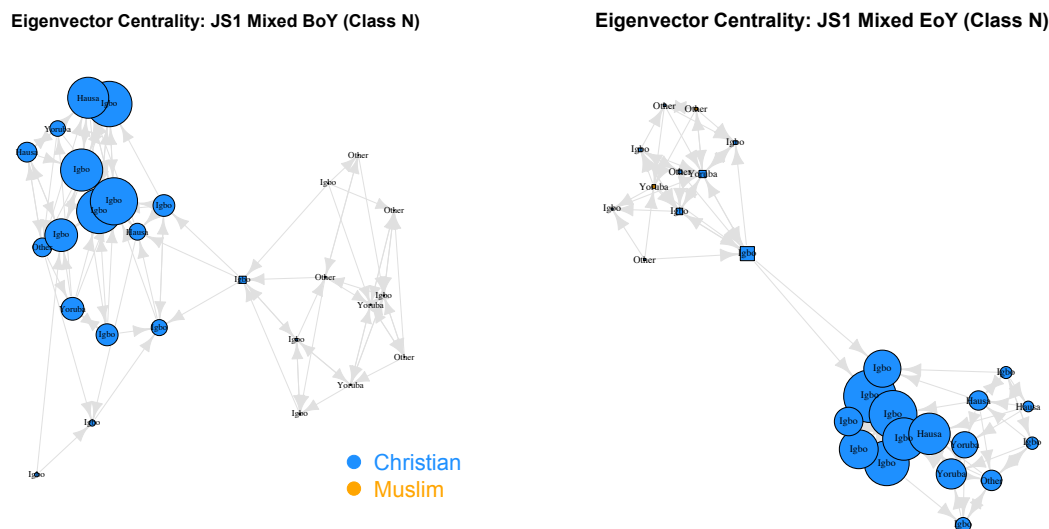


Figure 4: Friendship Network Divided by Religion in FUC

Pattern 2: State School Students with Friendships Divided by Ethnicity

Conversely, in state schools, students maintain friendships more often based on those sharing their same ethnic group. In Class Q, a JS1 Mixed State school classroom, we see evidence of this pattern. This class shows an increased assortativity in ethnicity over time (BoY: -0.01; EoY: 0.17) starting out at the beginning of the year with students not choosing friends based on ethnic groups, yet by the end of the year, the class becomes clearly assortative by ethnicity. By the end of the year we can see Yoruba (Y), Igbo (I), and Other (O) ethnic groups have more friendships with those in their own ethnic group. This is particularly notable in the bottom right corner of the end of the year network where Igbo (I) students have moved together to be more interconnected with each other. The class is not assortative by religion at either the beginning or end of the year. Interreligious friendships are easy to see in this network with Muslim (orange) and

Christian (blue) students highly mixed together with mixed levels of importance (evidenced by the size of the vertices) across both time points.

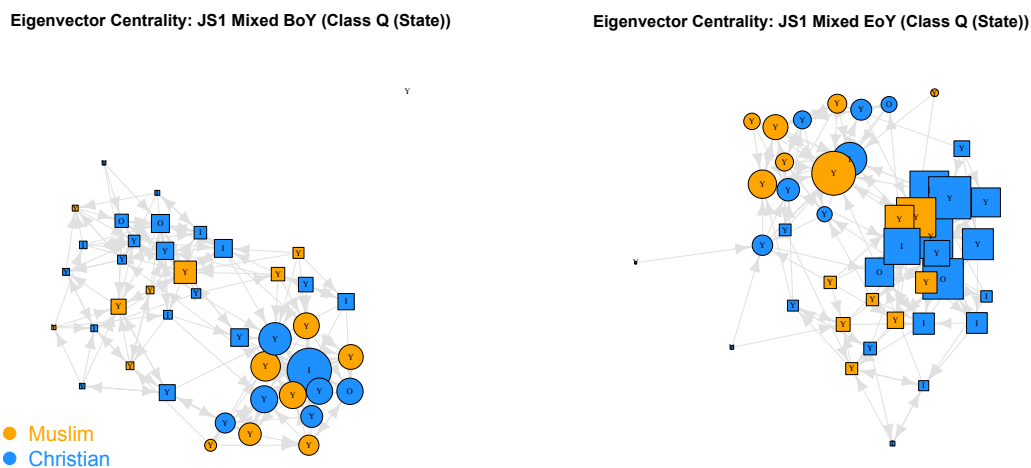


Figure 5: Friendship Network Divided by Ethnicity in State School

Qualitative Findings: School Practices and Curriculum Influencing Tolerance and Relationship to the Nation

The final section of this chapter focuses on data from interviews, observations, and curriculum to explore school practices that shape tolerance and intergroup relations within the context of the nation-state.⁴ This will provide deeper insight into the reason behind the surprising lack of difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students found in the survey results and the differing friendship patterns between unity (close friendships divided by religion) and state (close friendships divided by ethnicity) school students as presented thus far.

⁴ For more information on methods, see Chapter III – Methods.

In some ways policy, curriculum, and school practices are in place to change the way ethno-religious groups think about each other and interact as well as the ways in which students relate to the nation. However, in many ways they fall short of influencing students in the way that is apparently intended as indicated by the National Policy on Education (“National Policy on Education,” 2014) which states:

- Nigeria’s philosophy of education is based on the following set of beliefs:
- a. Education is an instrument for national development and social change;
 - b. education is vital for the promotion of a progressive and united Nigeria;
 - c. education maximizes the creative potentials and skills of the individual for self-fulfillment and general development of society.... (p. 1)

In this section, I present findings related to curriculum and school practices that attempt to influence the way students relate to other ethno-religious groups and to the nation. These findings indicate that even the unity schools, designed with the purpose to unite, fall short of providing an education for “social change,” a “united Nigeria,” and the “development of society” (“National Policy on Education,” 2014, p. 1).

After taking a close look at civic, social studies, and religious studies curriculum⁵ and observing many hours of classes, it is clear that repetition, bulleted lists, and simple definitions dominate the teaching of topics that have the potential to open deep complex discussions that could challenge and reshape the status quo (see Mills, 2008). The lack of critical thinking that is needed to help students see their society from a critical perspective and more deeply analyze how to change it (Hahn, 1999; Torney-Purta, 2002) is also evident in both the interviews and observations. One example is the oversimplified presentation of cultures and ethnic groups with general assumptions made about ethnic

⁵ It is important to note that the same curriculum is used in both state and unity schools.

groups as shown in an excerpt from a JS1 social studies class observation in a unity school.

Teacher: Who can give us the meaning of culture?

Student: Culture is the (?) way of life of the people.

Student: Culture is the better way of life of the people.

Teacher: The better? Continue standing.

Teacher: It's wrong, what he said was wrong that's why I asked him to continue standing.

[Other students try answers.]

Student: The better way of life of a citizen.

Teacher: A people not a citizen. A citizen is one person.

[Teacher talks about dress and food as part of culture.]

Teacher: The type of food they eat is not the type of food that Ogibo's (or Igbo?) eat. ... The type of food they eat I cannot eat because it is disgusting to me [I'm not sure who she is talking about.]

Teacher: Who can tell me the attire of an Igbo man? The civic teacher walks in.

Teacher: You look like an Igbo people. Do you visit your village at all?

[She says this to a student who doesn't seem to know the answer to the extent she wants.]

Teacher: You cannot differentiate between a Fulani man and a Hausa man.

Teacher: Then when you see a Yoruba man, you will see... [they call it one thousand five hundred, you'll know that person is a Yoruba man]

Teacher: When you see ... you'll know that person is from Ibadan.

Teacher: If I'm talking about the West, comprises all Yorubas, whether [..., Ekutis, Lagos,] [She talks about how you know where people come from the West, the east, the north, based on dress and greeting.]

Teacher: [different cultures with their different way of doing things]

(School 3, Unity, JS1 Social Studies, Observation, April 17, 2018)

This is only one example of many in terms of how teachers and the curriculum encourage oversimplified discussions and assumptions (in this case made about ethnic groups). This illustrates the brushing over a topic that could be addressed in a more complex way to challenge negative societal perceptions, the complexity of ethnic groups, and intergroup relations. The oversimplification instead serves as a means to reproduce existing social relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This example is typical of the ways in which ethnic groups are presented both in the formal curriculum and the classroom.


In another example (shown in Figure 6 below) taken from a Civic Education textbook for the oldest (SS3) students, we see “Tolerance of divergent views” listed as one of the factors that can promote democracy; yet there is no discussion in this textbook, or in any of the many others that I analyzed, of what this actually means in practice. Instead this complex topic is placed in a simple list that will likely be a part of a test or assignment that only asks students to repeat this list—even for the oldest students. It was also common for me to see teachers copying from textbooks to gather class notes that they would then write on the board for students to copy—often with little class discussion.⁶

Another JS2 Social Studies textbook talks about the importance of performing duties saying, “Peace and orderliness in that society depends on the extent to which members carry out their duties.” This is followed by a list that states the benefits of performing duties with one of them being that “[i]t brings about peace, harmony, and understanding among the people of the community” (Anikpo, Mohammed, Ezegbe, Salau, & Okunamiri, 2009, p. 63).

⁶ Class discussion was always teacher-centered in the classes I observed.

FACTORS THAT CAN PROMOTE DEMOCRACY

1. **Willingness:** A successful operation of democracy depends on the people's willingness and desire.
2. **Open Society:** The activities of the government must not be hidden but open for the people to appreciate and criticize.
3. **Tolerance of divergent views:** There must be the willingness on the part of the people to tolerate one another's views and actions irrespective of political differences.
4. **Rule of law:** The government should be organized based on the provisions of the constitution and both the government and the people should show respect for the rule law.
5. **Efficient and effective leadership:** There must be in place a good leader, tested and acceptable leadership.
6. **Enlightenment:** For effective and popular participation, there is need for political awareness and political education for the electorates.
7. **Supremacy of the constitution:** The political leaders and the citizens must be ready to abide by the provision of the constitution.
8. **Opposition:** In the process of democracy to be successful, the government must be ready to tolerate different opposition groups in the system.
9. **Free and fair election:** The people should be free to exercise their franchise without being harrassed.



People queuing up to vote in an election

Figure 6: Page from Senior Secondary Civic Education Textbook. Reprinted from *Civic Education for Senior Secondary Schools Book 3*, Imeokparia Alice O., 2014, Samhis Investment and Consultancy Services Ltd, p. 33.

Beyond this list however, there is no deeper analysis or opportunity presented in the textbooks for students to examine historical examples or to think critically about peace, its challenges, the reasons behind these challenges, or their role in improving intergroup relations. Part of this oversimplification is due to the outright avoidance of conflict in the classroom—an avoidance that may only perpetuate continued conflict outside the school

by failing to address conflict that is already present within student relations (as presented in the first part of the qualitative findings). One unity school administrator discusses the avoidance of topics such as Boko Haram due to its political nature. In an interview, she said: “The Boko Haram, most times, we don’t discuss such issues because it’s political. We don’t like them discussing such issues?” (School 3, Unity, Administrator Interview, March 16, 2018).

Another state school Social Studies teacher also talks about teaching the bare minimum when it comes to Boko Haram because of the tense nature of the topic and her fear of retaliation by parents.

Jessica: Because these issues, they are not issues that, sometimes you are talking about these issues, and they are not happy, you don’t know who is not happy, because whatever they teach here, whatever they receive here, they are children, they take it back to their parents and we as teachers, we don’t know the reaction of the...me, we don’t know the reaction of the parents.

Interviewer: Hmm...

Jessica: Ehen, so we only talk about issues that has to do with the school, we don’t involve or extend our discussion more than what you are supposed to give them in the class.

(School 7, State, Social Studies Teacher Interview, February 14, 2018)

Generally the civic and social studies curriculum is designed to avoid conflict and does not provide opportunity for students to get off track from the lists and set definitions to explore themes that could possibly allow the conflict already present among them to seep into an open discussion. At no point did I see an opportunity for students to critically think and discuss the status quo of the country, yet this is an important way that the country can progress beyond intergroup conflict—through a deep addressing of the status quo of social relations, culture, and government practices. The students engage in discussions outside the classroom, as presented earlier in this qualitative analysis, yet

schools miss the opportunity to shape student discussion through the curriculum and in the classroom in a way that could more purposefully and positively direct discussion around the unavoidable intergroup conflict—that which is reflected in the school through student intergroup relations. This phenomenon of avoiding conflict amidst multicultural discussion has also been found present in Moland's (2015) study of Sesame Square in Nigeria. The difference here is that these secondary students are older and have the capacity to critically think at a level that could help them analyze and see beyond the conflict. Students are also able to actually interact with one another and get immediate corrective feedback from a teacher in the classroom (versus Sesame Square that is one sided via a television)—should the teacher have the preparation to facilitate a discussion that dives into conflictive material to bring students out above it. It appears, however, that teachers also are not prepared or supported in leading these difficult discussions. For example, in a Teacher's Guide for the New Senior Secondary School Civic Education Curriculum, it states under Examples of Perceived Difficult Concepts from SSII Curriculum:

Inter-community relation: Inter-community conflict has become a major challenge in Nigeria today. Teachers therefore need to learn new skills which might not have been previously important in conflict management such as dialogue, mediation, reconciliation and non-violent means of resolving conflicts. (Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC), 2014, p. 27)

While the need for learning new skills to discuss intergroup relations is recognized, the guide provides no resources for building these new skills nor does it provide suggestions for implementation in the classroom. In other words, teachers may not be prepared to handle these difficult and complex topics, and this is an issue that needs to be addressed at the national level so that all teachers receive the training and resources needed to

facilitate productive classroom discussion and assignments that would lead to the fulfillment of unity schools in achieving their purpose of positively shifting intergroup relations.

In looking at unity schools specifically—the original purpose of unity schools being to bring diverse students together and foster national unity—most teachers interviewed say that the unity schools are still fulfilling their original purpose, although based on all of the analysis presented in this chapter thus far we see that this is not fully the case. However, it does seem that unity schools, in comparison with state schools, may provide more of an opportunity to talk about ethnic groups in classrooms because of the greater diversity present among the student population, and intergroup contact generally is seen to be positive as long as certain conditions are in place (Allport, 1954; Kokkonen et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1998; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Zirkel, 2008). Merely having the diversity of students present, however, is only the first step. Teachers must also be equipped with the tools necessary to facilitate positive intergroup interactions and discussions as intergroup contact alone is not a guarantee for increasing tolerance (Irwin, 1991; Spivak et al., 2015). In my observations, it appears that more is said about different ethnic groups in unity schools, and this may be in part because many of the ethnic groups are all together. Importantly though, more being said is not enough to move students beyond existing social relations to social transformation, and the important critical lens that could push students to further engage and explore the complexity of intergroup relations is not incorporated by teachers or within the curriculum (McLaren, 1995; Mills, 2008; Paris, 2012). The existing curriculum, then, does not appear to be the catalyst for change among those who do change their views and intergroup relations. Discussions

within the classroom do not tease out what is presented in the curriculum and sometimes even solidify negative social relations and beliefs, thus perpetuating existing social relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Lack of critical understanding and examination only serves to perpetuate existing relations as shown in the following excerpt from an observation conducted in a JS1 Social Studies classroom at a unity school. In this example, the curriculum says that tribalism (or choosing people from one's own ethnic group) is bad. When the teacher asks if the students are going to continue with tribalism, the students simply say no, yet immediately after answering a simple uncritical question on the topic, the students exhibit tribalism and separation again.

Teacher: Tribalism is a social problem that we have. How is that our social problem?

Teacher: She said it is a social problem because people don't tolerate the different tribes. Do you tolerate the other tribes in this class?

Students: Yes

Teacher: (Are you sure?) Have you talked against another tribe? One student raises hand. [Teacher asks her tribe. She says Igbo. She says she said something about Yoruba (that they were different). Teacher asks if she will continue doing it. She says no. Teacher says that is because in Nigeria they are one. One student talks about how the Hausa and Igbo were arguing over which is best. Teacher asks if they do that in this class. Students said they did it in the dormitories.

Teacher: Oh Wow. I never knew that happened.

Teacher: So what is your conclusion?

[Some of the students start yelling "Igbo."]

(School 4, Unity, JS1 Social Studies Observation, May 8, 2018)

Kirkham (2016) discusses talk of multiculturalism at school noting that some schools are constructed to be tolerant environments where everyone gets along, even if this is not the case. He shows how students learn to negotiate the construction of this supposedly tolerant environment in the midst of existing prejudice and negative intergroup relations.

This also shows to be the case in unity schools, where students know what they are supposed to say to maintain the illusion of flawless unity, yet teachers and the curriculum do not move students to think critically enough to challenge negative intergroup attitudes and relations as this might shatter the illusion.

In the same class, the teacher does not correct or complicate what a student says about Boko Haram being made up by Hausas. This is an example of a missed opportunity to engage students in a discussion or class activity that could help them to understand the complexity of intergroup relations and to think critically about their role in shifting intergroup relations while still embracing their identities (Paris, 2012). Instead, the class ends with students having answered simple questions in a satisfactory way yet without shifting their deeper understanding of intergroup relations.

Teacher: A major security challenge we have in Nigeria is: a) examination malpractice, b) indecent dressing in schools c) insurgency in the northeast, d) increase in demand

[Students think it is examination malpractice.]

Teacher: Is examination malpractice a security problem we have in Nigeria? Students then guess d.

Teacher: It's c. Have you heard of Boko Haram? What do you know about Boko Haram?

[Students talk.]

Student: Boko Haram are Hausa men that kill people.

[Teacher smiles.]

Teacher: Yes you said they butcher them. Who butcher who?

[I hear some students saying Hausa. Chibok girls.]

Teacher: You saw it on the news that they were butchering Chibok girls.

Teacher: Okay thank you. Our time is up.

[After the class I talk to her about the conversation. She said she just wants to see what they know sometimes. She said she laughed when the student said it was Hausas who butcher the Chibok girls, and the teacher asked her where she learned that. She said from the news. The teacher said she had not heard it.]

(School 4, Unity, JS1 Social Studies, Observation, May 8, 2018)

A Hausa Muslim SS3 student in an all male unity school further expands on this phenomenon in the classroom. He talks about students referring to Hausas as Boko Haram in class and notes that the teacher only sometimes addresses the issue.

Khalid: Okay. About Boko Haram, those ones, people say that they are Hausas and they are Muslim but they are not. We don't, even us too, we don't because if that they were even Hausas and Muslims, they won't be killing us too but they are killing everyone randomly so when it comes, they will be saying it's Hausas and they will be telling us that Boko Haram..but we don't really care what they say

Interviewer: Who says that they are Hausas?

Khalid: People. People

Interviewer: People in the school?

Khalid: Everywhere, anywhere you go, if you ask now, they'll say you are Hausas

Interviewer: Yeah? So if somebody said, let's say like we are sitting in class right now, okay? And there are teachers here and they start talking about Boko Haram, will people look at Hausas or say something or?

Khalid: Yeah, they will start saying, "Yeah, *inaudible* it's the Hausas"

Interviewer: And what does the teacher do?

Khalid: They will say everybody should keep quiet and continue teaching

Interviewer: Does the teacher explain that it's not all Hausas?

Khalid: Sometimes they do, sometimes they don't

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Hausa Muslim, June 5, 2018)

Teachers and the curriculum largely avoid challenging the corruption and conflict in the country beyond surface level definitions and lists. I provide another example of this in the following observation excerpt from a JS2 Civic classroom in a unity school when a teacher dismisses accountability of those in power. This dismissal of accountability runs throughout Nigerian society and general expectations (Campbell, 2013), and here the teacher loses an opportunity to challenge the status quo and have students further question the norm (in this case of those in powerful positions embezzling money).

[Teacher hits one student on the back.

One student erases the board.]

Student in front of me asks question: [If Buhari were embezzling money would they arrest him or would they leave him?]

Teacher: They will not because he's the president of the country. He can do whatever he wants to do but not all.
[Teacher copies notes on the board.]

(School 3, Unity, JS2 Civic, Observation, February 15, 2018)

As we see in this example, the interest in challenging the status quo and the readiness to engage in critical thinking is ripe among the students. The curriculum, teachers, and schools simply need to be prepared to accommodate and to enable students to identify problems that have come to be seen as normal and bridge this awareness to ideas for change. Paris (2012) has created the idea of a Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy—one that encourages the simultaneous embracing and critiquing of identities. Students are able and ready to think critically about themselves and others with the proper guidance, and in this way, they can more deeply engage and understand the ethnic and religious identities of others and their relationship to them both in the context of history and present day conflict. However, to do this, administrators, teachers, staff, and education leaders, need to be ready to shift the concept of unity as a clear goal to be reached rather than an illusion that must be maintained (Kirkham, 2016). In only seeking to maintain the illusion of intergroup unity rather than recognizing it as a goal to be achieved over students time in the unity school, the incentive to delve critically into intergroup relations does not exist, and thus social relations are only reproduced within the illusion that mirrors the empty discourse of unity in Nigeria at large (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Teju Cole, the Nigerian author talks about this disconnection that is common among Nigerians and the avoidance of addressing details that could mend this disconnection in the following excerpt:

Nigeria's disconnection from reality is neatly exemplified in three claims to fame the country has recently received in the world media. Nigeria was declared

the most religious country in the world, Nigerians were found to be the world's happiest people, and in Transparency International's 2005 assessment, Nigeria was tied for third from the bottom out of the 159 countries surveyed in the corruption perceptions index. Religion, corruption, happiness. Why, if so religious, so little concern for the ethical life or human rights? Why, if so happy, such weariness and stifled suffering? The late Fela Kuti's prophetic song "Shuffering and Shmiling" still speaks to the situation. This champion of the people was also the fiercest critic of the people. He spoke fearlessly to our absurdities. "Shuffering and Shmiling" was about how, in Nigeria, there is tremendous cultural pressure to claim that one is happy, even when one is not. *Especially* when one is not. Unhappy people, such as grieving mothers at a protest march, are swept aside. It is wrong to be unhappy. But it is not necessary to get bogged down in details when all we need is the general idea. (Cole, 2015, p. 122)

This avoidance of details and critical thinking continues within the very institutions—schools—that could potentially challenge the status quo and serve to address contradictions and conflict within Nigeria. In the classrooms and curriculum, I find lost opportunity—lost opportunity to explore, complicate, and change.

Beyond the curriculum and classroom, several school practices are in place in an attempt to influence social relations, tolerance, and student identity with the nation. These include practices such as singing both Muslim and Christian songs during assemblies, strategically seating students next to different ethnic groups in the classroom, and the inclusion of both Christian and Muslim prayers at school events. However, not all of these practices integrate students as intended (see Bekerman, 2009; Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 2006). For example, one SS3 Yoruba Muslim student talks about her experience of engaging in ways that she does not feel comfortable during assemblies with both Muslim and Christian prayers.

Interviewer: You're almost done. You're almost there. Have you ever felt discriminated against at this school?

Fatima: Yes. Sometimes, because the Christians are more populated in the school than the Muslims so sometimes they tend to favour the Christians more

for....Sometimes I feel it's discrimination but like personal discrimination like against only me I don't think so.

Interviewer: But what do you mean they favour Christians more?

Fatima: Like, sometimes, we are supposed to pray together like, maybe during some assemblies, during the house assembly; the Christians are supposed to pray and the Muslims are supposed to pray too. Like, all of us would be there. But maybe one....like a representative of the Muslims would pray first then, then the Christian too will pray after all or the Christian first then the Muslim. Then, sometimes the Christians would just say let's pray and they'll expect....because my religion does not allow us to close our eyes when we pray, we don't close our eyes when we pray. So telling me to close your eyes, I'll be like it's not part of my religion. Even if....when the Christians are praying I like to say Amen but I don't like closing my eyes.

Interviewer: They'll tell you, you need to close your eyes, so do you close your eyes or do you just sit back?

Fatima: I just have to.

Interviewer: You close your eyes?

Fatima: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. What will happen if you don't close your eyes?

Fatima: When I was in JS1 I do close my eyes but now I'll be like it's not part of my religion, so sorry, but if you're praying we'll say Amen.

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Yoruba Muslim, November 2, 2017)

Other school practices also result in discrimination and intergroup separation in some cases. The prefect system (school leaders in charge of certain tasks and punishment) and school mothers and fathers (senior students who choose junior students as their school daughters and sons and who are in charge of protecting and guiding them) are two of these school practices. Although both of these school practices have the potential to, and in some cases do, serve as a means of intergroup integration, in other situations they serve as a means of separation. Situations of separation include prefects of a particular ethnic group giving preference to students of their same ethnic group or school mothers/fathers who are more popular among the SS3's also boosting the popularity of certain ethnic groups among the junior students who are their school sons/daughters.

Efforts should be made to adjust these school practices so that they serve to increase intergroup integration.

Another set of school practices that deserve closer attention includes the separation of religious classes, language classes, and places of religious worship. Technically, students are allowed to take language classes outside the language of their ethnic group, but in practice, students take the language (Hausa, Igbo, or Yoruba) that is most closely related to their ethnic group. This means that beyond the already persistent separation of religious groups during Christian and Islamic religious studies and during religious worship (more of an issue in unity schools where students practice their religion almost entirely on campus as a part of the boarding school experience), students also have times in the week when they separate by ethnic group for language classes. In some language classes, I even observed students pointing out to the teacher a student that did not belong in the class—someone who they could identify based on appearance as belonging in a language class for another ethnic group.⁷ In some unity schools, students also discussed tensions around religious places such as in the following piece of an end of year interview with a group of JS1 students in a unity school.

Emeka (Igbo Christian): The first thing I noticed about this schools that the school has a Mosque but it doesn't have a church

Interviewer: It doesn't have a church?

Emeka (Igbo Christian): Yes ma

Tobi (Yoruba Christian): That uncompleted building they wanted to use it as a church, we now do our religious practice inside the dining hall where we are supposed to be eating

Interviewer: So the Christians pray here while the Muslims have a Mosque

Chidi (Igbo Christian): Yes and the Catholics don't do their fellowship under a roof, they do it outside

Interviewer: Do students argue about that?

⁷ In some cases, students and teachers discussed being able to distinguish between ethnic groups based on appearance, names, and/or previous knowledge of the person's ethnic group.

Chidi (Igbo Christian): They argue that Muslims are better than Christians, Catholics are better than Protestants

(School 3, Unity, Group Student Interview, JS1 All Male, May 6, 2018)

Religious and language time do not need to be an inevitable point of separation (Paris, 2011). Students are interested in learning from one another as demonstrated in the following excerpt from an end of year interview with a group of JS1 students at a mixed sex unity school. Students talk about how religious time does separate them but how they do learn even just from observing one another.

Interviewer: Is there anytime in the school day where people spend more time within their group?

Princess: During prayers

Interviewer: Those of you who are Christians have you learnt anything about the Muslims and those of you who are Muslims have you learnt anything about the Christians?

Interviewer: Those of you who said you've learnt, how?

Princess: By observing them

Wale: By praying

(School 2, Unity, Group Student Interview, JS1 Mixed, May 15, 2018)

The school should more readily facilitate these points of learning. The separation of students by language (ethnic group) and religion is a lost opportunity for students to learn about, to learn from, and to teach one another (Paris, 2011, 2012). One unity school head student talks about the need to do away with separate religious classes and instead put them together and teach them to appreciate one another's religions.

Interviewer: Yea. So if you were going to start a unity school somewhere new outside of Nigeria maybe but in a place that has as much diversity, religious diversity and ethnic diversity what will you do at this school to make sure the students come together.

Head Student: First, I will remove religion as a subject because we do I.R.S and C.R.S as subjects, because I don't know why you will bring students to school and you will be teaching them Christian Religious Knowledge and Islamic Religious Knowledge because they have Church, they have Mosque and they have their

parents. If you bring them to school and you are like it's time for I.R.S, it's time for C.R.S, Muslim students for I.R.S, Christian students for C.R.S. You are still making them know that they are separated, If I was to teach religion I will teach maybe something like cooperative religion like teach things they should admire about other people's religion like the similarities. I told some Christians that you are not a Muslim if you don't believe in Jesus and they had no idea. Muslims believe in all the prophets of Allah and Muslims believe in Jesus that is Prophet Isa and if you don't believe in all the prophets of Allah then you are not a Muslim, Muslims believe in Jesus. I told them that and they were surprised, you don't learn that if you are offering C.R.S, if you are offering I.R.S if you want to really bring a country like ours together you have to put them together in the same class like ok this is want this is all about don't think they are evil. I would keep the whole activities like the traditions like the band, the March past, the calisthenics, the dormitories, the houses I will keep them.

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

She says “if you want to really bring a country like ours together, you have to put them together in the same class.” I think she is onto an important concept, and more research should be conducted on how to combine linguistic and religious time in a positive way that allows students to learn from each other, teach each other, and have fewer points of separation in a structured environment with adults well-trained to facilitate interactions (Banks et al., 2001). This should in no way detract from students having the time they need to practice their religion in a fulfilling way (particularly in a boarding school situation).

In the following section, I tie these valuable qualitative findings to the surprising survey and social network analysis findings to discuss and clarify the link among school practices and curriculum, student tolerance levels, and friendship networks.

Discussion

This discussion section combines survey, social network analysis, and qualitative findings to provide a larger picture and opportunity to understand the *how* and *why* behind the unexpected lack of difference in tolerance levels between state and unity school students, as shown in the survey results. The survey findings confirm that attending a school more purposefully designed to attract a diverse student population does not necessarily lead to higher tolerance levels toward other groups—in contrast with the intergroup contact hypothesis (Burns, 2012; Ellison & Powers, 1994; Jugert et al., 2017; Knifsend et al., 2017; McKenna et al., 2018; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Williams Jr, 1947) and despite the stated purpose of unity schools to increase intergroup tolerance and understanding as discussed in Chapter 1. Why is it that even amidst a highly diverse student population and stated goals of unity schools to increase intergroup cooperation, that tolerance is the same as less diverse schools without that same focus (i.e., state schools)? The friendship networks and school practices lend insight into this lack of difference in tolerance amidst greater diversity.

While the unity schools do not appear to forge a difference in the way students think about other groups when asked explicitly about intergroup interactions in a survey (i.e., tolerance as measured in the survey), they do appear to influence the way students form friendships with one another. The social network results allow us to delve more deeply into the differences in friendship patterns between unity and state schools, and this helps to provide valuable nuance to the lack of difference in tolerance levels as expressed in the survey between unity and state school students. Ethnicity and state of origin appear to be important markers of choosing friends in state schools whereas religion seems to be

a more important marker for unity schools. This means that in state schools, students are more likely to have close friends of the same ethnic group while in unity schools students tend to choose close friends who share their same religion. Ethnicity is less of an assortative factor at unity schools meaning that students at unity schools do not choose close friends based on ethnicity as often as at state schools. This could be because of the dormitories where students live and interact together thus having more time to form other sources of identification and bonding beyond ethnicity (Davies et al., 2011).⁸ It could also be due to the emphasis of unity schools on integrating different groups—primarily defined in terms of ethnicity. Unity schools are designed to integrate students, and this integration tends to focus on ethnicity whereas religion tends to be more of a separating factor in unity schools—even in terms of school design as shown in the qualitative findings. Unity schools, thus, show a leaning toward encouraging friendship integration based on ethnicity. While unity schools appear to encourage interethnic friendships, the social network analysis shows that they seem to discourage close interreligious friendships—particularly among JS1 students—with students in unity schools choosing close friends of their same religion more often than students in state schools. To create schools that interrupt unhealthy social patterns, it is imperative to deeply understand the specific factors that influence the unhealthy social patterns in order to transform the way students interact during their time in school and beyond (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mills, 2008). The qualitative findings highlight the school practices and aspects that influence this intriguing pattern.

⁸ Many students seemed to be aware of other students' and teachers' ethnic and religious groups. This seemed to be partly based on appearance (particularly for ethnic group) and partly based on these both being salient identities of which students and teachers (as well as most Nigerians inside and outside the school) were aware.

The distinct friendship patterns between state and unity schools indicate variations in school practices in influencing the way students self-categorize, or see themselves in relation to other groups—ethnic, religious, and national. We know that ethnic, religious, and national identities are interrelated (Rodriguez et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2008); thus, the way students see themselves in relation to other ethnic and religious groups influences how they see themselves within larger overarching groups such as within the nation (assuming the nation includes ethnic and religious groups as sub-groups within it as a larger umbrella group) (Turner et al., 1987). Unity schools may also strengthen an overarching category—such as being a part of a nation or school community—that includes different ethnic groups as important sub-groups to that larger category. Namely, diverse ethnic groups may become important to the larger connecting category—the school or the nation—whereas religion may not be an important sub-group to this larger connecting category. This means that students—who are in the prime of their identity formation (Erikson, 1968; Irwin, 1991)—may not change their identities in ways that would elicit more religiously diverse close friendships. When we look at the qualitative findings, we see that Muslims and Christians are actively separated at different points within the school. This may seem natural to students, teachers, and staff as it mirrors existing social relations outside the school and thus continues to reproduce them inside the school (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). It is thus important to bring awareness to and explore how this social pattern of religious separation can be interrupted within the school leading to social transformation of intergroup relations outside the school (Mills, 2008). We see that unity schools indicate more distinct categorizations between Muslims and Christians and more fluid categorizations among ethnic groups, and the reason

behind this becomes clear in the qualitative findings looking at school practices and curriculum.

This leads us to the way these friendship patterns help us to better understand the survey finding that there is no difference in tolerance levels between state and unity school students. The friendship networks show us that students in both school types show patterns of division although based on different aspects—with state school students separated by ethnicity and unity school students segregated more often by religion. Ethnicity and religion are both important to the overall tolerance measure; thus unity and state school students may have shown more tolerance on religion and ethnicity respectively, but because the tolerance index included both ethnic and religious aspects, this could have influenced unity and state school students showing similar tolerance levels overall. This may partly explain the surprising lack of difference between state and unity schools on the tolerance measure. This indicates that for unity schools to achieve their stated purpose, it is important to understand this religious division and school practices in unity schools that influence tolerance and intergroup relations.

The qualitative findings demonstrate the way curriculum and school practices attempt to interrupt the negative reflection of society in schools by changing social relations and the way that students relate to the nation. However, neither the curriculum nor the teachers delve deeply enough or encourage critical thinking that is necessary to teach students to challenge and then move forward in thinking about changing the status quo (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995). This only serves to maintain the illusion of unity pushed in both unity schools and the nation (Kirkham, 2016), making the unity schools an institution that serves to perpetuate existing social relations in terms of

curriculum and some of the school practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Generally the curriculum and classroom discussions demonstrate a disconnect to the realities of Nigerian life by avoiding conflict and brushing over the negative aspects, and in doing this, there is lost opportunity to change the status quo and promote social transformation (see Mills, 2008). Recognizing and discussing points of discrimination has been shown to improve intergroup attitudes (Bagci, Çelebi, & Karaköse, 2017), but avoiding conflict only serves to reproduce what already exists (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). While I do find evidence of school practices attempting to integrate students, many of them do not have the fully integrating effect as intended—with some negative experiences attached to them by some students in certain cases (see Bekerman, 2009; Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 2006). Particularly, the separation of religious classes, religious spaces, and language classes presents a barrier between ethnic and religious groups that should be redesigned to facilitate students learning from, learning with, and teaching one another in a structured environment facilitated by well-trained teachers (Banks et al., 2001). While curriculum and school practices are important to influencing social relations and should be carefully considered, both for their potential to positively change or to worsen social relations, those in unity schools are ridden with lost opportunities for critical engagement and unintended points of separation among groups of students.

In support of the social network findings—showing state school students as having close friendships more often separated by ethnicity and unity school students having friendships that are more separated across religious lines—these qualitative findings show that while unity schools have more opportunity for interethnic integration in comparison with state schools, they do show more opportunity for religious division.

This religious division is facilitated by the separation of religious spaces and religious events that occur during the more intimate “living together” of a unity school boarding set-up. This should be addressed by thinking about how to further integrate the lives of Muslim and Christian students in spaces that would allow them to learn from, learn with, and teach one another while still allocating the time and space to practice their religion as desired. The separation of students in religious classes should also be redesigned as a way for students to learn from one another and to learn about each other’s religion in a structured setting with well-trained facilitators or teachers (Banks et al., 2001). There seems to be a fear of students converting to the other religion, and perhaps this is the reason for such clear religious separation in unity schools. Nevertheless, school practices of religious separation in schools should not function on fear, but should be redesigned to create a new mode of interreligious interaction that encourages peace, understanding, and respect. This in turn could facilitate the higher tolerance levels that would better align unity school student outcomes with the stated goals of unity schools and move unity schools beyond social reproduction of existing intergroup relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) to social transformation (Mills, 2008).

Conclusion

The JS1 students peel themselves out of their seats where they have completed a nearly four-hour orientation with adults talking to them about life in the school. Even in the orientation, students only heard a brief statement at the very end on diverse groups that they will encounter in the school (School 2, JS1 Orientation Observation, October 18, 2017). Will these students leave the school six years from now with a transformed

view of other groups? Will unity schools achieve their stated purpose? Or is this minute insertion of intergroup relations in the orientation a foreshadowing for the way intergroup relations will be addressed through structured school practices and the classroom?

The survey results presented in this chapter show that in terms of intergroup tolerance, unity and state school students show no difference. To more deeply understand these results, I used social network analysis to explore friendship networks and found that while tolerance levels are no different between unity and state school students, friendship patterns vary between the two schools. Unity school students tend to divide close friendships along religious lines while state school students do so along ethnic lines. These variant friendship patterns may explain the lack of difference in tolerance levels shown by the survey results, and they lend insight into varying practices within unity and state schools. When I explored school practices and curriculum that may account for these varying patterns, I found that, in comparison with state schools, unity schools have more opportunity for interethnic integration. However, they also show more opportunity for religious division through the separation of religious spaces and religious events that occur during the longer-term living situation of the boarding school design. I suggest that the lives of Muslim and Christian students should be strategically integrated in spaces that would allow them to learn from, learn with, and teach one another. This should be done in a structured setting with well-trained facilitators, and they should still have the time and space to practice their religion as desired (Banks et al., 2001). The qualitative findings also show that neither the curriculum nor the teachers delve deeply enough or encourage critical thinking that is necessary to teach students to challenge and then move forward in thinking about changing the status quo (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren,

1995). I argue that this maintains the mirage of unity within the schools that is also supported by national discourse (Kirkham, 2016). By maintaining this illusion without a deeper analysis of its construction, unity schools serve as an institution that perpetuates existing social relations in terms of curriculum and school practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). As we will see in Chapter 6, however, unity schools *do* provide a special opportunity for students to shift perceptions of other groups, but this could have a much stronger influence on students with corresponding effective school practices and curriculum.

Chapter V

FRIENDSHIPS AND DISCRIMINATION

I sit in my usual spot in the back of the classroom next to an open window looking out on a well-cared for field provided for students to learn about agriculture. The front of the room has a white board with three large cracks in it, but this never inhibits teachers from filling the board with notes. The teacher discusses ways to promote national unity, and when she arrives at the topic of marriage between groups, she has a student stand up and says the student is from an Igbo tribe. The student affirms this, and the teacher continues by asking if the student's dad would let her marry a Hausa man. The student answers negatively, and the teacher asks, "What if the Hausa man really loves you?" Meanwhile, the other students in the class laugh. The teacher then has both a Hausa student boy stand up along with another girl as she creates a story of them falling in love after university. She states matter-of-factly that Hausa men are afraid of their mothers and asks the Hausa student what he will tell his mother if he wants to marry someone from a different tribe. The teacher then has a Yoruba boy stand up while pointing out another Yoruba girl student. The teacher then looks outside the classroom and playfully asks an adult walking by if she would allow her child to marry a Hausa man. I cannot hear the response, but the teacher and students laugh (School 7, State, JS1 Civic, Observation, May 31, 2018).

While these observation notes come from a state school, this situation would also be a normal and accepted occurrence in a unity school classroom. As this excerpt shows, ethno-religious relations are complex with humor serving as an outlet for a topic that has induced conflict both in the past and present in Nigeria (Douglass, Mirpuri, English, & Yip, 2016; Mayo, 2010; Obadare, 2009). Schools can serve as a meeting point for diverse interactions, and teachers and staff through both through formal and informal interactions help to shape intergroup relations either positively or negatively (see Bush, Saltarelli, & others, 2000). In this space, social relations can either be reproduced (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) or transformed (Mills, 2008). In the previous chapter, I explored tolerance levels among unity and state school students and how the lack of difference relates to friendship patterns, school practices, and curriculum. In this chapter, we explore friendships and intergroup relations more closely.

We have seen that overall students in state schools tend to choose close friendships of the same ethnic group while those in unity schools are more likely to form close friendships along religious lines. This chapter will look more closely at the way students from different ethnic and religious groups interact. Are certain ethnic and religious groups experiencing greater separation and discrimination than others? How is this separation and discrimination expressed among students, teachers, and staff in the school?

In the interviews, participants presented various aspects of ethnic and religious relations that permeate school life. These included jokes, relationships among students, discrimination, and thoughts on marriage. I will organize the discussion around these themes—all of which illuminate ethnic and religious relations in the school and their

connection with Nigerian society. Interspersed in this discussion, I include examples from the social network analysis of classroom networks that illustrate what is said in the interviews.

Jokes

Jokes and humor are important means of expression among adolescents, and Nigerians more generally, and serve as a way to both critique the state and to manage the rigor and complexity of daily life (Douglass et al., 2016; Obadare, 2009). With schools as a mirror of larger society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), it is unsurprising that this also holds true within the schools. In the interviews, students consistently refer to “jokes” touching on intergroup issues. While some jokes appear to be more playful, others have more discriminatory undertones. Meyer (2000) talks about humor as having both a unifying and dividing role in different circumstances and thus serving as a way to maintain social boundaries (see also Burma, 1946). The complexity of this seemingly simple word became evident as I explored further with students, teachers, and administrators.

Students discussed jokes as normal in both unity and state schools. As one example of this, JS1 students discuss ethnic jokes in an end of year group interview at one all male unity school. After an Igbo student in the interview describes an instance where a disagreement about the way the Igbo and Yoruba dress caused a fight between himself and a Yoruba student (not present in the interview), another Yoruba and Igbo student respond by discussing jokes about Yoruba and Igbo people.

Amaka (Igbo Student): They were insulting Igbo

Jimoh (Yoruba Student): Ma don't mind them Igbo people like money, they will say Yoruba people are gossips and they are also gossips

Hausa Student: Igbo too they like money

Amaka (Igbo Student): We are hardworking that's why we like money

Mobo (Yoruba Student): Some Igbo people are stingy

Iben (Igbo Student): There is even a joke like they like insulting Igbos. There is one; a thief caught a Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba man, they now said pick something you can swallow, the Yoruba man picked an apple, the Hausa man picked udala and they did not say what the Igbo man picked. So the Yoruba man swallowed the apple and died, the Hausa man laughed then choked and died as he wanted to swallow the cherry, they now said the Yoruba man asked the Hausa man why did you laugh, the Hausa man said it is because the Igbo man carried watermelon

Interviewer: So those are some of the jokes that people say. Do people laugh or get angry?

Amaka (Igbo Student): Some laugh, some get angry

(School 3, Unity, Group Student Interview, JS1 All Male, May 16, 2018)

They recognize that students receive jokes in different ways—both with laughter and anger. The following excerpt shows a female JS1 state school student of the Kanakuru ethnic group—typically from the northeast states of Borno and Adamawa (Maduawuchi, 2017)—who discusses some of the ethnic jokes students make. She specifically refers to jokes about the Yoruba and Hausa as she recognizes that she does not make jokes about the Igbo.

Interviewer: So what are some things you make fun of?

Constance: That Yorubas are too dirty, that they don't like protecting themselves, even the Igbos sef-they like. Nothing bad about the Igbos but I make fun of the Yorubas

Interviewer: Hmm so nothing bad about Igbos, do people ever say anything about Hausas?

Constance: Yes

Interviewer: What do they say?

Constance: They say omo Hausa ['Hausa children' in Yoruba] this one is doing another different thing, that we don't have sense-we don't have brains. That we're stupid-this and that, that is what some of them say

(School 8, State, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Female Kanakuru Christian, May 3, 2018)

The jokes in both unity and state schools are similar and remained a common theme among many of the students within both types of schools.

However, jokes are not only common among students but also appear to be normal among teachers and staff. In fact, one head student¹ in a unity school talks about how jokes are actually more common among teachers and staff than among students.

Head Student: Still, there are still sometimes like you know if you are brought up with something there are still sometimes it goes back to that like not really among students but among teachers like I was in the Principal's office one time, a man came in and he was keeping his beards and the Principal's secretary, she just said see how this one looks like Boko Haram and everybody was laughing and I was just looking like it's not funny and they were laughing. How do you find that funny? It is not funny, it's really not funny. It happens like that, if someone's Mother comes there are Muslim women that cover their faces and everywhere, and they are like "all these Boko Haram people" or they are like "See how this one is looking like she is going to kidnap me or she wants to rob me" that kind of thing. When you hear those kind of comments they are more from the bigger people, it is really rare among students.

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

This joke is especially important in its representation of the larger conflict between Muslims and Christians and against Boko Haram. With its discriminatory tone, this example also provides an example of the way jokes can both express and maintain existing social relations (Meyer, 2000; Rowe, 1990), and their overwhelming presence in the school among students and adults points to one of the ways in which schools allow for the reproduction of existing social relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This may even be exacerbated by the diversity present, particularly within unity schools, combined

¹ Head student is the highest student position in secondary schools that is held by an SS3 student and generally requires demonstration of leadership and good performance throughout secondary school.

with the lack of regulation around aspects such as discriminatory jokes, which creates a less than optimal intergroup contact situation (Allport, 1954; Kokkonen et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1998; Spivak et al., 2015; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Zirkel, 2008).²

Another Hausa Muslim SS3 student in an all male unity school talks about how teachers make jokes about ethnic groups, but he says that the students just ignore them to avoid conflict. He says that students also make jokes but in a “playing way.”

Moazs: Okay. Let's start with my ethnic group. Like where I came from now, I'm Hausa, so, where came from, from Kano state, my ethnic group, it's a nice tribe but other people, how they think about it, it's not nice, like when they will be saying they are the ones bringing about that...it's not fair and most of them, it's not only us, so when we hear that, we feel sad but we jus don't have anything to say about it so...

....

Interviewer: So with your ethnic group, when they call you like beggars or say "Hausas are beggars," you told me that it was your civics teacher?

Moazs: Sometimes, yeah sometimes.

Interviewer: Sometimes, are there other students that say that or?

Moazs: Yeah, definitely, since the teachers say it the more, they will surely make fun of it but we just..as in, we just fashi it. We'll just, we'll not take it that serious with them. **Interviewer:** So nobody says anything when they say that?

Moazs: Yeah. We, you don't want to start conflict or quarrelling so we just do as if we are not even hearing them.

....

Interviewer: But the students never say that?

Moazs: Yeah, they don't

Interviewer: They don't say it?

Moazs: Yeah, the students do actually, we do say it but, in a funny way, as in a playing way.

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Hausa Muslim, June 5, 2018)

The teachers, even in unity schools, reflect negative social relations through stereotypes and jokes only contributing to the social reproduction of intergroup relations that unity schools were founded to change (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

² See Chapter II – Literature Review for more on the intergroup contact hypothesis.

Many of these jokes may appear hurtful, but the students commonly discussed how the “jokes” are “normal” and “funny,” as demonstrated in the examples below. The first example comes from a JS1 male Yoruba student in a mixed sex unity school where he talks about how the jokes are not hurtful.

Ambrose: Even though they do so, the tribe, the person that has that tribe will just be laughing. It cannot pain someone.

Interviewer: Okay, so it’s like a joke?

Ambrose: Yeah.

Interviewer: Nobody gets hurt?

Ambrose: Yes.

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Male Yoruba Christian, May 15, 2018)

In the next example, an SS3 male Igbo student in a mixed sex unity school talks about how these jokes are “normal.”

Interviewer: Oh okay. Do they ever say anything negative about the different groups?

Joseph: Mmm because of the way people– well, the Igbos, they sometimes say– emm– we like money so sometimes say that we kill for money...

Interviewer: Mmm

Joseph: ...then the Hausa line, they say they’re foolish because sometimes they don’t know how to do business and some marketings so it’s just like, a general thing. They insult each other but it’s just often fun

Interviewer: And who insults each other?

Joseph: We just insult ourselves but we just play with it. Like normal joke

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Igbo Christian, October 19, 2017)

Despite the fact that many students discuss these jokes about ethnic groups as normal and playful, they maintain the structure of existing social relations and intergroup understanding (Meyer, 2000; Rowe, 1990). In fact, as already alluded to in these examples, jokes touch on serious themes but use humor to make them palatable for discussion and may serve as a mode of social processing in the face of diversity (Mayo,

2010)—a diversity that is both historically and presently ridden with discord. In one example below, a male SS3 Yoruba student at an all male unity school talks about how students use humor to discuss the Biafran conflict. The situation he discusses feels at first to be uncomfortably exclusive until the end of the excerpt where he introduces a lens of humor.

Dami: But the President has consoled them and talked to them..Biafra has stopped

Interviewer: Okay. And so do the students here ever talk about it? Like do the Igbos and the Hausas ever say anything to each other about it?

Dami: Yes

Interviewer: What do they say?

Dami: They're saying that the Igbos should leave, and that the Hausas too should also leave their states

Interviewer: But they talk about it here at the school?

Dami: Yes

Interviewer: Yeah? Can-like, when was the last time you heard somebody talk about it?

Dami: On Saturday

Interviewer: Saturday?

Dami: Last week Saturday

Interviewer: What did they say? They said- Where-where was the conversation and what did they say?

Dami: The conversation was in the hostel

Interviewer: In the hostel

Dami: They were talking about the Hausas, that the Hausas-they are disgrace to Nigeria, that most of them are Boko Haram. Most of them are other things. And the Hausas they are saying they are not Boko Haram. That let the Igbos leave their land. Other things like that

Interviewer: Mmm. And what did you say?

Dami: I didn't say anything

Interviewer: You kept quiet. Okay. Was there-was it like, what was the environment. Was it like funny? Was it like very serious?

Dami: It was funny

Interviewer: It was funny?

Dami: Yeah

Interviewer: Did the Hausas think it was funny?

Dami: Yes, they think it was funny

Interviewer: And the Igbo?

Dami: Yes

Interviewer: They thought it was funny?

Dami: Yes

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Yoruba Muslim, October 12, 2017)

This dance between serious conflict and humor was not only present in the schools but also in interactions that I observed outside the school. It appears to be a way for Nigerians to interact with one another without completely ignoring the conflict trickling among them.

Nevertheless, these jokes do not always facilitate intergroup interactions; they also spill over the humor barrier into physical violence. In the following example, an SS3 student in an all female unity school gives an example of a joke that escalates to a physical altercation in the hostel but that is quickly dissipated by observers.

Interviewer: Does anybody ever get angry about the jokes?

Priscilla: Sometimes when they're too harsh

Interviewer: Can you give an example of one that was too harsh. One that you've heard before

Priscilla: They were talking in Danfodio about how Yoruba women prepare amala, that it's unhygienic. So a Yoruba person said "how would you say that our food is unhygienic, at least you eat the food so why would you call it unhygienic." A fight now started

Interviewer: They actually started physically fighting?

Priscilla: It was escalating to physicality but they separated them and calmed them down. Then they apologized to each other

Interviewer: Was that this year?

Priscilla: Yes I think it was this year

Interviewer: And where were they talking about this?

Priscilla: In the hostel

Interviewer: And was it at night time?

Priscilla: Yes

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Christian,³ April 25, 2018)

Interestingly, religion—a phenomenon that pervades everyday life throughout Nigeria whether in the political, economic, or communal realm (Kitause & Achunike,

³ I have not disclosed her ethnicity for reasons of confidentiality.

2013; Lewis & Bratton, 2000)—appears to be more off limits as a topic for jokes at both state and unity schools. This could be due to a deeper divide along religious lines and/or the interpretation of religious differences as causing conflict. In contrast with ethnicity, this may make religion too raw or contentious for regular inclusion in jokes. In one state school end of year interview, SS3 students discuss religion as a topic that is off limits for joking due to a sensitivity that would lead to fights.

Interviewer: Is there anything that has happened over the year that you guys want to tell me? What about religion does anybody joke about that?

All: No

Interviewer: Why don't people joke about religion?

Ajayi (Yoruba Muslim Student): Because if we start now, it will blow out of proportion and lead to fights

(School 8, State, Group Student Interview, SS3 Mixed, April 30, 2018)

In another interview, a unity school civic teacher talks about the religious divide in Nigeria as stronger than the ethnic divide. She talks about religion being used as a tool to create separation, conflict, and distrust. She also refers to people's fear of conversion to the other religion.

Shanyido: ...When you hear religious crisis, by the time you fully investigate, you find out that it's not truly religious crisis as it is and then sometimes, it's actually religious crisis because of lack of trust.

Interviewer: Hmm...what do you mean by that?

Shanyido: Lack of trust, a Muslim does not trust a Christian, a Christian does not trust a Muslim because the Christian will think, "Okay, it's because he's trying to get me to practice his religion and then the Muslim will think, "Okay, it's because er, this one is trying to get me, maybe so that I will abandon my Islamic faith and then start practicing Christianity and so we don't, a lot of Nigerians actually have trust issues when it comes to religious aspect.

Interviewer: Hmmm...

Shanyido: And that brings about the bias and affects our policies and government. When a Muslim is in government, majority of Muslims will want to

align with him, when a Christian is there, all the Christians, regardless of your ethnic group.

Interviewer: Hmm...religion is like a stronger bond than ethnic group?

Shanyido: It is! The ethnic groups is bonding, yes but the religion is being used as a tool to create misunderstanding among the ethnic groups.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

With religion as such a pervasive and important aspect of life among most Nigerians (at least in the public sphere), it may also be considered too sacred for jokes. For example, at an all male unity school group interview with JS1 students at the end of the year, the students refer to the mortal consequences of joking about religion.

Interviewer: What about religion does any one of ever joke about religion?

Ganiru (Igbo Christian Student): Nobody can joke about religion because you don't know if God can take your life

Interviewer: Does everyone agree?

All: Yes ma

(School 3, Unity, Group Student Interview, JS1 All Male, May 16, 2018)

While religion appears to be off limits in most cases, it is not completely off the table for jokes—albeit jokes that have a more overt tone of derision—as exemplified by the following JS1 group state school interview below.

Tayo: Yes like [Benedict] abuses the Muslims

Interviewer: What does he say?

Tayo: He said they are proud, he says what's the meaning of what they shout and they hit their head on the floor

Interviewer: Do teachers ever hear him say that?

Chinedum: They tell him to stop, they beat him too.

Interviewer: So Christian teacher will beat him?

All: Yes

Interviewer: And Muslim teacher too

All: Yes

Interviewer: Does anybody ever make fun of Christians?

All: No

Interviewer: Just Muslims?

All: Yes

(School 8, State, Group Student Interview, JS1 Mixed, May 3, 2018)

While I did not find any evidence of jokes made about Christians, this was the only explicit example of jokes made against Muslims. It may be, then, that religion is not used in jokes because it is instead used more often for explicit violence and discrimination against other students as will be discussed later in this chapter.

While some of the teachers mention students joking about ethnic groups, the principals seem to be removed from these interactions with the students. This implies a lack of disciplinary actions related to jokes about ethnic and religious groups; major or repeated disciplinary actions would likely have come to the awareness of principals. With teachers, administrators, and staff highly focused on disciplining uniforms and student note-taking as compared with ethnic/religious jokes, it may also be that ethnic/religious jokes are not seen as something to discipline seriously. They may also blend in with what is normal for Nigeria making them seem less obtrusive than they are to the goals of uniting ethno-religious groups. In other words, ethnic and religious jokes are disguised within the habitus of Nigerian society, and while unrecognized for their divisive powers and left unaddressed, they serve as a source of social reproduction for existing intergroup relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).⁴

Relationships Among Students

In many cases, students talk about having ethnically and religiously diverse friendships and positive intergroup interactions. However, as evidenced by the social

⁴ See the conceptual framework in Chapter I for more on habitus and social reproduction.

network findings in the previous chapter, this is not always the case with state school students choosing close friendships more often with those of the same ethnic group and unity school students having close friends along religious lines. Several students discuss separation by religion particularly in unity schools. For example, one SS3 student at an all male unity school talks about having more friends from his own religion (Islam) because they do more things together throughout the day like going to pray. He does say that he also has Christian friends, but later in the interview he says that Christian students also have more Christian friends. This corroborates the findings from the first chapter showing the separate religious spaces and practices in unity schools as influencing students to choose close friends of the same religion.

Bizo (Hausa Muslim Student): My friends, most of them actually knows *inaudible* i do have Christian friends, Igbo, Muslims, Igbo, Christian, erm, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. I do have them, they are okay.

Interviewer: But most of your friends are Muslims?

Bizo (Hausa Muslim Student): Yeah

Interviewer: Why is that?

Bizo (Hausa Muslim Student): I feel...because we are sharing the same religion, I feel more closer

Interviewer: Hmm...yeah? Why do you feel more closer?

Bizo (Hausa Muslim Student): We do things the same, like when we are going to pray, we do it together. When it comes to the fasting months, we fast, everything we do it together

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Hausa Muslim, October 12, 2017)

An Igbo Christian JS1 student at an all male unity school also discusses his choice to selectively have more Christian friends due to the separation of religious practices within the school. He sees friends of another religion as posing a threat to his own because of these separate practices.

Interviewer: Ok. Have you made any new friends since October?

Ikemba (Igbo Christian Student): Yes, I have made plenty but they are not Muslims only Christians

Interviewer: So you have only Christian friends, did you do that on purpose?

Ikemba (Igbo Christian Student): Yes, I did it on purpose because sometimes it will get awkward like for the Muslims like when I am going for prayers they might try and tempt me to become a Muslim and I don't want that to happen so I just said let me step back from the Muslim friends.

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Male Igbo Christian, May 16, 2018)

In another instance, an SS3 Hausa Muslim student from a mixed sex unity school discusses her choice to separate by religion in the hostel, the dormitories where the students live and sleep, by choosing to sleep near her other Muslim friends in the corner of the room. She attributes this to making it easier to practice their religion together—again pointing to the separate religious practices and spaces in unity schools (due to their being boarding schools) as a significant reason for intergroup separation along religious lines.

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Most of my friends are Muslim because we are the same religion. We practice the same religion; we go to mosque together. I always meet my Christian friends in class most.

Interviewer: Okay. Your Christian friends you meet in class and your Muslim friends you meet where?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Mostly in mosque and hostel.

Interviewer: Mosque and the hostel. Okay. So how come you don't meet Christian friends in the hostel?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Mhmm, I used to see them but not always, not the way I used to see my Muslim friends.

Interviewer: Mhmm...

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Because as I am now, I don't, I'm not staying with Christian people in my hostel, only Muslim. In my room, we're only Muslim that are there.

Interviewer: Oh really? Do they always divide like that or it was by chance?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): No by chance, if you want to.

Interviewer: Okay, so you divided yourselves the way you wanted?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Yes

Interviewer: You got to choose your own room?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Yes. No we don't have... we normally have, each class have their own room. Like JS1, they have their own room, JS2, JS3, SS1, SS2, SS3. So in my room SS3, the part I'm staying we're Muslims there.

Interviewer: Mhmm

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): They're always...they're also Christian part, they stay there.

Interviewer: So is it common to separate by religion in the hostel?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): No, but it's just that it's choice. You can stay with a Christian friend; you can also stay with a Muslim friend.

Interviewer: What are the benefits of staying with all Muslims in the same room?

Safiyah (Hausa Muslim Student): Mhmm, sometimes, you know we used to practice the same religion, so everything will be easy for us; we'll do it together, anytime.

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Hausa Muslim, October 18, 2017)

This also demonstrates how separation can happen within informal spaces where there are fewer controls placed by administration and staff. Interestingly, most administrators seemed unaware of student separation along religious lines although at least one unity school administrator recognized at least the occasional separation of students on a religious basis.

It was not uncommon for students—both male and female, JS1 and SS3, Muslim and Christian—to discuss separation by religion. Even a state school teacher recognized students separating by religion despite the fact that state schools, as they are not boarding schools, do not present as many opportunities for students to separate by religion. Generally, participants did not necessarily refer to this separation by religion as a rule that was followed by students all the time, but rather as a trend toward which many students gravitated.

In one SS3 group interview in a mixed sex unity school, students discussed a unique occurrence where religious division among students was reinforced by teachers. They describe a situation where the Christian female students used hijabs—a female

Muslim head covering—as a way to hide their identity while meeting their boyfriends.

The students discuss how the Christian teachers intervened on behalf of the Christian students and describe this as a particularly heated time between Muslim and Christian students.

Interviewer: How do students get along here?

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): Fine

Machie (Igbo Christian Male Student): Pretty well

Interviewer: Is there ever any tension between students?

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): Of course, there will always be

Interviewer: Can you give me an example?

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): Muslims and Christians, we used to argue in SS2. The Christian girls will use the hijab to meet their boyfriends and if teachers see them they will think it's Muslims. It caused a big fight and it was settled with labor because Christian teachers intervened and helped them if not it was supposed to be a bigger punishment. My best friends used to be Christians and when this fight happened they said things I never knew they kept in their mind about Muslims.

Interviewer: You said the teachers helped them get Labor, what do you mean?

Machie (Igbo Christian Male Student): They helped reduce the punishment

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): That type of offence could have resulted in expulsion

Interviewer: Does that happen often where the Christian teachers defend the Christian students?

Machie (Igbo Christian Male Student): No

Interviewer: Was that a unique case?

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): It was a unique case. Everybody fought for their side nobody was neutral

Interviewer: Are people friends based on religion or...

Halimah (Hausa Muslim Female Student): No

Machie (Igbo Christian Male Student): They are friends with everybody

Interviewer: Do people make friends based in religion or ethnic group?

Okorie (Igbo Christian Male Student): No, in unity school there are people from different places so we have to make friends with them

(School 2, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 Mixed, October 13, 2017)

While the students recognize that this situation was not normal, it points to the underlying tensions that are bubbling among the students and faculty but that are often avoided and suppressed. In one case a student discusses an instance in an all male unity school that

eerily mirrors conflict in Nigeria as a whole. This JS1 Igbo Christian student talks about his fear of the Biafran War reoccurring. He follows this fear with a description of students fighting over the Biafran War in the school but alludes to this fighting is a form of play, which appears to be linked with humor as a way to discuss and express difficult sentiments and conflicts (Mayo, 2010). He then describes the students using separate religious spaces within the school as a way to exclude and control resources.

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): I am just praying hard that what happened years before I was born will not happen again that is the Biafran war. It started like 1973 or is it so because they wanted to separate the Igbo land that is the east from Nigeria to become another country. Now I am hearing in the news that they want to start it again

Interviewer: Really, do you want that or no?

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): I don't want that because what happened that time they killed millions of people. If it starts again this school will close, destruction will start again. In this school there is war because of the way the students act

Interviewer: Because of what?

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): Argument, some kind of students like fighting

Interviewer: What do they fight about?

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): They just like fighting it might be as a form of play I don't know, you will just see two students fighting for nothing

Interviewer: It's a form of play, they fight about Biafra or tribes?

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): They fight about tribes sometimes like in the Mosque that don't allow Christians enter the Mosque and it very frustrating and there is water there. Sometimes if water stop flowing in this school, the only place water will be flowing is in the Mosque and they will not allow anybody to enter.

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Male Igbo Christian, May 16, 2018)

Separate religious spaces appear to maintain a schism between Christian and Muslim students as already discussed in the previous chapter.

Some unity school students do recognize that this religious divide lessens over time within the school. In the following excerpt from an interview with a Muslim head student at a unity school, the individual talks about how students argue and divide over religion when they first come to the school—particularly Igbos and Hausas. Here it is

important to remember that Igbo students show lower tolerance levels in comparison with other ethnic groups at both the beginning and end of the year ($p < 0.01$) as shown by the multiple regression analysis of the survey results presented in Chapter 4. These lower tolerance levels may be a part of what influences these divisive interactions between Igbo—who have greater representation in the schools included in this research—and Hausa students.⁵ The interviewee speculates that this division is because most Igbos are Christian while most Hausas are Muslim, so the overlapping of differences in both tribe and religion leads to deeper rifts. The student notes that Yoruba students are “quite cool,” and this may be because it is common for Yoruba people to practice either Islam or Christianity.⁶ This phenomenon, the Yoruba students being more neutral when it comes to conflict and separation, is common among many of the interviews. Interestingly, when I conducted multiple regression analysis on the survey data with ethnic identity as the outcome variable, the results suggested lower ethnic identities for Yoruba students compared with other ethnic groups at both the beginning and end of the year ($p < 0.01$). This reinforces the idea of Yoruba students having a less rigid understanding of the social boundaries related to their ethnic group and thus demonstrating a greater fluidity between Hausa and Igbo students. I have included the beginning and end of year multiple

⁵ As a reminder, the country is divided into three majority ethnic groups (with great diversity among each of them)—the Hausa-Fulani (27%), Yoruba (14%), and Igbo (14%) in addition to more than 250 smaller ethnic groups (“Africa :: Nigeria — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2018). Among the 483 Unity school survey participants, the ethnic make-up is: 29% Yoruba, 7% Hausa, 41% Igbo, and 22% other ethnic groups. Among the 139 State school survey participants, the ethnic make-up is: 47% Yoruba, 4% Hausa, 27% Igbo, and 22% other ethnic groups.

⁶ Of the 622 survey participants included in the survey analysis, 205 are Yoruba. Of these 205 Yoruba students, 36% are Muslim and 64% are Christian. Of the 238 students who identify as Igbo, 99.6% are Christian. Of the 41 Hausa students, 63% identify as Muslim while 37% identify as Christian. Nationwide, the percentage of Hausa who are Muslim is much higher. These numbers indicate that Christian Hausa students are attending the unity schools included in this study at a disproportionate rate to the religious make-up of the Hausa nationwide. This could be due to religious discrimination or to the enrollment of Hausas who primarily come from the south (where there is a higher Christian population) or who have a higher socioeconomic and educational status due to their religion and the colonial and Christian missionary history (discussed in Chapter I).

regression tables with ethnic identity as the outcome variable in the appendices for closer reference (see *Appendix K*).

Head Student: When I first came to school many of our discussions was around religion and tribe

Interviewer: This is in J.S.1

Head Student: Yes J.S.1, then you hear Christians especially Igbos because the Yorubas are quite cool so the Igbos that are Christians because most Igbos are Christians and they were like you Muslims are Boko Haram and if you don't accept Jesus Christ into your life, you will rot in Hell. You will see some people crying, we didn't really understand and some people were like maybe my parents have put me in the wrong religion or something or you hear many argument among Igbo and Hausa mostly, Yorubas are quite chill mainly Igbo and Hausa they don't really agree right from time, I don't know why but I think is because most Igbo are Christians and most Hausa are Muslims so you will also hear arguments like the Hausa say to the Igbos your people are very stingy and that is why they can never be voted for president in Nigeria then Igbos will say to the Hausas your people are very dirty, very poor. The next day they are friends and they forget it although it is still in their mind, you will hear something like my mummy said that this, my dad said this, I don't know but someone on my street said.. Then around J.S.3, S.S.1, I began to hear things like [name removed] are you sure you are a Muslim then I will be like yes now can't you hear my [name removed], what else do you think then the person will reply " I never knew Muslims were like this o." You will find out this people live in Lagos and in Lagos the ratio of Muslim to Christians is 50:50 it is not like the North where you will find more Muslims than Christians or the South where you will find more Christians than Muslim, you find out that they have been in Lagos all their life and they don't even know what Muslims are like, they don't know what non Igbos are like because if you are Igbo, you want to live in a building even if its on rent they want to rent where everybody in the building is Igbo. Most Igbos that were born in Lagos if you ask them can you say anything in Yoruba because that is the language here, they don't even know anything

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

The head student does recognize that this division changes over time within the unity school as the school provides a means of interaction for people who would not normally interact on a regular basis in society. This indicates that unity schools provide an opportunity for students to change their views of other groups over time.

Religion is not the only means of separation; participants also discuss separation by ethnic group—often referencing language as a means of division as language overlaps with ethnic group. Just as Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo are the largest ethnic groups in Nigeria, so are their languages the most spoken (Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo) with each of them having many sub-dialects (“What Languages Are Spoken In Nigeria?,” 2018). The separation by ethnic group shown in the following JS1 group interview excerpt from an all female unity school goes beyond the more abstract division present in jokes (Meyer, 2000) and reveals an actual distinction in interactions by ethnic group.

Cynthia (Student): There is one Yoruba girl, when anyone speaks Igbo she will say stop speaking that nonsense language. She will say Hausas are black dudu and this is not true because my uncle is Hausa and he is fair

Isioma (Igbo Student): They say Igbo people are wicked because they wanted to divide the country with Biafra. I was mopping and the tidiness captain temporarily borrowed the mop to clean a special place and Jessica who is Yoruba took the mop and said she is supposed to use it and it started a quarrel and Ayansola resolved it

Interviewer: What about this Ayansola?

Adaeze (Hausa/Igbo Student): She cheats us in the dining, she gives more food to her tribe the Yorubas

Interviewer: What does it mean to be from a particular ethnic group?

Isioma (Igbo Student): Like Yorubas are friends with themselves so that they can speak their language

(School 4, Unity, Group Student Interview, JS1 All Female, November 16, 2017)

Here the students also reference language as both a reason and a means for separation by ethnic group as is common in several of the interviews.

In many of the interviews, students discuss instances of separation and arguments based on ethnicity. In the following, a JS1 Hausa Muslim student from an all male unity school talks about how in some cases Hausas stay separate from others. He recognizes the disdain he has developed for Yoruba students specifically—one that he did not have

prior to living with a diverse group of students. This indicates the possibility for a diverse school to aggravate social relations without proper interventions (Irwin, 1991; Spivak et al., 2015).

Interviewer: When we were talking in the group interview and everybody was talking about the Hausa staying together is that true?

Abbas: Yea

Interviewer: Do you stay alone with the Hausas?

Abbas: Yes, sometimes I stay with the Igbos

Interviewer: But they said Hausa stay by themselves, is that true?

Abbas: Yes, some Hausas stay by themselves while some mix

Interviewer: Why do some Hausas stay by themselves?

Abbas: I don't know whether they are afraid that maybe it will cause fight

Interviewer: Has it ever caused fights before?

Abbas: Yes like Igbos now will be claiming their territory and the Hausas don't like it **Interviewer:** But you have friends who are Igbos?

Abbas: Yes

Interviewer: Do other people want to spend time with the Hausas?

Abbas: The Igbos think the Hausas are not kind

Interviewer: What about the Yorubas?

Abbas: I don't make friends with Yoruba

Interviewer: Really? Why?

Abbas: I'm just like that

Interviewer: But why?

Abbas: I hate Yorubas

Interviewer: Did you hate them before you came to this school?

Abbas: No

Interviewer: You started hating them here

Abbas: Yes ma

Interviewer: What made you hate them?

Abbas: They are careless, they don't take care of their things, they will shit and they will not flush it

Interviewer: Really?

Abbas: Yes

Interviewer: It's just the Yorubas?

Abbas: Yes

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Male Hausa Muslim, May 16, 2018)

In the interviews, what emerges as particularly important is the separation of Hausa students, especially Hausa Muslim students, with many students again referencing language as a reason why they keep separate. The interviews made it clear that Hausa and

Yoruba students use their language more often than do Igbo students. While many students seem to know words and phrases in other languages outside the language(s) associated with their ethnic group (not including English), it was rare to find a student who actively used a language other than English or the language associated with their ethnic group to communicate regularly. In one interview with a Hausa Muslim SS3 student at an all male unity school, he talks about how students separate by ethnic group, saying that he prefers to spend more time with other Hausa students because he “feel[s] like [he’s] home.” He again points out the separation between Hausa and Igbo students.

Interviewer: How do you feel as a Hausa student or as a Muslim student, do you have the same amount of Igbo and Yoruba friends like Hausa or you have more Hausa friends?

Hamza: More Hausa friends

Interviewer: Is that how it is like Yoruba students have more Yoruba friends than Igbos

Hamza: Yes

Interviewer: Even in S.S.3?

Hamza: Yes

Interviewer: Was it like that in J.S.1?

Hamza: Yes

Interviewer: And it kind of stays that way?

Hamza: Yes

Interviewer: Why do you think it stays that way?

Hamza: Before when you are with them, you feel more comfortable, like I'm with Hausa people most times because I feel like I'm home

Interviewer: And do you speak Hausa?

Hamza: Sometimes but mostly English

Interviewer: Do they let you speak in Hausa or do you have to hide it?

Hamza: No, sometimes we do speak in Hausa

Interviewer: They mix with other groups?

Hamza: Yes

Interviewer: Is there one group they don't mix with as much like Igbo, Yoruba, Igala, Tiv

Hamza: Yes, Igbo

Interviewer: Why is that

Hamza: I don't know, that is just how it is

Interviewer: Is it because many of the Hausa are Muslim or do all Hausa stay together

Hamza: All Hausa stay together, the three ethnic groups interact but sometimes when it comes to doing things we group ourselves

(School 3, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Male Hausa Muslim, June 5, 2018)

While this excerpt does not identify Hausa Muslims specifically as a separated ethno-religious group, many of the interviews do point to this particular distinction (although some point to Hausa students as separating whether Muslim or Christian). This separation points to a mirroring of Nigerian ethno-religious division in student interactions. One example is in the following where a Yoruba Christian female SS3 student in a unity school discusses Hausa Muslims separating, again emphasizing language as means of boundary maintenance.⁷ Earlier in the interview, this particular student talks about having Muslim friends including some Hausa friends, so discrimination from her part does not seem to be what is shaping her dialogue.

Interviewer: And everything they were saying about Hausa's sticking together. Is that true?

Hope: Yes

Interviewer: It's true? Can you give me an example?

Hope: Like they are Muslim from Muslims. They stay, they don't want to associate with anybody, they don't even like staying in the same, in the room, they always like to stay in the same corner, the same room, do everything together, wash, eat together, go to dining, go to mosque and if you are following them, you'll be confused as if they are going to sell you because they always talk Hausa.

Interviewer: Hmmm

Hope: They don't speak English...

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Yoruba Christian, October 13, 2017)

This pattern is also illustrated in the classroom friendship networks where being both Hausa and Muslim is associated with having a vertex located more often on the

⁷ See Chapter II – Literature Review for more on social boundaries.

outskirts of the classroom friendship network.⁸ In other words, Hausa Muslim students seem to be the students who have fewer connections within the classroom network compared to other ethno-religious groups. In the network shown here (Figure 7) for Class E (SS3 All Boys Unity School),⁹ we see Christians, specifically Igbo Christians, exhibiting the highest eigenvector centrality (i.e., they are more highly connected to other highly connected individuals or more central in the friendship network) while Hausa and Muslim students are off to the side and less highly connected to other highly connected individuals (i.e., having a lower eigenvector centrality). As discussed thus far, this division is likely a result of ethnic, linguistic, and religious division and hierarchies that align with those that have been historically shaped within Nigeria more generally (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). This division only increases over the year as indicated by the decrease in size of the Hausa Muslim vertices demonstrating their decrease in importance to the network.¹⁰

Interestingly, social networks showing Hausas and Muslims as being more integrated into the friendship network were more common among all female classrooms. This aligns with both (a) the multiple regression analysis of the survey results finding females as having higher tolerance levels ($p < 0.01$) as is supported by previous research (see Avery, 1988; Jones, 1980)¹¹ and (b) the by-school variations in tolerance indicating suggesting that students' sex and/or the way sex interacts with school factors are important in shaping tolerance levels (see *Appendix J*).

⁸ See Chapter III – Methods for more on methods.

⁹ This class is highly assortative by religion at both the beginning (0.46) and end of the year (0.76). This means that students tend to choose close friends of the same religion. For more on assortativity, see Chapter III – Methods and Chapter IV.

¹⁰ The increase in assortativity measures over the year also indicates greater division, at least by religion, over time.

¹¹ These results are the same at the beginning of the year although with slightly different p-values.

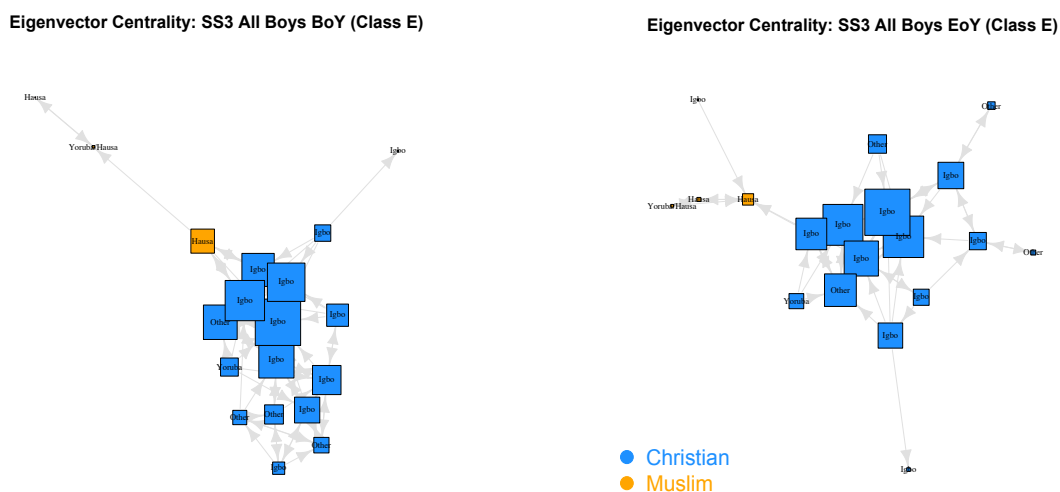


Figure 7: Friendship Network Showing Division of Students in FUC

This may have to do with the way females are taught to socialize in Nigerian society and/or with the dominant role males are expected to play in Nigeria that may also translate to maintaining existing ethno-religious relations (Asiyanbola, 2005). It is important to remember that several classrooms do not have Hausa students as discussed in the description of the data and methods (see Chapter 3), so I was only able to explore social network patterns related to Hausa students in a few classrooms.

Through interviews and social network analysis, we have identified some common friendship patterns, but why and through what means are students separating? As already evidenced, language is one of the modes of separation among different groups within the school, which is foreseeable considering the historical use of language to erect boundaries between groups and nations (Ahmad & Widén, 2015; Piller, 2001). With over 500 languages in Nigeria, language is important both inside the schools and nationwide

(Adegbija, 2004; “Africa :: Nigeria — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2018). When language is deemed as a symbol of one’s ethnicity or social group, it is more likely to serve as a defining criteria in one’s relationship with others (Ahmad & Widén, 2015; Irvine, Gal, & Kroskrity, 2009) and can serve as a frame of reference in determining in- and out-groups (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994). When one views their language as also representative of a particular social group, communication with others who speak that language can become a way to connect with those who one perceives to hold a better understanding or share a certain set of values with themselves (Ahmad & Widén, 2015). Languages can also serve to mark or reinforce existing inequalities and hierarchies within a society (Blommaert, 2010; Risager, 2012). While language can be a means of separation (Russell & Carter, 2018), it is also important to recognize it as an expression of social solidarity that should not be discounted (Ahmad & Widén, 2015) but that should rather be used in schools as a means to create positive intergroup interactions and opportunity for interethnic unity (Paris, 2012).

Students provided many examples of language as both a marker of groups and as a means of separation among groups. One SS3 student from a unity school who identifies as having another nationality—and who thus gives a perspective as one who does not identify with a Nigerian ethnic group—talks about how one will feel left out when around Hausa students who, the student notes, often end up speaking Hausa.

Interviewer: And what about other people; they were talking about how Hausa students kind of separate off, does that really happen?

Beatrice: Yes, it really does.

Interviewer: It happens?

Beatrice: Sometimes, but it’s like, if we’re going to mosque of something like that, they’ll just, or they’ll gather in one place, or they’ll call them for a cultural display, they’ll gather in one place and be speaking their language and if you

come, you won't understand what they're saying, and be feeling left out, so you'll just have to leave and go talk to another person; something like that.

Interviewer: And do other tribes do that?

Beatrice: No.

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Christian, April 25, 2018)

Another Hausa Muslim SS3 student in a mixed sex unity school talks about the Hausa separating in the school. She notes that many of them do not speak English well, so they separate to speak their language to one another. She says that she chooses not to separate herself exclusively with the Hausas because she came to the school to learn.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you a follow up question from yesterday..umm based on when we were talking in the group interview, a lot of people were saying that the Hausa students like stay together and they separate themselves from each other but I wanted to ask your opinion about that

Kadija: Mmm the reason, I think the most reason that make them to do such- because most of them in this school, they do normally speak their Hausa together, but some of them they don't even know how to speak correct English, so if they mingle with their Hausa people, they will be speaking language together and it will lead them not to go further in their education

Interviewer: Hmm okay so it does happen?

Kadija: Yes

Interviewer: But you don't do it

Kadija: No I don't do that

Interviewer: So why not?

Kadija: Nothing

Interviewer: Do you think it's because you speak English better? or?

Kadija: Yes, I came here to learn, so it's not expected of me to go and meet my Hausa people and go and speak my language with them, it's not right

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Hausa Muslim, October 19, 2017)

Again this particular instance indicates a situation where language underlines inequalities among groups—Hausa students in particular—especially those who come from a part of the country that has a lower socioeconomic and educational status due to colonial

divisions and missionary history (Fafunwa, 1974).¹² Without appropriate school interventions and practices, this may only serve to solidify ethno-religious separation in the case of Hausa Muslim students.

Some students, in both unity and state schools, refer to these language divisions as creating fear, envy, and suspicion among groups. Even though many of the schools included in the study, particularly unity schools, explicitly tell the students to speak in English except in language classes, students of many ethnic groups (not only Hausas) speak their ethnic languages despite this rule. With many of the students showing an open interest in learning other languages, schools, researchers, and curriculum developers should consider how best to use this wide knowledge of multiple languages among the diverse students as an opportunity for connection and learning rather than for division and fear. Without discounting the richness in diversity of languages and groups, a well-facilitated approach that encourages intergroup peer-to-peer teaching and learning could foster intergroup unity—the goal of unity schools (Paris, 2012).

Discrimination

While discrimination has been shown through the previous examples from interviews, it is worthwhile to include a brief section on discrimination itself—a more active and violent form of separation and preference that appears within the school particularly on the part of teachers and staff (Sanders-Phillips, 2009). In some cases students discuss instances of discrimination based on religion and ethnicity within the

¹² Students who come from states with lower educational opportunities have a lower score requirement to enter into the FUC, and this shapes disparities and ethno-religious make-up of students within the school.

schools. For example, a head student in one unity school talks about a staff member calling Muslims both wicked and blaming Muslims for a dirty toilet.

Head Student: The deputy head girl went to the restroom and the cleaner lady called her-someone had messed the toilet up real bad and asked her who did it. She said she didn't know; I don't know if the lady knew she was Muslim but she said that she's very sure it was one of those wicked Muslims that did it. That a Christian child can't do this and she (the deputy headgirl) was just standing there like. Do you know I'm a Muslim? she was like no no no, she's very sure it's a Muslim child that did this and a Christian can't do it, that it's those wicked Muslims and all these kinds of things.

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

This head student continues to talk about a government teacher in the school who allows his negative sentiments toward northerners and Hausas to seep into his classroom.

Head Student: Yes and sometimes they even do it in classes. There is this government teacher, I think it is Swa's government teacher and it is so obvious that he has a thing against Northerners and Hausa and he brings that into his classes and personally I believe he is teaching hate because as a teacher you shouldn't let your personal believe come in because you wouldn't want to teach that to your students. Then he even encourages those in the class who have the same views as him and he supports that why should Hausas always... If I was a government and my students say why are there more Hausas than Yorubas in the senate? I will be like they constitute a larger population of Nigeria so it only makes sense that they have a larger representation but then he will say something like I don't know why or he will be like your president can't even read like all those Hausas that didn't go to school and..

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

As this head student duly recognizes, the teacher has spread negative sentiment to students while also missing an opportunity to facilitate intergroup understanding and to have students explore, and perhaps debate, the reasoning behind government design. This discrimination on the part of the teacher not only instigates negative sentiments among students, but it also stands as a barrier to enabling the critical thinking necessary to teach

students to challenge and move forward in shifting the status quo—as discussed in depth in Chapter 4 (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995). On both accounts, it detracts from the goals of unity schools to promote intergroup unity.

This head student then continues to talk about how they are the first Muslim head student in a long time. This student frustratingly explains that other student leaders were also Muslim that year but were removed to create more of a balance between Christians and Muslims. This student continues by recognizing that, in the past, student leaders were all Christians and questions the problem with them being all Muslims for one year.

In another SS3 group interview at an all male unity school, students discuss discriminatory experiences with teachers blaming the Hausas for problems.

Interviewer: Do any of you feel comfortable or uncomfortable when you are being taught about your ethnic group?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): Uncomfortable

Interviewer: Why?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): They always blame the Hausas for things like they say the Hausas are beggars

Interviewer: Is that common?

Ekele (Igala Christian Student): Yes

Interviewer: Do the students do anything about it?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): We can't do anything because we will end up in the principal's office

Interviewer: Does the principal do anything about it?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): We haven't told the principal before, we leave it like that

Interviewer: Do they say anything against other ethnic groups?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): No

Interviewer: Just the Hausa?

Gowon (Hausa Muslim Student): Yes

Interviewer: What about religion, Christian or Muslim

Ekele (Igala Christian Student): No, they leave it in peace

Debare (Igbo Christian Student): Exactly

(School 3, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 All Male, October 9, 2017)

Just as among the students' jokes, the teachers also appear less likely to critique or openly speak negatively about religion. Discrimination is present even within unity schools and only serves to maintain and possibly deepen rifts between ethno-religious groups.¹³

Thoughts on Marriage

Marriage is an essential topic in Nigeria with the widespread expectation of a heterosexual marriage; every single one of the students interviewed said they want to marry someday—aligning with the prevalence of religion in Nigeria and its expression in the public sphere as an important form of social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Kitause & Achunike, 2013; Lewis & Bratton, 2000). Marriage is a widespread expectation and means of earning respect and power. One of my close Nigerian friends frustratingly told me that she needed to get married just so she could more successfully run her business—emphasizing the need for a male presence to demand respect and more easily navigate life in Nigeria. Marriage and having children are strongly encouraged and respected as important social and religious responsibilities. It is in this context that marriage is openly discussed and encouraged even in the public (and school) sphere. Both in the school curriculum and widely discussed in the teacher and administrator interviews in both state and unity schools, intermarriage between ethnic groups is considered a method for bringing about national unity and an end to interethnic violence. As an example, in a Civic Education textbook for SS2 students, “inter-marriage” is listed as one of the ways in which national unity can be promoted. The textbook reads:

¹³ Skin color is another form of discrimination notable among students with students using the term “dark” in a negative way in some cases. While I do not have room to discuss this phenomenon here without deviating from the research questions, I do hope to write about it further in the future.

Inter-marriages: When we get married to people of different ethnic groups, tribes or religions, our spirit of brotherliness and love is awakened. We consider the people from the place we are married to as brothers and not as enemies. This will promote National Unity. (O., 2014, p. 9)

However, when I asked students about the type of people they would like to marry, I received mixed responses. As previously discussed, social distance¹⁴ is an indicator of tolerance with tolerance being on a continuum as signified by different levels of social distance. Intergroup marriage is seen as the most intimate social connection according to the creator of the social distance scale, Bogardus (1959), and thus an indicator for the highest level of intergroup tolerance. Therefore, students' lack of willingness to marry across ethnic/religious groups should not be seen as a complete lack of intergroup tolerance, but rather as an indicator of students demonstrating (or not) the highest level of tolerance. With this in mind, it is interesting that Hausa was the only ethnic group that students designated as one that they would specifically *not* marry—with six students of the 25 students¹⁵ (24%) (at either the beginning or the end of the year) saying they would not marry a Hausa.¹⁶ Of these six students, half are Muslim and half Christian; three are Igbo, two Yoruba, and one Yoruba/Igbo; four come from unity schools while the other two attend state schools. This singling out of Hausa students as an excluded group mirrors the findings already presented in this chapter.

¹⁴ Bogardus (1959) defines social distance as, “the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group, and between groups” (p. 7).

¹⁵ This includes one extra interview that I conducted with a volunteer head student at the end of the year only.

¹⁶ One of these students did say they would marry a Hausa if they understand English—again pointing to a linguistic division among ethnic groups.

By the end of the year, nine of the 24 students (38%)¹⁷ said they wanted to marry within their ethnic group. These students included five Yoruba, three Igbo, and one Hausa student. JS1 students constitute seven of the nine students, indicating that this view likely changes over time. At the end of the year, more than half (60%) of the students that I interviewed from state schools (three of the five)¹⁸ and six of the 18 unity school students (28%) indicated need for a same ethnic marriage, implying an increased openness to interethnic marriage among unity school students.¹⁹ This also supports the social network analysis finding that students in unity schools tend to have more ethnically diverse close friendships compared with students in state schools as presented in Chapter 4. In fact, a head girl at one unity school illustrates this by discussing the role of unity schools in making ethnicity less of a factor when choosing marriage partners.

Head Girl: You will hear many of my friends like when we are discussing they say I don't want to marry someone that is Igbo o, I want to marry a Yoruba guy. People will naturally expect that if you are Igbo you will marry someone that is Igbo or if you are Yoruba you will marry someone that is Yoruba but I believe that with your exposure here, we don't really see that as important like their parents would have seen it. I really think that unity schools are really great and I am happy I came here.

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

As revealed in the interviews and data presented thus far, religion often has a stricter boundary than ethnicity in terms of jokes, friendships (particularly in unity schools), and marriage. This could be due to a deeper divide along religious lines and/or the interpretation of conflict as caused by religious differences. Moreover, religion is such a

¹⁷ I failed to pose this question to one JS1 state school student at the end of the year and did not have an end of year interview with another unity school student. I include the extra interview with a volunteer head student that I conducted only at the end of the year.

¹⁸ I forgot to pose the question to one state school student at the end of the year.

¹⁹ Although, this could also relate to the type of parents who put their children in unity schools possibly being more open to their children marrying outside their ethnic group.

pervasive aspect of life among most Nigerians (at least in the public sphere). In contrast with ethnicity, this may make religion a divide too deep and too sacred to cross particularly in marriage—an important social and religious responsibility in Nigerian society. The proportion of students who prefer to marry within their religion is much higher with 16 out of the 24 students (67%) interviewed at the end of the year stating this as their preference.²⁰ At either the beginning or the end of the year, only two of the six state school students (33%) and six of the 19 unity school students (32%) interviewed said that they would marry outside their religion. While unity schools appear to influence more diverse interethnic friendships (as shown in the social network analysis presented in Chapter 4) and marriage choices, religion remains an area of division among both state and unity school students as shown by the interview and social network data presented in this and the previous chapter.

Conclusion

Acquainting myself with Nigerian films (Nollywood, after all, is the third largest film industry in the world after Bollywood) has been an enjoyable pastime of mine that also gives me another perspective into Nigerian life and has provided a sort of cross training for conducting research in Nigeria. Many of the films focus on family grief, often using humor, over a young person's desire to marry outside the family's ethnic group. The families in the films use tactics to try and separate the interethnic couple much to the couple's demise. For example in the film, *The Wedding Party*, a Nollywood film that was shown at the Toronto International Film Festival and that can be found on Netflix, the

²⁰ I failed to pose this question to one JS1 state school student at the end of the year and did not have an end of year interview with another unity school student.

families of the bride and groom come from different ethnic groups—Yoruba and Igbo respectively. The mother of the groom even sends one of the groom's ex-lovers up to his bedroom on the day of the wedding to try and stop the marriage. When this attempt to ruin the marriage is unsuccessful, she stubbornly refuses to greet the bride and welcome her into the family after the ceremony. After a long set of dramatic and hilarious events, the mother of the groom finally welcomes the bride into her family. I have not yet seen a film that touches on interreligious marriage; this may simply still be too deep of a divide to bring up for widespread consumption—as discussed in this chapter. In fact, one of my close friends in Nigeria converted to Christianity and married a Christian man, and her parents have disowned her because of it.

Behind the guise of national unity and common blanket statements like “we are all one” lies a complex matrix of intergroup relations that has been shaped by colonial history and conflict (Fafunwa, 1974; Mamdani, 1996; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). These interethnic and interreligious relationships also appear in the schools with schools as a microcosm of larger society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). Schools, particularly diverse schools such as the unity schools in Nigeria, have the opportunity to positively reshape intergroup relations and break the cycle of social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Burns, 2012; Ellison & Powers, 1994; Jugert et al., 2017; Knifsend et al., 2017; McKenna et al., 2018; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Williams Jr, 1947). To do this, the way these groups are interacting within the schools must first be deeply understood as I have expounded upon here. In Chapters 4 and 5, I have shown examples of the ways Nigerian schools reproduce existing social relations and the challenges Nigerian schools face in changing the normality and pervasiveness of

stereotypes, discrimination, and intergroup separation based on historical overlapping ethnic, religious, and linguistic divisions. As shown in Chapter 4, the practices, curriculum, and resources offered within schools are limited in their capacity to facilitate the positive reshaping of intergroup relations. However, in Chapter 6, I move forward in showing the ways in which unity schools *are* positively reshaping intergroup relations.

In this chapter, I used data from interviews and social network analysis to explore the way ethnic and religious relations permeate school life through jokes, relationships among students, discrimination, and thoughts on marriage. A significant pattern that surfaced in both the social network analysis and interview data indicates that the overlapping of being both Hausa and Muslim appears to be the ethno-religious group most separated and stigmatized within the schools. The compounding of (a) *religion*, with separate religious practices marking intergroup differences and encouraging separate relationships among students particularly in unity schools, and (b) *language*, marking social boundaries and hierarchies that exist in greater Nigeria (Blommaert, 2010; Risager, 2012), appears to contribute to the specific separation of Hausa Muslim students. This particular stigmatization has roots in colonial history, with socioeconomic and educational disparities between those in the north (primarily Hausa Muslims) and the south (Fafunwa, 1974; Mamdani, 1996; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Current conflict (i.e., Boko Haram and the herdsmen) also tends to be associated with Hausas, Muslims, and/or those from the north. This creates a hierarchy where the overlapping identities of being both Hausa *and* Muslim is at the bottom, and social relations are magnified in the school where separate religious practices and language overlap to mark this group—Hausa Muslims—as separate. Thus, the larger patterns of stigmatization in society align with

current and historical conflict patterns and are mirrored within the schools. These patterns are maintained amidst the illusion of unity—as highlighted in Chapter 4—alongside neglect to use the larger conflict and negative intergroup relations as an opportunity to have students learn from the conflict. Rather than neglecting to use the conflict as an opportunity for societal growth and the overall betterment of intergroup relations, schools should be spaces where students critically consider ethnic and religious identities and their connections to inequality and conflict over time. The reflection of society—through separation of groups and stigmatization— within the school without the proper interventions detracts from the goals of intergroup unity within unity schools (Irwin, 1991; Spivak et al., 2015). When looking at the interview data, it becomes clear that both religion and language—with language highly linked to ethnic identity in Nigeria— and the way they are facilitated in schools play significant roles in marking these established social boundaries and contributing to the specific separation of Hausa Muslim students. This is strengthened in the context of schools facilitating an illusion of unity bolstered by a lack of critical thinking about the conflict and intergroup relations.

Proper interventions to promote intergroup unity cannot be designed or analyzed before taking the first step to understand the way groups are interacting within the school; the same way an engineer cannot construct a suitable structure without first understanding the geology of the ground on which they are building. I have explored these valuable and often overlooked details in this chapter so that schools in Nigeria and diverse schools elsewhere can have deeper insight into the ways in which groups of students interact. This insight is useful to compare with the intended outcomes of current school practices and interventions along with the overarching goals of the school. It can

be used to redesign and continuously evaluate the alignment of practices and interventions in achieving stated goals. In the final empirical chapter, we will see the way in which unity schools *are* positively shaping intergroup relations and will consider how this could be magnified to address the negative intergroup relations that are being reproduced within schools as presented in this and the previous chapter.

Chapter VI

SCHOOL COMMUNITY AND THE SHAPING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

It was another hot late-April day in Abuja when I walked into a unity school SS3 classroom to conduct the end of year surveys. The school I was visiting had just experienced violent interethnic conflict between Gbagi and Hausa youth just outside its gates in December. At least three are said to have died, and many others lost their property with the conflict involving the burning down of the local market. Yet crossing the gates onto the school grounds, guarded by the Nigerian police force, was like crossing a barrier that was insulated from the intergroup tension just outside. In the classroom, I found a group of the SS3 students scattered in the classroom with no teacher present as they presumably prepared for exams. At first some of the students half-heartedly offered to help me find the missing students who were dispersed around the school for various reasons. As a few students took the survey and others sauntered into the classroom, moving slowly with the heat, some of the students became interested in doing a dance together—one coordinated to a popular modern Nigerian song (something equivalent to the Kiki dance to Drake's song *In My Feelings* that inundated social media in 2018). When they realized that I was also excited about seeing it, as I have always been keen on keeping up with the latest Nigerian songs and dance moves,¹ the survey quickly became second priority for the students, but I decided to withhold my own anticipation to see the

¹ The Nigerian music industry is a leader in Africa and its music is heard globally (Penney & Akwagyiram, 2016).

dance and to use the avid desire to show me the dance as an incentive for students to help gather the missing students to complete the survey. Once the surveys had been completed, the students all gathered around with several of them engaging in the actual dance while others participated in other capacities. It was not only a presentation for me but was also a tight-knit communal engagement. Among these SS3 students of various ethnicities and religions, I could feel the sense of community and connection they had developed during their time at the school. This community of students included ethno-religious groups who have historically been in conflict dancing together in a classroom that only had a physical gate between itself and intergroup tensions happening just on the other side. Their coordinated moving together through dancing represented to me the transformation of social relations in the context of a school that is insulated from the intergroup problems and tensions just outside. This community created within the unity school provides the students with an important sense of belonging and connection that has the power to transcend widely spread views of other groups and the way they think of themselves and others in relation to the nation (Osterman, 2000; see also, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

In the previous two chapters, we have explored the ways in which both unity and state schools reproduce existing social patterns through poorly designed curriculum and school practices (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Bekerman, 2009; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995). However, unity school students do show one major positive point of difference in comparison with those in state schools: national identity. In this chapter, when we look more closely at this difference in national identity, the way in which unity schools have the capacity to break the cycle of social reproduction and

positively transform social relations within the context of a nation becomes clear (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mills, 2008). By capitalizing on the strength of community in unity schools while working on its weaknesses, unity schools have the potential to fulfill their stated goal of promoting “national unity and integration of students and staff of diverse cultures and religions of Nigeria” (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013, p. 4).

In this chapter, I start by analyzing the survey results related to national identity. To further understand these results, I will follow by looking more closely at interview and observation data within unity schools that highlight the most important strength of unity schools in positively transforming national identity and social relations—school community.

Survey Results and Findings

The national identity measure in the survey is constructed of variables that include information about closeness to the Nigerian national anthem, the Nigerian flag, a political party, Nigerian political leaders, being Nigerian, and being African. The answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher national identity score indicates increased closeness to Nigeria as defined by the student.

Analysis

To explore differences in national identities between unity and state school students, I used Stata to analyze data using multiple regressions.² The variables used in the analysis are described in the following table with national identity as the dependent,

² For more details on methods, see Chapter III.

or outcome variable. I provide the mean and standard deviation for both the beginning and end of the year for easy comparison; however, to simplify the analysis just as in the presentation of the multiple regression analysis of tolerance levels in Chapter 4, I will only include the regression table and discussion for the end of the year by which the JS1 students have spent more time in the schools. Moreover, the national identity results for the beginning and the end of the year are highly similar.

As seen in Table 16 below summarizing the variables used in this analysis, the national identity index decreases in standard deviation over time meaning that the average distance from the mean decreases. This indicates that over time, students become slightly more similar in terms of national identity levels. This also holds true when looking at national identity scores for unity and state schools separately.³ This may be due to factors in the school that mold national identity in a particular way. This will be explored later in this chapter using qualitative data. For a more in depth description of the survey sample, see Chapter III – Methods.

Table 16: Definitions, Metrics, and Descriptive Statistics of Variables in Study (N=622)

Variable	Definition/Metric	Mean (Beg.)	SD (Beg.)	Mean (End)	SD (End)
<i>Dependent Variable</i>					
National Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7003; minimum= -3.309; maximum= 2.068; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7507; minimum= -2.984; maximum= 2.291). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to the Nigerian national anthem, the Nigerian flag, a political party, Nigerian political leaders, being Nigerian, and being African. Answer options	0	1.171	0	1.125

³ The standard deviation of national identity for unity schools is 1.191 at the beginning of the year and 1.136 at the end of the year. The standard deviation of national identity for state schools is 1.072 at the beginning of the year and 1.035 at the end of the year.

were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher national identity score indicates increased closeness to Nigeria as defined by the student.

*Explanatory
Variables*

Tolerance	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6967; minimum= -3.051; maximum= 2.556; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7597; minimum= -2.874; maximum= 2.378). The variables that form the index include information about students' tolerance toward other ethnic, religious, linguistic, and state groups different from one's own. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All Comfortable to 5= Completely Comfortable or 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher score on this index indicates increased tolerance levels as related to ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups different from one's own. The index thus demonstrates an overarching measure of tolerance as related to subcomponents associated with tolerance within the Nigerian context. Questions about tolerance started with general questions to capture how students' views might change when the questions are about others versus when they are directed at them personally.	0	1.190	0	1.152
Ethnic Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.6873; minimum= -3.355; maximum= 1.425; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7139; minimum= -3.157; maximum= 1.448). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's ethnic group, hometown, state, family, and extended family. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher ethnic identity score indicates increased closeness to one's ethnic group as defined by the student.	0	1.180	0	1.155
Religious Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum= -6.790; maximum= 1.350; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7498; minimum= -6.086; maximum= 1.388). The variables that form the index include information about closeness to one's religion, religious beliefs, others who practice one's	0	1.160	0	1.126

religion in the school/nation/globally, religious practices, and place of religious practice. Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not at All to 5=Very Close. A higher religious identity score indicates increased closeness to one's religious group as defined by the student.

School Identity	Formed with factor analysis using variables that held together commonly across both the beginning and end of the year (<i>Beginning of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7283; minimum= -4.018; maximum= 1.697; <i>End of Year</i> : alpha = 0.7146; minimum= -3.236 maximum= 1.709). The questions were borrowed from Anderman's (2002) measure of school belonging in a study on adolescents. It asks students "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?" and includes items such as "I feel like I am part of this school" and "I feel safe at this school." Answer options were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A higher school identity score indicates increased closeness to one's school as defined by the student.	0	1.159	0	1.133
Unity	School attendance: 0 = state school, 1 = unity school	.777	-		
Ethnicity					
Yoruba	0 = no, 1 = yes	.330	-		
Hausa	0 = no, 1 = yes	.0659	-		
Igbo	0 = no, 1 = yes	.383	-		
Muslim	Religion of respondent: 0 = Christian, 1 = Muslim	.199	-		
Female	Gender of respondent: 0 = male, 1 = female	.553	-		
JS1	0=SS3 student, 1=JS1 student	.521	-		
FCT	School location of respondent: 0 = Lagos, 1 = FCT	.481	-		

To determine the difference in national identity between unity and state school students, I ran a multiple regression with ten regression models in a hierarchical framework with robust standard errors and variables entered in nine steps to explore the

association between unity school attendance and national identity.⁴ In the first model, I examined the unadjusted relationship between unity school attendance and national identity. In the second model, I controlled for tolerance levels. The third model adjusted for religious identity, the fourth for ethnic identity, and the fifth for school identity. I then included beginning of the year student characteristic explanatory variables including grade in the sixth model, religion in the seventh, ethnicity in the eighth, sex in the ninth, and school location in the final model. Tolerance, identity, and student characteristic variables are included as explanatory variables that might help to explain the outcome variable—national identity.

Findings

I first wanted to see the change over time of national identity in unity schools (FUCs) compared with state schools. Using t-tests to compare beginning and end of year national identity measures, I found that there was no statistically significant change across time for either unity schools or state schools. This also held true when looking more specifically national identity by grade breakdown (JS1 and SS3) in both unity and state schools (see *Appendix L*). The following Table 17 shows the changes in national identity from the beginning to the end of the year in unity and state schools. In unity schools, national identity levels increase over time while in state schools the reverse is observed.

⁴ During the analysis, I ran regressions with both the beginning and end of the year national identity levels as outcome variables, but here I include the results of the end of the year measure for simplicity. Both regressions came out with similar results.

Table 17: Change Over Time in National Identity in FUCs (N=483) vs. State Schools (N=139)

	FUCs	State Schools
Variable	Change	Change
National Identity	0.021	-0.073

Based on two-tailed t-test: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.005$, * $p < 0.01$

I went on to further explore the correlation between the variables of interest. Interestingly, all variables at the end of the year (national identity, tolerance, ethnic identity, religious identity, and school identity) are positively correlated with those at the beginning of the year ($p < 0.001$)—meaning that a higher national identity at the beginning of the year is associated with a higher one at the end of the year.⁵ I was also surprised to find that ethnic, religious, and school identities are positively associated with national identity both at the beginning and end of the year ($p < 0.001$). While relationships do exist, none of the variables are highly correlated; thus multicollinearity is not an issue in the multiple regression model described in the next section.

⁵ I include a multiple regression analysis testing the relationship between beginning and end of year national identity in the appendices (see *Appendix L*). Again, I find that beginning of year national identity predicts end of year national identity even when controlling for student characteristics and other end of year tolerance and identity measures ($p < 0.01$).

Multiple regression. The multiple regression analysis provides deeper insight on the relation between national identity and school type. Model 1 in Table 18 establishes the unadjusted relationship between unity schools and national identity. The results unexpectedly suggest lower national identity levels for unity school students in comparison with state school students ($p < 0.01$).

In the second model, I accounted for tolerance and find that this does not change the relationship between unity schools and national identity with unity school students still showing a lower national identity on average ($p < 0.01$). As indicated by the correlation measures previously discussed, we see a negative association between national identity and tolerance ($p < 0.01$), meaning that as a student's tolerance decreases, their national identity is more likely to increase.

Model 3 then further adjusts the estimated relationship between unity schools and national identity levels for religious identity. In doing so, unity school students continue to show a lower national identity on average ($p < 0.01$). While tolerance appears as negatively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$), religious identity is positively related to national identity ($p < 0.01$), as supported by the correlation results. This means that an increase in religious identity is associated with an increase in national identity while the opposite is true for the relationship between tolerance and national identity.

In the fourth model, I adjust for ethnic identity which also leaves the relationship between national identity and unity schools the same—with unity school students exhibiting lower national identities on average when compared with state school students ($p < 0.01$). Just as in the previous model, religious identity holds a positive relationship with national identity while tolerance is negatively associated with national identity ($p <$

0.01). Ethnic identity joins religious identity in being positively correlated with national identity ($p < 0.01$) as already suggested by the correlation results.

The fifth model adjusts for school identity, which now joins ethnic and religious identity in their positive relationship with national identity ($p < 0.01$) while tolerance remains negatively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$). In the meantime, the relationship between national identity and school type holds steady with unity school students demonstrating a lower national identity compared with state school students ($p < 0.01$).

In the sixth model, I further accounted for grade which leaves the relationship between national identity and school type the same with unity school students having lower national identities on average ($p < 0.05$). Religious, ethnic, and school identities each remain positively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$) while tolerance remains negatively associated ($p < 0.05$). Furthermore, JS1 (the youngest) students have higher national identities on average compared with SS3 (the oldest) students ($p < 0.01$).

In Model 7, I controlled for religion and again find that unity school students have lower national identities on average in comparison with state school students ($p < 0.05$). Tolerance continues to be negatively associated with national identity ($p < 0.05$), and religious, ethnic, and school identities remain positively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$). The youngest students (JS1) also continue to show higher national identities on average compared with the oldest (SS3) students ($p < 0.01$). Muslim students also show to have higher national identities on average when compared with Christian students ($p < 0.1$).

Model 8 includes ethnicity as an explanatory variable but shows no relationship between ethnicity and national identity ($p > 0.1$). Including ethnicity as an explanatory variable also eliminates the suggested relationship between religion and national identity that appeared in the previous model ($p > 0.1$). All other relationships presented thus far remain the same with a negative association between tolerance and national identity ($p < 0.05$), a positive relationship between religious, ethnic, and school identities respectively ($p < 0.01$), and a higher national identity on average among JS1 students compared with SS3 students ($p < 0.01$). Most importantly, the relationship between national identity and school type also holds with unity school students showing a lower national identity on average when compared with state school students ($p < 0.01$).

The ninth model adjusts for sex and suggests no relationship between sex and national identity ($p > 0.1$). Again, there is no difference suggested in national identity across ethnic or religious groups ($p > 0.1$) while JS1 students continue to show higher national identities when compared with SS3 students ($p < 0.01$). Religious, ethnic, and school identities remain positively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$) while tolerance continues to be negatively related to national identity ($p < 0.05$). Even with all of these adjustments, unity school students still demonstrate higher national identities on average when compared with state school students ($p < 0.05$).

In the final model, when I include school location, students attending schools in Abuja show higher national identities on average when compared with students attending schools in Lagos ($p < 0.05$). This suggests the importance of school proximity to the capital in influencing student perceptions of the nation. There remains no difference in national identities among sex, ethnic, and religious groups ($p > 0.1$) while the youngest

students (JS1) still show a higher national identity on average when compared with the oldest (SS3) ($p < 0.01$).⁶ This indicates that national identities decrease over time in the schools with SS3 students in both state and unity schools showing lower national identities when compared with JS1 students. Religious, ethnic, and school identities each remain positively associated with national identity ($p < 0.01$) while tolerance continues to be negatively associated with national identity ($p < 0.05$). Even in the final model, with adjustments for tolerance and identity along with other explanatory variables for grade, religion, ethnicity, sex, and school location, unity school students continue to show lower national identity levels on average when compared with state school students ($p < 0.1$).

I also find some variation in national identity by school suggesting that students' sex and/or the way sex interacts with school factors are important in shaping national identity levels. I have included an analysis and tables in the appendices (see *Appendix N*) and plan to expound upon more in-depth school-specific analysis in future publications and research.

Discussion of Survey Findings

The survey findings indicate a relationship between schools and the shaping of national identity, which is of particular relevance to a nation experiencing ethno-religious conflict, such as Nigeria. School influence on national identity can change the way students from different ethnic and religious groups identify with each other (Holtman et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998; Turner et al., 1987), and this can in turn reshape social relations over time. While unity school students demonstrate no difference in tolerance

⁶ The opposite results for tolerance and national identity—with JS1 students showing lower tolerance (see Chapter IV) but higher national identity when compared with SS3 students—aligns with previous findings about the inverse relationship between tolerance and national identity across time.

with students in state schools, which do not have the same emphasis on unifying an ethnically and religiously diverse nation (see survey results presented in Chapter 4), they do surprisingly show a lower national identity (i.e., when national identity is patriotic/uncritical) on average than state school students. To understand why, let us first take a closer look at some of the other survey findings presented thus far.

Table 18: Relationship Between School Type and National Identity (End of Year)
N=622 Students

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
<u>School Type</u>										
Unity	-0.384***	-0.374***	-0.353***	-0.373***	-0.277***	-0.217***	-0.199**	-0.205**	-0.196**	-0.173*
	-0.102	-0.097	-0.0897	-0.0884	-0.0893	-0.0916	-0.0917	-0.0915	-0.093	-0.0928
<u>Identities</u>										
Tolerance (EoY)	-0.214***	-0.214***	-0.170***	-0.119***	-0.122***	-0.0875**	-0.0840**	-0.0869**	-0.0779**	-0.0808**
	-0.0397	-0.0397	-0.0371	-0.0375	-0.0365	-0.0366	-0.0364	-0.0364	-0.0368	-0.0365
Religious Identity (EoY)	0.374***	0.374***	0.374***	0.275***	0.262***	0.261***	0.254***	0.251***	0.256***	0.248***
	-0.037	-0.0407	-0.0398	-0.0407	-0.0398	-0.0388	-0.0393	-0.0404	-0.0403	-0.0411
Ethnic Identity (EoY)	0.259***	0.259***	0.257***	0.205***	0.205***	0.202***	0.202***	0.207***	0.203***	0.197***
	-0.0382	-0.0382	-0.0375	-0.0382	-0.0383	-0.0386	-0.0386	-0.0397	-0.0399	-0.0401
School Identity (EoY)	0.145***	0.145***	0.145***	0.192***	0.192***	0.190***	0.190***	0.186***	0.189***	0.205***
	-0.0384	-0.0384	-0.0384	-0.0398	-0.0398	-0.0398	-0.0397	-0.0396	-0.0396	-0.0403
<u>Student Characteristics</u>										
JS1	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Muslim	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Yoruba	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Hausa	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Igbo	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Female	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
FCT	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Constant	0.298***	0.290***	0.274***	0.290***	0.215***	-0.0361	-0.081	-0.00998	0.0361	-0.11
	-0.0876	-0.0826	-0.0762	-0.0758	-0.0778	-0.0951	-0.0974	-0.108	-0.112	-0.13
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0.02	0.068	0.206	0.263	0.283	0.306	0.31	0.316	0.318	0.323

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The positive relationship between national identity and ethnic, religious, and school identities respectively is noteworthy. The literature shows that the relationship among ethnic and religious identities is unclear and depends on the context (Dyrstad, 2012; Karell, 2015; Masella, 2013); however, in the case of Nigeria where ethnic and religious identifications are known to compete with ideas of a nation—a nation created based on arbitrary boundaries drawn by people who did not consider location of African ethnic groups—it is surprising to find that students appear to align ethnic, religious, and national identity (Eifert et al., 2010; Fanon, 2007; Mamdani, 1996; Miles & Rochefort, 1991; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). The positive relation between school and national identities—overall in both unity and state schools, as shown in the positive correlation of school and national identity variables (discussed above) and shown in the multiple regression analysis (Table 19)—indicates the connection between the relationship one has with the school and with the nation (see also Reisner, 1922; Weber, 1976).

The survey findings lead me to ask the following question: what if the national identity that has become important in Nigeria is an individual connected to a nation and its symbols rather than one focused on a connection to the people in that nation? In other words, a relationship with diverse others in unity schools may change one's own ethnic and religious identity and in turn shift one's identification to the nation. National identity could be lower in unity schools because unity schools are creating opportunities for diverse relationships, or at least putting more emphasis on differences within the larger group (i.e., focusing on sub-groups as a part of the whole nation). This in turn may change students' perception of national identity to one that includes a connection of people to a nation rather than one that emphasizes their individual ethnic and religious

characteristics or links to national symbols as defining who is Nigerian (Brubaker, 2009; Turner et al., 1987; Wakefield et al., 2011).

In turning back to the literature expanding upon different types and aspects of national identity (see McVeigh, 2004), it may be that unity schools change the way students conceive of the nation. This new conception may contrast with the more widely spread perception of national identity and the overarching dialogue about what it means to be Nigerian. It is possible that the more common concept of the nation is one that unites Nigerians under particular characteristics, such as a particular look, type of music, food, and dress (referred to as an ethnic notion of national identity) (Brubaker, 2009). When students took the survey, they may have associated the current wider perception of Nigerian-ness with the questions making up the national identity construct. For example, when they answer the question, “How close do you feel to being Nigerian?” they may have associated “being Nigerian” with current intergroup conflict and/or a more exclusive perception of national identity (i.e., ethnic notion of national identity) that sees only particular groups as part of the nation. In unity schools, students are presented with a highly diverse group of others who become their community as will be explored later in this chapter using interview data. Unity school students may change their notion of national identity to a more civic based concept that encompasses diversity (Brubaker, 1992; Wakefield et al., 2011); a civic notion of national identity is “based on equal individual rights, regardless of origin, and equal recognition of all cultural traditions in the public sphere” (Adam, 1994, p. 17). In other words, students in unity schools may show to identify less with the nation in terms of currently established national symbols, political parties, and “being Nigerian” (all measured within the national identity survey

construct and that may be associated with the more ethnic/exclusive national identity) as they have experiences in unity schools that challenge current widespread perceptions of what it means to be Nigerian. This aligns with the finding that unity school students have more diverse interethnic close friendships—highlighting the increased openness to ethnic diversity in unity schools both in friendships and in the way students think about the nation.

The survey results suggest a negative relationship between tolerance and national identity meaning that a higher national identity is linked with a lower tolerance. This indicates that the national identity measured in the survey may be more linked to an uncritical nationalism or patriotism rather than an encompassing form of national identity that necessitates tolerance among groups—as aligned with the discussion above. If this is the case, then why do unity and state school students demonstrate a difference in national identity but not in tolerance? Although unity and state school students showed no difference in tolerance levels (see Chapter 4), social network analysis and qualitative data suggest that this lack of difference is related to the greater opportunity for religious division in unity schools due to the separation of religious practices in a boarding school situation. However, the findings indicate that this could be corrected to move toward increasing unity school student tolerance levels with better designed and more integrated school practices around religious division. While the greater religious separation in unity schools compared with greater ethnic separation in state schools may have influenced an equaling out of tolerance levels,¹ increased interethnic relations in unity schools may be

¹ As discussed in Chapter IV, ethnicity and religion were both important to the overall tolerance measure; thus unity and state school students may have shown more tolerance on religion and ethnicity respectively. However, because the tolerance index included both ethnic and religious aspects, this could have influenced unity and state school students as showing similar tolerance levels overall. This may partly

more pertinent in influencing students to deviate from the wider understanding of national identity—possibly explaining the difference in national identity levels between unity and state school students. In other words, increased interethnic relations in unity schools may influence students to move toward what Bereketeab (2002) calls a “supraethnic national identity” that shifts members of a nation closer to a civic national identity because of an increasing reliance on a greater national bond (through national institutions or other means) as national identity better encompasses diversity (p. 149). Ethnic or religious groups no longer serve as the crux of one’s relationship to or status within the nation. This contrasts with the more widely accepted ethnic understanding (objectivist criteria relating to ethnicity, religion, birth, and place of residence) of national identity where one is more linked to the nation based on one’s ethnic or religious group (Brubaker, 1992; Wakefield et al., 2011).² The national identity that shows up as lower among unity school students appears to simply be a different type of national identity—one that is less linked to an uncritical patriotism belonging to a particular ethnic group and, instead, more related to an incorporation of ethnic diversity into a higher category of national membership (see Turner et al., 1987). A transition to an increased civic national identity arguably prepares the nation to better handle diversity (Putnam, 2007b) and is more aligned with what we generally refer to as modern or developed nations (Golob et al., 2016). In the next section, I present interview and observation data to explore the

explain the surprising lack of difference between state and unity schools on the tolerance measure. This indicates that for unity schools to achieve their stated purpose, it is important to understand this religious division and the school practices in unity schools that influence tolerance and intergroup relations.

² National identity is widely discussed as having two primary distinctions—civic and ethnic (Brubaker, 1992). An ethnic outlook on national identity leans more on ancestry or descent and involves more deterministic criteria for who is and is not part of the nation. A civic view of national identity references the nation’s social institutions and presents citizenship as more voluntary upon the acceptance of these social institutions and corresponding values (Wakefield et al., 2011). See the section on “National Identity” Chapter II – Literature Review for more on ethnic and civic notions of national identity.

ways in which unity schools shape this national identity and the shifting of social relations among students.

The Shifting of Social Relations and Concept of National Identity in Unity Schools

Schools, particularly unity schools, do appear to shift the concept of national identity and social relations among students as also indicated by the survey and social network findings (see also Chapter 4). In this section analyzing interview and observation data, I first look at varying concepts of national identity in unity schools and finish with a closer look at school community—a concept that I find to be the greatest source of change for students in unity schools.

National Identity

Both within Nigerian discourse and schools, I observed a purposefully explicit presentation of the national unity of ethnic groups—conveyed as “unity in diversity” and “we are all one”—and an expression of building patriotism that contrasts with the more subtle and banal fashion generally expressed in the United States, my own country, and other Western contexts, where it is taken for granted as something more natural and widespread (see Billig, 1995). This is evident in the following highly typical example from an excerpt of my observation notes on a JS1 Civic class at a unity school where the teacher/curriculum explicitly state the way national unity and patriotism are promoted in Nigeria.

The following is written on the board:

“In order to ensure that national unity is promoted and the spirit of oneness and patriotism is developed the Nigeria government established some national institutions such as:

1. The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)
2. The unity school
3. The federal character commission The NYSC: This was established in 1973 by Federal Government of Nigeria is to ensure that Nigeria youths especially graduates engage in a compulsory one year service outside their geographical area.”

(School 2, Unity, JS1 Civic, Observation, June 25, 2018)

From political advertisements to conversations with taxi drivers, this explicit expression of “oneness” and “national unity” dominates conversations related to Nigeria. “We are all one” is commonly used as a phrase to describe Nigeria as a nation coming together despite the differences, yet when unraveling this ambiguous phrase, it is unclear what people are coming together around, as evidenced in the following interview with a unity school social studies teacher. We do not even see a particular set of ideals presented as something that unites the people.

Isabella: I don't know but you will just notice it coming up like when we teach social studies, you know that some of the topics have to do with national unity like the topic I taught last week was national consciousness and integration which is actually talking about us being united as one. The points I gave to them one of the ways government have tried to promote this national integration is through this unity colleges so I tried finding out who is from Akwa Ibom state, who is from Lagos state they raised their you will see that they are from different states. So I tried to make them understand that the government wants them to unite so we must learn to come together and act as one Nigeria that it is true we are different, our languages are different, our cultures are different but coming together is what really consolidate us as a country as a nation. I even tried to tell them when I was teaching them last week that the first national anthem we had revealed our diversity and that is why it was withdrawn and a new one was made. They asked me to sing the anthem because they never knew the anthem, so I sang it and that anthem goes; Nigeria we hail thee, our own dear native land, though tribes may differ in brotherhood we stand, Nigerians are proud to serve our sovereign motherland. When I sang it, I wrote it on the board and showed them where the diversity came in and that is why that anthem was withdrawn and the new one we have now was brought. I try to let them know the need for our integration, not minding our religion, not minding our different ethnic groups and so on

(School 4, Unity, Social Studies Teacher Interview, May 4, 2018)

Generally, people feel an obligation to love the nation simply because they are from the nation, as expressed in the following interview with a unity school social studies teacher.

Ayuba: Being a Nigerian is great. Although, nobody will come and say, “I don't like my country.” You must like your country, whether the country is good or bad because you are a son of the soil. Then another thing is that, Nigeria is a great country, just like we talk of unity in diversity, you go out, anywhere you go, they are hard-working, Nigerians are hard-working when it comes to that. Once they set that this is my goal, they walk towards it and make sure they get it.

(School 2, Unity, Social Studies Teacher Interview, February 6, 2018)

Students and teachers express this love for the nation and tend to cognitively separate it from what they see as persistent problems within the nation such as corruption, malpractice, and conflict.

While Nigerian citizenship processes, rights, and duties are a focus of the formal Civic curriculum, the way that people actually think about their connection to the nation differs greatly from the strong focus on government that is presented in the curriculum—a focus that is likely influenced by global discourse on democracy and citizenship but that is less tied to the reality on the ground in Nigeria (see Buckner & Russell, 2013). More commonly, responsibility to the nation is centered around the family and less so around the government—which is generally seen as corrupt. For this reason, individuals may experience a weakened sense of national citizenship when compared to ties to the family or other groups/institutions that provide them with more direct resources and empowerment (Lockwood, 1996). The idea that the family is more responsible than the

government for peaceful coexistence widely persists, as indicated in the following piece of an interview with a unity school civic teacher.

Interviewer: Hmm...And so do the students think that right now there is good governance? **Uyai:** Well, we are....we've seen it with our own eyes the government is trying.

Interviewer: Yeah...

Uyai: The government is trying, but you know that er...there will always be bad eggs around even in the family, if you have 10 children, you will not be able to gather for all of them, in fact you will be trying while maybe one will be there to make sure that it brings out problem once in a while.

Interviewer: *Chuckles*

Uyai: Ehen, so like now, maybe the...the population is too large that the government cannot be here and be there. They are trying and we told them that the government is trying, so we too the er...security must start from the family, so if the security starts from the family, it will spread outside so we taught them to be aware, to be...to be....we taught them to be aware of the security even when they are out on the streets, even in the school.

Interviewer: Hmm...

Uyai: They know all these things so that they will not be entangled with any danger.

Interviewer: Hmm...so when you say, when you teach about security starting in the family, what do you mean by that?

Uyai: What do I mean by that?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Uyai: Yeah...you know, since we have several things coming up in the, the kidnapping, the rituals so as a parent in the family, you have to give your child a password because somebody can come in and knock and say, "Oh, your mother said I should come and pick something." whereas it is not the parent that said, so your child must quickly know that, who, that person is not sent by the parents and they can call the police, just like you call 419, you call the police if you are not sure of who you are seeing.

Interviewer: Hmm...And would you say that peaceful co-existence in Nigeria starts with the family or the government?

Uyai: From the family.

Interviewer: Okay.

Uyai: Yes.

Interviewer: And so how should the family promote peaceful coexistence?

Uyai: By loving their children, show them love, care for them, be aware of their friendship, be aware...the friends that they mingle with, so from there you will know, so that your child will not be misinformed outside.

Interviewer: Hmm... i see, I see ...

Uyai: Yeah.

(School 2, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 19, 2018)

Another unity school civic teacher talks about the family being the actual provider for an individual. She also references the dependence on particular people with money and power to get things done, which I also experienced outside of the schools.

Elizabeth: They don't do that. Being a citizen is you are on your own, your family will cater for you, it's them that will provide for you, not the government, you understand? It's only your parents that will make sure you go to school, make sure that everything works for you before you get a job, the things that government do here in Nigeria, luckily, if you have someone here, they can help you to provide job for you.

Interviewer: Yeahhh.

Elizabeth: You understand? because everyone has their own honorable members and senators, those people are the people that control our this thing, what do they call it? Nigerians sha....like everyone in this country has their own, the people that represent for them, so when they have something like job anything that you want to do in your country, you want to do in your citizen, like local government, it's only them that can help you for you to do it, they will give you money to run about it but it will hardly for you to get it, it's only when you know somebody, they will now help you so that's how they do here.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 15, 2018)

Clearly all of this shapes the way people discuss and think about national identity both within and outside the schools. Unity school teachers talk about how Nigeria is a place where one makes a home (as shown in the following excerpt), but, despite the constant emphasis on national unity, it is rare to see discussion on true concern for the well-being of others within the nation.

Interviewer: What do you say to a student who says they want to leave Nigeria?

Esomo: We don't allow that, Nigeria is a place where you can live and make whatever you want to make, except you are the one that, if you are greedy, except a greedy person, there's nothing you go abroad to look for that is not in Nigeria, do you understand? There is no shortcut to anything, if you are determined and hardworking, whatever you think is in Sokoto, you will get it in Sokoto, that's how we make the parlance. Nigeria is a good place, full of gold, whatever you can think of, we have them. If you are patient, determined and hard-working, you will get it.

(School 1, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 2, 2018)

This appears to be the concept of national identity that unity schools start to break down and change through the building of relationships and intergroup concern via informal interactions. One unity school civic teacher recognizes the lack of intergroup understanding and trust as the basis of conflict and sees unity schools as having a role in changing this by creating opportunity for intergroup connection.

Fati: Most a' times when we have issues, all these issues about religious crisis or what, it's actually lack of understanding and then we don't trust each other because we don't know ourselves.

....

Fati: As a people, if we appreciate ourselves as being Nigerians and patriotic, many of the problems we are having today will not happen but like I said, a disconnection from the history and that patriotism, that love for our entity, Nigeria and so that is the problem. And so you have parents that don't feel that, they don't teach their children. Even among the er, there are teachers that don't feel that so we can't teach the students that so we have to have more of us that appreciate what it is to be a Nigerian, not that I'm a Muslim or I'm a Gbagyi person but I'm a Nigerian, that's the most important thing.

Interviewer: And do you think that by the time the students will leave the school, that this has become, that being Nigerian has become stronger?

Fati: Yes! Yes, it has.

Interviewer: Hmm...

Fati: Till today, there are many of them, till today, they keep connecting, they create avenue for them to connect because they appreciated that the school was a premise to allow them to actually, okay, yes, I understand that I'm Igbo, that's based on ethnic group. Okay, I'm this, based on religion but the most important thing at all times is that you are a Nigerian.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

She sees unity schools as creating avenues for connection that supersede ethnic and religious identities by prioritizing national identity—or emphasizing national identity as an overarching category that includes diverse groups (see Turner et al., 1987) as was indicated by the survey findings on national identity. I will now move into a discussion

on how unity schools shift national identity and social relations through school community.

School Community

Even amidst ineffective school practices, negative jokes, and other forms of intergroup separation as presented in Chapters 4 and 5, the school community in unity schools emerges as highly important to shifting student social relations and their concept of national identity. The normal everyday intergroup interactions that a unity school facilitates are what appear to have the largest influence in changing the way students interact and think about each other and the nation. As this group of SS3 students at an all male unity school note: students interact together, and in regularly talking and seeing each other, they simply learn. The students emphasize that intergroup interactions are just a normal part of life at the school, and this space of a shifted normality is where transformation of intergroup relations appears to occur.

Interviewer: Do most people get along better, what happens?

Daran: We don't have anything to say about that

Udo: Most people get along better

Interviewer: Do you guys feel like you've learnt more about other religions and ethnic groups since you got here

Udo and Folu: Yes M

Interviewer: All of you?

All: Yes

Interviewer: Why have you learnt about it?

Esomchi: Because we interact with them

Agude: We talk to each other and that's how learn

Interviewer: So how do you talk about it because you can be friends and not talk about it

Daran: Ma, when we see each other every day we just have to talk about it

(School 3, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 All Male, October 9, 2017)

As demonstrated in the following interview with a group of SS3 students in an all female unity school, the students talk about dining, laughing, celebrating birthdays, and dorm life as bringing the diverse group of students together.

Igbo Christian Student: We are actually together, we eat together during, we cross over together

Yoruba Christian Student: We make fun of teachers

Yoruba Muslim Student: On people's birthday

Interviewer: What do you do on people's birthdays?

Yoruba Muslim Student 2: We celebrate in the midnight

Interviewer: What do you do?

Yoruba Muslim Student 2: We beat [*referring to physical beating*]

Igbo Christian Student: We pour them water

Yoruba Muslim Student: Friendly beating

Interviewer: Do people like that?

Yoruba Muslim Student: Some people

Igbo Christian Student 2: It's just the tradition

(School 4, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 All Female, November 2, 2017)

Many students in unity schools reference these informal interactions (i.e., interactions not facilitated by formal classroom and school practices) as being spaces where they learn from other groups including learning about other ethnic groups, religions, and languages. This is again shown in the following excerpt from an end of year interview with an SS3 unity school student. She talks about how when she first came to the school, she preferred to “relate with” her own ethnic and religious group but that over time she became curious to learn the different languages and make new friends. She talks about the moment when she decided to branch out and make more diverse friends, identifying it as the moment she realized her friends from her own ethno-religious group had friends from other groups. She became aware of how much they were learning from each other, and she wanted to be a part of it.

Joy: JS1.... I don't used to, when I was in JS1, I don't used to relate with other ethnic group.

Interviewer: You liked to

Joy: I don't use to relate with other ethnic group or religion (hiss).... But now I used to relate with everybody.

Interviewer: So when you first came you didn't want to. Why not?

Joy: I don't know o. Nothing, I just felt maybe (hiss)....they are not, they are not belong to

Interviewer: So what made you change?

Joy: Because they were friendly and when they speak their language, I just... I love to learn it so I made many new friends.

Interviewer: So was that during your JS1 Year? That you made this will your friends or was it later?

Joy: Later

Interviewer: Like when?

Joy: JS2, JS3.... That was

Interviewer: So JS1 you mostly stayed with Yorubas and with Christians?

Joy: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. Was there a moment where you said 'Oh I wanna make more friends of different' ?

Joy: Yes

Interviewer: When? Tell me about that moment

Joy: When most of my friends that are from the same ethnic groups. They also have, they also know some other language and when I ask how they learn, they say is from their friend. Their friends use to teach them. So I was like, me too let me have some friends that are from other ethnic group.

Interviewer: Mhmm...so that was during JS2 and JS3?

Joy: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. So then how did you start making those friends?

Joy: By meeting...by meeting them, gisting with them and then helping them do some things then we became close.

(School 2, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Yoruba Christian, April 23, 2018)

This aligns with the extended contact hypothesis that proposes that knowledge of a close relationship between an in-group and out-group member can increase positive intergroup perceptions among group members who do not necessarily have close intergroup relationships themselves (Wright et al., 1997). In other words, this student expanded her willingness to learn from groups outside of her own because she became aware of friends from her own group interacting with and learning from other groups. This openness to

other groups translated into her building actual friendships with students from other groups, and intergroup friendships can be a powerful tool in reshaping intergroup attitudes and perceptions (Turner et al., 2007).

Another JS1 unity school student also talks about learning languages from other students in her free time, which she references as Saturdays after students have undergone the weekly dorm inspection. This extra informal time over the weekend in unity schools—as they are boarding schools—allows for more points of intergroup learning within informal spaces.

Ladi: I really like following other people that we're not the same religion or the same language, I like following people that speak other languages so that I can try to learn their languages too.

Interviewer: Hmm...And when do you learn their language?

Ladi: Anytime I'm free. Anytime I don't have any work to do.

Interviewer: So like when is that, usually?

Ladi: Maybe on Saturday after inspection. Because every Saturday we have inspection.

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, JS1 Female Hausa Christian, November 16, 2017)

One of the head girls at a unity school talks about students mixing among groups and singing interethnic and interreligious songs in their free time in the dorm. She talks about how it would be strange for people to engage in this kind of intermixing outside the school, but the unity school creates a new type of community that encourages students to interact in ways that challenge existing social norms outside the school.

Head Girl: When we are singing, I know alot of Igbo and Yoruba songs now, we like to drum in my dorm it is an Efunjoke tradition after exam we just come to dorm and we are drumming on lockers and we are singing Igbo songs and most of them are praise and worship but nobody cares it is just fine and we are dancing. I know that if we are outside and as a Muslim and you are dancing to Christian songs they will find you weird like why would you do that don't you know they are unbelievers. Schools like this, it does not matter to us any more, you will see

many [students from this school] that are dating [students from another unity school] and when you ask them what tribe is the boy you are dating and they are like I think he is Ijaw or something, like they don't really care. I think that is the greatest things about unity schools

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

Another SS3 unity school student talks about the importance of informal interactions and dorm life in shifting her views of other ethnic groups. Specifically she talks about pre-conceived notions she had about Igbos and Hausas before coming to the school. For instance, prior to spending so much time with Hausa students, she thought that the Hausa people were bad because of what she has heard about Fulani herdsmen and Boko Haram (both largely associated with the Hausas as discussed in Chapter I). She attributes her change in views, not to a specific formal school practice or to what she has been taught through school curriculum, but rather to just “talking” and spending time with different groups in places she mentions such as classrooms, rooms, the dining hall, the store, and the dorm.

Interviewer: Okay. And so out of all of these things, have any of these changed your views about any of these changes since your time in Queens, since you were in JS 1?

Priscilla: Hmm... ethnic groups.

Interviewer: Yeah

Priscilla: Other ethnic groups.

Interviewer: How has it changed?

Priscilla: Like, sometimes I think that; in primary school, I thought that only Igbos are fair, I thought Hausa people were bad because of the Fulani herdsmen and Boko-Haram, but when I got here, I now, like related with a lot of people and like “oo, they not really bad.” They are just their selves; they are just part of the bigger... (Inaudible 27:40 - 27:43) ...just normal people.

Interviewer: And what taught you to, what made you change your mind about them?

Priscilla: Well it's just that we talk a lot, so, when we talk we trade ideas and everything. So when we talk I observe what they're saying, how they say it, like how they feel, their body language; everything is just normal. Like we're talking

about Igbo land; it's just like, and some Igbo people they don't know about their tribes, like why is, like me too, cause I don't know much about my tribe. So we're just like "oo, you too you don't know," then we'll now start talking... (Inaudible 28:21) ...what we think that they do there; sha it's okay.

...

Interviewer: Okay. And, so, your views about Hausas changed; why do you think they changed?

Priscilla: Uhh, because of the Hausa people I met in school.

Interviewer: Okay, and now where did you meet them?

Priscilla: Umm, classrooms, rooms, dining hall, wherever we just sit down and meet, store; everywhere, like we just talk, we just start talking; and, sha we met, talked about things, we just clicked in that moment... (Inaudible 29:20-29:25).

Interviewer: And where do you have most time to talk about these things?

Priscilla: In the dorm; cause we're allowed to visit each other, so sometimes I'll go or they'll come; even in the dorm we have Hausa people there, so we'll just talk. During like; and most of the times, the Nigerians they like to support their culture cause what they taught them, what they're used to. And Hausa people, they're just very funny cause not used to... (Inaudible 29:51-29:55).

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Christian³, April 25, 2018)

A Yoruba Muslim SS3 student provides yet another example of learning about different groups when she talks about her views of other ethnic groups changing over time in the unity school because of her interactions and informal observation of other students.

Notably, just as did Priscilla in the previous excerpt, she talks specifically about her views of Hausas—the ethnic group that was shown in Chapter 5 to be the most stigmatized—positively changing during her time in the unity school. She even talks about listening into a Christian Religious Studies class to learn more about Christianity—indicating the interest of students in formally learning about other religious and ethnic groups as also discussed in Chapter 4.

Interviewer: And have any of your views on any of these things changed since you were in JS1?

Wunmi: Other ethnic groups; when I was in Primary school, I always thought the Hausas don't like education, their women; they don't allow their women to be educated but when I got to this school and I saw some of my mates being Hausas

³ I have not disclosed her ethnicity for reasons of confidentiality.

and they learnt and they were very intelligent, my mentality about that changed. Other religions; before....even if I....I had Christians in my former....in my Primary school, I usually think they are not like part of us our beliefs are not the same thing but when I got to this school I made friends we got to interact with each other, then I learnt that other religions are also part of us. Like we believe in the same God, especially the Christians, like we believe the same God. Then, your religion; I learnt more about my religion when I got to this school because before I just believed that you just supposed to pray just pray, pray and pray but when I got to this school I learnt that it's not just praying, you should be nice to everyone around you.

Interviewer: And where did you learn all these things?

Wunmi: We offer IRS in junior school, JS1- 3, so I learnt IRS. Then, sometimes when we finish with IRS class, during IRS, the Christians students have their CRS so sometimes we finish our IRS class very early. So I'll just stay on the....because we are not allowed to enter the class when the teacher is already teaching. So I'll just stay on the corridor, be listening to their teacher talking to them. Then, I learnt about their own religion too.

Interviewer: And what about....how did you learn about the Hausas?

Wunmi: The Hausas....

Interviewer: Because you said your views about them as well....

Wunmi: Yes. When....it was their behavior that made me....I just observed that, that, there was this girl, she is our deputy head girl now, she is an Hausa girl. Before I always think Hausas, they don't like educating their women, their girls but when I got to this school and I met her she is very intelligent.

Interviewer: Where did you meet her?

Wunmi: She was in JS1Q and I was in JS1 U so sometimes we have to merge our classes if our teacher teaching us the subject is not around we just join their class to not to be wasting our time in our class and making noise, shouting and we just join their class. She was always participating in class, answering questions and I noticed that she was a Hausa girl.

(School 4, Unity, Individual Student Interview, SS3 Female Yoruba Muslim, November 2, 2017)

One unity school head girl goes on to talk about how her experiences of learning and building friendships at the school with students from other ethnic/religious groups allow for the dissolution of what they have been taught poorly in the past about other ethnic/religious groups. She says this gives her the courage to confront people when they say discriminatory things against other groups outside the school. She talks about a *ripple effect*—pointing to the very important potential of unity schools' contribution in

positively reshaping social relations. In the excerpt below, I have bolded the most important quote where she introduces the idea of a ripple effect.

Head Girl: Then another reason why it's (...) to come to this kind of school is because its no longer Igbo people, or Hausa people. It becomes my friends, so if I'm outside and someone wants makes a very ignorant or offensive comment about Igbos or Hausas or Yorubas, I get very offended because you're talking about my friends, and the fact that I'm in the same school with them, it allows me to always defend them because I can say I have Igbo friends and this is not how they are, like no-what you're saying is wrong, Igbo people are not the way you think, Hausas are not the way you think they are. So the fact that they change from being this topic to being actual people who we are friends with, so you begin to love them, so you want to protect them and you don't want to be a part of anything that will....

....

Head Girl: The time I came to this school was when like Boko Haram was very very active and every single time you see Boko Haram on the headlines and everything. So, you know Muslims were being constantly attacked and they always felt like they had to carry all the blame and everything and like people also knew little or nothing about Islam and they were always-because there are people who spread fake chapters from the Qur'an or something, so being here allowed my friends to ask me "okay [interviewee's name], is this true?" then I'm like "no, it's not true" and I actually get my Qur'an and I'm like okay see, look....I was able to show them proof of that and they were like wow, that they never knew that. So it makes it easier for us to face these things that we've been made to believe over time

Interviewer: Hmmm

Head Girl: *We're able to clear out those and I believe it's like going to create like a huge ripple effect because you go home and your mummy says something and you're like no mum that's not how it is and your friend says something and you hear something and you're able to correct that so I believe this is where like the change for peace, hopefully one day, where you know, our differences won't really matter anymore, it starts from schools like this.*

Interviewer: Hmmm

Head Girl: Cuz I don't think I'll go out into the world now and I'll see someone who is not my tribe or not my religion and I'll not tolerate the person, after I've-if I'm able to go to [names school], then I think I can go anywhere

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

Unity schools create a new community that mirrors Nigerian society as a whole but that is more sheltered from the conflicts and intergroup tensions that exist outside the school.

This means that students come together in a school community that allows for the potential regeneration of intergroup social relations—especially in coming together at such a young age when identity formation is still highly malleable (Erikson, 1968). SS3 students at an all female unity school reflect on their time in the unity school at the end of their final year there. They mention their young age—upon entering the school as JS1 students—as an asset in being open to learning more about ethnic groups and making diverse friends naturally or “unconsciously.”

Interviewer: OK so you now what my project is about since the beginning of the year so is there anything you want to tell me that I should know before I start writing like anything I should know about [your school] with your different religions groups and ethnic group

Mitun: It's been great, six year now we are leaving

Sophia: It's a very good experience, it adds to your knowledge. You won't be a boring person, you will tell good stories

Interviewer: You have lots of stories?

Sophia: Yes

Interviewer: Do you feel like now that you are leaving do you feel like you know more about these ethnic groups

All: Yes

Interviewer: And how did you learn about them?

Ada and Uche: Gisting

Mitun: We became friends with others

Abisola: Unconsciously

Interviewer: Do any of you have more negative feelings toward a group than you did when you came in?

Sophia: No

Mitun: We came in when we were young, we were still innocent we weren't even thinking about any ethnic thing

(School 4, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 All Female, June 6, 2018)

School practices can also help to facilitate these informal interactions. For instance, in the following excerpt from an interview with a unity school Civic teacher, she talks about how, during her time as a House Mistress⁴, she tried to match JS1 students up with school

⁴ One of the additional roles a teacher can take on in the unity schools.

mothers and fathers of a different ethno-religious group and area of the country. She talks about how this strategy increases intergroup interactions and facilitates students experiencing the giving and receiving of “care and love” from people in groups different from one’s own. This allows for bonding opportunities among students and facilitates more diverse interactions that last beyond the JS1 year.

Shanyido: So that’s what, if you come in JS1, we give them orientation so they can understand the school environment, get familiar. After the orientation, the next thing we do is we try as much as possible, we pair them up. Like you have the school father, a school mother, so most atimes what I do when I was a House mistress, let me speak for myself, is that if you are a Muslim, I make sure that your school mother is a Christian.

Interviewer: Hmm-hmm...

Shanyido: And I’ll make sure that that school mother who is a Christian, is not from the same ethnic group. Because even in the North, there are Hausas who are Christians?

Interviewer: Hmm-hmm.

Shanyido: Aha. So I make sure that even if you are a Northerner, I will make sure I don’t give you to any Northern, a Northerner and somebody that is not from the same faith with you. And so when I do that, the first impression they have of me, “Oh this woman is wicked.”

....

Shanyido: She teaches, she even washes, they wash clothes for them.

Interviewer: Hmm...

Shanyido: When they are going to the dining, she makes sure you go for your food, you have eaten, you are fed, if you are hungry or something is happening to you, you know that motherly, the compassion, that love...

Interviewer: Yeah, making sure they are okay.

Shanyido: So, of course somebody is showing you care and love, you don’t care where they are coming from. You are more or less happy with the fact that this person is actually showing you that love and compassion, that’s what the relationship...and they are kids, so their minds, is very sensitive, they are not corrupted with all these adult views and ideas and what-have-you, and so at that age, you are able to make that child understand that the basic is love, compassion that she’s getting

...

Shanyido: So at the end of the day, when they are in JS1, already they are mingling with seniors, when they graduate in JS2, even though they don’t have a school mother anymore, at least they are in JS2, those coming in JS will now have the same treatment they were given. So, gradually, gradually, they start learning. Sometimes you could fall out with your school mother and then meet another person somewhere, you know? That way, you know this person and you know

that person, by the time you get to your SS3, already you have been taught that diversity, that appreciation of the different people in different areas that are, you know, in the Unity schools.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

Although, as discussed in Chapter 4, not all school practices are implemented or designed this well. This seemed to be her individual initiative rather than a coordinated or mandated effort.

It could be that the unity schools create a new community (or a sub-nation) that does not align with what they see in the nation at large. This may reduce attachment to a previously understood "national identity," explaining the difference in national identity between unity and state school students as found in the survey results. One unity school civic teacher talks about students from unity schools being sheltered from external influences outside the unity school community.

Interviewer: ...is there a difference between the ways students might interact in a Unity school versus in a state school?

Omo: For that I will say, a little bit yes, because those ones, they have home, they are influenced by outsiders. These ones they are here, do you understand, whatever is happening outside, does not concern these ones, except they bring the news to them. Those ones, the day students in the state, they go home, they hear news, rumors, they are influenced with bad people, whatever, these ones, they are like being in a safe place, where they listen to teachers alone, they don't have bad influence. I believe to me, I like this one.

Interviewer: Hmm...okay.

Omo: I believe this one is a bit better.

Interviewer: Okay.

Omo: To me.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Omo: Because they don't have external influence, we talk about rape, a child that is in school will not be raped, do you understand? If you talk about child abuse, they will not be abused but those ones at home, they are exposed to different risk, different danger, they may be going on their way, they would branch or divert into another place and something else will happen to them but these ones, they are safe, a bit safe by the grace of God.

Interviewer: Hmm-hmm? Okay, so they are kind of in their own little....?

Omo: Jail.

Interviewer:...school community..?

Omo: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, where you can shake them and break them.

Omo: We do, we are here to mold lives, we are molding them, even if they come here with bad character, with bad attitudes, we try to mold them, to become useful to the society and to everybody.

Interviewer: Okay.

Omo: That is it.

(School 1, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 22, 2018)

She talks about how this school community created in the unity boarding schools interrupts external influences coming from homes and the news, allowing for the remolding of students. An administrator at a unity school also discusses this school community as a shelter from conflict that is happening outside the school.

Ezinne: They won't even talk about it, they won't even react in a way to, even if there was reaction, it will still be hush hush kind of. Because who do you turn to, to begin to do what to? Because they are killing our people, I am going to begin to... No, no such thing. Once they cross this gate and enter, it becomes life of a community that is not influenced by what is happening outside the four walls of the school.

(School 1, Unity, Administrator Interview, March 21, 2018)

Additionally, in providing sufficient resources amidst diversity, unity schools create an opportunity for diverse students to mix without competing for scarce resources—one of the causes of conflict in Nigeria (Osaghae, 1998) and globally (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Le Billon, 2001). In the excerpt below, one unity school civic teacher talks about the school providing sufficient resources—“good food...water...light”—as bringing about peaceful relations among the students. This is an example of how unity schools have the power to provide a new set of circumstances for

groups who have historically been in conflict, and, in turn, generate the opportunity to restructure social relations.

Interviewer: What at the school...is there anything at the school, that the school does to help the students becomes friends with each other?

Okon: Yes....they have been preaching of er....peaceful co-existence, then the school preach that they should not be bullying, they should not bully the junior ones. You know if they bully the junior ones, if they bully them there will be...riot or if there is no water in the school, there will be riot, if there is no good food, but the school now make sure that there is good food, there is er....water, there is light, no bullying, no stealing so that all the students will be in peace with one another.

Interviewer: Hmm...Okay, so it's almost like the school makes sure that the resources are plenty?

Okon: Hmmm.....

Interviewer: So that the students have no reason to fight.

Okon: Yes

(School 2, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 19, 2018)

For unity school students, religious spaces, dormitories, and the dining hall become a second home as demonstrated in the following interview excerpt from a group of SS3 students at a mixed sex unity school.

Interviewer: When you first get in to JS1 or SS1 do you first become friends with people in your classroom or hostel?

Tani and Chetachi (Hausa Muslim and Igbo Christian Students): Hostel

Tani (Hausa Muslim Student): It is like our second home

Interviewer: And do you still feel that way?

Tani and Chetachi (Hausa Muslim and Igbo Christian Students): Yes

(School 2, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 Mixed, October 13, 2017)

Another SS3 student from this same unity school talks about this community carrying over into future interactions and conflict resolution because they have learned to live together.

Bunmi: I think since we already we have spent six years with different ethnic groups and religion, if we become senators or anything we become, we would still know how to solve this kind of problems because we have stayed with different

people and we've learnt how to live with them so I think even when we are senators we won't want side just ourselves we would want it to be equal and fair

(School 2, Unity, Group Student Interview, SS3 Mixed, April 23, 2018)

In several schools, the school community continues even beyond time in the school through alumni organizations and even Whatsapp groups.

A unity school civic teacher also talks about students learning from each other through informal interactions when she says:

Because by the time you mingle with people outside your ethnicity, it means that you are going to learn and in the learning, you will start appreciating and from appreciating, comes tolerance.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

She recognizes the way that school community can reshape how students think about each other. In the same interview when I ask whether she talks about religious conflict with students, she emphasizes the need to learn to trust one another and co-exist within diversity. She presents the concept of understanding one's own ethnicity and religion as a guard against feeling threatened by others and as a way of engaging in more peaceful interactions.

Interviewer: Do you talk about that with the students?

Shanyido: Yes! I tell them, I'm very open when I'm..because they are the younger generation and I cannot be hiding some of these information and say because, there's nothing too sensitive about this. You are a Muslim, you are a Christian, deal with that! You are Nigerians first.

Interviewer: Hmmm....

Shanyido: You are Nigerians first before any other thing.

Interviewer: Hmmm..

Shanyido: You understand? And nobody is preventing anybody from practicing, the law protects your right to religion but know your religion, know your ethnicity, know who you are, where you are coming from, know the values you stand on, so that if you have strong values, then nobody will come and influence your mind on anything because you know those values that are related to either your ethnicity or your religion.

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

Throughout her interview, she presents unity schools as having an important influence on creating this experience of diversity and teaching students to co-exist. In the excerpt below she talks about unity schools uniting diverse students under a Nigerian identity.

Shanyido: And after that, then the ethnicity, you understand? So, but the promoting now, the Unity schools is now saying, it's okay to have a religion, it's equally okay to belong to an ethnic group, you have to belong to an ethnic group because we have...you must come from somewhere but these are not important. Now, this is the selling point, being a Nigerian.

Interviewer: Hmm...

Shanyido: That's the hard one, because at the time they come, they are very strong religious and ethnic...

Interviewer:...identity

(School 3, Unity, Civic Teacher Interview, February 23, 2018)

She recognizes that identifying with an ethnic or religious group is not the problem, but that unity schools reshape student notions of how they are related to other diverse groups under a new concept of the nation that encompasses this diversity. Unity schools allow students to actually experience and practice what is perfunctorily said at the national level, "Unity among diversity." In doing so, their relationship with others and their collective relationship to the nation shifts.

A unity school administrator sums up this finding of the importance of school community in shaping social relations and national identity in the following interview excerpt.

Nwanne: But basically, that is that and I think basically when you have children from diverse ethnic groups come together, they are forming friendship that may last for as long as they live. And then you see Nigeria is a place of multiplicity of

religion and you have Christians, you have Muslims, you have all within the same school pursuing one thing, education. It is a way of forming friendship, unifying, it's like fulfilling a unification purpose.

(School 1, Unity, Administrator Interview, March 21, 2018)

She recognizes the diverse group of students coming together in a community that mirrors society and encourages the reshaping of identities—allowing the unification of students via a category that is larger than, yet inclusive of, their diverse ethnic and religious groups (Turner et al., 1987). Overall, this concept of school community can be more purposefully utilized and integrated within formal school practices and policy to shape and enhance the way diverse schools positively influence social relations—breaking the cycle of social reproduction of negative intergroup relations within schools and moving toward more purposeful social transformation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mills, 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter makes evident the importance of “school community” in diverse schools (Dewey, 2013; Milner & Tenore, 2010; Prati et al., 2018; Prati & Cicognani, 2018) in reshaping one’s relationship to the nation and with others (see Osterman, 2000; Turner et al., 1987). School community refers to relationships among students and other people within the school and contrasts with Anderman’s (2002) definition of school belonging (measured in the survey as school identity), which focuses on connectedness of students to the school. Students within a school could demonstrate a strong sense of community—connection among people within the school—without students feeling a sense of belonging to the school itself—i.e., school belonging as defined by Anderman

(2002). The school community created in unity schools appears to be the most important aspect of FUCs in shifting student social relations and student relationship to the nation. This school community serves as a bubble that mimics the ethno-religious diversity in Nigerian society yet that is protected from the pressures and conflict outside the school community. This replacement of groups into a more peaceful setting at an age when students are ripe for identity formation (Erikson, 1968) presents great opportunity for the reformation of social relations that lasts beyond school years—launching into wider society with the potential for long-term change (see Mills, 2008).

The findings in this chapter connect (a) the power of a positive diverse school community that is protected from outside conflict and influences due to its boarding school design, to (b) the positive shifting of social relations and the way students think about themselves and others in relation to the nation. As shown in the survey results presented in this chapter, students' experience of school community within a unity school setting appears to shift their identity to the nation. Unity school students show a different type of national identity from state school students—one that appears to be less linked to an uncritical patriotism belonging to a particular ethnic group and more related to an incorporation of ethnic diversity into a higher category of national membership (see Turner et al., 1987). The difference in school community between unity and state schools—where students only come together on a daily basis and do not represent the diversity of Nigeria—appears to explain the dissimilarity of national identity between unity and state school students. Through this school community, enhanced by the boarding school design, students engage in interactions and friendships that are less influenced by outside conflict and intergroup tensions due to the physical separation from

outside socializing factors. This combined with the informal interactions and living together in a diverse community that is physically separated from outside intergroup tensions gives students the space to renegotiate boundaries and sidestep stereotypes and negative social relations (Andreouli et al., 2014; Iqbal et al., 2017, p. 134; Sedano, 2012). It is important to remember, however, that simply putting a diverse group of students together does not guarantee positive social relations (Irwin, 1991; Kokkonen et al., 2010). Unity schools could better leverage the power of the school community they create by improving currently divisive and neglectful school practices, curriculum and its implementation, and school design—as have been discussed in the previous two chapters. Although unity schools students are in a boarding school bubble that is separated from the outside conflict in many ways, the school can purposefully use this position and space to help students analyze and work through the conflict in positive ways rather than leaving the renegotiation of social boundaries solely up to unplanned student interactions. In other words, the schools should take more active participation in helping students reshape social relations, negotiate a complex history, confront the challenges facing the nation today, and think about how to address conflict and social relations in the future. This separate space for students away from the larger conflict should not be seen as a solution in itself but should rather be used to allow students to explore the conflict from a different vantage point. School community in tandem with strategic school practices, implementation of effective curriculum, and school design would make the efforts of unity schools more directed and aligned with their original stated purpose—to promote “national unity and integration of students and staff of diverse cultures and religions of Nigeria” (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013, p. 4). These findings lend valuable insight into diverse

boarding schools and pair with the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 to highlight the need to improve school practices and design so as to fully capitalize on the power of school community and the powerful boarding school setup. I argue that this could positively shape social relations and students' relationship to the nation in conflict and post-conflict settings.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

The real tragedy of our postcolonial world is not that the majority of people had no say in whether or not they wanted this new world; rather, it is that the majority have not been given the tools to negotiate this new world. – Chimamanda Adichie (2006, p. 129)

Schools have a position in society that could provide tools for students to move toward more positive intergroup relations and to shape their nation as desired (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Bush et al., 2000; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005). In this dissertation, I have presented an analysis of how and whether schools in Nigeria, particularly unity schools (FUCs), achieve this. In taking a closer look at student tolerance levels and national identities juxtaposed with a deep analysis of friendship networks, interviews, observations, and curriculum, I have demonstrated areas of both intended and unintended unity and division within the schools. This research is in accord with Bush and Saltarelli (2000) who propose that education can simultaneously agitate and ease conflict and should be considered in its full complexity. As I made clear in defining conflict, conflict has the potential for both positive social change and/or negative social relations (Coleman et al., 2012) depending on how various parties and related institutions (such as schools) work with individuals and groups to harness conflict for overall positive social change. In this dissertation, I break down aspects of schools that contribute to both social reproduction and social transformation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mills, 2008). I have considered how these aspects can be changed or pushed

forward so that schools can move toward those that foster overall positive social transformation. In this final chapter, I summarize the research findings and package them in a way that will be useful for those looking to improve and conduct further research on diverse school practices both in Nigeria and in other conflict settings.

This mixed methods research was based on extensive fieldwork that included (a) longitudinal student surveys and interviews (group and individual), (b) social network analysis, (c) teacher and administrator interviews, (d) classroom and school observations, and an (e) analysis of curriculum and policy documents. In this final chapter, I present (1) a summary of the findings and their connection to each other, (2) significance of the study, (3) implications for policy and practice, and (4) suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter IV, the first chapter presenting empirical findings, I take a closer look at the difference in tolerance levels between unity and state school students using results from the survey analysis. The survey results show that in terms of intergroup tolerance, unity and state school students surprisingly demonstrate no difference. To more deeply understand these results, I used social network analysis to explore friendship networks and found that while tolerance levels are no different between unity and state school students, friendship patterns vary between them. Unity school students tend to divide close friendships along religious lines while state school students do so along ethnic lines. These variant friendship patterns may explain the similarity in tolerance levels shown in the survey analysis. They also suggest diverging practices within unity and state schools leading me to use interviews, observations, and curriculum to explore school

practices/curriculum that may account for these varying patterns. The findings show that while unity schools have more opportunity for interethnic integration in comparison with state schools, they demonstrate increased opportunity for religious division through the separation of religious spaces and religious events that occur during the more intimate “living together” of a unity school boarding set-up. I pose that this should be addressed by thinking about how to further integrate the lives of Muslim and Christian students in spaces that would allow them to learn from, learn with, and teach one another in a structured setting with well-trained facilitators while still allowing them the time and space to practice their religion as desired (Banks et al., 2001). I also found that neither the curriculum nor the teachers delve deeply enough or encourage the kind of critical thinking that is necessary to teach students to challenge their thinking and move forward in shifting current social relations (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995). The interview data shows that the students demonstrate interest in challenging the status quo and readiness to engage in critical thinking. The curriculum, teachers, and schools need to be prepared to accommodate and to enable students to identify problems that have come to be seen as normal and bridge this awareness to ideas for change. Paris (2012) presents us with a Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy—one that encourages the simultaneous embracing and critiquing of identities. Students are able and ready to think critically about themselves and others with the proper guidance, and in this way, they can more deeply engage and understand the ethnic and religious identities of others and their relationship to them both in the context of history and present day conflict. However, to do this, administrators, teachers, staff, and education leaders, need to be ready to shift and clearly communicate the concept of unity as a clear goal to be reached rather than an

illusion that must be maintained (Kirkham, 2016). By maintaining this illusion without a deeper analysis of its construction, unity schools serve as an institution that perpetuates existing social relations in terms of curriculum and school practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Chapter V moved us from a focus on the school and classroom to delve deeper into student relationships and interactions. In this chapter, I used data from interviews and social network analysis to explore the way ethnic and religious relations permeate school life through jokes, relationships among students, discrimination, and thoughts on marriage. The most important pattern that appeared in both the social network analysis and interview data indicates that the overlapping of being both Hausa and Muslim appears to be the ethno-religious group most separated and stigmatized within the schools. This overlapping identity is of particular importance because of its association with current conflict (e.g., Boko Haram and the Fulani Herdsmen as discussed in Chapter I). In other words, the students and wider discourse largely point to the people responsible for these two particular aspects of the current conflict—Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen—as being associated with those who have overlapping identities of being both Hausa (ethnic identity) and Muslim (religious identity). Thus, the larger patterns of stigmatization in society align with current and historical conflict patterns and are mirrored within the schools. These patterns are maintained amidst the illusion of unity (discussed in Chapter 4) alongside neglect to use the larger conflict and negative intergroup relations as an opportunity to have students learn from the conflict by critically considering ethnic and religious identities (of various combinations) and their connections to inequality and conflict over time. When looking at the interview data, it

became evident that in addition to an illusion of unity bolstered by a lack of critical thinking about the conflict and intergroup relations, both religion and language—with language highly linked to ethnic identity in Nigeria—and the way they are facilitated in schools play significant roles in marking these established social boundaries. Separate religious practices mark intergroup differences and encourage separate relationships among students particularly in unity schools, and language is used to mark social boundaries and hierarchies that exist in greater Nigeria (Blommaert, 2010; Risager, 2012). Both of these factors appear to contribute to the specific separation of Hausa Muslim students. As previously emphasized, this particular stigmatization has roots in colonial history, with socioeconomic and educational disparities between those in the north (primarily Hausas who are also mostly Muslim and associated groups) and the south (Fafunwa, 1974; Mamdani, 1996; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). With current conflict (i.e., Boko Haram and the herdsmen) also tending to be associated with Hausas, Muslims, and/or those from the north (as these already overlapping ethnic and religious identities also overlap with geographic location), this creates a hierarchy where the overlapping identity of being both Hausa *and* Muslim is at the lowest end, and social relations are magnified in the school where separate religious practices and language overlap to mark this group—Hausa Muslims—as separate. I argue that this reflection of society within the school without the proper interventions detracts from the goals of intergroup unity within unity schools (Irwin, 1991; Spivak et al., 2015). This chapter helps in taking a step to understand the way groups are interacting within the school, which, I pose, can lead to the development of appropriate and effective interventions that promote intergroup unity. These findings combined with those already presented in Chapter 4 to emphasize the

need for schools to fearlessly address conflict within schools through critical thinking—e.g., *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy* (Paris, 2012)—and the strategic implementation of religious and language instruction and practice so as to allow students to more effectively integrate across religious and linguistic lines (both of which are linked to important social boundaries throughout Nigeria) and to be critically aware of existing social boundaries and the way they manifest in society and the school.

The final empirical chapter, Chapter VI, uses survey, interview, and observation data to demonstrate the way unity schools *do* provide a special opportunity for students to positively shift perceptions of other groups. The survey results presented in this chapter suggest a difference in national identity between unity and state schools students—with unity school students showing a lower national identity as measured in the survey. I argue that this lower national identity among unity school students is actually a different type of national identity from that shown by state school students. The national identity shown by unity school students appears to be less linked to an uncritical patriotism belonging to a particular ethnic group and more related to an incorporation of ethnic diversity into a higher category of national membership (see Turner et al., 1987). Interview data points to a difference in school community between unity and state schools—where students only come together on a daily basis and do not represent the diversity of Nigeria—as elucidating this difference in national identity between unity and state school students. Through this school community, greatly enhanced by the boarding school design of the school, students engage in interactions and friendships that are less influenced by the outside conflict and intergroup tensions due to their physical separation from outside socializing factors. This combined with the informal interactions and living together in a

diverse community that is physically separated from outside intergroup tensions gives students the space to renegotiate boundaries and elude stereotypes and negative social relations (Andreouli et al., 2014; Iqbal et al., 2017, p. 134; Sedano, 2012). Although unity schools students are in a boarding school bubble that is separated from the outside conflict in many ways, the school can purposefully use this position and space to help students analyze and work through the conflict in positive ways rather than leaving the renegotiation of social boundaries solely up to natural student interactions. The schools should more directly and actively work with students to reshape social relations, negotiate a complex history, confront the challenges facing the nation today, and think about how to address conflict and social relations in the future. This separate space for students away from the larger conflict should be fully utilized by seizing the opportunity for students to explore the conflict from a new angle. These findings connect (a) the power of a positive diverse school community that is protected from outside conflict and influences due to its boarding school design, to (b) the positive shifting of social relations and the way students think about themselves and others in relation to the nation. This study is the first to identify the boarding school as a powerful school design in areas of conflict and intergroup tension, and yet its power could be more fully harnessed in the ways discussed here. This finding should be given particular attention and studied in more depth particularly by those focused on education and conflict, peace education and peace building, and multicultural education, and diversity issues. As shown in Chapters 4 and 5, unity schools could magnify the power of the school community they create by improving and more purposefully shaping currently divisive school practices, curriculum and its implementation, and school design. This could in turn make the efforts of unity

schools more directed and aligned with their original stated purpose—to promote “national unity and integration of students and staff of diverse cultures and religions of Nigeria” (“Unity Spotlight,” 2013, p. 4).

Main Takeaways

While these findings are complex and have a variety of implications, as I will discuss below, the three main takeaways from the findings are as follows:

1. Maintaining an illusion of unity only serves to reproduce existing social relations.

Schools must fearlessly address conflict through critical thinking and the strategic implementation of instruction and practice so as to allow students to more effectively integrate and learn from each other across social boundaries.

2. Boarding schools have great potential for the reshaping of intergroup relations in areas of conflict and should be further utilized and explored.

3. Simply removing students from the conflict in a boarding school bubble is not sufficient; schools must use this unique position to have students view the conflict, their identities, and one another from a different vantage point.

Significance of the Study

The findings for this research are valuable to a variety of contexts and school types. Contexts with historical and/or intergroup tension—whether related to ethnic identity, religious identity, sexual orientation, politics, gender, resources, socioeconomic differences, environment, and/or injustices—can benefit from these findings in seeking to address relations within schools. These findings are not only relevant to schools in non-

Western settings. Countries such as the United States with historical and current issues of intergroup tension, discrimination, and separation across racial, religious, and political lines would benefit from more strategically shaping schools to improve intergroup relations both in practice and in terms of the way students think about related history, policies, and perspectives. Beyond a variety of contexts, this study is also relevant to a range of school types including diverse schools in settings with ongoing and/or historical conflict; schools with intergroup student divisions of various types (ethnic, religious, sexual orientation, socioeconomic, political, gender); schools in settings of diverse languages, religions, and/or ethnic groups; boarding schools generally and particularly those with diverse populations and/or in areas of intergroup tension; and all secondary schools generally in terms of strengthening school community and intergroup relations. The findings can be used by (a) schools, (b) ministries of education, (c) education boards, and (d) educational organizations including NGOs and international organizations, to more effectively address intergroup relations and conflict in relevant contexts and schools. With all of this in mind, this research is clearly relevant to several subfields of education particularly in the way we think about and implement diverse schools in areas of intergroup tension and conflict. For comparative and international education (CIE) generally, this study provides a unique combination of a longitudinal survey, social network analysis, and qualitative data and contributes to literature and theory related to education in conflict, diverse schools, school relationship to the nation, and national identity. It also provides specific insight into a highly unique set of diverse schools implemented as a national unity effort (FUCs) that have not been previously studied in depth. As its possibly most valuable finding—particularly for those working in peace

education, conflict studies related to education, and sustainable development—this research also demonstrates the great potential for boarding schools to reshape intergroup relations in areas of conflict and provide a more sustainable form of education that works toward peace and more stable intergroup relations without negating issues that should be addressed based on the present conflict. In the following, I highlight specific contributions of this study, all of which are relevant in varying capacities for comparative and international education generally and for several educational hyphenated movements previously mentioned (peace education, education in conflict, and the role of education in sustainable development).

This dissertation contributes to a gap in education in conflict and peace education literature through its in-depth study of boarding schools—specifically diverse boarding schools—in a conflict setting. It sheds light on the power of a positive diverse school community that is protected from outside conflict and influences due to its boarding school design. My research connects this to the positive shifting of social relations and the way students think about themselves and others in relation to the nation, yet I also argue that this special position of boarding schools in areas of conflict should be harnessed to engage students in viewing the conflict, their identities, and their relationships to others from a new viewpoint. This finding is particularly important because boarding schools have not previously been considered as a unique school type effective in improving intergroup relations in areas of conflict. The implications of this finding are enormous for those working in areas of conflict and/or intergroup tension. In literature related to peace education and education in conflict, this should be a starting point for a long strand of focused research on boarding schools in areas of conflict. Their

unique position is powerful, and this research has only begun to uncover the potential of boarding schools for improving intergroup relations in areas of intergroup tension and conflict.

Moreover, this dissertation makes a substantial contribution to understanding the way schools serve as a tool for either social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) or social transformation (Mills, 2008). It demonstrates the manifestation of standardized messages through curriculum and school practices—such as school assemblies—that align with national discourse and a push for a particular culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 58), yet this research also provides detailed insight into the ways actors within the school challenge this broad message of national unity. They challenge it (a) in ways that maintain current social relations—such as through stereotypes and discrimination perpetuated by teachers, staff, and students outside of the official curriculum—and (b) in ways that transform current social relations and reshape national identity (beyond the surface level tolerance and broadly positive promotion of national unity which is endorsed at the national level)—such as through positive student interactions and creation of a school community that transforms historically negative intergroup perceptions. In other words, the findings provide insight into the specific ways that school practices, curriculum, and student interactions either detract from, maintain, or move beyond national goals of intergroup unity. This insight is useful in redesigning and continuously evaluating the alignment of practices and interventions in achieving stated goals and transforming social relations.

Thus this research also contributes to literature and theory linking schools to the nation. Specifically, the findings provide links between school efforts and the shaping of

national identity, and the way dialogue, practices, and curriculum within the school are shaped by national discourse. This research demonstrates the role schools can play in perpetuating existing social relations through curriculum and school practices by maintaining an illusion of intergroup tolerance and unity without a deeper analysis of its construction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). It considers the way schools can challenge the illusions of unity presented at the national level (Kirkham, 2016) and work to build a more substantial base of unity without negating the existing tension or conflict. This study also shows how students actively restructure intergroup relationships and in turn their national identities. The link between schools and the nation is commonly suggested (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Hess & Torney-Purta, 2005), but empirical studies looking closely at this connection and how it manifests within diverse schools in conflict settings are few (cf. Bekerman & Shhadi, 2003).

Furthermore, this research contributes to literature and theory related to national identity through its unique combination of identifying a national identity shift among students through survey analysis and then an exploration of extensive qualitative data to understand why this shift takes place. This lends insight into the multiple layers and different types of national identity within a nation (see McVeigh, 2004), and the power schools have to shift the national identities of students. Moreover, the deep triangulated insight from the survey, social network analysis, and qualitative data, demonstrates how national identity is collectively formed (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). This research also contributes to literature that considers the relationship between national, ethnic, and religious identities in its demonstration of a positive relationship between national identity and ethnic/religious identity respectively. This positive relationship aligns with

the Ethnic Pluralism Model—stating that people can maintain simultaneous positive identities with both ethnicity and nation (Phinney, 1996; Sidanius et al., 1997). As this positive relationship occurs in a context of conflict, the findings are also useful in further understanding the Social Dominance Theory that argues that ethnic and national identities will conflict in contexts where the ethnic group was subjugated by the majority culture (Jost et al., 2004). Namely, this research further pushes consideration of the relationship between national and ethnic/religious identity in a context where there is not necessarily one majority group culture against another, but rather a multi-group society with varying levels of historically based socioeconomic and educational disparities.

Finally, this study is unique in its heavy focus on student perspectives and friendship networks. It contributes to literature on diverse schools in conflict settings by looking at often overlooked interactions between students that lead to the maintenance of historical boundaries that the school proposes to shift. Proper interventions to promote intergroup unity cannot be designed or analyzed before taking the first step to understand the way students and groups are interacting and shaping boundaries within the school. For schools to facilitate the construction of new relationships and identities, what is happening at the base of this construction (i.e., current relationships and interactions among students) must first be deeply understood.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The research presented in this dissertation has many important implications for policy and practice. I narrow and summarize these here with each of the implications supported by findings in this research. While based on this research in Nigeria, these

implications are relevant to schools in conflict settings and areas of historical intergroup tensions as discussed in the previous sub-section. Several of them are also applicable to diverse schools more generally. In Appendix O, I include the policy document that will be provided to the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Education Unity School Department along with each of the schools and education boards that participated in this research. I will include this document along with the full dissertation to each of the parties.

First, **the concept of school community should be more purposefully utilized and integrated within formal school practices and policy to shape and enhance the way diverse schools positively influence social relations.** As shown in Chapter VI, school community and informal spaces are important for transforming social relations; yet these are not areas of focus for funding or evaluation and are rarely identified as specifically relevant to improving intergroup relations in schools. Funding for conflict resolution and diverse schools in conflict settings should be directed into informal spaces and in encouraging school leaders, teachers, educational experts, staff, and students to work together in better facilitating a school community. This will look differently in different contexts and is also relevant to day schools. Increasing school community should be identified as a goal at the national level, and this goal should be more specifically broken down according to the student population and characteristics of each school.

The boarding school design should be explored as an option for secondary schooling in areas of intergroup conflict and tension, and the FUCs should purposefully use their unique position and space to help students analyze and work through the conflict in positive ways. In this research we have seen that school

community is enhanced by the boarding school design. Students are able to engage in interactions and friendships that are less influenced by the outside conflict and intergroup tensions due to their physical separation from outside socializing factors. This, in turn, can help break the cycle of negative intergroup relations, and, with proper implementation of other school practices and curriculum, can strengthen the reshaping of intergroup relations in a purposeful and positive manner. Boarding schools should more directly work with students to reshape social relations, negotiate a complex history, confront the challenges facing the nation today, and think about how to address conflict and social relations in the future. The boarding school bubble should be fully utilized by purposefully seizing the opportunity for students to explore the conflict from a new vantage point. Ways to do this are further expressed in the remaining implications.

The way that students both divide and form friendships should be identified for each school and appropriate actions should be taken to increase positive intergroup integration and relations. The way intergroup relations reflect negative intergroup patterns in larger society should be recognized and friendship patterns within schools should be assessed at the beginning and end of each year. This process should inform teachers and administrators; students, however, should be carefully involved in this process of understanding friendship networks as friendships should still form naturally among students without students feeling forced to say they have certain types of friends. Rather, school practices and curriculum should be reassessed using friendship pattern information to encourage school spaces, informal interactions, and curriculum that will naturally reshape friendships to be more diverse across groups. Proper interventions to promote intergroup unity cannot be properly designed or sufficiently

evaluated before taking the first step to understand the way groups are interacting within the school. Patterns of specific groups that are excluded should be identified (such as was the case with Hausa Muslims – see Chapter 5) and this should be addressed within the curriculum (such as through encouraging critical thinking), learning time (where students learn from/with/and teach one another), school practices, and school design. It should not simply be addressed as a disciplinary action that is not supported at other levels and in other spaces/practices.

Funding should go into expanding opportunities that have students learn from, learn with, and teach each other—particularly in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion. This should apply to both the formal classroom/curriculum and in the informal settings such as dorms. In diverse schools where language and religious spaces, classes, and practices may be separated, students of different languages and religions should be further integrated in spaces that would allow them to learn from, learn with, and teach one another while still allowing them the time and space to practice their languages and religion as desired. School practices of language and religious separation—including separate language and religious education classes—should be redesigned to create a new mode of interethnic and interreligious interaction that taps into the deep knowledge of each of the students while encouraging curiosity, peace, understanding, and respect. This should be done, at least in part, in a structured setting with well-trained facilitators (Banks et al., 2001). Thus, appropriate training should also be provided for teachers and staff.

Critical thinking around intergroup relations, group portrayal, conflict issues, history, and the nation-state should be heavily incorporated into school

practices, curriculum, and teacher training. This research (see Chapter 4) shows evidence of lost opportunities in classrooms and curriculum to encourage the critical thinking and exploration that is necessary to have students recognize, challenge, and move forward in thinking about changing the status quo (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995). Paris' (2012) *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy* encourages the simultaneous embracing and critiquing of identities and should be implemented within the school practices and curriculum. Students are able and ready to think critically about themselves and others with the proper guidance, and in this way, they can more deeply engage and understand the ethnic and religious identities of others and their relationship to them both in the context of history and present day conflict. However, to do this, administrators, teachers, staff, and education leaders, need to be trained and ready to engage students in challenging conversations and to appropriately manage the confrontation of social norms, status quo, and conflict within the classroom and school. Teacher training and evaluation should align with these goals, and teachers should have protection through the support of schools and the national education department (in the case of Nigeria, the Federal Ministry of Education) to teach topics—on which they should have special training—that may be difficult without fear of causing controversy with parents. These efforts should be communicated as an important goal of the school system to students, parents, and others who might push back on efforts that will have students challenge existing social relations and the status quo.

Goals—specifically those regarding intergroup relations—should be clarified and aligned within the policy, curriculum, school practices, and school design. These goals should be set at all levels (including among students, staff, teachers, and

administrators) and align with overarching goals set at the national level. The overarching goals of the school and educational policy should include a focus on identifying and communicating (a) the status quo, (b) aspects of the status quo that the nation/schools desire to shift, and (c) specific goals for changing those aspects. The way that society (i.e., the status quo) is reflected in schools should be identified within each school specifically, and steps should be taken to change desired aspects so as to align with overarching goals. The goals should be re-assessed and readjusted yearly. Goals that schools are struggling to achieve should be reassessed and broken down into smaller sub-goals. Goals should be specific, clear, identified for various levels (as already stated), and given a timeline. Appropriate goals should also be clearly communicated to the students; although it is important to distinguish which goals should be communicated (such as a goal clearly outlining the concept of unity) and those that should not (such as those that might cause students to strengthen social boundaries based on awareness of the goals).

Finally, **school practices intended to integrate students should be continuously evaluated for effectiveness and the ways in which they achieve and/or work against the goals.** As shown in this research, stated goals do not always align with implementation of school practices and curriculum in schools. Even practices and curriculum that are intended to integrate diverse groups of students do not always influence student relations in ways that align with the stated goals (see Chapter 4) and may actually create negative experiences in some cases (see Bekerman, 2009; Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 2006). To enhance the power of diverse schools in uniting groups of students, particularly in areas of current or historical conflict, these practices and curriculum should continuously be assessed for their influence on students and

intergroup relations. This should include assessment on the use of critical thinking around intergroup relations and the conflict, integration across religious and linguistic groups (in the case of FUCs), and the way that students engage in learning from, with, and about each other. It is important, however, that these evaluations do not become a source of fear for administrators, teachers, and staff, but rather they should be used as tools to inform them about their progress on goals that have been clearly set at the national and school level (see previous implication).

Future Research

As with all research projects, as I progressed with this research and analysis, I found many areas in need of further exploration and development. I have summarized these into the following main areas: (1) school practices, teaching, and curriculum; (2) boarding schools and school community; (3) long-term influence of diverse schools; (4) sex make-up of diverse schools; (4) school relationship to national identity; (5) different types of schools and approaches. Future research on these areas should be conducted in a variety of areas and contexts—including both within and outside of conflict settings; in Western and non-Western contexts; and at different levels of schooling (primary, secondary, tertiary).

School Practices, Teaching, and Curriculum

While this research has identified specific aspects of school practices, teaching, and curriculum that inhibit positive intergroup relations, future research should expand upon this by more systematically focusing on and evaluating the effectiveness of different

approaches to improving intergroup relations through school practices, teaching, and curriculum. What does it actually look like to have a diverse group of students learn from, learn with, and teach each other—particularly regarding ethnicity, religion, and language—in a conflict setting? How can critical thinking techniques be better incorporated in curriculum and teacher training in conflict settings? How can we teach about diversity and relevant intergroup issues in an effective way in less diverse schools (such as state schools in this study) even without the diversity physically present in the student population?

Boarding Schools and School Community

Of special interest is the role that boarding schools—particularly with a diverse student population—can play in conflict settings. This is largely understudied and showed to be an important aspect of enhancing school community that in turn reshapes intergroup relations and students' relationship to the nation. What are the aspects that create, maintain, and enhance school community in conflict settings and areas of intergroup tension? How does this vary between boarding and day schools? This could also be further explored in diverse schools that are not necessarily in conflict settings.

Additionally, further research should be conducted on the way that boarding schools—in creating a separate community protected from the influence of the larger conflict in many ways—can help students to view, analyze, and address the conflict in ways that are unique to other types of schools. How can schools take advantage of the special position that boarding schools have in areas of conflict/tension to engage students in unique ways? What specific school practices are effective in confronting the conflict in

positive ways and in positively reshaping social relations both in the present and the long-term?

Further research should also be conducted on various boarding school practices and the way they influence student interactions and intergroup relations both in the short and long term. These topics for research could include—but should not be limited to—the way boarding schools choose students (e.g., the quota system of Nigeria’s FUCs), the influence of location (e.g., rural vs. urban, far removed from the conflict or nearby), and the frequency and manner of student interaction with families.

Long-Term Influence of Diverse Schools

Throughout the research, I realized the value of involving FUC alumni in future research to understand the long-term influence of diverse schools on student relations. If diverse schools are changing social relations and friendship networks, do these changes endure across time and after students leave the school? Do the shifts in social relations remain in place only on the school premises? How do space and time influence student relations after exposure to diversity accompanied by shifts in social relations? What are the best ways for graduated students to remain in contact with one another and to expand positive intergroup relations outside the school setting?

Sex Make-Up of Diverse Schools

The survey findings, social network analysis, and by-school analysis (see *Appendices J and N*) all indicate variation in tolerance and national identity based on student sex and the sex make-up of schools. Future research should look further into this

and the way student sex and the sex make-up of schools may interact with school factors in unique ways. Gender roles and sex are both important to consider in diverse schools and are particularly complex in Nigeria although I did not have the space to properly delve into them in this dissertation. Research on the way sex make-up of schools influences intergroup relations in diverse schools in Nigeria and across a variety of contexts will be valuable to further breaking down the specific ways diverse schools influence student relations and the various factors that shape this influence—sex appearing to be an important one.

School Relationship to National Identity

This research has emphasized the multiple layers and meanings of national identity. Further research is needed on how these multiple layers and meanings of national identity vary in conflict settings and in Nigeria specifically. What specific aspects of schools influence national identity and in what ways? This research found an unexpected overall pattern of differing national identities among state vs. unity school students that appeared to be influenced by school community—but research specifically focused on this question could further break down school practices, design, and curriculum that influence national identity. The way this varies in settings of conflict and intergroup tension should be of particular consideration.

Different Types of Schools and Approaches

The by-school analysis (see *Appendices J and N*) point to important differences in schools that would be valuable to explore in future research looking specifically at schools with particularly strong patterns of influencing tolerance and/or national identity. By focusing on specific schools, researchers can hone in on very specific school practices and relations that influence intergroup relations—that this dissertation has begun to break down. Further research should also be conducted on different types of schools and approaches attempting to address intergroup relations. More in-depth research will be valuable on (1) homogenous schools that attempt to incorporate various multicultural and/or diversity approaches and (2) on diverse schools with various types of diversity (racial/ethnic/religious/sexual orientation/nationality/immigration status) that are taking different approaches to addressing intergroup relations—such as ignoring, or celebration of diversity (i.e., multicultural approaches of various types), and/or strong national unity approaches along with others.

The many students who honored me with their time were inspiring with their ideas and openness for change. They deserve to be provided with the tools and environment to live out and expand this potential. Unity schools have taken a huge step toward positively changing intergroup relations—one from which other nations, especially my own country (the U.S.), could benefit. One unity school student expresses the way the unity school has changed her:

If I was in another school, I don't think I would have accepted some things, I really think if you haven't come to a unity school and met people with different social, economic, cultural, religious like a lot of differences you will surely not be the same.

(School undisclosed for purposes of confidentiality, Unity, Individual Student Interview, 4.25.18)

As shown in this research, Nigerian unity schools teach us a great deal about diverse schools and provide insight into the practices and aspects of schools that both contribute to and detract from improving intergroup relations and connection to the nation.

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Appendix A: Survey

The survey on the following pages has been adapted to fit this format. The full survey includes full pages and larger print.

SURVEY

Thank you for agreeing to take this survey. This survey seeks to learn more about your identity, friendships, school life and how you relate to diversity. This survey will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Your participation in this survey is a valuable contribution to learning more about diverse schools. Please be sure to answer all questions. Remember to read all directions carefully. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential.

Full Name: _____

Birthdate (Day/Month/Year): _____ / _____ / _____

Name of School: _____

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Answer the following items about yourself. Put a mark [x] next to the most relevant.

Example: What is your favorite color? Blue Green Red Yellow

(1) Gender (Select one):

Female Male

(2) Grade (Select one):

JS1 SS1 SS3

(3) Age (Write your age in years here): _____

(4) Have you been at this school for all of your time in secondary school? (Select one):

Yes
 No

(5) Nationality (Select all that apply):

Nigerian
 Other (Write it here) _____

(6) State of origin (Select one):

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Abia | 11. <input type="checkbox"/> Ebonyi | 21. <input type="checkbox"/> Kebbi | 31. <input type="checkbox"/> Plateau |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Adamawa | 12. <input type="checkbox"/> Enugu | 22. <input type="checkbox"/> Kogi | 32. <input type="checkbox"/> Rivers |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Anambra | 13. <input type="checkbox"/> Edo | 23. <input type="checkbox"/> Kwara | 33. <input type="checkbox"/> Sokoto |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Akwa Ibom | 14. <input type="checkbox"/> Ekiti | 24. <input type="checkbox"/> Lagos | 34. <input type="checkbox"/> Taraba |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Bauchi | 15. <input type="checkbox"/> Gombe | 25. <input type="checkbox"/> Nasarawa | 35. <input type="checkbox"/> Yobe |
| 6. <input type="checkbox"/> Bayelsa | 16. <input type="checkbox"/> Imo | 26. <input type="checkbox"/> Niger | 36. <input type="checkbox"/> Zamfara |
| 7. <input type="checkbox"/> Benue | 17. <input type="checkbox"/> Jigawa | 27. <input type="checkbox"/> Ogun | 37. <input type="checkbox"/> FCT |
| 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Borno | 18. <input type="checkbox"/> Kaduna | 28. <input type="checkbox"/> Ondo | |
| 9. <input type="checkbox"/> Cross River | 19. <input type="checkbox"/> Kano | 29. <input type="checkbox"/> Osun | |
| 10. <input type="checkbox"/> Delta | 20. <input type="checkbox"/> Katsina | 30. <input type="checkbox"/> Oyo | |

SURVEY

(11) In what state was your father born? (Select one):

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Abia | 11. ___ Ebonyi | 21. ___ Kebbi | 31. ___ Plateau |
| 2. ___ Adamawa | 12. ___ Enugu | 22. ___ Kogi | 32. ___ Rivers |
| 3. ___ Anambra | 13. ___ Edo | 23. ___ Kwara | 33. ___ Sokoto |
| 4. ___ Akwa Ibom | 14. ___ Ekiti | 24. ___ Lagos | 34. ___ Taraba |
| 5. ___ Bauchi | 15. ___ Gombe | 25. ___ Nasarawa | 35. ___ Yobe |
| 6. ___ Bayelsa | 16. ___ Imo | 26. ___ Niger | 36. ___ Zamfara |
| 7. ___ Benue | 17. ___ Jigawa | 27. ___ Ogun | 37. ___ FCT |
| 8. ___ Borno | 18. ___ Kaduna | 28. ___ Ondo | |
| 9. ___ Cross River | 19. ___ Kano | 29. ___ Osun | 38. ___ Other country (Write it here) |
| 10. ___ Delta | 20. ___ Katsina | 30. ___ Oyo | _____ |

(12) Mother's ethnicity/tribal group (Select all that apply):

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Yoruba | 6. ___ Edo (Including Benin) |
| 2. ___ Hausa (Including Hausa-Fulani) | 7. ___ Idoma |
| 3. ___ Igbo | 8. ___ Other (Write it here) |
| 4. ___ Ijaw | _____ |
| 5. ___ Igala | |

(13) Father's ethnicity/tribal group (Select all that apply):

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Yoruba | 6. ___ Edo (Including Benin) |
| 2. ___ Hausa (Including Hausa-Fulani) | 7. ___ Idoma |
| 3. ___ Igbo | 8. ___ Other (Write it here) |
| 4. ___ Ijaw | _____ |
| 5. ___ Igala | |

(14) Mother's religion prior to marriage (Select one):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Muslim | 4. ___ Nothing |
| 2. ___ Christian | 5. ___ Other (Write it here) |
| 3. ___ Traditional Religion | _____ |

(15) Father's religion prior to marriage (Select one):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Muslim | 4. ___ Nothing |
| 2. ___ Christian | 5. ___ Other (Write it here) |
| 3. ___ Traditional Religion | _____ |

(16) Languages spoken by parents (Select all that apply):

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. ___ English | 7. ___ Idoma |
| 2. ___ Hausa | 8. ___ Fulani |
| 3. ___ Igbo | 9. ___ Ijaw |
| 4. ___ Yoruba | 10. ___ Kanuri |
| 5. ___ Tiv | 11. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) |
| 6. ___ Edo (Including Benin) | _____ |

SURVEY

Questions 17 and 18 ask about your parents' highest education completed. If your mother has finished her University First Degree but has not finished a degree beyond that, you would check "University First Degree." If your father has completed Secondary School and has started his University First Degree but has not completed his University First Degree, you would check "Secondary School."

(17) Mother's highest education completed (Select one):

1. ___ None
2. ___ Primary School
3. ___ Secondary School
4. ___ Polytechnic or College of Education
5. ___ University First Degree
6. ___ Postgraduate (Masters, Ph.D., Doctorate)
7. ___ Not Sure

(18) Father's highest education completed (Select one):

1. ___ None
2. ___ Primary School
3. ___ Secondary School
4. ___ Polytechnic or College of Education
5. ___ University First Degree
6. ___ Postgraduate (Masters, Ph.D., Doctorate)
7. ___ Not Sure

SECTION B - SCHOOL ACTIVITIES:

**(1) In which clubs, extracurricular and/or sporting activities are you involved at school?
(Select all that apply)**

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ___ Sports | 12. ___ Student Government (Government club) |
| 2. ___ Muslim organization or society | 13. ___ Homemakers club |
| 3. ___ Christian organization or society | 14. ___ Red Cross |
| 4. ___ Math club | 15. ___ Cultural club |
| 5. ___ Drama club | 16. ___ United Nations |
| 6. ___ Press club | 17. ___ Science club
(example: Bio, Chemistry, Physics) |
| 7. ___ Music (Choir/Band) | 18. ___ Chess club |
| 8. ___ Debate club | 19. ___ Anti-corruption (Integrity) club |
| 9. ___ Dance | 20. ___ HIV/Aids club |
| 10. ___ HIV/Aids club | 21. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) _____ |
| 11. ___ Agricultural (Farmers) club | 22. ___ None |

SURVEY

SECTION C: IDENTITY

Answer the following questions thinking about yourself in general. Check one box (x) for each question.

How often do you identify with the following? Mark [x] under the most appropriate response to each of the following questions. (If you associate yourself with more than one ethnicity/tribe, city, state, consider them all together or the one with which you most associate yourself):	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
	1	2	3	4	5
EXAMPLE FOR HOW TO MARK:				X	
1.) Your ethnicity/tribe?					
2.) Your parents?					
3.) Your food from home?					
4.) Your extended family (family other than parents, brothers, and sisters)?					
5.) The language you know best?					
6.) Your religious beliefs?					
7.) Your hometown?					
8.) Your state of origin?					
9.) This school?					
10.) Your religion?					
11.) Those who practice your religion in Nigeria?					
12.) Those who practice your religion in this school?					
13.) Those who practice your religion in other countries?					
14.) The Nigerian national anthem?					
15.) A political party?					
16.) Your religious practices (such as prayer, worship, celebrating religious holidays, etc.)?					
17.) Nigerian political leaders?					
18.) Students at this school?					
19.) Students in your same year?					
20.) Being African?					
21.) Being Nigerian?					
22.) Your mosque, church or other religious place?					
23.) The Nigerian flag?					
24.) Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS)?					
25.) The United States?					
26.) Britain?					
27.) The United Nations?					

SURVEY

SCHOOL IDENTITY

Answer the following questions thinking about yourself in general. *Check one box (x) for each question.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following? <i>Mark [x] under the most appropriate response to each of the following questions.</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
EXAMPLE FOR HOW TO MARK:				X	
1.) I feel like I am part of this school.					
2.) I am happy to be at this school.					
3.) I feel close to people at this school.					
4.) I feel safe in my school.					
5.) The teachers at this school treat students fairly.					

SURVEY

SECTION D: FRIENDSHIPS

“Close friends” are your friends with whom you spend the most time, share secrets, and trust to help you when you need it. “Friends,” in general, are people that you have positive interactions with on a regular basis in the classroom, at mealtime, and throughout the day. For these questions, consider only your “close friends” at this school and “friends” at this school.

<i>Write your answer next to each of the following questions. If you are unsure of the exact number, write your best guess.</i>	Your Answer
<u>Close Friends at this School:</u>	
EXAMPLE: How many brothers and sisters do you have?	5
1a.) How many total close friends do you have here at the school?	
b.) Of these close friends, how many share your same religion?	
c.) Of these close friends, how many practice a religion different from you?	
d.) How many of these close friends are Yoruba?	
e.) How many of these close friends are Hausa?	
f.) How many of these close friends are Igbo?	
g.) How many of these close friends come from an ethnicity/tribe other than Yoruba, Hausa, or Igbo?	
h.) How many of these close friends are of a different ethnicity/tribe than you?	
i.) How many of these close friends have families that speak a different language than you?	
j.) How many of these close friends are from your state?	
<u>Other Friends at this School:</u>	
2a.) How many total friends (not including close friends) do you have here at the school?	
b.) Of these friends (not including close friends), how many share your same religion?	
c.) Of these friends (not including close friends), how many practice a religion different from you?	
d.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) are Yoruba?	
e.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) are Hausa?	
f.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) are Igbo?	
g.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) come from an ethnicity/tribe other than Yoruba, Hausa, or Igbo?	
h.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) are of another different ethnicity/tribe than you?	
i.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) have families that speak a different language than you?	
j.) How many of these friends (not including close friends) are from your state?	

SURVEY

CLASSROOM FRIENDS:

Write the names of your five closest friends **in this classroom**:

<i>Write the names next to each of the following numbers. Include the full names if possible. If you are unsure of the exact spelling, write your best guess.</i>	
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

SURVEY

SECTION E: DIVERSITY

The following section contains questions that might be sensitive. Please answer honestly and remember that all answers remain confidential. The survey administrator will read each situation. Please follow along and answer as they are read.

General:

How comfortable do you feel with the following imagined situations? <i>Mark [x] under the most appropriate response to each of the following questions.</i>	Not at all Comfortable	Not Comfortable	Neutral	Comfortable	Completely Comfortable
	1	2	3	4	5
EXAMPLE FOR HOW TO MARK:				X	
1.) A newscaster says that to be Nigerian, everyone must follow one religion. In this case, the newscaster happens to be talking about the religion you follow.					
2.) Your sister tells your family that she wants to marry someone of a different religion.					
3.) A teacher says that you must speak English well to be Nigerian.					
4.) A government leader from your ethnic/tribal group advocates giving more rights and freedoms to people from your ethnic/tribal group than to those from other ethnic/tribal groups.					
5.) When someone of a different ethnicity/tribe moves in next door to your friend, your friend tells you that she doesn't trust her new neighbor because of the neighbor's ethnicity/tribe.					
6.) A leader in your community wants Muslims and Christians to have the same rights.					
7.) Your friend announces that people of all ethnic/tribal groups are equally trustworthy.					
8.) A student is choosing people to be on his team for a class competition. The student chooses only people from his own religion, which you happen to share with him. He chooses you first.					
9.) During class, a teacher says that all people from an ethnic/tribal group different from yours act in a certain way.					

SURVEY

ABOUT YOU:

How much do you agree with the following statements? <i>Mark [x] under the most appropriate response to each of the following questions.</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
EXAMPLE FOR HOW TO MARK:				X	
10.) People in my religion are more honorable than those in other religions.					
11.) If a family of a different ethnicity invites me to have dinner with them, I would accept their invitation.					
12.) I often spend time with students from other religions.					
13.) I prefer to have friends that speak my native language than those that speak another language.					
14.) I trust people from other religions just as much as I trust those from my religion.					
15.) We all appreciate being understood. At school, I prefer to spend time with people from my own ethnic/tribal group.					
16.) I think students who speak English well are more intelligent than those who speak English poorly.					

SURVEY

SECTION F - SCHOOL LIFE

(1) What at school makes you think..... (Select all that apply)

Positively about being Nigerian

1. ___ Meal times (Eating/Cafeteria/Dining)
2. ___ Breaks
3. ___ Muslim organization or society
4. ___ Christian organization or society
5. ___ Civics class
6. ___ Social studies class
7. ___ Cultural days/nights
8. ___ Dormitories (Hostels)
9. ___ Assemblies
10. ___ Religious practice at this school (Going to church or the mosque)
11. ___ Islamic studies class
12. ___ Christian studies class
13. ___ Other students
14. ___ Teachers
15. ___ Administrators
16. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) _____

(2) Negatively about being Nigerian

1. ___ Meal times (Eating/Cafeteria/Dining)
2. ___ Breaks
3. ___ Muslim organization or society
4. ___ Christian organization or society
5. ___ Civics class
6. ___ Social studies class
7. ___ Cultural days/nights
8. ___ Dormitories (Hostels)
9. ___ Assemblies
10. ___ Religious practice at this school (Going to church or the mosque)
11. ___ Islamic studies class
12. ___ Christian studies class
13. ___ Other students
14. ___ Teachers
15. ___ Administrators
16. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) _____

SURVEY

(3) Positively about students who are different from you

1. ___ Meal times (Eating/Cafeteria/Dining)
2. ___ Breaks
3. ___ Muslim organization or society
4. ___ Christian organization or society
5. ___ Civics class
6. ___ Social studies class
7. ___ Cultural days/nights
8. ___ Dormitories (Hostels)
9. ___ Assemblies
10. ___ Religious practice at this school (Going to church or the mosque)
11. ___ Islamic studies class
12. ___ Christian studies class
13. ___ Other students
14. ___ Teachers
15. ___ Administrators
16. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) _____

(4) Negatively about students who are different from you

1. ___ Meal times (Eating/Cafeteria/Dining)
2. ___ Breaks
3. ___ Muslim organization or society
4. ___ Christian organization or society
5. ___ Civics class
6. ___ Social studies class
7. ___ Cultural days/nights
8. ___ Dormitories (Hostels)
9. ___ Assemblies
10. ___ Religious practice at this school (Going to church or the mosque)
11. ___ Islamic studies class
12. ___ Christian studies class
13. ___ Other students
14. ___ Teachers
15. ___ Administrators
16. ___ Other(s) (Write all that apply) _____

Thank you!

Appendix B: Student Group Interview Protocol

The sub-questions include possible follow-up questions but will depend on how the answer the primary question.

Background Information (and to make the students feel comfortable):

Please tell me your name, age, and a little bit about yourself.

[I will write down names as they say them and ensure the spelling is correct]

School - General

1. Tell me about what it's like to go to this school.
 - a. What do students like? Dislike?
 - b. What is it like to be in your year? (JS1, SS1, SS3)
2. What is it like for students when they first arrive at this school?

Friendships

3. How do students get along here?
 - a. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
 - b. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students and teachers? Students and administrators?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
4. How are students grouped at this school?
 - a. How do these groups show up?
 - b. How do you know these are separate groups?
 - c. Are any groups treated better or worse than others? By students? By teachers?
 - d. Who is friends with who at this school?
 - e. Who dates who?
 - f. Does this change over time at school?

Tolerance

5. What is it like to have a diverse student population?
6. How does the school facilitate relationships between students (or help them to have relationships with each other)?
 - a. Does it work? Explain to me.
7. Do you think students change their views of other ethnic/religious groups over time at this school?
 - a. If so, how?
 - b. If so, why do you think these changes happen?
 - c. What about this school teaches students unity?
 - d. What about this school teaches students appreciation of diversity?
 - e. What about this school helps students to get along with other groups?
 - f. What about this school makes it difficult for students to get along with other groups?
 - g. How do you learn about other ethnic groups in your classes? Religious groups?

Identity

8. What does it mean to be Nigerian?
 - a. Do you learn about this at school? If so, how?
9. What does it mean to be from a particular ethnic group?
 - a. Do you learn about this at school? If so, how?
10. What does it mean to be Muslim or Christian?
 - a. Do you learn about this at school? If so, how?
11. Do students ever feel confused by what the school or teachers tell you all about being Nigerian, different ethnic groups, and other religions? If so, how? If not, why?

Closing

Is there anything else you want to tell me? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix C: Student Individual Interview Protocol

The sub-questions include possible follow-up questions but will depend on how the answer the primary question.

Background Information (and to make the student feel comfortable):

Please tell me your name, age, year in school, ethnicity, religion, where you grew up, and a little bit about yourself. [I will write down the name as the student says it and ensure the spelling is correct]

- Depending on what the students says, I will follow up with questions about where they are from, what language(s) they speak and information about their family.

School - General

1. Tell me about a normal day at this school.
 - a. What is it like to go to this school?
 - b. What is it like to be in your year? (JS1, SS1, or SS3)
 - c. What do you like about going to this school? Dislike?
 - d. Why did you choose to come to this school?
 - e. How did you get to go to this school?
2. Tell me about your experience when you first arrived at this school?
 - a. How is this school different from your primary school?

Friendships

3. How do you get along with other students here at school?
 - a. Can you tell me about a time when you had tension with other students?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
 - ii. What was your place in the situation?
 - b. Can you tell me about a time when you (and/or other students) had tension with teachers? With administrators?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
 - ii. What was your place in the situation?
4. Tell me about your friends here at school.
 - a. How would you describe them?
 - b. How did you become friends with them?
 - c. How are they similar to your friends in primary school? Different?
 - d. How do they compare to your friends in your community?
 - e. How do you choose your friends?
 - f. Are there any types of would you would not want to be your friends?
 - g. Why do you think this is?
5. Tell me what it is like to be you in this school.
 - a. Which groups would you say you are a part of?
 - b. Are any groups treated better than others? By students? By teachers?
 - c. Do any groups have advantages that others don't have? Disadvantages? If so, please explain.

Tolerance and Identity

6. Have you ever felt uncomfortable at this school?
 - a. If so, can you tell me about it?
 - b. If not, why do you think that is?
7. How do you see/think about.....

[I will have each of these (a-g) written on notecards and will put them down one-by-one so that the student can think through them and so I can ask follow up

questions at the end without having the student forget about each of the questions I have asked. They can also be used as talking points and to help the student think through his/her answer.]

- a. Your ethnic group?
- b. Other ethnic groups?
- c. Your religion?
- d. Other religions?
- e. Boko Haram?
- f. Being Nigerian?
- g. Where you see yourself in the world?
 - i. Have any of your views on these changed during your time at this school?
 - ii. If so, how? If not, why do you think that is?
 - iii. Do you ever feel like what you learn about one of these goes against what you learn about another one of these (i.e., conflicting messages)?
 - iv. Do you ever feel confused by what the school or teachers tell you about these? If so, how? If not, why do you think that is?
8. What is it like when you go home?
 - a. When you go home, do you change? How?
 - b. Do you talk about all of your friends here at school?
 - c. What does your family say?
9. What kind of person do you want to date?
 - a. What kind of person do you want to marry?

Closing

Is there anything else you want to tell me? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix D: Teacher Interview Protocol

Descriptive Information

1. To start please tell me your name and ethnic and religious background. [Will wait for answer]. Also, what is your education/training background, position in the school, courses you teach and how long you have been with this school.

School and Classroom Practices

2. (For FGC-Unity school teachers only) What was the original purpose of unity schools?
 - a. Do you think this school fulfills that purpose today? If so, how? If not, why not?
3. How do students get into this school?
 - a. What steps do they have to take to get here? What is the process to attend this school?
 - b. What kind of students are not able to come to this school?
 - c. How much does it cost to attend this school?
4. How has the school changed over time?
5. Tell me about the make-up of the school. Of teachers? Of students?
6. How do students get along here at school?
 - a. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
 - b. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students and teachers? Students and administrators?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
7. How would you describe groups of students at this school?
 - c. What does that look like?
 - d. How do you know these are separate groups?
 - e. Who is friends with who?
 - f. Are any groups treated better than others?
 - g. How do you address this in the classroom?
 - h. How is this addressed within the school?
8. In your class, how do you talk about...

[I will have each of these (a-g) written on notecards and will put them down one-by-one so that the teacher can think through them and so I can ask follow up questions at the end without having the teacher forget about each of the questions I have asked. They can also be used as talking points and to help the teacher think through his/her answer.]

 - i. Ethnic groups?
 - j. Religious groups?
 - k. Being Nigerian?
 - l. The colonial history?
 - m. Relationships among ethnic groups?
 - n. Boko Haram?
 - o. Students' place in a global field (students' place in the world)?
 - i. Out of these, what do you find most difficult to teach about? Why?
 - ii. Out of these what do you find to be the easiest to teach about? Why?
 - iii. Where do you learn to teach about these? (Curriculum, school policy, teacher discretion etc.)
9. How do students change during their time at this school?
 - p. Do their views around these various topics change? Why or why not?
 - q. Do their views of themselves change? Why or why not?
 - r. What about this school teaches students unity?
 - s. What about this school teaches students appreciation of diversity?
 - t. What about this school helps students to get along with other groups?
 - u. What about this school makes it difficult for students to get along with other groups?

Closing

Is there anything else you want to tell me? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix E: Administrator Interview Protocol

Descriptive Information

1. To start please tell me your name and ethnic and religious background. [Will wait for answer]. Also, what is your education/training background, position in the school, courses you teach and how long you have been with this school.

School Demographics [*Will ask for this information if I have not been able to get it prior to the interview. If they do not have the information at hand, I will ask the best way to get a hold of the information.*]

2. How many students go to this school?
 - a. What is the:
 - i. Ethnic breakdown?
 - ii. Religious breakdown?
 - iii. Gender breakdown?
 - iv. Socioeconomic breakdown?
 - b. How many students are JS1? SS3?
 - c. How many students are displaced from the Northeast?
 - d. What percentage of students do not speak English sufficiently to be successful in this school?
3. How many teachers are there at this school?
 - a. What is the:
 - i. Ethnic breakdown?
 - ii. Religious breakdown?
 - iii. Gender breakdown?

School and Classroom Practices

4. How do students get into this school?
 - a. What steps do they have to take to get here? What is the process to attend this school?
 - b. What kind of students are not able to come to this school?
 - c. How much does it cost to attend this school?
5. (For FGC-Unity school administrators only) What was the original purpose of unity schools?
 - a. Do you think this school fulfills that purpose today? If so, how? If not, why not?
6. How has the school changed over time?
7. Tell me about the make-up of the school. Of teachers? Of students?
8. How do students get along here at school?
 - a. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students?
 - i. How was the issue addressed?
 - b. Can you tell me about a time when there was tension between students and teachers? Students and administrators?
 - ii. How was the issue addressed?
9. How would you describe groups of students at this school?
 - a. What does that look like?
 - b. How do you know these are separate groups?
 - c. Who is friends with who?
 - d. Are any groups treated better than others?
 - e. How is this addressed in the classroom?
 - f. How is this addressed within the school?

10. How does the school seek to influence students' views of:

[I will have each of these (a-g) written on notecards and will put them down one-by-one so that the administrator can think through them and so I can ask follow up questions at the end without having the administrator forget about each of the questions I have asked. They can also be used as talking points and to help the administrator think through his/her answer.]

- a. Ethnic groups?
- b. Religious groups?
- c. Being Nigerian?
- d. The colonial history?
- e. Relationships among ethnic groups?
- f. Boko Haram?
- v. Students' place in a global field (students' place in the world)?
 - i. What practices have been most successful? Why?
 - ii. Least successful? Why?
 - iii. Most challenging? Why?
 - iv. Least challenging? Why?

11. How do students change during their time at this school?

- a. Do their views around these various topics change? Why or why not?
- b. Do their views of themselves change? Why or why not?
- c. What about this school teaches students unity?
- d. What about this school teaches students appreciation of diversity?
- e. What about this school helps students to get along with other groups?
- f. What about this school makes it difficult for students to get along with other groups?

Closing

Is there anything else you want to tell me? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix F: Interview and Observation Codes

Name	Files	References
Administrators	54	80
Discrimination	2	3
Inclusion	0	0
Negative Interaction	10	13
Positive Interaction	23	25
Atypical	20	23
Background	86	134
Biafra	24	25
Boarding School	55	116
Boko Haram	75	99
Change Over Time	59	99
Citizenship	93	151
Curriculum	128	354
Avoiding conflict	8	9
Focus on Difference	28	32
Focus on Sameness	26	39
Language Class	23	30
Negative Interactions	1	1
Over simplified	22	30
Positive Interactions	5	5
Day Student	14	26
Discrimination	45	73
Education History in Nigeria	2	5
Ethnic Identity	119	554
Exclusive	79	164
Inclusive	84	181
Feelings	65	126
Afraid	6	7
Angry	7	8
Challenged	1	1

Comfortable	25	27
Desperate	1	1
Envy	1	1
Excited	1	1
Good - Nice	18	19
Left out	1	2
Lonely	7	8
Need to be strong	3	5
Sad	16	18
Shy	2	2
Strange	1	1
Stress	14	18
Teacher Type	0	0
Tired	2	2
Uncomfortable	22	23
Fulani Herdsmen	22	24
Future	41	46
Global Identity	102	183
Good Quote	110	227
Homosexuality	4	4
Intergroup Interactions	141	758
Dating	5	6
Exclusive	73	144
Friendships	91	300
Friends from home	19	22
Inclusive	87	239
Interacting with Opposite Sex	46	63
Marriage	74	100
Negative	91	200
Treatment by Older Students	46	85
Positive	87	175
Interview Type	0	0
Administrator	8	8

Group Student	16	16
Individual Student	51	51
Teacher	16	16
Joke	41	49
Language	78	140
Exclusive	45	61
Inclusive	30	43
Day Student	1	1
Location	0	0
FCT	106	106
Lagos	60	60
Mission Vision	8	10
National Identity	134	335
Connection of people making a nation	44	68
Diverse individuals within the nation	42	64
Individual tied to nation	38	45
Nation as an imaginary stand alone entity	29	32
Negative	31	39
Positive	64	76
Parents	99	262
Religious Identity	121	523
Exclusive	66	139
Inclusive	87	171
Ripple effect	2	2
School Identity	87	187
Choosing Schools	17	19
Negative	45	68
Positive	60	91
School Locations	140	453
Break	14	21
Classroom	128	260

Dining	38	66
Dormitories	58	196
Library	1	1
Religious place	45	62
School Population - Information	12	14
School Practices	152	561
Clubs	26	31
Discipline	98	186
Focus on Difference	38	53
Focus on Sameness	12	15
Negative Interaction	6	7
Positive Interaction	19	23
Resources	15	18
Routines	48	66
School Brothers Sisters	22	34
School Community	23	32
Sports	25	34
School Type	0	0
State School	47	47
Unity School	122	123
Sex	0	0
Female	49	49
Male	34	34
Mixed	8	8
Skin Color	20	22
Staff	32	51
Negative Interaction	11	12
Positive Interaction	13	15
State	88	194
Exclusive	15	16
Inclusive	19	25
Student	5	6
Challenges	3	4

Teacher	132	356
Discrimination	18	20
Exclusion	25	27
Inclusion	30	40
Negative Interaction	40	54
Positive Interaction	44	68
Tolerance	68	137
High	24	42
Low	22	37
Type of Observation	0	0
Civic	37	37
Language Class	4	4
Ministry of Education	1	1
Orientation	1	1
Religious Class	1	1
Religious National Values	3	3
Security Education	3	3
Social Studies	27	27
Type of Teacher	0	0
Civic	10	10
History	1	1
Social Studies	7	7
Unity School Experience	75	242
Violence	99	191
Year	0	0
JS1	89	89
JS2	2	2
JS3	1	1
SS1	6	6
SS2	4	4
SS3	38	38

Appendix G: Analysis of Identities Over Time by Unity and State Schools

The following table shows the mean for each of the variables at the beginning and end of the year for FUC's and state schools.

Average Over Time of Tolerance and Identities in FUC's (n=483) versus State schools (n=139)

Variable	FUC's		State Schools	
	Mean (Beg.)	Mean (End)	Mean (Beg.)	Mean (End)
Tolerance	-0.008	0.010	0.029	-0.036
Ethnic Identity	0.045	0.010	-0.156	-0.035
Religious Identity	-0.011	-0.014	0.039	0.048
National Identity	-0.065	-0.086	0.225	0.298
School Identity	-0.082	-0.150	0.285	0.520

After further analysis, I found that only one of these changes was statistically significant when using t-tests to compare beginning and end-of-year measures. The following table shows the changes in each of the variables of interest from the beginning of the year to the end. The only statistically significant change shows in the increase of school identity over the year in state schools ($p < 0.01$). While outside the scope of this current dissertation, this could be an interesting change to explore further in future research.

Change Over Time in Tolerance and Identities in FUC's (n=483) versus State schools (n=139)

Variable	FUC's	State Schools
	Change	Change
Tolerance	0.019	-0.065
Ethnic Identity	-0.035	0.121
Religious Identity	-0.003	0.010
National Identity	-0.021	0.073
School Identity	-0.068	0.235***

Based on two-tailed t-test: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Appendix H: Tolerance Change Over Time by School Type and Grade

Tolerance Over Time by School Type (Unity vs. State) and Grade (JS1 vs. SS3)

Tolerance Group	Number of Students	EoY		Change
		Mean (Beg. of Year)	Mean (End of Year)	Change Over Year
<i>Overall</i>				
Tolerance JS1	N=324	-0.334	-0.308	0.026
Tolerance SS3	N=298	0.363	0.335	-0.028
<i>Unity Schools</i>				
Tolerance JS1	N=244	-0.378	0.369	0.747
Tolerance SS3	N=239	-0.306	0.334	0.64
<i>State Schools</i>				
Tolerance JS1	N=80	-0.2	-0.315	-0.115
Tolerance SS3	N=59	0.339	0.342	0.003

Based on two-tailed t-test: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix I: Multiple Regression Tolerance Over Time

Relationship Between Beginning and End of Year Tolerance (N=622 Students)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>	<i>Model 7</i>	<i>Model 8</i>
Tolerance (BoY)	0.538** *	0.539** *	0.503** *	0.501***	0.492***	0.478***	0.478***	0.468***
	-0.0317	-0.0317	-0.0331	-0.0332	-0.0338	-0.0334	-0.0334	-0.0335
<u>School Type</u>								
Unity		0.0664	0.0446	0.0298	0.0579	0.0353	0.0408	-0.0132
		-0.0966	-0.0958	-0.0956	-0.0961	-0.0963	-0.0962	-0.0973
<u>Student Characteristics</u>								
			0.291** *					
JS1				-0.283***	-0.292***	-0.280***	-0.279***	-0.231**
			-0.0791	-0.0795	-0.0799	-0.0786	-0.0784	-0.0903
Muslim				-0.135	-0.179	-0.186*	-0.192*	-0.144
				-0.102	-0.111	-0.109	-0.108	-0.108
Yoruba					0.0549	0.05	0.0913	0.0433
					-0.1	-0.0988	-0.104	-0.107
Hausa					-0.189	-0.201	-0.215	-0.216
					-0.19	-0.183	-0.186	-0.187
Igbo					-0.134	-0.132	-0.117	-0.138
					-0.0971	-0.0956	-0.0977	-0.0985
Female						0.334***	0.330***	0.320***
						-0.0758	-0.0759	-0.0761
FCT							0.0835	0.0784
<u>Identities</u>								
National Identity (EoY)							-0.079	-0.0819
								-0.0578
								-0.0419
Ethnic Identity (EoY)								-0.0636*
								-0.0362
Religious Identity (EoY)								0.00364
								-0.0382
School Identity (EoY)								-0.0575
								-0.0398
Constant	0	-0.0516	0.117	0.151	0.188	0.0181	-0.0424	-0.00251
	-0.0384	-0.0867	-0.0944	-0.0954	-0.117	-0.121	-0.133	-0.139
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0.31	0.31	0.325	0.327	0.332	0.353	0.354	0.367

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

Appendix J: Tolerance By School

I find no difference in tolerance levels between unity and state schools which, although unexpected, may not seem completely out of place given that the state schools included in this study are in urban locations and thus have a more diverse (and likely more tolerant) population than would state schools in a more rural location. It was important to this study to include state schools that were also similarly diverse—although even these state schools were not as diverse as the unity schools included in the study—to see if there was any variation in what the different types of schools were doing.

While there was no difference in tolerance levels between state and unity school students either at the beginning or end of the year, the schools show some important variation in tolerance levels that is important to note.

<i>Overall School Tolerance</i>			
School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	0.399	0.389	-0.010
2	0.028	0.051	0.022
3	-0.283	-0.265	0.018
4	-0.168	0.121	0.289
5	0.028	-0.269	-0.297
6	-0.015	-0.107	-0.091
7	-0.125	-0.071	0.054
8			
Senior	0.257	0.502	0.245
Junior	0.112	-0.365	-0.477

In looking at overall tolerance levels (i.e., not divided up by age group) in the table above, School 4 (All-Female Unity) shows the greatest increase in tolerance over the year while School 5 (All-Male Unity) shows the greatest decrease in tolerance levels among unity schools over the year. School 1 (All-Female Unity) shows the highest tolerance on

average at both the beginning and end of the year for unity schools. However, School 8 (Mixed Sex State) shows the highest tolerance at the end of the year for its senior sections and also a large increase in tolerance comparable to that of School 4. The junior section of School 8, on the other hand, shows the largest decrease in tolerance levels over the year out of all of the schools. School 8 is divided up into two campuses, which is why I consider the junior and senior sections separately. When I consider the school as an overall whole, the difference in measures is less pronounced compared with the unity colleges.

When looking at JS1 and SS3 tolerance by school in the following two tables, I also find some interesting patterns. All schools show lower than average tolerance levels at the end of the year for JS1 students except for School 1 (All-Female Unity) while all schools show higher than average tolerance levels for SS3 students by the end of the year except for School 3 (All-Male Unity).

At School 4 (All-Female Unity), we see an even higher increase in tolerance over the year for JS1 students compared with SS3 students, although there is an increase for each as well as an overall increase for the whole school. This school is particularly interesting because the JS1 students start out with the lowest tolerance levels and increase by the most compared with other JS1 students at other schools. The SS3 students start the year with higher than average tolerance levels and increase to have the highest tolerance levels among SS3 students by the end of the year. In future research, I would like to look more specifically at what is happening in this school in terms of specific school practices that contribute to these changes.

At School 5 (All-Male Unity), in the meantime, the JS1 students start out with a lower than average tolerance level and it worsens over time; the SS3 students start out with a higher than average tolerance level, but it still worsens over time. It could also be worthwhile to include this school in future research to understand the specific school practices that are contributing to these lower tolerance levels (and decreases in tolerance levels over time for both grades and in the school overall).

These school-specific findings suggest that students' sex and/or the way sex interacts with school factors are important in shaping tolerance levels. This aligns with the survey findings showing a higher tolerance on average for female students.

JS1 Tolerance

School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	0.025	0.157	0.132
2	-0.249	-0.228	0.021
3	-0.530	-0.412	0.118
4	-0.603	-0.230	0.373
5	-0.395	-0.559	-0.164
6	-0.382	-0.605	-0.223
7	-0.544	-0.260	0.285
8			
Senior			
Junior	0.112	-0.365	-0.477

SS3 Tolerance

School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	0.688	0.569	-0.119
2	0.225	0.249	0.023
3	-0.043	-0.121	-0.079
4	0.388	0.570	0.183
5	0.390	0.094	-0.296
6	0.442	0.515	0.073
7	0.425	0.177	-0.248
8			
Senior	0.257	0.502	0.245
Junior			

Appendix K: Ethnic Identity Multiple Regression Tables

Relationship Between School Type and Ethnic Identity (Beginning of Year - Boy) (N=622 Students)										
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
<u>School Type</u>										
Unity	0.201*	0.192*	0.305***	0.285***	0.269**	0.290***	0.293***	0.244**	0.249**	0.267***
	-0.117	-0.115	-0.108	-0.106	-0.106	-0.105	-0.104	-0.102	-0.102	-0.101
<u>Identities</u>										
Tolerance (BoY)	-0.237***	-0.152***	-0.156***	-0.158***	-0.158***	-0.108***	-0.108***	0.0970***	-0.0948***	-0.0953***
	-0.0363	-0.0358	-0.035	-0.0352	-0.0344	-0.0344	-0.0344	-0.0336	-0.0341	-0.034
National Identity (BoY)	0.380***	0.269***	0.283***	0.283***	0.224***	0.224***	0.223***	0.197***	0.197***	0.183***
	-0.04	-0.0428	-0.0449	-0.0464	-0.0469	-0.0454	-0.0454	-0.0441	-0.0455	-0.0459
Religious Identity (BoY)		0.231***	0.232***	0.215***	0.215***	0.215***	0.215***	0.224***	0.224***	0.218***
		-0.044	-0.0445	-0.0436	-0.0436	-0.0441	-0.0439	-0.0435	-0.0435	-0.0435
School Identity (BoY)			-0.0533	-0.0538	-0.0535	-0.022	-0.0181	0.00396	-0.0388	-0.0398
			-0.0397	-0.0377	-0.0377	-0.038	-0.0388	-0.0388	-0.0388	-0.0388
<u>Student Characteristics</u>										
JS1			0.522***	0.521***	0.608***	0.608***	0.608***	0.608***	0.606***	0.621***
			-0.0914	-0.0913	-0.0888	-0.0888	-0.0888	-0.0891	-0.0891	-0.0892
Muslim			0.0293	0.294***	0.296***	0.296***	0.296***	0.288***	0.288***	0.288***
			-0.0992	-0.113	-0.113	-0.113	-0.113	-0.113	-0.113	-0.113
Yoruba			-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.499***	-0.400***
			-0.114	-0.114	-0.114	-0.114	-0.114	-0.114	-0.114	-0.125
Hausa			-0.373**	-0.371**	-0.371**	-0.371**	-0.371**	-0.371**	-0.371**	-0.405**
			-0.177	-0.177	-0.177	-0.177	-0.177	-0.177	-0.177	-0.177
Igbo			0.0852	0.0852	0.0852	0.0852	0.0852	0.0852	0.0852	0.125
			-0.108	-0.108	-0.108	-0.108	-0.108	-0.108	-0.108	-0.11
Female			-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0482	-0.0672
			-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0822	-0.0824
FCT			0.223**	0.223**	0.223**	0.223**	0.223**	0.223**	0.223**	0.223**
			-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932	-0.0932
Constant	-0.156	-0.149	-0.237**	-0.221**	-0.209**	-0.497***	-0.505***	-0.409***	-0.385***	-0.548***
	-0.105	-0.103	-0.098	-0.0956	-0.0956	-0.105	-0.106	-0.123	-0.131	-0.149
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0.005	0.062	0.195	0.235	0.238	0.278	0.278	0.318	0.318	0.325

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Relationship Between School Type and Ethnic Identity (End of Year - EoY) (N=622 Students)										
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
<u>School Type</u>										
Unity	0.0455	0.0566	0.201**	0.176*	0.158	0.221**	0.225**	0.182*	0.192*	0.204**
	-0.107	-0.103	-0.1	-0.0991	-0.102	-0.101	-0.101	-0.0997	-0.0994	-0.0996
<u>Identities</u>										
Tolerance (EoY)		-0.241***	-0.158***	-0.149***	-0.147***	-0.0940***	-0.0934***	-0.0790**	-0.0665*	-0.0683*
		-0.0365	-0.0349	-0.0332	-0.0332	-0.0341	-0.0342	-0.0348	-0.0354	-0.0356
National Identity (EoY)		0.387***	0.277***	0.283***	0.217***	0.216***	0.216***	0.214***	0.209***	0.205***
		-0.0384	-0.039	-0.0399	-0.0396	-0.0401	-0.0401	-0.0398	-0.0396	-0.0401
Religious Identity (EoY)		0.278***	0.279***	0.272***	0.272***	0.271***	0.271***	0.250***	0.256***	0.252***
		-0.0462	-0.0459	-0.0437	-0.0437	-0.0438	-0.0438	-0.0433	-0.0431	-0.0433
School Identity (EoY)			-0.0301	0.0467	0.0467	0.0464	0.0464	0.0607	0.0650*	0.0744*
			-0.0396	-0.0396	-0.0396	-0.0397	-0.0397	-0.0394	-0.039	-0.0394
<u>Student Characteristics</u>										
JS1		0.567***	0.566***	0.644***	0.644***	0.644***	0.644***	0.647***	0.658***	0.658***
		-0.0903	-0.0905	-0.0886	-0.0886	-0.0886	-0.0886	-0.0883	-0.0889	-0.0889
Muslim		0.0387	0.233**	0.233**	0.233**	0.233**	0.233**	0.237**	0.237**	0.232**
		-0.0893	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102	-0.102
Yoruba		-0.403***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.401***	-0.354***
		-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.111	-0.117
Hausa		-0.163	-0.163	-0.163	-0.163	-0.163	-0.163	-0.154	-0.154	-0.17
		-0.166	-0.166	-0.166	-0.166	-0.166	-0.166	-0.168	-0.168	-0.169
Igbo		0.0751	0.0751	0.0751	0.0751	0.0751	0.0751	0.0766	0.0766	0.0945
		-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.106	-0.107
Female		-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.140*	-0.145*	-0.145*
		-0.0766	-0.0766	-0.0766	-0.0766	-0.0766	-0.0766	-0.0764	-0.0764	-0.0766
FCT		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Constant		-0.0353	-0.0439	-0.156*	-0.137	-0.123	-0.467***	-0.408***	-0.343**	-0.423***
		-0.0932	-0.089	-0.0887	-0.0885	-0.0914	-0.107	-0.108	-0.139	-0.155
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0	0.058	0.19	0.252	0.253	0.3	0.301	0.328	0.331	0.333

Robust standard errors in parentheses - *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix L: National Identity Change Over Time by School Type and Grade

National Identity Over Time by School Type (Unity vs. State) and Grade (JS1 vs. SS3)

National Identity Group	Number of Students	EoY		Change
		Mean (Beg. of Year)	Mean (End of Year)	Change Over Year
<i>Overall</i>				
National Identity JS1	N=324	0.403	0.287	-0.116*
National Identity SS3	N=298	-0.438	-0.312	0.126**
<i>Unity Schools</i>				
National Identity JS1	N=244	0.335	0.253	-0.082
National Identity SS3	N=239	-0.493	-0.432	0.061
<i>State Schools</i>				
National identity JS1	N=80	0.549	0.39	-0.159
National Identity SS3	N=59	-0.213	0.173	0.386***

Based on two-tailed t-test: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix M: Multiple Regression National Identity Over Time

Relationship Between Beginning and End of Year National Identity								
(N=622 Students)								
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
National Identity (BoY)	0.477***	0.468** *	0.435***	0.425** *	0.419** *	0.421** *	0.418** *	0.301** *
	-0.0347	-0.0348	-0.0393	-0.0396	-0.0401	-0.0402	-0.0405	-0.0387
<u>School Type</u>								
Unity		0.248** *	-0.242***	-0.218**	-0.232**	-0.222**	-0.218**	-0.126
		-0.0899	-0.0906	-0.0909	-0.0905	-0.0907	-0.0905	-0.0867
<u>Student Characteristics</u>								
JS1			0.222**	0.211**	0.228**	0.217**	0.221**	0.188**
			-0.0881	-0.0872	-0.0891	-0.0885	-0.0889	-0.0926
Muslim				0.245**	0.206*	0.207*	0.204*	0.0489
				-0.0998	-0.114	-0.114	-0.115	-0.104
Yoruba					-0.105	-0.103	-0.0721	0.075
					-0.105	-0.105	-0.113	-0.102
Hausa					0.154	0.158	0.148	0.187
					-0.192	-0.192	-0.193	-0.165
Igbo					-0.0978	-0.101	-0.0893	-0.0649
					-0.0977	-0.0976	-0.0986	-0.0908
Female						-0.156**	-0.159**	-0.139*
						-0.0767	-0.0767	-0.0732
FCT							0.0634	0.106
<u>Identities</u>								
Tolerance (EoY)							-0.0882	-0.0827
								-0.0578
								-0.0364
Ethnic Identity (EoY)								0.162** *
								-0.0383
Religious Identity (EoY)								0.187** *
								-0.0403
School Identity (EoY)								0.177** *
								-0.0376
Constant	8.48E-10	0.193**	0.0726	0.0102	0.0824	0.166	0.12	0.00437
	-0.0392	-0.0779	-0.0855	-0.0893	-0.105	-0.111	-0.122	-0.123
Observations	622	622	622	622	622	622	622	622
R-squared	0.247	0.256	0.264	0.271	0.275	0.28	0.28	0.396

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix N: National Identity By School

The survey findings show an overall difference in national identity between unity and state schools ($p < 0.1$). When looking at national identity by school and across time, I also find some important variation that I present in this appendix.

<i>Overall National Identity</i>			
School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	-0.015	-0.239	-0.224
2	0.180	0.105	-0.075
3	-0.050	0.214	0.264
4	-0.100	-0.149	-0.049
5	-0.343	-0.124	0.219
6	0.009	-0.244	-0.253
7	0.519	0.432	-0.087
8			
Senior	-0.734	-0.177	0.558
Junior	0.442	0.423	-0.018

First it is important to remember that the type of national identity measured by the survey appears to be less inclusive of ethnic diversity; thus I argue that a higher national identity as measured by the survey indicates a more exclusive national identity. Overall, School 8 (Mixed Sex State) shows a large increase in national identity over the year. School 3 (All-Male Unity) and School 5 (All-Male Unity) also both show an overall increase in national identity over time while most unity schools show a decrease in national identity over time. As the only two unity schools (School 3 and 5 – both All-Male) showing an overall increase in national identity, these findings indicate important differences in sex make-up of a school and/or the way sex interacts with school factors.

They are also the only two schools (even when including state schools) that show an increase in national identity over time for JS1 students (see table below). School 7 (Mixed Sex State) also shows a slight decrease in national identity over time, although its beginning and end of year national identity measure is high compared with each of the unity schools. The only two schools that show a decrease in national identity over time for SS3 students are School 1 (All-Female Unity) and School 6 (Mixed Sex Unity) (see table below).

The opposite pattern is true with national identity as compared with tolerance. SS3 students tend to have a lower than average national identity by the end of the year (exceptions: School 2 – Mixed Sex Unity and School 7 – Mixed Sex State). JS1 students tend to have a higher than average national identity by the end of the year (exception: School 6 – Mixed Sex Unity).

<i>JS1 National Identity</i>			
School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	0.382	0.173	-0.209
2	0.476	0.197	-0.279
3	0.349	0.605	0.256
4	0.497	0.308	-0.189
5	0.029	0.207	0.178
6	0.411	-0.007	-0.418
7	0.667	0.353	-0.314
8			
Senior			
Junior	0.442	0.423	-0.018

<i>SS3 National Identity</i>			
School	BoY	EoY	Change
1	-0.322	-0.558	-0.236
2	-0.031	0.039	0.070
3	-0.438	-0.167	0.271
4	-0.863	-0.733	0.130
5	-0.808	-0.537	0.271
6	-0.494	-0.540	-0.046
7	0.326	0.535	0.209
8			
Senior	-0.734	-0.177	0.558
Junior			

Appendix O: Policy Document for Nigeria Ministry of Education, Education Boards, and Schools

This document provides a summary of the findings and recommendations from the full dissertation, which can be provided upon request. Questions should be directed via email (msl2193@tc.columbia.edu) and requests for further discussion to Dr. Marlana Salmon-Letelier.

Research Summary

Schools have a position in society that could provide tools for students to move toward more positive intergroup relations and to shape their nation as desired. In this research, I present an analysis of how and whether schools in Nigeria, particularly unity schools (FUCs), achieve this. Schools are a concentrated site for interactions among young people, yet research in the field of education and conflict settings is limited in its exploration of *how* schools facilitate intergroup relations that deter hostility and increase intergroup tolerance while shaping positive and peaceful social relations. To address this gap, this project explores tolerance levels, national identities, and social interactions among students in Federal Unity Colleges (FUCs) in Nigeria.

This mixed methods longitudinal research was based on extensive fieldwork in 8 secondary schools (6 FUC and 2 State) over one academic year in Nigeria (2017-2018). The research includes a unique combination of methods: (a) pre- and post- student surveys including data on social (friendship) networks with 643 students, (b) pre- and post- interviews involving 47 students (group and individual), (c) 17 teacher and 8 administrator interviews, (d) 56 hours of classroom and school observations, and (e) an analysis of curriculum and policy documents.

Main Findings

1. **The survey results show that in terms of intergroup tolerance, unity and state school students surprisingly demonstrate no difference.**
2. **Friendship patterns vary between unity and state schools.** Unity school students tend to divide close friendships along religious lines while state school students do so along ethnic lines.
3. **While unity schools have more opportunity for interethnic integration in comparison with state schools, they show increased opportunity for religious division** through the separation of religious spaces and religious events that occur during the more intimate “living together” of a unity school boarding set-up.
4. **Neither the curriculum nor the teachers delve deeply enough or encourage critical thinking that is necessary** to teach students to challenge their thinking and move forward in shifting current social relations (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995).

5. **The most important pattern that appeared in both the social network analysis and interview data was that the overlapping of being both Hausa and Muslim appears to be the ethno-religious group most separated and stigmatized within the schools.** This overlapping identity is of particular importance because of its association with current conflict (e.g., Boko Haram and the Fulani Herdsmen). Divisive social patterns are maintained amidst the illusion of unity alongside neglect to use the larger conflict and negative intergroup relations as an opportunity to have students learn from the conflict by critically considering ethnic and religious identities (of various combinations) and their connections to inequality and conflict over time.
6. When looking at the interview data, it became evident that in addition to an illusion of unity bolstered by a lack of critical thinking about the conflict and intergroup relations, **both religion and language—with language highly linked to ethnic identity in Nigeria— and the way they are facilitated in schools play significant roles in marking these established social boundaries.** Separate religious practices mark intergroup differences and encourage separate relationships among students particularly in unity schools, and language is used to mark social boundaries and hierarchies that exist in greater Nigeria (Blommaert, 2010; Risager, 2012). Both of these factors appear to contribute to the specific separation of Hausa Muslim students.
7. **The survey results suggest a difference in national identity between unity and state schools students—with unity school students showing a lower national identity as measured in the survey.** I argue that this lower national identity among unity school students is actually a different type of national identity from that shown by state school students. The national identity shown by unity school students appears to be less linked to an uncritical patriotism belonging to a particular ethnic group and more related to an incorporation of ethnic diversity into a higher category of national membership (see Turner et al., 1987). In other words, national identity developed in unity schools appears to be more inclusive of different ethnic groups.
8. **Interview data points to a difference in school community between unity and state schools—where students only come together on a daily basis and do not represent the diversity of Nigeria—as elucidating the difference in national identity between unity and state school students.** Through this school community, greatly enhanced by the boarding school design of the school, students engage in interactions and friendships that are less influenced by the outside conflict and intergroup tensions due to their physical separation from outside socializing factors. This combined with the informal interactions and living together in a diverse community that is physically separated from outside intergroup tensions gives students the space to renegotiate boundaries and elude stereotypes and negative social relations (Andreouli et al., 2014; Iqbal et al., 2017, p. 134; Sedano, 2012).
9. **Boarding schools have great potential for the reshaping of intergroup relations in areas of conflict and should be further utilized and explored.** However, simply removing students from the conflict in a boarding school bubble is not sufficient;

schools must use this unique position to have students view the conflict, their identities, and one another from a different vantage point.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, I recommend the following:

1. **The concept of school community should be more purposefully utilized and integrated within formal school practices and policy to shape and enhance the way diverse schools positively influence social relations.** School community and informal spaces are important for transforming social relations, yet these are not areas of focus for funding or evaluation and are rarely identified as specifically relevant to improving intergroup relations in schools. Funding should be directed into informal spaces and in encouraging school leaders, teachers, educational experts, staff, and students to work together in better facilitating a school community. Increasing school community should be identified as a goal at the national level, and this goal should be more specifically broken down according to the student population and characteristics of each school.

2. **The FUCs should purposefully use their unique position as boarding schools and space to help students analyze and work through the conflict in positive ways.** In this research we have seen that school community is enhanced by the boarding school design. Students are able to engage in interactions and friendships that are less influenced by the outside conflict and intergroup tensions due to their physical separation from outside socializing factors. This, in turn, can help break the cycle of negative intergroup relations, and, with proper implementation of other school practices and curriculum, can strengthen the reshaping of intergroup relations in a purposeful and positive manner. Boarding schools should more directly work with students to reshape social relations, negotiate a complex history, confront the challenges facing the nation today, and think about how to address conflict and social relations in the future. The boarding school bubble should be fully utilized by purposefully seizing the opportunity for students to explore the conflict from a new vantage point. Ways to do this are further expressed in the remaining implications.

3. **The way that students both divide and form friendships should be identified for each school, and appropriate actions should be taken to increase positive intergroup integration and relations.** The way intergroup relations reflect negative intergroup patterns in larger society should be recognized, and friendship patterns within schools should be assessed at the beginning and end of each year. This process should inform teachers and administrators; students, however, should be carefully involved in this process of understanding friendship networks as friendships should still form naturally among students without students feeling forced to say they have certain types of friends. Rather, school practices and curriculum should be reassessed using friendship pattern information to encourage school spaces, informal interactions, and curriculum that will naturally reshape friendships to be more diverse across groups. Proper interventions to promote intergroup unity cannot be properly designed or sufficiently evaluated before

taking the first step to understand the way groups are interacting within the school. Patterns of specific groups that are excluded should be identified (such as was the case with Hausa Muslims) and this should be addressed within the curriculum (such as through encouraging critical thinking), learning time (where students learn from/with/and teach one another – see number 4), school practices, and school design. It should not simply be addressed as a disciplinary action that is not supported at other levels and in other spaces/practices.

4. Funding should go into expanding opportunities that have students learn from, learn with, and teach each other—particularly in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion. This should apply to both the formal classroom/curriculum and in the informal settings such as dorms. In diverse schools where language and religious spaces, classes, and practices may be separated, students of different languages and religions should be further integrated in spaces that would allow them to learn from, learn with, and teach one another while still allowing them the time and space to practice their languages and religion as desired. School practices of language and religious separation—including separate language and religious education classes—should be redesigned to create a new mode of interethnic and interreligious interaction that taps into the deep knowledge of each of the students while encouraging curiosity, peace, understanding, and respect. This should be done, at least in part, in a structured setting with well-trained facilitators (Banks et al., 2001). Thus, appropriate training should also be provided for teachers and staff.

5. Critical thinking around intergroup relations, group portrayal, conflict issues, history, and the nation-state should be heavily incorporated into school practices, curriculum, and teacher training. This research shows evidence of lost opportunities in classrooms and curriculum to encourage the critical thinking and exploration that is necessary to have students recognize, challenge, and move forward in thinking about changing the status quo (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; McLaren, 1995). Paris' (2012) Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy encourages the simultaneous embracing and critiquing of identities and should be implemented within the school practices and curriculum. Students are able and ready to think critically about themselves and others with the proper guidance, and in this way, they can more deeply engage and understand the ethnic and religious identities of others and their relationship to them both in the context of history and present day conflict. However, to do this, administrators, teachers, staff, and education leaders, need to be trained and ready to engage students in challenging conversations and to appropriately manage the confrontation of social norms, status quo, and conflict within the classroom and school. Teacher training and evaluation should align with these goals, and teachers should have protection through the support of schools and the national education department (in the case of Nigeria, the Federal Ministry of Education) to teach topics—on which they should have special training—that may be difficult without fear of causing controversy with parents. These efforts should be communicated as an important goal of the school system to students, parents, and others who might push back on efforts that will have students challenge existing social relations and the status quo.

6. Goals—specifically those regarding intergroup relations—should be clarified and aligned within the policy, curriculum, school practices, and school design. These goals should be set at all levels (including among students, staff, teachers, and administrators) and align with overarching goals set at the national level. The overarching goals of the school and educational policy should include a focus on identifying and communicating (a) the status quo, (b) aspects of the status quo that the nation/schools desire to shift, and (c) specific goals for changing those aspects. The way that society (i.e., the status quo) is reflected in schools should be identified within each school specifically, and steps should be taken to change desired aspects so as to align with overarching goals. The goals should be re-assessed and readjusted yearly. Goals that schools are struggling to achieve should be reassessed and broken down into smaller sub-goals. Goals should be specific, clear, identified for various levels (as already stated), and given a timeline. Appropriate goals should also be clearly communicated to the students; although it is important to distinguish which goals should be communicated (such as a goal clearly outlining the concept of unity) and those that should not (such as those that might cause students to strengthen social boundaries based on awareness of the goals).

7. School practices intended to integrate students should be continuously evaluated for effectiveness and the ways in which they achieve and/or work against the goals. As shown in this research, stated goals do not always align with implementation of school practices and curriculum in schools. Even practices and curriculum that are intended to integrate diverse groups of students do not always influence student relations in ways that align with the stated goals and may actually create negative experiences in some cases (see Bekerman, 2009; Carter, 2012; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 2006). To enhance the power of diverse schools in uniting groups of students, particularly in areas of current or historical conflict, these practices and curriculum should continuously be assessed for their influence on students and intergroup relations—including in the use of critical thinking about intergroup relations and the conflict, integration across religious and linguistic groups (in the case of FUCs), and the way that students engage in learning from, with, and about each other. It is important, however, that these evaluations do not become a source of fear for administrators, teachers, and staff, but rather they should be used as tools to inform them about their progress on goals that have been clearly set at the national and school level (see previous implication).