times produced surprisingly useful results. The
fact that attitude, like such concepts as "social
organization," "class," "intelligence," and "mo-
tivation," has been ambiguous has not pre-
vented the accumulation of a large body of
research findings in a wide variety of dis-
ciplines. We do not share the view of those
critics who maintain that because the concept
has been (and still is) imprecise it should be
abandoned. We feel that the history of the
concept needs now to be moved into another
stage in its development and it is hoped that
the analysis and the suggestions above will aid
in this transition.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FUTURE OF AN OPPRESSED
GROUP

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ABSTRACT

Samples of future autobiographies collected from African high school students in South
Africa in 1950, 1956, and 1962 suggest that the tightening of social and political restrictions
has produced a relative dehistorization of the psychological future and a decline of interest
in both community service and individual economic success. Instead, future aspirations take
on an increasingly political value oriented tone.

While the rapidity and depth of social change in many parts of the world
has stimulated a new interest in the problems of a "historical psychology" it would
be idle to underestimate the difficulties which prevent the translation of this interest into
practical research activity. Not only has the organization of psychological training and re-
search made for timidity in the face of the larger problems of historical change, but the
tradition of ahistoricism has left us few established techniques likely to pick up those long-
term psychological changes which are important in a historical context. Here one is not
cconcerned with short-run changes of specific attitudes as a result of specific social influences
but with that deeper surge of change repre-
sented by the reconstruction of values and pers-
vpectives in the context of complex historical
developments.

One can hardly study the psychological as-
pects of great changes without some reference
to people's hopes, for it is these hopes which
very often govern some of their historically
most important actions, and their attempt to
actualize a projected future may constitute an
important motor of historical change. In study-
ing psychological aspects of social change it is
important to see the individual not merely as
the passive victim of forces beyond his con-
rol, but also as the creator of counter-forces.

The importance of the psychological future in the
process of social change derives from the
fact that it is both a response to existing
changes and an active principle which may tend
to modify the direction of these changes.

Attempts at an empirical investigation of the
psychological future in a socio-historical con-
text have been few and far between. The meth-

1 See Z. Barbu, Problems of Historical Psychology (London: Kegan Paul, 1960); F. Wyatt, "A
clinical supplement pp. 6-47; M. L. Farber, "The Armageddon Complex: Dynamics of Opinion,"
Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15, 1951, pp. 217-
od which yields the richest material appears to be the "future autobiography" in which the subject is required to write about his "expectations, plans and aspirations for the future." Allport and Gillespie have demonstrated the usefulness of this method for cross-national comparisons, and it may turn out to be equally useful for the study of long-term trends. It has the advantage of not imposing an artificial framework on the subject's response, though it poses formidable problems of analysis.

BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In the present study an attempt is made to analyse three sets of future autobiographies collected in 1950, 1956, and 1962 at a high school for Africans in South Africa. These autobiographies were written anonymously under the supervision of the normal class teacher. The wording of the instructions was the same as that used by Allport and Gillespie, with appropriate changes of dates. The length of the assignment was halved. In each case


5 I am greatly indebted to Dr. Allport and Dr. Gillespie for making available to me their sample of South African autobiographies. The instructions used were as follows:

"Beginning at the present (your past life history, up to now, need not be told), write a few pages concerning your expectations, plans, and aspirations for the future. There is no required length for these essays: anything from 2 to 4 pages (or about 500 to 1000 words) would be quite acceptable. The assignment assumes, of course, that you will live at least to the year 2000, when you presumably will be about 70 years of age. Although you need not follow a strict chronological method year by year or decade by decade, it would be well to write first of the near future as you see it, and then of the expectations appropriate to successive periods of middle age and life."

the sample was composed of all pupils attending the last class of high school in that particular year, plus a few slightly older students taking a training course for teachers. Although the school is part of a missionary institution, the religious background of the pupils is mixed, and the school is obliged to follow a curriculum laid down by the Bantu Education Department of the central government which also exercises the right of inspection. The school at which this investigation was carried out is one of the small number of African high schools which actually offer classes up to college entrance level. It thus ranks among the major educational institutions for Africans in the country. Our sample constituted between three and seven percent of the total number of African matriculation candidates attending schools in South Africa during each of the three years covered by the present study.

The subjects of this investigation (108 males and 54 females) belonged to a group which has been at the receiving end of the South African government's apartheid policies for a number of years, and the trends manifested in their future autobiographies can only be understood in the light of these special social pressures. There is no reason to believe that there was any consistent change in the type of student attending the institution during the period covered by the investigation.

The period covered by the present study has a certain historical unity in that it spans the gap between the first attempt to launch the apartheid program and the first flaring up of violent resistance on the part of its victims. The year 1950, when our first sample of autobiographies was collected, provides a good base line against which to judge further developments. At that time Africans suffered the effects of traditional racial discrimination in all fields of life, but the social system retained a certain degree of flexibility which enabled it to adjust to some extent to the equilibrant pressures created by the process of rapid industrialization. Africans could own property in urban areas, could engage in direct bargaining with white employers, and a few even had the vote.

However, for at least a century Africans had

been exposed to two opposed kinds of pressure. On the one hand, their labour was required by a modern economy run on capitalistic lines, and for this reason many of them became wholly or partly urbanized and were permitted to acquire a certain level of education. The large-scale industrialization of the country since the Second World War greatly accelerated the process of urbanization and westernization. On the other hand, white fears of losing their positions of political and economic privilege led to the enforcement of discriminatory laws and customs which imposed gross limitations on African access to the sources of capital and to educational and training facilities. In addition, most Africans were denied elementary political rights as well as the right of free movement.  

The years after 1950 were marked by the practical implementation of policies which were based on the premise that no amount of economic development would ever be permitted to dilute the existing pattern of social domination. This involved the readily accepted corollary of total political control of the African (and eventually the white) population. Thus, the following decade witnessed the imposition of a coercive system of social controls designed to create and perpetuate a totally rigid system of social differentiation on the basis of race. For the individual African this has meant a degree of administrative control over his personal life which can have few parallels in recent history. The majority of the African population live in areas where they possess no rights of residence or property, nor is there any right to carry on independent economic activity or freely seek and take up industrial employment.


8 Explaining the motivation for the apartheid policy of which he, together with the Prime Minister, was the principal architect, the Secretary for Bantu Administration, Dr. Eiselen, wrote in 1959: “The maintenance of White political supremacy over the country as a whole is a sine qua non for racial peace and economic prosperity in South Africa,” Optima, Vol. 9, 1959, No. 1, p. 8.


Between 1950 and 1956 the powers of the authorities to effect the arbitrary removal of individuals and groups from one area to another were considerably increased and used on a large scale in order to implement official policies. Not infrequently, property owners were expropriated, workers were deprived of their livelihood, and families were separated. At the same time a special system of schooling, called “Bantu Education,” was introduced for African children, explicitly designed to prepare them for a position of permanent inferiority. This system was mentioned frequently by the subjects of our 1956 and 1962 samples as a source of frustration and resentment.

Between 1956 and 1960 the authorities completed their control of all forms of legal political activity on the part of the African population. In the latter year the vestigial remnants of African representation in the legislature disappeared and the two nation-wide African political organizations were banned. This left the road open for underground activity in the form of sabotage which began at the end of 1961 and led to furtherpressive measures in 1962. Some idea of the scope of social control involved in the South African system may be obtained from the following figures: according to official statistics the number of Africans convicted for offences against the special laws and regulations for their control rose from 217,000 in 1950 to 397,000 in 1958. As the total African population in 1958 was about ten million, it will be clear that a considerable proportion of the adult male population is conv-

10 In a famous statement on the policy aims of Bantu Education in 1954 the present Prime Minister of South Africa stated that in terms of this policy there was “no place for Bantu (Africans) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.” In June 1959 the Minister for Bantu Education reiterated in parliament: “Our aim is to keep the Bantu child a Bantu child ... The Bantu child must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators (of the whites) but that they will want to remain essentially Bantu.”

11 Union Statistics for Fifty Years (Pretoria: Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960). In addition 52,000 Africans were convicted for “offences relating to agriculture, mining, industry, trade, labour etc.” These figures may be compared with a total of 12,000 convicted for burglary and robbery.
vicited of this type of offence in any one year. This figure does not of course include those large numbers of individuals who come under the scope of administrative removal and banishment orders without having been convicted of any offence.

The special pressures set in motion by the prevailing political system in South Africa have such massive repercussions on the lives of the African population that they serve to characterize the social pattern of the period covered by the present study. Any other social changes taking place at the same time would only exert their effect on African subjects through the distorting medium of the social controls established by the apartheid system. For educated Africans the growth of this system overshadows all other social developments, and any consistent trends in the pattern of their psychological future are likely to be related to the experiment in total political control of which they are the unwilling subjects.

SELF AND SOCIETY

Some measure of this unwillingness can be obtained from essays on the future of South Africa which were collected from all the subjects of our 1962 sample and from some of the subjects of the 1956 sample plus a few college students (N = 84). Eighty-three percent of these essays expressed complete opposition to present government policies, the rest either bypassed the question or expressed partial support. Not a single African subject clearly identified himself with present policies, and no fewer than 46 percent foresaw the violent overthrow of the system. These percentages remained almost constant from 1956 to 1962.

The effect of these conditions on the psychological future is profound. The future autobiographies of African subjects tend to stress the social limitations on personal planning and hence to give much less space to the individual’s private aspirations and much more space to his socio-political aspirations than the autobiographies of other subjects. Whereas the future autobiographies of white South Africans tend to be entirely devoted to private matters, African future autobiographies devote an average of about one-third of their space to a discussion of social issues which, in the South African context, tend to take on an almost entirely political aspect. Moreover, if we make a distinction between plans and goals that are realistic in terms of existing possibilities and plans and goals that are on the level of fantasy, given present social conditions, the African autobiographies contain rather more fantasy than the autobiographies of white subjects. The trend which these variables manifest over a twelve-year period is shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent Ego Reality</th>
<th>Percent Ego Fantasy</th>
<th>Percent Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans 1950........</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 29)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans 1956........</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 43)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans 1962........</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 36)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites 1956........</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 34)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures for whites are based on a group of 34 autobiographies of high school students collected in 1956. This group is small, but as the general pattern of results is very similar to that of a larger group of autobiographies collected from white college students it is included here to provide a contrast against which national study. They state: “In coding the autobiographies it was found that 70 per cent of the Bantu students make clear mention of their own ethnic group and write largely in this context. No other sample even remotely approaches this high figure.” Allport and Gillespie, op. cit.


15 The inter-rater reliability for this distinction was .88. The fantasy level includes career and educational aspirations whose fulfillment is highly improbable if the limitations of opportunity inherent in the existing social structure are assumed to persist.

16 K. Danziger, op. cit.
the special features of the African autobiographies may be assessed. In their preoccupation with realistic personal plans these white subjects would not differ substantially from students in North America or western Europe, as Allport and Gillespie’s cross-national study seems to show.17

It is apparent that the most striking characteristic of the African autobiographies, namely, their limited realistic personal planning and their preoccupation with socio-political problems, shows a consistent growth in intensity over the twelve-year period. In other words, by 1962 there is even less realistic personal planning and even more preoccupation with social conditions in these autobiographies than there was in 1950. (The differences between the 1950 and the 1962 scores on both these variables are significant at the five percent level; t = 2.11 for “ego reality” and 2.01 for “society.”) As might be expected, the social conditions discussed at such length in these autobiographies are invariably connected with the special features of the South African political system. Because of this and because of the consistency of the trend over the twelve-year period under review, it is likely that the tendency to see the future in social rather than individual terms represents a reaction to the conditions of political oppression and social discrimination which govern the lives of these subjects. A few excerpts from these autobiographies will serve to illustrate this connection:

When I plan for my future I still hope that I shall take part in engineering provided that the government will have granted permission for Africans to take part in engineering.

My children should receive a full high education which I hope will not be Bantu education but something real genuine.

One of the things which muffle or smother my expectations is the present government. They want to inculcate into the African mind the atrocious belief that the white man is superior to the African in every respect.

I intend to take a further two years to qualify as an accountant provided of course the South African Board of Accountants will register a non-European... I stand no chance whatsoever as an accountant in any of the European (white) firms.

I had been granted a scholarship to proceed to a British University but the passport was not forthcoming from the department of the Interior. So—what next?

As the coercive control which an alien social authority exerizes over the lives of these subjects increases in intensity so the possibilities for realistic personal planning shrink. On the other hand, the individual is forced to concern himself more and more with the socio-political barriers that increasingly limit his personal autonomy. Whatever factors produce this characteristic orientation to the future in 1950 are apparently intensified in the intervening period. In view of the unique political developments during this period the identification of these factors is not difficult.

It is likely that the increasing frustration of individual goals by political restrictions leads to a gradual redefinition of the psychological future in which the attempt at personal planning is progressively replaced by a concern with one’s group’s collective fate. Insofar as the psychological future is no mere reflection of social conditions but is itself an orienting force directing individual effort into certain channels, this development is likely to be of historical relevance in that it may lead to collective action to improve those social conditions which are experienced as personally frustrating. In a situation where social control is monopolized by a ruling group guided by inflexible policies and where no non-violent methods of influencing this ruling group are seen to exist attempts to improve the collective fate must sooner or later take on violent forms.18

TIME PERSPECTIVES

Social pressures may not only produce a shift of interest from the personal to the collective future, they may also produce an internal effect on the organization of individual time perspectives as such. For purposes of empirical measurement it is necessary to distinguish between various aspects or dimensions of time perspectives,19 the aspect under consideration here being...

17 Allport and Gillespie, op. cit.


Table 2. Changes in Temporal Organization in African Future Autobiographies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mean number of objective time references</th>
<th>Mean number of temporally distinct future stages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of difference 1950-1962</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inter-rater reliability of this measure was found to be .90.

Lower degree of temporal differentiation of their personal future than the whites, and subsequent developments may have intensified this trend. It should be added that no consistent or statistically significant trends have been discovered in the time perspectives manifested in future autobiographies collected from groups of white subjects over the same period.

It is possible that the marked decline in the number of exact time references among African subjects may be the result of a growing feeling of helplessness in the face of apparently arbitrary official interference in the individual's personal life. It obviously becomes futile to make precise plans when one feels they may be nullified at any moment by a new repressive law or regulation or even by the action of an unsympathetic official. Even in 1950 educated Africans faced severe limitations on their powers of individual self-determination. Finding themselves in a social situation in which their own preferences were unlikely to carry much weight because they were not backed by legal rights or by social power they responded by projecting a future that was often little more than a shapeless cloud. But there were certain areas in which individual planning and initiative were still possible, and some of our subjects responded to these possibilities very effectively. But as the gaps in the system of total white domination were closed, fewer and fewer individuals found it possible to plan a personal future that was more than a vague hope.

These developments have far-reaching implications. The use of a precise and objective temporal framework is necessary for the rational co-ordination of ends and means which is based on the effective rationing of time. The fact that in 1950 African autobiographies make as much use of such a temporal framework as the
autobiographies of whites suggests that the subsequent decline is not due to any difficulty experienced with Western concepts of time but is due to special social limitations which become operative in the subsequent period. De-differentiation of the psychological future may well be the result of externally imposed frustration, a hypothesis which was originally put forward by K. Lewin on the basis of experimental evidence.21

Insofar as the structure of the psychological future is reflected in behavior a decline in its level of differentiation is likely to lead to poor co-ordination of means and ends and hence a decline in overall productive efficiency. White social control therefore functions as an infallible "self-fulfilling prophecy."22 It imposes the very barriers and frustrations which produce that personal inefficiency among Africans which provides the justification for the perpetuation of white rule.

LIFE GOALS AND VALUES

If changes in the psychological future represent reactions to real social pressures one might expect that structural changes would be accompanied by changes in content. This is indeed what happens. The content of the psychological future is largely concerned with the individual's life goals and these in turn express the scheme of values by which he lives. There are many ways of analysing life goals, but for present purposes we may restrict ourselves to a consideration of three types of goal which


show a clear trend in our sample of African autobiographies, namely economic goals, political goals, and the goal of community service.

In regard to economic goals the future autobiographies were rated on a three-point scale, according to the intensity of overt interest in economic success expressed in such things as entrepreneurial activity, salary, security, saving, but not consumption. The inter-rater reliability of this scale was .67.

The goal of community service has emerged very strongly in a number of studies of African middle class values and attitudes.23 This goal is usually expressed in terms of serving one's own community through one's work as a teacher, clerk, nurse, doctor, etc. Middle class African subjects frequently state that they do not merely wish to work to advance their personal career but in order to "help my people," "uplift the African masses," "assist in solving the problems of my community," etc. In the present investigation the future autobiographies were rated on a four-point scale according to the expressed intensity of interest in community service, excluding direct political activity which was assessed separately. The inter-rater reliability of this scale was .87.

The simultaneous decline of both sets of values throws an interesting light on their possible interrelationship. While concern for the ideal of community service has been noted by a number of investigators of African middle class attitudes, other have gone so far as to


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Economic Successes</th>
<th>Community Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance of difference 1950-1962......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mean Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
write: "The position has been reached today when the quest for more money has become the urban African's basic motivation." It has been suggested that the contradiction of a simultaneous espousal of highly individualistic economic values and the values of community service may reflect the real contradictions in the social position of people who find themselves in process of transition from one social order to another. Such contradictions must however be regarded as the outcome of the contradictory demands which white society makes on the African group. On the one hand Africans are encouraged to develop those individualistic economic motives which render their work more efficient in the context of a competitive economy; on the other hand, they are subject to the most rigid restrictions as a group, and this tends to encourage sentiments of group solidarity.

This conflict is particularly acute for educated Africans who have been thoroughly imbued with individualistic values and have become partially alienated from the rest of their community. At the same time their individual aspirations are constantly frustrated by white authorities who insist that their only possibility of advance lies in service to their own community. In the past, many educated Africans may well have accepted this way out of the dilemma, for by serving their community through their professional work they could simultaneously satisfy individualistic motives and assuage the anxieties produced by social isolation. As long as they stressed their solidarity with their own group they were somewhat less exposed to the hostility of the white group and to the bad conscience which resulted from turning one's back on one's kinsmen. That is why one finds that the ideal of community service is stressed precisely at the time when overt interest in economic success is at its height and decreases in importance at the same time as the other. It probably constitutes an attempt to deal with the problems produced by a rapid intensification of individualism.

But our data suggest that the ideal of community service is losing ground among this group of subjects. This may be partly a reaction against government propaganda which has more recently stressed this ideal as an alternative to the rights of which the individual has been deprived. In view of the intense hostility and mistrust which the majority of the subjects express towards the source of this propaganda any ideal which it attempts to foster is almost certain to be rejected. There may also be a growing feeling of futility about service to a community whose gains have been systematically nullified by counter-action on the part of the authorities. But the fact that the goal of economic success suffers a simultaneous decline with that of community service suggests that there may also be internal changes at work. The previous conflict has apparently been reduced by a reduction in one of the conflicting forces or by the achievement of a new kind of integration.

The content of the future autobiographies offers strong support for the latter possibility. The new method of reconciling individualistic and collectivistic goals appears to be in the direction of political activity in the cause of African Nationalism. In this form of activity one can both serve one's community in the only way that promises to be effective and find unlimited scope for the satisfaction of individual ambitions. Indeed, it is found that whereas in 1950 only seven percent of the African male future autobiographies mention their intention to engage in political activity, 42 percent of the 1956 sample and 28 percent of the 1962 sample do so. (The difference between 1950 and 1956 is significant at the one percent level). The decline between 1956 and 1962 may simply be due to the fact that by 1962 all African nationalist organizations were illegal, and many subjects may have been understandably reluctant to commit themselves to their active support in writing, even under conditions of anonymity. The figures shown in Table 1 show, if anything, a slight increase between 1956 and 1962 in the amount of space devoted to political matters. Moreover, the percentage of male subjects who express a lively interest in political problems without however committing themselves to political activity is 10 in 1950, 18 in 1956 and 25 in 1962. This means

that in both 1956 and 1962 the future autobiographies of over half the male subjects showed a characteristic preoccupation with politics.\textsuperscript{26}

If this represents a real trend it would suggest that the intensification of authoritarian political control is having the effect on the individual educated African of defining his future in political terms. As political control of every aspect of his activity becomes total, he reacts by defining his aspirations in political terms. As his striving for individual success in a profession or in business activity becomes circumscribed by ever new political restrictions he turns to the only field in which he still feels himself to be capable of autonomous action, namely, political activity in the nationalist cause. Whether many of these subjects will actually give concrete expression to their political aspirations will depend on the ruling group's ability to maintain its present superiority of physical force. But it is clear that the manner in which the ruling group exercises its monopoly of political power is creating one of the basic preconditions for the development of a revolutionary movement, namely, the definition of all social problems in political terms, and the subordination of all individual goals to political considerations.

\textbf{SEX DIFFERENCES}

Although our female sample is regrettably small, certain marked sex differences merit some comment. In the first place, political activity is obviously not an acceptable life goal for the middle class African female—only two out of 54 subjects mention it. This is confirmed by the fact that whereas African male political leaders in South Africa include a fair proportion of intellectuals, this is not true for politically prominent women who are almost with-


out exception people with a working class background. This may be partly due to the fact that relatively more high school girls than boys would come from homes that by local standards are fairly secure economically. It may also be due to a partial taking over of the norms of white middle class femininity which would regard political activity as somewhat unladylike.

On the other hand, there is evidence of an increase in political awareness among females, at least over the last six-year period—in fact, this increase is relatively more marked than in the case of the males. This trend together with the trends of two related variables is shown in Table 4.

\textbf{TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE SPACE DEVOTED TO SELF AND SOCIETY IN FUTURE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF AFRICAN FEMALES}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percent Reality</th>
<th>Percent Fantasy</th>
<th>Percent Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950 (N = 14)</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 (N = 16)</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962 (N = 24)</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison with the male data presented in Table 1 shows that while an increase in the space devoted to socio-political problems and a decrease in the total space devoted to personal goals occurs for both sexes, the decline of realistic personal planning which is so marked for the males does not take place in the case of the females but is replaced by a decline in the amount of personal fantasy (difference between 1950 and 1962 significant at the one percent level). This may be due to the fact that African middle class women may not feel the impact of official policies on their personal lives quite as catastrophically as many of the men whose career aspirations are directly affected. Thus it is still possible for the women to develop relatively realistic plans about their future marriage, home, and children, and the intensification of social restrictions merely leads them to abandon the more hopeful fantasies of an earlier period. Under these conditions dreams of wealth and fame perhaps offer fewer compensations than a kind of "flight into reality" which promises a limited degree of personal autonomy in an area that is not as easily
reached by the long arm of the government as the man’s place of work. The decline in the ideal of community service which seems to be at least as marked among the women as it is among the men would seem to support some such interpretation. The men, whose planning is more seriously disrupted on the reality level, continue to find an outlet on the “level of ir-reality,” so that by 1962 the sex difference in space devoted to ego fantasy is significant at the five percent level. At the same time the continued interest of the women in the everyday demands of middle class respectability has not prevented an apparent rise in political consciousness, reflected in the fact that they now devote almost one third of their future autobiographies to socio-political topics.

In conclusion it may be suggested that the white ruling group’s attempt at monopolizing the control of social change by exercising total control over the lives of the African majority is producing profound changes in the psychological future of at least a section of the African group. Insofar as the psychological future functions as a guide to future action the ground is being laid for a value-oriented counter-movement for which social reality is defined essentially in political terms. The limitations which mounting restrictions place on the individual’s ability to project a personal future are likely to reduce personal efficiency in an economic context in the same measure as they encourage the subordination of individual goals to collective aspirations.

ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS*

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ABSTRACT

Occupational and educational aspirations of 873 Negro and white urban high school students were studied and compared. The plans (or “realistic” expectations) of the students were also investigated. No difference was found between Negro and white aspirations or plans for occupation or education, per se. But, Negroes did reveal higher mobility aspirations than whites, as measured over a revised North-Hatt scale. Negro girls showed particularly high mobility aspirations. An extension of the study examined social influences on educational and occupational aspirations and found evidence of strong maternal influence among Negroes. Actual maternal influence was not as strong among whites, but both white and Negro groups reported high attempted maternal influence. The Negroes reported females, in general, as more influential than males.

I f there is anything approximating a Negro sub-culture in the United States research should be able to find some evidence of it. And if the concept of sub-culture has any meaning it must refer to cognitive or behavior patterns fundamentally different from the dominant middle class “white” culture. This article raises the issue for a narrow band of social attitudes toward occupations and education, particularly as these relate to an individual’s place in the overall social system.

RELEVANT RESEARCH

Little research has been done on racial differences in attitude toward occupations, education, or occupational mobility. In a study that indirectly bears on the issue, Rosen hypothesized that Negroes in his large sample of minority groups would rank low, along with

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