A STUDY OF RACIAL ATTITUDES OF SIX FRESHMAN WOMEN
INVOLVED IN INTEGRATED ROOM SITUATIONS
IN A COLLEGE RESIDENCE HALL

A RESEARCH REPORT
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INTRODUCTION

Racial attitudes of today's American people are now more than ever before becoming a part of their everyday living and thinking as these attitudes are challenged and questioned by racial crises on the American scene. Events in Little Rock, Arkansas; Birmingham, Alabama; Albany, Georgia; and Greenwood, Mississippi; and in cities all over the South affect Americans in that either as whites they are being gradually forced to forsake their deep-rooted beliefs in their own racial superiority, or in that as Negroes, they are attaining their constitutional equality and human dignity. Schools, public facilities and places of entertainment, and to a smaller degree, residential neighborhoods are gradually being integrated. All American citizens are being affected as integration occurs at a distance, involves them or their children in their own communities, as they express their personal opinions in conversation, or adjudicate decisions in our courts of law.

Statement of Purpose

Since 1955 a major area of integration has been in education from kindergarten to college. On the college level integration has been attempted not only in classrooms but also in residence halls and in many cases, in individual rooms in these residence halls. The step of room integration was recently taken on the Ball State campus. Information obtained from an analysis of the ways in which the personal attitudes of the roommates affected and were affected by their experiences in such an intimate inter-racial contact seemed to the author to be important to
the individuals involved, to the people who believed in the rightness of
the step, and to anyone in anyway touched by the situation. But in ad-
dition to these people, the analysis might also have significance for
college officials who would be determining future housing policies, for
community leaders involved in inter-racial affairs in society, and for
researchers to whom the study might yield hypotheses for future research.

The Problem

The fact that the students assigned to integrated rooms were either
Negro or white indicated for example, that they had come from different
backgrounds and had been influenced by different kinds of experiences.
How these experiences affected their new relationships, how these persons
influenced one another, what they learned from, and how they really felt
about living in an integrated situation, became the focus of the research.

The research was designed to investigate the interactions of the
situation and the individuals, specifically six women from Lucina Hall.
First-hand information was obtained through a series of at least three
interviews with each of the six girls. The basic questions included in
the series can be found in the appendix. The interviews were structured
in part, from an analysis of the background information the author gath-
ered from reading books and periodicals and from conversations with qual-
ified people in the Ball State personnel who were interested in the topic.
Reading included discussions of attitudes, how they are influenced by so-
ciety; racial attitudes and racial awareness of children; how the social
pattern of segregation and racial prejudice in the American culture in-
fluences and becomes a part of the total personality of the white and
Negro child, adolescent, and young adult.
This paper is divided into three major parts. In Part I a general review of literature relevant to the problem is made. In Part II the interviews themselves are reported and analysed. In Part III a summary and some conclusions are made along with some promising hypotheses for future consideration.

Hypothesis

The author began this research believing that the result of integrated living would be positive for both the Negro and white girls. Racial misunderstandings and prejudices on both sides have been a result of a lack of personal contact. The integrated room provides the kind of intimate contact which offers the opportunity for people to question one another about specific racial prejudices of which they were previously unaware. Then, with this curiosity accommodated, they are more apt to feel free to discuss their interests, international relationships, or intellectual concepts or ideas. In this manner they get to know the other person as a thinking and seeking individual, one with feelings, opinions, interests, plans, dreams, and goals, regardless of his skin color and racial heritage.
Attitude Defined

An attitude may be defined as "a predisposition to react favorably or unfavorably toward something, under certain conditions. An attitude is a sort of psychological set or stance...an inclination toward or away from something."¹ The physical object, like a teacher or a bicycle, or the abstract idea, like monopoly or communism, toward which the attitude is directed is called a referent. More specifically, referents may be called values or aversions—values being those referents considered attractive, and aversions being those referents considered repulsive. Whether a referent is a value or an aversion depends upon the situation in which it appears to the individual and how the individual sees the total situation. So, in order to understand someone else's attitude toward a referent, one must first look at the situation through his eyes.²

Attitudes may be formed in a variety of ways. They may come to the child ready-made from his parents or from other adults he holds in high esteem.³ A traumatic experience may result in the development of an attitude. Or they may be formed as the result of vicarious or indirect experiences such as heresay, reading, movies, radio and television,

²Ibid., pp. 25-28.
³Columbia University, The Emotionalized Attitudes, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1940, p. 25.
or a speech, in which the manner of speech is also an important factor.\(^4\) They may be formed simultaneously as the result of an action or experience, as the visible referents in the experience become new values or aversions. And they may be formed through the association of a new referent with a group of referents toward which the individual has already formed an attitude.\(^5\) In experiences which are continuous, attitudes may be built by accretion and, as a result, made more stable as all new experiences add to the total feeling the individual has about the whole continued experience. "The development of attitudes, then, may be thought of as learning," inasmuch as both learning and attitudes come about as a consequence of experience.\(^6\)

**Attitudes and Culture**

Since the attitudes are assumed here to result from experiences, one must consider the influence of culture, and society upon the social attitudes of the individual. In a broad sense, culturally influenced values (attractive referents) change according to the broad social situation. For instance, during the world wars there was one supreme value of victory. Other values like mercy or respect for the individual were subordinate. All values which are influenced by the culture may not be compatible but in some instances may be found to be in conflict with one another, the resolution of which is manifested in the behavior of the individual. A school boy might have to value conflict between teacher and peer approval as he tries to decide whether to bring the teacher flowers.

\(^5\)Ibid., pp. 20-30.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 30.
and be called a sissy, or to forget about the flowers and have the approval of his peers.\textsuperscript{7} His decision and resulting behavior might then be said to be greatly influenced by the referent he deems of most worth.

Culturally approved values and their attendant attitudes are taught by means of a unique and sometimes subtle system of rewards and punishments, with the basic reward for acquiescences being that of social acceptance by society. This reward can be manifested in a wide range of societal responses - from a variety of seemingly insignificant responses which gives the person the overall feeling of acceptance, to his being honored and publicly acclaimed by an approving society. Punishment for violating cultural values comes promptly and in most cases can be very severe. Generally speaking, however, culturally conditioned values and aversions are learned, and as long as one's personal values, attitudes, and behavior by which he expresses them are constant with society's values, he is accepted. But when they differ significantly, he is thought of as strange or bohemian.\textsuperscript{8}

A vital and currently significant attitude in American society today is that one which locates its referent in a culturally conditioned value regarding racial minorities in this country.

An attitude toward a group may be considered racial when there is an ascribed status which is assigned to all members of the group regardless of their individual characteristics or attainments, and when the characteristics by which the group is identified are assumed to race and hence unalterable.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 34.
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., pp. 37-40
\textsuperscript{9}Ina C. Brown, Race Relations in a Democracy, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949, p. 18.
Probably the most significant expression of racial attitudes in America are those which are developed out of the experiences of Negroes and whites. The research of this paper is concentrated upon these particular racial attitudes and the behavior resulting from them.

Racial Awareness of Children

When dealing with the culturally influenced racial attitudes of whites and Negroes in America, one may first consider how and when children become aware of racial differences and begin to acquire the accepted societal attitude. The following are three important questions concerning the racial awareness of children:

1. How and when do children begin to identify themselves with some people, and to differentiate themselves from others?

2. How and when do children acquire racial attitudes and begin to express these attitudes in their behavior?

3. What conditions in the environment foster the development of these racial attitudes and behavior?

There are many children in American society today who, because of a lack of personal contact with the other race, have only an opportunity to acquire a stereotyped attitude of the individuals of the other race. This happens as they observe and are influenced by the patterns of the culture in which they live. For the white child this may result in his thinking that all Negroes are black, dirty, poor, ignorant, usually household domestics, who live in slums. For the Negro child this may mean his thinking that all whites are clean, rich, intelligent, professional people who live in suburbia. To a great extent mass communications


\[11\] Ibid., p. 27.
may reinforce the developing attitudes of children by perpetuating the stereotype of the prevailing racial attitudes of the culture.\(^{12}\)

Racial attitudes develop gradually and begin in the early years of the child's life to affect his ideas and behavior. A three-year-old child begins to express the racial and religious attitudes of adult society. A pre-kindergarten and kindergarten-age child can identify himself with a particular race and is aware of the "social meaning and evaluation of racial differences."\(^{13}\) He evaluates racial differences by standards set up by society at the same time that he identifies himself with one group or another. He is cognizant of the status given his group (whether superior or inferior) as opposed to that given the other. As a result he is involved in a "larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, and desires which are a part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race."\(^{14}\) The attitudes of sixth-graders are more definite and undergo few changes throughout high school. From this point on the intensity and complexity of these attitudes increase until they have become similar to those held by the average adult American. However, racial attitudes of children may become more positive than negative as the child matures, and their direction, intensity and form of expression can be influenced and ultimately determined by the experiences the child is permitted to have.\(^{15}\) For example, a Negro who has always lived in a segregated environment, might find, when given

\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 28.
\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 19.
\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 23.
\(^{15}\)Ibid., p. 24.
the opportunity to compete with whites on an equal basis, that they are not necessarily superior to him. This change of attitude might then be expressed by his taking a deeper interest in his work and by his increased effort to produce at a higher level of achievement.

The Effects of Segregation Upon the Negro Child

Deutscher and Chemn concluded that the following were the detrimental effects of segregation upon the minority group.

1. Segregation puts special burdens upon members of a minority group by the clear discrepancy between democratic ideals and actual practice of enforced segregation.

2. Segregation is a special source of frustration for persons who are segregated.

3. Segregation leads to feelings of inferiority and of not being wanted.

4. Segregation leads to feelings of submissiveness, martyrdom, aggressiveness, withdrawal tendencies, and conflict about the individual's worth.

5. Segregation leads to a distortion in the sense of what is real.¹⁶

Kenneth B. Clark found that the personalities of individuals of a minority group are affected by the fact that they are in a minority group. In a coloring test given to nursery school children, he found that both light and dark-skinned Negro children color figures with a light crayon when asked to color them first, the color that they were and afterwards, the color that "all little girls should be." He concluded that the refusal to pick the right color for themselves indicated emotional anxiety and a fundamental conflict between what they

¹⁶Ibid., p. 39.
were and what they wanted to be. Studies in skin-color preference in older Negro children brought to light the same results. Consequently, due to the conflict about themselves, Negro children learn and perfect techniques by which they protect themselves from the racial conflict and threats to their personalities. As they grow up and mature, they become more sensitive to these threats, but their responses and adjustments to the social pressures become "complex, subtle, sometimes obscure" and seemingly "unrelated to the racial problem." These experiences of threats, pressures, and their related responses then, become a part of their total personalities.

One of the more complex responses referred to above is that of self-hatred among Negroes which appears early in childhood and becomes a part of the whole individual.

Self-hatred is found among individuals who belong to any group that is rejected or relegated to an inferior status by the larger society. It demonstrates the power of the prevailing attitudes, and their influence on the individual even when these attitudes run counter to his need for self-esteem.

J. A. Bayton found that Negro college students held the same negative stereotype of the "typical Negro" as the white college students. They cover this self-hatred by scornfully looking down upon the "typical Negro" and at the same time excluding themselves from this group. Mr. Bayton believed that this was an indication of the low spirits within the group and of the large network of negative feelings they have toward whites and other Negroes. As he put it:

\[17\text{Ibid., p. 43.}\]
\[18\text{Ibid., pp. 46-47.}\]
\[19\text{Ibid., p. 50.}\]
Self-hatred must be seen in the context of the Negro's relationship with whites and as a result of his hostility toward whites. As he learns from whites the stereotypes about himself which form the substance of his self-hatred, he begins at the same time to resent whites for imposing this stigma upon him.20

In order to understand the influence of minority status upon the Negro youth, one must gain some insight into their family situation. Lower-class Negro youth learn early in life that they must be subservient to whites because they must work for them. However, if pushed beyond their limits, they are more likely than middle-class Negroes to respond with open aggression. The parents in the middle-class family teach their children that they are equal to whites, disregarding restrictions and racial taboos. They teach them that they must control themselves and their impulses, that they must be certain that they are respectable at all times, and that they must only make positive contacts with whites. These parents insist that their children be living proof of the inaccuracy of the Negro stereotype. They require unrealistic virtues and very high athletic, artistic, or academic achievement. This might well result in the desired exceptional achievement. But many times for the incapable child, it results in "psychological casualty."21

One finds this same kind of class differences between lower and middle-class Negro girls. In the lower class they have accepted the negative stereotype of the Negro and their minority status. They reject the middle-class standards as they openly express their aggression toward whites. Middle-class girls, in believing that they will obtain higher

20Ibid., p. 51.
21Ibid., pp. 57-59.
status, have accepted the same social and personal restraints of the middle-class white girl. They are careful to employ the same conventions of dress, speech, and etiquette. And, because mother pressures them to refute the stereotype of Negro promiscuity, they keep unrealistically high personal and sexual standards. 22

The Effect of Segregation Upon the White Child

Segregation, as a symptom of a "psychological maladjustment" in people who insist upon it, has harmful effects upon this majority group. According to Kenneth Clark, it creates increased hostility, deterioration of moral values, the hardening of social sensitivity, conflict between ideology and practice, the development of rationalizations and other techniques for protecting oneself.

These effects then could lead to inner conflicts, guilt feelings and "disturbances in the individual's sense of reality and the relation of the individual to the world around him." 23 However for a deeper understanding of segregation and its effect upon the personality of the white child, one should consider the total societal climate in which these children grow up and within which their parents are seeking status and security.

They are taught to accept the middle-class values of the American culture and are expected to learn and to appreciate the attitudes and behavioral patterns for their relationships with the various social levels of this culture. These attitudes are subtly but effectively taught to children beginning when they first start to compete with classmates for

22ibid., p. 59.
23ibid., p. 40.
high grades, through the competition of adolescence, until they are encouraged to culminate their economic and social climb with a "good marriage" with the "right person." 24

White children are further affected by segregation in that they are "negatively disturbed by the contradictions in the American democratic creed." The institutions which teach them brotherhood of man, equality of all men, and religious and democratic principles, expect them to disregard these ideas when it comes to playing with children of a different color. This presents them with a "fundamental moral conflict" which becomes just as much a part of their total personality and being, as inferiority becomes a part of Negro children. For protection they too devise techniques. Some do not recognize the contradictions; others repress them. Some accept the rationalizations of parents and other adults, while others accept their superiority over the inferiority of others. Many develop guilt feelings while others become more hostile in their prejudices. However, the way in which a white child or youth handles these conflicts is also influenced by his social class, "intelligence, personal stability, integrity, social sensitivity, and previous experience with other groups." 25

Prejudice - An Intensified Attitude

Racial prejudice as a more intensified racial attitude also has its effect upon the personality of the white child. "A prejudice is an attitude we have toward a specific situation that we reach without sufficient consideration of the facts about the situation." 26 According

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24 Ibid., p. 74.
25 Ibid., pp. 69-79.
to Hortense Powdermaker there are six ways in which a person may develop prejudice. First it is to some degree a part of human nature. However, especially in regard to race, prejudice may also develop from stereotyped ideas, early impressions and experiences, reinforcement from society, false generalizations and personal insecurity. Prejudice condemns a person to permanent insecurity because he does not give himself the opportunity to examine his situation and to come up with a better solution than scapegoating. 27

A white child, as previously discussed, develops in an atmosphere of pressure for social status and economic success, and he must handle his anxieties about these desires by his personal achievement or by scapegoating individuals of other groups toward which he has previously developed negative or hostile attitudes. Because the American culture provides approved groups for scapegoating, Kenneth Clark feels that it is "important to determine under what conditions it is possible for an individual to avoid having some form and degree of racial prejudice in such a culture." 28 For it may be added that the white child's attitude toward the Negro does not come about as a result of his own contact with the Negro but by the predominant attitudes of his culture. And it is seldom the Negro but his preconceived "idea" of the Negro which influences him most. 29

In summary, attitudes, as predispositions to act in certain ways in certain situations, may be considered to be learned by the individual

27Ibid., pp. 16-47.
28K. Clark, op. cit., p. 74.
29Ibid., p. 25.
as a result of his experiences within his culture. Racial attitudes are conditioned to a great extent by the pattern of segregation in the American culture, with the attitudes that the individual develops and eventually adopts dependent upon whether he is of the majority or the minority. A child associates with a particular group and becomes aware of the status which society gives to his group. The values and prevailing attitudes in a segregated environment, his feelings about these attitudes, and the techniques he develops for self-protection if these attitudes are in any way threatening to him become a part of his total personality and influence his behavior as he reacts to the conditions and events in society.
THE INTERVIEWS

The author interviewed six Lucina Hall residents, two Negro and four white, in a series of at least three interviews. The first interview was handled rather casually in an attempt to first get acquainted and to obtain basic background information about the girl. The second was concerned specifically with what kinds of experiences she was having as a part of an integrated room and her real feelings about what was happening to her. The third was concerned with what she had learned, how she had learned, her evaluation of what she had learned and its importance, and finally, her conception of how this was going to influence her life.

At times the interviews overlapped and some lasted longer than others, determined by the degree of interest the interviewees took in what they were doing. Many times the interviews progressed to related or to different topics, giving the interviewer additional information about the interviewee, her opinions on another topic, a particular problem she was trying to solve, and in general a better glimpse of the girl as a total person and personality.

The presentation of the interview information will be in two sections: A. The Negro Girls and B. The White Girls, each girl handled first individually. An interpretative passage will follow the report of each interview.
The Negro Girls

Ann was an eighteen year old freshman from Indianapolis, who lived in a middle-class Negro neighborhood with her mother, stepfather, and a much younger half-sister. First discussed were her previous contacts with whites, her racial attitudes, and the influences upon them before she came to college. As a family they did not talk at length about race and what being a Negro meant to her then and what it might mean to her later. Both she and her parents had had numerous and continued interracial contacts and equality was taken for granted; problems caused by racial influences were neither conceived or discussed. Parental contact with whites came through their employment. Ann attended Shortridge High School, a large (approximately 2,000 students) and very much integrated school on the Indianapolis north side.

Ann was and continued to be very interested and talented in music, and her major activity at Shortridge was singing in the concert choir. She described the choir as "one big happy family," in which everyone became very close. Parents were even included as they served many times as chaperones for the concerts throughout the city and state. They also had informal meetings in the homes of the members - always the white members. In addition to this high school experience, she attended during one summer a music institute for girls in Flint, Michigan, where there were three or four other Negro girls. It was rather "strange" at first, but everyone soon became accustomed to the situation and accepted it and her.

In talking of what these relationships meant to her at the time, she remarked that she had always known that she would attend Shortridge because of the "added opportunities and course offerings" that would be
available to her. She believed she would be exposed to more interesting people, more classwork, and more new interests at Shortridge. She felt that basically Negro high school students were not interested in learning of things which were new to them, and that this has put her "ahead" of most of them. She felt she had no stereotyped impression of whites before college because she had had many contacts with them before, contacts which even included the summer living situation.

Her interracial contacts at the beginning of the study included her roommate, other girls in the residence hall, and students in her classes. She was appointed Cultural Chairman of her hall in September and was quite active and dedicated to her job.

Ann was the first to move into the three-girl room in September. Susie and Cindy moved in later. Her mother immediately decided that Susie would be the more friendly because she was very outgoing from the beginning. Cindy (who is included in this paper) was quiet and withdrawn; Ann felt that she would be the harder to know and to get along with. Her first reaction to Cindy was, "Oh no, she's from the country," as she moved in all her old bags and articles from her room on the farm. Ann did not know for a fact that Ball State had integrated housing (rooms), but had assumed this because it was an integrated school. It did not bother her one way or another until she found out that this was only the second year for the step. She then experienced a little anxiety, but after reflecting on it, was glad that she was placed there and not someone else who had not had the background experiences necessary for a good situation.

Ann, Susie, and Cindy spent a "normal" first day as entering college freshmen, unpacking, dividing up the limited space, and talking about their families and high school experiences. At the beginning they did not
spend much time together because they were looking for their own friends in Lucina and in other halls.

Ann never gave much consideration to what others might have thought about the integrated situation - either adults or her peer group in Lucina or elsewhere. The only time it would come up would be when a Negro friend outside the hall would ask her if her roommate were "Ned or gray." They readily accepted this situation because it was common knowledge among Negro students that some of them had "grays" for roommates. Regarding her self-concept in the situation, she felt accepted by her roommates and equal to them economically, socially, in education and in all-round ability.

This secure feeling of acceptance was challenged on one occasion by Susie. If you will recall, she was the one whom Ann's mother thought would be friendlier because she was more outgoing on the first day. Once when Ann was cleaning the room - it was her turn, - Susie came in with a friend and jokingly but also sarcastically referred to Ann as her personal maid. Ann's reaction was immediate and negative. She was feeling that she was not her "flunky," but her equal, and she did not want people believing that Susie had a Negro roommate that would do all the work. She covered her feelings at the time but brought the topic up in the evening. Susie listened but did not apologize.

Susie no longer lives in the room but left Ball State to go to beautician school. She had experienced pressure from her father (parents divorced) and paternal grandmother because of living with Ann, but Ann did not know how much this influenced her decision to leave. However,

\[1\text{Slang expressions used by Negroes to refer to Negroes and whites.}\]
all the conflicts in the room arose not over race but over Susie's habits. Usually Ann and Cindy united against Susie, for she never picked up any of her belongings and never wanted to clean the room when it was her turn. She was inconsiderate in other little ways; for instance, she insisted that the lights be off by 11:00 P. M. so that she could sleep. This meant that Ann and Cindy had to leave the room to study. Cindy and Ann figured out an arrangement, however, whereby Susie had to be in bed by 11:15 P. M. If not, the lights stayed on until they retired. Susie was also a Catholic which meant that they differed in basic religious beliefs, as Ann and Cindy were both Methodists.

After Susie left the atmosphere was much more at ease, and Ann identified this as the time at which she and Cindy became very close as roommates. This came upon them gradually, as they were always united in every issue against Susie. They also discovered that they shared common interests and religion and were more like one another than either was like Susie.

In speaking of her relationship with Cindy, Ann stated that she had always believed that white girls had "halfway decent looks and a string of boys" around them. But Cindy did not. She found she was quiet and reserved in her actions and did not go out on dates. She worried about Cindy and tried to encourage her to date, but to no avail. She could not even convince her of the advantages the Student Center offered for meeting the opposite sex. Cindy, was much more reverent. Frequently they had Bible and Upper Room² readings. Because of this Cindy kept her

²Methodist publication for nightly Bible study.
closer to the church, closer than a Negro roommate would have because they "don't care", and because whites are "more religious".3

At no time did Ann feel that she had any particular responsibility for making their roommate relationship successful. It had worked from the beginning, and she did not ever think that it would not. However, at a later time she spoke of being the only Negro in the college concert choir and at first was withdrawn from the group. After thinking about it, however, she decided that she must be more outgoing and initiate the friendships because she was there as a "representative and model" for her race. She felt that it was important that she make a positive impression and contact. When asked why she had viewed the two situations differently in terms of responsibility, she said only that she thought that the director would dismiss any member who did not get along well in the group.

Ann was unable to cite any specific facts which she had learned, but the interviewer got the impression that she believed that she had more to give than she would receive in terms of information because of her previous contact with whites. She did believe, however, that she learned that Cindy was "no different to live with" than any Negro girl she might have had. Hair was the only racial characteristic which would be different in terms of care, and she felt that once whites understood, there would be no problem. However, she hastened to add that she only had to "wash and set" hers, like Cindy did. Skin color never presented a problem and was something one got used to as time went on. She believed that this might be information two Negro roommates would not have

3 These appear to be racial stereotypes she held but ones which did not occur to her when she was asked about them previously by the interviewer.
learned because they tended to segregate themselves and not have the kind of relationship with whites which would foster the questions and discussions.

When asked who she thought profited most from the situation she said she felt that Cindy's mother did. She had had some doubts about their living together but had found out that Cindy had not become "any worse" by living with her. She once in a humorous way remembered that she had learned to eat mushrooms because of Cindy and that Cindy had never heard of Kentucky oysters before that time. Basically she believed that their relationship was a very close and intimate one, in which she had been able to help Cindy become more openly friendly with people and in which Cindy had "spoiled" her with her sincerity and kindness. She respected Cindy because she was not only intelligent but also honest, and she herself was earnestly regretting the end of the year.4

On another occasion Ann and the interviewer had a discussion of race as a national problem. Her views are contained here not only because they are very much related to the paper but because they also present a better picture of her as a person.

She "blamed" both Negroes and whites for the national situation. Negroes she believed were "not ready" for total integration because in some situations they did not act in the socially approved way. She believed that they should "tone down" their attempts at equality because force was not always the best way - that they should take things more "in their stride." She believed that white government officials were at fault for not enforcing laws which were already passed and for not

4 Ann is getting married, and Cindy will be living off campus to save money.
seeing that people like Governor Ross Barnett were not permitted to remain in office. She blamed white parents for passing on their prejudices to their children. However, she remarked that younger people were becoming much more open-minded and that things would eventually work themselves out.

On interracial dating she had these comments: "It is all right on campus but not out in town. When the white people see them, they will be wondering what they do in private if they date in public." Later, however, she reconsidered and decided that dinner or a movie would be all right. She believed that there was more interracial dating done between Negro boys and white girls because the Negro boys did not care about the girls' reputation. She knew of many white boys who "would just love" to date Negro girls, but did not because they respected them too much.

On one occasion she was asked by a white neighbor in her residence hall about dating a Negro boy. He was on the phone at the time, so Ann asked to speak with him. His first words were "Hello Baby," and Ann immediately decided that he would not be good for her friend. She commented that people thought that she was white when speaking to her over the phone, so she knew that he did not know he was talking to a Negro. The conversation continued and at one point the boy used the phrase, "I have drunk ..." This was the last straw for Ann because he was not able even to speak English. She advised the girl not to date him, although she said that she would not have given a Negro girl any advice at all. She explained that a Negro girl could take care of herself, but that a white

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5Ann believed this to be incorrect English usage. She preferred "I have drank..."
girl might be inhibited by fear of insulting him or offending him by something she would say which might be interpreted as a racial stab.

She had one other interesting idea, concerning Negroes and their ability to mix with whites. Their ability was rated in regard to their previous interracial experiences which she believed determined the way in which they were able to interpret, to react, and to adjust if necessary. An above average Negro would be one who had had an abundance of experiences and could best adapt to new situations because of this. They could communicate better with whites and could best handle any negative situation which could evolve. An average Negro was one who had no previous experiences and who would probably be reluctant to mingle and to play the ambassador role. This person might be described as indifferent and certainly unequipped to handle a negative reaction from a white. The below-average was just the "typical Negro" who hadn't had any interracial contacts and who could be expected to react negatively in any he would happen to encounter. She rated herself as above average.

Ann, because of her innate self-confidence, was very sure of herself in this situation. She was well-liked by her roommate and friends who took every opportunity to ask her about racial problems as they affect the Negro. She in turn looked upon this as her responsibility. She had had the good fortune of having experienced many previous interracial contacts which had become meaningful to her in that they had equipped her to help others over the first humps of integration. In this way the author sensed that she believed that she had more to give to the situation and to her friends than she would receive from either. Ann apparently felt that that was the way it should have been.
For the same reasons she felt superior to many Negroes but this seemed to the author to be a representative reaction of many Negroes who have experienced any degree of successful integration. For to know whites and to be known and liked by them is a personal goal set by many Negroes and once attained, it is a source of pride and a reason for superior feelings. The syndrome may include then looking down on Negroes who have not had similar experiences. She also seemed to display a more conservative outlook on integration when she suggested that Negroes should "tone down" their forceful techniques and when she expressed concern about the opinions of whites as they see mixed dating.

**Betty.** The second Negro girl, Betty, a freshman, came from a middle-class Negro neighborhood in Indianapolis where she lived with her parents and a younger brother. She attended Crispus Attucks High School where she was an honors student. At home discussions about race were rare, but on one occasion her mother did comment about interation and interracial dating - that everything was all right but mixed marriages.

By attending Attucks High she had but one interracial contact - a white English teacher whom she had expected to be harder than her other teachers "because he was white." She commented that he was too concerned with his adjustment to the school to be a good teacher. He tried to be funny in order to be liked, and she was disappointed. However, as a high school student she was her school's representative on the Ayres department store high school fashion board. She remembered feeling alone and unable to mix because of not having anything to talk about with the girls. The situation improved, but never to the point where she felt comfortable in the group. She also took an advanced Math class at Butler University in which she was the only Negro in a
class of white boys. Here she again felt isolated but stated that the boys did try to become friends, but that she was unable to respond.

She spoke of times when she and her mother discussed her attending Attucks and that she might have gotten a more rounded and varied education at a mixed school. This made them decide that she would attend a mixed college. Her parents employment put them in the company of whites which to her had eliminated their having any major stereotyped impressions of them. However, she did not feel that this had as much influence upon her as her attending Attucks High School had. Here the accepted conception of whites which she shared with most of the students was that whites were "square," they "talked proper," they "knew more and were smarter," and they were "superior" in every way to Negroes. Because of these ideas she held, she always believed herself incapable of mingling and of talking with whites. She was literally afraid of them.

At the time of this study Betty was highly ranked academically and had made many friends, both Negro and white. She first felt alone but conceded that it was almost her fault completely because she did not try to make friends. She was not involved in any extra-curricular activities anywhere on campus.

Betty did not know that Ball State had interracial housing in residence hall rooms and had come to college assuming that she would have a Negro roommate. Upon moving in she experienced anger when she discovered that she would be living with two white girls. She was very apprehensive about and insecure in the situation, fearing their superiority and everything they represented, and did not feel that this was an adjustment she wanted to make in her first year of college. Her mother was very surprised about the situation but was not bothered one
way or another. Likewise her roommates were quite sociable and did not seem to notice that this was any different from any other room in the hall.

As the first few days progressed, Deloris (who is included in this paper) became the friendliest, while Marsha seemed to typify her preconceived idea of whites. She felt that Marsha talked down to her and treated her as an inferior in every way. After a week, Marsha moved out because of pressure from home and her subsequent inability to adjust. Betty was aware of Marsha's reasons for leaving and thought that she should take this opportunity to talk the situation over with Deloris. This talk turned out to be one of many talks they had in the three-day interval before another roommate, Judy, also white, moved in. At this time they discussed specifically how Deloris felt, and how Betty had felt about whites all her life. Later discussions touched upon the way whites and Negroes looked upon the national problems and just about how people felt. By the time Judy moved in, Betty and Deloris had become close friends.

At the beginning of the year, she worried about what other people thought about their integrated room, especially the parents of other residents and girls who lived in other halls who were friends of Deloris and of Judy. Much of the time she found herself with white girls and sometimes wondered if she should have been with Negroes more. The pressure she felt was directed more toward her mingling with whites and taking

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6 Judy is an upper-classman and has other close friends in the hall. Deloris asked her about her feelings about living with Betty, and Betty learned from her that Judy had no prejudiced feelings about Negroes. She is not in the room as much, and Betty does not know her as well as she does Deloris. When she is present, they all have a good time together, but Betty and Deloris are the close friends.
the initiative to get acquainted. This was not intrinsic motivation, however. She had been encouraged by the graduate assistant in the hall who was also a Negro.

In speaking about adjustments Betty could recall only one - her hair. She felt compelled to tell Deloris that her hair was different and because of this, she would not be washing it in the hall. Deloris' only comment was "Oh really? O. K." Betty did feel that she told Judy because one day Judy jokingly referred to her "naturally curly hair." Other than this, Betty believed that they had many interests and ideas in common and had no adjustments to make.

As previously mentioned, Betty and Deloris became the closer pair in the three-girl arrangement. Betty admired most Deloris' open-mindedness in this matter and in all other areas. She had her opinions and feelings about things and was never concerned about what other people thought of them. Not particularly in their relationship but in regard to the room, Betty felt a responsibility as a Negro to make things work out. Often times she would bring up the subject of race in case Judy or Deloris had questions, and she mentioned that on one occasion she put up a bulletin board of pictures of men, remembering to include Negro men from Ebony magazine. But in all, she spoke of feeling a heavy responsibility as a model of her sex and race - a Negro girl who had ability and plans to go far.

After almost a year of living with Deloris and Judy (particularly Deloris) Betty felt that the experience had been a very valuable one for her. An important part of their relationship was the many talks they had about race, as they were opportunities to gain insight and to express their own feelings. She was particularly happy to find that Deloris was
open-minded and that they both felt that they could talk to one another. "Now we no longer feel the need for the talks. In fact the subject of race rarely comes up."

Because of this experience Betty now felt more at ease with whites and had enough self-confidence in interracial situations to mingle and to communicate. She had changed her original opinions in that she later felt that the term "square should be dropped" as a description of whites, for she had since learned that "people are different and interested in different things," and that this was no reason to label some as "square" when they were not "like us." The only reservation she still held pertained to her feeling of white superiority. Although she did not believe this as strongly as she did in the beginning, shades of this feeling still lingered. Her changed attitude seemed to be partly due to her own success academically, as she outranked both her roommates scholastically. The idea was a deep-rooted one from the beginning, but she was able to feel that she had progressed in her thinking. She was happy, and this had been a profitable experience for her and one that would continue, for she and Deloris were planning to share quarters again next year.

Betty, the product of a segregated educational, residential, and social environment entered this situation with a great deal of apprehension and many negative ideas about her ability to mingle and to compete with her roommates. Her first suspicions about the outcome of the situation were reinforced when Marsha chose not to remain in the room. Instead of withdrawing in a shell, convinced of her inferior position however, she took the initiative to discuss the problem with the second roommate, Deloris, a step which did not seem to be indicated by her quiet, retiring personality. Deloris reacted very positively to her
and respected her feelings about their relationship, responses which gave Betty the support she needed to stay in the situation, confident in her own ability to adjust and to build a successful friendship with a white girl. Since then their lines of communication have remained open, resulting in an enriching experience for both girls.

Ann and Betty, both Negro and seemingly of similar economic backgrounds, came into their integrated room situations with completely different previous interracial experiences and racial attitudes. Ann started the year confident in her ability to mingle and to adjust to any situation which might arise, while Betty was very insecure, and disappointed in her situation and unwilling at first even to try to adjust. According to Ann's own well-structured idea of Negro mixing ability, she was above-average, and this was the feeling she transmitted to the interviewer throughout the interviews. She felt better equipped, because of her background, to be the representative of Negro youth and to provide information to whites ignorant of the basic facts on race relations. By the same standard Betty would rate as a low-average because of her having no background in interracial experiences, resulting in her supposedly being unable to respond properly in the situation.

There was no doubt in the mind of the interviewer that Betty had more to gain from this experience and this she did and was herself able to recognize the change and growth. Both roommate situations were enjoyable and enlightening for all the girls involved. Ann's superior feeling did not negatively affect this situation. Instead it might have had a positive effect upon Cindy in that she was shy and waited for Ann to take the first step when it came to mixing with people.
The author felt it significant that both girls mentioned hair differences as a soft spot of integrated quarters. For many Negro girls this is the hardest fact to disclose in conversation and particularly would they not be caught washing their hair in the residence hall. Negro girls living together usually can protect this secret. Girls in integrated rooms, however, feel the pressure to explain why it is so long between wash and sets.

The White Girls

Cindy. There will be four girls in this section: Cindy, whose roommate is Ann; Deloris, whose roommate is Betty; and Eve and Florence, whose Negro roommate the author was unable to interview.

At the time of this study Cindy was an eighteen year-old freshman who, before coming to college, lived with her parents and six siblings in Csceola, Indiana. She started the year in Elementary teaching but was considering a change to social work as her area of specialization. She had been brought up to think for herself in all matters, including in the area of racial prejudice which she had never been able to understand. Although her contact with Negroes had been very limited, she had still held on to the belief the skin color did not determine one's talents and intellectual capabilities. Her parents did not encourage her in her thinking in either direction, and as a result she came to school desiring a Negro roommate because of the opportunities it would present for learning and growth in understanding between herself and a Negro. She had requested a Negro roommate on her housing application, and during the last few days before the first of school, had become anxious about meeting her.
She did not believe that she had any stereotyped impression of Negroes before coming to this situation. She believed that because a person was a Negro did not mean that one could expect him to act in a certain way - that "color was not a reason for actions." However, on another occasion in the form of what might be considered a positive stereotype, she said, "Negroes seem to have so much pep and seem to enjoy life so. I envy them."

From the beginning she was very firm, in a gentle way, in her expression of the equality of all people and in the justice of human rights for Negroes in America. Her ideas took on a universal aspect as she spoke of the revenue of wasted talent and potentialities of Negroes because of their being "held back" by whites. Remembering that most of the world was non-white, she commented on one occasion that it was quite conceivable that one day whites would be ruled by the dark skinned.

Upon moving into her room in September, she was very happy to see Ann. Her days of anticipation had finally ended, in her wish for a Negro roommate coming true. Her parents were surprised but friendly to Ann and her parents. Her dad was busy taking first-day pictures of his daughter and her two roommates while they were coming in and out with bags and boxes. Their first few days, as previously stated by Ann, were spent looking for old friends inside and outside Lucina Hall. And included in their budding friendship were the three girls, all white, next-door. Cindy felt neither inferior or superior because of her race, but looked upon the situation as an opportunity for each one to learn from one another as they began together their first college year.
When she went home, her friends there would ask her about her new experience: Wasn't it "strange?" Weren't you angry or don't you want to leave? Many found it hard to believe that she was happy to be where she was. Cindy never felt pressure from Negroes or other whites about her living with Ann, but often wondered if it were present and when it might come. She had occasionally wondered what people thought when they saw her in a group of Negro girls, but she always thought about it afterwards not during the experience. She also remembered feeling anxious once in downtown Muncie where she and Ann had gone to shop. They had heard from Negro and white students that "Muncie was a prejudiced town." Her anxiety was for Ann and not for herself, for she did not want Ann to be hurt. This she feared more than anything.

She knew that people were probably watching hers and other integrated rooms in Lucina. And, she firmly believed that it would work out—that it was "necessary, possible, and right." From the beginning she thought of herself as a small link in a long chain of people trying to "make things right."

Cindy shared Ann's opinions about the inconsiderate nature of their third roommate, and she too identified her leaving as the time that they became close as roommates and friends. She was also drawn to Ann because she was outgoing and because people always responded immediately and favorably to her. She herself was shy and admitted that she frequently "tagged along behind" Ann. And Ann's friends, white or Negro, became her friends.

Cindy was able to state three specific facts, significant to her, which she had learned this year: (1) that Negroes who spend most of their time with whites could sometimes be ostricized by other Negroes;
(2) that Negroes have social and economic status levels within their own group; (3) that the N.A.A.C.P. was not only active in the South but also in the North, which was an indication to her that Negroes themselves were trying to improve the situation. Most of this she was able to learn in "bull sessions" with their white neighbors and other Negroes whom she had met through Ann. These she thought were the most helpful.

The experience of living with Ann she felt was valuable in many ways. First, Ann had helped her to graduate from her shell with more confidence to meet and become acquainted with people, although dates and trips to the Student Center were at a minimum, and were still second to her books. Second, she was glad for the information she gathered about Negroes and race relations and felt that her emotional and empathetic involvement with this had made her more sensitive to people and more able to respond to them and their problems. She mentioned that some girls who lived close by her were having roommate difficulties of which she would otherwise have been unaware. Finally, she believed that her original attitudes on race had been reinforced by this living and learning experience. She more than ever before believed that Negroes were capable and deserved an equal chance to develop their abilities and at the same time seemed bewildered by the fact that in many cases they were not free to do so.

She felt that as a result of this, she would later be able to help others to understand the situation and to see the American problem as one which has to be solved and soon. "I feel good inside about the fact that I am trying to do something - to learn and to understand - and possibly to do my small part to help to correct the wrongs."
Cindy, although very quiet in a group of people was very open and free in her friendships with individuals. In her relationship with Ann, she was very sincere in her desire to get to know her as a person, but specifically as a Negro. She had thought of herself as open-minded and free from racial prejudice and was very much confused by the fact in American culture which said to her that she was better than some other Americans. Of the six girls interviewed, she alone seemed aware of the wide ramifications of prejudice in the nation as a whole. She interpreted her role as "a small link in a long chain" of concerned people doing whatever possible to improve the situation. Her interest in Ann, then, became for her the beginning of the part she was to play in the broad scheme of bettering race relations in America.

Deloris. Before coming to Ball State, Deloris, a freshman, lived with her parents in Brookville, Indiana. There were no Negro families in Brookville and consequently none in her high school. Before her one and only contact with Negroes (before coming to college), she believed herself to be open-minded and free from any racial prejudice. She was encouraged by her parents in that she believed that they basically felt the same way, and by her high school government teacher who taught racial equality and stimulated them to think about this through discussion and debate.

Deloris' one Negro contact had been a boy, Al, from a near-by high school whom she had met through a mutual acquaintance at a basketball game. She admitted being attracted to him and took no pains to keep this a secret from anyone. On one occasion her mother found a note that she had written to a friend about him - a note sounding as if they had dated. Her mother was angry, but according to Deloris, more angry because she
thought she was doing this "behind her back." She ended by telling Deloris that she could not date him because - "What would the neighbors say."

This was the extent of Deloris' interracial contact before coming to school. She came with no preconceived idea about Negroes because she had not had this contact and because neither race or prejudice was discussed at home. She had never thought of there being differences between races, and never considered that "knowing a Negro would be any different from knowing anybody else." With this attitude she moved into Lucina Hall with Betty, the Crispus Attucks graduate.

She did not know that Ball State had integrated rooms in residence halls and was surprised to see Betty. Deloris immediately accepted her and soon became excited about living with her. She could remember wondering at first what people at home would think. They have since asked her questions, but none have reacted openly negative to the situation. She wondered about her school friends and their reactions when they saw her in a group of Negroes or talking to a Negro boy, but never enough to pressure her into leaving the situation. She was especially concerned about her friends on campus from Brookville. This feeling confused her because she thought, "These are my friends, and I should not be worried about them."

Marsha, their first roommate, cried on the first night. She questioned Deloris on her feeling - "Don't you mind it?" - but was pressured by her mother to leave on the second day. After this Deloris and Betty talked about race, and during the three days they were without a third roommate, they began to grow together as friends. After this she had the feeling of wanting to prove that the situation could work and
felt the responsibility to make it work. But later she forgot this because they had become friends and she never thought of there being anything different about their relationship. One interest that they seemed to have in common was boys, and they agreed on one fact – that Negro boys had more sex-appeal. There were no major differences and subsequent adjustments to make.

Deloris identified her private talks with Betty, and the experiences and contacts she had with other Negroes inside and outside of the hall as most valuable. She believed that all of these had a basic but emphatic effect upon her feelings about race relations and her ability to be sensitive and aware of the feelings of Negroes about their position. She believed that the experience served to reinforce her ideas about there being no difference and that what people needed was to really know a white or a Negro as a person. She was definite in her belief that her other experiences were just as helpful as her roommate experience was in helping her to learn and to understand. However, after observing that her friends without Negro roommates were indifferent to the problems and only knew Negroes by name, she admitted that she might have been the same way if she had not lived with a Negro. She did not feel that they were negative in their thinking, but that they never went out of their way to get to know Negro students and were thus unaware of their feelings, and also unaware of the fact which she had found to be true – that racial differences were not as important as individual differences in determining the chemistry of friendships.

As a result of this living experience, Deloris felt that she would not be passive when occasions arose to defend equality and "strike back at prejudice... for I will be able to pursue the subject and to
talk from my own experiences." She stated that this had already happened as she discussed her experiences on dates or with her friends who were not violently against Negroes but were only relying on heresay, because they had had no contacts of their own.

As it appeared to the author Deloris' main function in this roommate situation was one of support and encouragement for Betty as she slowly developed confidence in her own ability to experience a successful interracial contact. Deloris was able to do this almost effortlessly because of her talkative and inquisitive nature, pleasing and outgoing personality, open-minded attitude about race, and her respect for Betty as a person. Her experiences with Betty and other Negroes reinforced her already liberal racial attitudes. Deloris entered this situation accepting it at its face value as nothing particularly unusual or challenging. She has since been influenced much more than she had ever expected and has, in addition, won a devoted friend in Betty whose color she has long ago forgotten.

Eve and Florence. The last two girls, Eve and Florence, both white, will be taken together. The Negro girl with whom they shared a room for Fall and Winter quarters did not return to school in the Spring.

Eve came to Ball State from Anderson where she lived with her parents, one sister and one brother. Race was not a subject talked about in her home, for their prejudiced attitudes in any area were "understood." However, before moving, Eve's family lived next door to a middle-aged Negro couple who had lived there over fifteen years. She described their relationship as a friendly and neighborly one in which they often did favors for one another.
In Eve’s senior year at Anderson High, there was a wave of interracial dating to which her family was definitely opposed. Many other parents and students disapproved and the once light and friendly atmosphere of the school changed to a tense one within which tempers would flare up in the cafeteria. Eve had always gone to integrated schools and this was something she accepted as a part of her everyday life, leaving her, as she saw it, without any stereotyped ideas of Negroes.

Eve did not move into a residence hall on her first day. She remained in temporary housing for four days until there was a vacancy in Lucina Hall in a three-girl room with Florence, white, and Phyllis, a Negro.

Florence, an upperclassman, was from Lakeville, and Phyllis, a freshman was from Gary, where she had attended Roosevelt High School. They had barely begun to get acquainted when Eve moved into the room. She was there only long enough to drop her bags; immediately afterwards, she talked with the hall director about moving out. Florence, after being contacted by a student staff, spoke with Eve, trying to encourage her to stay, but to no avail. She moved back into temporary housing on the evening of the same day. Eve’s mother also talked with the director about a room change, telling her that her daughter’s reputation was at stake.

On the following day Eve had a talk with the campus housing director in which the residence hall policy was stated to her - that it was her turn to move from temporary housing and that the only vacancy on the campus was with Florence and Phyllis. She had the choice of taking that room or looking for housing off-campus. She chose to return to Lucina and did so on that evening. In the meantime Florence
had explained the situation to Phyllis who had already guessed the reasons behind Eve's actions. This was the only time that race either personally or impersonally was discussed in the room. Eve never spoke of her actions at the beginning of the year, and they never saw fit to ask her.

In speaking with Eve, she never mentioned this information to the interviewer, although she did comment on being upset at first about her room, but that she had quickly adjusted to the situation. She knew that Ball State had integrated residence hall rooms but had never expected to be a part of one. She seemed to have mixed feelings about the situation at the same time that she seemed apparently unaware of the contradiction in her statements. She first stated that she was apprehensive and definitely opposed to the situation and afterwards commented on being unable to see any difference between races because she had always been accustomed to living beside and going to school with Negroes. She never thought about what other people would say and never felt responsible for making the arrangement a success because "why shouldn't it work!"

The room impressed the interviewer as being one in which the communication was low, where Florence and Phyllis studied and Eve only slept. Eve's best friends from Anderson were in the same hall, and Florence noticed that she had not taken the time to meet other people. As an upper-classman, Florence had friends in other halls, and Phyllis had become friends with other Negro girls in Lucina. They knew little about each other and were unable to think of interests or ideas on which they agreed or disagreed. They had never had a discussion on anything heavier than their high school days. Not only was race never discussed but neither were religion, ethics, or other topics discussed in some rooms till the wee hours of the morning. On one occasion Florence was speaking of
Phyllis, - that she was extremely quiet but really capable academically, and she believed that if Phyllis had been somewhat more outgoing, she herself might have brought up the topic of race. She had thought all along that they would get around to it, but before they did, Phyllis was gone. This she regretted.

Both Eve and Florence seemed to be insensitive to others around them. Eve never talked about why she left and returned to the room, and Florence and Phyllis never asked her why. They did not seem at all interested in one another and had lived together for two quarters without really knowing each other. Eve had her best friends from home right in the same unit. Phyllis had been adopted by a group of Negro girls. Florence alone seemed aware of this apparent mutual rejection and regretted their lack of communication. Phyllis is gone now, but Florence continues to live in this same atmosphere with Eve. It would appear that the individual characteristics instead of racial characteristics governed the happenings in this room.

The white girls interviewed all entered the integrated situation with different reaction - one came wanting it and learned a great deal from it; one was surprised but immediately accepted it and was able to benefit from it; another was also surprised and did accept it, but did not take advantage of the opportunity in any way; and the last rejected it from the beginning and made little progress in the positive direction. Cindy and Deloris both agreed that it had been a rewarding experience in the overall effect that it had upon them. But only Cindy could talk in definite terms about what she had learned because she alone had gone into the situation seeking information. Deloris too had picked up facts, for instance, the hair difference which Betty mentioned, but was unable to remember them specifically.
In these two rooms, - Cindy's and Deloris' - it was discovered that race was an important topic to them at first, but that later the novelty wore off - they had forgotten that they were of different colors and should have been concerned about it. The author believed that it helped the girls in these two rooms to identify themselves with one person of the other race, reducing the degree at which they were previously only able to think of that race as a blur of faces, with whom they had nothing in common.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Literature Applied

By looking at each integrated situation through the eyes of each girl involved, the author has been able to gain some insight into how each saw herself in the situation - as this is determined by her previous experiences and her evaluation of these experiences and her preconceived ideas about the other race - and how readily she was able to accept it, to adjust to it, to learn from it, and to change her attitudes if what she found was in any way different from what she had always believed.

Most of the attitudes the girls brought into the relationships were learned in the variety of ways stated in the review of literature, especially from parents, heresay, and previous experiences. However, in this study the author found that the lack of experiences or interracial contacts was also an important factor, a positive one instead of a negative one. Four of the girls came into the situation without any previous contact; three of these were open-minded about the question of race from the beginning and were without negative stereotyped conceptions of the other race. The fourth, Betty, was less tolerant and insecure and did hold fast to ideas about the other race and her ability to mingle. Betty also with two of the other girls came away from this experience much wiser and with highly positive attitudes about integrated living. The fourth, Florence, did not have this experience because she did not take advantage of the opportunity while it was available. Of
the two girls who had had previous interracial contacts in school, one reacted positively and one from negatively to rather indifferent.

There was also an abundance of confirming evidence concerning the influence of culture on racial attitudes. The segregated environments of Betty, Deloris, Cindy, and Florence, had taught them at least two different racial attitudes. The integrated environments of Ann and Eve had presented them with two different racial attitudes — resulting in four attitudes from the same culture, with different ones even coming from within both the segregated and integrated environments. Punishment for violating the value came in only one instance, for Eve, and this could have been predicted because of parental reaction to interracial dating at her high school. In other cases, there were questions from home, but no openly negative reactions.

Another major section of the literature review concerned the effect of prejudice and segregation, which served as a lead into the interview section. Several generalizations were made about the effects and they will be covered here as they related to the girls interviewed for this study.

Both Negro girls seemed to be typical of those young people who desire to be good examples of Negroes going places, in an effort to refute the negative stereotype. Each went out of her way to discuss race, to answer questions, and to make only positive contacts with whites. As defensive techniques Betty could respond with high academic achievement and Ann with keen musical ability which she exploited fully. But only Ann seemed to show any evidence of self-hatred, for she herself had a firm negative stereotype of the "typical Negro," particularly the boys. Her ideas on Negro ability to meet whites while somewhat true in that
it considered previous interracial experiences, included a group for the "typical Negro," below average, and a group from which she did exclude herself.

Of the white girls only Cindy seemed to be aware of a "fundamental moral conflict" of American democratic principles and undemocratic actions. Many times she admitted her confusion and inability to understand how some people could judge others solely on their color and subsequently deem some more equal than others. Eve was the only one who seemed to come from a family concerned about social status. Her family was definitely from a higher class than the girls interviewed, and her mother's concern was principally about her daughter's reputation. Deloris' parents showed this to some degree in their reaction to the idea of her relationship with the Negro boy from a nearby high school. In regard to defensive techniques, no one outwardly at least, displayed any guilt feelings about the situation, although Deloris and Cindy both expressed the desire to do what they could to help improve the situation as it stands today. Eve seemed to have adopted at least two of the techniques - the refusing to accept the contradiction of what we say and what we do, and the accepting of the rationalizations of her parents. Florence alone seemed indifferent with a sign that when she does move, it will be in a positive direction.

Hypothesis Applied

Ann, Cindy, Betty and Deloris gained many personal benefits from this living experience. But in addition they came away from the experience with positive attitudes about race made possible because of the intimacy of their contact and friendship. In both rooms they began their communication at the beginning of the year with discussions about race which served to clear the air and to disclose everyone's feelings about
his situation. They later talked specifically about racial problems in America and how the Negroes and whites were feeling about them and reacting to them. Occasionally they would hear something new and would react to it. But eventually (no one knows exactly when) these discussions no longer interested them but they would talk about themselves in other situations, finding that they had more in common than they had imagined. There was no evidence which showed that they had spent part of any night discussing a profound intellectual concept. But they did at some point of their relationships develop a mutual respect for each other and had begun to know the other person as an individual and different from all others they had ever met.

Eve, Florence, and Phyllis never cleared the air, but lived in a strained atmosphere of indifference and silence, and thus it remains today.

Conclusion

Considering all the factors which have been discussed throughout this paper concerning influences on racial attitudes and attitude changes, this study emphasized to the author the significance of one particular factor - the importance of the individual and the kind of person he is, and his ability, after surveying his situation and being to some degree influenced by the many external factors, to pick himself up and to handle the situation in a way which would be most beneficial to him and his growth as a human being. The author believes that in any situation (not only in race relations) to the same degree that he is able to do this, he is happy. As long as he is unable to, he suffers innumerable setbacks until he either goes off the deep end or sees the light before it is too late.
Four of the girls in this study were able to do this (each to a different degree) in regard to their own racial attitudes. Two still have to decide by themselves what is best for themselves. But in a culture where it is quite possible for these girls to never have to decide, in a culture of restricted freedom of the individual as he opposes group conformity, how important and significant is the positively changed racial attitude of one individual in the entire picture of American race relations?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX

BASIC INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

First Interview

Basic questions about family, home life, neighborhood or hometown, and high school experiences.

Can you identify parental racial prejudices and their influence upon you?

What did the previous interracial experiences or the lack of them mean to you at the time? Now?

In what ways is what you are experiencing now different from what you experienced before?

Are you aware of your own preconceived idea about Negroes (whites)?

Second Interview

What were your attitudes toward the other race before entering college in September?

What were the causes of these attitudes?

Did you know that BallState had integrated housing?

What was your initial feeling about the integrated situation?

How did you fit into it?

In what way do you feel that your previous experiences prepared you for this?

What happened the first day? First week? Any particular incidents?

Did you ever think about what adults and Negro and white peers thought of your situation?

How did their opinions affect you?

Did you experience any pressure from either of these groups?

How did you feel about living in the room as time went on?
Did you ever stop to think about what your roommate thought about living with you?

What did you have in common? How did you differ?

What kinds of adjustments did you have to make?

Can you identify a particular time at which you became close as roommates?

Third Interview

What kinds of things have you learned from living in this integrated situation?

What situations were most conducive to your learning?

How do you fit into this situation now?

What was the most valuable part of this experience for you and why?

What is your relationship to other whites (Negroes) in the hall, and on campus?

How has this affected your original attitude toward whites (Negroes)?

Can you identify any change in yourself as a person?

Will this be a help or a hindrance for later? In what way?