

MOVING ON UP:

THE EXPERIENCE OF POST WORLD WAR II AFRICAN AMERICAN OF INDIANAPOLIS

Kyle Huskins

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Master's Thesis Committee

Peter Seybold, PhD, Chair

Paul Mullins, PhD

Najja Modibo, PhD

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Housing discrimination is one of the main plights of many African Americans during their post WWII struggle from equality. It affected where African Americans could live, where they could work, where their children went to school, and it ultimately affected their means of accumulating capital. Eventually, through legislation and the constant struggle for housing equality from local African Americans leaders and local community leaders, the discrimination marginally subsided and this allowed for African Americans to move away from the central city. This study is an examination of Indianapolis's first African American suburbanites. This study focuses on residents from two Indianapolis suburbs that were predominantly African American and located outside of the central city. The goal of this paper is to try to understand, how these communities formed, try to understand who these African Americans were and most importantly what were their experiences as individuals with suburbanization post WWII and the effect that their suburbanization had on residential opportunities in Indianapolis.

Peter Seybold, PhD, Chair

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Literature Review | 5 |
| Research Design | 11 |
| Recruitment/Participants..... | 12 |
| Interviews..... | 14 |
| Reflexivity Section..... | 14 |
| Quality Section | 14 |
| Findings | 16 |
| African Americans and Housing in Indianapolis..... | 16 |
| Grandview: The Beginnings | 18 |
| Before the Suburbs | 19 |
| Who were these African Americans? | 24 |
| Black Professionalism..... | 32 |
| Home Ownership | 34 |
| Reasons for Moving to Suburbia..... | 37 |
| “The Golden Ghetto”: (Criticisms of the Black Elite) | 41 |
| Analysis | 51 |
| Discussion | 51 |
| Conclusion..... | 62 |
| Limitations/Difficulties..... | 62 |
| Appendix A: Supporting Documentation..... | 64 |
| Recruiting Email | 64 |
| Pre-screening Interview Protocol | 65 |
| IRB STUDY #1510369058 | 67 |
| About the African-American Suburban Oral History Project | 68 |
| References | 69 |
| Curriculum Vitae | |

Introduction

Home ownership is one of the central tenets of the American dream and is something to which many Americans aspire. Home ownership serves several purposes in American culture: it serves as a cornerstone for many families' financial security; home ownership is associated with greater civic engagement; and home ownership is often linked to increased neighborhood and individual stability (Leigh and Huff, 2007). The post-World War II housing boom was one the greatest in American history, the increase during the post-World War II housing boom was 5 times larger than the housing boom between 1994-2006 (Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf, 2011). Like many aspects of the American Dream, the vision of that is realized by African Americans differ from that achieved by other Americans (Leigh and Huff, 2007). In 1940, the black homeownership rate was half the Whites; since then the black rate has remained substantially lower than the white rate, despite increases in both. Between 1940 and 2000, the homeownership rate for black households more than doubled, increasing from 22.8 percent to 46.3 percent. During that same period, the rate for white households grew from 45.6 to 72.4 percent, increasing at a lesser rate but growing at a much more rapid pace than the black rate (Herbert, Haurin, Rosenthal, and Duda, 2005).

After World War II, there was an economic boom in the United States that financially admitted many African Americans into the middle class (Landry, 1987). Landry states that the black middle class doubled in size during 1945-1955 and he referred to this blossoming group of middle class African Americans as the "new Black middle class" (Landry, 1987). Once Jim Crow restrictions began to lift, African Americans

started to gain access to a wider range of rights than they had in segregated America, including access to a wider range of employment options, residential opportunities, and goods and services (Landry 1987).

In the midst of that postwar homeownership boom, many people started to move to more rural areas outside of the city core, to suburbs. Suburbanization is the term that describes the migration of people from cities and towns to peripheral areas just outside of core cities. Peripheral communities started to form around the turn of the 20th century, but suburbanization started to become more prevalent after World War II. Many popular discussions debate the root causes of suburbanization (e.g., federal governmental home mortgage insurance policies, interstate highway system displacement, and racial tensions), and collectively they all were contributing factors in post-war suburbanization (Mieszkowski and Mills, 1993).

There is very little on the post-war African-American suburbanization even though there is quite a lot of scholarly work on poverty, inner city criminality, family structure, and the hackneyed ideological dimensions of Black Life. Similarly, African-American historians have examined many facets of black agency, but have overlooked topics related to homeownership, landscape preferences, and the use of space (Wiese, 2003). It is critical to develop an understanding of the experiences of minorities when it comes to homeownership Black homeowners because this is a history that is often understudied and taken for granted. African-American suburbanites' strategic decision-

makings important because it illuminates how African Americans navigated a climate that resisted granting them equal citizen rights.

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of African Americans and how these African Americans negotiate race and housing during a time when the white working class was being extensively housed in the suburbs. More specifically, this project seeks to better understand the African Americans who moved to the suburbs and what were their motivations for moving from urban centers to the suburbs. This project will try to gain an understanding of why African Americans moved to the suburbs of Indianapolis and their experiences of suburban life.

Specifically, this project interviewed African Americans 65 or older who experienced suburbanization after World War II. The main research questions this project aims to answer are:

1. How were these communities created and who created them?
2. Who were these African Americans who moved to the suburbs? ; What did they do? ; Where did they come from, etc.?
3. What were their experiences of suburbanization and how did their families deal with suburban life?
4. What were some personal motivations that contributed to these families moving to the suburbs of Indianapolis?
5. What were some structural factors that may have played a role in families moving to the suburbs of Indianapolis?

6. How did moving to the suburbs impact their overall quality of life?
7. What was the impact of their suburbanization on the broader African American community?

This study is sociologically important because it touches on many topics that are connected to urban sociology. Findings from this study may shed some insight on how the African-American experiences of suburbanization, community creation, and home ownership illuminate race, class, personal values, state ideologies that impacted suburbanization and homeownership, and mobility trends among minorities in Indianapolis. The findings may also offer insight into whether African-American families found suburban life meaningful, the impact of suburbanization and homeownership among communities of color, and how African-American experiences of suburbanization might shape the dominant narrative of postwar suburbanization. Finally, this study is important because it allows for people whose life experiences have been undervalued academically and historically to document their heritage.

Literature Review

Homeownership by African Americans in urban centers rose after World War II, but one of the reasons for the rise was the suburbanization of many whites. Between 1940 and 1980, the homeownership rate among African-American households in the central cities increased by 27% (Boustan, 2011). Nearly three-quarters of this increase occurred in central cities. Leah Boustan (2011) documented rising black homeownership in central cities that was facilitated by the movement of white households to the suburban ring, which reduced the price of urban housing (Boustan, 2011). Broadly speaking, the data reveal two periods of rising owner-occupancy for black households. During the first period, 1870 to 1910, the ownership rate increased by 16 percentage points, from 8 to 24. During the second period, 1940 to 1980, the black ownership rate increased by 37 percentage points, and then declined slightly (Collins & Margo, 2011).

In the wake of the war, the growth of American suburbs was mirrored by African-American civil rights movements that took housing as one of its central targets. (Stahura, 1986). By the 1960s 2,000,000 African Americans had settled in the suburbs (Gafford, 2013). Though this study is on African American suburbanization, part of the study deals with the investigation of what it means to be black and middle class. Not all African Americans were economically stable enough to move, let alone move to the suburbs. This was an opportunity that was class specific.

A vast range of Americans considered suburban home ownership to be more attractive than life in central cities. Consumers were turned away from conditions in the central city toward the “suburban ideal” (Checkoway, 1980). Because the “suburbs

offered a new, free-standing, well-equipped, carefully designed and attractively landscaped house, with ample yard space to play and garden. (Checkoway, 1980)". Suburbs also offered an escape from the city, a more wholesome and a more neighborly environment focusing on community and community involvement. The appeal amongst White people of more or less the same xenophobic convictions clearly appealed to many prospective suburbanites fearful of civil rights equity and appalled by urban disorder as it was lamented in the press.

Andrew Wiese's research has shown that African Americans moved to the suburbs for the same reasons as other Americans (Wiese, 2007). Suburban jobs and the appeal of suburban social networks were among them, as were cheap land, fuel, transportation, and the lack of building restrictions (Wiese, 2007). Many of the normative values associated with middle-class "suburban dream," such as the emphasis on detached single-family houses in a semi-rural environment, were widely shared among Americans in the early twentieth century. In short, black suburbanites were influenced by the same social, ideological, and structural forces that encouraged urban decentralizations in general (Wiese, 2007). Nevertheless, while many African Americans had stereotypical middle class values, they still faced racist discrimination. This shaped their experience of middle-class ideologies and caused it to become entangled with racial identity.

The economic prosperity that ensued in the United States after World War II extended to the African-American community, bringing unprecedented expansion of the

African-American middle class (Landry, 1987). Between 1960 and 1970, Landry argues, the African-American middle class doubled in size. Other scholars have stated that since the 1960's the African-American middle class has tripled (Gates, 2004). Landry refers to these middle-class African Americans as the "new black middle class" that emerged in the wake of Jim Crow. African Americans secured an increasingly wider range of rights than they had previously, and African Americans had access to a wider range of occupations, residential neighborhoods, and more opportunities to buy goods and services with their middle-class incomes than previous generations of African American middle and upper-class people (Cole and Omari, 2003).

Understanding the intersection of race, class, and space is one of the key dimensions of this study. While white ethnic groups and immigrants of color have been studied in terms of their attempts to assimilate into the American mainstream, sociologists assume that ongoing racial discrimination lessens the need for an extensive research into the assimilation of middle-class African Americans because the general assumption is that the shared experiences of racial discrimination takes primacy over African-American's assimilation into the higher class levels (Lacy, 2004). Many middle-class African Americans travel back and forth between the African-American world and the white world rather than existing in one place exclusively, but we still do not fully understand how middle-class African Americans conceptualize their own integration into American society (Lacy, 2004). These African-American middle-class suburbanites seek to participate in the political, educational, and economic mainstream but are reluctant to relinquish their ties to the African-American world where they maintain and

nurture racial identity (Lacy, 2004). Thus, race matters for many African Americans because they relish their associations with other African Americans and their connections to African American culture (Lacy, 2004).

Lacy's research is important because it highlights many characteristics of the African Americans that are in this study. The African Americans in this study were employed in political, financial, and educational positions, yet they were still prone to discrimination from both out-group segments of the population and in-group segments as well. A commonly cited cost of upward mobility for African Americans is that the attainment of middle-class status can result in alienation from the African-American community; mobility is often seen as a double-edged sword for African Americans who faced hostility and passive aggressive racism in the workplace (Thomas, 2015). Despite the apparent success of the black middle class, there is incongruity between their achievements and their lived experiences that deserves further examination (Thomas, 2015). The criticism of middle-class blacks by both the out-group (whites) and the in-group (African Americans) as a result of their dual race/class status makes them an ideal group to investigate the social processes of racial interactions, particularly how they were moderated by class and race (Thomas, 2015).

The minority suburban experience is extraordinarily diverse, yet the diversity is hardly investigated. Richard Harris contended that the ideal of white upper-middle-class domesticity has never described more than a modest portion of the suburban experience, which also encompassed industrial towns, working-class households, and

racial/ethnic minority enclaves (Harris, 2001). The scholarship on race and politics in postwar metropolitan history has operated largely through a familiar yet powerful suburban/urban polarization between white flight and urban crisis; white backlash and black power; homogenous /prosperous and conservative suburbs versus diverse/de-industrialization liberal cities; and the Kerner Commission's "two societies" diagnosis of white suburban affluence surrounding and containing black poverty (Lassiter and Niedt, 2013). The works of Nicolaidis (2002) and Wiese (2007) has helped to refocus the discussion of minority life in the suburbs, but scholars have given very little attention to the planned black suburban neighborhoods, with the exception of Andrew Wiese and William Wilson (1987), who explore the design process, political negotiations, and the African-American desire for better housing that led to the development of black middle-class planned divisions (Gafford, 2013). There is little research on planned suburban style neighborhoods and the kinds of community formation that took place within pre-integration neighborhoods; in other words, previous scholarship has shown that blacks and other minority groups were present in post-war suburbs, but the motivations behind their community building remains unclear (Gafford, 2013).

Richard Pierce (2005) wrote an analysis of the African-American civil rights movement in post-war Indianapolis. Pierce's picture of the distinctive political nature of African Americans in Indianapolis distinguishes the local heritage of race, class, and space. While many regional cities expanded because of an influx of African Americans migrating from the south for wartime employment, African Americans had established a community in the nineteenth century and developed a sizeable African-American

population by the twentieth century (Pierce, 2005). African Americans were part of the city since its inception, and the secondary school system was integrated until the 1920s, so many African Americans had social and laboring relationships with whites and in some cases occupied seats of power. Those early African Americans were able to form those relationships because in many cases they attended grade school and secondary school together, and this is believed to have fostered a sense of understanding between African Americans and Whites who had prolonged interaction with each other (Pierce, 2005). Pierce argues that this shaped the way African Americans expressed their political ambitions, with Pierce suggesting that African Americans in Indianapolis practiced “polite protest” (Pierce 2005). These polite protests, they believed, would allow them greater civic and personal freedoms and avoid antagonizing whites, thereby guaranteeing additional deprivations of civil rights (Pierce, 2005). Polite protest can be described as the tendency to avoid public confrontation, overt expressive resistance, working through voices of the race and established lines of power and discourse, in a sense, they wanted to retain what rights that they had fought to acquire and make additional gains through the legal system, which sometimes worked and sometimes did not work. In this paper, it is believed that some of the components of “polite protest” are homeownership, suburbanization, and community creation.

Research Design

Research intends to explore the research questions and does not intend to offer final and conclusive solutions to existing problems. As little research exists on the suburbanization and homeownership experiences of African Americans, qualitative methods are ideally suited for an exploratory inquiry and hold significant value to allow marginalized populations to share their experiences in their own words (Creswell, 2013; Esterberg, 2002). Exploratory research does not aim to provide the final and conclusive answers to the research question. Rather, exploratory research tends to tackle new problems on which little or no previous research has been done (Brown, 2006). While this study will have exploratory properties, it will also be descriptive as well. The goal of qualitative descriptive research projects is comprehensive summarization, in everyday terms of specific events experienced by individuals or groups of individuals (Lambert and Lambert, 2012). The study has descriptive properties, because part of the study requires us to summarize the experiences of African Americans and their move to the suburbs. This study will also have some phenomenological overtones as well, because it examines the perceptions and meanings attached to African-American suburbanization. Phenomenology is concerned with the study of the experience from the perspective of the individual (Lester 1999). This normally translates into gathering “deep information” and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods, such as interviews, discussions, and participant observation representing the perspective of the research participants (Lester, 1999). As stated, this research will be exploratory and descriptive, with phenomenological overtones (Lambert & Lambert, 2012).

The primary data that was collected for this research was oral histories. This study argues that oral histories are the best tool to get “on the ground” analyses of the experiences of these African Americans. In various contexts, scholars define oral history as formal rehearsed accounts of the past presented by culturally sanctioned tradition-bearers; informal conversation about the “old days” among family members, neighbors, or co-workers; printed compilations of stories told about past times and present experiences; or to systematic recorded interviews with individuals who have a story to tell (Shopes, 2002). The questions of the interviewer, deriving from a particular frame of reference or historical interest, elicit certain responses from the narrator, deriving from that person’s frame of reference (Shopes, 2002). Interviews have especially enriched the work of a generation of social scientists, providing information about everyday life and insights into the mentalities of what are sometimes termed “ordinary people” (Shopes, 2002). Finally, oral histories also eloquently make the case for the active agency of individuals whose lives have been lived within deeply constraining circumstances (Shopes, 2002). All of these factors influenced this study’s focus on oral historical data, because the study seeks to understand the under-recognized or ignored experiences of people who were systemically marginalized.

Recruitment/Participants

The research participants came from a larger anthropological Institutional Review Board-approved study directed by Dr. Paul Mullins. The study compiled oral histories from older African Americans who moved to the suburbs, specifically the northwestern side of Indianapolis. The population consists of African-American home

owners aged 65 plus or the children of the initial homeowners in these suburbs. These participants are part of the migration of African Americans to the suburbs after World War II. They were recruited through various ways. One of the main recruitment techniques was the use of social media. The children of these older adults have a social media presence and they would indicate their parent's interests or their own interest in being part of the study. These older adults themselves were also very active on social media as well; some were directly contacted through social media to be involved in the study. During the recruitment process it became evident that older adults in Indianapolis have a social media presence, and this has been a useful mechanism to communicate with these suburbanites and their families. The other recruitment tool that was utilized was the "snowball effect"; that is, after interviewing one elder, they would refer us to another elder that they thought would like to be part of the study. Most of the time it was people in the community with whom they still had connections.

The study sample consists of 12 interview subjects, and of those 12, I interviewed five people. Dr. Mullins informed the interview subjects that one of his students would be contacting them to set up an interview time, and the rest of the process to set up the interview was completed by me. I interviewed three men and two women. I believe that getting a mix of genders will capture the experiences of both men and women which may have had some differences. Three were contacted over the phone to set up an interview. Two interviews were set up by Dr. Paul Mullins.

Interviews

Interviews were loosely structured around the questions concerning older African Americans' experiences of suburbanization. I conducted 3 interviews individually, and 2 interviews with Dr. Mullins. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to about an hour, and they were conducted at the residences of these older African Americans. Interviews were audio-digitally recorded and later transcribed. To ensure the privacy of the participant's views, the recorded interviews will be stored properly and audio files erased once transcription is complete.

Reflexivity Section

I am an African American male interviewing African Americans. I think that this helped interviewees be more comfortable because we have a shared experience. I understand the types of experiences being African American and that, I believe, helped me get at the racial components of their lived experiences. I am also a younger male interviewing older adults, and this may also help the interviewees be more comfortable with the interview process because this shifts the power dynamics; they may think they are educating me on their experience, which may make them more likely to be revealing with their experiences. Part of this research is also an analysis of class as well. I am class conscious, so I understand what kinds of questions to ask to get at the experiences that are constructed around class privilege.

Quality Section

To insure the quality of these findings I used peer debriefing as the main mechanism of quality control. I tried to incorporate people who a familiar with

qualitative methods, such as, Dr. Carrie Foote, and I also incorporated Dr. Mullins, who is familiar with the data and has extensive knowledge of the African-American community of Indianapolis. I also think it was important to choose interviewees who have the appropriate experience that I am looking for and who were willing to provide me with relative information. I think insuring that I allowed enough time to complete the necessary steps played a major role in the kind of data that I collected (enough time to find a sample, interview, transcribe, get peer review, etc.).

Findings

African Americans and Housing in Indianapolis

Housing is an issue that has always plagued African Americans. They were segmented in segregated neighborhoods, their communities were left to decay, and many African Americans regardless of class were left to the mercy of white landlords. Indianapolis is no different, where African-American housing conditions were limited, to say the least, and when African Americans wanted to and could afford to move away from these segmented areas of the city they were not allowed to move into most neighborhoods because of racism ranging from neighborhood residency covenants to federal housing loan codes. Housing inequities have myriad effects, including a lack of access to parks, recreation, and better schools, exclusion from public decision making.

Indianapolis has a history of housing segregation that dates back to the city's inception. Before African Americans were allowed to move and practice homeownership where they saw fit they were segregated in certain parts of the city. This was done through difference mechanisms, including informal housing codes, neighborhood restrictive covenants, redlining, and the generally racist practices of real estate agents and companies. In 1926, the Indianapolis City Council was heavily influenced by the Klu Klux Klan, and the Klan enacted a residential zoning ordinance prohibiting blacks from moving into predominantly white neighborhoods without the consent of the original residents. The Indianapolis racial residential zoning measure heavily drew upon a similar law that was enacted in New Orleans and was upheld by the Louisiana Supreme Court (Case Study: Historical Injustice in the Urban Environment: The

Ecological Implications of Residential Segregation in Indianapolis. (n.d.)). The contorted racist rationalization for this law was that it was for the African American community as well, and the rule would be applied similarly to white people who want to move into predominantly African-American neighborhoods. This was eventually found unconstitutional and was struck down.

This was not the only institutional action that limited the housing of African Americans. In hopes of stabilizing the Depression-era housing market, the federal government passed the Home Owners Loaners Act, and this act introduced long-term, low-interest loans (Case Study: Historical Injustice in the Urban Environment: The Ecological Implications of Residential Segregation in Indianapolis. (n.d.)). With the passing of this act came the HOLC, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the federal agency responsible for refinancing home mortgages at risk of being defaulted or foreclosed(Case Study: Historical Injustice in the Urban Environment: The Ecological Implications of Residential Segregation in Indianapolis. (n.d.)). The HOLC created a four-tier rating for neighborhoods on the basis of economic stability, and the ranking of economic stability determined the likelihood of receiving government-financed home loans. The lowest-ranked D tier disproportionately represented African Americans and other minorities, and a majority of African American families lived in D areas. Richard Pierce noted that “In one blighted neighborhood, catalogued as D-25, African Americans made up 90 percent of the population” (Pierce, 2005).

Grandview: The Beginnings

Grandview Drive was home to several of best-known African-American suburbs in Indianapolis. In 1946 Henry Greer and his wife Della Wilson Greer were the first people to move to that area. When they moved to Grandview area, it was mostly farm fields and undeveloped property. The surrounding properties would eventually be the heart of a series of predominantly African-American suburbs that had a plethora of names including Augusta Way, Grandview Estates, Grandview Terrace, Northshire Estates, and Greer-Dell Estates. The Greers built their home in 1946, and they were in many ways an ideal middle-class family. Henry Greer was a small business owner, and his wife was an art teacher at Crispus Attucks High School. His wife, Della Wilson Greer taught art at Crispus Attucks for 20 years starting in 1936.

The Greer's first neighbor were Paul and Ruby Thomas, and their children were a few of the people that I interviewed for this study. Paul Thomas was a practicing dentist and his wife was a medical technologist who helped around her husband's practice, but she also had her real estate license as well and sold some of the properties that surrounded their house. They purchased the home immediately south of the Greers' home. The land directly west of these properties remained open fields until about the 1950's. The earliest subdivision in the neighborhood, Augusta Way, was built in that field. Augusta Way was first advertised in December, 1955, by Hughes Realty, who offered up to 88 lots for the construction of ranch homes. The developer of the subdivision was George W. Malter, and in 1956 he named W.T Ray the sales agent for the subdivision. W.T. Ray was a local businessman and activist dedicated to defending

African American civil rights, and Ray was very involved with local politics. In 1947, for instance, Ray became the President of the Indianapolis NAACP chapter. W.T. Ray was a veteran of World War II married to Alice Brokenburr; she was the daughter of Robert Lee Brokenburr, who was Indiana's first African-American state senator, serving four more terms before retiring in 1964. Fortunately, we were able to interview W.T. and Alice B. Ray's son for this study. Ray soon became the primary agent for selling lots in Augusta way offering lots for up to 500 dollars. From there people started buying lots in Augusta Way. Eventually Augusta Way lots were being purchased with homes being built up until the late 1960's.

Before the Suburbs

Indianapolis has a history of housing segregation that dates back to the city's inception. Before African Americans were allowed to move and practice homeownership where they saw fit. They were designated (segregated) to certain parts of the city. This was done through difference mechanisms, through housing codes, neighborhood restrictive covenants, redlining and the generally racist practices of real estate agents and companies. Distinct African American neighborhoods were formed as a result. The first and probably the most famous African-American neighborhood formed along the canal directly northwest of the downtown named Pat Ward's Bottoms or the bottoms, and it was established after the Civil War (Pierce, 2005). The Bottoms also encompasses Indiana Avenue, which was an African-American cultural hub that was best-known for its music and leisure venues. Indiana Avenue came to be an insular haven for black people from the outside world. Denton and Massey (1993) speak about

this trend in *American Apartheid*; because African Americans were living in condensed areas this allowed for African-American businessmen and politicians to solely focus their services and agendas on the African-American community without having to have substantial interaction with white people. These independent businessmen and politicians had a segregated and discriminated population to sell their goods and services to, a population that could not access some of those goods and services in white America. There were a number of black-owned businesses that serviced the need of their African-American consumer base. The most famous business sat at the head of The Avenue, the Madame CJ Walker Building. The Madame CJ Walker Building while being a theatre was also a coffee shop, hair salon, professional offices, and Walker Company office, etc.

The second neighborhood was just north of the bottoms, what is currently Martin Luther King Blvd. It is often called UNWA (United Northwest Area) and the perimeters of the community are Meridian Street to the east, 38th Street to the north, White River to the west, and the south boundary is 16th Street (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). This neighborhood encompasses smaller neighborhoods as well, such as Riverside, United Northwest in the center, and Crown Hill to the north. The neighborhood was predominately residential, and 75% of the homes in the area were constructed before 1939. In addition to the residential aspect experiencing growth, several important institutions moved to this neighborhood during that time. The Children's museum moved to this UNWA area, along with St. Vincent hospitals and the Pilgrim Baptists Church (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). During the post-World War II-time period, the construction

of the highway displaced a number of people from this UNWA area as well. Because of these and other factors, this neighborhood became distinctly African American after boasting high levels of integration. In the years between 1950 and 1960, UNWA changed rapidly from a racially balanced community to a segregated community that was almost entirely African American. The white population decreased by 59% between 1950 and 1960, while the proportion of African-American increased by 119% (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). Charles Harry grew up in this neighborhood before the interstate was constructed and his parents were forced to move to the Butler Tarkington area:

Yeah, [I was) born on 26th street, [between Paris and Shriver] and so was my sister...Yeah, that whole block is where [Interstate] 65 came through there They moved to 308 West 44th. They were looking for a house that was just like the one they had and they came pretty close. That [house] where they had moved, . . . it was a front door, living room, dining room, and a kitchen on that side and the other side had two bedrooms and the bath and that's it, that's the way it was on 419.

Rickie Clark also remembers living in the UNWA neighborhood until the construction of the highway through this neighborhood.

When we first moved up here, what I can remember, we lived... with my grandparents, and they lived at... 612 West 28th Street...I think we were there... til, like 1959, 1960. And then we moved on—I don't know the address—but it was on West 31st Street. And then from there, if we go in the sequence, from West 31st street, we then moved to 1234 West 34th Street. We were there until the highway, until they brought Interstate 65 through our neighborhood and jus, broke up the entire community. ...as you travel on 65, north and south, you run right through our house, our living room, our everything.

The third community sprouted up around Douglass Park, an area that attracted people because it hosted a train yard and many businesses. It is called the Martindale-Brightwood, and it is situated on the near northeast side of Indianapolis bounded by

30th Street, Massachusetts Avenue, 21st Street Sherman Drive, and the Norfolk-Southern Railroad tracks. This area encompasses two previously independent settlements, Brightwood and Martindale (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). This neighborhood had a blue collar population before the turn of the century, which included a mix of African Americans and a growing portion of foreign-born or first generation European Americans. The 1960's also brought the construction of the interstate, which cut through portions of the Martindale-Brightwood area and split it into the west and the east sections. Residents moved, local businesses followed, and the old economic center of Brightwood, Station Street, began to be vacated.

Butler-Tarkington is a neighborhood on the near northwest side of Indianapolis bounded by the central Canal and Michigan Road, the west side of Meridian Street, 38th street and Westfield Boulevard. Primarily composed of white middle class residents, the neighborhood remained fairly stable from the 1920s to the 1950s (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). By the mid 1950's, the neighborhood became an option for many African Americans due to civil rights victories in the court system. Long-term residents began to move north and west out of the neighborhood. As a result, the proportion of whites in the population declined nearly 30% (Center, T. P. (n.d.)). At the same time, the proportion of African-Americans increased ten-fold over a period of two decades; by 1960 Africans-Americans comprised 30% of the neighborhood's residents. Karla Taylor remembers living in this neighborhood and the UNWA neighborhood before moving to that Grandview suburb:

I actually grew up from 1st grade until 8th grade in the Butler-Tarkington area, which had [the] national claim of being the most integrated neighborhood in the nation, and my parents were strategic in purchasing a home there. That was one of the only places that Black professionals could purchase homes in the 44th Street, Berkley area. I was one block away from Wes Montgomery; I went to school with his kids. I think you might know Bill Garrett, he was the first African American to play basketball at IU, he taught me how to play basketball. It was really a well-spring of professionals, but it was also integrated. So that was really a natural place for them to move and one of the only places that they could. And then we later moved out into the Golden Ghetto or the Grandview area.

Her brother Douglass Taylor was born in this neighborhood before they moved to that Grandview Neighborhood.

I grew up on the Northside. ..., right near Butler's campus. Four or five doors down from Montgomery and--you know Bill Garrett? And my mom had just got her first job out at Westlake; she was the first black counselor in Washington Township back then. Actually I think the first African-American administrator period. And so we all moved out there, she got that job. I started at Delaware Trails [Elementary School], at five or four maybe. I started early and so the rest of my life was out in Thomas Woods Trail.

While interviewing the participants of the study, most of the people remember living in one of these portions of the city. Some of the people recalled family members living on the Southside of the city. For instance, Theodosia Duncan remembers growing up on the Southside of Indianapolis before going off to IU: "I grew up on Minnesota Street. Thirty-one hundred block on East Minnesota Street. And my mother actually lived with her parents, her mother and father. And they lived in a house that had been there quite a while."

Who were these African Americans?

The African Americans who settled in the suburbs after World War II believed that education was key to making better lives for themselves and their families. The civil rights leaders in Indianapolis had a long struggle of trying to attain more resources for the African-American community so African-American children would have a chance to get a better education. Charles Harry and Doris Wills were both college-educated teachers. Doris Wills graduated from Grambling and did graduate work at Butler with degrees in Elementary Education. Charles Harry graduated from Indiana University with a degree in History. They both went on to have very long illustrious careers within the Indianapolis Public School system. The interviewees implied that education was important for African Americans after World War II because it gave them a chance to advance themselves within society. In a sense they believed in the opportunities that education could provide them. This plan had worked for generations before their parents went to school and after college got professional jobs and were able to set a foundation for their children to do the same. These were sentiments of the African-American community at the time. This is a factor when it comes to Crispus Attucks High School, which was Indianapolis' segregated African-American high school. The African-American community was initially upset about having to send their children to a segregated high school because they had long attended integrated high schools with white children.

A couple of the older participants went to Attucks for their secondary schooling. Charles Harry, Theodosia Duncan, Elmon Meyers, Leah and Leland Thomas's father Paul

Thomas, and their older brother Pat Thomas attended Crispus Attucks. Historians of Indianapolis have speculated that Crispus Attucks had one of the best secondary teaching staffs in Indianapolis (CITE). By 1934, seven years after Attucks opened its doors, Attucks boasted a staff of 62, and 19 held master's degrees and two held Ph.D.'s, vastly exceeding the percentage of advanced degrees for any Indianapolis high school (Pierce, 2005). Mr. Harry stated that unbeknownst to him, some of his teachers were highly educated:

“I found out some things later that I didn't know at the time. At IU one of the first history books that I picked up, rather than I happened to have, I got curious, and aside from the reading that the professor told us that we had to read and I looked back at the bibliography and there was J.C. Carroll, one of my history teachers at Attucks, and he had written a book about slave insurrections prior to the Civil War. Then I got to digging around, he always called himself doctor, but we didn't think anything about it, and he got a PhD from the University of Chicago.”

Charles Harry had a similar experience with another Professor as well:

“And then I had another teacher in economics, T.C. Johnson, and I found him listed in another Econ book, and he had published some kind of work about microeconomics and the difference between the macro”

After he graduated college, Charles Harry taught at Arsenal Technical High school for 25 years. His father, Charles Harry III, also was an educator for IPS who had come to Indianapolis because he had a friend from college, Julian Coleman, working in the local schools; Coleman today has a public school named after him in Indianapolis. Dr. Coleman and Dr. Harry both were working at IPS School 26 but both ultimately transferred to Crispus Attucks and continued their teaching careers when Crispus Attucks opened in 1927. Charles Harry III stayed in the IPS school system for 39 years.

Similarly, Mr. Meyers noted that he was impressed on the steps of Crispus

Attucks by Principal Lane:

I done forgot the date, but when I went to Attucks that was when they first built it and went over there for school one day and Principal Lane, I think, he came out on the front step and met me. I said I thinking I am pretty good, I mean all of these kids coming over here and he come out on the steps and met me and rubbed me on my hands and showed me a few things and that was the beginning.

Principal Lane was a lifelong educator who graduated from Brown and got a law degree from Howard. Crispus Attucks attracted many highly educated and talented black educators due to segregation and limitations on where African Americans could teach. Mrs. Wills notes in her interview that “They couldn’t teach white kids without teaching the blacks kids too and there was no such thing as a black teacher out here (Washington Township) at that time.” These quotes illustrate that these African Americans that moved to suburbs after desegregation prioritized education both individually and communally. Many of these suburban residents earned degrees in higher education and studied under some of the leading African-American scholars of the time at Crispus Attucks.

Another participant in the study, Douglass Taylor, noted that his father went to Crispus Attucks before going off to college at Indiana University. He was admitted into IU at 16, and once his father graduated from IU he wanted to go to medical school, but they had quotas on how many African Americans were allowed to be in the medical program. There was a level of pride that arose around Attucks and their pursuit of excellence. Theodosia Duncan, a 1946 graduate of Crispus Attucks explains:

So, how should I put it? Since we knew that they cared about what happened to us, we tried to do as well. And we had a certain pride in Attucks even though, and you'd know this if you've done any of the history, we couldn't play any team, football team, we had to go out, or the basketball or any of that stuff. But there was a certain pride in going to Attucks. And like I said I [pauses]--most people I don't think it bothered that much. You know? There was some that it might've bothered, going to a segregated school. But we didn't know any different. When you don't know any different you accept whatever.

These Crispus Attucks graduates went on to be some of the more prominent voices in the African-American community. The Grandview neighborhood hosted a number of people who graduated from Attucks who lived in that community.

Also interviewed were some of the children of these first African-American suburbanites. By the time their children were of age to attend high school Crispus Attucks was no longer designated as the African American high school, and Grandview lay in Washington Township. Some of the people that I interviewed attended North Central and had most of their schooling in Washington Township. This experience was also one that should be noted because there were very few blacks in Washington Township during the 1960's and 1970's that were attending North Central. The people who were interviewed who received their education from Washington Township were Terry Reed, Rickie Clark, Douglas Taylor, Karla Temple Taylor, Leah Thomas, Leland Thomas, and Alan Ray. Their experiences within a racially integrated school system is key, because that integration into better more racially mixed schools was a right that African Americans had been fighting for in Indianapolis since the 1920's and it came to fruition partially through less discriminatory housing and suburbanization.

Rickie Clarke spoke about his experience of going to a different school in a different township.

„Naturally, your folks want you to go to a better school. We didn't know that it was a better school, until we got into the school. And as a student, they were... North Central was so much... so far advanced, than my grade school, School 41. [North Central] was so far advanced than IPS that when you transferred, you had to play catch up, which took, to me, it felt like an awful, awful long time to get caught up to what they were studying.

Terry Reed is another person who was interviewed for this study; he was a child when his parents moved to that Grandview neighborhood. Terry Reed was born in New Albany, Mississippi, on September 10, 1952 to Chevis Elaine Farr and Booker T. Reed. His family moved to Indianapolis in 1956 where they lived in the city until about July 9, 1960, when the family moved to 2135 Riviera Drive in the suburbs, where his now 88-year-old father lives to this day. Terry Reed echoes some of the same sentiments as Rickie Clarke:

I went to Grandview School from second, third, fourth and fifth. And what they did then out in Washington Township, it was kind of like their little, little mini-busing. Grandview had most of the black kids, so what they did, they did a little bussing to have diversity at some other schools, and they took, they sent kids to Harcourt, which is up, about, seventy-sixth and Harcourt Road. A few of them went to Delaware Trails, which is at 73rd and Hoover Road, and then some of us went to Crooked Creek which is basically at Kessler and Michigan Road. And I went to sixth grade at Crooked Creek. That was their little mini-busing back then, in the mid-sixties, sixty-five. And then in junior high I went to Westlane Junior High School. I played football there, pretty good athlete. And then I went to North Central in ninth-- back then North Central was only three grades. Junior high; junior high was seventh, eighth and ninth. And then high school was tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. I graduated North Central in 1971, and went to Indiana University, fall of '71.

Mr. Reed continues that “Westlane and North Central—and I think North Central still is one of the better high schools, public high schools in Indiana—there was a good education there, and that was a primary focus with me.”

Most of the children who were educated in Washington Township generally indicated that they had good experiences there, though there were very few African Americans. Leah Thomas said that

I was in most cases the only African American always the only African American girl probably up into the fifth grade. If there were African Americans in my class, it would be just me and a boy, Howe Derring, it was just usually like that but my mother kept me very involved. In campfire girls, so I was always around a mix, you know, I have lots of Jewish friends from being in Washington Township but the school is no longer there that I went to. But I did a lot with people, we really didn't segregate ourselves. I was just involved, my father even, when I was in Kindergarten, first grade, and he was the physician that came to the school and give out immunizations. So they didn't seem to have any challenges when I was growing up.

The people who grew up in the Washington Township school district still have significant pride in that school district and are still active in that area. Allen Ray comments that, “But again, depending on how near or far they are, I think the people who are still back in Indianapolis are extremely active in, not just with the immediate neighborhood but with the, Washington Township in one way or another, I have noticed in the Facebook sharing that, we had a very strong sense of the larger group of Washington Township in addition to our immediate neighborhood.”

Getting an education was a foundational belief for African Americans, one that they were able to pass onto their kids. Not only did they want the best education for

their children, they also wanted their children to be exposed to other people and different cultures. Many of the Grandview people who went to Washington Township make mention of them having many Jewish friends and becoming involved in Jewish culture. These were experiences that in many cases their parents missed out on because of the segregated high schools at the time, and they fought through many channels to secure equal educational opportunities and to ensure that their children would be exposed to new experiences and cultures. One of the cultures that these people came into contact with while living in on the Northwest side of Indianapolis was the Jewish community.

Douglass Taylor recalls being immersed in Jewish Culture: “And it was predominately Jewish so throughout the whole, and I don’t know the whole history behind that but I grew up going to bar mitzvahs, eating matzo during Christmas and Hanukah...And my sisters are like “yo, we don’t talk like that,” you know so it was that kind of interesting dial up.

Leah Thomas also recalls having many Jewish friends as well: “I have lots of Jewish friends from being in Washington Township but the school is no longer there that I went to. But I did a lot with people, we really didn't segregate ourselves. I was just involved, my father even, when I was in Kindergarten, first grade, and he was the physician that came to the school and give out immunizations.”

Rickie Clark mentioned that although they faced some hostilities from some of the residents in Washington Township, the Jewish Community was receptive of their

African-American neighbors: “we were the first set of African Americans basically to come to North Central. Some pretty much accepted there were some folks who didn’t like us, but, for the most part, the students, especially a lot of the Jewish students-- North Central, back then, was made up of probably more Jewish families than anything else--the Jewish community ... accepted the Black community.”

The Jewish Community Center was also a place where some of these African-American kids went to play organized recreational sports because other than the school teams, their options for playing recreational sports were limited as was their access to those establishments were limited as well. Some of the interviewees mentioned the JCC when recalling the places where they were allowed to play sports recreationally. Rickie Clark noted that “we would attend different events there and I mean they had a great athletic program so you’d always go hangout and play basketball. ... We either played at played outside ball at the grade schools like Grandview or we’d go to the Jewish Community Center to play or Saint Monica. They had the more organized type athletics that they would do., you know. So you’d play baseball league at Saint Monica or at the Jewish Community Center, that sort of thing.”

Most of the comments regarding the Jewish community came from the children who grew up in that Grandview area, none of the adults who lived in the area ever made a mention of the Jewish community, for whatever reason. One of the factors that may have influenced this is that African-American children had to go to school with Jewish kids and they had to attend recreational places that allowed them and that were

in relative proximity to their neighborhood, such as the JCC. It would be fair to guess that the children just had more exposure to the Jewish community than their parents had. Exposure to different cultures was one of the pillars that spurred the African-American battle against housing and school segregation; they wanted their children to be exposed to people and cultures that they were not privy to being around because of segregation. It was a whole generation of African Americans that did not have consistent positive relations with people different from them, because of housing and school segregation, and the majority of these people also lived in places where there was a predominantly African American population.

Black Professionalism

While studying some of the residents of this Grandview neighborhood some employment trends started to arise. These African Americans tended to occupy the same social and employment circles before they ever moved to the Grandview neighborhood.

One of the biggest employers of many of these Grandview residents was Indianapolis Public Schools, the local public school district in Indianapolis. They employed many African Americans in many capacities. This is important because during this time educated African Americans still had issues finding non service-labor work, if any work at all. The township school districts hired a few African Americans during the turn of the 20th century but the prospects of gaining employment in the suburban school districts were slim. The only mention of someone from the Grandview

neighborhood working at Washington Township was the Taylors' mother. Douglass Taylor mentioned in his interview that his mother was one of the first African-American administrators in Washington Township and that was one of the reasons why their family moved to that Grandview neighborhood. Other than Mrs. Taylor, the rest of the educators that lived in this neighborhood worked for IPS, including Charles Harry, Larry Leggett, Doris Wells, Donald Oldham, Ray Crowe, Jesse L. Babb, Anderson Dailey, Gwendolyn Dixon, and Alice Ray. One of the interviewees who lived in this neighborhood stressed during his interview that a good number of IPS teachers lived in the neighborhood. Rickie Clark stated that, "The location ... was pretty nice, once you ... learned the area. There were a lot of people that were moving out, and that had actually lived out in my neighborhood on Grandview. Awful lot of teachers."

Another employer that employed some of the residents in this Grandview neighborhood as well was Eli Lilly. One of the more prominent people to live in Grandview and to work at Eli Lilly was Juan Solomon. Juan Solomon was one of the first African-American executives at Eli Lilly, and he was an employee there for about 32 years. Because of Mr. Solomon's prominence at Eli Lilly and also because of his work around the African-American community they named a park in that neighborhood after him. Mr. Solomon was not the only person to work at Eli Lilly and live in the Grandview neighborhood either, another resident and employee of Eli Lilly was Mr. Odell A. Weir. Odell Weir retired from Eli Lilly as a chemist. Maurice Emerson Eldelen also worked for Eli Lilly as the director of Insulin Manufacturing. Ralph S. Woods worked for Eli Lilly as a chemical dispenser, and he worked there for 30 years before retiring in 1977.

Another circle that helped fill the Grandview neighborhood was real estate. As stated earlier, W.T. Ray went on to be one of the most prominent real estate agents in Indianapolis, but he was not the only person working in the field of housing. Dr. Thomas' wife Ruby also sold real estate in Indianapolis. According to her children when she was not working in their father's office she was running her real estate business with Dr. Daisy Lloyd who was a wife of one of Dr. Thomas's contemporaries, Dr. Lloyd. Dr. Daisy Lloyd was also a one of the first African-American women to be named to the Indiana legislature. T.R. Mumford who lived on 1715 Kenruth drive, was the manager of Meadows Apartments Division of Oxford Management Company.

Home Ownership

When I asked participants about what they hoped to gain from relocating to the suburbs, shared themes of the benefits of suburban homeownership emerged. Seeking home ownership was a common narrative. Home ownership was different for them after World War II. Multiple interviewees noted a process of making payments on a lot, securing the lot, choosing a design of the house, and then the construction of the house. This is one of the ways that they expressed themselves through home ownership. This is a freedom that many took advantage of; Mrs. Wills illustrates one such experience.

He did not physically build it, but he oversaw it and he didn't know anything about building houses, but it was very nice house, he got an architect and he drew up the plans and [her husband] Simmie said then ...that all that he needed to do was get the frame built because I know some guys that were really good at masonry and turn them loose on the house and they did an excellent job, that house is over there and the masonry work is better than what was done for this house really.

Mr. Harry's experience was very similar. He stated that there was no timeline to when the house had to be built:

We didn't have any, as far as I know we didn't have any, when you got ready I know that I got a call shortly after Christmas and they had put in the basement and my wife and I would come out here every day to see, if anything, most of the time it was nothing. I said well, eventually, Larry from next door called, he said, hey man your whole front lawn piled with lumber and he said they getting ready to start or something. I said okay we had to come out and look at that.

Similarly Mr. Meyers speaks on a similar experience as well:

I picked this out of a magazine, the plan, the floor plan, and I said I think that's what I like. I bought this house from the man that lived next door here, Mr. Lawson. He moved out of this neighborhood after his wife died. ... I wasn't planning on living out here but he seen me out here with Mr. Starks working on other houses and he said Meyers why don't you buy this lot. I said how much you want for it, he said a thousand dollars, and I said alright I will talk to my wife. Well, Friday I came out here and gave him 50 dollars down and after a while I gave him the rest of it about three payments and I had me a lot. So after I purchased the lot I started planning the house and this is the plan I got. After I bought the lot it took me about a year and a half and I had me lot here, I did a lot of it myself and I contracted the rest out to different people and I paid them as I worked for the company, Grizzly Construction company, building lots of houses.

In some cases, like Mrs. Wills and Mr. Meyers, families relocated from less modern homes to more modern homes. A few participants mentioned that the Grandview neighborhood was one of the first times that African Americans could go and have freedom to practice homeownership without restrictions. This type of expression of home ownership was unique to African Americans; many citizens during that time were purchasing homes, that were pre-built in a cul-de-sac and those homeowners chose from pre-selected floor plans. These African Americans purchased lots and then

were able to build on those lots as they saw fit. Mrs. Wills, for example, states, “I felt that I was in the city now. I liked to have a house with a garage attached but we couldn’t find anything, not then. So that was one reason we went ahead and bought a lot and built a house out here and had a garage attached.” Charles Harry echoes some of the same sentiments: “I think that it was mainly, where we thought that we could go and you know that wasn’t always possible, we had come here and the guy showed us the lot and we started buying the lot on contract.”

Some of the people in this study noted that their family had to navigate housing discrimination when it came to securing home ownership loans. Karla Temple Taylor stated that her parents had some troubles purchasing but because they were professionals they were able to develop relationships with other prominent members of the African-American community that occupied positions of affluence. Karla stated that her parents ultimately knew a bank manager and through a relationship of reciprocity they were able to secure home loans to purchase their homes. Allen Ray also details some of the troubles that his father had trying to secure a home loan.

Something that may interest you, that is not necessarily know, that when my father was applying for his loan that he developed and sold he went into one of the major banks and the loan officer had bad news for him. The people upstairs were against the movement of these people out to the suburbs and they had decided to decline his loan. And dad did not say a word he thanked the loan officer for trying and he went across the streets to one of the other three major banks.

Allen Ray continued to speak about the three major banks during that time in Indianapolis:

The three banks in Indianapolis were Indiana National, American first national bank, otherwise known as AFNB, and Midwest National Bank, and he thought he had a deal with one of them, and these three pulled the plug. And so again he did not say a word he just marched into another one, another bank, and they were perfectly willing to do it. And so that's why I....that's what's so important about the whole appearance ...no, it wasn't final, it just meant that it was going to take more to get people more enlightened or at least to follow the law. The resistance would be there but more and more, you would have more and more people willing to follow the law if you continued to keep going.

Home ownership was also different for many of these residents for what they had to endure when they made their move away from the central cities and to the suburbs. One of the issues that they had to deal with was not being on the sewer system. In the particular neighborhood, when the community was being developed they were not on the sewer system and this made life a little more difficult. The streets were unpaved and they did not have sidewalks in their neighborhood which made for walks to school a little more of an issue. Allen Ray stated

Now, keep in mind, at your age group you probably don't have much concept about what it meant to move out from the city to the suburbs in the 50s and 60s, it is extremely different than it is today. The streets had to be built and there was not water or city sewer service out there either. So you were on your own, you had to have a well in your backyard to provide your own water; you had to have a septic system to drain your own toilets. So, it was much different proposition for people to pack up away from city services and move to the suburbs, where that they were on their own. People don't really appreciate now because these big metropolitan areas are having managed to put their infrastructure on a much more coordinated basis.

Reasons for Moving to Suburbia

One of the reasons that were stated for the reason they moved to suburbia, other than that Grandview neighborhood being the only place that they could go, was that they were moving to the suburbs for the schools. This came as a shock, considering

that many worked for IPS. In the case of Charles Harry, he held some reservations about the prospects of better schools in the suburbs.

I think, I want to blame that on my wife, she somehow she had the idea that maybe the school system would be better or whatever, and of course I rejected that. You may not know, I know the arguments, rather the (how) discussions turnout. [In regards to the arguments suggesting that IPS is lesser school district than township school]

Doris Wills speaks similarly in regards to Washington Township; although she initially moved to the neighborhood for the school, these sentiments changed shortly after their move.

We bought that particular lot because the Grandview school was not too far from where we were and we thought that the kids could walk to school and it wasn't 'til after we built the house and moved in did we discover that our kids couldn't go to that school...because they were integrating out here...so the kids on our side of Grandview...got bussed to Delaware Trail....but they had to go....it wasn't too far but we thought they were going to Grandview with their neighbor kids and not the kids who lived across the street from us.

Theodosia Duncan speaks on a similar experience. One of the reasons why she wanted to move to that Grandview neighborhood was so her children could walk to school. She was a single mother and her mother would have to watch the children while she worked, Ms. Duncan notes: "Yes. And the reason I chose the one on 64th street instead of Sanwela was because of the school was directly across and I knew I was going to have to work. And my grandmother was the babysitter. And she could watch the child from across [the street] ...Except it turned out to be more of a hassle than that, because they did not want my children, or the children on 64th street to walk to school, they

wanted to pick them up first, ride them all around the neighborhood), and bring them back.”

Doris Wills also comments on the educational environment for her children:

“What they could receive from being in that atmosphere and the children I think was in many ways superior to the things they would’ve received in the city, but into the meantime I would have to say the teachers didn’t seem as interested as I thought teachers should be, if that makes any kind of sense.”

Also another reason why they moved to this neighborhood is because they knew people who were moving to this neighborhood or who were already living in this neighborhood. Mr. Harry states that “We came up here and I said, well, okay, we knew a few other people who had already moved into this area or [were] thinking about it. That’s how we started out; we started out buying a lot that were only two aside from the houses on the corner either side of Sanwela, the DeFrantz house and the Bundles house were there.”

Theodosia Duncan explains how she ended up in that Grandview neighborhood,

Well, I’ll tell you, I had two children, right. And I wanted them to, quote, get an education, because I was the first one in my family to go to college and you knew that. Okay. So naturally I wanted a little more for my children. And [W.T.] Ray, I went to Ray, I knew him, had seen him around town socially and that kind of stuff, because even though I lived on the Southside I did, occasionally go to something. But, anyway, socially I knew him and he knew I was a single mother. ...I went to him to buy a house. Because he was the only Black realtor, and I believe in using Black realtors and doctors, that isn’t true anymore, but it was true then. But anyway I went to him, trying to figure out how I could get a house, so

when I went to him he suggested coming out there and buying a house, that he could get a loan for me fairly easily. Which he did.

This was a haven for the professional black middle class at the time, specifically, teachers. Rickie Clark mentions that this Grandview neighborhood housed many IPS teachers when he describes how his mother found out about the Grandview neighborhood

She had a few friends that had lived north of 38th Street, and we looked over there for the longest, which would be the Butler-Tarkington area. ... I think it was her realtor, Mrs. Stewart that... talked to her about coming out north. Yeah, cause Mrs. Stewart lived on Grandview Drive, and then a lot of teachers that taught at IPS lived out north. And so, after not finding anything in the Butler-Tarkington area, Mrs. Stewart, which is our realtor, talked us into moving out north, and that's where she found the house at 6404 Grandview Drive that we ended up buying. So it was the realtor that led us to the neighborhood

Mr. Clark continues to explain why his mother moved to this neighborhood,

All of the above. Better features, more space, yeah, we never had a... a driveway, so all of the homes out there had driveways. Naturally, your folks want you to go to a better school. We didn't know that it was a better school, until we got into the school. ...North Central was so much... so far advanced, than my grade school, School 41. So far advanced than IPS that when you transferred, you had to play catch up, which took, to me, it felt like an awful-awful long time to get caught up to what they were studying. The house, yeah, [it] was maybe a little bit bigger. It had more features. We had never had a house that had a screened porch, we never had a house that had that much yard, and that much shrubbery. The driveway, the garage. We've had garages before, but not like that, that you pull in the driveway and then into the garage. A lot of yard, a lot of shrub, shrubbery. The location was pretty nice, once you learned the area. There were a lot of people that were moving out, and that had actually lived out in my neighborhood on Grandview. Awful lot of teachers. Our neighbor across the street was Juan Solomon, and they originally named the park after him, but he was a top executive at Eli Lilly. He was the highest person... at Eli Lilly. I believe that he was the vice President.

There were a number of teachers, doctors and lawyers, entrepreneurs that were all African American and similarly minded.

“The Golden Ghetto”: (Criticisms of the Black Elite)

A term arose while interviewing people who lived in that Grandview Neighborhood: the Golden Ghetto. Different people had different interpretations of what that term means. Doris Wills thought that it was a term of endearment: “Oh, they were excellent [neighbors] mmhmmm...because they were all black but they called it the golden ghetto at that time and really that was a nice article in the Star about the golden ghetto and we was still there at that time...” Leah Thomas also had some understanding of the term as well “I thought my upbringing was very nice. They called this the Golden Ghetto; this is supposed to be where all of the affluent African Americans were moving to.” Terry Reed remembers the phrase as well: “you know, it was easy to walk down the street, ride your bike, whatnot—pretty safe community—but one thing about the, if you wanna call it, we used to call it the Golden Ghetto, so to speak, my brother Clay used to ride on the back, and there were no sidewalks in the Golden Ghetto, there were really no sidewalks on the north side of Indianapolis back then.” The Taylors, Douglass and Karla, both remember the phrase as well, and Karla explains that “we later moved out into the Golden Ghetto or the Grandview area....., I didn’t move out to, ah--probably don’t want to use the word Golden Ghetto, we don’t have a problem—you know, I moved out to the Golden Ghetto. The reason we called it the Golden Ghetto was because we were professionals. You know, the true definition of

ghetto is likeness or same – the population of the same. And so, it was the same. And, they had money. So we called it the Golden Ghetto.”

The term Golden Ghetto was used by people outside of the neighborhood to describe that Grandview neighborhood. The term was meant to characterize the neighborhood by indicating that even though most of its residents were middle class and successful, it was still a segregated neighborhood, hence the name Golden Ghetto. The term was used by a both black and white people to describe that neighborhood. Andrew Ramsey, a writer for the *Recorder*, referenced the neighborhood with this term in his editorial *Voice from the Gallery*. Ramsey writes in the August, 1970 edition of the *Recorder* that, in response to the African Americans in that Grandview area” swank homes with well stocked bars and prestigious cars and membership in clubs which gave sumptuous formal dances were hall marks of the Negroes that have arrived.” As stated earlier, the people who lived in this neighborhood were cognizant that their neighborhood was being described by this term.

As the housing and employment barriers receded, some African Americans became mobile and hopeful to move away from the segregated spaces that they once occupied. Before, class distinctions among African Americans were present but negligible because of their circumstances. African Americans were forced live in the same areas, there were only certain spaces that they were allowed to go for leisure, and the schools were segregated as well. Class distinctions among African Americans did not become a prevalent issue until middle-class African Americans started to express their

agency through their ideas of home ownership and community creation. This migration of black people to the suburbs meant that many of the neighborhoods more stable residents were leaving and taking their resources with them.

A passage in the book, *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*, by Thornburgh and Ruegamer, sums up this phenomenon:

“As housing and some job barriers fell in the 1970’s, Indianapolis’s African Americans like those in other parts of the state, were increasingly separated, both physically and psychologically, by economic and social class differences. Those who had good jobs and education left Center Township, the bottoms, where blacks had been mostly confined in segregated housing before the 1960’s and 1970’s; they also left a segregated way of life. This move entailed a racially integrated business and social life. Earlier, black professionals had been confined to life in the ghetto, where they shared many of the disadvantages of the poorer and less educated African Americans but where they exercised a leadership based on personal acquaintance with the members of the community. When opportunities opened, black professionals, moved into new neighborhoods that were racially integrated and economically segregated,”

This may be a reason why they faced criticism from the African-American communities that they left. They were leaving these spaces that they were compelled to reside in for decades, no matter their socioeconomic or professional standing. Middle-class African Americans made the most of a bad situation; they were not allowed to express their middle-class agency like their white middle-class peers. Middle-class African Americans would serve as a stabilizing mechanism for these distinct African-American communities. African-American communities were more economically diverse than white communities because of the housing segregation and this allowed them to have self-sustaining insular communities. As noted they were the doctors of the

communities, the ministers, the local businessmen, the musicians, the dentist, and working-class people. These middle-class African Americans formed committees and coalitions and became leaders of these African-American communities; they were enmeshed in the fabric of these communities.

When the opportunity to leave racially segregated neighborhoods presented itself, the middle-class African Americans exercised their class agency through choosing to leave and selecting the communities they wanted to live in, and they no longer wanted to live in racially segregated neighborhoods, they wanted to experience suburbanization. These people viewed suburbanization as agency and they wanted some self-determination.

This action seemed too many African Americans, who were not able to exercise the same agency, as them leaving the African-American community, which the middle-class African Americans once relied upon for support. This Grandview neighborhood in particular attracted middle-class African Americans to the area but it also attracted the stable working class portions of the African American communities that had stable employment.

African Americans had to navigate a scenario where their material interests of being home-owning middle-class citizens conflicted with their racial identification to the African American community, because expressing their middle-class agency facilitated, whether perceived or actual, the distancing of themselves from the African-American communities where they once lived. These African Americans had to negotiate the

politics of race and class while relying on both race and class for constructing community solidarity, community identity and political mobilization (Haynes, 2001). This story is not unique to the Grandview neighborhood; this phenomenon happens to black middle-class citizens all over the United States (Haynes, 2001). The Grandview neighborhood's suburbanization sheds light on the tensions stemming from, on the one hand, the black middle class embodiment of the political interests of race, and, on the other hand, the material interests of class (Haynes 2001).

Once the Grandview neighborhood was established they became their own insular community, and interaction with people from different areas of the city was limited. The Grandview Civic Association was started and they orchestrated many community events, such as picnics, dinners, and other social gatherings like holiday parties. With the creation of the Grandview Civic Association, there were also some exclusionary mechanisms that were exhibited as well. Charles Harry recalls the Grandview Civic Association being selective about which parts of the neighborhood would be selected to be part of the organization. Mr. Harry stated that the Grandview Civic Association's purpose "was property or area improvement. I thought that they got into sort of a social part of it, too, I didn't I guess I go along with it. I thought they needed to be more concerned with expansion. These [White] people between Coburn and Grandview most of them anyway, I don't want to say most, a lot of them considered somewhat different from the ones who lived between Coburn and Michigan road. Those homes aren't as large or are older and I thought that was fertile territory, you got to get

big, I thought that you could have more influence or more of an impact with more people involved but that never took hold. “

Another area of criticism that the Grandview Neighborhood garnered was the construction of the Country Club. The Sportsman’s Club was erected in April of 1969 in the Grandview Neighborhood. The Sportsman’s Club offered swimming pools, tennis courts, and golf links. In 1968 former Ball state and Detroit Lions football James U. Todd led a group of entrepreneurs who sought to rezone a 60 acre parcel on Grandview Drive for the construction of the Sportsman’s club. Investors promised well-appointed facilities with a host of recreational activities along with athletic coaching from some of the premier black athletes; Gale Sayers, Leroy Kelly, Oscar Robertson, Jerry Rush, Travis Williams and Dick Gordon. In addition to the many features offered by the Sportsman’s Club, the Sportsman’s club also served as a place of employment for black athletes in the off season (Mullins, 2015).

Many people who were interviewed for this study speak highly of the Sportsman’s Club because it offered recreational space for many that they were not afforded in the past. Rickie Clark spoke of the country club: “when we had our first, country club that too is where everybody met everybody. They had a country club down the street from us called the ... Country Club, and they changed the name to the Sportsman Country Club, or it started out as the Sportsman Country Club, and they called it the City Country Club later on. But that was the very first time--I mean, you know, everybody wanted to be a member of the country club. So... you met even more

people within your neighborhood, and you met a lot of the new families who had moved down there.” Terry Reed remembers the country club as one of the only places they could swim: “there weren’t too many pools out there. I remember, they built a country club, and you had to be a member, but you could go up there as a guest sometimes. But that was the primary place where you went swimming.” The Thomas’ also remember the country club fondly; Leah Thomas stated that “There wasn’t any place for us to go, so that was a big huge deal having it right down the street. They had, we could go there for dinner on Sundays and they had like the swimming pool and the golf course ...They had tennis and basketball and they had a sauna. .” Leland Thomas also recalls playing golf at the country club: “I played six rounds of golf there, I played six holes. I said, this is crazy, I said it was hot out here, it was around noon, I walked on back home and I ain’t golfed since.” Leah Thomas concludes the discussion by noting the importance of the country club in the community considering those places were limited to people of color: “those were some experiences, because we couldn’t go to Riviera Club, Broadmoor, we couldn’t go over here on Highland, Meridian Kessler, we couldn’t go to any of those clubs. Even though our play uncle worked as a maître d at the one back here in Meridian Hills, for years, but we weren’t allowed to go in there but to work. It was really you know it was something you know in the neighborhood and even some outside of our neighborhood belonged to the country club.”

Although the Sportsman’s club had members of outside of the community, its membership was exclusive. James Saint Clair Gibson (1969), commented on the exclusivity in *The Recorder* observing that memberships cost “hundreds per year and

according to what we hear, they are being gobbled up right and left by our succulent middle class.” Again Andrew Ramsey (1966) commented on the construction of the Sportsman’s Country Club, in his editorial Voice from the Gallery, argues that the Indianapolis African-American elite had been content on doing their own thing and criticized them as wanting to purposefully distance themselves from the black masses of the inner cities. He argued that the construction of this country club fit right into that narrative, noting that that the ambitious Sportsman’s Club venture “could potentially serve as an object of pride to negroes who can afford that sort of thing,” but he lamented “how so many black Indianapolitans can find so much money to invest in this monument to middleclassness and none to invest in the fight for freedom and democracy.”

An organization that many of the people referenced was this Organization called Jack and Jill. Jack and Jill was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1938 by Marion Stubbs Thomas with the idea of cultivating children socially and academically to become the future African American leaders of tomorrow. It is often recognized as the premier African American organization in the United States, it was founded by mothers who were dedicated to crafting the future leaders of tomorrow. Some of the tenets of this organization are leadership development, volunteer service, philanthropic giving, and civic duty. Jack and Jill Inc. believes that these are the most important tools for crafting the future leaders of tomorrow.

The Indiana Branch of Jack and Jill were founded in 1951 by Mary Hawkins and the Indianapolis chapter is also part of the mighty Midwestern region of Jack and Jill. In the beginning there were 10 families that were in Jack and Jill, it was a localized group of mothers, these mothers started doing planned activities with each other once a month (Jack & Jill. (n.d.)). This act continued for several months and then the mothers decided to apply for a charter into the Jack and Jill organization (Jack & Jill. (n.d.)). The Indianapolis Provisional Chapter of Jack and Jill of America, Inc. held its first organized meeting at the home of acting chairman, Mrs. Mary Hawkins on April 3, 1951. At this time, a nominating committee was appointed to select a slate of officers. The Indianapolis Chapter was the 33rd chapter of Jack and Jill of America, Inc. and the 7th chapter of the Mid-Western Region (Jack & Jill. (n.d.)). The first Executive Board included Mary Hawkins, President; Shirley Evans, Vice-President; R. Leah Thomas, Recording Secretary; and Flora DeFrantz, Treasurer. The charter members were Ruth Bell, Fannie Blackburn, Sarah Daniels, Shirley Evans, Mary Hawkins, Daisy Lloyd, Margaret Mackey, Wilma Sims, Osma Spurlock, and Ruby Thomas (Jack & Jill. (n.d.)).

Karla Taylor remembers Jack and Jill as a socialization tool for the young people in her community, she states

...then it was a 'Jack and Jill', which was a social group for the kids – which taught etiquette. Once again you had to go to the plays, you had to go, and you know a coming out party. It was just a socialization process too, so that you knew how to read correctly - your diction was correct, you know, you have book clubs, all that kind of stuff. It was more of grooming situation, so that when you went out, you know, and wherever you went - and it was never discussed whether you were going school, or to college, - it was where are you going...

Leah Thomas also remembers being a part of Jack and Jill as well as a kid. Her mother Ruby Leah Thomas was part of the original executive board of the Indianapolis chapter of Jack and Jill. Leah Thomas recalls Jack and Jill “was a black organization, similar tots and teens and something else, we worked in different age groups and you would do something different every month and usually it was learning or community service. By time you got into the teens organizations it was a lot of leadership skills and I can remember going to a regional meeting with all of the chapters in our regions. They have the national stuff so, you know, those are some friendships that I still have today you know some of our closest friends were all a part of Jack and Jill.”

Analysis

Discussion

There historically have been three types of African American communities. One type of African American neighborhood is the class-segregated, predominantly black middle-class neighborhood type (Kusmer and Trotter, 2009). Some of the characteristics of this neighborhood are that it is often segregated by both race and class; these neighborhoods are often isolated by major roads, open space, or any natural barriers that would block connections to the poor and working-class African American communities (Kusmer and Trotter, 2009). These type of neighborhoods are typically smaller in size and were often initially segregated white middle-class neighborhoods before they became African American middle-class neighborhoods.

The second type of African-American neighborhood was a multiclass black neighborhood type. This is the most prevalent type of African-American middle-class communities. This type of neighborhood is the most prominent for the reasons that have been discussed previously; that is, racialized housing practices by multiple institutions forced African Americans to live around other African Americans no matter their class standing (Kusmer and Trotter, 2009).

The last type of neighborhood in which middle-class African Americans lived was predominantly white middle-class neighborhoods. Often these types of communities are the prelude for the class-segregated predominantly black middle-class neighborhoods, because once one African American family moves into these predominantly white middle-class neighborhoods the white residents tend to leave and more middle-class

African Americans move; thus the community is susceptible to a relatively dramatic demographic shift (Kusmer and Trotter, 2009).

The Grandview neighborhood is a mixture of the first two. It was very much isolated from poorer and working-class African-American communities in the inner city. It was also located near a major thoroughfare, Michigan Road. When the neighborhood was being created it was originally open farm space that was developed into the neighborhood. This community was also class heterogeneous. This Grandview community had many affluent African American families but it also attracted working class residents who could afford to live in this community. Theodosia Duncan is a good example. She lived in Grandview neighborhood and was a single mother of two, and at the time she moved to this Grandview neighborhood, she worked as a lab technician until her retirement. Mrs. Duncan was not the only case of this happening.

Rickie Clark's mother was a widower with two kids who was also able to buy a house in the Grandview neighborhood after being displaced by the interstate construction. There may have been other single parent homes, but the majority of households in Grandview consisted of nuclear families. In most families, both parents worked professional jobs. This community was attractive to working class African Americans because it offered African Americans better housing conditions, better schools, and homeownership. This was made possible because most of the residents knew someone who lived in the neighborhood or had planned to live in the

neighborhood. This was also during the time when African American realtors were able to help African-American homeowners find and secure FHA loans.

This Grandview neighborhood and others like it Indianapolis provided a haven for African Americans to move away from the central city. Everyone who was interviewed for this study speaks of the Grandview neighborhood glowingly and they still communicate with former residents of the community. This was a very positive experience for the African American residents that were able to live in this neighborhood. This community offered a multitude of rights that African Americans had been fighting for decades for; better housing, better and integrated schooling, the move from the central city.

The move to the suburbs was a culmination of the fight for the civil liberties that African Americans had to wage throughout the 20th century in Indianapolis. The African-American population was in Indianapolis very early, and the African American community in Indianapolis predates the Great Migration. Because of their standing in the community, they chose to work through established institutions like the court systems, rather than in fevered resistance e.g. mass political protests. They would try to obtain their rights through incrementalism, trying to be upwardly mobile and trying to forge relationships with the White decision makers of Indianapolis, and when all of those options failed, they were patient and often tried to address their grievances through legislative means. Indianapolis' African Americans were cognizant of their

standing in the political and racial hierarchy and were weary of relinquishing already secured rights for the prospect of greater civil rights.

The discussion of political orientation never came up in the interviews with participants of this study, but this particular population had many characteristics that when taken in totality likened what can be described as African-American conservatism. Describing African American conservatism can be difficult, because there are many versions of conservatisms and African Americans are not a monolith. Each African American has different motivations and lived experiences. Any definition of African American conservatism will face two limitations, and this description will not be true of all African Americans who lived in this community or true of many who are not African American conservatives, (Eisenstadt, 1999). Although this deception does fit the population in this community, the sense from the community is that they have left aligned politics and champion the members of this community champion black causes.

Many scholars who have studied African American culture between the World War II and the civil rights movement have argued that members of the African-American community identified themselves and others as middle class based on a belief system that valued appropriate social behaviors (Vanneman and Cannon, 1987). African American conservatism tends to rest on the pillars of moral respectability, individual achievement, deep belief and respect for capitalism, belief in Western civilizations institutions and culture, pride in African American accomplishments, and a respect for

the mutual cooperation with whites for the advancement of African Americans (Lewis, 2000).

These beliefs can be seen in racial uplift ideology. The origins of racial uplift ideology can be traced back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This era is characterized as a struggle for sub-groups of Americans to humanize themselves and acquire rights and citizenship. African American elites took it upon themselves to establish different institutions to help uplift their poorer African American peers to conditions of respectability (Lewis, 2000). James Brewer Stewart (1999) states that this approach stressed patient incrementalism, strenuous self-improvement, deference from ordinary community members, and the guidance of patriarchal leaders. The tenets of racial uplift ideology are very similar to the beliefs held by middle-class African Americans. Patient incrementalism is the approach that many of these African Americans incorporated in their struggle for equal rights in Indianapolis. These African Americans believed in the incremental approach because they believed that a more aggressive approach would only harden the opposition, and with the incremental approach this would give whites and African Americans a chance to familiarize themselves with each other, and if this approach went well there would be no need for legal recourse (Pierce, 2005). This approach is a very class conscious approach to acquiring rights and acquiring political capital. In order to build harmonious relationships with whites, an African American would have to be in proximity of whites that had political and social capital, and most African Americans living in the central city did not have that opportunity. Moving to the suburbs along Michigan Road did serve

this purpose of fostering positive racial relationships because this community was able to be closer to middle-class white communities. Most of their kids grew up with white friends and had frequent interactions with whites as peers because of they were able to go to school with whites in Washington Township district.

The formation and the creation of this community was the culmination of the incremental approach that these African Americans had been practicing. The ideological foundations of this kind of approach can linked to middle-class conservatism that many of Indianapolis's early African Americans exhibited. In this Grandview population that was a subset of Indianapolis' African American population, there was an emphasis on education, better housing, better employment options, and individual success. Black conservatives tend to believe in the universality of the American systems in place. Middle-class African Americans, more so than poorer African Americans, have a strong belief in democracy and capitalism. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but to many African Americans capitalism is seen as an advantageous tool for the African-American community because it gives everyone who can master it an equal opportunity of success (Lewis, 2000). This also can be seen in this community with the number of small business owners that resided this neighborhood.

The ways they chose to approach protesting and the ways they chose to use their political power indicate that overthrowing the entire system was never the end goal of their protests or their political fights. The end goal for them was the acquisition of rights and participation in political, social and economic institutions of Indianapolis.

Indianapolis African Americans did not want to overthrow the system because ultimately they believed in the universality and the practicality of the systems in place. Richard Pierce argues that Indianapolis' African Americans never really saw racism as an issue; they saw segregation as more of an issue because it limited their access to the systems that they sought to join (2005). Having middle-class agency and not being able to express that agency through home ownership was viewed as a denial to one of the preeminent American institutions for many African Americans. These middle-class African Americans were no different than white middle-class Americans in their wants for better schools and better housing, and they believed that the main culprit limiting their chances of acquiring this wants was segregation.

I interpret their move to the suburbs as being a subtle act of protest. Once they were not hampered by discriminatory housing mechanisms, they were able to move to portions of the city that they wanted, but the right to live where one wanted was reserved for middle and upper middle class African Americans.

I believe that their move served a purpose for the African-American community that often goes unnoticed. A 1969 study conducted by Hammer, Greene, Silver and Associates (Hammer et al 1969) thoroughly describes the issue of the shortage of adequate African American housing (Pierce 2009). Their study suggests that African Americans were bottled up, meaning that higher income African Americans were not allowed to move to neighborhoods where their income would be representative of their class status. The study deduced that the housing market was not being fully efficient

and meeting the needs of home owners, specifically African Americans because of actual or potential racism (Pierce, 2005). According to the study, some 5,000 African American families desired and could afford to move to better neighborhoods with better housing but they did not have access to these neighborhoods because of discriminatory practices. Higher income African Americans had to live in the best houses in the segregated African-American neighborhoods restricting where other African Americans would be able to live as well. When these African Americans started to move to the Grandview neighborhood and started forming similar African American suburbs on the northwest side of Indianapolis, I believe that this relieved some of the bottled-up pressure in segregated African American communities. These actions did very little to affect the nature of the housing market for African Americans but it should not go unnoticed.

The creation of this African-American suburb did not directly help poorer and working-class African Americans. The creation of this African American suburb and others like Grandview fits the type of action that stems from the political makeup that Indianapolis African Americans had exhibited throughout the years. The creation of the Grandview community involved African Americans throughout the entire process. There were African Americans, African American realtors, African American architects, African American bankers, and many more professionals. The creation of this community did provide some relief for the African American community, but only for a class specific portion, and the creation of this community does not combat directly the systemic racism that plagued these same African Americans for years.

There is an argument that black flight from the central cities was as destabilizing as white flight from the community (Wilson, 1987). As stated earlier, many of the African Americans who moved to this Grandview neighborhood were affluent members of African American communities in their central cities and the Grandview neighborhood attracted the positive working class portions of the community, leaving the poorest to deal with dilapidated housing, communities, and schools. As seen with this Grandview neighborhood, the middle class African Americans who left wanted better living conditions for their children and for themselves but with that migration they further destabilized the communities that they were living in. Middle class African Americans were foundational in the African American community. They were deacons, civil rights activists, local businessmen, doctors, and soldiers. Once they migrated to the suburbs, middle-class African Americans took all of their social capital with them during their migration to the suburbs.

In Indianapolis, the struggle for fair housing for African Americans was a tumultuous battle that spanned decades. Some of the tactics used were working within the systems' political structure. For example, Flanner House Homes advocated for open housing through the legislative process to try to acquire fair and adequate housing conditions; these methods were indicative of the political ideology that leaned toward the conservative incremental approach. Both tactics offered tepid solutions for widespread economic and residential segregation. What residential solutions that these tactics did offer, did not extend to poorer African Americans, and in the case of Flanner House homes, poor African Americans were displaced to make room for middle-class

African Americans seeking to participate in the Flanner house homes project (Pierce, 2005).

Historically this Grandview neighborhood is an important milestone in African Americans quest for rights, because these African Americans seized the opportunity to move from the central cities to the suburbs. Once in the suburbs they created their own community and attracted other similarly minded African Americans. Depending on how it is viewed, Grandview can be criticized or celebrated for its existence and maintenance. On the micro level, this neighborhood was representative of the culmination of the struggle that African Americans waged for better housing and schooling. When looking at the community from a macro level, it did little for African Americans in regards to fair housing. Many African Americans in the inner cities were still subject to dilapidated housing, systemic racism, and displacement from their communities with very little recourse, as seen with the construction of the interstate through UNWA and Martindale-Brightwood. None of the participants suggested that the creation of the Grandview community was a macro level response to the injustices faced by African Americans at the time. As stated throughout this paper, the creation of this community and the subsequent decision to move to this community was spurred by personal preferences and what was best for the resident's individual families. These residents were very pro black and from the interviews, they also faced similar racial dynamics as poorer and working class African Americans. This did not stop them from moving to out this suburb although they faced several challenges like not being connected to the city's sewer systems, gravel roads, not having sidewalks, etc. This

community should be celebrated for what was accomplished, how it was accomplished, and how it was maintained during this specific time period. The residents of the Grandview community had to endure many hardships to be able to express their residential and class agency.

Conclusion

Overall this community is very important when it comes to African-American histories in Indianapolis. Negotiating race and class is not an easy process to maneuver especially after the World War II and the outlawing of Jim Crow laws. These African Americans still had to navigate a political and social landscape where they faced racial discrimination and institutional racism. These early members of the community, though more conservative than other leaders in similar cities in the Midwest, still contributed time, money and participation to many causes that supported the African-American cause, through the various organizations like the NAACP. As stated, some of the characteristics of African-American conservatism can apply to liberals and I think that with the members of this community it may be the case. They faced many criticisms for the decision to move to the suburbs, to this day people who lived in Indianapolis, during post-World War II, remember this community as the Golden Ghetto. Ultimately they should be celebrated because they were able to express their agency and were able to achieve some of the residential outcomes that they were hoping to achieve.

Limitations/Difficulties

Some limitations that were with this study was that the population is comprised of older adults. Due to the age of this group of African Americans there may be a wealth of experiences and insights that have been forgotten due recall bias and difficulties remembering. There are also older adults who have lived in this neighborhood that have passed away and we did not have access to their experiences. There are also people who moved out of Indianapolis and although we were able to contact some of them, a

good portion of them we were not able to reach for an interview. This particular research only focused on a two different African American communities, further research could delve into several African American communities and not just focus on two.

Appendix A: Supporting Documentation

Recruitment Email

Hello,

My name is Kyle Huskins. I am a graduate student at IUPUI in the Sociology department. My interests in sociology are; race and urban development. I am conducting a research project about African Americans who moved out of the city to the suburbs post WW II. I am wishing to interview African Americans who moved out of the city to the suburbs, after WW II. There is little known about the experiences of these African Americans, especially in Indianapolis. This history is vital to creating an understanding of the African American experience post WW II.

Participants will meet with me for approximately one hour for an audio recorded interview where I would ask questions pertaining to their experiences with suburbanization. The interview will be de-identified to preserve their anonymity, unless the participant states otherwise. To thank the participant for their time, compensation will be available.

If you wish to participate in this study please email me at kylehusk@uemail.iu.edu or call me at 317xxxxxxx. If you know anyone that fits this criterion please forward this email to them or inform them of this study.

Thank you for your interest in this study.

Best wishes

Kyle Huskins

Pre-screening Interview Protocol

Moving on Up: Experiences of Post WWII Suburbanization of Indianapolis African Americans
Kyle Huskins, IUPUI Sociology 2016

The interview process will begin when a potential participant has been contacted by Dr. Paul Mullins or myself and debriefed on the research topic at hand. Together, Dr. Mullins and then I will conduct screening interviews to establish that the potential interviewees meet the study's eligibility. If eligible the interview will be scheduled and conducted.

1. Introduction

How did you learn about this interview? Okay, you heard about the research project that Dr. Mullins was working on through word of mouth from a friend/etc. Well as indicated by recruitment email, I am looking for Indianapolis natives who moved to the suburbs post WW II and I want to gather an understanding of their experiences. If you fit this description, I would like to talk to you about your experiences with suburbanization. I will be audio recording interviews for my own information; some of the interviews may be transcribed by outside parties. The company that does the transcription will sign an agreement that guarantees privacy with the recording. Ultimately you will have final say whether; you would like this interview to be used at all. I will take measures to insure that your identity will remain confidential, but if you would like to be named that is up to you. Everything you share will be kept private and confidential. Does this sound like something that you might be interested in participating in?

2. Pre-Screening Questions

Okay. First, I need to ask you a few questions to see if you would be eligible to participate in this study. Do you have any questions for me before we begin? All right let's begin.

| Screening Interview Questions | Participant must answer the following for eligibility |
|---|--|
| 1. Are you African American? | 1. Yes |
| 2. Are you 65 years or older? | 2. Yes |
| 3. Did you move out of the city (to the suburbs) post WWII? | 3. Yes |
| 4. Have you ever left Indianapolis? | 4. No |

3. Schedule Interview

That's great. You are eligible for the study, (if not politely tell them no). Can we schedule an interview? We can meet in a public space, like a Golden Corral, a coffee shop, or at IUPUI, where I can reserve the Sociology library, or I can come to your home. Where would be the most convenient place for you to meet and when would be a good time for you to meet with me as well. Also, if it is alright with you I will give you a reminder notification to see if you are still available for the interview the day before the interview.

African-American Suburban Oral History Project questions

- What is your name and proper spelling? When and where were you born?
- When did your family come to Indianapolis? Why did you/they come to Indianapolis? Where did you/they live after arriving? Why did your family settle in that particular place?
- Please describe the home(s) in which you lived/grew up. For instance, how many rooms did they have? How were those houses decorated and furnished?
- Did you and your family rent or own your homes(s)?
- Where did you go to school? Where did you go to church?
- Where did you and your family shop? What were your favorite stores? Why?
- Where did you and your family go for leisure, such as movie theaters, clubs, parks, and restaurants?
- Were there places in Indianapolis that you and your family did not go because of segregation?
- Why did your family move outside Center Township? When did this happen?
- How did your family find your new home? That is, was it anything in particular, such as personal recommendations, real estate ads, visits to those neighborhoods, African-American realtors?
- What were the primary attractions of this new home for your family? For example, that might include open space, larger home, modern features, public schools, city utility services, friendly neighbors, an attractive price, and so on.
- How did you fund your home's purchase? Do you know if it was an FHA loan, a private loan, accumulated savings, or some other source?
- How was this suburban neighborhood different from the urban homes and neighborhoods you had lived in before?
- How did your new location change things like where you shopped, what church you attended, or where your family spent its leisure time?
- Where did children in your neighborhood go to school? Did children go to public parks or play in particular places in the neighborhood?
- What did you consider the "boundaries" of your neighborhood? Where were nearby neighborhoods that you considered to be differently in terms of ethnicity of residents, wealth, architecture, or other factors?

**INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR
African-American Suburban Oral History Project**

You are invited to participate in an oral historical research study that examines African-American suburban life in post-World War II Indianapolis. You were selected as a possible subject because you lived in a predominately African-American suburban neighborhood in Indianapolis between 1945 and 1965. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Paul Mullins, Professor in the Department of Anthropology.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to examine why many African Americans moved to various Indianapolis suburban neighborhoods after World War II. This project documents African American life in suburban Indianapolis between about 1945 and 1965, when many Americans moved out of city centers to suburban communities. We are especially interested in documenting the African American experience of life in the suburbs.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY:

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things: You will meet with research team members for a circa 45-minute interview discussing your experience of life in Indianapolis suburbs.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

The risks of participating in this research may include feeling uncomfortable answering questions about some subjects. There is also a risk of loss of confidentiality.

The possible benefits of participating in this research are that your memories will contribute to histories of postwar African-American life. There is no financial compensation for this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your personal information may be disclosed if required by law. Your identity will be held in confidence in reports in which the study may be published. Tape recordings and digital transcripts of your interview will be stored in the Principal Investigator's password-protected computer. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and his/her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically

the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP), the National Cancer Institute (NCI) [for research funded or supported by NCI], the National Institutes of Health (NIH) [for research funded or supported by NIH], etc., who may need to access your medical and/or research records.

PAYMENT

You will not receive payment for taking part in this study.

IRB STUDY #1510369058

Exempt SIS v07/2015 2

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher Paul R. Mullins at 317-274-9847.

For questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss problems, complaints or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information, or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at (317) 278-3458 or (800) 696-2949.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with the University

About the African-American Suburban Oral History Project

This oral historical project is part of research and an Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) class being taught in spring 2016. The research and class examine the history of African-American suburbanization and the contemporary meanings of that history. Our interest is in the many African Americans in the United States who moved to new suburban communities during the postwar period, when housing segregation began to erode. The project focuses on a series of predominately or exclusively African-American communities in Indianapolis, including the Flanner House Homes (near-Westside), Augusta Way and Grandview Terrace (Washington Township), and Kingsley Terrace and Oak View (eastside). The project examines the range of families that moved to various Indianapolis suburbs, examining why households moved into new communities that targeted African-American residents. We examine the experience these earliest African-American suburbanites had in Indianapolis and the way postwar housing patterns continue to shape the city today. The project research will be publicly available on “African-American Suburbia”

<https://africanamericansuburbia.wordpress.com/>

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Curriculum Vitae

Kyle Huskins

Education

M.A., Sociology, IUPUI, 2019

B.A., Sociology, IUPUI, 2014

Research Experience

Publications

Under Review

Latham-Mintus, K., Vowels, A. L., & **Huskins, K.** Healthy aging among Black and White Older American men: What is the role of mastery?

Mullins, P., Hyatt, S., **Huskins, K.** Race and the Water: Swimming, Sewers, and Structural Violence in African America

In Development

Huskins, K. "Moving on up: The Experience of Post WWII African American Suburbanites of Indianapolis"

Presentations

Huskins, K. presented Moving on Up: The Experience of Post WW II African American Suburbanites of Indianapolis at MHAC Conference at Wayne State in Detroit, Michigan in September 2016

Huskins, K. presented Moving on Up: The Experience of Post WW II African American Suburbanites of Indianapolis at IASS conference at IU Northwest in Westville, Indiana in October 2016.

Mullins, P. Hyatt, S., Lahey, J., Taylor, L., Huskins, K. presenting Invisible Indianapolis: Race, Heritage, and Community in the Circle City at the NCPH in Indianapolis, Indiana in March, 2017.

Professional Experience

Employment Consultant, Easterseals Crossroads (May 2016 to present)

- 7 months experience as an Employment Specialist
- Proficient in helping clients to navigate all online job applications and assessments
- Helped to facilitate monthly Interview, Resume and Budgeting Workshops

- Invited several employers for Meet and Greets on a monthly basis which were hosted on site
- Used networking skills to develop employer relationships and open up doors for clients in regards to internship and employment opportunities
- Recognized as top performer by actualizing the mission and achieving professional excellence
- Effectively identified problem areas and find alternative possibilities to solve core issues

Teaching Assistant: Department of Sociology, IUPUI

- Intro to Sociology
 - Conducted Study Sessions
 - Graded and entered test scores into a data base
 - Answered and responded to emails from students
 - Met with students individually to give them advice to help them excel academically

Department of Sociology and Department of Anthropology, IUPUI

Thesis Research

Research Advisor: Dr. Paul Mullins and Dr. Peter Seybold

- Oral history research on one of the first African American suburban communities in Indianapolis
 - Looking at how class and social networks can affect community building and neighborhood formation.
- Analysis of the formation of African American Communities in Indianapolis, honing in on the institutional biases that crafted these communities
- Analysis on race and space in the post-world war 2 African American communities, specifically focusing in on African American access to recreational spaces

Department of Sociology, IUPUI

Research Assistant

Research Advisor: Dr. Kenzie Latham

- Conducted extensive literature review looking at how the neighborhood characteristics affect the nutritional intake for elderly residents in those communities
 - What is the correlation between perceived neighborhood characteristics and nutritional intake and what is the correlation between action neighborhood characteristics and nutritional intake?

- Wrote significant portions of the background section for publishable article examining healthy aging among black and older white men with an emphasis on the role of mastery

Sam H. Jones Community Family, School, and Neighborhood Scholar, Office of Community Engagement, IUPUI (August 2015 to present).

Research Assistant

Research Advisor: Dr. Silvia Garcia

- Researched quality of life plans that have been implemented in other cities, mainly centered on how the arts are used to better the community
- Studied the effects of an after school all girl based mentoring program

Teaching Interests

Sociology: Intro to Sociology, Race and Ethnicity, Urban Sociology, Qualitative Methods, Political Sociology, Sociology of Work, Inequality, and Globalization, Main Stream Culture Analysis, Sociological Theory