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An Analysis of Desegregation Trends in the Indianapolis Public Schools

Sophia Nicholas Gonis
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AN ANALYSIS OF DESEGREGATION TRENDS IN THE INDIANAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

Sophia Nicholas Gonis

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

College of Education
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The first major U. S. city to outlaw school racial segregation was Boston in 1855.\(^1\) The last major city in the North to do so was Indianapolis in 1949, an action impelled by state law.\(^2\) Action in both cities antedated the epochal 1954 Supreme Court decision invalidating all laws compelling or permitting segregated schooling.\(^3\)

Since that decision, however, both Boston and Indianapolis, and the rest of the nation, have found that segregation comes in more than one form—it can be \textit{de facto} as well as \textit{de jure}, by fact as well as by law.

Sixteen years have elapsed since the Indiana 86th General Assembly enacted a law providing for the orderly racial integration of its public schools.\(^4\) This study was concerned specifically with those years and the mutations they have brought to the public school system of Indianapolis.

\(^2\)Emma Lou Thornbrough, \textit{Since Emancipation}, (Indianapo-
\(^3\)\textit{Brown vs Topeka Board of Education}, 77 S.C. 753, 1955.
The issue of integration versus segregation has been called one of the great educational challenges of this generation. Its pressures have been felt keenly by school boards and school administrators across the country. Though the tone and emphasis has shifted since the 1954 court decision, conversation and debate continue over a problem as manifold as there are school systems.

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze the recent racial desegregation trends in the school city of Indianapolis, Indiana, particularly with respect to pupil personnel, teacher personnel, and school administration policies. Such an analysis would be incomplete, however, without a prefatory, updated history of events that made up "The Indianapolis Story" of desegregation in its public schools. A still third concern of this study was a survey of major legal developments pertaining to school desegregation procedures elsewhere in the nation. These developments have set the national climate in which trends might be further predicted and in which future Indianapolis school policies might be made.

Significance of the Problem

If the importance of any problem can be judged by the amount of time, space and attention that all areas of
communication have currently granted that subject, the
civil rights movement would have few competitors. The
issue of school desegregation has become an important
part, indeed a focal point, of that movement which has
alternately been called "The Negro Revolution" or "The
Second American Revolution."

Hubert H. Humphrey eloquently wrote of the sig-
nificance of this problem of desegregation:

The issues posed by the ending of segre-
gated education have, in the last decade, affected
almost every county in the South, as well as al-
most every state and large city in the North.
That the matter is highly complex cannot be de-
nied. One cannot read the accounts of Little Rock,
Prince Edward County, New Rochelle, Oxford, and
Louisville, or witness desegregation in the Dis-
trict of Columbia, without realizing that what
holds true for one place and time may not be di-
rectly relevant to another place or time. Yet
no situation is in all respects unique. Patterns
do exist, and mistakes and successes in one com-
munity can offer valuable lessons for the avoid-
ance of strife and violence in another.

It is therefore of utmost importance that all
of us, and especially those in positions of commun-
ity leadership, take pains to understand the com-
plexities of the problem. So vital is its reso-
lution to the well-being of our society that good
intentions and an attitude of tolerance cannot
alone be relied upon as bases for action. Actions
must stem from a thorough knowledge of the facts,
and must proceed in frank recognition of possible
hazards.5

5Hubert H. Humphrey, ed., Integration vs. Segregation,
The urgency of the problem was even more apparent by the tone of another writer, Charles Silberman:

One can be certain of only one thing: that failure to do anything about de facto segregation will poison the atmosphere of race relations in any community. For Negroes have made school desegregation the touchstone of white sincerity and integrity; what a community does about school integration is generally regarded as the ultimate measure of white sincerity and white willingness to share power. 6

Educational authorities themselves have shown mounting concern with desegregation as they realize that its reverberation can well affect practically every facet of education.7 Curricula, textbook revisions, school organization, intelligence testing, history and social problems units, compensatory education, teacher-training methods—all these and more have already felt the impact of the racial issue.

Educators reporting at the recent 1965 White House Conference on Education defined de facto segregation as one of their major problems. They concluded:

The American people have not made a full commitment to school desegregation and strong

7Max Birnbaum, "Whose Values Should Be Taught?" Saturday Review, June 20, 1964, p. 67.
Federal leadership is needed to move from token­
ism to determined action. Educational leader­
ship in integration was found weak in commitment
and effectiveness. 8

Cognizant of the significance of the problem of
integration, the Educational Policies Commission of the
National Education Association devoted a great deal of
their most recent pamphlet to the subject of de facto
segregation.9 This Commission has been called the un­
official but often influential spokesman for the educa­
tional establishment.10

In tandem with community and national concern with
the problem has been its far reaching influence on inter­
national affairs and relationships. News of American
school segregation and resultant strife have reached all
corners of the world. An analysis of the ever-increasing
population on an ever-shrinking globe reveals the white race
clearly in the minority, with non-whites comprising two­
thirds of the population. Demographers estimate this figure
will climb to seventy-five per cent by the year 2000 A.D.11

8Fred Hechinger, "Education: White House Conference
9Educational Policies Commission, N. E. A., American
Education and the Search for Equal Opportunity, Washington,
D. C., 1965.
11J. Hartt Walsh, Geography in the World Beyond To­
It is understandable why many nations are watching with interest how America will resolve this problem. It is understandable, also, why America herself must try to resolve it.

Value of This Study

Though an earlier work regarding racial integration in the Indianapolis Public Schools was written in 1959, the past six years have unfolded many facts and events that extend the trends and help to clarify a complex situation.

In 1959, resource material was at best inadequate; today it is voluminous. At that time, attention was focused on the South and its defiance of the Supreme Court decision; today that concentration seems equally divided with the de facto segregation in the non-South. In 1959, litigation in the North and West was virtually non-existent; at the beginning of 1964, NAACP chapters had court suits pending in eighteen cities challenging de facto segregation. Three such cases have since reached the Supreme Court, and will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI.


\(^{13}\)Silberman, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
As often happens in studies brought up to date, vocabulary changes have occurred. Such has been the case with the word segregation which has enlarged its vocabulary family from integration and desegregation to include terms such as de facto segregation, de jure segregation, resegregation, and racial imbalance, to mention a few.

A comprehensive study such as this of the sixteen years in question with its attendant analysis of local desegregation data should be of merit not only to the city of Indianapolis. It could have value to other communities faced with somewhat comparable situations, and to the entire field of literature on integration. It was the hope of the researcher that this work would be at least one more important piece in the jigsaw puzzle of desegregation, for only through study and exploration can effective procedures be developed to resolve this problem locally and elsewhere.

Assumption and Limitations

Assumption was made that the strengths and weaknesses of the current programs and policies of desegregation would come to light and that significant findings might lead to a re-evaluation of the program in terms of educational and community needs.
Three limitations of the study were:

(1) The Indianapolis school administration was unable to furnish detailed figures for all of the years under study, for race statistics were not a permissible breakdown at one time. For this reason, and because of the earlier Jett study, summary figures were used and emphasis placed on the years since 1960.

(2) When this study was initiated, difficulties encountered in keeping pace with such a mercurial subject were anticipated. In the main, statistical data used ended with the school year 1964-65. Other developments were explored as far as was practical.

(3) Though it has been said that other communities may find value in this study through any patterns, mistakes, or successes, this work does not purport to extend its findings beyond the limits of the Indianapolis public schools. Differences in communities tend to individualize their problems.

Definition of Important Terms

**de facto segregation**  Segregation by race in a public school or schools resulting from residential segregation patterns and a neighborhood attendance policy rather than compelled by law as in *de jure* segregation.

**de jure segregation**  Segregation by race in schools compelled or permitted by state or local law, as opposed to that resulting from residential segregation.

**desegregation**  Process of eliminating racial segregation in public schools. Often used synonymously with integration.
feeder schools
A group of elementary schools assigned to and feeding into a single high school, normally the closest one.

integration
The process of desegregating schools and permitting a mixing of the races. Often used synonymously with desegregation.

neighborhood schools
Schools whose enrollment depends on homes in the immediate area, usually within walking distance. Characteristic of organization of elementary schools in urban areas.

NAACP
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

predominately white
Schools in which more than 50 per cent of the enrollment is white.

predominately negro
Schools in which more than 50 per cent of the enrollment is Negro.

racial imbalance
A condition said to exist in a school in which the ratio of Negroes and whites is unlike the ratio of the total community. Also used as a substitute term for de facto segregation.

resegregation
A condition said to exist in a school that had once been integrated but because of population shift had become segregated again.

segregation
A separation of the races either by fact or because of law.

tokenism
Integration which has occurred by virtue of only one or a few of one race in a school predominately of another race. Also called token integration.
High Schools, Nicknames and Abbreviations

Arlington High School (Arlington)  AHS
Arsenal Technical High School (Tech or Technical)  ATHS
Broad Ripple High School (Broad Ripple)  BRHS
Crispus Attucks High School (Attucks)  CAHS
Emmerich Manual Training High School (Manual)  EMTHS
George Washington High School (Washington)  GWHS
Harry E. Wood High School (Wood)  HEWHS
Northwest High School (Northwest)  NHS
Shortridge High School (Shortridge)  SHS
Thomas Carr Howe High School (Howe)  TCHHS
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

On Indianapolis Schools Specifically

The first comprehensive work on this subject was written in 1959. This was an unpublished thesis by Thomas A. Jett entitled: A Study of the Development of Racial Integration in the Indianapolis Public Schools. Jett reviewed the events preceding and following the 1949 state law as it applied to Indianapolis, tracing the development of the integration program through rulings, policies, and administrative procedures as set up by the school board and the superintendent. Included was a brief treatment of the problems of integrating staff and pupils, and the modification of districting practices during that decade. Jett concluded that the local integration program was progressive and successful during the ten years studied.

An earlier, less comprehensive study was written as chapter four in the book, Schools in Transition. The chapter, "Variation Under the Law: Indianapolis and Other Communities," primarily disclosed happenings behind the


scenes. Written just after the Supreme Court decision, this book was a compilation of twenty-five case studies of communities bordering the South and their changeover from racially segregated schools toward integrated schools. One of the chapters entitled "Reaction to Shock" pertained to two other Indiana communities, Gary and South Bend.

A brief review of the history of integration in Indiana schools appeared in two articles. One, written by Herman Shibler at a time when he was General Superintendent of the Indianapolis schools, appeared as a series of four articles in the Indianapolis Times in 1957. The other was written by Hortense Meyers and printed in The Indiana Teacher.

More recently written and pertinent to this study was Emma Lou Thornbrough's Since Emancipation. A short (ninety-nine pages) but comprehensive history of Indiana Negroes from 1863 to 1963, this volume offered facts hitherto unrecorded on events, personalities, trends and

4Hortense Meyers, "Integration," The Indiana Teacher, October, 1958, pp. 88-90.
developments. The influence of the Ku Klux Klan was discussed at some length in this book.

Two reports by George Ostheimer, current Superintendent of the Indianapolis Public Schools deserved mention in the review of related literature. Dated January 28, 1964 and July 13, 1965, these reports were drawn up in response to requests by the last and current Boards of School Commissioners. Entitled A Report on Racial Integration, both reports, seventeen and twenty pages respectively, were somewhat identical except for the updating of statistical data and current information. Included therein were the following: a history of segregation in Indianapolis; desegregation procedures followed by the local schools after the 1949 statute; the policy on transfer of pupils; statistics pertaining to pupil enrollment and teaching staff as related to race; and the policy for employment and assignment of teachers.

Sparked by what has been referred to as "the Shortridge problem," Indianapolis news media have been abundant with information recently on the local program of desegregation. The writer of this study was able to draw considerably from a personal source of four complete scrapbooks of

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such clippings from all the local newspapers for 1964 and 1965.

Recorded minutes of meetings of the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners are on file at the school administration office, and offered a primary source of data. The researcher was in attendance at all of the public meetings of the Board since August of 1964.

On School Desegregation Generally

Library and book store shelves are now replete with volumes published on the subject of integration. A few of the important works are reviewed here.

Perhaps one which has evoked the most comment recently has been the provocative Crisis in Black and White. In an unsparing analysis of the Negro problem in America, the author convincingly concluded that before progress can be made, both sides must face all facts honestly. De facto segregation dilemmas and complexities are discussed at length in the chapter, "The Negro and the School," and community leaders are urged to have second thoughts on this phase of the problem.

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7 Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Integration vs Segregation, edited by Hubert H. Humphrey while a U. S. Senator from Minnesota, was a compilation of outstanding articles on this subject. The reader's attention is directed particularly to the section by Will Maslow called "De Facto Public School Segregation."

Louis Lomax's The Negro Revolt devoted a chapter to "Crisis in Negro Leadership" which explained the NAACP role in school desegregation:

The NAACP national office is acutely aware of the situation. For this very reason the board created a new post, staff assistant for education, to deal with the growing demands for legal action against Northern school boards. The post was given to June Shagaloff in September, 1961.

Miss Shagaloff, representing the Indianapolis chapter of NAACP, appeared April 29, 1965 at a meeting of Indianapolis school officials and school board members.

The volume Fire-Bell in the Night by Oscar Handlin was an effort at stocktaking, containing the reflections of an observer on the general problem of civil rights. Regarding new schools site selection, Handlin stated:

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Generally boards of education in the past have passively allowed real-estate promoters to make the crucial decisions. Subdividers, on their own, throw up thousands of little houses in an empty region and create a need which the board docilely fills to the neglect of the old districts.12

The Sixteenth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, *Negro Education in America*, considered the issue of segregation as an important part of the problem, but not as the whole of the problem, nor even as the central issue. The editors stated in their foreword:

> Even if, by some miracle, every school in the country could be desegregated overnight, the basic problem of this book would still remain. This basic problem is that of providing equality of educational opportunity. Even more broadly stated, it is the problem of how education can help the members of a minority group become freely and fully functioning first class citizens of American democracy.13

*Civil Rights U.S.A., Public Schools, Cities in the North and West* was a 1962 compilation of staff reports submitted to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and authorized for publication.14 This series of studies included Highland Park, Michigan; New Rochelle, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Chicago, Illinois; and St.

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12 Ibid., p. 105.
Louis, Missouri. Reports were detailed with tables and maps.

De Facto Segregation in Public Schools was intended as a position paper for the guidance of Jewish communities and agencies. This fifteen page pamphlet was published by the National Community Relations Advisory Council. In it the Council affirmed:

We have urged public school districting with a view to creating diversified rather than homogeneous student bodies and have advocated experimentation with school district boundary revision, site selection, pupil transfer and other procedures designed to help the public schools realize the values of integration as a positive factor in educating for democracy...One of the crucial criteria by which the adequacy of education for such democratic living must be evaluated is the criterion of its effectiveness in fostering among pupils attitudes and relationships based on mutual respect for differences...In some communities de facto segregation is the product of deliberate planning; in many others it is the legacy of practices initiated many years ago and left undisturbed...The elimination of de facto segregation in our public schools must be given high priority as a matter of public policy and educational purpose. 16

The pamphlet Public School Segregation and Integration in the North was a special issue of the Journal of Intergroup Relations and published by the Commission on School


16Ibid., p. 3.
Integration of the *National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials*. It was a comprehensive analysis of the integration problem in the North and proposed several possible solutions to the *de facto* issue.

The legal aspects of school desegregation was the subject of a pamphlet and an article using the same title, *Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools*. The pamphlet was published by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and contained a survey of legal developments. The article by Owen Fiss appeared in the *Harvard Law Review*, and emphasized the Constitutional concepts. Fiss concluded:

Government is responsible for the creation and maintenance of racially imbalanced schools. A school board is constitutionally permitted to undertake measures specifically designed to eliminate this balance, even though considerations of race are thereby incorporated within a governmental scheme. The equal protection clause, requiring equality of educational opportunity, may in some instances be violated by the maintenance of racially imbalanced schools. The reach of these propositions cannot be ignored: they provide the framework for constitutionally permitting and sometimes requiring radical reform of the *status quo*.

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18 Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools*, (Columbus, Ohio: April 1965).


In the past five years, many periodicals frequently carried articles on the subject of school desegregation. The reader is referred to the bibliographical section of this study for a more complete listing.

A great many court decisions have been rendered nationally on the issue of de facto segregation. These could very well have been presented in this chapter as "related literature." The writer of this study felt that these decisions were of such importance as to warrant consideration more fully after the presentation and analysis of the Indianapolis data. Selected decisions are, consequently, presented in Chapter VI, "A Brief Survey of Legal Developments."
CHAPTER III
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

To conduct this study and explore its three purposes which were:

(1) to review the history of events which made up "The Indianapolis Story" of racial desegregation in its public schools,

(2) to analyze current racial desegregation trends in the Indianapolis public schools, and

(3) to survey recent legal developments pertaining to desegregation elsewhere in the nation, it was necessary to:

(1) gather and organize historical data applicable to the desegregation of the Indianapolis public schools,

(2) gather, analyze, and evaluate statistical data and school policy information pertaining to the Indianapolis public schools, and

(3) gather and evaluate available legal data regarding school desegregation in the non-South.

Historical data were accumulated from sources mentioned in Chapter II, "Review of Related Literature" under the section headed "On Indianapolis Schools Specifically." These were namely from: selected books and articles, reports on file in the school administration office and the Board of School Commissioners, local newspaper clippings pertinent to the problem, and personal notes gathered as a spectator at school board meetings. The material gathered was organized
in chronological sequence in Chapter IV of this study: "The Indianapolis Story of Racial Desegregation."

Statistical data on pupil personnel were gathered from information on file at the school administration office and supplied by Joseph Payne, Supervisor of Educational Research. This consisted of total pupil count according to race for each elementary and high school in the city.

Statistical data on teacher personnel were collected from information on file at the administration office and supplied by Louis Rutan, Assistant to the General Superintendent, Staff Personnel. This consisted of total academic staff count according to race for each elementary and high school in the city.

School Board and administration policy information was assembled from bulletins and statements on file at the administration office or from minutes of meetings of the Board of School Commissioners.

In the main, statistics used were from the primary sources mentioned above and from the Ostheimer Reports. Where figures were not easily available, summary figures

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from the Jett study were used. 2 This pertained to data prior to 1960.

The collected statistical data involving 106 elementary schools, two junior high divisions housed in high schools, and ten high schools of the Indianapolis public school system were tallied and tabulated. This tabulation of data along with maps graphically recording said data appear in Chapter Five entitled "Presentation and Analysis of Data." For the most part, tabulation was presented in chronological ascending order using dates for which information was available, or by name of high school. Analysis and evaluation of the statistical data as well as school policy information followed the presentation.

For the purpose of clarity, Chapter Five was subdivided according to: general background data, elementary pupil data, high school pupil data, elementary teacher data, high school teacher data, and school administration policies.

Legal data and court decisions were requested from and supplied by the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People through Miss June Shagaloff, its Director for Education Programs. A second

source for this information was a pamphlet published by the Ohio Civil Right Commission relative to legal developments in the field of de facto segregation in the public schools. Law journals were perused for additional legal information on this subject. The presentation and evaluation of all this material appear in this study as Chapter VI, "A Survey of Legal Developments."

It was not the task of this study to arrive at any answers or solutions, but rather to collect the facts and discover the problems. It is only through a thorough knowledge of the problems that effective action to resolve them can be developed.

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3Ohio Civil Rights Commission, Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools--A Survey of Legal Developments, (Columbus, Ohio, April, 1965).
CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANAPOLIS STORY OF RACIAL DESEGREGATION

The Segregation Period 1927-1949

The era of segregated schools in Indianapolis as compelled by law—in truth, by action of the Board of School Commissioners—was confined almost totally to the twenty-two year period from 1927 to 1949. The effects of this period are still echoed in some quarters today. Readers interested in Negro education in Indiana before this time are referred to Miss Thornbrough's treatment of the subject in Since Emancipation.¹

The segregation period was marked at its beginning by the erection of Crispus Attucks High School in 1927 as a segregated school. A Ku Klux Klan-dominated school board had effected this change along with new dual elementary school boundaries. Negro children were required to attend all-Negro schools even if this meant traveling long distances.²

A number of other organizations besides the Klan had worked openly for the complete segregation of the races

²Ibid., p. 55.
in the public schools at this time. As far back as 1923, numerous civic leaders, parent-teacher associations, the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the White Supremacy League, and the Indianapolis Federation of Community Clubs—all had petitioned the Board of School Commissioners for a Negro high school and for the removal of Negro children from white elementary schools.\(^3\), \(^4\)

Various Negro groups protested. When the School Board ignored these pleas and proceeded with plans for complete segregation, these groups carried several appeals to the Indiana Supreme Court.\(^5\) An NAACP-backed appeal, which sought to enjoin construction of Crispus Attucks on the grounds that it could not meet the requirements of "equality" under the "separate but equal" doctrine, was lost. In two cases involving Negro parents seeking court orders to enable their children to go to schools nearest their homes, the courts upheld the right of the school board to assign children to segregated schools regardless of the distances involved.\(^6\)

\(^3\)Ibid.
\(^4\)Herman Shibler, "Integration of the Indianapolis Public Schools," Indianapolis Times, January 14, 1957.
\(^5\)Thornbrough, op. cit., p. 56.
\(^6\)Ibid.
Another example of the prevailing sentiment in this period was a zoning ordinance passed by a Klan-controlled city council in 1923 designed to prevent Negroes from acquiring or residing in property in a white neighborhood. This ordinance was later declared unconstitutional by an Indianapolis judge.7

By 1929, the separation of races was almost complete. Not until six years later, 1935, did the state legislature pass a law requiring the Indianapolis school board to furnish free transportation for pupils required to attend segregated schools.8

Protests against segregation gained momentum after World War II. Though it was frequently pointed out that Indianapolis was the largest city in the North with a segregated school system, and that Negro veterans could not take advantage of educational opportunities open to them under the G. I. Bill of Rights (e.g. vocational subjects offered in white schools), the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners was still reluctant to abandon segregation. To a petition by Negro groups received in December of 1946, the School Board replied: "It would be unwise at this time

7Ibid., p. 33.
8Ibid., p. 37.
to make any material change in the well-established policy of our community in this matter.\textsuperscript{9}

By 1947, out of a total of eighty-one public elementary schools, fourteen were for Negroes, and fifty-nine were for whites. Eight were integrated involving 296 Negroes because of the financial difficulty presented in transporting these children to segregated schools.\textsuperscript{10}

**Events Leading Up to the 1949 Act**

Due to public reaction against racism generally after the Second World War, pressure to end segregation in Indiana began in earnest. Gary and Elkhart announced firm plans for desegregation. As indicated above, though the Indianapolis School Board had also felt the impact, they decided in favor of maintaining a segregated school system. The fight was carried to the state legislature where a bill was introduced in 1947 to abolish separate public schools based on race or color. The bill had the support of many groups including the NAACP, the CIO, and the Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council, as well

\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., p. 59.

as the Indianapolis press.\(^{11}\)

But the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners opposed the bill and, at the request of the Board, the General Superintendent testified against it. Part of the document sent by the Board to the Education Committee of the House of Representatives during the 1947 legislature is quoted as follows:

Since 1875 the City of Indianapolis through its Boards of School Commissioners has followed the general, but not absolute policy of providing separate schools for Negroes. The legality of such procedure has been tested and upheld several times by court decisions. The law gives the Board of School Commissioners broad powers in establishing and maintaining its schools, and for "districting and dividing the city for school purposes."

At present 14 elementary schools and one high school are being maintained for Negro pupils. These schools represent a capital investment of $3,233,612. In these schools there are 9,305 Negro pupils and 366 Negro employees, including 215 elementary teachers, 14 elementary school principals, 3 assistant principals, one assistant high school principal, 14 high school department heads, and 47 custodians, janitors, and matrons. Many of these teachers are entitled to indefinite contracts under the teacher tenure law of Indiana. There are ten elementary schools in which both Negro and white pupils are enrolled. In the past, as at present, when shifts in population have occurred, the Commissioners have had to consider such practical matters as available building facilities and feasibility of transportation of pupils in determining which schools they shall attend.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\)Thornbrough, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 42.

\(^{12}\)Williams and Ryan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 50
... Any change of school policy in regard to segregation would bring about dislocation in pupil distribution which might result in unbalanced use of school facilities. Furthermore, it would necessitate reassignment of school personnel which might seriously affect professional status and working conditions for many of these employees.

... The primary function of providing equitable, distinctive educational opportunities for each individual pupil in every school transcends in importance the issue of segregation. 13

To the statements in the document quoted in part above, the General Superintendent added:

The question of segregation in the public schools involves many factors of community-wide significance. It cannot be considered wisely without reference to current local practices in race relations in business and industrial life, in fraternal and religious organizations, recreational and character building agencies and in neighborhood relationships. 14

The desegregation bill was lost in the House when a motion to force it out of committee failed. 15 After its defeat, a campaign against segregation ensued. This was conducted by Negro and interracial organizations in the city, as well as church groups.

13 Shibler, loc. cit.
14 Thornbrough, loc. cit., p. 59.
15 Ibid., p. 43.
Three of the positions on the school board were contested by candidates opposing segregation. None of these candidates won in the 1948 election, but one of them, a Negro, carried twenty-four per cent of the votes cast. The Citizens School Committee had spent $19,500 on this election compared to only $500 spent by the ad hoc People's School Committee which lost. The Citizens School Committee had been organized in 1921 as an opposition group to the Ku Klux Klan, and had won every school board election since 1929.

In May of 1948, the Board of School Commissioners was presented a petition signed by almost a thousand persons recommending a proposal to:

1. Allow all elementary school children regardless of race to go to the school within their district, and
2. Allow all high school students, regardless of race, to attend a school of their choice.

When nothing was heard from the board regarding this proposal, the NAACP gave the school board a thirty day deadline for a statement of intention on the continuance of the policy of segregation. The board again made no reply, whereupon the NAACP announced its intention

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16 Personal Interview with Charles Preston (one of candidates), June 6, 1965.

17 Article in Indianapolis Times, January 12, 1964.
in October of 1948 to file an injunction suit in the Indianapolis Federal Court to force the School Board to abolish racial segregation. 18

Relevant to the situation at this time was the fact that population shifts were causing the Indianapolis schools to transfer a few Negroes to hitherto all-white schools. Though the school administration did this as quietly as possible, approximately 200 white parents from School 32 objected and kept their children out of school to protest. 19 Reasons for this were divided, but one parent reported to the papers that their school should not be a guinea pig, that if their school was to be integrated, all schools should be. 20

The Indianapolis Star commented in an editorial:

Even those who favor segregation must admit that Negro students should have equal school facilities, equal opportunities, to get sound instruction. If the facilities are not available in segregated schools and are available in white schools, it is only common sense to make use of them.

18 Williams and Ryan, loc. cit., p. 52.
19 Various articles appearing in Indianapolis Star during month of September, 1948.
20 Article in Indianapolis Star, September 24, 1948.
There are 14 schools in Indianapolis where Negro and white pupils are now enrolled. School 32 is no "guinea pig." A policy of segregated schools in Indianapolis was brought into existence during the Klan era that still leaves a stain upon our reputation for fairness and justice. Previously, mixed schools operated here without incident throughout the city.

Most reasonable white persons in this city know that the mixing of races in our schools is the just and economical way to run the school system. Unfortunately (others) have not had all the facts showing the heavy extra costs, the hardships, the resentments caused by keeping up separate schools. We hope the parents of the children at 32 will send all their children back to school.21

The lack of a definite stand by the Board of School Commissioners on the question of segregation brought additional opposition from the Negro community when the Board announced plans to take over the twenty-seven kindergartens from the Indianapolis Free Kindergarten Society. The kindergartens had been non-segregated, and it was feared that in their expansion program to include all five-year-olds, the School Board would extend their segregation policy.22

Threatened with the NAACP injunction suit in October of 1948, the board split on whether to make a public statement on intent of continuing segregated schools, or wait for

22Williams and Ryan, loc. cit., p. 53.
the suit to be filed. 23

The NAACP announced it would refrain from such action until the results of a fact-finding survey by the Indianapolis Community Relations Council were made known in the spring. The organization with other pressure groups directed their attention to the 1949 state legislature, and renewed attempts to pass the anti-segregation bill. Aware of growing sentiment for the bill, the school board no longer openly opposed it. 24

At the public hearings, two Indianapolis northside groups did testify against the proposed bill, using the argument that "legislation cannot change a social order." 25 There was also some circulation of racist pamphlets similar to that used by the Klan during the 1920's. 26

The bill passed the House early in the session by a vote of 58 to 21. In the Senate, it was forced out of committee when Governor Henry F. Schricker announced he favored the bill. On the floor, further efforts were made to kill the bill, but it was finally passed by a

23Ibid., p. 52.
24Ibid., p. 54.
25Thornbrough, loc. cit., p. 43.
26Ibid.
vote of 31 to 5. Thornbrough reported:

All five negative votes were cast by Republican senators, and thirteen members of that party refused to go on record either for or against it by walking out of the chamber and not voting.27

The complete Desegregation Act appears in Appendix A. of this study.

In compliance with the law, the General Superintendent submitted a desegregation plan on April 12, 1949, which applied to children entering kindergarten, the first semester of elementary school, and the first semester of high school, in September, 1949. By a new interpretation, junior high schools were to be considered as elementary schools.28 With this timetable, high schools would be completely desegregated at the end of four years, and elementary by the end of eight years.

Since all other pupils then enrolled in the public schools were to continue to attend the same schools subject to previous rules, new transfer policies announced seemed unclear to many people. District maps were not available till August, 1953.29

27 Ibid.
28 Williams and Ryan, op. cit., p. 56.
29 Ibid., p. 58.
Events Since the 1949 Act

Definite school boundaries were established in 1952 without regard to race, creed or color.\textsuperscript{30} The current Indianapolis neighborhood school policy was born, and applied to high schools as well as elementary schools.

A study of the 1953 district maps for elementary and high schools by Williams and Ryan's field research evoked the following comment:

The two-mile circle (for high schools) and the one-mile circle (for elementary schools) were distorted by topography and transportation features for the high school districts, and the four "optional" districts involving Attucks High School seemed to be more definitely related to the Negro residential areas than to a boundary circle based on distance, since another adjacent optional district, where the choice was either of two schools formerly for whites, was a white neighborhood. This new policy represented a move toward integration, but it still permitted a mixed arrangement in which the boundaries of districts could not be defined solely in terms of nearness to school. A sidelight on the freedom in school administration enjoyed by the board is that, although many civic organizations rallied to the support of the anti-segregation bill before it became law, their support and interest subsided and most of them were not heard from again. This made it possible for the board to have a relatively free hand in determining policy, for the school principals to act somewhat independently, and for both levels of administration to move slowly and conservatively in making changes.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30}George Ostheimer, \textit{A Report on Racial Integration}, (Indianapolis Public Schools, July 13, 1965), p. 34.

\textsuperscript{31}Williams and Ryan, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
From 1949 to 1953, only two law suits were filed against the Board of School Commissioners on the question of pupil transfers, and both cases were decided in favor of the Board as having authority over all transfers.\textsuperscript{32}

The first integrated high school classes were graduated in 1953. The process of integration had also reached the fifth grade by that fall.\textsuperscript{33} In several schools, pressure of enrollment made it necessary to speed up the desegregation timetable, so that by May, 1954, the date of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, Indianapolis was little, if any, affected by the momentous decision.

The Ostheimer report mentions an optional area from which pupils living in the neighborhood could attend any one of three schools (No. 26, 33, and 38) from 1953 to 1963. No reason was given for this option, rare for elementary schools. Beginning with the 1963-64 school year, definite boundary lines were drawn and the optional area eliminated.\textsuperscript{34}

"No one connected with the schools denied that

\textsuperscript{32}Ostheimer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{33}Williams and Ryan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{34}Ostheimer, \textit{op. cit.}.\"
Attucks High School remained for Negroes only or that the policy of the board was to keep it that way.\textsuperscript{35}

Faculty integration in Indianapolis did not begin until 1951, and has shown a steady increase since that time. This is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

The Present Situation

The process of desegregation in Indianapolis proceeded more smoothly than had been expected; but for many whites, integrated schools became an impetus for moving and hastened the "flight to the suburbs." \textsuperscript{36} Resulting population shifts affected the integration picture. The policy of neighborhood school districts became generally accepted even though (perhaps in part, because) the policy resulted in segregated and resegregated schools due to residential patterns. Nevertheless, with the exception of a few rumblings, the years 1949 to 1960 were quiet ones in regard to integration.

But out of this situation arose what came to be known locally as "the Shortridge problem." This became Indianapolis' formal introduction to the national problem of de facto segregation.

\textsuperscript{35}Williams and Ryan, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{36}Thornbrough, \textit{loc. cit.} p. 62.
Shortridge High School, once acclaimed as one of the twenty-five best in the nation, found itself with a rapidly increasing Negro student body. Starting in 1960, the Shortridge parent-teacher association began making requests, repeated many times thereafter, of the school administration and the school board to make some effort toward halting or reversing the mounting trend. Among the many specific suggestions recommended, the two most recurring were: (1) to redistrict Shortridge, and (2) to make Shortridge into an academic high school. As far back as 1956, the principal of Shortridge, anxious to maintain the academic standing, had recommended a screening program for entering eighth graders.

In the continuing climate of inaction by the school boards, an interplay of white exodus and Negro influx ensued. Though the school was still predominately white as late as June, 1963, the fall enrollment indicated the Negroes had reached a majority. The percentage of


38 Personal interview with Mrs. Claude Otten, Shortridge PTA President, 1963-64, June 10, 1965.

Negroes at Shortridge continued a climb at the rate of approximately eight per cent a year. 40

Though the incumbent school board had four years to wrestle with this problem which had been called to their attention in 1960, during a time when other cities were making efforts to resolve similar de facto situations, the outgoing board left this as unfinished business in the summer of 1964.

The composition of the new school board included two holdovers and five new members. One of the new members was the first Negro woman ever to serve on the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners. The only other Negro had served from January, 1956 through December, 1959. 41

The Citizens School Committee had picked all the school boards since 1929 with little or no opposition. For the first time, however, one of the positions was won by a member of the opposing slate. This slate had been supported by the Non-Partisans for Better Schools, a group committed to greater integration in the public schools. This organization had been originally set up in 1959 as the Committee

41 Telephone Interview with Office of Secretary, Board of School Commissioners, June 9, 1965.
for Better Schools, but the name was changed to avoid confusion with the Citizens School Committee. Although the slate had won only one of the positions, its share of the total votes was the largest ever won by an opposing group to the Citizens School Committee.\textsuperscript{42}

The president of the new board appointed an \textit{ad hoc} Planning Committee of three board members and representatives from the school administration office to study and make recommendations regarding the Shortridge issue. The \textit{Indianapolis Star} in carrying the announcement of a public meeting set for August 10, 1964 said:

\begin{quote}
Shortridge High School has been one of the centers for the recent controversy over de facto segregation in the city's public schools. Groups ranging from the militant civil rights organizations to the Shortridge alumni associations have been urging the Board of School Commissioners to adopt policies that would prevent Shortridge from becoming an all-Negro high school.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

The newspapers reported that over four hundred persons turned out for this meeting. Among the many groups represented were the NAACP, Indiana State Civil Rights Commission, Indianapolis Human Rights Commission, and two Shortridge neighborhood associations.

\textsuperscript{42} Personal Interview with Mrs. Ralph Streeter (Member of Non-Partisans' Slate), July 1, 1965.
\textsuperscript{43} Article in \textit{Indianapolis Star}, August 7, 1964.
Primary attention, however, was focused on the Shortridge PTA representative who had suggested a concrete plan of redistricting. Specifically this plan recommended the removal of two predominately-Negro feeder schools (41 and 44) from Shortridge to be replaced by two all-white schools (1 and 11). The latter two had been originally Shortridge feeder schools before Arlington High School opened in 1961.44

Schools 41 and 44 seemed to favor the proposed change as an answer to the de facto segregation problem and offered no strong objection to being assigned to either Washington High School or to Northwest as proposed. Some 44 patrons said that actually Washington was closer than Shortridge for them. Patrons at 41 overwhelmingly endorsed the proposal redistricting them for Northwest, a school much further than the current option of Attucks-Shortridge, if it meant furthering integration.45

Schools 1 and 11 were more adamant at being removed from the new Arlington area. Since door to door mileage to Shortridge from the feeder schools was a fraction less than to Arlington, it appeared reasons for the objection

44 Article in Indianapolis Times, August 12, 1965.
45 Article in Indianapolis Star, August 19, 1965.
were mainly other than transportation. Patrons of 11 were quoted as saying: "Redistricting of 11 or any other school will fail to accomplish the purpose of racial balance at Shortridge." They indicated that the exodus of white families would only increase as the Shortridge district lines were moved further and further out. These parents suggested open-enrollment as an alternative whereby a student may apply to any city high school where enrollment is under capacity. This plan was similar to one operating in the Detroit schools.46

Three demonstrations occurred during this period. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) stationed pickets outside Shortridge one day to protest segregation, and also staged a sit-in at the school administration offices. Shortridge students, both white and Negro, marched three miles from the school to a school board meeting as a last minute attempt to influence the board to tackle the problem more directly.47

The recommendation from the Planning Committee to the Board was merely to give additional options to all schools involved (41, 44, 1, and 11). The hope was that

46 Article in Indianapolis Times, August 16, 1964.
some whites from 1 and 11 might elect to go to Shortridge, and some Negroes destined for Shortridge might select Washington or Northwest. The recommendation was made public so interested citizens could express themselves for or against the proposal before the official board meeting scheduled a week later.

When many negative feelings were expressed, the Planning Committee presented for adoption on September 29, 1964, a limited open-enrollment policy patterned after the Detroit program. This had been the proposal originally suggested by representatives of School 11. The policy was passed unanimously. (See Appendix F, "Reason 8."

A local radio-TV station announced in its editorial the next day:

The Indianapolis School Board has taken its first step—but we hope not its last—to deal with the problems of de facto segregation in the city schools... But we are disappointed that the Board didn't acknowledge that this policy change is related in any way to a desire to do something about de facto segregation. And it gave no indication it recognizes the problem—or intends to do any more about it.

On October 14, 1964, the school board voted to eliminate "optional" districts relative to high school choice, to become effective with the spring semester. This action revealed facts heretofore not generally known about the districting system. Eleven districts had had a choice of two or more high schools. Schools 26, 29, 37, and 56 (all-Negro or predominately-Negro schools) had been permitted the option to attend Crispus Attucks even though they were completely surrounded with Technical High School feeder schools.

The eastern half of School 70's district (a preponderantly white, Shortridge feeder school) had been permitted a Broad Ripple option in the last few years, even though many of the residences involved were within walking distance of Shortridge. Some pupils lived on bus lines directly to Shortridge, but chose to walk several blocks to a Broad Ripple bus line. This particular option had been a point of dispute with Shortridge parents since 1960.

Schools 32 and 41 (both predominately-Negro schools), feeders to Attucks, lost their option to Shortridge.

51 Articles in Indianapolis Times and Indianapolis News, October 14, 1964.
52 Ibid.
53 Letter to Editor, Indianapolis Times, June 4, 1965.
54 Mrs. Claude Otten, loc. cit.
School 63 (an all-Negro Washington feeder school) lost its option to Attucks.55

Three all-white elementary schools were established as Arlington feeders. Schools 89 and 99 lost their option to Tech, and School 88 lost its choice of Howe and Tech which had been part of a three-way option.56

In light of the community interest at this point, a Seminar on Equal Education Opportunity was co-sponsored by the Indianapolis Commission on Human Rights and the Indiana Regional Office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This meeting, by invitation only, was held on November 16, 1964 in the Marott Hotel, and attended by members of the Board of School Commissioners, selected school staff, and members of the Human Rights Commission's Education Committee. 57

Resource persons in the Seminar were knowledgeable school personnel from the systems of Philadelphia, Kansas City (Missouri), and Denver. They stated that their cities

56 Ibid.
57 Article in Indianapolis Times, November 17, 1964.
as well as Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, New York, and St. Louis were using all or part of the following methods in order to do something about unequal educational opportunity: 58

(1) A policy statement
(2) A Citizens Committee
(3) Plans for arriving at some better racial balance in the schools
(4) Plans for compensatory education

The Indianapolis News, commenting on the seminar, stated in an editorial November 19:

Though the interest and enterprise of the two of the two sponsoring groups are to be commended, the lasting value of the seminar is questionable. The meeting's dominate theme seemed to be that the Indianapolis school board must "do something" about achieving "racial balance"; this sentiment, in fact, seemed implicit in the proceedings. That proposition is certainly open to serious question. The legitimate function of any school board is simply to oversee the educative process, making sure that every child in the public school receives the best educational opportunity—no more, no less. The school board should not be sidetracked from this task by trying to administer various schemes to alter artificially the racial composition of neighborhood schools... The school board president has stressed many times that the school board has no policy of any sort based on race. That is the equitable way, and that is the way it should be. As things appear now, most school board members are still skeptical about establishing a citizens advisory committee that plainly would call for policies based on race. Their skepticism is well-grounded. 59

58 From mimeographed notes of Seminar, November 16, 1964.
59 Editorial in Indianapolis News, November 19, 1964
On December 17, 1964, The Indianapolis chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality urged the Planning Committee of the school board to take the following steps to further integration:

(1) Pupils from Schools 1 and 11 be required to attend Shortridge High School,

(2) Pupils from Schools 41 and 44 go to Northwest High School, and

(3) Pupils from Schools 70 and 86 attend Broad Ripple High School.

They also urged that the open enrollment plan be dropped and that the board work toward integration so that the ratio of Negroes to white would be no less than ten per cent and no more than fifty per cent. 60

No decision was made on the CORE request. The Planning Committee explained that their function was to listen to the delegation and help clarify thinking by bringing to the fore fundamental questions which many months of dialogue with CORE may have obscured. The Planning Committee stated two central issues were brought into focus by the meeting with CORE:

(1) In the event that benefits can be demonstrated, do these benefits justify a continuous program of pupil integrated status?

(2) If the Board adopted the position that a program of integration has positive educational benefits and that these benefits are of sufficient quant-

60 Copy of CORE statement, December 17, 1964.
ity and quality to justify a permanent administrative program to obtain them, can the ways and means of getting the job done be found? 61

When the 94th General Assembly convened in January, 1965, desegregation interests centered attention on two bills proposed by the Indiana Civil Rights Commission. One was a state-wide open housing bill; the other was an amendment to the 1949 school desegregation act. The amendment was designed to spell out the intent of the earlier law and to list for the benefit of school boards and school authorities specific means to alleviate problems of de facto segregation. 62

One spokesman for the bill at the public hearing said:

The intent of the 1949 law was "desegregation" just as the intent of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling was "desegregation"—and with all deliberate speed. The Indiana Act is now sixteen years old; the Supreme Court decision, eleven years old. Yet one full generation of Negro children have already passed through Indiana de facto segregated public schools, from kindergarten through twelfth grade; and a second generation is already a third of its way through. Under the present law, school boards have been reluctant to eliminate de facto segregation.

62 Personal Interview with Harold Hatcher, Director, Indiana Civil Rights Commission, January 5, 1965.
Indianapolis still has one all-Negro high school and another is headed in the same direction unless measures are taken to prevent this... The amendment merely clarifies and strengthens the original intent of the 1949 law. 63

Though somewhat watered down, both bills were passed and signed by the Governor on March 8, 1965. The school bill amendment had passed the House with a vote of 92 to 1, and the Senate by a vote of 44 to 2. 64 A copy of this amendment to the 1949 law appears in Appendix B, following the 1949 Act with a minor 1955 change in Appendix A.

On the day following the Governor's signing of the school bill, at a regular meeting of the Board of School Commissioners, in an unexpected move, the Negro board member requested that the board draw up a policy statement regarding school integration. A similar request had been made in the fall by the Non-Partisan member of the board, but that motion had died for want of a second. This time, after only an hour's discussion, the commissioners voted 5 to 2 to do so. The motion called for the Superintendent to prepare such a policy statement for the consideration and ultimate action of the board. 65

63 Personal Notes Taken at Public Hearing, January 21, 1965.
64 Telephone Verification to Indiana Legislative Bureau, July 29, 1965.
65 Article in Indianapolis Times, March 10, 1965.
For the next eleven weeks, no further mention was made of this policy statement. In the meantime, high school transfer requests were in and had been tabulated for 1965 fall enrollment. These were presented to the board by the Superintendent on April 5, 1965. An analysis of these transfers is presented in detail in Chapter V of this study. It need only be mentioned here that the Shortridge situation seemed not alleviated, but worsened, as had been predicted by civil rights groups. More white pupils in Shortridge feeder schools were using the open-enrollment transfer clause to go to Broad Ripple than Negro students were to avoid segregated situations.

At the request of one of the commissioners, the Superintendent read the long awaited policy statement on May 25, 1965:

The Board of School Commissioners of the City of Indianapolis has for many years attempted to provide a framework for the development of good, effective relationships among men of all races.

Policies of the Board have been made apparent in many ways through the administrative procedures now in effect. These procedures are consistent with each other and touch each phase of the Indianapolis Public School System.

(1) Basic to all school organization is the deep commitment we have to the concept of the neigh-

66 Personal Interview with J. Griffin Crump, Director, Indianapolis Human Rights Commission, May 14, 1965.
borhood school for a variety of reasons, none of which involve race.

(2) Selection and employment of both certificated and non-certificated personnel must be on the basis of needs of the system and qualifications of the applicants. The race, creed or color of the applicant must not be a factor in his employment or assignment.

(3) The providing of physical plant, equipment and educational supplies as well as personnel must be on the basis of the needs of the students. The same high quality educational environment must be provided to all students.

The Board of School Commissioners is sensitive to the existence of many community problems and desires to approach each with an open mind and a spirit of cooperation to make most valuable the learning experiences of the youth of our city.

The motion to adopt the policy was lost by a 4 to 3 vote. The dissenters felt the policy as written was inadequate for the situation and vocally said so. The Negro board member called past progress in integration in the school system "tokenism" and stated support for a "progressive program of integration." A second member said the statement "is like saying we are for motherhood and against sin." The third negative voter stated: "The policy should state the objectives of complete integration. No school system has solved this problem but that doesn't mean we shouldn't try." The fourth member read his reply which

comprised five mimeographed pages. He affirmed that some of the board members were disappointed with the lack of vision and leadership which the statement represented and added: "The time has come for an end to double-talk. Never has clear expression and simple honesty been more needed in dealing with emotion-laden and complex problems."68

The board decided to meet as a committee of the whole and write a new policy. But the cleavage between two opposing forces was becoming more apparent and was soon manifested in local editorials. The Indianapolis News backing the minority vote announced in its editorial, May 27, under the caption, "A Puzzling Vote":

The Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners should reconsider a policy statement on school integration it voted to reject Tuesday evening...Any school board policy paper on school integration should be in essence similar to the one rejected this week. The policy statement voted upon...said simply that race is not in any way a consideration in the operation of the school system...Its assertions are eminently fair. Isn't it the goal of American society, even of the most radical civil rights advocates, to reach the point where race, color or creed are not issues in the conduct of normal affairs? This should be especially true in the case of education. And if the local school board should depart from its traditional policy of administering the schools and start trying to administer a sociological laboratory, then it must follow that less attention

will be paid to the basic matter of education in this city, and the level of education will drop commensurately. 69

WFBM-TV, a local radio-TV station, took a different outlook on the results of the meeting, and said in its May 26 editorial:

Indianapolis School Superintendent George Ostheimer took from March 9th to May 25th to write a 213 word statement on school integration policy that says practically nothing. It says the Board "is sensitive to the existence of many community problems and desires to approach each with an open mind." And that is about all. Specific areas of concern were not even mentioned. Fortunately the statement was rejected by the School Board...Four members--a bare majority--knew that more was called for. And they voted these convictions. As a result, the Board will sit as a committee of the whole and attempt to draft a new and, we hope, meaningful policy statement... The opportunity available in the all-Negro schools in Indianapolis is not equal to that in most of the other schools. And race relations in this city are bound to suffer as long as the School Board will neither admit that there is such a thing as de facto segregation, nor commit itself to doing something about it. We don't claim that there are any simple answers to the racial problems. But we're glad the School Board is finally willing to adopt a statement admitting that there are problems. And we hope they won't take another two and a half months to do it. 70

Echoing Negro sentiment, the Indianapolis Recorder, Negro newspaper editorialized the situation:


Then there is the hoary chestnut that race and color should not even be recognized in formulating school policies. The correct statement of this is that pupils and teachers should not be discriminated against because of their race. Although it may not please the simple-minded, the truth is that the road to a raceless society lies through a great deal of consideration of race and the harmful part it is playing now. The Superintendent's rejected statement was a masterpiece of non-recognition, as it does not even recognize its subject matter, namely integration. 71

The Superintendent was instructed by the board to make an updated report on racial integration similar to the one he had made for the prior board in January, 1964. It was felt that the new policy statement should be based on the most current information. The requested report was submitted on July 13, 1965, when board election of new officers was also held.

In response to a renewed attempt by the Shortridge PTA Educational Standards Committee to meet with the entire board—a request that had gone unheeded for the past year—the new board president immediately granted the request and the meeting set for July 21. 72

At this meeting, Shortridge parents again pleaded

72 Personal Interview with Mrs. Ralph Streeter, Chairman, Shortridge PTA Educational Standards Committee, June 22, 1965.
for the school board to make some effort to keep Shortridge from becoming the second all-Negro high school in Indianapolis. They made a series of proposals to reverse the enrollment trend which included: (1) redistricting, (2) removing the junior high sections from Shortridge, (3) amending the open-enrollment policy to stop the exodus of white pupils from Shortridge, (4) announcing a meaningful integration policy from the board, and (5) establishing a reading test for all incoming ninth graders.73

No decision was made at this meeting, but the president of the board stated the proposals would be given due consideration, and an answer to each of the points proposed in the near future.

A new integration policy statement, replacing the rejected one submitted by the Superintendent in May, was presented at the July 27, 1965 meeting. This statement is presented in full in Appendix C. The motion to adopt the statement was passed 5 to 1. The Negro member was unable to attend the meeting, and her vote was not recorded. 74

The lone dissenting vote came from the recently re­placed school board president who explained:

73Article in Indianapolis Times, July 22, 1965.
Paragraphs two and three make race a factor in school districting and employment. Both contradict present policy and are a form of discrimination. The school board operates an educational program, not a sociological project. 75

Though considered by most interested groups as more far-reaching than the first policy rejected by the board, this statement of policy on integration was repudiated by the NAACP. In a prepared statement released by the Negro organization's education committee, its chairman said in part:

The Board...has shown by its issuance and adoption of a "policy statement" with reference to the problem of school integration on July 27, 1965, its unwillingness to either admit the seriousness and the urgency of the problem of de facto segregation in our public schools or to take affirmative and forthright action to eliminate de facto segregation and to work for integration to the fullest possible extent. The statement of policy is inadequate, therefore, to meet the needs of our city at a time when we can ill afford to trifle with a responsibility which so vitally affects the lives of all our children and youth...We therefore call upon our School Board to expand and enlarge its statement of policy with reference to de facto segregation...so as to make a definitive declaration to the city of Indianapolis of the School Board's unambiguous position on the value of integration education in our public schools. 76

The Indianapolis Recorder, agreeing with NAACP, stated in their editorial page:

75 Ibid.

...We contemplate an observation of an exemplary, high-placed citizen who charged the school board with "weaving a tangled web" of defection around the positive issue or subject at hand...The statement of policy is encumbering and debilitating in regard to the issue...It conveys that the school board has indicated an unwillingness to commit itself on the problems of desegregation in our schools. In generalities, some ambiguous, some negative, and some academic, the board has side-stepped the crucial issue of de facto segregation in our public schools. We must take a stand against pragmatism arrayed around the singular issue at the expense of truth. 77

WFBM-TV took a more optimistic viewpoint and commended the school board and stated in their editorial on July 28:

They have finally acknowledged officially that racial problems do exist in the city and the public schools. And they've committed themselves to work for "an integrated, unified society."...The statement was a long time coming. And in itself it doesn't solve any of the problems created by de facto segregation in the schools. But it is a meaningful statement adopted, we believe, in good faith...But the Board must now tackle some of the specific problems themselves--problems as how to restore a workable racial balance at Shortridge High School. And this won't be easy. 78

The station added they felt the adoption of the policy was a necessary first step, but that the Board should now appoint a citizens advisory committee to assist it in

77 Editorial in Indianapolis Recorder, August 6, 1965.
Also editorializing on the adoption of the new integration policy statement, the Indianapolis Times granted it was a "starting point" but that it neatly "ducked specific proposals for effecting increased integration in specific schools." The newspaper concluded:

The burden now shifts to (the Superintendent) to make an immediate study and to submit periodic reports to the board on his definition of neighborhood school districts...This is a time for civil rights supporters to analyze and consolidate their gains...The months ahead will measure the sincerity of the statement adopted this week. 79

---

79 Editorial in Indianapolis Times, July 29, 1965
CHAPTER V
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The history of events which made up "The Indianapolis Story" of racial desegregation in its public schools has been reviewed. Against this setting, statistical data regarding pupils and teachers, and informational data pertaining to the integration problem were accumulated from the Indianapolis Public Schools administration offices, and examined. Involved were 106 elementary schools, two junior high school sections housed in two of the high schools, and ten high schools. With the exception of possible extrapolations, the data and trends tallied and analyzed ended with statistics available as of June, 1965. The findings of the researcher, after the tabulation of this data, are presented in this chapter in textual, tabular and graphic form.

Much of the trend information for both pupil and teacher personnel were comparatively revealed by categories of "year," "school," "race" and "enrollment." Additional groupings were defined by headings marked: "all-white," "all-Negro," "predominately-white," and "predominately-Negro." Findings were presented in independent as well as composite form.
Though summary figures for the years 1949 to 1960 were concentrated in the years covered by the Jett research, detailed information was acquired for the years since that time. Emphasis in the main was put on the 1964-65 school year in order to delineate the most current position of Indianapolis public school desegregation.

For the most part, pupil statistics were as of June of each school year, and reflected total enrollment during the year including even pupils who may have enrolled for as little as one day. Resultant June figures for all schools were somewhat inflated due to the transientness among families today. For example, for the 1964-65 school year, Shortridge High School had a September enrollment of 2455, yet their June figures indicated a 2760 enrollment.

Teacher data, less vulnerable to large scale changes, were acquired as of September of the school year, and did not mirror any replacements during the year. Pupil data, consequently, lagged behind teacher data by about nine months.

For the purpose of clarity, this chapter was subdivided into several parts: general background data, elementary pupil data, high school pupil data, elementary teacher data, high school teacher data, and school board policies regarding pupil transfers, school districts, and integration generally.
General Background Data

Not only pertinent, but primary to this study was the racial composition of the city's population, and the trend which was apparent. Table I presents this information. The table shows that the Negro population in Indianapolis has increased approximately ten per cent during the sixteen years covered by this research. (See NOTE below.)

TABLE I
CUMULATIVE INDIANAPOLIS POPULATION SHOWING NEGRO PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>386,972</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>427,173</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>476,258</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 (est.)</td>
<td>515,000</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chamber of Commerce Census Report

Elementary Pupil Data

Figure 1 is a reproduction of the 1963-64 map of the Indianapolis elementary school districts. Schools are indicated by number. District lines have since been redrawn for several schools, and new maps are scheduled for the 1965-1966 school year.

NOTE: In Making of the President 1964, Theodore H. White stated: "In 1960, one out of ten Americans was non-white; in 1964, one out of nine was; in 1972, one out of eight will be. Today one out of seven Americans under fourteen is non-white; for infants under a year, one out of six is."
Figure 1
Map of the Elementary School Districts
School City of Indianapolis
1964-65
(Reproduction of 1963-64 District Map)
Due to a number of factors such as size of school plant and density of population, not all schools contain all grades from kindergarten through eighth grades (referred to as "K through 8" or just K-8). Three are just junior high schools (7-8). Some contain only five (K-5) or six grades (K-6). The complete breakdown of elementary schools assignment by grade appears in Appendix D. The same thing is graphically shown in Figure 2. The figure reveals that very few of the inner city schools have all eight grades in one school building. Schools in the most recently incorporated areas of the city also seem to have some schools with only grades through the sixth.

Table II shows the total elementary school enrollments from 1957 through 1965, noting the number and percentages of Negroes. A comparison with the figures in Table I indicates the Negro school percentage is about five per cent higher than its ratio in the general population.
Figure 2.
Map of Elementary School Assignments
School City of Indianapolis
1964-65

Key

K-8

K-6 (Except #76, K-7)

7-8 (#101, SHS, and HEWHS in addition to #17 and #108 shown)

Other (#24, K-4; #19, 1-4; #48, K-5; #99, K-5)
TABLE II

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT SHOWING NEGRO NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE 1957 to 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Negro No.</th>
<th>% Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>56,780</td>
<td>13,260</td>
<td>23.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>58,436</td>
<td>14,312</td>
<td>24.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>61,900</td>
<td>17,167</td>
<td>27.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>64,590</td>
<td>18,204</td>
<td>28.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>67,417</td>
<td>19,636</td>
<td>29.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>69,376</td>
<td>20,657</td>
<td>29.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>70,845</td>
<td>21,538</td>
<td>30.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As of June of each calendar year.

Figure 3 graphically shows the elementary schools in the 1964-65 school year which were "all-white," "all-Negro," "predominately-white," and "predominately-Negro." Broken down in these four categories, these schools were as follows:

All-white: Total: 31  

All-Negro: Total: 9 
4, 17, 23, 24, 40, 42, 56, 63, 87.

Predominately-white: Total: 52  
1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 30, 33, 34, 39, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 62, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91, 94, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 112.
Figure 3.
Map of Elementary Schools Pupil Distribution by Racial Categories 1964-1965

Key


All-white

All-Negro

Predominately-white

Predominately-Negro
Predominately-Negro: Total 17

5, 10, 26, 27, 29, 32, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 44, 45, 60, 64, 69, 76.

A cumulative distribution of these same categories in the Indianapolis elementary schools from 1947 to 1965 is shown in Table III. A steady increase of all-white schools came with the building of new schools until 1965 when the trend was suddenly reversed. Predominately-white schools showed a large increase in 1965 which probably reflected the decrease shown by the all-white schools. All-Negro and predominately-Negro have shown a slight increase through the years until 1965 revealed a decrease of two predominately-Negro schools.

No clear-cut trend is evident in Table III other than the fact that all-Negro and predominately-Negro schools have remained somewhat constant in number, and the increase of Negroes in the total elementary school population is mirrored primarily in the number of previously all-white schools.

Enough changes are revealed in the 1964-65 school year that it might be the beginning of a reversal of former trends, but this remains to be seen.
TABLE III
CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BY RACE CATEGORIES, 1947-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>AW</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>PW</th>
<th>PN</th>
<th>Total Mixed</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AW - All White
AN - All Negro
PW - Predominately White
PN - Predominately Negro

*Resource showed discrepancy. Most logical figures used.

Percentagewise, the 1965 elementary school ratio was shown to be as follows: all-white, 28.44 per cent; all-Negro, 8.26 per cent; predominately-white, 47.71 per cent; and predominately-Negro, 15.59 per cent. When the all-white and the predominately-white schools were coupled, the total was 76.15 per cent; while the coupling of the all-Negro and predominately-Negro schools was 23.85 per cent.

The foregoing percentages pertained to school ratios. Total pupil ratios revealed still another picture. Table IV disclosed the number and percentage of pupils in segregated and integrated elementary schools for the school year,
1964-65. Although it appeared at first glance that a relatively high (64.03 per cent of the white pupils and 77.88 per cent of the Negro) ratio of elementary children are in integrated schools, a recheck of the individual school ratios revealed that approximately half of the so-called integrated schools had "token" integration, with just one or a few of a minority group. "Tokenly" integrated schools were not excluded from the total in Table IV.

TABLE IV
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ELEMENTARY PUPILS IN SEGREGATED AND INTEGRATED SCHOOLS IN JUNE, 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>In Segregated Schools</th>
<th>In Integrated Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>17,738</td>
<td>35.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>4,765</td>
<td>22.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>22,503</td>
<td>31.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further, if, as one judge has ruled,¹ schools having over fifty per cent Negro were considered segregated, then Indianapolis would have had fifty-seven segregated elementary schools, and only fifty-two integrated schools, in the school year 1964-65.

As mentioned above, not all Indianapolis elementary schools have all eight grades. Due to lack of facilities and overcrowding in some of the schools, eleven schools feed

their junior high sections into two of the high schools, Shortridge and Wood. Schools 60 and 76 sent their junior high sections to the Shortridge division; and Schools 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 22, 25, 28, and 31 sent theirs to Wood for the last few years.

Table V shows how these sections totaled with a further breakdown by race from 1961 to 1965. With the building of new School 110 by January of 1966 to relieve the overcrowding situation at School 76, the number of junior high sections at Shortridge could conceivably be reduced.

**TABLE V**

JUNIOR HIGH DIVISIONS AT SHORTRIDGE AND WOOD, BY RACE, 1961-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shortridge</th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
High School Pupil Data

Figure 4 is a map of the current high school districts in Indianapolis. High schools are indicated by name.

Table VI discloses the high school enrollments from 1957 to 1965, noting also the number and percentage of Negroes. A comparison with Table I revealed that the Negro high school percentage was 3.66 per cent higher than the ratio in the general population in 1964. A further comparison with Table II showed that the Negro high school enrollment was closing the gap with Negro grade school enrollment, being only 2.34 per cent behind by June, 1965.

TABLE VI

HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT SHOWING NEGRO NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE 1957 to 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Total Enrollment</th>
<th>No. Negro</th>
<th>% Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>18,207</td>
<td>3,260</td>
<td>17.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>18,466</td>
<td>3,925</td>
<td>21.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>19,229</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>22.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>21,336</td>
<td>4,803</td>
<td>22.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>23,615</td>
<td>5,928</td>
<td>25.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>25,246</td>
<td>6,463</td>
<td>25.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>26,019</td>
<td>7,302</td>
<td>28.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*June figures.
Figure 4.
Map of High School Districts
School City of Indianapolis

(Reproduction of 1964-65 District Map)
Figure 5 graphically shows the high school districts for the 1964-65 school year categorized as to: all-Negro, predominately-Negro, predominately-white, and less than one per cent Negro. These schools were as follows:

All-Negro: Attucks
Predominately-Negro: Shortridge
Less than 1% Negro: Northwest, Broad Ripple, Arlington, and Howe

The June, 1965 enrollment figures of Negroes and whites in these same high school districts are shown graphically in Figure 6. As indicated before in this study, these figures reflect all enrollments during the school year and are not the actual number of pupils in attendance in June. For example, the two Negroes recorded for Northwest withdrew after only one week in attendance in January. Except for those few days, Northwest was an all-white high school in 1964-65.

A cumulative distribution of high schools by race categories for the years 1947 to 1965 is shown in Table VII. The most obvious trend revealed by a study of this table was a trend toward a second segregated high school.

2 Figure 6 is a reproduction of a map appearing in the Indianapolis Times, July 18, 1965.
Figure 5.
Map of High Schools Pupil Distribution by Racial Categories 1964-65

Key

- All-Negro
- Predominately-Negro
- Predominately-White
- Less Than 1% Negro
Figure 6.
Map of High School Enrollment Totals by Race 1964-65

(Reproduction of map appearing in Indianapolis Times, July 18, 1965)
### Table VII

**Cumulative Distribution of High Schools by Race Categories, 1948-1965**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>AW</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>PW</th>
<th>PN</th>
<th>Total Mixed</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>0*</td>
<td>0***</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1***</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>0*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1****</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>0**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1****</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Broad Ripple had one Negro enrolled.

**Northwest had two Negroes enrolled during one week only in January, 1965. Broad Ripple had four Negroes.

***Attucks had one white pupil enrolled in 1957.

****Shortridge Negro enrollment surpassed white enrollment in 1963-64 school year.

**AW** - All-White  
**AN** - All-Negro  
**PW** - Predominately-White  
**PN** - Predominately-Negro

Table VIII presents the individual high school total enrollments with race distribution both by number and percentages. Negro numbers and percentages are in descending order.
TABLE VIII
INDIVIDUAL HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS
WITH RACE DISTRIBUTIONS, JUNE 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School</th>
<th>White Enrollment</th>
<th>White No.</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Black Enrollment</th>
<th>Black No.</th>
<th>Black %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attucks</td>
<td>2611</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2611</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge</td>
<td>2760</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>26.78</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>73.22</td>
<td>73.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>5302</td>
<td>3637</td>
<td>68.60</td>
<td>1665</td>
<td>31.40</td>
<td>31.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2064</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>84.63</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>17.37</td>
<td>17.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>79.20</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>20.80</td>
<td>20.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>2563</td>
<td>2366</td>
<td>92.31</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe</td>
<td>2215</td>
<td>2190</td>
<td>98.87</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>3171</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>99.34</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad Ripple</td>
<td>1641</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>99.76</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>99.89</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other **</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>99.78</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two Negroes in attendance for only one week in January, 1965.
**James E. Roberts School, Riley Hospital, Juvenile Center, Central State, and Homebound.

A total of 4632 or 63.43 per cent of the Negroes were enrolled in two Indianapolis high schools (Attucks and Shortridge). A total of 6297 or 86.23 per cent of the Negro pupils were in three of the Indianapolis high schools (Attucks, Shortridge and Technical). The balance, 13.27 per cent, of the Negro pupils were scattered throughout the remaining seven high schools, with four of these high schools having one per cent or less Negro student body.

A study of the same high schools in the Jett study, disclosed almost identical percentages in 1957 for the three
with the largest majority of Negroes (Attucks, Shortridge and Tech). Considering that in 1957, there were two less high schools and seven per cent less Negroes in the high schools, a discernible trend seemed to be one of greater segregation of Negroes in the high schools since that date.

This trend was also visible from a study of the percentage of white pupils at Shortridge in 1957 as compared to the percentage in 1965. In 1957, Shortridge enrolled fourteen percent of the total white high school population; in 1965, this figure dropped to 2.84 per cent.

For purposes of further comparison, in 1965, 63.54 per cent of the Negro pupils were in five integrated high schools (Shortridge, Technical, Washington, Wood, and Manual); 35.75 per cent were in a segregated school (Attucks); and only .71 per cent in "token" schools (Northwest, Broad Ripple, Arlington, and Howe). The white percentage for the same high school breakdown involved 52.79 per cent in the integrated schools, and 47.21 per cent in the schools predominantly white.

In essence, it may be said that almost half of the

---

white high school pupils and over one-third of the Negro pupils were in virtually segregated schools. Should Shortridge also become all-Negro, the Negro percentage in segregated high schools would double, and rise to two-thirds of the total Negro high school enrollment.

Table IX compares high school capacities with September, 1964, enrollment. Also shown are the deviations from capacities. Manual and Arlington showed the greatest overcrowding, while Shortridge, Washington, Broad Ripple and Northwest (in that order) showed the greatest number of openings. A good part of the deviation at Shortridge was filled by the junior high sections housed there. Wood's junior high sections were counted in with their total in this table.

**TABLE IX**

HIGH SCHOOL CAPACITIES COMPARED WITH SEPTEMBER 1964 ENROLLMENTS SHOWN WITH DEVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
<th>Sept. Enrollment</th>
<th>Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>2455</td>
<td>-345*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>-267*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad Ripple</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>-226*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>-137*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>4800</td>
<td>4736</td>
<td>64*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attucks</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>2269</td>
<td>-31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>2300**</td>
<td>2333</td>
<td>33*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2041</td>
<td>41*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>2958</td>
<td>158*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>2377</td>
<td>177*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Schools having open enrollment for fall, 1965.

**Includes capacity of new building not yet completed.
In the spring of 1965, the school administration announced the following openings for schools under capacity:

- Broad Ripple: 110
- Washington: 100
- Shortridge: 50
- Northwest: 40

This was in accordance with the new open-enrollment policy explained earlier in this study, and to be discussed further in this chapter in section "F" entitled "School Board and Administration Policies."

### Elementary Teacher Data

In 1964, the Indianapolis school system employed a total of 2611 elementary school teachers, 633 of which were Negroes. Though Negro teachers had been hired for many years, it was not until 1951 that integration of teaching staff began to take place. Starting with only three Negro teachers in schools originally with all-white staffs in 1951, the trend followed a steady increase till the number reached 188 in 1964. This 188 represented 29.19 per cent of the total Negro teachers in the elementary schools. The balance, 70.81 per cent of the Negro teachers were in schools with all-Negro staffs; these totaled 445.

---


In contrast, 393 or 18.88 per cent of the white teachers taught on integrated staffs; and 1577 or 81.12 per cent of these taught on all-white staffs.

In a percentage in keeping with the ratio of Negroes in the general population, 24.24 per cent of the elementary school teachers were Negroes. These teachers were assigned almost totally to inner city schools. This is shown graphically in Figure 7. When Figure 7 was compared to Figure 3, showing pupil enrollment by racial categories, it was revealed that no Negro teacher was assigned to elementary schools of all-white enrollment. Some were assigned to schools of predominately-white enrollment, however.

Figure 7 shows the elementary teaching staffs as of September 1964, categorized as all-Negro, all-white, predominately-Negro, and predominately-white. A study of the map confirmed that all-Negro staffs and integrated staffs occur in the inner city schools, while the outlying districts are staffed with all-white personnel. Social workers and special teachers were not included in this map.

Table X indicates the increase in integrated teaching staff from 1958 to 1964 as supplied by administrative records. September figures were used.
Figure 7.
Map of Elementary Teaching Staffs by Racial Categories
1964-65

Key
- All-White
- Predominately-White
- Predominately-Negro
- All-Negro
### TABLE X

**INCREASE IN INTEGRATED TEACHING STAFFS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1958 to 1964**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Integrated Schools</th>
<th>Total Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*September figures.

Table XI indicates the distribution of staffs in the elementary schools by race categories for the year 1964, showing both number and percentage.

### TABLE XI

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STAFF DISTRIBUTION BY RACE CATEGORIES FOR 1964***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All-White Staff</th>
<th>All-Negro Staff</th>
<th>Mixed Staff</th>
<th>Total Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*September figures.*
Table XII compares the 1964-65 racial composition of elementary staffs with the racial composition of elementary school enrollments. A study of the summary table revealed that teaching staffs in the elementary schools were much more segregated than the student bodies.

TABLE XII

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND STAFFS
1964-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Category</th>
<th>Elementary Schools</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All-White Schools</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-White Staffs</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>64.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Negro Schools</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Negro Staffs</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Schools</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>63.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Staffs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High School Teacher Data

The Indianapolis public schools employed 1232 high school teachers in 1964. Of these, 165 or 13.40 per cent were Negroes, a figure considerably less than the 24.24 per cent employed on the elementary level. As Table XIII reveals, the bulk of these teachers were assigned to Crispus Attucks High School. Negro teachers at Attucks accounted for 123 of their 165 total in the city's high schools,
or 74.55 per cent. Shortridge was the school with the next highest number of Negro teacher: a total of twelve or 7.27 per cent of the 165 total in high schools. The smallest percentage of Negro teachers was assigned to Broad Ripple: this involved only one Negro teacher, or .67 of the Negro total. The smallest number and percentage of white teachers were at Attucks: four total, or .37 per cent of all white teachers.

Figure 8 is a companion map to Table XIII and graphically portrays the statistics given in the tabular form.

**TABLE XIII**

**HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER RACIAL DISTRIBUTION**
BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
SEPTEMBER 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Total Teachers</th>
<th>White Teachers</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attucks</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad Ripple</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>1232</strong></td>
<td><strong>1067</strong></td>
<td><strong>165</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Teachers</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Teachers</th>
<th>White Teachers</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1232</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.00         100.00
Figure 8.
Map of High School Teacher Distribution
By Race
1964

Key

Predominately-White Staff

Predominately-Negro Staff
School Board and Administration Policies

Four particular policies and their attendant procedures as established by the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners have had the greatest influence on the subject of desegregation of, and integration in, the Indianapolis public schools:

(1) teacher hiring and assignment,
(2) elementary and high school districting,
(3) pupil transfers, and
(4) integration policy statement

No. 10 on the list of Teacher Criteria which appears in Appendix E states: "In the selection and assignment of instructional personnel there shall be no discrimination because of race, color or creed."

Superintendent Ostheimer's report regarding the inner-city schools is printed in full:

Inner-city schools have undergone the pressure of losing experienced staff members on account of much attraction in the outer districts, as new buildings, shorter distances to travel, culturally advantaged children, and other reasons of equal importance to the teacher. With a short supply of qualified elementary teachers, requests for transfers to inner-city schools will continue to be rare. The arbitrary transfer of teachers to inner-city schools would result in numerous resignations because positions are available in other school corporations. Forcing teachers against their will to accept transfers to schools for the purpose of correcting racial imbalance would impair the development of the whole integration movement. Undoubtedly, such action would generate prejudices which might have a detrimental effect on
The morale of the teachers involved.\(^6\)

The above statement explains in part the difficulty of assigning teachers and furthering the integration of staffs. Integrated staffs have been on the increase since 1951, and evidence indicates that this will continue to be the case. It was recently announced that nine white teachers are being transferred to Attucks.\(^7\)

In regard to the subject of transfers requested by teachers in Indianapolis, school administration records showed no significant differences between white and Negro teachers in the percentage of requests for transfer which were granted by the superintendent's office. For the 1964-65 school year, 110 elementary teachers and fifty-seven high school teachers requested transfers. Of these totals, seventy-seven per cent of the white teachers and seventy-eight per cent of the Negro teachers in the elementary schools were granted such requests. Seventy-eight per cent of the white teachers and seventy-five per cent of the Negro teachers in the high schools received their requested transfers.\(^8\)

---


\(^7\)Article in *Indianapolis Star*, August 16, 1965.

\(^8\)Ostheimer, *op. cit.* p. 44.
Elementary and high school districting procedure as used in the Indianapolis public schools today came about soon after the 1949 Act of desegregation. Prior to this time, a white student could go to the high school of his choice. Negro pupils had to go to Attucks. Elementary districts were somewhat fluid, but dual in character to accommodate the segregated policy in effect from 1927 to 1949.

After 1949, the beginnings of a neighborhood school policy was set up. School districts were formed primarily on the basis of the proximity of school buildings, with a one-mile circle prevalent for elementary pupils, and a two-mile radius for high schoolers. The "circles" were distorted by topography in many cases, and by transportation features for the high school districts. 9

Skeptical critics felt the lack of definite, publicized boundaries which created some doubt and confusion was a way of avoiding desegregation. 10 Not until August of 1953 were district maps made available. Even then, there were those who thought that districts were more related to Negro residential areas than to a boundary circle based on distance. 11 This seemed especially true in the case of

9 Williams and Ryan, loc. cit. p. 57.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
a number of "optional" districts.

Districts for both elementary schools and high schools have been redefined from time to time for various reasons: overcrowding, lack of facilities, availability of transportation, building of new schools—to name a few. The highly controversial "optional" areas were eliminated by board ruling on October 13, 1964.12

An article in the Indianapolis Times stated that one major school official believed "some of the elementary school boundary lines are downright outdated and should be revised."13 The article also said that some school administrators were saying privately that districting methods should be reconsidered. The writer of this study is unaware if such suggestions for revisions will be reflected in the new district map due shortly. Any revision done could well affect the further desegregation of the Indianapolis public schools.

Transfer policy and procedures for pupils desiring to attend schools outside their districts were set up shortly after the 1949 Desegregation Act. The complete policy appears in Appendix F of this study. All but the "eighth transfer clause" have been in effect for a number of years.

13 Article in Indianapolis Times, July 18, 1965.
Reason number eight was approved on October 13, 1964 as an additional section to the transfer policy. As was explained earlier in this study, this clause was the result of the adoption of an open-enrollment policy adopted at that time. As written it provided that transfers may be granted to entering high school freshmen provided space was available in the schools to which transfers were requested. Quotas in the four schools for which openings were announced were not filled either in the spring or fall semesters of 1965.

The wording of the eighth transfer clause has been the source of much dialogue and controversy among civil rights groups. The clause was a solution offered to the Shortridge problem in the fall of 1964 to permit Negroes who desired less segregated high school experiences to transfer into schools which could offer same even if those schools were not in their districts. It was also felt that some white students from other districts might be interested in entering Shortridge thereby stabilizing the race ratio. 14

In actual practice, these expected results did not materialize—certainly not in any appreciable extent.

14 Planning Committee Report to Board of School Commissioners, September 29, 1964.
School administration reports issued April 5, 1965 reported the following transfer requests granted under "Reason 8":

- Broad Ripple: 55
- Washington: 33
- Shortridge: 38
- Northwest: 11

An analysis of the Broad Ripple figure revealed that fourteen of the requests had come from School 70, one of the three predominately-white feeder schools for Shortridge. Further analysis disclosed that actually a total of fifty-seven out of ninety-one graduates were granted Broad Ripple transfers, not only for "Reason 8" but also for others: Twenty-six for "Reason 1"; six for "Reason 2"; eleven for "Reason 3"; and one for "Reason 7." A check with School 70 revealed that only twenty-four, or 26 per cent, of the ninety-one graduates were planning to go to Shortridge, the neighborhood's recognized high school.

Two other predominately-white Shortridge feeder schools, 66 and 86, were granted a total of thirteen transfers to Broad Ripple.

A study of granted Shortridge transfer requests under the eighth transfer clause showed that the largest number came from School 44, a preponderantly-Negro Attucks feeder school.

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The researcher could find nothing in this report that revealed that the increasing trend of Negroes at Shortridge had been either stopped or reversed by the "eighth transfer clause." Whether integration is to be furthered in the other three schools with openings, remains to be seen by the fall enrollment for the 1965-66 school year.

The policy statement on integration has been discussed in detail in Chapter IV of this study and will not be recounted here. It need only be mentioned that the majority of the school board felt the old policy of "color-blindness" was inadequate for the Indianapolis situation, and the new policy was formulated on July 27, 1965.
CHAPTER VI
A BRIEF SURVEY OF LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS

The 1949 Indiana desegregation act pre-dated the 1954 Supreme Court decision, and had eliminated de jure segregation before that date; but, like many other cities in the non-South, Indianapolis has since found itself vis-à-vis with the problem of de facto segregation. Its further recent commitment to a neighborhood school policy compounds the problem already created in large measure by residential patterns.

More specifically, for example, Crispus Attucks High School has been segregated since its erection for that purpose in 1927; and despite the 1949 Act to desegregate, no attempt has ever been made by the school administration to desegregate Attucks. In the present districting system, it services only all-Negro feeder schools; during the "optional high school" period, Attucks had been the choice of many Negro pupils.

De facto segregation has also been manifested in the Shortridge High School area. June 1965 figures revealed a seventy-three per cent Negro student body destined to become even higher in the 1965-66 school year. The city of Indianapolis faces a good possibility of having two all-Negro
high schools in the near future.

Whether de facto segregation or racial imbalance in the public schools can be remedied is perhaps the most controversial issue in the field of constitutional law.\(^1\) There is much belief in law circles that this question must eventually be decided by the Supreme Court. Many cases have already been decided on this question by the lower courts, but some are in conflict with others.

The entire field of court cases regarding school desegregation in the non-South is a vast subject of its own on which much research remains to be done. This chapter merely attempts to briefly cover some selected court decisions that have occurred since 1961 when the New Rochelle, New York case brought into focus the problem of de facto segregation.\(^2\)

At the beginning of 1964, NAACP chapters along with other Negro groups had challenged de facto segregation in eighty-one school systems in eighteen states and law suits to force desegregation were pending in another eighteen cities.\(^3\)

---


\(^3\) Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (N.Y.: Random House), 1964, p. 290.
In the New Rochelle case, a Federal circuit court found that the New Rochelle School Board had, since 1930, gerrymandered school district lines so that Negro pupils were confined in one school. The suit was filed to enjoin the construction of a new school on the site of the old school on the grounds that it would perpetuate the existing segregation. To the school board’s contention that it was following a neighborhood school policy, the court replied:

...The neighborhood school policy certainly is not sacrosanct. It is valid only insofar as it is operated within the confines established by the Constitution. It cannot be used as an instrument to confine Negroes within an area artificially delineated in the first place by official acts. If it is so used, the Constitution has been violated and the courts must intervene. 4

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights characterized the case in these words:

...Schools boards having uniracial schools can no longer justify it merely on the basis of residential patterns in combination with a neighborhood school policy. Any existing segregation may be constitutionally suspect. School boards that want to operate their schools in a constitutional manner may have to inquire into the cause of any existing segregation. They may have to prove that zoning laws follow residential patterns by coincidence, not design; that the sites and sizes of schools were not fixed to assure segregation; that racial residential patterns were not officially created in the first instance. 5

4 Ibid.
5 Ohio Civil Rights Commission, Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools, (Columbus, Ohio, April, 1965), p. 8.
To date, only three of the school desegregation cases have reached the Supreme Court, but in each instance a rehearing was refused. The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to review a case, although permitting the lower court's ruling to stand, is not the equivalent of an affirmation by the Court, and should not be thought of as an affirmative ruling on the merits of the case. As shall be seen, two of these cases were in conflict with the other.

The three cases in question were: Bell v. School City of Gary, Balaban v. Rubin, and Downs v. Board of Education of Kansas City, Kansas. These are individually reviewed in this chapter.

In the Gary case, a school system with about fifty-three per cent Negro enrollment, the Federal district court ruled that racial imbalance was not the equivalent of segregation. The reviewing Court of Appeals agreed stating that:

...a school system developed on the neighborhood school plan, honestly and conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to segregate the races... (need not)...be destroyed or abandoned because the resulting effect is to have a racial imbalance in certain schools where the district is populated almost entirely by Negroes or white.7

6Ibid., p. 11.
A thorough study of the Gary case disclosed factors not typical in many cities aware of de facto problems. More than half of the population of the city and school system are Negro. Almost half of the teachers employed are Negroes. Negroes held the positions of school board president, assistant superintendent, coordinator of secondary education, supervisor of special education, mathematic consultant and other positions. Discrimination would be difficult to prove under such circumstances.

Support for the Gary-Bell doctrine was found in the later Kansas City appeals case. Here, seventy-three per cent of the Negro students attended nine schools predominantly Negro, while twenty-seven per cent were scattered in twenty-six integrated schools. The court noted that there was some precedent to the effect that school boards had an affirmative duty to eliminate de facto segregation but held it to be the "better rule" that:

...although the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits segregation, it does not command integration of the races in the public schools and Negro children

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have no constitutional right to have white children attend school with them...{There is no requirement for...a school board to destroy or abandon a school system developed on the neighborhood school plan, even though it results in a racial imbalance in the schools where...that school system has been honestly and conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to maintain or perpetuate segregation.10

The third case reaching the Supreme Court, Balaban v. Rubin,11 involved the construction of a new junior high school. The zoning line of the new school was drawn so as to be composed of approximately an equal number of white, Negro and Puerto Rican pupils. The court of appeals stated:

...The issue is: May (not must) the schools correct racial imbalance: The simple fact as to the plan adopted and here under attack is that it excludes no one from any school and has no tendency to foster or produce racial segregation...One of the ways desegregation can be carried out within framework of the school districts and attendance areas is for the Board of Education to take into consideration race as one of the factors in delineation of a school zone...The choice must be left to the sound discretion of the Board; otherwise there would be chaos in the administration of the school system.12

In one of the more recent cases to reach the courts, Barksdale v. Springfield School Committee,13 a Federal district

10Ohio Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 11.
court found that the public schools of that city were segregated "in the sense of racial imbalance" despite the fact that attendance zones were drawn on the basis of non-racial criteria, and despite the finding that there was "no deliberate intent on the part of the school authorities to segregate the races." The court ruled that "in the light of the ratio of white to non-white (17.4 per cent Negro) in the total population of the city, a non-white attendance of appreciably more than fifty per cent in any one school is tantamount to segregation." 14

The rationale of the decision rejected the Bell v. Gary doctrine from the year before and stated instead:

...facts bear out the testimony of the plaintiff's expert that racially imbalanced schools are not conducive to learning...Racial concentration communicates to the Negro child that he is different and expected to be different from white children...It is neither just nor sensible to proscribe segregation having its basis in affirmative state action while at the same time failing to provide a remedy for segregation which grows out of discrimination in housing, or other economic or social factors. Education is tax supported and compulsory, and public school educators therefore must deal with inadequacies within the educational system as they arise, and it matters not that the inadequacies are not of their making. This is not to imply that the neighborhood school policy per se is unconstitutional, but that it must be abandoned or modified when it results in segregation in fact...I cannot accept the view that only forced segregation is incompatible with the requirements of

14 Ibid.
the Fourteenth Amendment.\textsuperscript{15}

The foregoing cases were but a few pertaining to school desegregation that have reached the courts, and their conflict paints the picture of the uncertain status of de facto segregation today. Owen Fiss, the author of a recent article in the \textit{Harvard Law Review}, argues that a school board is constitutionally permitted to correct racial imbalance and further that the equal protection clause may sometimes require a school board to adopt corrective measures.\textsuperscript{16}

Judge J. Skelly Wright of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia predicted in a speech on February 18, 1965, that the Supreme Court would eventually hold that de facto school segregation is unconstitutional.\textsuperscript{17}

If the First Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the Springfield decision, there will be presented a greater conflict between circuits—and with it a greatly increased likelihood that the Supreme Court will come to grips with the issue of de facto segregation. But until then, the Highest Court in the land has indicated it was not prepared to take that step. Indianapolis will not be the least of the cities interested in such a decision.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{16}Fiss, \textit{loc. cit.} p. 564.

\textsuperscript{17}Article in \textit{Indianapolis Star}, March 2, 1965.
CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY

In 1949, pre-dating the landmark Supreme Court decision on school desegregation by five years, Indianapolis, Indiana became the last major Northern city to outlaw public school segregation. This study has directed itself primarily to the sixteen years that have passed since the enactment of that law in the State of Indiana and the changes those years have brought to the school city of Indianapolis.

More specifically, this research had as its three-fold purpose: (1) the unraveling of "The Indianapolis Story" of public school desegregation, (2) an analysis of desegregation and integration data and trends in its public schools, and (3) a brief survey of the legal developments pertinent to this problem.

A mounting percentage of Negroes which finally surpassed the white pupils at Shortridge High School catalyzed the Capitol City's growing awareness of de facto segregation. This occurred in 1963, but the de facto situation had been in existence long before. Due primarily to residential patterns, Crispus Attucks High School and several elementary schools had never been anything but segregated.
Difficulties encountered by the researcher in order to keep pace with such a mercurial subject were many indeed; but it was felt that a "good, long look" at the current program and policies of desegregation might bring to light some of the strengths and weaknesses which could lead to a re-evaluation of the program in terms of educational and community needs.

The retelling of the local story started with a background leading to the 1949 State law of public school desegregation and ended with the adoption of an integration policy by the Board of School Commissioners on July 27, 1965. The analysis of desegregation and integration data and trends in the Indianapolis public schools as conducted by this study revealed a great number of facts:

Regarding general background data:

a. The percentage of Negroes in Indianapolis has increased ten per cent in the sixteen years covered by this study.

b. Negroes currently comprise 24.4 per cent of the population of Indianapolis.

Regarding elementary pupil data:

a. Not all of the local elementary schools have kindergartens through eighth grades contained in one school plant.

b. Many of the schools having less than eight grades are in the inner-city.
c. In June, 1965, thirty-one elementary schools had all-white enrollments; nine, all-Negro; fifty-two, predominately-white; and seventeen predominately-Negro.

d. In the years covered by this study, all-Negro and predominately-Negro schools have shown a slight increase.

e. The increase in Negro population is also reflected both in predominately-white or previously all-white schools.

f. Thirty-six per cent of the white pupils and twenty-two per cent of the Negro pupils were in segregated schools in June, 1965.

g. An almost comparable percentage were in schools that were "tokenly" integrated.

h. Two elementary schools sent their junior high sections to Shortridge, and nine to Wood High School in the 1964-65 school year.

Regarding high school pupil data:

a. Negro high school enrollment was closing the gap with Negro grade school enrollment, being only 2.34 per cent behind in 1965.

b. In June, 1965, there were: one all-Negro high school, one predominately-Negro high school, four predominately-white high schools, and four preponderately white high schools having one per cent or less Negro enrollment.

c. With a seventy-three per cent Negro enrollment in June, 1965, expected to be higher in September, 1965, Shortridge High School seems destined to become the city's second all-Negro high school unless measures are taken to prevent this from happening.

d. A total of 6297, or 86.23 per cent, of the Negro pupils were enrolled in three high schools: Attucks, Shortridge, and Technical.

e. Four high school enrollments were under capacity: Broad Ripple, Washington, Shortridge and Northwest. Arlington and Manual were over capacity.
Regarding elementary teacher data:

a. In 1964, the Indianapolis school system employed 2611 elementary school teachers of which 633, or 24.24 per cent were Negro.

b. A total of 108, or 29.19 per cent of the Negro teachers are employed on integrated teaching staffs, while 70.81 per cent teach on all-Negro staffs.

c. A total of 393, or 18.88 per cent of the white teachers taught on integrated teaching staffs, while 81.12 per cent taught on all-white staffs.

d. A total of seventeen schools had an all-Negro staff; seventy had an all-white staff; and twenty-two had integrated staffs.

e. No Negro teachers were assigned to schools with all-white enrollments.

f. Teaching staffs are much more segregated than student bodies in the local elementary schools.

Regarding high school teacher data:

a. In 1964, Indianapolis employed 1232 high school teachers of which 165, or 13.40 per cent were Negroes.

b. By September, 1964, all high schools had at least one Negro teacher.

c. Attucks High School employed 123, or 74.55 per cent of all the Negro teachers.

d. Shortridge employed the second highest number of Negro teachers: twelve, or 7.27 per cent.

Regarding school board and administration policies:

a. Administrative policy states that there shall be no discrimination in the hiring and assignment of staff personnel.
b. Inner-city schools' teaching positions are difficult to fill.

c. There was no appreciable difference in the granting of requested transfers to white or Negro teachers.

d. The neighborhood school policy began in 1949 in Indianapolis, and was fairly well established by 1953.

e. "Optional" high school choices were eliminated on October 13, 1964.

f. Open-enrollment has not appreciably helped integration, and in the case of Shortridge High School has actually worked toward further segregation.

g. A new integration policy statement was formulated on July 27, 1965.

Legal developments pertinent to the problem of school desegregation were briefly surveyed. These developments might well predict the path of future integration policies and consequent methods of implementation by the local Board of School Commissioners and school authorities. The rational and local climate has shown a definite change toward recognizing the problems of de facto segregation, and a searching for solutions have begun. In some cases, lower court decisions regarding desegregation have been in conflict. Law circles seem to agree that the Supreme Court must eventually come to grips with the problem of de facto segregation.
Locally, the long-awaited statement of policy on integration by the Board of School Commissioners has been a major step. Nationally, legal developments help point the way.

Solutions are not easily found for problems fraught with complexities such as is the case with school desegregation. But it was not the task of this study to find any answers. The purpose of the research was to collect the facts and discover the problems, for only after problems are defined can effective solutions begin.
CHAPTER VIII

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A number of areas for further research have become apparent during the course of this study:

1. An in-depth study of the development of the school city's districting system.

2. A study similar to the present one may be made pertaining to student teachers, substitute teachers, and non-academic personnel.

3. Statistical tools such as segregation and integration indices have been developed by sociologists. Such indices may be calculated for the Indianapolis public school system.

4. A study of the teacher in the inner-city school. Perhaps a companion study of teacher placements to ascertain if the best qualified teachers and the most demanding jobs are or can be matched.

5. A detailed survey of all court cases and decisions regarding de facto segregation and racial imbalance.

6. An in-depth study of the composition of pressure groups, Negro and other, for or against integration in the public schools.

7. A study of the outcome of racial redistricting in other cities to achieve racial balance.
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources


   A compilation of the statutes of the State of Indiana for the 79th, 86th, 89th, and 94th Sessions of the General Assembly.


   Two reports, 17 and 20 pages respectively, by the General Superintendent of the Indianapolis Public Schools to fulfill special requests by the Board of School Commissioners for a statement on the policies and procedures used in handling matters of racial integration in the local schools.

3. **Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, Indianapolis Public Schools.**

Books


   The story of how Louisville, Kentucky, opened its schools to integration in the fall of 1956; the planning and the attitude of the community toward desegregation ordered by the Supreme Court decision of 1954.


   A comprehensive analysis of the shortcomings of American Negro education by fourteen Negro and white educators. This book is divided into four main sections: the background, the problem, the changing situation, and the future task.

A resource book for teachers and administrators who must increasingly deal with the problems of the integrated classroom.


The story behind the civil rights revolution during the Kennedy administration.


A provocative book on the crisis in civil rights, claiming the momentous question evaded for a century is now catching up with us.


A compilation of outstanding articles written on the problem of desegregation and integration in our nation's schools, and expressing virtually all viewpoints toward the issue. Includes a variety of documents touching on the problem's most significant aspects.


A comprehensive study of the development of racial integration in the Indianapolis public schools.


The writer's own story of the Montgomery bus strike, which set the pattern for ending segregation without violence.


The writer's explanation of the events, forces, and pressures behind the quest for civil rights.

Proceedings of the Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools. Contains policy statements of State Education Commissioner and of New York City's Board of Education.


An examination of the three-hundred-year-old struggle of the American Negro for freedom, with a report on the forces, the events, the men and women who have shaped the revolt against segregation. Two chapters delve into the problems of school desegregation.


A comprehensive study of school desegregation in America during the ten years since the 1954 Supreme Court decision.


Studies of the problems beyond desegregation by the author and others.


An authorized condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's monumental *An American Dilemma*. The relationship of the Negro to his society, and the dynamic forces influencing the Negro problem today.


A dynamic and comprehensive analysis of the Negro problem in America, condensing many other volumes written in the past and present. It contends that every urban problem is bound up in some way with the problems of race and racism.

A personal memoir and an analysis of the South with its complex social and economic structure.

17. **Thornbrough, Emma Lou, Since Emancipation: A Short History of Indiana Negroes, 1863-1953, Indiana Division American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority, 1963.**

A small volume published as part of Indiana observance of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. See especially Chapters 3 and 4 entitled "Politics and Civil Rights," and "Education."


A study of protests of racial segregation in public schools in five cities: Highland Park, Michigan; New Rochelle, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Chicago, Illinois; and St. Louis, Missouri.


A guidebook for school personnel to undertake a program of integration based on ideas explored by seventy schools in twelve states who participated in this study.


The story of the turbulent year of decision which began with the assassination of President Kennedy and ended with the election of President Johnson. Included are two chapters on the revolution of the American Negro and the facts that bear on the issue of desegregation.

A research of twenty-four communities which had experienced the transition from segregated to integrated schools. Chapter 4: "Variation Under the Law" is specifically on Indianapolis and other Indiana communities. Chapter 6: "Reaction to Shock" is on Gary and South Bend, Indiana.


A study of the Negro's attempts to achieve equality with emphasis on housing, employment, and education. De facto segregation is explored at some length.

Pamphlets


Contains a brief discussion on de facto segregation.

2. Chicago Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Integration of the Public Schools--Chicago, A Report to the Board of Education, Chicago, March 31, 1964.

A report by a panel of five educators appointed to study the problem of segregation in the Chicago public schools. Contains the Chicago Board of Education policy statement on integration.


The unofficial yet influential voice of American education states its policy regarding equal education opportunity and de facto segregation.


A pamphlet prepared under the supervision of the Committee on School Desegregation of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association.

Third annual report including a section on equal opportunity in education.

6. Metropolitan Planning Department of Marion County, Selected Population and Housing Maps for Marion County, Indiana, Indianapolis, August, 1963.

A report with maps on population and housing in Marion County.


A special issue of the Journal of Intergroup Relations with analysis of segregation and proposals by the Commission. One of the most comprehensive studies of its kind, discussing historical background, causes of segregation, state and school board policies, court intervention, compensatory programs, and a number of specific approaches to the problem.


A position paper for the guidance of Jewish communities and agencies on the subject of de facto segregation.

9. Ohio Civil Rights Commission, Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools, Columbus, Ohio, April, 1965.

The third study of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission relative to the legal developments in the field of de facto segregation in the public schools. A non-technical survey of the divergent viewpoints which exist, primarily through court decisions.


Reprints of articles appearing in 1963 and 1964 issues concerning civil rights and school desegregation generally.
Periodicals

   Points up the dilemma of whose values should be taught in a pluralist society. Special emphasis is given to Northern schools which have become the major instrumentality for the end of racial segregation.

   The author feels desegregation is no longer a legal issue. The issue now is: how shall it be accomplished with reverence and regard for all children?

   Explores the constitutional aspects of protests against de facto segregation. The author argues that a school board is constitutionally permitted to correct racial imbalance and further that the equal protection clause may sometimes require a school board to adopt corrective measures.

   An over-all view of the school desegregation problems in the North and West.

   A look into the vast educational system of New York City including the problems of integration.

6. The Indianapolis News.

7. The Indianapolis Recorder.
8. The Indianapolis Star

9. The Indianapolis Times

(For this research the writer referred frequently to a personal file of over 100 clippings from the four above named newspapers--articles too numerous for individual bibliographical listing.)


This article is part of a book by Mr. Lewis called The Second American Revolution.


A comparison of school desegregation in the South and North.


The author feels that is the time in the N. Y. public schools as more and more of the middle class abandon it and the problems become more acute.


A brief review of the history of integration in Indianapolis schools prior to and following the 1949 action of the Indiana Assembly, and up to the Supreme Court decision of 1954.


An analysis of the "white backlash" in New Haven, Connecticut as it pertained to schooling and jobs.

The story back of school boycotts, and white resistance to save the neighborhood school. The Gary, Indiana court case is discussed in some detail.


The author states that the most compelling struggle in America today is that of the Negro to achieve complete equality.


A challenge to the Negro youth to begin consolidating gains newly won.


A brief review of desegregation in the non-South by the NAACP's director for education programs.


A review of the history and background and the development of the integration program in the Indianapolis public schools by its General Superintendent in 1957.


A call to teenagers to accept their responsibility toward integration in a changing world.


After 16 years of integrated education, the experience of Princeton, N. J. suggests that integration barely begins to answer basic Negro problems.

A delineation of today's Negro revealed as a maker of history rather than a "hitchhiker."


The impact of the backlash on integration problems among others.
1949 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ACT

An Act establishing a public policy in public education and abolishing and prohibiting separate schools organized on the basis of race, color or creed, and prohibiting racial or creed segregation, separation or discrimination in public schools, colleges and universities in the state of Indiana and prohibiting discrimination in the transportation of public school pupils and students.¹

(H. 242. Approved March 8, 1949)

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

SECTION 1. That it is hereby declared to be the public policy of the State of Indiana to provide, furnish, and make available equal, non-segregated, non-discriminatory educational opportunities and facilities for all regardless of race, creed, national origin, color or sex; to provide and furnish public schools and common schools equally open to all and prohibited and denied to none because of race, creed, color, or national origin; to reaffirm the principles of our Bill of Rights, Civil Rights and our Constitution and to provide for the State of Indiana and its citizens a uniform democratic system of common and public school education and to abolish, eliminate and prohibit segregated and separate schools or school districts on the basis of race, creed or color; and to eliminate and prohibit segregation, separation and discrimination on the basis of race, color or creed in the public kindergartens, common schools, public schools, colleges and universities of the state.

SEC. 2. The School Commissioners, superintendents, trustee or trustees of any township, city, or school city or county or state or any other public school, college or university official or officials, shall not build or erect, establish, maintain, continue or permit any segregated or separate public kindergartens, public schools or districts or public school departments or divisions on the basis of the race, color, creed or national origin of the attending pupil or pupils.

SEC. 3. Where separate public kindergartens, public schools, common schools or school districts, departments or divisions are established, separated or segregated on

¹Indiana Acts, 86th Session, 1949, Ch. 186, p. 503.
the basis of the race, color or creed of the pupil or pupils, that said officials of said public kindergartens and public schools, districts, departments or divisions shall at the beginning of the September, 1949 school year and thereafter, discontinue enrollment on the basis of race, creed or color of students entering for the first time the public kindergartens, the first grades of elementary schools and first year departments of senior high or junior high schools; but said first year pupils shall be permitted to enter and shall be enrolled in the kindergarten within their district, the elementary school within their district, and shall be free to enroll and attend any public junior high school or senior high school of their choice within the limitations applicable alike to all students regardless of race, creed or color; provided that in schools or districts where equipment and facilities are not available for the enrollment and integration of such first year students in September, 1949, the period for enrollment in the schools of their district may be delayed or extended until the September 1950 school year in the case of kindergarten and grade schools, the September 1951 school year in the case of Junior High Schools, and the September 1954 school year in the case of High Schools, and that on and after the beginning of each of such school years, respectively, such students shall be enrolled in the schools of their District, and shall have and receive credit for such school work as has been completed and shall be certified by the transferring school.

SEC. 4. All students and pupils attending and enrolled in separate public or common schools, kindergartens, junior high schools, high schools, colleges and universities after the respective dates set out in Section 3 of this Act applicable to Kindergarten, Grade Schools, Junior High Schools, and Senior High Schools shall henceforth be admitted and enrolled in the public or common school in their districts in which they reside without regard to race, creed or color, class or national origin; and no student or pupil shall be prohibited, segregated or dented attendance or enrollment to any public school, common school, junior high school or high school in his district, or college or university in the state because of his race, creed, color or national origin, but shall be free to attend any public school, department or division thereof or college or university
within the limitations applicable alike to all students regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, and within the limitations and laws applicable alike to non-citizen and non-resident students.

SEC. 5. That no public school, college or university, supported in whole or in part by public funds of the State of Indiana or any township, town, county or school city or city thereof, shall segregate, separate or discriminate against in any way, any student or students therein on the basis of race, creed or color, nor shall admission to any such public school be approved or denied on the basis of race, creed or color.

SEC. 6. No public school, college or university supported in whole or in part by public funds of the State of Indiana or any township, town, county or city or school or any other school official or officials thereof, shall discriminate in any way in hiring, upgrading, tenure or placements of any teacher on the basis of race, creed or color.

SEC. 7. The Board of School Commissioners, trustees or officials of any public school district or unit may provide suitable transportation, by proper conveyance to transport any and all children, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin from their home to their district school and back to their home or from school to school, under such regulations or rules as said school officials shall set up and establish applicable alike to all regardless of race, creed, color or national origin of said student or students; Provided, That transportation shall in no instance be provided where the distance to be traveled by a student is less than one (1) mile.

SEC. 8. The provisions of this Act shall be deemed supplemental to any and all existing common law or statutory law or Civil Rights on the subject of public schools, common schools, colleges or universities, and rights and remedies thereof of the State of Indiana and the people thereof.

SEC. 9. If any section, paragraph, sentence or clause of this Act shall for any reason be held invalid or unconstitutional by any court of competent jurisdiction, the same shall not affect the validity of this Act as a whole, or any part thereof, other than that portion so held to be invalid or unconstitutional.
SEC. 10. All laws or parts of laws in conflict with this Act are to the extent of such conflict hereby repealed and the Acts of 1869 (Spec. Sess.), ch. 16, par. 3, p. 41; 1877, ch. 81, par. 1, p. 124; 1935, ch. 296, par. 1, p. 1457, are hereby specifically repealed.

SEC. 11. That whereby an emergency exists, all provisions of this Act shall be in force and effect September 1, 1949.

NOTE: SEC. 7 was amended in 1955 to include the following:

"Provided further, That the one mile limitation herein prescribed shall not be applicable to cities of the first class." 2

An Act to amend an act entitled "An Act establishing a public policy in public education and abolishing and prohibiting separate schools organized on the basis of race, color or creed, and prohibiting racial or creed segregation, separation or discrimination in public schools, colleges and universities in the State of Indiana and prohibiting discrimination in the transportation of public school pupils and students," approved March 8, 1949, the same being Chapter 186 of the Acts of 1949.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

SECTION 1. Acts of 1949, c. 186 c 2 is amended to read as follows: Sec. 2. The school commissioners, superintendents, trustee or trustees of any township, city or school city or county or state or any other public school, college or university official or officials, shall not build or erect, establish, maintain, continue or permit any segregated or separate public kindergartens, public schools or districts or public school departments or divisions on the basis of the race, color, creed or national origin of the attending pupil or pupils. Such officials may take any affirmative actions that are reasonable, feasible and practical, to effect greater integration and to reduce or prevent segregation or separation of races in public schools, from whatever cause. Such actions may include, but not necessarily be limited to, site selection, revision of school districts, curricula, or enrollment policies to implement equalization of educational opportunity for all.

(S. 116)

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF POLICY ON INTEGRATION
BY
THE BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS
OF THE CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS *

The Board of School Commissioners is but one of many governmental and private agencies which may influence the opportunity and growth of Indianapolis and of each of its citizens. We look forward to a time when every religious, racial, and ethnic group in our city is integrated in a city which knows no formal or informal bars to the enjoyment of full opportunity and choice by every citizen. At present, housing restrictions, certain inequalities of job opportunity, legacies of history, unfounded prejudice, and considerable self-segregation by groups in our city stand in the way of an integrated, unified city. The Board of School Commissioners is not empowered nor is it capable of removing all of these barriers. The Board is privileged to affirm that it is willing to work with civil government, private agencies, and all men of good will to effect an integrated, unified society.

We believe in the concept of the neighborhood school, by which we mean a school district with boundaries based on factors of geography, available transportation, and broad social composition—a concept which would promote integration in the school system.

We believe that both certificated and non-certificated personnel must be employed on the basis of needs of the system and qualifications of the applicants. Our administration should examine employment practices frequently to make certain that they are fair. Our assignment practices should be examined frequently to make certain they foster integration.

We believe that a high quality educational environment should be provided for all students. In stating this aim, we affirm our intent to search for and to recognize obstacles to student progress and to provide a variety of approaches and services which are necessary to remove these obstacles.

We ask our Superintendent to make an immediate study and to submit periodic reports to the Board on his definition

* A facsimile of the actual statement of policy appears in the minutes of the Board of School Commissions, July 27, 1965.
of neighborhood school districts, on his findings in the field of employment practices and assignment of certificated and non-certificated personnel, and on the progress of children in our public school system as a whole and in individual schools. We further support the Superintendent's efforts to adopt textbooks which will tend to develop self-respect and pride inter-racially and to implement additional extra-curricular activities which will improve human relations among all races. We request also his professional recommendations for alleviating unsatisfactory progress wherever it may be found.
### APPENDIX D

**ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL ASSIGNMENTS**

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APPENDIX E

CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS*

1. All teachers appointed to the staff of the Indianapolis Public Schools shall hold Indiana certificates for the positions to which they are assigned.

2. Teachers shall not be given regular or permanent contracts unless they possess at least bachelor degrees from institutions recognized by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools or reciprocal agencies and approved by the State Department of Public Instruction. Exceptions to this policy may be made for filling certain specialized, vocational and emergency positions if certification is not contingent on a degree.

3. All applications for positions shall be made with the General Superintendent and shall be filed in the office of the assistant superintendent in charge of staff personnel. Complete sets of credentials shall be on file before official action is taken on appointments.

4. Appointees to all administrative and supervisory positions in the school system shall hold at least two degrees which represent a minimum of five years of academic and professional training obtained in accredited institutions. This qualification may be waived in filling certain vocational trade or other positions requiring specialized training.

5. Requirements of the State Department of Public Instruction and the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools pertaining to the highest possible ratings for high schools shall be adhered to in the selection and appointment of teachers to secondary school positions.

6. In order to enhance the ratings of schools by accrediting agencies, candidates for teaching positions who hold master degrees in their particular areas of work shall be ranked above those holding bachelor degrees providing all other qualifications are equal or above.

7. Prior to appointment to the staff, all applicants for teaching positions shall undergo the required examinations and oral interviews with the personnel division and other administrative and supervisory officers as may be concerned in making recommendations for employment.

8. The office of the personnel service division shall be designated as the depository of official records for all licensed personnel. Such records shall include applications, transcripts of credits, license data, interviews, contracts, salaries, certificates of experience, personal references, ages, evaluations of service, leaves of absence, correspondence, etc.

9. Applications for teaching shall be accepted from citizens of the United States who consider themselves sufficiently qualified to meet the requirements for teaching in the Indianapolis Public Schools.

10. It shall be the policy to fill all positions with the best qualified teachers available. They shall be chosen from a list of eligible candidates whose qualifications have been previously established by the staff. The general superintendent and staff shall judge qualifications on the basis of credentials and other documentary data on file in the personnel office. In the selection and assignment of instructional personnel there shall be no discrimination because of race, color or creed.

11. Candidates shall be ranked for positions according to personality as revealed in interview and references, character, cultural and social background, emotional stability, scholarship, record of financial responsibility, teaching performance (in student teaching or other positions), contributions to community life, ability to get along with children, parents and colleagues, physical health and professional conduct. Special attention shall be given to those personal qualities of a candidate which promote effective learning situations for pupils.

12. Under the direction of the General Superintendent, the personnel service division shall develop and direct a continuous program for the recruitment, assignment, transfer and promotion of teachers to insure a full staff of licensed personnel in the schools at all times. The division shall be responsible for all official communications pertaining to appointment, assignment and dismissal of licensed personnel.

13. Subject to policies and rules of the Board, the General Superintendent and staff shall be responsible for the organization and operation of an effective system of personnel administration for the schools. Procedures and practices shall be designed to promote a desirable distribu-
bution of teaching experience in the various schools of the system, and shall be planned for building a long-range and stable program for recruitment and retention of teachers.

14. When not in conflict with law or regulations of the Board, the General Superintendent shall adopt measures which in his judgment are necessary to meet emergencies in supplying personnel for the schools.
APPENDIX F

THE TRANSFER POLICY*

The following statement of policy on the transfer of high school pupils was adopted by the Board of School Commissioners on September 29, 1964. No changes were made in the first seven sections of the policy statement which has been in effect for several years.

1. When a pupil lives more than two miles from the assigned high school, but nearer another high school.

2. When a pupil has an older brother or sister attending the preferred high school.

3. When another high school is more accessible from the standpoint of transportation; e.g., when a pupil lives on a bus line which goes directly to another high school.

4. When the curriculum in the assigned school does not meet the needs of a particular child; e.g., when a pupil needs to transfer to a school offering vocational work.

5. When the mental or physical health of a child is in danger as certified to by the school physician; e.g., when a child with a cardiac condition needs to be enrolled in a school where elevator service or ramps are provided, thereby eliminating the need for climbing stairs.

6. When it is necessary for a child to take advantage of the special services offered by the school city of Indianapolis at a particular school center; e.g., when a child needs to be enrolled in a school that has a sight saving class.

7. When it would cause undue hardship for a child to attend school in the district where his parents now reside; e.g., when it is definitely established that residence is to be changed to another district within a reasonable length of time.

8. After the foregoing reasons (1-7) for transfer have been considered, additional transfers may be granted to 9B pupils, provided space is available in the

* A facsimile of the actual bulletin on file in the office of the General Superintendent.
high schools to which transfers are requested. Each year the General Superintendent shall make an estimate of the facilities available in each high school and shall announce to elementary school principals the quota of transfers to be granted to 9B pupils under this provision of the transfer policy. If the total number of requests for transfer to any high school exceeds the space allotment fixed by the General Superintendent, the transfers to be granted shall be determined by lot and all students granted the privilege of transfer shall provide their own transportation.