

"RACE AND SCHOOLS
IN TOPEKA, KANSAS"

A Study of the Effects of
Administrative Decision Making on
the Racial Compositions of the Students
Attending the Individual Schools of
the Unified School District # 501
from 1950 to 1983

Submitted by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....1

 1950-1983 OVERVIEW: THE REASON FOR CONCERN.....3

 1950.....4

 1956.....6

 1966.....9

 1974.....10

 1983.....11

PART I: 1950-1956

 SCHOOL BOARD ACTIONS AND INACTIONS.....12

 1950-1956: Overview.....13

 Student Assignment: Post 1953 Establishment of
 Racially Dual Schools.....15

 Attendance Boundaries: General.....16

 Attendance Boundaries: Originals.....17

 Attendance Boundaries: Changes.....18

 Student Assignments Between and Among All White
 and Substantially White Elementary Schools.....30

 Teacher Assignment.....40

 Construction.....40

 Temporary Facilities.....45

 Summary: Construction and Temporary Facilities.....49

 School Closings.....49

 Facilities Utilization.....54

 Possible Desegregation 1953-1956.....55

 1950-1956 Summary.....69

PART II: 1967-1983.....74

 1957-1966 OVERVIEW.....75

1957-1966 SPECIFIC SCHOOL BOARD'S ACTIONS AND INACTIONS.....	80
The Racial Transition of the Grant Elementary School.....	83
The Racial Transition of the Lowman Hill Elementary School.....	87
The Racial Transition of the Parkdale Elementary School.....	98
The Washington Constellation White Schools.....	108
The Racial History of the Monroe Elementary School.....	114
Lafayette and Quinton Heights.....	130
Lafayette School.....	133
The Quinton Heights School.....	139
Belvoir.....	148
White Elementary Schools.....	158
PART III: 1967-1983.....	164
SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION.....	166
SCHOOL CLOSINGS.....	172
ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES.....	178
PORTABLE CLASSROOM PLACEMENT.....	184
PART IV: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS.....	186
1957 to 1966.....	192
1967-1979.....	201
THE WHITE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 1966-1980.....	201
PORTABLE CLASSROOM PLACEMENT 1967-1980.....	221
1980.....	222
PART V: SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 1956 TO 1983 OVERVIEW.....	225
SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND PORTABLE CLASSROOM PLACEMENT 1959 TO 1980.....	238

PART VI SUMMARY: SCHOOL SYSTEM REVIEW 1950-1983.....240

APPENDIX

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INTRODUCTION

The task of this Report is to establish whether or not the school system of Topeka, Kansas presently known as Unified School District #501, used the physical and administrative elements of that school district to create, maintain and exacerbate the racial segregation of public school students which is alleged to be in place today.

The physical elements of the school system are: the construction of new school buildings; the additions of classroom space to the established school building; the placement and use of portable classrooms at a given school site; the use of rented facilities in essentially non-public school buildings as classrooms; the utilization of all the school system's classroom space taken as a whole; and the closing of schools.

The elements of new and additional classroom construction or provision are referred to in this Report under the general heading of CONSTRUCTION. They include: the site selection for a new school building, its location, size, and method and time of acquisition; the numbers of classrooms in the original and any additional constructions; the timing of the placement of additional classrooms; and the numbers and racial compositions of pupils and faculty members whose school assignments were/are affected by the school board's construction decisions.

The consideration of the ways in which U.S.D. 501 and its predecessors made use of classroom spaces existing at a given time, and the effects of those administrative decisions on the numbers and racial compositions of students and teachers is

referred to in this Report as FACILITIES UTILIZATION and generally compares the classroom capacity of one or more schools against that of one or more other schools at a given point in time.

The analysis of school closings concerns itself with the criterion for the closing of a school as exemplified by school district policies and past practices, as well as the racial effects of the reassignment of the closed school's complement of students and teachers on those schools receiving them. This area of consideration is referred to in this Report as SCHOOL CLOSINGS.

The timing and use of temporary structures or facilities to provide educational services; to include the use of portable classroom buildings and rented spaces at non-public school facilities and the number and racial compositions of pupils assigned to those facilities; is included under the heading of TEMPORARY FACILITIES in this Report.

The administrative elements considered in this study have to do with those decisions by the Topeka School Board and staff which affect(ed) the assignments of various racial groups of students and teachers to specific schools at specific times.

THE STUDENT ASSIGNMENT portion analyzes the administrative techniques used to put a given pupil in a given school at a given time. This section will deal with the creation and maintenance of: formal and informal attendance boundary lines; optional

attendance areas or zones; special pupil transfer policies; student transportation; and dual overlapping school attendance areas.

TEACHER ASSIGNMENTS will look into the assignments of teachers to schools strictly according to the teachers' racial characteristics, and the existence of any significant parallels between the racial proportions of the teachers in individual schools and the school system as a whole and those of the system's student body.

Generally speaking, the above defined elements are significantly interacting and the analytical treatment of most of them will in many instances be overlapping.

1950-1983 OVERVIEW: THE REASON FOR CONCERN

The following is an overview of several of the elements described above for the period 1950 through 1983. 1950 and 1983 were chosen as parameters because they in fact represent the parameters of the body of racial data available when this Report was being written.

In addition, other intermittent years are reviewed. They are 1956, 1966, and 1974. The reasons for their particular inclusion are specifically that: 1956 is the first year of full implementation of the Topeka school system's program of administrative integration of the formerly all-Black and all white dual school systems; 1966 is the first year after 1956 for which the racial composition data for student bodies were comprehensively provided by the Topeka school system; and 1974 is a convenient

mid point between 1966 and 1983.

1950

The Topeka school system entitled "School District #23" in 1950, then had 22 elementary schools, 6 junior high schools and 1 senior high school. The school system was: 9.6% Black at its elementary level; 9.9% Black at the junior high level; and 7.6% Black in its senior high grades. Source L.17 p.1.

An inspection of the racial data for 1950 will show that a system of racial segregation of students was being strictly adhered to at the elementary level.

Source: L.1 & 16.

That is, four elementary schools were being maintained by School District #23 for the separate and mandatory use of Black students and eighteen elementary schools were maintained for separate and mandatory use by white students.

The elementary schools could be further divided into three types as they related to the racial demographics of the general population served by School District #23.

There were the four schools, Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe and Washington, not only maintained for attendance by Black students only, on a system-wide basis, but also physically located in all or predominantly all-Black residential areas.

Source: L.19, L.1, L.4.

There were the five schools, Seabrook, Gage, Oakland, Polk and Potwin, which were maintained by School District #23 for the

exclusive use of white students and which were located by the school district in all or predominantly all white residential areas.

Source: L.1, L.4.

And there were the remaining 13 schools which, though also kept by the School District #23 for exclusive use by white students, were themselves located in residential areas that had varying levels of Black residents in addition to the majority white population.

Source: L.1 & L.2, L.4.

In addition, it can be observed from the individual enrollment records of elementary schools in 1950 that on a scale of total enrollments the four all-Black schools had much smaller student bodies than the run of the white schools.

Source: L.1

The average Black school had an enrollment of 165 students in 1950 while the average white school had an enrollment of 342 pupils for that year. In fact, the largest white school in 1950, Randolph, with 730 children was more than three times as large as Washington E.S., which, with 200 pupils assigned to it, was the largest Black school.

And what's more a comparison of individual school enrollment data from 1950 with the known capacities of the individual schools in that year indicates that, whereas the four all-Black schools were on the average 143 pupil spaces underutilized, the all-white schools averaged underutilization rates of only 28 empty pupil spaces per school that year. In fact five of those

all-white schools, the Gage, Potwin, Seabrook and Van Buren, were on the average overcrowded by 62 pupils.

Source: L.1 & 14.

This comparison suggests two things. One that the school system was choosing to maintain the Black schools in a state of under-utilization. And two, that the Topeka school system was choosing to not use the available classroom capacity at the all-Black schools to relieve what crowding existed at the all-white schools.

1956

In 1953 the Topeka school system began the process which would, over the next three years, attempt the administrative integration of the Black and white school systems. The fourth and last step of that project was put into effect on December 21 of 1955 and the immediate racial effects of the integration plans' full implementation were as follows.

Source: L.13.

The basic pattern of the racial distribution of students in the Topeka school system had not changed from 1950 to 1956. There were again five all-white schools serving the all-white constituencies of five all-white residential areas. Three of those schools, Gage, Oakland and Potwin, were among the five all-white schools serving all-white residential areas in 1950. And two more elementary schools, the Crestview and Stout, opened in 1954 & 1955 respectively, in the midst of the integration effort,

were placed in all-white residential areas and were assigned all white student bodies.

Source: L.1, 4, 10, 12.

There remained three of the four 1950 all-Black schools, Buchanan, Monroe and Washington, McKinley having been closed in 1955, and the Topeka school authorities continued to assign all-Black student bodies to those three schools on a system-wide basis.

Source: L.1, 13.

44% of the system's Black elementary pupils were assigned to those three all-Black schools in 1956 and 33% of the school system's white students were assigned to the five all-white schools by School District #23.

Source: L.1, 10.

The pattern continued into the remaining 15 elementary schools which were assigned attendance areas containing varying degrees of Black residential population.

The five elementary schools that were assigned Black students in excess of 1 1/2 times the system-wide ratio of Black elementary pupils (10.7%) were assigned 64% of the Black students not assigned to all-Black schools.

Source: L.1, 10.

The five elementary schools to which Black students were assigned in a proportion less than 1/2 of the system's Black student ratio contained only 12% of the Black students not assigned to all-Black schools.

Source: L.1, 10.

The Topeka school authorities continued to maintain enormous white schools and under-utilized Black schools.

The average all-white school contained 540 white children. The enrollments of all three all-Black schools combined amounted to 435 pupils. The Crestview school with 802 white pupils was four times as large as Washington, the largest all-Black elementary school, with 193.

The enrollment and school capacity data for 1950 illustrate that in 1950 the total of available pupil spaces in the all-Black schools amounted to 572 or approximately nineteen standard, 30-pupil classrooms.

Source: L.1, 14.

By 1956, that figure had diminished to thirteen available classrooms in three schools.

Source: L.10.

But a comparison of the same figures for the schools having all-white residential areas will indicate that, while in 1950 the five schools in that category had a combined excess of only 31 children, the five schools meeting those parameters in 1956 had a combined total of 335 pupils or eleven standard classrooms in excess of their physical capacity.

Source: L.1, 10, 14, 15.

Had those 335 pupils been assigned to the three all-Black schools in 1956, those three schools would have averaged 56.5% Black rather than 100% Black.

1966

Moving to 1966, the first year for which student racial data was made available after 1956, we find that even though fourteen new schools had been added to the system, 73% of all the Black elementary pupils were being assigned to schools that were anywhere from 2 to 7 times the school system's average for Black students at the elementary level (12.1% Black). And the number of all-white schools had been increased to a total of 6. A new factor entered the statistical picture in 1966 with the participation of "other" non-Black minority pupils.

There were 2403 students of that discription in the Topeka school system in 1966 and the Topeka school authorities assigned 45% of those students to those seven schools falling between 2 and 7 times the system Black pupil average.

The effects on the racial compositions of those schools were as follows:

	<u>% B</u>	<u>% Total M</u>
Parkdale	85.3	93.1
Monroe	74.9	79.8
Belvoir	48.1	59.7
Lowman Hill	46.6	49.6
Quinton Hgts.	33.6	36.4
Grant	31.9	44.4
Lafayette	26.1	54.5
System	12.1	16.5

One factor that facilitated the school Board's decision to assign those "other" minority students to schools with substan-

tial Black student populations was the abundance of available space at those schools.

1974

In 1974, the Topeka school system, then entitled Unified School District #501, was 15.1% Black in student racial composition at the elementary level.

Source: L.12.

There were still seven schools that were from 2 to 5 times greater in their Black student representation than the system average. And those seven schools still contained 56.7% of all the Black elementary students in the system.

Those substantially Black schools had an average of 131 Black students assigned to each of them by the school authorities in 1974 while at the whiter end of the school system there were eleven elementary schools which had an average of only 4.5 Black children assigned to each of them by the school board.

Two of those schools, the McClure and Potwin, had no Black students what so ever in 1974 and the Potwin had been all-white in 1950, 1956, and 1966 as well.

Again, while there was, by 1974, ample under-utilized classroom space in all the schools of the system, whether substantially Black or white in student racial composition, the Topeka School Board chose to assign 38% of the "other" non-Black minority children in the system to the seven elementary schools that were 2 to 5 times as Black in pupil racial composition as the system as a whole at the elementary level.

The effects on the student racial compositions of those seven schools were as follows.

1974

<u>School</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>% Total Minority</u>
Parkdale	76.7	86.8
Monroe	64.6	82.7
Belvoir	54.6	67.1
Lafayette	43.9	68.9
Lowman Hill	40.7	47.0
Highland Pk. N.	34.5	42.3
Quinton Hgts..	30.4	37.0
System	15.1	21.1

1983

And finally, in 1983, when there were just twenty-six elementary schools in the system, and the school system was 18.6% Black in pupil racial ratio, the four elementary schools with the greatest proportions of Black students assigned to them contained 41% of all the Black elementary pupils in the system, ranged from 42.5% to 54.6% Black, and had an average of 151 Black children assigned to each of them.

While again six elementary schools had assigned student bodies that were less than 1% Black in pupil racial composition, had an average of eight Black pupils assigned to each of them, and numbered in their ranks the Crestview school which had been opened as an all-white school in 1954 and had in fact been getting whiter every year since 1974.

PART I: 1950-1956

SCHOOL BOARD ACTIONS AND INACTIONS:

The question immediately arises "was the racial polarity, that is alleged to have existed and to still exist in the Topeka school system, the result of actions and inactions by the school officials or was it the result of neutral demographic change?"

The following analysis will attempt to answer that query through a review of: the racial effects of the specific actions of the Topeka School Board as they occurred in each year from 1950 to 1983; and the opportunities to desegregate between the years 1953 and 1983 which were not elected by the school officials.

That analysis is divided into six parts. The first three parts are devoted to a review of the racial effects of School Board administrative decisions as they affect the elementary schools of the Topeka school system in: 1950-1956; 1957-1966; and post 1966. The divisions are due mainly to the nature of the available student racial data. The student racial data was made available for years prior to 1957. It was not available comprehensively for the years between 1957 and 1965 and comprehensive pupil race data was again available post 1965.

The fourth part considers the effects of the Topeka Board of Education decision making on the student racial compositions of the junior high and middle schools of the system and is chronologically divided in the same manner as the elementary school sections for the same reason.

The fifth portion of this Report concerns itself with the racial separation of students, attending senior high school in the Topeka school district, resulting from the administrative decisions of school official, and considers those decisions in one analysis covering the entire period 1950 to 1983.

And the sixth and last section of this analysis is a brief non-statistical summary of this researcher's conclusions based on all that has been put forward in the first five sections.

Speaking of statistics, it should be pointed out that every effort has been made to keep the numerical aspect of this analysis as straight forward as possible using arithmetic processes usually available to the average American by the time of their graduation from public high school.

1950-1956-Overview

From 1950 to 1952 the U.S.D. #501 predecessor School District #23 maintained a system of perfectly segregated Black and white elementary schools.

Source: L.16 p.5.

The Black children were assigned to four all-Black elementary schools, the Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe and Washington schools, on a city-wide basis. And the white elementary school children were assigned to the remaining nineteen schools which were placed near those pupils' homes; and which generally surrounded the all-Black schools on all sides of the school district.

Source: L.1, 16 p.5.

During that time the S.D. #23 officials opened two new all-white schools: the Seabrook in 1950 and the Southwest in 1952, and built complete replacement schools at the Oakland and Potwin all-white schools (1949-50).

Source: L.1, 14.

There is no indication of construction or remodeling at the all-Black schools after 1941.

Over the next three years, 1953-56, the School District #23 School Board set about the task of conforming to the U.S. Supreme Court remedial mandates.

Source: L.13.

In 1953 School District #23 assigned 8 and 2 Black students to the Southwest and Randolph elementary schools respectively. This was the first step in a gradual process that would introduce successively greater numbers of Black pupils into some of the formerly all white schools which served the residential areas of those Black students.

Source: L.13.

In 1954 the Topeka School System reassigned 102 more Black students to 8 formerly all white schools.

Source: L.13.

And in 1955 School District #23 reassigned 275 Black pupils to an additional 5 formerly all white schools, drew attendance boundaries around three of the four all-Black schools and closed the fourth.

The demographic results of that three year effort are reflected in the following set of statistics.

846 or 84.9% of all the Black elementary pupils in School District #23 were assigned to 8 schools that were racially disproportionate as Black in 1956-57.

Source: L.1, 10.

And of those, 435 or 51.4% were in schools that contained no white students at all, i.e. Buchanan, Monroe & Washington the three remaining all-Black schools in 1956-57. (Monroe was closed in 1955).

Source: L.1, 10.

At the other end of the spectrum, 5551 or 67% of all the white elementary students were assigned to schools which were less than 1/2 the system-wide proportion of Black pupil racial ratio in 1956-57.

Source: L.1, 10.

And 2702 or 49% of those 5551 white pupils were assigned to schools containing no Black students whatsoever.

The specific actions and inactions of the Topeka Board of Education which resulted in the above outlined racial effects were as follows:

Student Assignment: Post-1953 Establishment of Racially Dual Schools

The School District #23 continued the operation of 3 of 4 pre-1953 all-Black elementary schools, the Buchanan, Monroe and Washington, in all or predominantly Black residential areas despite the fact that its own actions in placing and opening those

schools played a large part in the creation of those Black residential areas.

Source: L.19 p.72.

A city wide optional attendance zone was created so as to allow Black children to continue to attend those all-Black schools on a city wide basis until as late as 1962.

Source: L.13.

The School Board systematically drew the new attendance boundaries of the Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington schools so as to put them in strict conformance with the geographic boundaries of the three major demographic concentrations of Black residential population in the City of Topeka.

Source: L.1, 4, 5, 19.

The school district maintained three of the five pre-1953 all-white schools, Gage, Oakland and Potwin, as all white schools in all white residential areas from 1953-1956.

Source: L.1, 4, 5, 19.

Attendance Boundaries: General

The Topeka School Board effected a total of 65 attendance boundary changes between 1952 and 1956 affecting the boundaries of twenty-two of the twenty-three elementary schools in Topeka at the time.

Source: L.1.

45 or 69% of those changes took place in 1955. And 11 or 17% of those 65 took place in 1956, i.e. 86% of the attendance

boundary changes taking place between 1952 and 1956 in fact took place in 1955 and 1956 on the heels of the implementation of the "integration" plan.

None of the Black children assigned to formerly all-white schools from 1953 to 1956 were there as a result of an administrative boundary change.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 13.

None of the attendance boundary changes from 1953 to 1956 caused white children to be assigned to the all-Black schools.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 13.

All of the Black students in all-Black schools were there because of boundary changes.

Source: L.1.

And all of the white students, excluding those newly arrived in the system and/or in kindergarten, in the all and predominantly white schools were there because of boundaries designed by the School District #23 School Board.

Attendance Boundaries: Originals

In 1954 the School District #23 School Board created one elementary school attendance area, the Crestview, with an all white student attendance area in an elementary school system that had four all-Black schools.

Source: L.1, 9, 13.

In 1954 the Topeka School Board created the new Quinton Hgts. elementary school attendance area with a 3.4% Black student racial composition. The Quinton Hgts. attendance area was right

next to that of the Monroe elementary school which was 100% Black in pupil racial composition.

Source: L.1, 9, 13.

In 1955 the Topeka School Board drew the boundaries that established the new "Stout" elementary school attendance area. The Stout elementary school was opened with an all-white student body and was racially identifiable as white in 1955.

Source: L.1, 12.

In 1955 the School Board drew the first formal attendance boundaries for the Buchanan, Monroe and Washington elementary schools. These schools were opened all-Black in student racial compositions in 1955 as a result of the design of those attendance boundaries.

Source: L.1, 12.

Attendance Boundary: Changes

1. In 1954 the Topeka Board of Education modified the attendance boundaries of the following schools to create two majority white schools:

Source: L.1, 13.

<u>MODIFIED</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>
	1954		1954
Southwest	0.0	Crestview	0.0
Seabrook	closed		
(old) Quinton Hgts.	closed	Quinton Hgts..	3.4
Central Park	2.4		
Van Buren	15.2		

2. In 1955 the Topeka Board of Education modified the

attendance boundaries of the following schools to create an all white school attendance area:

Source: L.1, 12.

<u>MODIFIED</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>
	1955		1955
Quinton Hgts.	6.9	Stout	0.0
Southwest	1.1		
Randolph	0.4		
Central Park	4.3		

3. Also in 1955 the School Board modified the attendance boundaries of the following schools to create three all-Black attendance areas:

Source: L.1, 12.

<u>MODIFIED</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>%BLACK</u>
	1955		1955
1. Lowman Hill	15.9	Buchanan	100.0
Central Park	4.3		
Polk	0.9		
2. Van Buren	16.9	Monroe	100.0
Lincoln	14.3		
3. Parkdale	21.8	Washington	100.0
Lincoln	14.3		
Lafayette	13.0		

4. In 1954 the Topeka School Board created an optional attendance zone between the two predominantly white schools , Central Park (2.4% B) and Quinton Hgts. (3.4% B). Central Park's number of white children decreased by 22 and Quinton Hgts. number of white pupils increased by 101.

Source: L.1, 13.

That same year, 1954, the Topeka school officials cancelled a long standing optional zone between the Van Buren and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

These three schools (Central Park, Quinton Hgts., and Van Buren) differed by the fact that, even though the three attendance areas were adjoining, Van Buren's attendance area was verging on, if not already, majority Black in residential racial composition while the attendance areas of the Central Park and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools were just the reverse.

Source: L.4, 5.

The Van Buren elementary school enrollment decreased by 40 white students in 1954 and the school increased its number of unused pupil spaces to 54.

The Topeka school officials assigned 42 Black children to Van Buren in 1955 taking it from 0.0% Black to 16.9% Black in pupil racial ratio. That reassignment made Van Buren more than twice as Black in student racial composition as Quinton Hgts. (6.9% B) and nearly four times as Black as Central Park (4.3% B).

Source: L.12.

5. In 1954 the Topeka School Board expanded an optional attendance area that existed between the Lowman Hill and Polk elementary schools which were both 0.0% Black in student racial composition.

The Lowman Hill and Polk were both underutilized, by 26 and 75 pupil spaces respectively, in 1954 and thus had no over-crowd-

ing problems.

In 1955 the Topeka school officials sent 46 Black children to the Lowman Hill elementary from the Buchanan all-Black school and 2 Black children to the Polk elementary school from the all-Black Monroe elementary school. The Buchanan elementary school was exactly between the Polk and Lowman Hill elementary school. But no Buchanan elementary school Black students were sent to Polk.

Source: L.1, 12, 13.

The pupil reassignment took the Lowman Hill elementary school from 0.0% to 16% Black in student racial composition making; it 16 times greater in Black percentage than the Polk at 0.9.

Source: L.12.

In fact, the elementary schools surrounding Lowman Hill, and their respective racial compositions were as follows in 1955:

Gage	0.0%	Black
Potwin	0.0%	Black
Randolph	0.4%	Black
Polk	0.9%	Black
Central	4.3%	Black
Clay	10.0%	Black
Lowman Hill	16.0%	Black

Lowman Hill also differed from these six elementary schools in that the residential area which was included in the design of its attendance area by the Topeka Board of Education had a concentration of Black residents second only in it's portion of the city to the Buchanan all-Black elementary school which was also surrounded by most of those six formerly white schools.

6. 1955 optional zones brought "Step III" in the adminis-

trative "integration" of the all-Black schools into the former all white school system and with that came a new interpretation of the established optional zones for the following reasons:

First, the Topeka School Board's announced goal of facilitating the choices of parents to send their children to schools other than those to which they were assigned under the "integration" plan, automatically made potential "white flight" portals of all existing optional attendance zones, (L-13 p.4d&e, 7b.1&3, 8 1st¶) and assured the assumption that at least some of the white students attending those all and majority white schools which kept gaining white students during the integration process were making an elective choice affected by racial considerations.

Second, the inclusion of the four all-Black schools into the white school system put a number of the established optional attendance areas within or adjacent to the newly established Black attendance areas of Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington.

The statistical fact that, with the exception of the Washington School which had one white student for one school year, no white students attended the all-Black schools from 1954 through 1956 clearly establishes that the optional zones involving Black schools were at the very least acting as one way passages for white pupils to surrounding majority white schools.
Source: L.4, 5, 10, 12, 13.

Those optional zones were between the following schools:

	% Black		
<u>Schools</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>
Buchanan	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowman Hill	0.0	15.9	17.4
Polk	1.5	0.9	1.8
Monroe	100.0	100.0	100.0
Van Buren	0.0	16.9	20.9
Polk	1.5	0.9	1.8
Washington	100.0	99.4	100.0
Lincoln	0.0	14.3	19.9
Parkdale	0.0	21.8	24.4

In 1955 and 1956 the Topeka School Board created nine new optional attendance areas. Seven of those nine new optional zones were between all-Black schools and formerly all-white schools.

Source: L.1, 12.

While the residential areas included in those optional attendance zones all contained varying mixtures of Black and white population there is no indication that white pupils from the optional areas ever chose to attend an all-Black school.

Source: L.4, 5.

7. Optional zones. In 1955 the Topeka school system created an optional attendance zone in the west end of the Lafayette elementary school attendance area. The 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate that area to have been the location of Black residential concentration within the Lafayette service area.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

Even though the optional zone had the all-Black Washington elementary school as its other pole, that zone was in fact nearly a mile from the Washington school and was discontinuous to the Washington service area being one school attendance area (Parkdale) removed.

Source: L.1.

While 17 additional Black pupils did turn up at the Lafayette elementary school in 1955 the Washington had only one white pupil show up in the September of 1955 and was all-Black again in 1956.

Source: L.13, 12.

In 1955 the School District #23 created an optional attendance area between the Parkdale and Washington elementary schools in a portion of the Parkdale attendance zone which the 1950 U.S. Census indicates was racially mixed in its residential population.

Source: L.1, 4.

The Parkdale school and the Washington school were regularly underutilized by anywhere from one to five classrooms during this period so the new option did not arise in answer to an overcrowding situation at either school.

Again, 26 Black children showed up at the Parkdale elementary school. But the Washington remained all-Black with the exception of the one white student for one year mentioned above.

Source: L.12.

In 1955 the Topeka Board of Education created a three way option between the Lincoln, Parkdale and Washington elementary

schools.

Source: L.1.

This was in a racially mixed area, again distant and discontinuous, from the Washington elementary school and again while the Parkdale gained Black students and increased from 0.0% Black to 21.8% Black, and the Lincoln elementary school gained 12 Black and 13 white students and was 14.3% Black in 1955, the Washington elementary school's status as an all-Black school was virtually unchanged.

Source: L.4, 12, 13.

The Lincoln school, like the Parkdale and Washington, was considerably under-utilized at that time thus again precluding the necessity of an optional area to relieve overcrowding.

8. Optional zones. In 1955 the Topeka school authorities created an optional attendance area between the Parkdale and Lincoln elementary schools in a majority white residential area. The two schools were both underutilized during this period but the Parkdale gained 26 Black and no white pupils and was 21.8% Black in 1955, while the Lincoln gained 12 Black and 13 white students and was 14.3% Black in 1955.

In 1955 the system-wide percentage of Black students was 10.4% Black at the elementary level. All the Topeka School Board activity in this area of the school system resulted in the maintenance of one all-Black school, the Washington, and the creation of a disproportionately Black school at Parkdale which was assigned double the ratio of Black and white school children (21.8% Black) as the system as a whole.

9. In 1955 the Topeka school officials created an optional attendance zone between the all-Black Monroe elementary school and the Polk and Van Buren elementary schools.

The 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate the area included in the option to be primarily white in residential population having only one city block of residences with any Black representation greater than 5%.

Source: L.4, 5.

No Black children attended the Polk elementary school from this option, and no white children attended the Monroe elementary school from this option, and, while there is no indication of Black children from this option attending the Van Buren elementary school, that school did lose 17 white students between 1954 and 1955.

Source: L.12, 13.

All three schools were underutilized by from one to nine classrooms in 1955.

The Topeka School Board's actions in this area of the system maintained the disproportionate racial identity of the Polk elementary school as white (0.9% Black), of Monroe elementary school as Black (100.0% Black) and increased the percentage of Black pupils at Van Buren from 0.0% Black to 16.9% Black.) The number of Black students at Van Buren (42) was anywhere from two to twenty-one times the number assigned to the surrounding formerly all-white schools; Polk (2), Central Park (16), Quinton Hgts. (23).

Source: L.12.

10. In 1955 the Topeka Board of Education created an optional attendance area between the all-Black Buchanan school and the Lowman Hill and Polk elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

No white pupils attended the Buchanan elementary school from this option and no Black pupils attended the Polk elementary school from this option. But the Lowman Hill elementary school did gain 10 more Black pupils than expected in 1955 and in fact the Lowman hill lost 32 white children in 1955 while the Polk elementary school gained 35 white pupils.

Source: L.12, 13.

Some results of these actions taken by the Topeka School Board were: the Buchanan elementary school was maintained as an all-Black school; the Polk was maintained as a disproportionately white school; and the Lowman Hill with 46 Black pupils assigned to it was 16% Black.

The schools surrounding Lowman Hill and their respective numbers of Black children in 1955 were as follows:

	<u># Black</u>	<u>% Black</u>
Gage	0	0.0
Randolph	2	0.4
Polk	2	0.9
Central Pk	16	4.3
Clay	20	10.0

11. In 1955 the common boundary between the Grant and Quincy elementary schools was changed to include a westerly portion of the Quincy attendance area into the Grant service area.

Source: L.1.

The Grant and Quincy elementary schools were the only two schools serving that portion of the Topeka school system north of the Kansas River.

That portion of the school system had a ratio of Black and white students that equaled 13.4% Black.

Source: L.12.

Had the Topeka School Board chosen to do so, it could have drawn the common boundary between the two schools so as to reflect that racial percentage in both schools.

Rather, the Board chose to draw the new boundary so as to put more than twice as many Black children at Grant and make it 20.2% Black while leaving the Quincy elementary school at only 7.7% Black.

Source: L.1, 12, 13.

The school authorities then went on to include in the Quincy elementary school attendance area a newly annexed geographic area to the north which the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate, had no Black residents.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

12. Optional zones. In 1956 the Topeka school authorities created an optional attendance area between the all-Black Washington elementary school and the Parkdale and Lincoln elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Washington elementary school gained no white students but had its number of Black students increased by 21 or 12% which

thereby exacerbated its all-Black status.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Parkdale gained 13 Black students, increased to 24.4% Black and was continued as racially disproportionate as a Black school in a system that was 10.7% Black at its elementary level.

Source: L.10, 12.

13. Optional zones. In 1956 the Topeka Board of Education expanded the two optional zones that existed between the Lowman Hill, Gage and Potwin elementary schools and between the Lowman Hill, Potwin and Clay elementary schools. These two optional attendance areas were adjoining the northern attendance boundary of the Lowman Hill elementary school and the expansion in focus took additional portions of the Lowman Hill attendance area into the optional zones.

Source: L.1.

The 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses identify these areas as places of a mixed residential racial composition (Black and white) and also, as regards the Lowman Hill, Potwin, Clay optional zone, as an area of increasing Black representation.

Source: L.4, 5.

The Clay increased its number of white pupils by 43 or 24% and decreased from 10% Black in 1955 to 7.9% Black in 1956.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Potwin increased its number of white pupils by 12 or 4% and remained all white (0.0% Black).

The Gage elementary school gained 4 white students and remained 0.0% Black.

Source: L.10, 12.

And the Lowman Hill elementary school had its proportion of Black students increased from 16.0% Black to 17.4% Black. and then with 53 Black students had more than 2 1/2 times the number of Black students than the blackest of the formerly all white schools that surrounded it. (Central Park = 20 Black students).

Source: L.10, 12.

Student Assignments Between and Among All White and Substantially White Elementary Schools:

The Topeka School District #23 was faced with a substantial overutilization problem, in the schools on the peripheral boundary of the district as well as at the Central Park elementary school, as it came into 1953, the year of the implementation of the first step in the court ordered administrative integration remedy.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

Prior to 1953 the problem had been one that concerned itself solely with the all white schools of the system. But with the implementation of the "integration" remedy the all-Black schools would be greatly affected by the means used by the Topeka school officials to solve the problem of overcrowding.

This involvement of the Black schools in a formerly white school problem came about for several reasons.

First of all the crowded condition of the all white and formerly all white schools was cited as a reason why Black

students could not be accommodated in those schools in much greater numbers than they were.

Secondly, the announced School Board decision to facilitate the choices of parents and pupils, to elect attendance at schools other than those to which the pupils were assigned, had great potential for adding to the overcrowding at the all white and predominantly white schools.

Third, a Board decision to not make use of the abundance of available pupil spaces at the inner city schools in general and the Black schools specifically would constitute a conscious refusal to take advantage of an almost custom made demographic situation. I.e. the Topeka School Board needed to relieve the overcrowding within white schools and to desegregate the very underutilized Black schools.

Thus after the Topeka School Board's commitment to an "integration" effort in 1953 any decision the Board made to use its resources in a manner that was not desegregative in its effect was then necessarily segregative.

This brings us to the actions and inactions of the Topeka School Board as they regard the assignments of white students between and among all-white and predominantly white elementary schools.

14. In 1954, the Topeka School Board contracted the southern attendance boundary of the Central Park elementary school, reassigning a southern 1/4 of the Central Park service

area to an optional attendance zone with the Quinton Hgts. elementary school.

Source: L.1.

In the process the Central Park elementary school which was 2.4% Black in 1954, lost 22 white students and went to a condition of utilization that was 75 pupil spaces under capacity.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

The Quinton Hgts. school was 3.4% black in 1954 and gained 101 white students from the above action and others of that year, and was still undercapacity by about one standard classroom or 30 pupil spaces.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

In addition, there were already in existence three optional attendance areas around the periphery of the Central Park attendance area which ongoingly allowed children the option of attending the Lowman Hill, Polk and Randolph elementary schools which were 0.0% Black, 0.0% Black and 0.4% Black in racial ratio respectively.

Source: L.1, 13.

Immediately north of the Central Park elementary school the all-Black Buchanan elementary school had about 120 unused seats available.

Source: L.1, 13, 14, 15.

Had the School Board chosen to send the 22 white Central Park children to the Buchanan school they would have effected an 84.7% rather than 100% Black school at Buchanan.

Source: L.13.

Had they chosen to desegregate both the Central Park and Buchanan elementary schools by an exchange of students they could have effected two elementary schools that averaged 22.7% Black.

Source: L.1, 13.

15. In 1954 the School District #23 Board changed the attendance boundary between the Lowman Hill and Randolph elementary schools so as to move a western portion of the Lowman Hill service area into the Randolph zone. The Lowman Hill lost 22 white children in 1954.

Source: L.1.

Had those 22 white students remained at Lowman Hill, until 1955, that school would have been 14.8% Black in 1955 rather than 16.0% in a system that was 10.3% Black at the elementary level.

Source: L.12.

16. In 1954 the Topeka school officials changed the south and west attendance boundaries of the Southwest elementary school to move a westerly portion of the Southwest attendance area into the newly created Crestview attendance zone.

Source: L.1.

Also in 1954 the Topeka Board of Education created an optional attendance area between the Southwest and Crestview elementary schools. That optional zone was in a geographic area newly annexed to the western side of the school district and is shown by the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses to be all white in residential racial composition.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

In 1954 the all-Black Buchanan elementary school was underutilized by 118 seats and the all-Black Monroe was underutilized by 183 pupil spaces, a total of 301 unused pupil spaces.

Source: L.1, 13, 14, 15.

Had the Topeka School System chosen to relieve the overcrowding at the Southwest elementary school through the utilization of the space available at the Buchanan and Monroe schools they could have effected a 50.8% Black school at Buchanan and a 56.4% Black school at Monroe in 1954.

Source: L.1, 13.

17. In 1954 the Topeka Board of Education changed the western boundary of the State Street elementary school so as to shift a portion of its service area into that of the Lincoln elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Lincoln elementary school gained 26 white children in 1954 but the State Street elementary school was still overcrowded by about 121 white students.

Source: L.1, 13, 15.

There was an on-going pre-1954 optional attendance zone already in place which allowed a choice between the all white Oakland elementary school and the all white State Street in 1954. But the Oakland elementary school was also overcrowded by more than three standard classrooms of 30 pupils each.

Source: L.1, 13, 15.

The all-Black Monroe and Washington elementary schools, which were to the south of the State Street elementary school and

regularly received Black children from the State Street and attendance areas under formal segregation, were underutilized by 183 and 92 pupil spaces respectively for a total of 275 available spaces.

Source: L.1, 13, 15.

Had the school Board chosen to deal with the State Street and Oakland elementary schools' overcrowding problem by utilizing the space at Monroe elementary school it would have achieved a 56.4% Black school.

Similarly making use of the available seats at Washington would have resulted in a 70.0% Black school.

Source: L.1, 13.

Had the school officials chosen to greatly desegregate all four schools as well as solve the overcrowding problem they could have come up with four schools that averaged 33.5% Black in 1954.

Source: L.1, 13.

18. In 1955 the Topeka School Board changed the southern attendance boundary of the Central Park elementary school to reassign a part of its service area to an optional attendance area with the newly created Stout elementary attendance zone. Stout opened all white in 1955.

Source: L.1, 12.

The Central Park elementary school lost 77 white children in 1955.

Source: L.1, 13, 12.

Had those 77 white children been assigned to the 100.0% Black Buchanan elementary school, immediately to the north of

Central Park, in 1955 Buchanan could have been 53.3% Black in pupil racial composition.

Had the School Board attempted to desegregate both the Buchanan (100.0% Black) and the Central Park (4.3% Black) in 1955 they could have had two schools which would have averaged 22.7% Black in student racial composition.

Source: L.12,

19. In 1955 the Topeka Board of Education changed the western boundary of the Quinton Hgts. elementary school to give almost 1/4 of the Quinton Hgts. service area to the newly created Stout attendance area.

Source: L.1.

Another 1/4 of the Quinton Hgts. elementary school was converted to an optional attendance zone with the all white Stout elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Quinton Hgts. elementary school was becoming overcrowded in 1955 and was then 6.9% Black in student racial composition.

Source: L.12.

The all-white Stout elementary school had 247 pupil spaces empty when it opened in 1955, and it was again underutilized in 1956 with 171 unused pupil spaces, the equivalent of almost six standard classrooms of 30. In fact, the Stout was at or over capacity in only two of the next ten years.

Source: L.1, 12, 10, 15, 20.

Adjoining the Quinton Hgts. service area immediately to the north was the newly created all-Black Monroe attendance area.

The Monroe elementary school was underutilized by 275 pupil spaces in 1955 and 286 spaces in 1956.

Source: L.12, 14, 15.

Had the school authorities elected to solve the Quinton Hgts. overcrowding problem with the spaces available at the Monroe school rather than the Stout school, the Monroe elementary school would have been 46.4% Black.

Had the Board made an attempt to desegregate both the Quinton Hgts. and Monroe elementary schools they could have achieved two schools which averaged 41.7% Black in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.12, 13.

20. In 1955 the Topeka school officials changed the southern attendance boundary of the Randolph elementary school to transfer a part of its attendance area to a new optional attendance zone with the newly created Stout elementary school.

Source: L.1

The Randolph elementary school lost 33 white children in 1955 and was 0.4% Black in its student racial composition.

Source: L.12, 13.

Immediate to the northeast and adjoining the Randolph attendance area, that of the Lowman Hill elementary school was 16% Black and had had assigned to it more than twice as many Black students as any of the formerly all-white schools that surrounded it.

Source: L.1, 12, 13.

Had the Topeka Board chosen to change the common boundary between the Randolph and Lowman Hill elementary schools rather than the Randolph and Stout common boundary, the Lowman Hill elementary school would have been 14.3% Black in 1955.

Source: L.12, 13.

Had the Topeka school officials chosen to desegregate the Randolph, Lowman Hill and all-Black Buchanan elementary schools to which both had sent Black children, prior to 1955, the three schools could have had the average of 14.8% Black student bodies.

Source: L.12, 13.

21. The Crestview elementary school attendance boundary was changed in 1955 to give a piece of its service area to the Southwest elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Crestview elementary school was overcrowded by approximately 32 white pupils in 1955 and 144 white pupils in 1956.

Had those 144 white pupils been assigned to the 100% Black Buchanan elementary school in 1955 that school would have been 38.4% Black in pupil racial composition.

And had the school officials chosen to desegregate both the Crestview and Buchanan schools in 1955, they would have had two schools that averaged 11.4% in Black student racial ratio in a system that was 10.4% Black at the elementary level.

22. In 1956 the Topeka School Board changed the attendance boundaries of the Randolph, Southwest, Stout, and Crestview elementary schools so as to enable the Southwest and Crestview elementary schools to absorb new territories recently annexed to

the school system.

Source: L.1.

The results of the changes were that: the Randolph elementary school gained 30 white pupils; the Southwest gained 146 white pupils; the Crestview gained 115 white pupils; and the Stout elementary school gained 75 white pupils, for a total gain of 366 new white pupils to the system in 1956.

The inclusion of those white pupils into those schools in 1956 made: the Crestview overcrowded by 144 pupil spaces; the Southwest overutilized by 206 seats; and the Stout and Randolph underutilized by 171 and 23 seats respectively.

Had those new students, with no attendance history or tradition in the Topeka school system whatsoever, been assigned to the continuing all-Black schools Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington, which had 555 available pupil spaces between them, those three schools could have each been 54.3% Black in student racial composition on the average.

Of course had the Topeka School Board chosen to solve the overcrowding at Crestview and Southwest, and desegregate those two schools, Stout, and Randolph, and the three all-Black schools Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington at the same time they could have wound up with seven schools with an average percentage of Black students of 14.7% each.

Source: L.1, 10.

The system of attendance boundaries and optional attendance areas between and among the elementary schools of the Topeka school system had three major effects from 1954-1956: the dis-

tribution of white students between and among all or majority white schools, the provision of escape portals through which those white students not wanting to attend school at all-Black schools and/or formerly all-white schools having substantial Black population indigenous to their attendance areas, could pass, and the containment of Black children from all or majority Black residential areas in elementary schools that were all-Black in pupil racial proportions.

Teacher Assignment:

The Topeka School Board maintained its policy of assigning teachers to schools strictly according to the teacher's respective race through at least the 57-58 school year, USD 501 Answer to Interrogatory, Set 1, Questions 32 and 33, May 4, 1981 and July 3, 1983.

Construction:

In 1954 the School District #23 opened replacement schools for the pre-1953, all white Seabrook and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The two new schools were the Crestview and new Quinton Hgts. elementary schools and they opened with Black student proportions of 0.0% and 3.4% respectively.

Source: L.1, 13.

The site where the Crestview elementary school sat had been donated by a developer of the residential housing which sur-

rounded the school site. The 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate that geographical area to be all white in residential racial composition in 1950 and 1960.

Source: L.4 5, 16.

In 1954 there were four 100% Black elementary schools; the Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe and Washington, with approximately 566 unused pupil space between them.

Source: L.1, 15.

The Crestview elementary school was opened with a capacity of 600 pupil spaces and the Quinton Hgts. was opened with a capacity of 330 seats.

Source: L.14, 15.

Had the School Board availed itself of the empty pupil spaces at the all-Black schools it could have brought those four schools to proportions of Black student representation of: 50.8% at the Buchanan, 27.9% at the McKinley; 56.4% at the Monroe; and 72.1% at the Washington elementary schools.

Source: L.14, 1, 13.

Had the school authorities chosen to partially desegregate all six of those schools they would have achieved six schools that were: *24.6% Black and, eliminated the overcrowding at the Crestview and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

* This figure assumes that 379 Black children would have been sent back to their "home" schools prior to an exchange of students between these six schools.

In 1955 the School District #23 opened the new Stout elementary school with a capacity of 510 pupil spaces and an all white student body in an all-white part of the school system.

Source: L.4, 5, 12.

The site for the Stout elementary school had been sold to the Topeka Board of Education at a greatly reduced price, by the developers of the residential housing surrounding the school site. The 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate that the residential area around the Stout elementary school was all white in residential racial composition in 1950 and 1960.

Source: L.4, 5, 16.

The inclusion of Stout increased the number of all white schools from four to five in 1955.

Source: L.12.

In 1955 the Topeka Board of Education opened three all-Black schools; the Buchanan, Monroe and Washington elementary schools with an approximate total of 584 unused pupil spaces between them.

Source: L.1, 12.

The Stout elementary school was opened with an enrollment of 263 pupils and was thus underutilized by 247 pupil spaces.

Source: L.12, 15.

The Stout elementary school was underutilized by 171 spaces in 1956 and 81 pupil spaces in 1957, in fact the Stout elementary school was utilized at or above capacity only twice in the ten years following its opening.

Source: L.1, 12, 15, 20.

Had the school officials chosen to send those Stout children to the three all-Black schools, they could have achieved an average ratio of Black and white students of 60.9% Black at those schools.

Source: L.12.

Had they sent all the Stout children to the Monroe elementary school they could have brought that schools' proportion of Black students from 100% to 36.2% Black in 1955.

Source: L.12.

In 1956 the School Board of School District #23 opened a replacement building for the Lafayette elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The original Lafayette elementary school was physically located about 3/4 of a mile from the Washington elementary school and 1/4 mile from their racially mixed common optional attendance zone.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

But the new Lafayette building was located six city blocks to the east of the original building, in an all-white portion of its attendance area, putting it well over a mile from the Washington building and more than 1/2 mile from their common optional attendance zone.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

The new Lafayette elementary school opened at 13% Black in student racial composition while the Washington elementary school was 99.3% Black, having had one white pupil show up in September of 1955.

In 1954 the Topeka School Board remodeled the Central Park elementary school so as to create an additional two standard classrooms and increase the capacity of the building by sixty pupil spaces.

Source: L.14, 15.

The Central Park elementary school was right at capacity in 1954 but was underutilized by more than three classrooms (75 pupils) in 1956 and in fact was over capacity only one time in the next eleven years.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20.

Immediately to the north and east of the Central Park elementary school attendance area, the Lowman Hill elementary school was being underutilized by one standard classroom of 30 pupils; the Buchanan elementary school was underutilized by nearly four standard classrooms; and the Van Buren elementary school had 54 pupil spaces available for a total of 202 available spaces adjoining the Central Park attendance area in 1954.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

Those schools had a combined underutilization of 184 pupil spaces in 1955.

Source: L.12, 14, 15.

At anytime during those two years any overcrowding problem at the Central Park elementary school could have been alleviated by boundary changes that re-directed the necessary number of pupils away from Central Park and toward the schools with space available.

Instead, in 1955 the Topeka school officials redistributed some of the Black pupils under its charge, from the all-Black city-wide schools to a number of formerly all-white elementary schools. The Lowman Hill elementary school received 46 Black pupils under that redistribution and was more than twice as Black in its student racial composition than any of the formerly white elementary schools that surrounded it. The Van Buren elementary school received a complement of 42 Black children in 1955 and lacked 4 pupils of being twice as Black in student racial composition as any of the formerly white schools which surrounded it. And, as stated earlier, the Buchanan was opened in 1955 as an all-Black school.

Source: L.1, 13.

Temporary Facilities:

The Topeka School Board assigned all white pupils to the Gage elementary school during the period 1950-1956 and all Black pupils to the Buchanan elementary school for that same period.

The School District #23 placed two portable classrooms in each year 1951 and 1952 at the Gage elementary school. It increased the number of portable classrooms at Gage to 3 in 1953 and maintained that number through 1956.

Source: L.33, Attachment F.

One and a half miles to the southeast of Gage the all-Black Buchanan elementary school was being maintained at 60% of its full pupil capacity with an under utilization of 94 pupil spaces.

Source: L.1, 14, 15, 12, 10.

Taking the average number of pupils in each portable building to be 25, the Topeka Board of Education was housing 75 students in portable buildings at Gage elementary school each year from 1954 through 1956.

Source: L.21.

Had the School Board chosen to make use of the pupil capacity available at the Buchanan elementary school it would have relieved its overcrowding problems and somewhat desegregated the Buchanan elementary school during those three years as follows.

Buchanan				
			Possible	Actual
	#B	+#W	%B	%B
1954	122	118	50.8	100.0
1955	88	152	36.7	100.0
1956	108	132	45.0	100.0

Had the school authorities chosen to deal with the Gage overcrowding and desegregate the pupils of both elementary schools in 1954, 1955, and 1956, the two schools could have averaged 15.9% Black in 1954, 12.0% Black in 1955, and 14.3% Black in 1956.

Source: L.1, 12, 14, 15.

The officials of School District #23 remodeled the basement of the Quinton Hgts. elementary school to allow for its use as classrooms from 1949 through 1954. And, too, the Topeka school officials placed one portable classroom at the Quinton Hgts.

elementary school in the 1953-54 school year.

Source: L.14.

Immediately to the north and east of the Quinton Hgts. attendance area the Monroe elementary school was operated at an average of 188 pupil spaces undercapacity during the period 1951-1954.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

The Quinton Hgts. elementary school had only white children assigned to it by the Topeka Board of Education over this period and the Monroe elementary school had an assigned student body comprised of all-Black students.

Similarly the school authorities of Topeka, Kansas used basement spaces and rented non-public school facilities as classrooms to relieve the overcrowding at the all-white Seabrook elementary school, which was amounting to approximately 100 pupils per year from 1951-1954.

Source: L.1, 14.

The Buchanan elementary school which was assigned the task of providing educational services for any Black students from this area of the city was being operated at an average of 73 pupil spaces undercapacity from 1951 to 1954.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to relieve the overcrowding at the Seabrook elementary school by utilizing the unused capacity available at the Buchanan, the Buchanan would have been 60.8% Black in student racial composition in 1953 rather than 100% Black.

Had the school officials chosen to desegregate the Seabrook and Buchanan elementary schools and relieve the Seabrook overcrowding problem they would have effected two schools which were approximately 34.2% Black in their respective pupil racial ratios.

Source: L.1, 16 p.5.

In 1956 the Topeka School Board placed two portable classrooms at the all-white Crestview elementary school thereby increasing that school's capacity by 50 seats.

Source: L.33 Attachment F, & L.21.

The Crestview elementary school was over capacity by approximately 144 children in 1956.

Source: L.1, 10, 15.

In 1956 the Topeka school authorities had assigned a pupil population of all-Black pupils to the Buchanan elementary school in such a manner as to have it operate with 132 unused pupil spaces.

Source: L.1, 10, 15.

Had the School District #23 chosen to use the available capacity at Buchanan elementary school to relieve the Crestview overutilization, then the Buchanan elementary school would have been approximately 45% Black in its student racial composition.

Source: L.1, 10.

Had the Topeka Board of Education decided to solve the Crestview crowding problem and desegregate the students in those two schools, they would have achieved an average of 11.9% Black

pupil racial compositions in each of the schools.

Source: L.1, 10.

Summary: Construction and Temporary Facilities

A focus on the provision of public school facilities indicates that from 1949 to 1956 the Topeka School Board: provided new school buildings only in all or predominantly all white residential areas; provided classroom additions to schools only in all or predominantly white residential areas; provided portable classrooms to schools only in all or predominantly white residential areas; and finally, rented private facilities for public educational purposes only in all white or predominantly white residential areas.

School Closings:

The Topeka School Board caused 3 schools to be closed between 1950 and 1956. Those three schools were the McKinley, (old) Quinton Hgts., and the Seabrook elementary schools. The pupils from those schools were re-distributed, subsequent to the closings, in a manner designed for the containment of Black and white students in all or significantly Black and white schools respectively.

Source: L.1, 13.

The Seabrook school was closed in 1954 and approximately 281 children were reassigned to the Crestview elementary school. The Seabrook school was 0.0% Black when it was closed and the Crest-

view was 0.0% Black upon receipt of the Seabrook pupils in 1954.
Source: L.1, 13, 14.

In 1954 the Topeka school system was maintaining four all-Black elementary schools which had a combined total of 566 unused pupil spaces in them.
Source: L.1, 14, 15.

Those four 100% Black schools were the Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe, and Washington elementary schools and had the Topeka School Board assigned the 281 white Seabrook children to the Buchanan and Monroe elementary schools it would have lowered their proportion of Black students from 100% to 50.8% and 59.3% Black respectively.
Source: L.1, 13.

The (old) Quinton Hgts. school was closed in 1954 and the pupils were reassigned to the (new) Quinton Hgts. elementary school. The (old) Quinton Hgts. was a 0.0% Black at the time of closing and the (new) Quinton Hgts. opened at 3.4% Black in 1954.
Source: L.1, 13.

The old Quinton Hgts. elementary school had 187 pupils assigned to it in 1953, the year before the closing. The new Quinton Hgts. elementary school opened with 298 students, an increase of 111.
Source: L.1.

Immediately to the north and east of the new Quinton Hgts. elementary school, the all-Black Monroe elementary school was being operated with 183 pupil spaces not being utilized.
Source: L.1, 14, 15.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to use the available spaces at the Monroe elementary school to absorb the excess of students from the old Quinton Hgts., the Monroe school would have been 68.1% Black rather than 100% Black in pupil racial proportions in 1954.

Source: L.1, 13.

Had the Topeka school officials elected to take advantage of the proximity of the Monroe and (new) Quinton Hgts. elementary schools to racially mix both of their students bodies in 1954, those two schools could have averaged 45.2% Black in their students racial complexions rather than 100% and 3.4% Black respectively.

Source: L.1, 13.

The McKinley school was closed in the 1955-56 school year and its student complement was distributed between the Grant and the Quincy elementary schools.

The McKinley school was one of three elementary schools then maintained by the Topeka School Board in that northern portion of the school system formerly called "Eugene" which was isolated from the rest of the system by the Kansas River. The other two schools were the Grant and Quincy schools and prior to the 1954-55 school year these latter two schools were assigned only white children while McKinley was designated as the "colored" school of the area.

Source: L.1.

The McKinley school was opened in 1907 as the last in a succession of Black schools in the "Eugene" area which were

placed at ever greater distances from Quincy, the white school.

Source: L.14.

And the Grant school was opened just two city blocks from the McKinley in 1937 to serve the white population that had developed between the Quincy area to the east of the region and the Black residential area in the southwest corner of the region.

When the Topeka School Board closed McKinley, it assigned 70% of its student body to Grant and 30% was assigned to Quincy i.e. most of the Black students in the region still attended the elementary school that was most distant from Quincy.

Source: L.12, 13.

The statistical and racial effect of this reassignment was that the Grant was racially disproportionate at 20.2% Black in pupil racial composition while Quincy was only 7.7% Black in 1955-56 when the total system at the elementary level was 10.4% Black.

Source: L.12.

By 1966, the first year of data made available after 1956, the Grant school with 108 Black students had seven times as many Black students assigned to it than to the Quincy school.

Source: L.12.

Had the members of the Topeka School Board chosen to do so in 1955 they could have designed two schools with student racial compositions that were each about 13.4% Black as the following chart shows:

1956

SCHOOL	#BLACK	#WHITE	#TOTAL	%BLACK
Grant	75	296	371	20.2
Quincy	<u>34</u>	<u>407</u>	<u>441</u>	<u>7.7</u>
TOTALS	109	703	812	13.4

Similarly, had the Topeka School Board chosen to do so in 1966 it could have arranged to have three schools with student bodies that were 15.8% Black in racial composition, an increase of only 2.4 percentage points over 10 years.

1966

SCHOOL	#BLACK	#WHITE	#TOTAL	%BLACK
Grant	108	188	296	36.5
Quincy	16	294	310	5.2
*Lyman	<u>0</u>	<u>179</u>	<u>179</u>	<u>0.0</u>
TOTALS	124	661	785	15.8

*The Lyman elementary school was annexed to the "Eugene" area in 1963.

Source: L.1.

Rather, the Topeka School District elected to allow the number of Black students at Grant to increase by 44% between 1956 and 1966 while assigning Black students to Quincy in a manner which allowed their numbers to decrease by 47% over the same period.

The Grant school was racially disproportionate as Black in 1966 being 3 times greater than the system-wide average for that year. And the Lyman was of course racially disproportionate as white that year as was the Quincy elementary school.

Facilities Utilization:

The Topeka Board of Education opened 8 new school buildings; built 1 classroom addition; placed 6 portable classrooms; remodeled the basements of two buildings; and rented non-public school facilities for use as classrooms; at elementary schools with essentially white student populations while an average of over 500 pupil spaces went unused each year from 1949 to 1956 in the all-Black elementary schools of the system.

A comparison of the enrollments of each school for each year from 1950 to 1956 with the known pupil capacities of each of those schools for the same period reflects the following:

1. 7 of 8 elementary schools that were 0.0% Black or less than 1.0% Black, as of 1956, were maintained in a constant state of over (+) utilization (crowding) that ran the gamut of from 1 to 6 full classrooms per building per year, from 1950-1956.
2. The five Blackest elementary schools in 1956 had been maintained at levels of under (-) utilization (emptiness) that ranged from 2 to 7 empty classrooms per building per year from 1950 to 1956.
3. The system as a whole averaged an under (-) utilization of -559 pupil spaces per year i.e., the equivalent of one 18 classroom school building from 1950 to 1956.
4. A close look at the combined totals of overutilization in overcrowded elementary schools each year from 1950 to 1956 indicates that in 1953 and 1956 those yearly totals for overutilization in crowded schools went as high as 40% and

32% respectively, above the system wide yearly average of +691. 1953 was the year of implementation of the "First Step" in the "integration" of Topeka schools. And 1956 was the first year of full program implementation of the "integration" plan.

Source: L.1, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15.

Possible Desegregation 1953-1956:

The above analysis enumerated those actions of the Topeka Board of Education which tended to have racially segregative effects on the elementary schools of the system from 1953 to 1956.

The following analysis addresses itself to those opportunities to desegregate the pupils or the elementary schools which were at best overlooked by the Topeka School Board from 1953-1956.

Three possible desegregation scenarios will be considered for each of the years 1953 through 1956. They include: walk-in pupil desegregation between and among the schools immediately surrounding the all-Black schools; the extent to which the elementary school system would have been desegregated by bringing the pupil racial compositions of as many schools to the elementary level percentage for Black students or a range that is plus or minus that system-wide percentage; and the extent to which every school in the elementary system could have been racial desegregated without resort to "racial balance."

Next nearest school, walk in desegregation.

1953

	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	146	0	146
Central Pk.	0.0	0	453	453
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	292	292
Total	<u>16.4</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>745</u>	<u>891</u>
Ave. School	16.4	49	248	297
Monroe	100.90	241	0	241
Quinton Hgts.	0.0	0	187	187
Polk	0.0	0	210	210
Clay	0.0	0	198	198
Lincoln*(partial)	0.0	0	21	21
Van Buren	0.0	0	263	263
Total	<u>21.5</u>	<u>241</u>	<u>879</u>	<u>1120</u>
Ave. School	21.5	40	147	187
Washington	100.0	266	0	266
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241
Lincoln* (partial)	0.0	0	378	378
Lafayette	0.0	0	382	382
Total	<u>29.9</u>	<u>266</u>	<u>1001</u>	<u>1267</u>
Ave. School	20.9	67	250	317
McKinley	100.0	100	0	110
Grant	0.0	0	318	318
Quincy	0.0	0	419	419
Total	<u>13.0</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>737</u>	<u>847</u>
Ave. School	13.0	37	246	283
Elem. System	10.5			

1954

	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	122	0	122
Central Pk.	0.0	0	431	431
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	274	274
Total	<u>16.8</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>705</u>	<u>827</u>
Ave. School	16.8	41	235	276
Monroe	100.0	237	0	237
Quinton Hgts.	3.4	10	288	298
Polk	1.5	3	192	195
Clay	6.2	13	210	223
Van Buren	0.0	0	223	223
Total	<u>22.4</u>	<u>763</u>	<u>913</u>	<u>1176</u>
Ave. School	22.4	53	183	235
Washington	99.4	238	1	239
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241
Lafayette	0.0	0	332	332
Lincoln	0.0	0	425	425
Total	<u>19.2</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>999</u>	<u>1237</u>
Ave. School	19.2	60	250	310
McKinley	100.0	67	0	67
Grant	1.0	3	306	309
Quincy	7.4	34	426	460
Total	<u>12.4</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>732</u>	<u>836</u>
Ave. School	12.4	35	244	279
Elem. System	10.6			

	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	88	0	88
Central Pk.	4.3	16	354	370
Lowman Hill	16.0	46	242	288
Total	<u>20.1</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>596</u>	<u>746</u>
Ave. School	20.1	50	199	249
Monroe	100.0	149	0	149
Quinton Hgts.	6.9	23	308	331
Polk	0.9	2	227	229
Clay	10.0	20	180	200
Van Buren	16.3	42	216	258
Total	<u>20.2</u>	<u>236</u>	<u>931</u>	<u>1167</u>
Ave. School	20.2	47	186	233
Washington	100	172	0	172
Parkdale	21.8	67	240	307
Lafayette	13.0	47	314	361
Lincoln	14.3	73	438	511
Total	<u>26.6</u>	<u>359</u>	<u>992</u>	<u>1351</u>
Ave. School	26.6	90	248	338
Grant	20.2	75	296	371
Quincy	7.7	34	407	441
Total	<u>13.4</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>812</u>
Ave. School	13.4	55	356	406
Elem. System	10.4			

1956

	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	108	0	108
Central Pk.	5.2	20	364	384
Lowman Hill	17.4	53	251	304
Total	<u>22.7</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>615</u>	<u>796</u>
Ave. School	22.7	60	205	265
Monroe	100.0	134	0	134
Quinton Hgts.	7.3	26	329	355
Polk	1.8	4	221	225
Clay	7.9	19	223	242
Van Buren	20.9	47	178	225
Total	<u>19.5</u>	<u>230</u>	<u>951</u>	<u>1181</u>
Ave. School	19.5	46	190	236
Washington	100.0	193	0	193
Parkdale	24.4	80	248	328
Lafayette	13.7	50	315	365
Lincoln	19.9	104	418	522
Total	<u>30.3</u>	<u>427</u>	<u>981</u>	<u>1408</u>
Ave. School	30.3	107	245	352
Grant	17.6	77	360	437
Quincy	8.4	39	427	466
Total	<u>12.9</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>787</u>	<u>903</u>
Ave. School	12.9	58	394	452
Elem. System	10.7			

Thus the Topeka School Board could have gone a long way to desegregating the all-Black and eleven of the formerly all white schools in any one of the four years from 1953 to 1956 with "walk-in" desegregation, and in each of those years would have had only one school with the potential of continuing as a disproportionately Black school.

That racial disproportionality problem could also have been eliminated by using a finer tuned method than applied above.

The following charts reflect the results of attempts to desegregate the pupil populations of the all-Black schools from 1953 to 1956 as well as a sufficient number of surrounding formerly all white schools to guarantee that no school in a given cluster would be more than twice the system average percent black at the elementary level.

					<u>1953</u>			
<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>				
Buchanan	100.0	146	0	146				
Central Park*	0.0	0	404	404	*(partial see Monroe)			
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	292	292				
Total	<u>17.3</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>696</u>	<u>842</u>				
Ave. School	17.3	49	232	281				
Monroe	100.0	241	0	241				
Quinton	0.0	0	187	187				
Polk	0.0	0	210	210				
Clay	0.0	0	198	198				
Central Park*	0.0	0	49	49	*(partial see Buchanan)			
Van Buren	0.0	0	263	263				
Totals	<u>20.9</u>	<u>241</u>	<u>907</u>	<u>1148</u>				
Ave. School	20.9	40	151	191				
Washington	100.0	266	0	266				
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241				
Lincoln	0.0	0	399	399				
Lafayette	0.0	0	382	382				
Totals	<u>20.7</u>	<u>266</u>	<u>1022</u>	<u>1288</u>				
Ave. School	20.7	67	256	323				
System Ave.	10.5							

<u>School</u>	<u>1954</u>			
	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	122	0	122
Central Pk*	2.5	11	355	366
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	274	274
Totals	<u>17.5</u>	<u>133</u>	<u>629</u>	<u>762</u>
Ave. School	17.5	44	210	254
Monroe	100.0	237	0	237
Quinton Hgts.	3.4	10	288	298
Polk	1.5	3	192	195
Clay	6.2	13	210	223
Central Pk*	0.0	0	76	76
Van Buren	0.0	0	223	223
Totals	<u>21.0</u>	<u>263</u>	<u>989</u>	<u>1252</u>
Ave. School	21.0	39	165	209
Washinton	99.4	238	1	239
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241
Lafayette	0.0	0	332	332
Lincoln	0.0	0	425	425
Totals	<u>19.2</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>999</u>	<u>1237</u>
Ave. School	19.2	60	250	310
Elem. System	10.6			

<u>1955</u>				
<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	88	0	88
Central Pk	4.3	16	354	370
Lowman Hill	16.0	46	242	288
Clay	10.0	20	180	200
Totals	<u>17.9</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>776</u>	<u>946</u>
Ave. School	17.9	43	194	237
Monroe	100.0	149	0	149
Quinton Hgts.	6.9	23	308	331
Polk	0.9	2	227	229
Van Buren	16.3	42	216	258
Stout	0.0	0	263	263
Totals	<u>17.6</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>1014</u>	<u>1230</u>
Ave. School	17.6	43	203	246
Washington	100.0	172	0	172
Parkdale	21.8	67	240	307
Lafayette	13.0	47	314	361
Lincoln	14.3	73	438	511
State Street	5.1	27	504	531
Totals	<u>20.5</u>	<u>386</u>	<u>1496</u>	<u>1882</u>
Ave. School	20.5	77	299	376
Elem. System	10.4			

Holden Bros. Sewing Machine

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— COTTON CONTENT —

<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u>1956</u>		<u>Ttl</u>
		<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	
Buchanan	100.0	108	0	108
Central Pk	5.2	20	364	384
Lowman Hill	17.4	53	251	304
Clay	7.9	19	223	242
Totals	19.3	200	838	1038
Ave. School	19.3	50	210	260
Monroe	100.0	134	0	134
Quinton Hgts.	7.3	26	329	355
Polk	1.8	4	221	225
Van Buren	20.9	47	178	225
Stout	0	0	338	338
Totals	16.5	211	1066	1277
Ave. School	16.5	42	213	255
Washington	100.0	193	0	193
Parkdale	24.4	80	248	328
Lafayette	13.7	50	315	365
Lincoln	19.9	104	148	522
State Street	4.8	26	512	538
Oakland	0	0	454	454
Totals	18.9	453	1947	2400
Ave. School	18.9	76	324	400
Elem. System	10.7			

The McKinley-*Grant-Quincy cluster could have been desegregated at any time from 1955 through 1977, the year when Grant was closed, by the equal distribution of Black and white pupils between the Grant and Quincy elementary schools as the following chart shows.

* McKinley was closed in 1955 and 70% of those Black pupils were reassigned to Grant.

<u>School</u>	<u>1955</u>				<u>1966</u>				<u>1976</u>			
	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>	<u>%B</u>
Grant	75	296	371	20.2	108	188	338	31.9	19	141	160	11.9
Quincy	34	407	441	7.7	16	294	363	4.4	12	222	234	5.1
Total	<u>109</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>812</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>482</u>	<u>701</u>	<u>17.7</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>363</u>	<u>394</u>	<u>8.1</u>
Ave.Sch.	55	352	406	13.4	62	241	351	17.7	16	182	197	8.1
System Ave.	<u>10.4</u>				<u>12.1</u>				<u>16.1</u>			

Once again a modified walk-in system of pupil exchanges could have totally eliminated the all-Black schools' racial identity and all but eliminated racial identity in 18 of the 23 elementary schools in the system.

And finally, the following is an illustration of a plan of student desegregation which has as its goal, bringing every elementary school in the system into an approximation of the system-wide percentage of Black students at the elementary level.

1953

<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	146	0	146
Clay	0.0	0	198	198
Gage	0.0	0	633	633
Lincoln	0.0	0	399	399
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	292	292
Potwin	0.0	0	466	466
Sumner	0.0	0	305	305
Totals	<u>5.9</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>2293</u>	<u>2439</u>
Ave. School	5.9	21	328	349
Monroe	100.0	241	0	241
Quinton	0.0	0	187	187
Randolph	0.3	2	574	576
Southwest	0.7	8	1077	1085
Van Buren	0.0	0	263	263
Totals	<u>10.7</u>	<u>251</u>	<u>2101</u>	<u>2352</u>
Ave. School	10.7	50	420	470
Washington	100.0	266	0	266
Central Pk	0.0	0	453	453
Lafayette	0.0	0	382	382
Oakland	0.0	0	442	442
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241
Polk	0.0	0	210	210
State Street	0.0	0	530	530
Totals	<u>10.5</u>	<u>266</u>	<u>2258</u>	<u>2524</u>
Ave. School	10.5	38	323	361
McKinley	100.0	110	0	110
Grant	0.0	0	318	318
Quincy	0.0	0	419	419
Totals	<u>13.0</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>737</u>	<u>847</u>
Ave. School	13.0	37	246	283
Elem. System	10.5			

<u>1954</u>				
<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	122	0	122
Clay	6.2	13	210	223
Gage	0.0	0	642	642
Lincoln	0.0	0	425	425
Lowman Hill	0.0	0	274	274
Potwin	0.0	0	423	423
Sumner	2.2	7	319	326
Totals	<u>5.8</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>2293</u>	<u>2435</u>
Ave. School	5.8	20	328	348
Monroe	100.0	237	0	237
Crestview	0.0	0	618	618
Quinton	3.4	10	288	298
Randolph	0.3	2	576	578
Southwest	1.1	8	740	748
Van Buren	0.0	0	223	223
Totals	<u>9.5</u>	<u>257</u>	<u>2445</u>	<u>2702</u>
Ave. School	9.5	43	407	450
Washington	99.4	238	1	239
Central Pk	2.5	11	431	442
Lafayette	0.0	0	332	332
Oakland	0.0	0	458	458
Parkdale	0.0	0	241	241
Polk	1.5	3	192	195
State Street	3.7	21	542	563
Totals	<u>11.1</u>	<u>273</u>	<u>2197</u>	<u>2470</u>
Ave. School	11.1	39	314	353
McKinley	100.0	67	0	67
Grant	1.0	3	306	309
Quincy	7.4	34	426	460
Totals	<u>12.4</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>732</u>	<u>836</u>
Ave. School	12.4	35	244	279
Elem. System	10.6			

<u>1955</u>				
<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	88	0	88
Clay	10.0	20	180	200
Gage	0.0	0	645	645
Lincoln	14.3	73	438	511
Lowman Hill	16.0	46	242	288
Potwin	0.0	0	441	441
Sumner	2.2	7	312	319
Totals	<u>9.4</u>	<u>234</u>	<u>2258</u>	<u>2492</u>
Ave. School	9.4	33	323	356
Monroe	100.0	149	0	149
Crestview	0.0	0	687	687
Quinton Hgts.	6.9	23	308	331
Randolph	0.4	2	543	545
Southwest	1.1	8	716	724
Stout	0.0	0	263	263
Van Buren	16.3	42	216	258
Totals	<u>7.6</u>	<u>224</u>	<u>2733</u>	<u>2957</u>
Ave. School	7.6	32	390	422
Washington	100.0	172	0	172
Central Pk	4.3	16	354	370
Lafayette	13.0	47	314	361
Oakland	0.0	0	436	436
Parkdale	21.8	67	240	307
Polk	0.9	2	227	229
State Street	5.1	27	504	531
Totals	<u>13.7</u>	<u>331</u>	<u>2075</u>	<u>2406</u>
Ave. School	13.7	47	296	343
Grant	20.2	75	296	371
Quincy	7.7	34	407	441
Totals	<u>13.4</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>812</u>
Ave. School	13.4	55	351	406
Elem. System	10.4			

<u>1956</u>				
<u>School</u>	<u>% B</u>	<u># B</u>	<u># W</u>	<u>Ttl</u>
Buchanan	100.0	108	0	108
Clay	7.9	19	223	242
Gage	0.0	0	649	649
Lincoln	19.9	104	418	522
Lowman Hill	17.4	53	251	304
Potwin	0.0	0	459	459
Sumner	2.8	9	317	326
Totals	<u>11.2</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>2317</u>	<u>2610</u>
Ave. School	11.2	42	331	373
Monroe	100.0	134	0	134
Crestview	0.0	0	802	802
Quinton Hgts.	7.3	26	329	355
Randolph	0.7	4	573	577
Southwest	0.5	4	862	866
Stout	0.0	0	338	338
Van Buren	20.9	47	178	225
Totals	<u>6.5</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>3082</u>	<u>3297</u>
Ave. School	6.5	31	440	471
Washington	100.0	193	0	193
Central Pk	5.2	20	364	384
Lafayette	13.7	50	315	365
Oakland	0.0	0	454	454
Parkdale	24.4	80	248	328
Polk	1.8	4	221	225
State Street	4.8	26	512	538
Totals	<u>15.0</u>	<u>373</u>	<u>2114</u>	<u>2487</u>
Ave. School	15.0	53	302	355
Grant	17.6	77	360	437
Quincy	8.4	39	427	466
Totals	<u>12.9</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>787</u>	<u>903</u>
Ave. School	12.9	58	394	452
Elem. System	10.7			

As before, the Topeka Board of Education could quite possibly have racially desegregated every elementary school in the school system in each of the years 1953 through 1956 without the application of "racial balance" formulas or "massive crosstown transportation of students".

1950-1956 Summary

In 1953 the Topeka School District #23 set about the remedial merging of the "colored only" elementary school system with the "whites only" elementary school system.

There is some question about what the school officials intended to do in that remedial posture. But there is no question about what the School Board and State of Kansas did "not" intend to do.

The State Attorney General wrote a letter dated 5-10-'55 to the Clerk of the U.S. Supreme Court in which he stated:

"persons who are dissatisfied with the schools their children will be required to attend during the school year of 1955-56, may have at least a year to move to a district of their choice."

The Topeka School Board stated in 1955 that the intent of the options was to permit "any child affected by the boundary changes to finish the school which he previously attended."

And further:

"Some parents, regardless of race, may desire to make adjustments to their place of residence to conform with their personal feelings and those of their children to the change . .

it is proper for the Board and the Court to recognize that such adjustments may be made and to afford time therefor."

Source: Defendants' Memorandum and Brief on Plaintiffs' Motion for Notation of a Decree and Judgment.

The actions the Topeka school officials took spoke louder perhaps than their words.

No white students were assigned to any all-Black schools in 1953 but 98.7% of all the Black elementary students were in those schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

In September of 1954, the Topeka School Board assigned the next installment of Black pupils to formerly all white schools.

No white students were assigned to any all-Black school in 1954 and 64.0% of all-Black elementary pupils were assigned to those all-Black schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

As of September 1955, the School Board of S.D. # 23 had assigned an additional 275 Black students to formerly all white elementary schools.

Source: L.12.

No white students were assigned to the all-Black schools, Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington where 46.3% of the systems Black elementary pupils had been assigned.

Source: L.12.

And in 1956, 562 Black students were assigned to formerly all white schools but again the Topeka Board of Education assigned no white students to the all-Black schools to which

42.5% of the system's Black students had been assigned.

Source: L.1, 10.

But in 1956, the Topeka school system did experience a growth of some 99 Black students and 541 white students over the enrollments of 1955.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

Giving the school system the benefit of the doubt, it can be assumed that 60 of those new Black students could be accounted for in the increased Black proportions at some "home" schools but that being the case then 39 or 39.4% of the new Black students were assigned to the all-Black elementary schools Buchanan and Washington.

For Buchanan Elementary School that represented a 22.7% increase in the number of Black students. And for the Washington School that proportionate increase in Black students was 11.1%.

Looking at the white increase of 541, 406 or 75% of those white youngsters were assigned to schools having less than 1% Black pupil population.

And of that 406, 230 or 56.7% were in fact assigned to all white schools.

The Topeka School District officials provided new buildings, classroom additions, portable classrooms, rented non-public facilities as classrooms, and performed school building modification only at all or predominantly white elementary schools in primarily white residential areas which accommodated and facilitated the choices of white parents and children to not elect attendance at

the schools, with substantial Black student populations, to which they were assigned in conformance with the law.

The Topeka school authorities changed the attendance boundaries of 22 of the 23, then-existing, elementary schools during the implementation of the "integration" plan from 1953 to 1956.

By 1956 that system of attendance boundaries confined 43% of the system's Black children to three elementary schools whose attendance boundaries were nearly identical with the demographic boundaries of all-Black residential areas.

That same system of boundaries assigned 4137 or 49.8% of the white pupils in the system to elementary schools which had less than 1% Black pupil representation in 1956. And 2702 or 65% of those 4137 were assigned to five schools with no Black students whatsoever.

The Topeka School Board based its planned post-1954 integration efforts on the assumption that, given the option to stay, 1/3 of the Black children who could have attended school in a formerly all white school would instead elect to continue at an all-Black school. The School Board gave them that option and at least 62 Black children took them up on it. Those pupils were 36% of the non-local Black children formerly attending the Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe and Washington elementary schools.

Source: L.13 p.4 "III".

The Topeka Board of Education had thereby replaced the official dual overlapping school system with a city-wide optional attendance zone for Black students which lasted at the very least until the entering 1955 first grader matriculated out of his or

her respective all or predominantly Black school in 1961.

Source: L.13 p.4 "III".

The School District #23 officers had in place twenty-three optional attendance zones that moved white pupils between and among all white elementary schools, as it began the process of administrative integration in 1953.

By 1956, 21 of those optional attendance zones were still in place and 9 new optional areas had been added for a total of 30.

Five of the new options were again moving white children between schools with all-Black student complements and predominantly white schools.

Source: L.1, L.12, L.10.

No white children ever attended an all-Black school from one of those five optional attendance areas.

The Topeka school authorities continued to assign Black teachers to schools with only all-Black pupil populations through 1956.

The Topeka Board of Education closed the Quinton Hgts., Seabrook and McKinley schools in 1954, 1954, and 1955 respectively.

The School Board reassigned the pupils from the all white Quinton Hgts. and Seabrook schools to schools which were 100% and 96.6% white respectively in 1954.

70% of the all-Black student complement of the McKinley elementary school was assigned to the Grant elementary school. The Grant was one of two schools remaining in the isolated "Eugene" or North Topeka region of the Topeka school system. The

Grant elementary school was thereby assigned the area of predominantly Black residential concentration of the "Eugene" area and was 22% Black while the Quincy was assigned students in a manner to make of it a 7.7% Black school.

And the Topeka School Board consistently declined to use the resource of available pupil spaces at all-Black elementary schools to relieve the overcrowding at the all and predominantly white elementary schools and thereby reduce the racial isolation of those Black and white schools from 1953 through 1956.

The Topeka school officials never attempted to affirmatively desegregate the Black and white elementary pupils of the school system through the use of pupil reassignments based on walk-in pupil exchanges with the next nearest school, or regional pupil exchanges on a system-wide basis that would have approximated the extent of the pre-1953 racially dual and segregated school system.

PART II: 1967-1983

The following is an analysis of the actions and inactions of the school officials of U.S.D. 501* pertaining to: the assignments of students, the construction of original school buildings and additions to school buildings, the placement of portable classrooms, the closings of school buildings; and the under and over utilization of school buildings for each school year from 1957 through 1966 inclusive.

* The designation of the school system was changed from School District #23 to Unified School District 501 on July 1, 1966.

1957-1966 Overview

The following conditions existed in the Topeka School District as of September of 1966:

The school system grew in numbers by 5276 pupils at the elementary level from the enrollment of 1956.

Source: L.10, 12.

3870 or 73.4% of that increase occurred among the ranks of the white elementary students. 14.4% of the increase occurred among Black elementary school pupils and 12.2% was represented by separate counting of minority students other than Black.

Source: L.10, 12.

The ratio of white elementary pupil growth to Black elementary student growth was approximately five to one from 1956 to 1966.

98.4% of the growth in white pupil population can be attributed to elementary schools that were annexed to or built by the Topeka School System from 1957 to 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

But that being the fact we come again to the phenomenon existing during the period of "administrative integration", 1953 through 1956. Those elementary schools which gained white students between 1956 and 1966 gained 6710 white pupils while the school system as a whole gained only 3870.

Source: L.10, 12.

Thus 2849 or 42% of the white students gained by the elementary schools which gained white students once again appear to

have come from within the system itself as in the pre-1957 era.

And a tally of the numbers of white students lost from Topeka's elementary schools confirms that those schools, in fact, lost at least 2175 white pupils over the period 1956 to 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

By 1966 the ratio of Black to white and other students in U.S.D. #501 was 12.1% at the elementary level, an increase of 1.4 percentage points over the ten years since 1956.

Source: L.10, 12.

But the number of elementary schools to which the U.S.D. #501 assigned Black students in proportion to white and other pupils, that were more than twice the system-wide average of 12.1% increased by 75% going from four such schools in 1956 to seven in 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

Three of those elementary schools, the Belvoir (48.7% B), Monroe (74.9% B), and Parkdale (85.3% B) elementary schools were four, six, and seven times the system-wide elementary average of 12.1% Black, respectively in 1966.

Source: L.12.

73.3% of all-Black elementary school pupils in U.S.D. #501 were assigned to those seven schools. That was an increase of 21.6 percentage points over the 51.7% of Black elementary students assigned in that manner, by the school authorities, in 1956.

Source: L.10, 12.

In fact, the actual number of Black elementary pupils in schools with student racial compositions greater than twice the system-wide average more than doubled from 515 in 1956 to 1287 in 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

At the white end of the spectrum the number of schools having representations of Black population of less than 1.0% increased from seven in 1956 to ten in 1966, and they shared a total of only five Black students between them in 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

Among those ten schools there were seven with no Black representation at all in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The number of schools having less than 1.0% Black student racial composition had increased by 42.9% from 1956 to 1966. The number of elementary schools having no Black pupils whatsoever had increased by 40% by 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

4584 or 37.7% of the white elementary students in the system were assigned to those ten, less than 1% Black, schools in 1966.

Source: L.12.

While at the seven significantly Black schools mentioned earlier the U.S.D. #501 school officials had placed only 1058 or 8.7% of the system's white elementary students.

Source: L.12.

Similarly, what is known of the assignments of minority, other than Black, elementary students by the school officials in

1966 indicates that 45% of them were assigned to the seven elementary schools which contained the greatest number of Black students in the system, and which represented only 1/5 of the elementary schools available in the system.

Source: L.12.

Over the period 1957-1966 the U.S.D. #501 Board of Education built ten new and replacement school buildings. As of 1966 three of those new schools, the McCarter, McClure, and McEachron elementary schools had no Black students whatsoever and a fourth, Bishop elementary school, had 2 black pupils and was 0.5% Black.

Source: L.1, 12.

One of those new schools, a replacement building for the Lowman Hill elementary school contained a student body which at 46.6% Black was almost four times the 12.1% Black of the system at the elementary level in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The remaining five school buildings constructed between 1957 and 1966, the Hudson, Linn, Polk, Sheldon and Quincy elementary schools contained a total of 67 Black pupils between them, i.e., 3.8% of the Black students in the elementary system in 1966.

Source: L.12.

From 1957 to 1966 the Topeka School Board constructed classroom additions, ranging in size from four to eighteen classrooms at six elementary schools.

Source: L.15, 22, 33.

In 1966, the first year of racial data available after 1956, two of those schools, the Lafayette and Parkdale elementary

schools opened at 26.1% and 85.3% Black respectively (the Lafayette being 54.5% Black and other minority all told.) And three of those schools, the Lundgen, McClure and Rice, opened at 0.5%, 0.0% and 3.0% Black respectively.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka Board of Education annexed eleven additional elementary school buildings from 1957-1966.

Again one of those annexed elementary schools, the Belvoir, was 48.7% Black in 1966 or four times the average for elementary schools in the system that year.

Source: L.12.

Two of the recently annexed schools, the Avondale Southwest and Lyman elementary schools, had no Black students assigned to them in 1966 and two others, the Avondale West and Highland Park South, had one and five Black students assigned to them respectively making them 0.1% and 0.8% Black in 1966 when the average elementary school in the system was 12.1% Black.

Source: L.12.

The remaining four annexed schools, the Avondale East, Highland Park Central and Highland Park North and the Rice elementary schools divided 15% of the system's Black elementary pupils between them in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka school authorities placed anywhere from one to five portable classroom buildings at 15 elementary school sites from 1957 to 1966.

Source: L.33.

Those 15 schools and their student racial compositions in 1966 were as follows:

Belvoir	48.7
Lafayette	26.1
Highland Park North	17.1
Central Park	13.2
Avondale East	12.8
State Street	4.3
Rice	3.0
Gage	1.4
Bishop	0.5
Lundgren	0.5
Crestview	0.2
Randolph	0.2
McCarter	0.0
McClure	0.0
McEachron	0.0

60% of the portable classroom buildings placed from 1957 to 1966 were placed on the sites of schools which were either, two to four times greater in their proportions of Black students than the total school system at the elementary level, or at the seven elementary schools which had no more than five Black children between them in 1966.

Source: L.12.

1957-1966 SPECIFIC SCHOOL BOARD'S ACTIONS AND INACTIONS

Six of the seven elementary schools cited above as having had 73.3% of the system's Black students assigned to them by the Topeka School Board in 1966 were in fact a part of the Topeka school system prior to 1957.

Those elementary schools were the Parkdale, Monroe, Lafayette, Lowman Hill, Grant and Quinton Hgts. An analysis of the histories of those six schools, and another, the Van Buren

elementary school, which was closed prior to 1966, follows.

The Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale, and Van Buren elementary schools were among those formerly all white pre-1953 schools which had sent Black children to the all-Black Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe and Washington elementary schools as part of the system of racial segregation that then existed. And those four schools were among the formerly all white elementary schools which received reassigned Black children as part of the 1953-1956 "administrative integration" efforts of the Topeka School Board.

But these four schools were unique for several reasons. First of all they were unusual because they were among the list of elementary schools singled out to be the last to receive Black pupils. That was in 1955, three years after the "integration plan" was begun.

Source: L.13.

Second, the numbers of Black students assigned to them by the Topeka school officials were in excess of those assigned to adjacent formerly all-white schools. L.12 & 13.

In 1955: the Parkdale elementary school received 67 Black students and was 21.8% Black while the Lafayette elementary school, whose number of white students was 74 or 30.8% greater than the Parkdale's, was assigned only 13.0% Black.

Source: L.12.

The Lowman Hill elementary school received 46 Black children in 1955 and was 15.9% Black in student racial composition while the Clay elementary school, the next highest nearby school in numbers of Black pupils received, got only 20 and was 10.0%

Black.

Source: L.12.

The Van Buren elementary school had 42 Black students reassigned to it in 1955 under the integration plan and was 16.9% Black in pupil racial ratio while the nearby Quinton Hgts. elementary school received only 23 Black children under those same reassignments even though it's complement of white students was 49.5% greater than Van Buren's, making Quinton Hgts. elementary school only 6.9% Black.

Source: L.12.

And the Grant elementary school was assigned 75 Black children and was 20.2% Black in 1955 at the same time that the Topeka School Board was assigning 34 Black pupils to the nearby Quincy elementary school which again had 37.5% more white students than the Grant, making the Quincy only 7.7% Black in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.12.

The Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren elementary schools contained 47% of all the Black children reassigned to the 20 formerly all white elementary schools under the "integration plan" in 1955.

Source: L.2.

Third, the Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren were second only to the all-Black schools, in the number of Black students indigenous to their respective attendance boundaries, and in the degree of Black residential concentrations circum-

scribed by those, School Board designed, boundaries.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

Fourth, The Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale, and Van Buren elementary schools were unique among the pre-1953 all white schools in that their respective pre-1953 attendance boundaries physically included the sites and buildings of the four all-Black elementary schools, McKinley, Buchanan, Washington, and Monroe respectively.

Source: L.1.

In effect, those four pairs of schools were the epitome of the racially polar, dual school system that existed in Topeka prior to 1953.

So when the Topeka Board of Education created formal non-city wide attendance boundaries for the four all-Black schools they did so within the pre-existing attendance boundaries of the Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren attendance boundaries.

Source: L.1.

The Racial Transition of the Grant Elementary School

The history of School Board actions and inactions which brought the Grant and Quincy elementary schools into 1956 with the Grant elementary school having nearly three times the proportion of Black students as the Quincy have already been illustrated in Part I of this Report.

As of 1966, the Grant elementary school had 108 Black pupils assigned to it by the Topeka school authorities. That represented an increase of 33, 44% or one full classroom of Black

children over the number assigned to Grant in 1956, and made Grant 31.9% Black in 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Topeka School Board assigned only 16 Black children to the Quincy elementary school, bordering the Grant to the east, making Quincy 7.7% Black in 1966. The number of Black children assigned to the Quincy elementary school had decreased by 53% since 1956.

Source: L.10 & 12.

Four years prior, in 1962, the school authorities closed the old Quincy elementary school and opened a new one in an area annexed to the school system at its north end.

The old Quincy elementary school was operating at or near its physical capacity prior to the change over, and the new Quincy was operating at capacity when it was opened in 1962. So the new Quincy elementary school, built with the identical capacity of the old school, was not built or placed so as to relieve an overcrowding problem.

More significantly, the new Quincy elementary school was built on a site that was $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile further north than its prior location. This removed the Quincy elementary school from a point that was under $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Grant elementary school to a point that was $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from the Grant school.

In 1963 the common attendance boundary between the Quincy and Grant elementary schools was modified so that students from the northeast corner of the Grant school were reassigned to the Quincy school and pupils from the southwest corner of the Quincy

elementary school were sent to the Grant elementary school.

Source: L.1.

A comparison of the 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses will indicate that the geographic area reassigned to the Quincy school was getting whiter in residential population and that the area reassigned to the Grant school was getting Blacker.

Source: L.5, 6.

Coincidentally the Grant elementary school gained 38 pupils in this 1963 exchange and, as pointed out earlier, the Grant had increased by 31 Black pupils by 1966.

Had the Topeka Board of Education wanted to blur the racial identities of the two schools they could have placed the Quincy school in the south central portion of its attendance zone and redrawn the common boundary with Grant so as to take in more of Grant's Black population while reassigning some of Quincy's northern white population to Grant, and thereby bring both schools into an approximation of the 20.5% elementary pupil racial ratio that existed in the combined attendance areas of those two schools in 1966.

Rather, the Topeka School Board chose to maintain the tradition of assigning the majority of the Black public school children in north Topeka to the school most distant from Quincy. (See pt.I).

In 1962, the Topeka School District annexed that portion of the Seaman School District to the north of north Topeka, which included the attendance area and building of the Lyman elementary

school.

Source: L.1.

There is nothing that indicates that there were any substantive changes to the size and racial composition of the student body at the Lyman elementary school after its entrance into the Topeka school system. So it's a safe assumption that the 1962 pupil racial composition of the Lyman elementary school was not substantially different from the 0.0% Black in student racial composition of 1966, the first year after annexation that racial data was available. L.12.

So in 1962 the Topeka School Board assigned attendance boundaries to the Lyman elementary school which encompassed a student population that was all or nearly all white while immediately to the southwest of the Lyman, the Grant elementary school had a portion of north Topeka area Black students that was approaching 87% of the total.

Source: L.1, 5, 6.

Thus, by 1966 the Topeka school authorities had assigned 87.1% of the north Topeka Black students to the Grant elementary school and 71.6% of that area's white pupils to the Quincy and Lyman elementary schools.

Source: L.12.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to rearrange the assignment patterns of the three schools serving the north Topeka area so as to maximize the desegregation of Black and white students in that area they could have achieved three schools whose pupil racial ratios verged on 15.8% Black rather than the Grant

at 31.9% Black and the Quincy and Lyman elementary schools at 4.4% and 0.0% Black respectively.

Source: L.12.

The Racial Transition of the Lowman Hill Elementary School

The series of Topeka School Board actions which effected at Lowman Hill elementary school a proportion of Black students that was more than twice that of any other formerly all white schools surrounding the Lowman Hill elementary school as of 1956 is detailed in part I of this Report.

By 1966, the number of Black pupils assigned to the Lowman Hill elementary school had more than tripled from the 53 Black students of 1956 to the 187 Black students of 1966. The number of white children assigned to the Lowman Hill school had decreased by 49 or 24.3% over that same period.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Topeka school authorities were assigning Black students to the Lowman Hill elementary school at a degree that was eleven times that of the assignment of Black pupils to the average of the formerly all white elementary schools which surrounded it, as of 1966.

Source: L.12.

The following is an analysis of the sequence of administrative events that took the Lowman Hill school from 17.4% Black in 1956 to 46.6% Black in student racial composition in 1966.

In 1957, the Potwin elementary school attendance area adjoined that of the Lowman Hill elementary school at its north

side. The two schools were similar in that they both were experiencing an over assignment of pupils at a time when elementary schools on both sides of them, and to the south of Lowman Hill elementary school were experiencing varying degrees of underutilization.

Source: L.1, 14 & 15.

The Potwin and Lowman Hill elementary schools were overcapacity by a combined total of 99 pupils while around them the Sumner, Clay, Buchanan, Central Park and Randolph elementary schools had a total of 364 available pupil spaces between them.

Source: L.1, 14, 15.

The two crowded schools differed in that as of 1956, the last year of available racial data, the Potwin was, and always had been, 0.0% Black in student racial proportion while the Lowman Hill elementary school was 17.4% Black and had had an assignment of Black students that was more than two times greater than any of the surrounding formerly all white elementary schools.

Source: L.10.

The two schools also differed in that the U.S. Censuses for 1950 and 1960 indicate that the Lowman Hill service area had a substantial number of Black residents indigenous to it while the Potwin attendance area is shown to be all white in its residential population.

Source: L.4, 5.

And finally, they differed because the Lowman Hill elementary school attendance area was adjacent to the all-Black

Buchanan on its east side while for the Potwin elementary school, with the 2.8% Black Sumner and 7.9% Black Clay elementary schools on its east side and the all white Gage elementary school on its west side, the school with the highest representation of Black pupils in its vicinity was Lowman Hill itself.

Source: L.1, 10.

In 1958, the Topeka Board of Education moved to remedy the crowded conditions at the Potwin and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Topeka school officials expanded the western boundary of the all-Black Buchanan elementary school attendance area to take in a portion of the Lowman Hill service area which, the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses indicate, was over 50% Black in residential racial population.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

The all-Black Buchanan elementary school had its enrollment increased by 20 in 1958.

Source: L.1.

There were two ongoing optional attendance areas along the common attendance boundary between the Potwin and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

To relieve the overcrowding at the Potwin elementary school, the Topeka school officials modified those optional zones in three ways.

The optional attendance zone to the northeast of Lowman Hill provided a choice between attendance at the Lowman Hill or Potwin or Clay elementary schools. It was comprised of nine city blocks. The southernmost row of city blocks is shown by the U.S. Censuses for 1950 and 1960 to have been anywhere from 0.0% to over 50% Black in its residential racial composition. And the remaining six city blocks were predominantly white according to the census, there being only two of those blocks with any indication of Black residents.

Source: L.1, 4, 5.

Adjacent to the above option, and to the west, the northwestern optional zone allowed an election between the Lowman Hill or Potwin or Gage elementary schools.

That optional attendance area was also made up of nine city blocks only one of which is indicated by the U.S. Census to have had a Black residential proportion of any significance (5 to 24.9% Black.) That one block was also at the southern edge of the optional zone bordering on the Lowman Hill elementary school attendance area.

Source: L.1, 4 & 5.

One change effected by the school officials was to expand the northern attendance boundary of the Lowman Hill elementary school to take in the one block of Black residential representation from the northwestern optional area, and the three blocks of Black concentration from the northeastern optional area.

Source: L.1.

A second change was to take the thirteen remaining city blocks which were all or predominantly white in residential racial composition and combine them into a new optional attendance area between and among the Gage, Clay and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

And a third change was to remove the all white Potwin elementary school from participation in the option at all, thereby reducing its enrollment by 47 white children in 1958 but insuring that those 47 pupils had another all white school, the Gage elementary school to elect in its place.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Topeka School Board placed 5 portable classrooms with an estimated capacity of 125 pupil spaces at the Gage elementary school in 1958 to help that school contain its all white student population.

Source: L.33.

The racial effects of those School Board attempts to separately alleviate overcrowding problems in two elementary schools which had attendance areas that were adjoining but differing in residential and pupil racial content was: to contain white pupils at Potwin; expand the containment of Black students at Buchanan; increase the concentration of Black pupils at Lowman Hill; and insure the ongoing attendance option for the white children in the thirteen city block area between the Potwin and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

The Gage, Clay, and Buchanan elementary schools had 200 available pupil spaces between them in 1958. Had the Topeka School Board members chosen to avail themselves of that unused space, to relieve the overcrowding at Potwin and Lowman Hill and effect the racial desegregation of the students at the Potwin, Lowman Hill, Gage, Clay and Buchanan elementary schools that choice would have resulted in five schools with approximate averages of 14% Black in pupil racial composition in 1958.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

In 1959 the School District #23 school officials built a 100% replacement building at the Lowman Hill elementary school site increasing the school's pupil capacity by 150 spaces. This was the first known construction at a school having a substantial Black student population since 1941.

Source: L.14, 15.

In 1959, the Topeka Board of Education closed the all-Black Buchanan elementary school, reassigned all the students from that school's city wide Black optional attendance area to their "home" schools and reassigned the entire student complement of the Buchanan school's formal attendance area to the new Lowman Hill building.

Source: L.1.

The enrollment of the Lowman Hill elementary school increased by 106 Black pupils in 1958 giving it an estimated Black student contingent of 186 and making it approximately 43% Black in pupil racial proportions.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

In 1959, the Clay, Polk and Central Park elementary schools bound the all-Black Buchanan elementary school geographic attendance area on the three sides other than that occupied by the Lowman Hill elementary school. The Clay, Polk and Central Park elementary schools were approximately 8.9%, 3.2% and 5.6% Black in student racial composition in 1959.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Clay and Polk elementary schools contained an estimated 106 unused pupil spaces in 1959 and the Central Park was over capacity by about 51 pupils.

Source: L.1, 15.

Had the members of the Topeka School Board elected to close the Buchanan school, relieve the Central Park elementary school overcrowding, and desegregate the Clay, Central Park, Lowman Hill and Polk elementary schools in 1959, they could have arrived at four elementary schools which were approximately 16.8% Black in pupil racial composition.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The U.S. Census for 1960 indicates that the expansion of the Lowman Hill attendance boundary to take in the former Buchanan attendance zone thereby included into the Lowman Hill, not only the two major Black residential areas in northwest Topeka, but also every city block that was from 50 to 100% Black in residential racial composition in that part of the city.

Source: L.1, 5.

The result of the school authorities' decision was that the Lowman Hill elementary school was assigned 7 times the number of

Black students as the Central Park, the school with the next highest Black student contingent of those schools surrounding Lowman Hill. And with a 43% Black pupil proportion the Lowman Hill elementary school was five times greater in that regard than any of the 90 to 100% white schools which surrounded it then on all sides.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The series of School Board actions in 1958 and 1959 had replaced the all-Black Buchanan elementary school with the Lowman Hill elementary school as the disproportionately Black elementary school of northwest Topeka as of 1959.

In 1962, the Topeka School Board completely remodeled the Polk elementary school in such a manner as to increase its pupil capacity by one classroom.

Source: L.33.

The Polk elementary school had an enrollment of 239 pupils in 1961 and was underutilized by an average of 40 pupil spaces from 1960 to 1962. In fact, the Lowman Hill elementary school had an average of 58 available pupil spaces over that period, as did the Clay elementary school with 23; the Central Park elementary school with 83; and the Van Buren with 107; for a total 271 available pupil spaces each year from 1960 to 1962.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

Using straight line progressions for probable numbers of Black children in a given school for given years between 1956 and 1966 it is estimated that the Polk elementary school was 4.3% Black in pupil racial proportions in 1962 and that similarly the

Lowman Hill elementary school was 46.5% Black; the Clay elementary school was 9.9% Black; the Central Park elementary school was 8.5% Black and Van Buren elementary school was 35.2% Black in 1962.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Clay, Central Park, Lowman Hill and Van Buren elementary schools ranged from 26 to 79 years newer in the age of their building than the Polk elementary school.

Source: L.33.

Had the Topeka school authorities closed the Polk elementary school, and redrawn the attendance boundaries of the surrounding elementary schools so as to redistribute the Polk youngsters in a manner designed to desegregate all four of the surrounding schools, there could have been effected four elementary schools with average proportions of Black students of 21.3% in 1962.

In 1963, the Topeka school officials modified the Lowman Hill elementary school attendance boundary one more time prior to 1966. They expanded the eastern boundary common with the Polk elementary school to remove from the Polk attendance area portions of two city blocks which the U.S. Census for 1960 shows had residential racial proportions that were from 25% to 50% Black.

Source: L.1, 5.

The 1960 U.S. Census also indicates that these were the only two such concentrated full city blocks in the otherwise predominantly white Polk elementary school attendance area.

Source: L.1, 5.

As of 1963 the Topeka school officials still had six optional attendance zones around the perimeter of the Lowman Hill elementary school.

Source: L.1.

Five of those optional areas, on the east, south and west sides of the Lowman Hill attendance zone had been in place since the 1950's and the sixth, to the north, was the result of the combination of two other historic or traditional optional zones as described earlier in this section.

Source: L.1.

A comparison of the U.S. Census data for 1950, 1960, and 1970, indicates that: the optional area between the Lowman Hill and Polk elementary schools was in a geographic area experiencing gradual increases in Black residential population as was the optional area between the Lowman Hill, Clay, and Gage elementary schools, while the optional areas between the Lowman Hill and Gage elementary schools, the Lowman Hill and Randolph elementary schools and the Lowman Hill and Central Park elementary schools all encompassed white residential areas.

In 1964 the School District #23 school authorities began a process of optional attendance zone eliminations.

With regard to the optional areas surrounding the Lowman Hill elementary school the following occurred.

The Lowman Hill-Polk option was cancelled and the geographic area was included in Lowman Hill.

Source: L.1.

The Lowman Hill-Clay-Gage option was maintained.

Source: L.1.

The Lowman Hill-Central Park option was closed and reassigned to Central Park.

Source: L.1.

The Lowman Hill-Randolph option was reassigned to the Randolph elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Lowman Hill-Gage elementary school option was closed and included in a long standing Lowman Hill-Gage-Randolph optional attendance zone. That latter zone was then modified to exclude the Lowman Hill school from participation. L.1.

Using the same arithmetic method referred to earlier it can be estimated that the Lowman Hill was 41% Black in 1963 while the Polk, Central Park, Randolph, and Gage elementary schools were approximately 4.9%, 8.2%, 0.4% and 0.9% Black in their respective pupil racial ratios, in that same year.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The reassignment of optional zones formerly encompassing white residential areas to the attendance areas of schools which were in all probability 90 to 99% white in 1964 coupled with the withdrawal of the Lowman Hill school from participation in the remaining all white optional zone signalled the identity of the Lowman Hill school as other than white.

The reassignment of an optional zone, formerly serving a racially transitional area, into the Lowman Hill attendance area, and the maintenance of another racially mixed optional zone in

conjunction with a 99% white school definitely set the racial pattern of the assignments of Black pupils to Lowman Hill elementary school and white pupils to the surrounding 90 to 100% white schools.

There is no record of any further administrative actions involving the Lowman Hill elementary school for the remainder of period until 1966.

But in 1966, the Lowman Hill elementary school had 187 Black students assigned to it by the Topeka school system, making of it a 46.6% Black school, and with the addition of 12 other, non-Black, minority pupils a 49.6% minority school in pupil racial ratio in a school system that was only 12.1% Black and 16.5% minority at the elementary level as a whole. L.12.

And while it was nearly four times greater in its proportion of Black students than all the elementary schools in the system taken as a whole, it was 87% greater in its numbers of Black students than the total number of Black students in the six schools which surrounded it.

Source: L.1, 12.

The Racial Transition of the Parkdale Elementary School

In 1966 the Parkdale elementary school had 372 Black and 34 non-Black minority students assigned to it by the U.S.D. 501 Board of Education making the school 85.3% Black and 93.1% total minority in a year when the school system at the elementary level was 12.1% Black and 16.5% total minority.

Source: L.12.

The Parkdale elementary school had nearly seven and one-half times the number of Black pupils assigned to the average Topeka elementary school in 1966 and thereby contained 21% of all the Black students in the elementary system despite the fact that the Parkdale elementary school was only one of thirty-five elementary schools then in that system in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The series of events that kept the Parkdale elementary school more than twice the system-wide average in pupil racial ratio as early as 1956 is unfolded in part I of this analysis.

But while this portion of the Report deals with the post-1956 period in the administrative history of the Parkdale elementary school, it's necessary to go back to 1953 briefly and take a look at the organization of the separate elementary schools for Black children.

The formal description of the steps to be taken in the administrative integration of the all-Black school system into the all-white school system is very specific about the geographic distribution of the Black children attending the four all-Black schools, Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe, and Washington from all over the Topeka school system.

Source: L.13.

The data contained in those excerpted Board of Education minutes, coupled with the known elementary school enrollments for 1953, give a good approximation of the customary organizational system in place between and among the four all-Black elementary schools and the remaining all-white schools which surrounded

them.

Source: L.9, 13.

Pupils from the Buchanan elementary school were returned to the Central Park, Clay, Grant, Lowman Hills, Randolph, Southwest and Sumner elementary schools.

Source: L.13.

Students from the McKinley school were redistributed to the Grant, Quincy and Sumner elementary schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

Black children from the Monroe elementary school were reassigned back to their home schools at Central Park, Clay, Lafayette, Lincoln, Parkdale, Polk, Quinton Hgts., State Street, and Sumner elementary schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

And the students from the all-Black Washington elementary school were redistributed back to the Lafayette, Lincoln, Parkdale and State Street elementary schools.

Source: L.1, 13.

It is also known that all of the McKinley children were assigned to the Buchanan elementary school several years earlier when the McKinley school was closed for a year due to flooding.

Source: L.1.

From these patterns of student assignments and reassignments the following are safe assumptions.

The Black Topeka school system was divided into two parts by a line generally drawn from the northeast to the southwest of the

district through the locations of the Central Park and Polk elementary schools.

The Buchanan elementary school provided for the segregated education of the elementary students to the northwest of that line and the Monroe elementary school served that function for that part of the school system in the southeastern half.

Within the Buchanan service area, the McKinley elementary school was assigned the task of providing segregative services for the North Topeka or Eugene portion of the Topeka school system which was isolated from the remainder of the system by the Kansas River.

And within the Monroe attendance zone, the Washington elementary school served the educational needs of the Black children generally separated from the Monroe school by the extensive railroad lands.

The Parkdale elementary school, while still all-white, was part of the Washington sub-zone along with the all-white Oakland (Lundgren), State Street, Lafayette and Lincoln elementary schools in 1953.

Source: L.1, 13.

The Parkdale elementary school received 42% of those Black children reassigned from the Washington elementary school in 1955 and with the additional series of attendance boundary adjustments, optional attendance zones, and the school building construction, cited in Part I of this Report, was 24.4% Black in student racial composition in a school system that was 10.7% Black in pupil racial composition at the elementary level in

1956.

Source: L.10.

The Lafayette, Lincoln, Oakland and State Street elementary schools were 13.7%, 19.9%, 0.0% and 4.8% respectively in 1956.

Source: L.10.

In 1966 the Parkdale elementary school was 85.3% Black, the Lafayette elementary school was 26.1% Black, the Oakland (Lundgren) elementary school was 0.5% Black and the State Street elementary school was 4.3% Black in pupil racial composition. (Lincoln was closed in 1962).

Source: L.12.

The Parkdale elementary school with 372 Black pupils assigned to it by the Topeka school officials contained 71.1% of the total number of Black children in the former Washington elementary school "city wide" attendance zone in 1966.

Source: L.12.

From 1956 to 1958, the Board of Education of School District #23 modified the attendance boundaries of the Parkdale elementary school in a manner which transferred students to the Lafayette elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The modification was the redrawing of the common attendance boundary between the Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools so as to transfer attendance territory and school children from the Parkdale elementary school to the Lafayette elementary school.

The U.S. Censuses for 1950 and 1960 show the area transferred from the Parkdale school to the Lafayette elementary

school attendance area to be a six city block area with little or no Black population whatsoever.

Source: L.4, 5.

The Parkdale elementary school lost 66 pupils from 1956 to 1958 and was being operated in an underutilized condition with 97 empty pupil spaces by 1958.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

The Lafayette elementary school gained 90 students from 1956 to 1958.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

Using a straight line arithmetic progression and known reassignments, the number of Black children at the Parkdale elementary school can be estimated at 101 in 1958 making it a 38.4% Black school in student racial composition. And assuming that the children from an all or predominantly white residential area were white it can be approximated that the retention of 66 white pupils at the Parkdale school could have decreased the proportion of Black pupils at the school to about 30.7%.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15, 33.

Had the school officials chosen to make use of the excess capacity at the Parkdale elementary school and modified the common Parkdale-Lafayette attendance boundary to include 97 white children in the Parkdale elementary school that school could have been around 28.1% Black in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15, 33.

And of course had the School District #23 School Board chosen to redraw the common attendance boundaries of the Parkdale

and Lafayette elementary schools so as to maximize the efficient use of both buildings' pupil capacity and minimize the degree of student racial segregation they could have achieved two elementary schools with approximate pupil racial ratios of 25.4% Black. Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15, 33.

In 1962 the Topeka school official opened additions of ten classrooms and six classrooms at the Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools respectively.

Source: L.33.

From 1957 to 1961 the Parkdale elementary school had been operated at an average undercapacity of 77 pupils spaces and the Lafayette elementary school was being operated at an average underutilized condition of 87 pupil spaces during that same period.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

The addition to Parkdale elementary school added 360 pupil spaces and increased the available capacity at that school to 416, the equivalent of 14 standard classrooms.

Source: L.33.

The addition to the Lafayette elementary school added 180 pupil spaces to that school's capacity giving it 233 potentially unused seats.

Source: L.33.

In 1962 the Topeka School Board closed the all-Black Washington elementary school and assigned the entire student complement of that school to the Parkdale elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Washington elementary school had been decreasing by an average of 9.5 students over the two years prior to its closing by the Topeka School Board. So taking that decline into account an estimated 170 Black children were assigned to the Parkdale elementary school in 1962, as a result of the Washington closing.

Also closed by the School Board in 1962 was the Lincoln elementary school. And the children from that school were assigned in main to the Lafayette elementary school. About 80 of the Lincoln youngsters were in fact redistributed to the Parkdale elementary school through the use of an attendance boundary manipulation.

Source: L.1.

Using the 1960 U.S. Census and the rule of thumb that the racial proportion of the school age children from a given area is usually about one and one-half times the racial ratio of the general population, it is estimated that the 80 pupils from Lincoln generally broke down racially into 62 white and 18 Black children.

Source: L.1, 5.

That being the case the Topeka school officials assigned approximately 188 Black children to the Parkdale elementary school in 1962. That figure represented about 13% of the total Black elementary pupil population in the school system in 1962.

As a result of those reassignments the proportion of Black students at the Parkdale elementary school rose to approximately 59.4% in 1962.

The entire system at the elementary level was about 10% Black in student racial composition in 1962.

As mentioned earlier the School District #23 School Board reassigned the major portion of the children from the former Lincoln elementary school to the Lafayette elementary school in 1962.

Source: L.1.

In addition the school officials discontinued a traditional optional attendance area between the Lincoln, Lafayette and Parkdale elementary schools and reassigned all those youngsters to the Lafayette elementary school also in 1962.

Source: L.1.

And as a result the Lafayette elementary school increased in enrollment by 118 between 1961 and 1962.

Source: L.1.

No easy way is available to ascertain the number of Black and white children at the Lincoln school using only school data. But once again applying the rule of thumb that the race of the students equals one and one-half times the racial composition of the general population it can be estimated that the racial composition of the Lincoln elementary school was approximately 25.2% Black, i.e. that the Lincoln elementary school had 71 Black students and 211 white students in 1961 the closest year of enrollment data before the 1962 closing.

Source: L.1, 5.

Further, it is known from the similar "Parkdale" calculations above that about 18 Black and 62 white children from

Lincoln went to Parkdale leaving a remainder of 53 Black and 149 white students available for assignment to Lafayette.

And it is estimated through the use of the same process that the former optional attendance zone reassigned totally to the Lafayette elementary school was about 28% Black in its student racial composition.

Source: L.1, 5.

If the student populations of the Lafayette, Lincoln, Parkdale and Washington elementary school were taken together in 1961 they would have comprised a group that was about 36.6% Black in its pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

But in 1962 the Topeka Board of Education closed Lincoln and Washington elementary schools; cancelled an optional attendance area; opened classroom additions at Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools; modified the attendance boundaries of those two schools; and assigned Black and white children between and among the Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools in such a manner as to make Parkdale 59.4% Black in student racial composition while leaving the Lafayette elementary school immediately to the north in all probability no more than 17% Black in its student racial ratio.

The assignment of 329 Black children to the Parkdale school in 1962 clearly made of that school the segregated replacement for the all-Black Washington elementary school.

The Topeka Board of Education had by 1963 put into place two new optional attendance zones which were between the Parkdale,

Sumner, and Lafayette elementary schools and the Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools respectively.

Source: L.1.

The Sumner elementary school was 2.8% Black in 1956 and 4.3% Black in student racial composition in 1966 and is assumed to be no less predominantly white at any time in the interval.

Similarly the Lafayette elementary school was 13.7% Black in 1956 and 26.1% Black in 1966 and is presumed to have not exceeded those parameters during that period.

Source: L.10 & 12.

The U.S. Census for 1960 shows that the geographic areas encompassed by the boundaries of those optional zones were predominantly white in their residential populations.

Source: L.5.

And there is good reason to believe that the Parkdale elementary school which was 24.4% Black in 1956 and 85.3% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1966 was systematically being readied to take the place of the all-Black Washington elementary school.

The Parkdale elementary school lost an average of 22 white students per year between 1956 and 1966.

Source: L.9, 10, 12.

The Washington Constellation White Schools:

It was pointed out earlier that as of 1953 the racially dual overlapping white attendance areas assigned to the all-Black Washington elementary school were those of the Lafayette, Lincoln, Oakland (Lundgren), Parkdale and State Street elementary

schools.

The Oakland and State Street elementary schools were experiencing overcrowding at average rates of 31.3 and 92.7 pupils per year respectively from 1957 through 1966.

Source: L.1, 14, 15, 22, 33.

The Oakland elementary school was 0.0% Black in student racial composition in 1956 and 0.5% Black in 1966 having gained two Black pupils over the ten year period. And the State Street elementary school was 4.8% Black in 1956 and 4.3% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1966 having in fact lost two Black pupils over that same period.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Parkdale elementary school was 24.4% Black in pupil racial composition in 1956 and 85.3% Black in 1966 having been assigned an additional 292 Black children over those ten years.

Source: L.10, 12.

And the Parkdale elementary school was on the average 89 pupil spaces, or 3 classrooms, underutilized each year over the ten year period.

The Washington elementary school was 100% Black for its entire existence, with the exception of one white child known to have attended there in September of 1955.

Source: L.10.

And from 1956 to 1961, the year before its closing, the Washington elementary school had an average of 143 unused pupil spaces.

Source: L.14, 15, 23, 33.

In 1956 the proportion of Black students in all of these four elementary schools combined was 22.7%. And in 1966 the combined proportion of Black students in the Parkdale, Oakland (Lundgren) and State Street elementary schools, -- the Washington student complement being included in that of the Parkdale elementary school -- was 28.7%.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Topeka school authorities could have relieved the overcrowding at the white schools Oakland and State Street, and substantially desegregated the student bodies of those two schools and the Parkdale and Washington elementary schools at any time from 1956 through 1966 by essentially reversing the segregation routes of 1953.

Source: L.13.

Rather, the Topeka Board of Education elected the following course of action.

In 1957 the school officials added two classrooms each to the Oakland and State Street elementary schools, through the conversion of special use room within the respective buildings, to classrooms.

Source: L.15.

In 1958 one portable classroom was placed at the Oakland elementary school by the school authorities. That number was increased to two in 1961 and 1962, and in 1964 the School Board opened a permanent four classroom addition at that school.

Source: L.33.

Also in 1964, the common attendance boundary between the Oakland and State Street elementary schools was modified to include into the Oakland attendance zone a geographical area which had been an optional attendance area between the Oakland and State Street schools since at least 1951.

By 1964 the State Street elementary school was experiencing overcrowding by some 136 pupils due to the assignment policies of the Topeka School Board, while the Oakland school enrollment was beginning to tone down with only 16 pupils overcapacity.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

The school officials began by adding one portable classroom to the State Street elementary school in the school years 1962 and 1963, upping that number to two portable classrooms in 1964, three in 1965 and finally four portable classrooms in 1966.

Source: L.33.

There is no question that the increasing numbers of children at the Oakland and State Street elementary schools were predominantly if not all-white. And had they been transferred to the Parkdale and/or Washington elementary schools in any one of a variety of combinations they could have greatly eliminated the racial disproportionality of those schools.

More regrettable than that, perhaps, is the manner in which the Topeka Board of Education chose to assign the pupils from the northeastern areas annexed to the school system in 1960.

In 1960 the Topeka school system annexed portions of the Kelsey School District (#99) and the Dawson School District

(#92).

Source: Shawnee Co. Clerk.

The 1960 U.S. Census shows that the areas in focus were pretty much contained in census tract #32 and that that census tract contained a residential population that was 3.3% Black in racial composition.

Source: L.5.

The records of the Shawnee Co. Clerk indicate that the Dawson elementary school was 1.8% Black in student racial composition in 1952-53, the last year such information was apparently kept prior to 1966.

The eastern attendance boundary of the Oakland elementary school was expanded to include the Kelsey territory, and the State Street school could receive former Dawson pupils through an optional attendance zone created by the Topeka Board between State Street and Dawson elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

This action was taken despite the fact that the Oakland and State Street schools were already over capacity by 37 and 52 pupils respectively in 1960.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

Within one year the overcrowding at the State Street school had increased to 101 pupils.

Source: L.1, 15, 33.

The Topeka school records show that the enrollment at the Dawson elementary school was 71 in 1961.

Source: L.1.

Assuming that the 49 pupil increase in overutilization at the State Street school was attributable to the optional zone with the Dawson school, and taking from the 1960 U.S. Census that the school aged children in census tract #32 were 4.1% Black in 1960, it can be estimated that there were about 120 children attending school in Topeka from the Dawson area and that five of them were Black.

Source: L.1, 5.

Had the Dawson school been closed upon annexation and those children, with no assignment tradition within the Topeka system at all, been assigned to the Washington elementary school, the Washington elementary school could have been 63.3% Black rather than 100% Black in 1960.

Source: L.1.

Had those Dawson youngsters been assigned to the Parkdale elementary school in 1960, the Parkdale school could have been approximately 32.3% Black in pupil racial ratio rather than 43.7% Black.

Source: L.10, 12.

The Topeka School Board did close the Dawson elementary school in 1966 and reassigned the Dawson student body to the State Street and Rice elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The State Street elementary school was 4.3% Black and the Rice was 3.0% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1966. But the Parkdale was 85.3% in 1966.

Had the Dawson children been assigned to the Parkdale school, that school could have been 78.6% Black at a time when the school system at the elementary level was only 12.05% Black in student racial composition.

Source: L.12.

The regular assignment of increasing numbers of Black children to the Parkdale elementary school from 1957 to 1966 coupled with the willingness to assign any number of white students to the Oakland (Lundgren) and State Street despite great overcrowding at those two schools clearly identified the Parkdale elementary school as the Black school of northeastern Topeka and the Oakland and State Street as the white schools of that region in 1966.

The Racial History of the Monroe Elementary School

By 1956 the Topeka Board of Education had re-distributed all the Black children from the all-Black Monroe elementary school that it was going to under the "Administrative Integration Plan" of 1953 through 1956.

72.1% of the re-assigned Monroe Black youngsters were sent to the Lincoln, Polk, Quinton Heights, and Van Buren elementary schools which formed a cluster of elementary school attendance areas with the Monroe elementary school more or less at its center.

Source: L.1, 9

In 1953 the combined student racial composition of that cluster of schools was about 18.7% Black. And in 1956 the first

year of full implementation of the administrative integration plan that cluster of schools had a pupil ratio of 22.2% Black, an increase of 3.5% in the proportion of Black students over three years.

But the way in which the school authorities assigned Black and white students between and among those five elementary schools resulted in the Monroe elementary school retaining 52.3% of its original Black students and with no white students assigned to it, remaining 100% Black; the Lincoln and Van Buren sharing between them 90.9% of all the Black children re-assigned within the cluster; and the Polk and Quinton Heights elementary schools having only a grand total of 30 Black children assigned to the two schools combined making them 1.8% Black and 7.3% Black respectively in pupil racial ratio in 1956.

Source: L.9, 10.

The specific school Board actions and inactions which tended to effect the above described inequities in 1956 were developed in detail in Part I of this Report.

As of 1966 the number of elementary schools in the Monroe cluster had dwindled to three with the closing of the Lincoln and Van Buren elementary schools and the racial composition of the remaining three schools, Monroe, Polk and Quinton Heights, combined had increased to 42.7% Black by 1966, an increase of 20.5 percentage points.

Source: L.12.

But the proportion of the cluster's Black students assigned to the Monroe elementary school by the Topeka Board of Education

had increased by 7.3 percentage points in ten years going from 52.3% in 1956 to 59.6% in 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

In fact the number of Black children assigned to the Monroe elementary school by school authorities had increased by 35.8% from 1956 to 1966.

The Monroe elementary school was 74.6% Black in student racial composition in 1966 while the school system as a whole was but 12.1% Black in pupil racial proportions at the elementary level.

Source: L.12.

The Polk elementary school which had an attendance area that was immediately to the north and west of that of the Monroe elementary school was 1.8% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1956 and 9.9% Black by that same measure in 1966, having gained 14 Black students over the ten year period.

Source: L.10, 12.

The number of Black children assigned to the Monroe school alone had been increased by 48 over that same period.

Source: L.10, 12.

The series of school board administrative actions and inaction which tended to precipitate the 1966 inequities in the Monroe elementary school cluster are as follows.

90.9% of the Black children redistributed from the pre-1955 all-Black Monroe elementary school in 1955 were assigned by the Topeka school authorities to two of five elementary schools which surrounded and had common attendance boundaries with the Monroe

elementary school.

Source: L.9.

Those two elementary schools were the Lincoln and Van Buren elementary schools, as stated earlier, and the reassignment in question took those two schools from a racial status of all-white in their student racial composition to pupil racial ratios of 19.9% Black and 20.9% Black respectively in 1956, figures that were within fractions of a percentage point of being twice the system wide average of 10.7% Black at the elementary level in 1956.

And, as stated earlier, the remaining two elementary schools of the cluster, the Polk and Quinton Heights were assigned Black and white children in a manner which resulted in those schools being 1.8% Black, and 7.3% Black in pupil racial composition respectively in 1956, sharing only 9.5% of the clusters of Black pupils between them.

Source: L.10.

The Van Buren and Lincoln elementary schools like the Grant, Lowman Hill, and Parkdale elementary schools were designated under the administrative integration plan to be the last to receive Black children redistributed from the pre-1953 all-Black elementary schools.

Source: L.9, 13.

And it is to be remembered that the schools under that designation were distinguishable from the other elementary schools in the district not only because they were destined to receive the largest proportions of the Black children re-assigned

under the integration plan but also because the attendance boundaries of the schools on that list were drawn to include large concentrations of Black residential population.

Source: L.1, 4, 5, 13 and pp. 20, 81 & 82 of this Report.

The Lincoln and Van Buren elementary schools were no exception to that rule and the 1960 U.S. census indicates that the Van Buren elementary school attendance area was drawn to encompass that portion of the 1960 census tract #3 which was 27.0% Black in its residential racial population.

Source: L.5.

Similarly the attendance zone assigned to the Lincoln elementary school included portions of the 1960 census tracts #1, 2 & 11 which were, when taken together, 18.5% Black in residential population.

Source: L.5.

By contrast the attendance areas drawn by the school officials for the Polk and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools in 1956 included the following census tracts and residential racial proportions:

	<u>1960 Census Tract(s)</u>	<u>Combined % Black</u>
Polk	1,3,4, & 5	2.7
Quinton Hgts.	15	8.8

Source: L.5.

In fact in the case of Polk the four census tracts cited were 3.7% Black, 22.1% Black, 7.9% Black and 13.1% Black respectively but the design of the Polk elementary school attendance boundary was such that the area encompassed by it was only 2.7%

in 1960, four years after the full integration plan implementation.

Source: L.5.

The Topeka school officials had assigned 90.5% of the Black students in the Monroe cluster to only three of the five schools available for walk in desegregation in 1956 resulting in the Monroe elementary school at 100% Black, the Van Buren at 20.9% Black and the Lincoln at 19.9% Black in pupil racial composition while the Quinton Hgts., and Polk elementary schools were only 7.3% Black and 1.8% Black respectively in 1956.

Source: L.10.

Then in 1958 the Topeka Board of Education initiated the first of a series of administrative actions that would effectively isolate white pupils at the Polk and Central Park elementary schools and in the process expand and exacerbate the containment of Black children in the schools on either side of those two schools.

In 1958 the school board cancelled the Polk school's participation in an optional attendance zone between Polk, Van Buren and Monroe elementary schools and redesigned that zone to provide an optional zone between the Lincoln, Van Buren and Monroe elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

In 1959 the school officials cancelled the optional zone between the Polk, Buchanan and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Buchanan school had been opened all-Black in student racial composition in 1956 and in 1956 the Lowman Hill was two times Blacker than any of the formerly all-white elementary schools which surrounded it, as the result of school board assignment policies. (See supra).

In 1962 the Topeka School Board replaced the Polk elementary school building with a new one and expanded its pupil capacity to 300.

Source: L.20.

The Polk school had been underutilized by an average of 69 pupil spaces over the six years prior to the opening of the new Polk building in 1962.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15, 20.

And the Polk elementary school enrollment was on the average 164 students less than the average system elementary school over that six year period. L.1, 10, 12, 15, 20.

The Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools were underutilized by an average of 277 and 76 pupil spaces respectively from 1956 to 1961.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15 & 20.

The Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools were 47 and 30 years newer in their respective building ages than the old Polk elementary school.

Source: L.33.

Had the Polk elementary school been closed and its student complement been reassigned to the Monroe elementary schools in 1962, that school could have been 38.7% Black in pupil racial

composition in 1962.

Had the Polk elementary school student complement been assigned to the Van Buren and Monroe elementary schools those two schools could have been approximately 48.5 and 30.7 in 1962.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 15, 20.

In 1962 the Topeka school officials also closed the Lincoln elementary school and re-assigned that school's pupils to the Parkdale and Lafayette elementary schools in a manner which assigned most of the Lincoln white children to the Lafayette elementary school and not the Parkdale elementary school, which schools were estimated to be 17.0% Black and 59.4% respectively, in 1962. (See supra).

Source: L.1.

As part of the Lincoln School closing the Topeka School Board cancelled the five year long optional attendance zone that existed between the Lincoln, Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools and created a new optional attendance area to feed the Polk, Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

This new Polk-Monroe-Van Buren optional attendance area included the former Lincoln-Monroe-Van Buren optional area but was expanded to include another 10 city blocks of what was once the Lincoln elementary school attendance area.

Source: L.1.

The 1960 and 1970 U.S. censuses indicate the area included into the newly designed Polk-Monroe-Van Buren optional zone to be

predominantly white in its residential population.

Source: L.5.

And school district enrollment information indicates that the Polk elementary school gained 15 students while three of the schools surrounding it, the Central Park, Van Buren & Monroe, were losing students.

Source: L.1, 5.

In 1963 the Topeka school officials redrew the north and west attendance boundaries of the Polk elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Northern boundary change committed children who attended the Polk school from an area north of 10th street, to a newly created optional attendance zone between the Polk and Clay elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The optional zone with the Clay school was a predicate to actually reassigning that area from the Polk school to the Clay school which the Topeka Board did in 1964.

Source: L.1.

The 1960 U.S. Census shows the area included in that new option to have been predominantly white in its residential racial make-up.

Source: L.5.

And it is estimated that the Clay elementary school was only about 10.3% Black and the Polk was 4.2% Black in student racial composition in 1963.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Clay elementary school gained eighteen pupils between 1962 and 1963.

Source: L.1.

The western boundary change to the Polk elementary school attendance area in 1963 reassigned children from the Polk elementary school to the Lowman Hill elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The 1960 U.S. census indicates that the area transferred from the Polk to the Lowman Hill attendance area included the only full city blocks in the Polk area with residential populations over 25% Black in racial composition; all others being from 0 to 5% Black.

Source: L.5.

The Lowman Hill elementary school gained 51 pupils and was approximately 41.3% Black in pupil racial composition in 1963 when the system as a whole was just about 10% Black at the elementary level. The racially imbalancing effects of that reassignment on the Lowman Hill elementary school were spelled out in greater depth earlier in this Report.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

It is estimated that the Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools were 100% and 40% Black in student racial ratio in 1963.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Lowman Hill elementary school had a common attendance boundary with the Polk and Clay elementary schools on their west and the Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools areas formed a similar boundary on the south and east of the Polk and Clay

elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Lowman Hill had 27 available pupil spaces, the Monroe had 279 and the Van Buren had 146 pupil spaces in 1963.

Source: L.1, 15, 20.

If the Topeka school officials were about changing the attendance boundaries of the Polk and Clay elementary schools they could have done so in a manner designed to blur the racial identification of the Polk as a white school in the midst of three disproportionately Black schools in 1963.

In 1964 the school authorities embarked on a program of optional attendance zone elimination.

Source: L.1.

The Topeka Board of Education had in place five optional attendance zones between the Polk and surrounding elementary school in 1963.

Source: L.1.

The northern most optional zone was between the Polk and Clay elementary schools and the circumstances surrounding its creation and cancellation have just been discussed.

A second optional zone to the north and east of the Polk elementary school was designed to offer an attendance option between the Polk and Van Buren and Monroe elementary schools and was continued in 1964.

A third optional attendance zone was drawn to allow an option between the Polk and Van Buren elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The 1960 U.S. Census indicates the residential area included in that optional zone to be 0.5% Black in racial composition.

Source: L.5, 6.

It was previously estimated that the Polk elementary school was 4.2% Black in 1963 and that the Van Buren elementary school was about 40% Black.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The Topeka school officials chose to reassign the predominantly white six city block area included in the third option to the Polk elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The fourth optional attendance area was in place between the Polk and Central Park elementary schools which were approximately 4.2% Black and 8.9% Black in pupil racial composition respectively in 1963.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The 1960 U.S. Census shows that the geographic area included in the fourth Polk optional area was 0.0% Black in residential racial composition.

Source: L.5.

The fifth ongoing optional attendance zone was between the Polk and Lowman Hill elementary schools which have been estimated as 4.2% Black and 41.3% Black in student racial composition in 1963.

The residential area encompassed by the boundaries of the Polk-Lowman Hill optional attendance zone involved a city block that was 17.6% Black in residential racial composition and an

estimated 26.4% Black in prospective student racial ratio.

The Topeka school officials elected to erase that optional attendance area and permanently assign the children residing therein to the Lowman Hill elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Polk elementary school lost student population in 1963 the year prior to the optional zone cancellation and in 1965 and 1966, the years immediately after. But in 1964 the year of the optional area closings the Polk elementary school gained 41 pupils.

The results of the four optional zone eliminations cited above were that the children from all or 99% white residential areas were permanently assigned to schools which were 90% or more white in their pupil racial ratio while the children from a residential area that was significantly Blacker in racial composition were assigned to the Lowman Hill elementary school which was about 42.9% Black in 1964.

The Polk elementary school is estimated to have been about 5.3% Black in 1964. The number of Black children assigned to that school increased by about 2 pupils implying that 39 of the 41 student increase in total enrollment was made up of white pupils.

Source: L.1.10, 12.

Had matters been arranged so that 39 of the white children from the Polk school were assigned to the Lowman Hill elementary school those two schools could have been 6.1% Black and 39.5%

Black in student racial composition in 1964.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

Had 39 white children from the Polk elementary school been assigned to the Van Buren elementary school in 1964 the Van Buren elementary school could have been 30.5% Black in pupil racial composition rather than the estimated 40.0% Black at a time when the system as a whole was little more than 10% Black at the elementary level.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

Rather in 1964 the Topeka Board of Education chose to close the Van Buren elementary school and reassign the entire Van Buren attendance area to the Monroe elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The Monroe elementary school had an all Black pupil complement of 102 children assigned to it by the Topeka Board in 1963, the year prior to receipt of the Van Buren youngsters, and in 1964 the total enrollment at the Monroe elementary school rose by 104 to a total of 206 pupils.

Source: L.1.

Holding to the 40.0% Black 1963 Van Buren figure for a moment it can be estimated that 42 of the 104 children received by the Monroe elementary school were Black.

And that would mean that the number of Black children at the Monroe elementary school had been increased by 41.2% making the Monroe 70% Black in 1964 when the system's elementary schools taken together were little more than 10% Black in student racial ratio.

Had those 42 Black children been assigned to the Polk elementary school in 1964 the Polk could have had a student racial composition that was approximately 17.5% Black rather than 5.3% Black in 1964.

In fact, had the 62 white children from the Van Buren school been assigned to the Monroe elementary school at the same time as the proposed Polk reassignment the Monroe elementary school could have been 62.2% Black.

But several additional factors enter the picture here. One is the fact that the Van Buren school had an enrollment of 124 pupils in 1963 but the Monroe elementary school received only 104 children in 1964. The second is that the Topeka defendant school board stated in their answers to plaintiff's interrogatory number nine that the pupils from the Van Buren school closing were sent to both the Monroe and Polk elementary schools. The third, is the fact that the Topeka Board's proffered maps of elementary school attendance boundaries for 1964 and 1965 show no indication of any former Van Buren territory being redrawn into the Polk attendance zone. The fourth fact is that an optional attendance zone formerly offering an attendance option between the Polk, Van Buren and Monroe elementary schools had been altered in 1964 to exclude the Van Buren school. The fifth point of fact is that the Polk elementary school enjoyed an increase of 41 students in 1964 despite losing enrollment in 1963 and subsequently in 1965 and 1966. And the sixth bit of information is that the 1960 U.S. census indicates that the geographic area in question is quite

predominantly white in residential composition.

Source: L1, 5.

The inference drawn from all the above is that the twenty pupil difference between the Van Buren 1963 enrollment and those showing up at the Monroe school in 1964, was comprised of white children from the optional attendance zone who subsequently attended the Polk elementary school as part of its unusual increase in enrollment in 1964.

If it is a correct assumption that those 20 children were in fact white then adding those children to the 62 white children already assigned from the former Van Buren elementary school in 1964 would have given the Monroe elementary school a pupil racial ratio of 55.4% Black in 1964.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

Of course had the Topeka school authorities chosen to assign Black and white students to the adjoining attendance areas of Polk and Monroe elementary schools so as to create a degree of racial equity between the two schools they could have achieved two schools with average proportions of Black students of 32.5% in 1964.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

By 1966 there were three schools left in the Monroe cluster, the Monroe, the Polk and the Quinton Hgts. elementary schools all having attendance boundaries in common.

Source: L.1.

There were 305 Black students and 409 white students attending those three elementary schools in 1966 making a combined

average pupil racial composition of 42.7% Black. L.12

But the student assignment, school construction, and school closing policies and practices of the Topeka Board of Education allocated those children between and among those three schools in such a manner as to have 88.0% of the 406 white children attend the Polk and Quinton Hgts. schools while assigning 60% of the 305 Black pupils to Monroe elementary school.

Source: L.12.

Thus in 1966 when the entire school system was but 12.05% Black at the elementary level the Monroe elementary school was assigned 182 Black pupils and was 74.9% Black in student racial composition while the Quinton Hgts. elementary school was 33.6% Black and the Polk elementary school with a total of 18 Black pupils was only 9.9% Black by the same measure.

Source: L.12.

Lafayette and Quinton Heights

So far in this examination of the racial effects of the administrative decisions of the U.S.D. #501 Board of Education and its predecessor School Board #23 it has been shown that the manipulation of attendance boundaries along with the selective choice of school sites and the timing and size of the construction of original school buildings and classroom additions of the Lafayette and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools were part of a pattern of actions and inactions that placed disproportionate numbers of Black children at the Parkdale and Washington elementary schools and the Monroe and Van Buren elementary schools

respectively. And an equally disproportionate number of white children were placed at the schools which surrounded them from 1953 to 1966.

Speaking from the point of view of comparative student racial compositions, the Lafayette elementary school at 26.1% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1966, was a relatively white school when viewed from the school yard of the adjacent Parkdale elementary school which was 85.3% Black in 1966.

Source: L.12.

And likewise, the Quinton Hgts. elementary school was an assigned a student body that was 33.6% Black in student racial composition in 1966 and it would not stretch the imagination to see it as a comparatively white school when viewed from the playground of the nearby Monroe elementary school which was assigned a pupil racial ratio of 74.9% Black as of the 1966 school year.

Source: L.12.

But if one should figuratively move one's viewing point northeast from the Parkdale elementary school to the Lafayette elementary school and turn look to the State Street and Oakland elementary schools on the north and the Rice elementary school to the east in 1966 one would find that the number of Black children assigned to the Lafayette elementary school (125) is 77.6% of the total number of Black children (161) assigned to all four of those elementary schools combined. And relative to the number of white children assigned to each of those four schools the Lafayette elementary school had 42.8% fewer assigned white children than the Oakland (Lundgren) elementary school; 45.9%

fewer white pupils than the State Street elementary school and 32.5% fewer white students than the Rice elementary school; in 1966.

Source: L.12.

Similarly, moving one's vantage point from Monroe school south to the Quinton Hgts. elementary school and looking to the Avondale East, the Avondale West, the Avondale Southwest and the Stout elementary schools one sees in 1966 a likeness in student assignment pattern to the one just described for the Lafayette cluster of schools.

The Quinton Hgts. elementary schools was assigned a number of Black students that was a disproportionate 57.1% of all the Black children in those five schools combined while at the white end of the pupil assignment spectrum the Quinton Hgts. was given: only 50% of the number of white children assigned to the Stout elementary school; 60.7% fewer white children than assigned to the Avondale East elementary school; 56.6% fewer white pupils than the Avondale South elementary school and 64.3% fewer assigned white students than the Avondale West elementary school.

Source: L.12.

In real numbers the Topeka School Board had assigned 105 Black students to the Quinton Hgts. elementary school, but only one and two Black students to the adjacent Avondale West and Stout elementary schools respectively and no Black students to the Avondale Southwest elementary school in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The following discussion will be concerned with the series of events which brought the student racial compositions of the Lafayette and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools to be more than twice the proportion of Black students for the school system as a whole at the elementary level in 1966 and anywhere from 2.6 to 67 times the proportion of Black students in the schools immediately surrounding them in 1966.

Source: L.12.

That analysis will show that the Lafayette and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools were to the 1960's student racial context what the Grant, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren elementary schools were to the 1950's, i.e., racially transitional schools.

The Lafayette School

In 1962 the Topeka Board of Education closed the Lincoln elementary school and assigned the majority of the school children from the Lincoln attendance area to the Lafayette elementary school.

Source: L.1.

It was estimated earlier in this Report that the number of pupils thereby reassigned to the Lafayette elementary school from the Lincoln school was 202, 53 Black and 149 white.

Source: L.1, 5.

Also reassigned to the Lafayette school in 1962 was a former optional attendance zone which was predicted earlier in this Report to have been about 28% Black in its potential student

racial composition.

Source: L.1, 5.

And in 1962 the school authorities placed two portable classrooms and opened a new six classroom addition at the Lafayette elementary school thereby creating 230 new pupil spaces to contain the increase of 118 in the Lafayette school's enrollment in 1962.

Source: L.1 & 33.

The increase in the Lafayette elementary school's enrollment made that school 48% larger in enrollment than the average Topeka elementary school enrollment of 429 pupils in 1962.

Source: L.1.

In contrast the Oakland elementary school to the north of the Lafayette school was right at the average with 437 pupils and the Rice and Dawson elementary schools just to the east of the Lafayette school were 31% and 85% smaller than the average Topeka elementary school with only 295 and 66 students assigned to them respectively.

Source: L.1

More important perhaps was the fact that the reassignment of 53 plus Black students to the Lafayette school in 1962 gave that school a Black student component of approximately 116 pupils which was 3 times greater than the estimated number of Black pupils in the Oakland, State Street and Rice elementary schools combined. (35)

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The analysis of what the Topeka school officials subsequently did and/or did not do between and among the elementary schools of northeastern Topeka to keep the Oakland and State Street elementary schools all or predominantly white in pupil racial ratio, and the Washington and Parkdale elementary schools all or predominantly Black in student racial composition was fully explored earlier in this Report.

An outline of those events and their specific effects at the Lafayette elementary school is what follows.

The Topeka school authorities maintained the predominantly white Oakland (Lundgren) and State Street elementary schools at rates of overcrowding of 10 and 82 pupils in excess of available seats respectively from 1962 to 1966.

Source: L.1, 22, 33.

The Lafayette school was maintained at an under capacity of anywhere from 115 to 338 available pupil spaces during that same period.

Source: L.1, 22, 33.

The addition of 92 white children to the Lafayette elementary school in 1962 and 1966 could have reduced the percentage of Black children in that school from 18.3% to 15.9% Black in 1962, and from 26.1% to 21.9% Black in 1966.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

But of greatest significance in the Lafayette region of the school system was the closing of the Dawson elementary school in 1966.

In 1960 the Dawson school building and most of its attendance area were annexed to the Topeka school system.

And sometime between 1960 and 1963 the Topeka school authorities saw fit to establish an optional attendance zone between the State Street and Dawson elementary schools.
Source: L.1.

The Dawson school lost 35 pupils from its enrollment in 1961 and then went on to lose another 27 pupils over the next four years for an average yearly loss of 12.4 pupils over the five years 1961 to 1965.

Source: L.1.

The State Street school experienced increases in pupil enrollment that averaged 5 students per year over that same five year period. And over the time 1961 to 1965 the State Street elementary school was maintained in a condition of overcrowding that averaged 82 children in excess of available seats causing the school officials to place a portable classroom at the State Street site in each of the years 1962 and 1963; and to increase the number of portable classroom buildings to two in 1964, three in 1965 and four in 1966.

Source: L.1, 22, 33.

In 1966 the Topeka school officials closed the Dawson elementary school and assigned its remaining students to the State Street and Rice elementary school.

Source: L.1.

The significance of the closing of the Dawson school stemmed not only from the fact that the Dawson student body was in all

probability predominantly white in racial composition and was assigned to two other predominantly white schools as described earlier in this Report.

But in addition the manner in which the Dawson youngsters were reassigned to the State Street and Rice elementary schools confirmed the parameters of possible more desegregative student assignments available to the Topeka School Board in this area of the school system.

When the Dawson school was closed in 1966 the northern three quarters or so of its attendance zone was reassigned to the State Street school thereby extending the eastern Boundary of the State Street elementary school one and one-half miles to the east.

Source: L.1.

The inclusion of the Dawson area into the State Street attendance area increased the maximum, straight line, one-way travel distance for State Street students from one mile to two miles in 1966 and made the State Street elementary school attendance area over three miles wide from its western to its eastern boundary.

This action was taken despite the school Board's long held policy that an elementary school's attendance boundary should approximate a circle with a radius of no more than 3/4 of a mile.

Source: L.16

A radius of a mile and a half drawn from the State Street school southward would include all of the Lafayette attendance area.

Remembering that Black children were sent much greater distances than one and one-half miles from the State Street area to attend the pre-1953 all Black elementary schools and given that the Topeka school officials regularly disregarded the fact of pupil overcrowding at the State Street school, in making decisions to increasingly absorb the Dawson children into the State Street school, it is evident that at any time the school authorities could have redrawn the common boundary between the Lafayette and State Street elementary schools to include greater numbers of Black children at the State Street school and thereby decrease the disproportionate assignment of those pupils to the Lafayette elementary school.

In 1962, the total enrollment at the Lafayette elementary school was 635. It has been estimated that 116 Black children were being assigned to the Lafayette elementary school in 1962 making it 18.3% Black at a time when the system was about 10.0% Black at the elementary level.

Source: L.1

The reassignment of 47 Black pupils from the Lafayette attendance area to the State Street attendance zone could have resulted in the Lafayette and State Street schools each having student racial compositions of approximately 11.8% Black in 1962.

Similarly in 1966 the Lafayette elementary school had a pupil complement of 463 of which 125 students were Black making the Lafayette elementary school 26.0% Black in a year when the average elementary school in the system was but 12.1% Black. And in that same year the number of Black pupils assigned to the

State Street elementary school had decreased to 24 making the State Street 4.1% Black in student racial ratio.

Source: L.12

Again the assignment of Black and white students to the Lafayette and State Street elementary schools with an eye toward a more even handed racial distribution could have resulted in both schools approximating 14.2% Black in pupil racial compositions in 1966.

Source: L.12

Rather the Topeka school officials elected in 1966 to assign to the Lafayette elementary school five times the number of Black students as were assigned to the State Street school thereby giving the Lafayette school a proportion of Black students that was more than twice the system-wide average at the elementary level and more than eight times that of the State Street school.

Source: L.12

The Quinton Heights School

When the Topeka Board of Education opened the New Stout elementary school in 1955 it reassigned nearly 1/4 of the Quinton Heights school attendance area to the New Stout school; converted another 1/4 of the Quinton Heights attendance zone into an optional attendance zone between the Stout and Quinton Heights schools; and drew the common boundary between the Stout and Quinton Heights schools in a manner which continued the assignment of Black children to the Quinton Heights elementary school but which caused only white children to be assigned to the Stout

elementary school. (See Part I of this Report).

The Quinton Heights elementary school was 3.4% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1954, 6.9% Black in 1955 and 7.3% Black in 1956 and would quite legitimately be considered a predominantly white school during those years not much different from the all and disproportionately white Stout elementary school.

Source: L.1, 9, 10, 12, 13.

But in 1957 the Topeka school officials annexed the all Black Pierce school District # 14 to the Topeka school system.

Source: L.1 & Shawnee County Clerk.

The Pierce school served a geographic area adjacent to and to the east of the Quinton Heights elementary school and when it was annexed to the Topeka school system the S.D. # 23 school officials assigned it an attendance boundary in common with the Quinton Heights school.

Source: L.1

The 1960 U.S. Census indicates that the Pierce geographic area was 75.3% Black in the racial composition of its residential population. And the Shawnee County Clerk's records show that the Pierce school district was all Black in student racial composition in 1952 the last year that such racial data was apparently kept.

Source: L.5 & Shawnee County Clerk

No doubt the Quinton Heights school was still over 90% white in its student racial composition in 1957 but with the addition of the Pierce school attendance area to the east side of the Quinton Heights area the Quinton Heights school was no longer

just the other predominantly white school, along with the Stout school, at the south end of the Topeka school system.

Rather, in 1957 the Quinton Heights school became the school conceptually between the racially polar all-white Stout to the west and the all-Black Pierce to the east, and all-Black Monroe and substantially Black Van Buren elementary schools to the north.

Source: L.1

That transitional status was made all the more concrete when in 1959 the Topeka school officials annexed the school buildings and attendance areas of the Avondale East, Avondale Southwest, and Avondale West elementary schools which were adjacent to the southern boundaries of the Stout and Quinton Heights attendance areas.

Source: L.1

The most chronologically proximate racial data for the Avondale schools was again from the the 1952 school year and it shows the Avondale area to have been 0.97% Black in pupil racial ratio. And the 1960 U.S. Census indicates that the Avondale area annexed in 1959 contained one Black school aged child in 1960. The Avondale area was obviously white in terms of population in 1959.

Source: L.5 and Shawnee County Clerk Records.

Thus the Quinton Heights attendance area physically bridged the demographic distance between the all-Black Pierce and Monroe elementary schools and the substantially Black Van Buren elementary school to the east and north, and the all-white Stout and

all or predominantly white Avondale East, Southwest and West elementary schools to the west and south.

There is no indication of actions taken by the Topeka Board of Education to include or exclude Black and/or white children from the Quinton Heights school from 1955 to 1958. But the enrollment trends of that school were about to change dramatically. For while the Quinton Heights school had experienced average increases of nearly one classroom full of students each year from 1950 to 1957 that phenomenon came to an abrupt halt in 1958 when the Quinton Heights school began to lose student enrollment at the average rate of 21 pupils per year.

Source: L.1

An interpolation of racial data available for 1956 and 1966 indicates that while the pre-1957 growth in pupil population at the Quinton Heights school was primarily white in its racial composition, the Quinton Heights school lost an aggregate of 135 white students between 1956 and 1966 while gaining only 79 Black children over the same period.

Source: L.10, 12.

In 1959 the Topeka school officials took a series of actions which were destined to assign increasing numbers of Black students at the Quinton Heights school and provide the Quinton Heights white students with opportunities to attend school elsewhere.

In 1959 the Topeka school officials closed the all-Black Pierce elementary school and assigned the 79 pupils then attending that school to the Quinton Heights, Highland Park North, and

Highland Park Central elementary schools.

Source: L.1

There is no indication of the gain or loss of Black and white students at the Quinton Heights school as a result of the Pierce closing due to the racial data limitation mentioned earlier. But ongoing total enrollment figures show that the Quinton Heights school had a net loss of students for the second year in a row in 1959 and that the 1959 net loss of 39 pupils was double the net loss of 19 pupils the year before in 1958. In all probability those children lost from the Quinton Heights school were white.

Source: L.12.

Also in 1959 the Topeka school authorities cancelled the optional attendance zone established in 1955 between the Quinton Heights and Stout elementary schools and assigned those students to the Stout school.

Source: L.1

And in 1959 the school board created a new optional attendance zone within the Quinton Heights attendance zone again giving Quinton Heights pupils an option to attend the all-white Stout elementary school as well as the newly annexed Avondale West elementary school. Source: L.1

The 1960 U.S. Census indicates that the residential areas included in both of those optional attendance areas had totally white populations.

Source: L.5

The Stout elementary school gained an average of 35 pupils per year for the next three years but all indications are that the Stout school gained only two Black students in the ten year period from 1956 to 1966. It is a safe assumption therefore that the Stout school was having increasing numbers of white students assigned to it after 1959 and it's at least reasonable to assume that a number of them came from the optional area just described.

Source: L.1, 10, & 12

Similarly Topeka enrollment data indicates that the elementary schools of the Avondale area experienced combined increases of 79 pupils per year for the next four years after annexation while having their total number of assigned Black students increase to a combined total of only 77 by 1966. Clearly the growth in the Avondale schools was primarily in the number of white students.

Source: L.1 & 12.

In 1962 the Topeka school officials again modified the Quinton Heights attendance boundary to include Black children and exclude white children.

The Topeka School Board expanded the northern attendance boundary of the Quinton Heights elementary school to include a nine city block area from the south end of the Van Buren elementary school attendance zone and a six city block area from the southeast corner of the Central Park service area.

Source: L.1

The Quinton Heights school gained 45 pupils in 1962 after experiencing average yearly losses of some 21 pupils for the four

prior years.

Source: L.1

The 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses indicate those geographic areas to be zones of residential racial transition, white to Black, with the Van Buren area being well over 50% Black in 1960.

Source: L.4 & 5

By 1963 the school board had modified the optional attendance zone between the Quinton Heights, Stout and Avondale West elementary schools by reassigning the southern half of the zone to the Avondale West school and making the northern half optional only between the Quinton Heights and Stout schools.

Source: L.1

And in 1964 the Topeka school authorities did in fact cancel that remaining Quinton Heights, Stout optional attendance zone and again assigned the former Quinton Heights territory to the Stout elementary school.

Source: L.1

The 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses show the geographic areas included in the boundaries of those two optional zone cancellations and modifications to have been all white in their residential racial composition.

Source: L.4, 5

And in 1964 the Topeka school authorities closed the Van Buren elementary school and assigned another portion of that school's attendance zone to the Quinton Heights School through the expansion of the northern Quinton Heights attendance boundary

to include another approximately six city block area.

Source: L.1

The Quinton Heights elementary school had been operated right at its physical capacity to hold students since 1962 and the Topeka school board was going to have to make room at the Quinton Heights school if more children were to be assigned there from the Van Buren closing.

Source: L.1, 33

The Topeka Board chose to effect the relief of the congestion at the Quinton Heights school by contracting a portion of the southern attendance boundary of the Quinton Heights school in 1964-65 and reassigning the pupils resident in that area to the Avondale West school to the south.

Source: L.1

The enrollment at the Avondale West elementary school increased by 167 in 1963 and again by 75 in 1964 and the Avondale West school was overcrowded by elementary school students in 1965.

Source: L.1 & 33

The U.S. Censuses for 1960 and 1970 confirm that any movement of the Quinton Heights northern attendance boundary to the north after 1960 necessarily meant the inclusion of ever greater numbers of Black students into that school. And similarly any movement of the Quinton Heights southern boundary in a constrictive manner also to the north would again necessarily mean the exclusion of white children from the Quinton Heights attendance

area.

Source: L.1, 4 & 5

The, by now (1966), customary treatment of racially transitional areas by the Topeka Board of Education held true to pattern.

The white population had signalled the school board of their initial unwillingness to attend the Quinton Heights school by the withdrawing of somewhat less than one classroom equivalent of pupils from attendance at the Quinton Heights school in 1958. The school board responded in 1959 by assigning Black students to those empty spaces from the Pierce school and confirming the white parents' perception that after 1954 any predominantly white school in such close proximity to two all-Black schools, the Pierce and Monroe, and the substantially Black Van Buren school, cannot long retain that "White" status.

More white students leave and to facilitate their election but exacerbate the potential for racial imbalance, the school officials: closed optional attendance areas in white parts of the Quinton Heights attendance zone and assigned them to all or preominantly white schools; created new optional attendance areas within other white residential portions of the Quinton Heights giving those children options to attend all white schools rather than Quinton Heights; and then in fact closed down those new optional areas and again reassigned them to all or predominantly white schools.

And finally starting in 1962 through the manipulations of the Quinton Heights attendance boundaries the Topeka school

authorities overtly excluded white students from Quinton Heights and included Black pupils into Quinton Heights.

Thus it was that by 1966 the Quinton Heights school had an assigned proportion of Black students that was very nearly three times that of the system as a whole at the elementary level but even more tellingly was 33% greater than the combined total of Black students at the Stout, Avondale East, Avondale Southwest and Avondale West schools taken together.

Source: L.12

Belvoir

In 1959 the Topeka School system had massively expanded annexations that included an additional land area that was at least half the size of the pre-1959 S.D. #23, the Topeka School system.

The areas annexed to the east of the pre-1959 school district #23 included the former school districts: #8, the Rice school district; #35 the Highland park school district; #61, the Belvoir school district; and #92, the Dawson school district

Source: L.1

The last year that pupil racial data was kept for those schools, prior to annexation, was 1952. The racial compositions of the elementary school system serving those four school districts in 1952 were as follows:

1952 Enrollment

School	# Black	# Total	% Black
Belvoir	55	264	20.8
Rice	5	198	2.5
Dawson	2	111	1.8
Highland Park	<u>18</u>	<u>1176</u>	<u>1.5</u>
TOTALS	80	1749	4.6

Source: Shawnee Co. Clerk

1966 was the first year after annexation that student racial data was once again available. Six elementary schools served the geographic areas of those respective 1952 school districts and their racial statistics were as follows in 1966: L.12

1966 Enrollment

<u>School</u>	<u># Black</u>	<u># Total</u>	<u>% Black</u>
Belvoir	208	427	48.7
Rice	10	333	3.0
Dawson	Closed		
Highland Park C.	86	685	12.6
Highland Park N.	94	551	17.1
Highland Park S.	5	595	0.8
Hudson	<u>14</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>6.4</u>
TOTALS	417	2811	14.8

The number of children attending school from those former autonomous school districts had increased by over 60% since 1952, the number of white students having increased from 1669 to 2394, an increase of 43.4%, and the number of Black children having increased from 80 to 417, a more than four fold increase.

L.12 & Shawnee Co. Clerk

But while all schools in that region appear to have gained in both Black and white pupils over those 14 years it is clear that the disproportionate assignment of Black students to the Belvoir School had weathered all the demographic and administrative changes and had continued until at least 1966.

For by 1966, 45% of the increase in Black children in that east Topeka region had been assigned to the Belvoir elementary school which thereby contained 49.9% of all the Black children assigned to those six elementary schools combined and making the Belvoir a 48.7% Black school at a time when the school system's proportion of Black students at the elementary level was only 12.1% Black.

Source: L.12

The following is an examination of the administrative decisions of the Topeka Board of Education which tended to promote the 1966 racial situation just described.

An examination of the pre-annexation school district attendance boundaries of the Dawson, Rice, Belvoir and Highland Park School Districts in comparison with the attendance boundaries of the elementary schools serving those districts just after annexation will indicate that there were substantial differences between their respective attendance boundaries before and after annexation into the Topeka school system.

Source: L.1 & Shawnee Co. Clerk.

The 1959 Dawson elementary school attendance boundary had apparently brought only about 3/4 of its pre-annexation territory along upon annexation while the Rice elementary school had left

at least 3/4 of its pre-annexation area behind upon entry to the Topeka school system in 1960.

Source: L.1 & Shawnee Co. Clerk

The 1959 assigned attendance area of the Highland Park elementary school system within the Topeka system was no more than 1/3 its pre-annexation size while the Belvoir elementary school assigned attendance zone was nearly 90% of its former autonomous self prior to 1960.

Source: L.1, & Shawnee Co. Clerk

Those post 1959 and 1960 Dawson, Rice, Belvoir and Highland Park attendance boundaries were designed by the Topeka Board of Education. The 1960 U.S. Census tracts which were included within those boundaries and their respective racial proportions were as follows:

Source: L.5.

<u>School</u>	<u>Census Tract #</u>	<u>% Black Population</u>	<u>Estimated % Black School Age</u>
Belvoir	31p*	17.6	22.7
Dawson	10p, 11p, 32p	2.0	3.0
Rice	11p, 32p	2.4	3.6
Highland Park N.	12, 13p	5.7	8.5
Highland Park C.	13p, 31p	1.8	2.7
Highland Park S.	30p	1.3	2.0

*p = part

Using the estimated percent Black of the school aged children figures and the known total enrollments for those respective six elementary school systems the number of Black pupils in each of those schools can be approximated for 1960 as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Black</u>	<u># White</u>
Belvoir	22.7	358	82	276
Dawson	3.0	106	3	103
Rice	3.6	261	10	251
Highland Park N.	8.5	547	47	500
Highland Park C.	2.7	721	20	701
Highland Park S.	2.0	403	8	395
TOTALS	<u>7.1</u>	<u>2395</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>2226</u>

Source: L.1 & 5.

The Topeka Board of Education designed the attendance boundaries of the Rice elementary school immediately to the north of the Belvoir elementary school, to include only an estimated 10 Black, and 251 white students in 1960. The Topeka school authorities designed the attendance area of the Highland Park Central elementary school, just to the south of the Belvoir school, to include only an approximate 20 Black and 701 white pupils. And the design of the Highland Park North elementary school service area on the west of Belvoir by the school officials of Topeka, included only 47 Black and 500 white children into that attendance area in 1960.

But the attendance boundary assigned to the Belvoir elementary school caused 82 Black children to be assigned to that school. Those elementary school children represented 51.6% of all the Black children assigned to the four schools in focus combined, in 1960. While at the same time the school officials assigned only 276 white pupils to Belvoir. Those 276 white pupils amounted to only 14.8% of the white students available for assignment between and among Belvoir, Rice and Highland Park North and Central elementary schools.

Had the school authorities drawn the respective attendance boundaries of those four clustered schools with an eye to a more equitable distribution of Black and white students they could have achieved four schools with average student racial ratios that approximated 8.4% Black.

In 1960 the enrollment at the average elementary school in the Topeka school system was 410 pupils. That fell comfortably within the ideal/most practical standard school building size of from 400 to 600 seats put forward by Topeka school Superintendent Godwin in 1953.

Source: L.16

Measured against this standard (410): the Dawson elementary school with a pupil enrollment of 71 was 82.7% smaller; the Rice elementary school with a total enrollment of 261 was 36.3% smaller; the Belvoir was only 12.7% below the system average with an enrollment of 358; the Highland Park North elementary school was well within the standard with a pupil enrollment of 547; and the Highland Park Central elementary school was 18.5% larger than the upper limit of 600 with an enrollment of 721.

The Dawson elementary school with only three classrooms was overcrowded by 16 pupils upon its annexation into the Topeka school system, while the Belvoir elementary school was under utilized by 32 unused seats.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to relieve the Dawson overcrowding by transferring 32 white children to the Belvoir school it could have realized a decrease in the proportion of Black students at Belvoir of more than 2 percentage

points, from 22.7% to 20.5% Black.

Had the Topeka school authorities closed the Dawson school immediately upon its entry into the Topeka system and assigned its complement of students to the Belvoir elementary school that school's pupil racial composition could have been 17.9% Black in 1960 rather than the estimated 22.7% Black.

Rather the Topeka school officials chose to gradually include the bulk of the Dawson youngsters into the State Street elementary school through the creation of an optional attendance zone and the closing of the Dawson elementary school.

Of equal importance was the probability that the State Street elementary school was only an estimated 4.7% Black in its pupil racial ratio in 1960.

Source: L.1, 10 & 12

The extension of the State Street attendance boundary to include its portion of the Dawson attendance area upon the closing of the Dawson School in 1966 made the State Street service area the largest of any in Topeka giving it a width of more than three miles in a school system whose standard measure for an elementary school attendance area was a one-way walking distance of 3/4 of a mile.

Source: L.16.

And the Topeka Board of Education had to place one portable classroom at the State Street school in each of the years 1962 and 1963, increase that number to two in 1964 and increase it again to 4 portable classrooms in 1966 in order to contain the

inclusion of the Dawson children.

Source: L.33.

Similarly the members and staff of the Topeka School Board placed an average of 1.8 portable classroom buildings each year from 1962 to 1966 at the Highland Park North elementary school immediately to the west of the Belvoir school, to contain the rapidly growing preominantly white pupil population in the Highland Park North assigned service area.

Source: L.1, 10, 12, 33.

Again the Topeka school officials placed just fewer than three portable classrooms in each of the years 1963 through 1966, and created a permanent four classroom building addition in 1966, at the Rice elementary school to contain that school's increasing white population.

And in 1965 and 1966 the school authorities placed 4 and 5 portable classrooms at the Belvoir elementary school to contain a pupil population that had increased from 22.7 to 48.7% Black in its pupil racial composition from 1960 to 1966.

There is no indication that the Topeka school officials moved at any time to abate the racial isolation of Black students at Belvoir and the containment of white students at the Rice, Highland Park North and Central elementary schools whose attendance areas had surrounded that of the Belvoir on three sides from the year of its annexation to 1963.

But in 1963 the Topeka school authorities did move to relieve the overcrowding at the Belvoir by removing white students from Belvoir.

In that year Topeka school officials built and opened the Hudson elementary school and assigned to it an attendance area comprised of the eastern half of the Highland Park Central attendance zone and the southern one third of the Belvoir service area.

Source: L.1.

The 1960 U.S. Census indicates that the geographical area circumscribed by the newly designed Hudson attendance boundary was totally white in its residential population.

Source: L.5.

With that as background information and using straight line progressions for estimated numbers of Black and white students at Belvoir in 1963 it can be estimated that approximately 129 white pupils were reassigned from the Belvoir school to the new Hudson elementary school in 1963.

Source: L.1, 5, 12.

The Hudson opened underutilized by 245 empty seats in 1963 and continued to be under capacity by an average of 162 pupil spaces each year over the next three years. In fact the enrollment at the Hudson school never exceeded its original design capacity.

Source: L.1, 20, 21, 22, 33.

That fact is especially curious when immediately adjacent to the Hudson to the west the Highland Park Central elementary school was experiencing yearly overcrowding of an average of 160 pupils each year from 1960 to 1966.

One wonders why the Topeka Board of Education never used the available pupil spaces at the Hudson school to relieve the Highland Park Central school's overcrowding problem?

Rather the Topeka school officials created an option within the Belvoir attendance area in 1963 giving the children in that area an option between the Belvoir and Hudson elementary schools.
Source: L.1.

Again the 1960 U.S. Census identifies the land area included within the design of the 1963 optional zone to be predominantly white (17.8% Black) in residential population racial composition.
Source: L.5.

And in 1964 the Topeka school authorities in fact changed the common attendance boundary between the Hudson and Belvoir elementary schools to reassign that 1963 optional attendance area to the Hudson school thereby increasing the Hudson school's enrollment by 113 children.

Source: L.1.

The original design by the Topeka Board of Education of the common attendance boundaries between the Belvoir school and all those elementary schools which surrounded it in 1960; the maintenance of overcrowded conditions in predominantly white schools; the reassignment of the predominantly white Dawson pupils to the predominantly white State Street and Rice elementary schools; the manner of closing of the Dawson school; the manner of the opening and the placement of the Hudson elementary school; the changing of the attendance boundaries of the State Street and Belvoir elementary schools; and the establishment and cancellation of the

optional zones between the State Street and Dawson schools and between the Belvoir and Hudson elementary schools, all tended to isolate Black students at the Belvoir elementary school and contain white children at the schools which surrounded it from 1960 to 1966.

Thus in 1966 the Belvoir elementary school with 208 Black pupils assigned to it by the Topeka Board of Education was 16 times Blacker in racial ratio than the Rice school to the north of it with 10 Black students; 8 times Blacker in racial composition than the Hudson elementary school to the south with 14 Black pupils; and 3 times Blacker by that same measure than the Highland Park North elementary school with 94 Black students.

Source: L.12.

White Elementary Schools

The Topeka school system increased in its number of white students by 3870 from the 8303 white pupils in 1956 to the 12,173 such children in 1966, an increase of some 46.6%.

Source: L.10, 12.

Eleven of the elementary schools on the periphery of the 1966 U.S.D. 501 school system had been introduced into the school system, through either annexation or new construction, during the interim period between 1956 and 1966.

Source: L.1.

Those 11 schools: the Avondale Southwest; Bishop; Highland Park South; Hudson; Linn; Lyman; McCarter; McClure; McEachron; Rice; and Sheldon elementary schools; were assigned a combined

total of 50 Black and 4365 white students.

Source: L.12.

As in 1956, the number of 1966 white elementary school students gained by predominantly white schools, most of which were assigned to formerly unknown schools in formerly unknown territories, exceeded the total number of white students gained by the system as a whole, at the elementary level, this time by 495 or one 17 classroom school building full.

Where did the excess of white children come from?

Well, once again six of the seven Blackest elementary schools, in terms of pupil racial ratio, in 1966, had lost a combined total of 644 white students when comparing 1956 racial data to that of 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

In fact, the secondary ring of elementary schools, which encircled those seven disproportionately Black elementary schools, themselves lost 1195 white pupils from 1956 to 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

Clearly a major source of white students to populate the newly constructed and newly annexed all or predominantly white Topeka elementary schools was the wealth of white students leaving the predominantly Black and racially transitional Topeka elementary schools from 1956 to 1966.

The number of white children being assigned to 99.0% to 100% white elementary schools in 1966 had increased by 43% from the 4141 in 1956 to the 5932 of 1966.

Source: L.10, 12.

And the number of elementary schools set aside for the nearly perfect exclusive education of white students had nearly tripled from 7 in 1956 to 20 in 1966.

The number of 99% and 100% white elementary schools in the U.S.D. 501 system in 1966 was exactly the number of all-white schools in the Topeka school system under the total segregation of the 1952 S.D. #23.

Source: L.1, 12.

The seven disproportionately Black elementary schools, the Belvoir, Parkdale, Monroe, Lafayette, Lowman Hill, Grant and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools, averaged a combined rate of underutilization of 668 pupil spaces, for each year that they existed within the Topeka school system, from 1956 to 1966. That was the equivalent of two eleven classroom school buildings.

Source: L.1, 15, 20, 22 33.

In 1966 the addition of 668 white pupils to the those seven schools would have brought their average percentage of Black pupils from 48.8% to 39.9% Black.

Source: L.12.

Of course purposeful desegregation of the entire school system in 1966 would have brought those seven elementary schools down to approximations of the 12.1% Black, proportion of the system's average elementary school, student racial composition in 1966.

Source: L.12.

Rather the Topeka school authorities elected to continue their practice of providing available classroom space in predomi-

nantly white and all-white residential areas in anticipation of the movement of white students and their families to those areas, and manipulating attendance boundaries so as to more efficiently distribute white children between and among the schools containing those waiting spaces.

Thus the Topeka school authorities annexed and opened the Avondale S.W. elementary school in 1959 underutilized by 290 pupil spaces, with no more than 2 Black pupils and maintained that school at an average yearly rate of underuse of 172 pupil spaces over the next seven years.

Similarly, the Dawson elementary school annexed in 1960 averaged 21 pupil spaces undercapacity from 1961 to 1965; the Hudson elementary school, opened in 1963, averaged 183 unused pupil seats from 1963 to 1966; the Rice elementary school was undercapacity by an average 41 available seats for its first three years in the Topeka system; the Sheldon elementary school averaged 39 unused pupil spaces from its opening in 1957 to 1966; and the McCarter elementary school was an average of 62 pupils spaces undercapacity from 1957 to 1966.

Source: L.1, 15, 20, 22, 33.

Beyond that, the Topeka Board of Education: annexed the Avondale West and Highland Park South elementary schools in 1959 and maintained them as all or 99% white schools until at least 1966; annexed the Rice and Dawson elementary schools in 1960 and maintained them at no less than 97% white in student racial composition through 1966; annexed the Lyman elementary school in 1962 and maintained it as an all-white school until its de-

annexation in 1967; built and opened the McEachron elementary school in 1959 and maintained it as 100% white school in pupil racial ratio through 1966; built and opened the McClure elementary school in 1962 and maintained that school with an all-white student racial complement through 1966; and maintained it no less than 95% white in pupil racial ratio through 1966; and built and opened the Bishop elementary school in 1965 and maintained it as a 99% white school through 1970.

Source: L.1, 5, 10, 12.

As the newly annexed and constructed schools, with all or predominantly white student racial complements assigned to them, began to fill up and then exceed the physical capacity of those school buildings the Topeka school authorities began to build permanent classroom additions to those buildings and then to place varying numbers of portable classroom buildings at those school sites.

Accordingly, the Topeka school officials built: a four-classroom addition at the Highland Park South elementary school in 1958; a four-classroom addition at the Oakland (Lundgren) elementary school in 1963; and a four-classroom addition to the Rice elementary school in 1966.

Source: L.15, 20, 22, 33.

And the Topeka School Board placed the following number of portable classrooms at the following elementary schools from 1957 through 1966: Avondale East, 5 in 1963; Bishop, 1 in 1966; Crestview, 2 in 1957, 4 in 1958, 4 in 1959, 2 in 1960, 2 in 1961 and 2 in 1962; McClure, 3 in 1963, and 1 each in 1964, 1965, and

1966; McEachron, 2 in 1961 and 1962, and 4 in 1963 and 1964; Oakland (Lundgren), 1 in 1958, 1959, and 1960, and 2 each year in 1961 and 1962; Randolph, 1 in 1959; and the Rice, 1 in 1963, and 3 each year in 1964, 1965, and 1966.

Source: L.33.

Remember that there were: 17 elementary schools in the Topeka school system that were underutilized by about 1727 pupil spaces in 1957; 22 elementary schools that were underutilized by 1763 pupil spaces in 1962; and that after 1964 when the enrollment in the Topeka school system at the elementary level began its overall decline, there were as many as 23, out of a total of 36 elementary schools in 1966 that were undercapacity by a combined total of 2600 available pupil spaces.

Source: L.1, 15, 20, 22, 33.

2600 pupil spaces is just somewhat more than equivalent to seven, 12 classroom, school buildings.

On at least 156 separate occasions, between 1957 and 1966 inclusive, the Topeka school authorities acted to affect the attendance boundaries of every elementary school in the Topeka school system an average of 3.8 times per average school, through the establishment of original attendance boundaries, the manipulation of existing attendance boundaries, and/or the creation of optional attendance areas. In effect, each of those changes was an opportunity to explore the possibility of pupil desegregation.

Source: L.1.

88 or 56.1% of those attendance boundary actions involved elementary schools which were less than 10% Black in their

assigned student racial ratio, 25 of those or 16.0% of the total 156 involved the eight elementary schools with no Black pupil representation at all in 1966. The number of administrative boundary changes affecting the 12 elementary schools which were anywhere from two times the systemwide average to 100% Black in their student racial composition from 1957 to 1966 was 48 or 30.6% of the total.

It is obvious that the creation of the alternative predominantly white, school sub-system generally around the peripheral boundary but specifically concentrated in the southern and western portions of the Topeka school system, as described earlier in this Report, continued unabated during the ten year period from 1957 through 1966.

PART III 1967-1983:

The elementary school system that entered 1967 was the result of pupil assignment practices put into place by the U.S.D. #501 predecessors as early as 1949.

There can be little doubt that the physical school system achieved by 1967 at the elementary level was the one aimed for the Topeka school authorities. For the almost frenzied building of school buildings, creation of classroom additions, and reassignment of pupils through the manipulation of attendance boundaries and optional attendance zones came to an almost abrupt halt in the last three years of the 1960's decade.

In a school system that had been building or annexing elementary school buildings at an average of 1.7 per year for the 17

years prior to 1967, there were only two new elementary school buildings build in the 17 years after 1966.

Source: L.14, 15, 20-23.

The rate of classroom additions dwindled from an average of two per year prior to 1967 to only two over the next 17 years.

Source: L.14, 15, 20-23.

And where attendance boundary changes were occurring at a yearly average of 14 per year from 1952 to 1966, that rate decreased to 4 per year from 1967 to 1980.

Source: L.1.

So also can there be little doubt that the student racial composition of the individual elementary schools was the result of the same careful and successful planning.

In 1966, 73% of the Black elementary students in the Topeka school system were assigned to just seven of the 35 elementary schools then operating in the system. Those seven schools ranged in their proportions of Black students from 26.1% Black to 85.3% Black in a school system that was only 12.1% Black at the elementary level in 1966.

Source: L.12.

Immediately surrounding those seven schools were: the Gage elementary school at 1.4% Black; the Potwin elementary school at 0.0% Black; the Sumner elementary school at 4.3% Black; the Quincy elementary school at 4.4% Black; the State Street elementary school at 4.3% Black; the Rice elementary school at 3.0% Black; the Hudson elementary school at 6.4% Black; the Highland Park North elementary school at 17.1% Black; the Highland Park

Central elementary school at 12.6% Black; the Avondale East elementary school at 12.8% Black; The Avondale West at 0.1% Black; the Stout elementary school at 0.0% Black; and the Randolph elementary school at 0.2% Black; in student racial composition in 1966.

Source: L.12.

Two physical elements of the Topeka school system did keep pace with the pre-1967 history, i.e., the closing of elementary schools to include deannexation, and the placement of portable classrooms.

The following analysis will show that even this post-1966 diminished rate of change in the physical school system at the elementary level conformed to the pre-1966 pattern of racial separation.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

In 1967, the Topeka school authorities began the construction of the replacement buildings for the Belvoir and Central Park elementary schools.

Source: L.21, 22, 33.

Though separated by two intervening attendance areas, the racially polar nature of the student compositions of the Belvoir (47.1% Black) and Central Park (12.3% Black) elementary schools was symbolic of the racial separation in the school system as a whole in 1967.

Source: L.12.

But the racially dual nature of the administrative decision making that surrounded the rebuilding of these two schools is illustrative of the process of racial separation which was producing the racially polar school system.

The Belvoir elementary school with 229 Black pupils assigned to it had nearly five times as many Black students as the Central Park with 50 assigned Black students in 1967, making the Belvoir and Central Park elementary schools 47.1% and 12.3% Black respectively in an elementary school system that was 12.1% Black.

Source: L.12.

The elementary schools with attendance boundaries immediately to the north and south of the Belvoir elementary school were the Rice and Hudson respectively. The Rice school was 4.9% Black in racial ratio having 15 Black and 284 white students assigned to it in 1967. And the Hudson was 6.1% Black with 18 Black and 272 white students assigned to it in 1967.

The Rice and Hudson schools were under capacity by a combined total of 245 pupil spaces or a little more than eight classrooms. The Belvoir was overcrowded by 91 students.

Source: L.33.

In 1967 the Belvoir had 87.4% of the Black students, in all three schools combined, assigned to it by the Topeka officials but only 27.4% of the three school total of white students while the Rice and Hudson schools combined were assigned only 12.6% of the three school areas available Black pupils but 72.6% of the white students.

Source: L.12.

Had the school officials relieved the overcrowding situation at the Belvoir elementary school through the use of the pupil spaces available at the Rice and Hudson schools and with an eye toward the racial desegregation of the pupils in all three schools they could have arrived at average racial proportions of 24.1% Black in each school in 1967 rather than Belvoir at 47.1% Black and Hudson at 6.1% Black and Rice at 4.9% Black.

Source: L.12.

While at the Central Park elementary school the situation was a mirror image racially, with the Central Park at 12.3% Black in pupil racial ratio located between the Lowman Hill elementary school to the immediate north at 39.9% Black and the Quinton Hgts. elementary school just to the south of Central Park school zone at 34.6% Black.

Source: L.1, 12.

The Central Park elementary school had been destroyed by a tornado in 1966 and the Topeka Board of Education temporarily replaced the school with 16 portable classrooms and, in 1967, began construction of a new school building with an identical physical capacity.

Source: L.33.

There is some question about the real need for replacing the Central Park school at all.

The Central Park elementary school was at full capacity in 1964 but lost 27 pupils in 1965 and 111 pupils by 1966 and was in fact an average of 142 pupil spaces underutilized each year for

the eleven years after it was rebuilt.

Source: L.1, 33.

To the north the Lowman Hill was underutilized by an average of 43 pupil spaces each year from 1957 to 1966 and an average of 62 for the years 1967 through 1969, and the Polk had an average of 46 pupil places unused each year from 1957 to 1966 and was 136 under capacity for the 12 years after 1966.

To the south the Quinton Hgts. was 28 pupil spaces underutilized in 1966 and had an average of 83 unused spaces for the three years 1967 through 1969.

And to the east the Monroe elementary school was 190 under capacity in 1966 and 246 average pupil spaces unused each year from 1967 to 1974.

Source: L.1, 33.

All this is to say that the part of the school system served by the Central Park school and the other four just mentioned, averaged nearly 400 pupil spaces under capacity during the period of the Central Park school's destruction, reconstruction and subsequent history.

Had the school officials chosen not to replace the Central Park school but rather redistribute the children and those of the Lowman Hill, Polk, Monroe and Quinton Hgts. schools in a manner designed to minimize the student racial disparities between those schools they could have effected four schools with an average proportion of 32% Black in 1967.

Source: L.12.

The two elementary school classroom additions followed the historic pattern of ongoing construction at all white and predominantly white schools already reviewed in this Report.

The first of the additions was of 6 classrooms to the Highland Park South elementary school in 1968 when the Highland Park South school was 3.3% Black in pupil racial ratio and the elementary school system was 12.4% Black.

Source: L.12, 33.

Immediately to the north of the Highland Park South school was the attendance area of the Highland Park Central elementary school which had assigned to it 5 times the number of Black students (104) as the Highland Park South school (20) in 1968.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka school officials had just three years earlier built a complete replacement building for the Highland Park Central school which had experienced average yearly overcrowding of 174 pupils in excess of its physical capacity from the year of its annexation in 1959 to 1964. But for some reason the replacement building built by those school officials was designed to be the same capacity as the original building.

Source: L.1, 33.

One result was that the school authorities were required to continue to operate anywhere from one to three portable classrooms at the Highland Park Central site for each of eight years after the new school was opened.

And another result was that the school officials had to reassign children away from the Highland Park Central school to

the Highland Park South school.

That was done in 1969 by closing an ongoing optional attendance zone that was in place between the two schools in focus through 1968 when the Topeka Board of Education opened the six classroom addition that is the topic of this analysis.

The 1968 addition to the Highland Park South elementary school facilitated the inclusion of the optional zone into that school's attendance area.

The 1970 U.S. Census indicates that the land area encompassed by that former optional zone was predominantly white in its residential racial composition and the student racial data for the Highland Park South school indicates that that school decreased from 3.3% Black in 1968 to 2.2% Black in 1969 in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.6, 12.

The second classroom addition was of eight classrooms added to the Bishop elementary school in 1969.

Source: L.33.

The Bishop school gained 23 white students in 1969 and decreased from 0.8% Black to 0.6% Black in its student racial composition.

Source: L.12.

The elementary system as a whole was 13.04% Black in pupil racial ratio and still maintained seven schools that were anywhere from twice to six times that systemwide proportion of Black students. And all of those disproportionately Black schools were

regularly operated in an underutilized fashion.

Source: L.1, 12, 15, 20-24, 33.

One of those racially disproportionate and underutilized elementary schools was the Quinton Hgts. school which was 36.1% Black in pupil racial ratio, had 99 available seats in 1969; and was only one attendance area removed from the Bishop elementary school.

Source: L.1, 12, 24.

The addition of 99 white children to the Quinton Hgts. student body would have brought that school's pupil racial composition in 1969 to 26.5% Black. And desegregation of both schools would have produced two student racial ratios approximating 12.7% Black.

SCHOOL CLOSINGS

In 1967, the Lyman elementary school deannexed from the Topeka school system and the racial effect of that deannexation were twofold.

Source: L.1.

At the elementary level the effect was the ultimate denial of the possibility of diminishing the racial isolation of Black pupils at the Grant school (31.9% Black) through student exchange with the adjacent and all white Lyman elementary school.

And at the secondary school level the Curtis J.H.S. lost 59 white students from 1966 to 1967. The retention of 59 white students at the Curtis would have brought that school to 13.8%

Black in 1967.

Source: L.12.

Also the Topeka senior high school lost 45 white students between 1966 and 1967 and the retention of those students would have brought the Topeka senior high school to 18.8% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1967.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka school officials closed the Clay elementary school in 1975 and reassigned its students to the Lowman Hill, Polk and Sumner elementary schools. And as a result those receiving elementary schools were 39.9%, 30.4% and 7.6% Black in student racial composition respectively in 1975.

Source: L.1, 12.

The Lowman Hill, Polk and Sumner elementary schools made up a combined student population that was 26.0% Black in 1975. An approximation of that figure in each of those three schools would have eliminated the racial disproportionality of the Lowman Hill as a Black school and the Sumner as a white school.

Also in 1975 the school authorities closed the Monroe elementary school and assigned its student complement to the Polk, Highland Park North and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools giving those schools pupil racial compositions of 30.4% , 33.4%, and 29.4% Black respectively.

Source: L.1, 12.

Immediately to the west of the Polk elementary school, the Central Park elementary school was 17.3% Black in student racial ratio in 1975. Its addition to the Polk and Quinton Hgts. part

of that cluster of schools would have brought the average % Black of the Polk, Quinton Hgts. and Central Park schools to 24.1% Black.

Source: L.12.

In 1977 the Topeka Board of Education closed the Sheldon elementary school and redistributed that school's complement of children to the Gage, McCarter and Whitson elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Sheldon was 2.4% Black in 1976 and the introduction of its predominantly white student body to the Gage elementary school at 2.7% Black, the McCarter elementary school 0.0% Black, and the Whitson elementary school at 2.1% Black of 1976 decreased the respective proportions of Black children at the Gage and Whitson schools to 1.9% Black and 1.3% in 1977 when the elementary schools of the school system taken as a whole averaged 16.5% Black.

One school attendance area, away to the east of the Sheldon elementary school, sat the Lowman Hill elementary school with a pupil racial ratio of 36.6% Black, and 204 available seats. The inclusion of all the 169 Sheldon youngsters into the Lowman Hill elementary school in 1977 would have brought that school to 23.8% Black in pupil racial composition.

Source: L.12.

In 1978, the Parkdale elementary school was closed by the Topeka school officials and its 298 students were divided between the Lafayette and Highland Park North elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

The Parkdale school had been 60.7% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1977 and the Lafayette and Highland Park North elementary schools were 48.2% and 40.2% Black in that year.

Source: L.12.

The addition of the Parkdale youngsters to the Lafayette and Highland Park North elementary schools brought their respective percentages of Black students to 51.8% Black and 48.8% Black in a school system that was only 16.8% Black at the elementary level in 1978.

Immediately to the west of the Parkdale area the Sumner and Polk elementary schools were 7.5% and 35.4% Black in student racial composition and had about 275 unused pupil spaces between them. Had the Parkdale children been reassigned to those two schools their average pupil racial ratio would have been about 36.6% Black.

Of course one school attendance area removed from the Parkdale school to the northeast the Oakland (Lundgren) elementary school sat with no Black students whatsoever and 230 unused seats. Had the youngsters from the Parkdale school been reassigned to the Oakland school that school would have been 33.0% Black in 1978.

The Polk elementary school was closed by the Topeka school officials in 1979 and its pupils were redistributed between and among the Sumner, Lowman Hill, and Quinton Hgts. elementary schools.

The inclusion of the Polk youngsters which were 35.4% Black in student racial ratio somehow increased the Black percentage of

students in: the Quinton Hgts. elementary school from 32.6% in 1978 to 45.7% in 1979; and the Lowman Hill elementary school from 35.8% to 37.4% over that same period but curiously only increased the proportion of Black children at the Sumner elementary school by 0.8 percentage points from 1978 to 1979.

Immediately to the west of the Quinton Hgts. and former Polk elementary schools were the Central Park elementary school, which was scheduled to be closed in 1980, and the Stout elementary school. Those two schools were 30.9% and 2.9% Black in their respective student racial compositions.

Source: L.12.

Had the Topeka school authorities chosen to add the Stout and the Central Park school into the equation and been more reasonable in their soft petalled treatment of the Sumner school the combined student populations of those five schools could have been a more respectable 26.1% Black in 1979 when the overall system was still only 17.6% Black at the elementary level.

As mentioned above, the Central Park elementary school was closed in 1980 and its student complement was reassigned to the Stout, Randolph, and Lowman Hill elementary schools.

Source: L.1.

And as before, the method of disbursal of the 100 Black and 185 white Central Park children between and among those three elementary schools maintained the Lowman Hill as a 37.7% Black school in pupil racial composition, and the Stout at 10.3% Black, nearly 1/4 the proportion at Lowman Hill, and the Randolph at 7.5% Black, less than 1/5 the Lowman Hill Black student propor-

tion in 1980 even though the Lowman Hill and Randolph elementary schools were separated by only a boundary line drawn by the Topeka Board of Education.

But more importantly, the results of the closings of the Central Park school, and the Polk and Monroe elementary schools in the years just preceeding, give perfect testimony to the fact that the organizational seed of modern racial separation planted in 1953 and nutured over the ensuing 27 years had born fruit in 1980.

For as a result of these most recent boundary manipulation put into effect at the Quinton Hgts. and Stout elementary schools by the Topeka school officials to facilitate the closings of the Monroe, Polk and Central Park schools, we see the Quinton Hgts. and Stout elementary schools sitting within respective attendance areas: that are so large as to be second only to the State Street area discussed earlier; that conform to no Topeka Board of Education standard for elementary attendance area size; that are defined by totally irregular attendance boundaries with no sense of rhyme or reason; and that run almost totally parallel to each other very near the geographical center of the Topeka school system separated only by a common attendance boundary.

And what's more, the Quinton Hgts. elementary school has had assigned to it 108 Black and 115 white pupils to make it a 46.2% Black school in student racial composition, while at the Stout elementary school the U.S.D. 501 Board of Education has assigned 32 Black and 248 white children, i.e., 1/3 less Black students but more than double the white students, making it a 10.6% Black

school in pupil racial ratio when the system as a whole was 18.2% Black at the elementary level.

From north to south behind the 10.6% Black Stout school, the west half of the Topeka elementary school system arrays: the Potwin elementary school at 0.9% Black; the McClure elementary school at 1.5% Black; the Gage elementary school at 2.2% Black; the Whitson elementary school at 2.4% Black; the Crestview elementary school at 3.1% Black; the Bishop elementary school at 3.9% Black; the McCarter elementary school at 5.7% Black; the McEachron elementary school at 7.5% Black; the Randolph elementary school at 7.5% Black; the Avondale West elementary school at 9.1% Black; and the Shaner (Avondale S.W.) elementary school at 9.3% Black; in student racial composition in 1980 containing 51.8% of all the white elementary pupils of the system.

Source: L.12.

While tightly clustered behind the Quinton Hgts. elementary school are: the Lafayette elementary school at 49.0% Black; the Highland Park North elementary school at 48.8% Black; the Highland Park Central elementary school at 37.6% Black; and the Belvoir elementary school at 66.2% Black; in pupil racial ratio wherein the Topeka School Board still assigned 45.5% of all the Black elementary students in the school system.

Source: L.12.

ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES

There were three attendance boundaries changed in the 1968-69 school year at the elementary level by the Topeka school

system.

Source: L.1.

One between the Lafayette and Parkdale elementary schools and a second between the Parkdale and Monroe schools essentially move Black children between and among disproportionately Black schools. The third involved the inclusion of newly annexed territory into the McClure elementary school attendance area, and in effect added white children to a disproportionately white school.

The Parkdale school was 83.6% Black in student racial composition in 1968 and the Monroe and Lafayette schools were 64.3% Black and 27.6% Black respectively when the system was only 12.4% Black.

Source: L.12.

The McClure school was 0.0% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1968 and the 1970 U.S. Census indicates that the area annexed into that school was in all probability all-white in its residential racial makeup.

Source: L.6, 12.

Of the two boundary changes effected in 1969, one was between the Lafayette and Belvoir schools, which had two and nearly four times the systemwide elementary level proportion of Black students, and resulted in the Belvoir increasing to 49.6% Black, and the Lafayette gaining 8 Black students. Again, a transfer of students between disproportionately Black schools.

Source: L.1, 12.

The other involved the cancellation of the optional attendance area between the Highland Park Central and South schools

just discussed under the School Construction section in conjunction with the classroom addition to the Highland Park South elementary school. A reassignment of predominantly white children to a disproportionately white school.

Source: L.1, 12.

The two 1970 boundary changes involved the McClure and McEachron elementary schools which were 0.0% Black and 0.6% Black in student racial composition in 1970, taking in newly annexed territory which the 1970 U.S. Census shows to be all white in its residential racial composition.

Source: L.1, 6, 12.

The four 1973 boundary changes were all between and among six southwestern Topeka elementary schools which ranged from 0.0% Black to 8.5% Black in pupil racial compositions.

Source: L.12.

The numerous boundary changes of 1975, the schools effected and their respective pupil racial proportions are listed below. An inspection of that list will confirm that what was being achieved administratively was the consolidation of those schools being assigned disproportionately large numbers of Black students in the central portion of the school system, and the fine tuning of those elementary schools containing disproportionate numbers of white students on the west side of the school system.

Source: L.1, 12.

<u>Schools</u>	<u>% Black Students</u>	
	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
1. Parkdale W/ Highland Park N.	76.7 34.5	71.9 33.4
2. Monroe W/ Quinton Hgts. Polk	64.5 30.4 20.1	Closed 29.4 30.4
3. Lafayette W/ Sumner	43.8 8.8	51.6 7.1
4. Lowman Hill W/ Polk Randolph Potwin	40.7 20.1 0.8 0.0	39.8 30.4 0.8 0.4
5. Quinton Hgts. W/ Central Park	30.4 17.5	29.4 17.2
6. Polk W/ Clay Central Park	20.1 19.0 17.5	30.4 Closed 17.2
7. Clay W/ Sumner Potwin	19.0 8.8 0.0	Closed 7.1 0.4
Elementary System		
8. Crestview W/ McClure	10.8 0.0	2.0 0.0
9. Sheldon W/ Gage	3.2 1.9	4.0 1.8
10. Gage W/ Randolph	1.9 0.8	1.8 0.8
11. Randolph W/ Stout Whitson	0.8 1.9 1.8	0.8 2.9 2.2
Elementary System	15.1	15.5

In 1976 the attendance boundary of the all-white McClure school (in pupil racial composition) was expanded to include a newly annexed area which the 1980 U.S. Census indicates was all

or predominantly white in residential racial population.

Source: L.1, 7.

In 1977, the attendance boundary changes effected by the Topeka Board of Education had to do primarily with the redistribution of the 161 white and 4 Black children from the closed Sheldon elementary school to four predominantly white schools which surrounded it.

Source: L.1, 12.

Those schools were: the Gage with 1.9% Black; the McCarter with 1.6% Black; the Randolph with 1.8% Black; and the Whitson with 1.3% Black; in student racial compositions in 1977.

Source: L.12.

Immediately adjacent to this cluster of predominantly white schools was the attendance area of the Lowman Hill elementary school at 36.6% Black in pupil racial ratio and with 204 empty seats.

Source: L.12, 31-33.

The Lowman Hill elementary school could have had a pupil racial proportion of 23.1% Black if all the Sheldon white youngsters had been assigned to it in 1977.

Again in 1978 the total number of boundary changes easily breakdown into the boundary changes between and among the disproportionately Black elementary schools, and those between and among the disproportionately white elementary schools.

In the first group primarily Black children are caused to be exchanged between and among the Parkdale, Lafayette, Highland Park North and Belvoir elementary schools.

While in the southwestern portion of school system the Bishop, McClure and Avondale S.W. elementary schools have white children redistributed among them and children from newly annexed white residential areas included in them.

In 1978: the Parkdale school was closed; the Lafayette school had a pupil racial ratio fo 52.1% Black; the Highland Park North was 40.2% Black and the Belvoir was 72.5% Black; while the Bishop school was 2.6% Black; the McClure was 0.8% Black; and the Avondale S.W. was 8.6% Black by similar measure.

Source: L.12.

The attendance boundary changes of 1979 and 1980 were part and parcel of the redistribution of students resulting from the closings of the Polk and Central Park elementary schools. The full impact of those closing was illustrated fully elsewhere in this Report.

The primary effect of the attendance boundary changes from 1967 to 1980 was the achievement of the goal signalled in 1975, i.e., the fine tuning of a system for the racially separate provision of educational services at the elementary level.

Thus, in 1980 attendance boundaries designed and implemented solely by the U.S.D. 501 Board of Education contained and directed 53.7% of all the Black children in elementary school in the Topeka school system to six schools with assigned racial proportions that still ranged from twice to nearly four times the system-wide elementary level, while directing the system's white elementary students to racial havens that had been kept secure for nearly 30 years.

PORTABLE CLASSROOM PLACEMENT:

It was pointed out earlier that the building program of 1949 through 1966 had come to a halt by 1970. But in a very real sense the momentum of that program was carried forward without a break through the use of portable classroom placement. For from 1967 through 1980 the school placed 231 portable classrooms at regular elementary schools. That was an average of 16.5 portable classroom placements a year for 14 years.

Source: L.33.

The racially dual nature of the school construction program also carried over into the portable classroom program in both degree of separation and proportion of application.

The Topeka school authorities placed an average of 3.5 portable classrooms a year at two elementary schools which were disproportionately Black in student racial ratio but they placed an average of 13 portable classrooms each year at nine schools which were less Black in their respective student racial compositions than the system elementary average from 1967 to 1980 or were often all white.

Source: L.12, 33.

The schools receiving portable classrooms and their respective racial compositions in 1967 and 1980 were as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>% Black Pupils</u>	
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1980</u>
Lafayette	30.4	49.0
Highland	23.3	48.9
Central Park	12.3	Closed
Polk	11.4	Closed
Hudson	6.1	25.6
Rice	4.9	30.3
State Street	3.9	7.2
Highland Park S.	1.3	19.5
Bishop	0.7	3.9
McClure	0.0	1.5
McEachron	0.0	7.5
System Average	12.4	18.2

But of special importance is the relative proximity of a number of the elementary schools from somewhat opposite ends of the list.

That is the Lafayette and Highland Park elementary schools were not only assigned numbers of Black children that were considerably greater than the systemwide elementary school average but they shared a common attendance boundary: the Lafayette attendance area to the north and the Highland Park N. to the south.

Around those two schools on three sides were: the State Street school to the north; the Rice school to the east; the Hudson school to the southeast; and the Highland Park South school to the south.

The racial effects of placing similar or numerically equal numbers of portable classrooms at schools which are adjacent to each other but considerably different in the consignments of Black and white pupils are by definition the racially dual provision of school system resources. And the number of years such a

system persists is a measure of the system's school authorities' unwillingness to deal with the mutual overcrowding in those schools, which required the portable classrooms in the first place, in a manner designed to maximize the desegregation potential of that situation. School building, its location, size, and method and time of acquisition; the numbers of classrooms in the original and any additional constructions; the timing of the placement of additional classrooms; and the numbers and racial compositions of pupils and faculty members whose school assignments were/are affected by the School Board's "construction" decisions.

PART IV: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

No racial data was given for individual junior high schools prior to 1966 but by taking the racial compositions of the elementary schools which fed given junior high schools in 1956, and the statistical history of the proportional relationships between the racial composition of the elementary grades taken together and the junior high grades treated in a like manner the racial compositions of the junior high schools of School District #23 were estimated to be as follows in 1956:

Source: L.1, 10 & 11.

	<u># B.</u>	<u>#W.</u>	<u># TOTAL</u>	<u>%B.</u>
E. Topeka	136	313	449	30.3
Crane	75	292	367	20.4
Boswell	55	454	509	10.9
Curtis	35	235	270	12.9
Holliday	9	335	344	2.6
Roosevelt	9	491	500	1.7
Capper	1	407	408	0.2
	<u>320</u>	<u>2527</u>	<u>2847</u>	<u>11.2</u>

It is therefore estimated that the E. Topeka Junior High School (hereinafter J.H.S.) had assigned to it by the school authorities 42.5% of all the Black junior high students in the school system in 1956. And similarly that the: Crane J.H.S. was assigned 23.4%, the Boswell J.H.S. 17.2%; the Curtis J.H.S. 10.9%; the Holliday and Roosevelt J.H.S.s 2.8% each; and the Capper J.H.S. 0.3%; of all the Black children attending junior high school in School District #23 in 1956.

How did a junior high school system evolve wherein two schools, the E. Topeka J.H.S. and Crane J.H.S. out of seven came to contain 66% of all the Black junior high students in the Topeka school system in 1956.?

First of all the attendance boundary designed for the E. Topeka J.H.S. by the Topeka Board of Education included within it the largest concentration of Black residences in the city of Topeka.

Source: L.1, 4, 5

Second, the system of matriculation or feeder patterns put into place at the E. Topeka J.H.S. to funnel former elementary school children into their secondary school educational experience included within it the largest ongoing all-Black elementary school in the Topeka school system and three of six elementary schools cited earlier as having disproportionately large numbers of Black children assigned to them (Lafayette, Lincoln, and Parkdale) under the administrative integration plan of 1953 through 1956.

Source: L.10, 12, &13

Similarly with regard to the Crane J.H.S. the attendance boundary design for that school also included a residential area of largely Black residents and it's feeder pattern included an all-Black elementary school, the Monroe elementary school and the Van Buren elementary school which was also cited earlier in this Report as having a disproportionate number of Black students due to Board of Education administrative decisions.

In fact as this analysis progresses it will be shown that of the three all-Black elementary schools, maintained by the Topeka school officials after 1954, two fed directly into the E. Topeka and Crane J.H.S. And of the seven elementary schools which were assigned disproportionate numbers of Black students and were anywhere from two to seven times the system-wide average for Black elementary student representation by 1966, five of those schools were also designed into the matriculation patterns of the E. Topeka and Crane J.H.S.s.

Third, in keeping with their policy to provide white students with local schools within the Topeka system regardless of where they chose to live or why they chose to live there, the Topeka Board of education annexed the Capper J.H.S. building in 1954 and gave it a 12 classroom addition in 1955 specifically to deal with the enormous increase in school aged population in western and southern Topeka which resulted in part from that policy.

Source: L.2

That population increase was largely if not all white in its residential racial composition and the attendance boundaries

drawn for the Capper J.H.S. by the school authorities in 1954 included no more than eight Black students but as many as 1358 white students at the elementary level.

Source: L.1, 4, 19.

The E. Topeka J.H.S. sat with 326 pupil spaces unused in 1954 or the equivalent of just under 11 classrooms.

Source: L.2, 15

The E. Topeka J.H.S. was 351 pupil spaces under capacity in 1956 when its estimated proportion of Black children was 30.3%.

Source: L.2, 15

Had the Topeka school officials chosen to deal with the Capper J.H.S. overcrowding problem through the utilization of the space resources available at the E. Topeka J.H.S. they could have brought the E. Topeka school to a student racial composition of 17.0% Black in 1956.

Had they elected to eliminate the racial extremes of the school system at the junior high level in 1956 and solve the overcrowding problem at the Capper School they could have effected two junior high schools with average pupil racial proportions of 16.0% Black.

Fourth and perhaps of more practical desegregative significance is the fact that, while the Capper J.H.S. was two junior high school attendance areas removed from the E. Topeka J.H.S., the next two whitest junior high schools in pupil racial ratio after Capper, the Holliday and Roosevelt J.H.S.s, were immediately adjacent to the E. Topeka J.H.S. to the north and west respec-

tively.

Source: L.2

The 1956 attendance boundaries of the Holliday J.H.S. were drawn to include the Oakland E.S., which had no Black pupils whatsoever assigned to it, and the State Street E.S. which had only 26 assigned Black pupils. The 1956 Roosevelt J.H.S. attendance boundaries were designed to include the Gage and Potwin elementary schools which were all white in student racial composition in 1956, as they were prior to the implementation of the integration plan, and the Sumner elementary school with an assignment of only 9 Black students.

Source: L.1, 10

The three junior high schools, E. Topeka, Holliday and Roosevelt had combined totals of an estimated 154 Black and 1139 white students between and among them in 1956.

And once again as with the Capper J.H.S. the Roosevelt J.H.S. was overcrowded by 100 pupils while the adjacent E. Topeka J.H.S. had 351 pupil spaces available in 1956.

Source: L.2 & L.15

Had the Topeka school authorities chosen to assign Black and white pupils to those three schools in a manner designed to promote desegregation at those schools, and relieve the overcrowding at the Roosevelt J.H.S., those schools could have each been about 11.9% Black in student racial composition in 1956.

Ten years later in 1966, the first year for which student racial data was available comprehensively for the junior high schools in Topeka: the Capper J.H.S. was all-white in student racial composition, having lost its one Black pupil; the number

of Black children assigned to the Holliday J.H.S. had diminished to six, and only eight Black children were assigned to the Roosevelt J.H.S.

Source: L.12.

While at the E. Topeka J.H.S. the number of Black children assigned to that school had been increased by 83.1% from the estimated 136 of 1956 to 249 in 1966. That increase made the E. Topeka J.H.S. more than four times the 1966 system-wide average for Black enrollment of 11.33% Black at the junior high level.

Source: L.12.

Beyond that the Topeka school authorities had annexed the Highland Park J.H.S. in 1959, and built and opened the Eisenhower J.H.S. and Jardine J.H.S. in 1961 and Landon J.H.S. in 1963.

Source: L.2.

The Jardine J.H.S. was 0.2% Black in student racial composition in 1966, the Landon was 1.5% Black in 1966, and the Eisenhower J.H.S. and Highland Park J.H.S. were 4.4% and 13.6% Black respectively in 1966.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka school system had increased by 80.8% in the number of white children attending junior high school from 1956 to 1966 but the number of white pupils assigned to the E. Topeka and Crane schools had decreased by 36.4% and 19.9% respectively over the same period.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

As with the elementary schools the number of junior high schools gaining white students from 1956 to 1966 gained a

combined total of 2121 white pupils which was 79 more than the wholesale increase in white students in the junior high system as a whole during that period. Clearly any additional white student gain would have to be internal to the school system and the junior high schools losing white students from 1956 to 1966 lost an aggregate of 232 white pupils over that period.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

74.1% of those lost 232 white children came from the E. Topeka and Crane J.H.S.s.

Source: L.1, 10, 12.

The following is an analysis of the racial effects of administrative decisions made by the Topeka school authorities which tended to reinforce the disproportionate assignment of Black and white children as outlined above.

1957 to 1966

In 1957 the Topeka Board of Education opened a classroom addition and generally remodeled the Roosevelt J.H.S. thereby increasing its building capacity by 100 pupil spaces.

Source: L.15.

Again, in 1957 the E. Topeka J.H.S. was under utilized by 354 available pupil spaces which the Topeka school officials chose not to avail themselves of, with the result that white children were being contained at the Roosevelt J.H.S. while Black children were being assigned to the E. Topeka school a rate nearly 13 times that of their assignments to the Roosevelt J.H.S.

and Holliday J.H.S. combined.

Source: L.2, 10, 15.

In 1959 and 1960 the Topeka school system embarked on the territorial annexations described earlier in this Report.

The nearly all-white Dawson School District #92, was included into the Holliday J.H.S. attendance area and the enrollment at the Holliday J.H.S. increased by 55 pupils in 1960 and another 33 pupils in 1961.

Source: L.2.

Similarly the Belvoir and Rice School Districts #61 and #8 respectively were included into the E. Topeka J.H.S. and that school gained 85 pupils in 1960.

Source: L.2.

The series of administrative decisions and events which maintained and exacerbated the containment of Black students at the Belvoir elementary school subsequent to its annexation in 1960 and placed it among the ranks of the seven schools which in 1966 were anywhere from two to seven times the 1966 system-wide average of Black students were fully explored earlier in this Report.

With regard to the E. Topeka J.H.S., the significance of the inclusion of the Belvoir District into the E. Topeka school area by the Topeka school officials was that it brought to three the number of schools from that 1966 list of seven disproportionately Black schools which would play out their racial histories while being part of the feeder system into the E. Topeka J.H.S..

Those three schools were the Lafayette, Parkdale and Belvoir elementary schools and the E. Topeka attendance area also included the attendance areas of the all-Black Washington elementary school and the disproportionately Black Lincoln elementary school which were closed in 1962.

Source: L.1, 2.

The E. Topeka J.H.S. was underutilized by 254 pupil spaces in 1960. It could easily have absorbed the Dawson area as well as the Rice and Belvoir geographic areas and been approximately 31.7% Black in 1960.

By 1960 the growth of white student population resulting from: new territorial annexations to the south and west of the Topeka system; migrations of students into the Topeka system; and migrations of students within the Topeka school system, was reflected in the enrollment figures for the Capper J.H.S. which grew by an average of 95 students each year from 1956 to 1960, and the Highland Park J.H.S. which grew by 118 pupils in 1960.

To accommodate this growth the Topeka school authorities placed four portable classrooms at the Capper J.H.S. each year from 1960 to 1963 increasing its pupil capacity by 100 spaces and also constructed and opened the Eisenhower and Jardine junior high schools in 1961 and the Landon J.H.S. in 1963 thereby increasing the capacity to house junior high school students in the south and west by 1875 pupil spaces.

Source: L.2.

The Eisenhower J.H.S. opened with an enrollment of 371 and was underutilized by 379 unused pupil spaces. It was ten years

before the Eisenhower J.H.S. was ever filled to its capacity.

Source: L.2, 21.

The Jardine J.H.S. was opened with a pupil enrollment of 567, was underutilized by 183 pupil spaces and it was five years before the Jardine enrollment reached that building's designed physical capacity.

Source: L.2, 21.

And the Landon J.H.S. was opened with 143 unused pupil spaces in 1963 even though it was designed to be only 2/3 the size of the average Topeka Junior High School. And again it took four years before the enrollment of the Landon J.H.S. reached that building's physical capacity.

Source: L.2, 21.

Clearly those three junior high schools were constructed and opened in anticipation of population growth rather than in response to it.

Over this same period the E. Topeka and Crane junior high schools were being underutilized by average yearly rates of 293 and 136 respectively for a total average of 429 available pupil spaces yearly at those two junior high schools.

Source: L.2, 15

The immediate problem was the overcrowding at the Capper and Highland Park J.H.S.s which amounted to 214 pupils in 1959 and 455 in 1960.

Source: L.2, 15.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to relieve the overcrowding at the Highland Park J.H.S. by extending the common attendance boundary between the Highland Park J.H.S. attendance

area and the E. Topeka J.H.S. attendance zone, to the south thereby including a white residential area into the E. Topeka service area it could have decreased the proportion of Black students at the E. Topeka school from 36.0% to about 23.6% Black.
Source: L.2, 5, 12

Had the school officials elected to change the common attendance boundary between the Crane J.H.S. and the Capper J.H.S. in a manner designed to include a portion of the Capper white residential area into the Crane attendance area the Crane J.H.S. could have been about 18.5% Black rather than the estimated 25.2% Black in 1961.

Source: L.2, 5, 12.

And had the Topeka school authorities chosen to relieve the overcrowding at the Highland Park and Capper junior high schools while at the same time seeking to eliminate the disproportionate assignment of Black students to the E. Topeka and Crane junior high schools the School Board could have effected an average representation of Black students of 11.0% at each of those four schools.

Source: L.2, 5, 12.

Rather the Topeka Board of Education drew the attendance boundaries of the Eisenhower J.H.S. to include a geographical area which the U.S. census for 1960 says had a school aged population of 1.4% Black.

Source: L.2, 5.

And the design of the Jardine J.H.S. attendance area incorporated a land area which the 1960 U.S. Census again indicates

was only 0.2% Black in the racial composition of school aged children.

Source: L.2, 5.

What's more between 1961 and 1963 the school authorities increased the number of optional attendance zones involving the Crane J.H.S. from four to seven. The Crane attendance boundary was thereby completely encircled by optional attendance zones as of 1963 and was included in more optional attendance situations than any other J.H.S. in the system.

Source: L.2.

Two of the four new optional attendance areas were drawn within the southern portion of the Crane J.H.S.attendance area and were between the Crane, the Jardine and the Eisenhower junior high schools.

Source: L.2.

The 1960 and 1970 U.S. censuses indicate the approximately 2 square mile area included in those two options to have been predominantly white in the racial composition of its residential population while the area within the Crane attendance area and immediately north of the new optional zones was experiencing extreme racial transition between 1960 and 1970.

Source: L.5, 6.

In 1965 the Topeka school authorities redrew the southern attendance boundary of the Crane J.H.S. to reassign the area covered by the two optional attendance zones, to the Jardine J.H.S.

Source: L.2.

The Jardine J.H.S. gained an average of 60.5 children each year from 1961 to 1965.

The Crane lost 72 children in 1961, and 32 children in 1962.

If you assume for the moment that those 104 children were in fact white, then the Crane J.H.S. would have gone from an approximate 25.2% Black to a 34.9% Black school in pupil racial composition just from the removal of that many white children alone.

It was stated earlier that as of 1963 there were in place around the periphery of the Crane J.H.S. seven optional attendance zones.

Specifically, those optional zones were between the Crane J.H.S. and: The Roosevelt; the East Topeka; the Highland Park; the Jardine; Eisenhower and Highland Park; and three with the Boswell, junior high schools.

Source: L.2.

The U.S. Censuses for 1960 and 1970 show that all of the above optional zones except for the option with the Highland Park J.H.S. encompassed all or predominatnly white residential areas.

Source: L.5, 6.

All of those racially white optional attendance zones were dismantled and permanently reassigned by 1965.

Source: L.2.

Five of those six racially white optional areas were redrawn into the attendance areas of junior high schools which were substantially whiter in student racial composition than the Crane. The sixth residentially white optional zone had previously offered a choice between the Crane and E. Topeka J.H.S.s. Its

1964 reassignment to the Crane J.H.S. attendance area was the exception that proved the rule, for the Crane had less than half the Black students assigned to it than to the E. Topeka J.H.S. and so the last predominantly white Crane optional attendance area was assigned to the whitest of the two schools in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.2.

The Crane lost an average of 4.8 white pupils per year over the time from 1956 to 1966 while gaining only an average of 3.8 Black pupils per year. The E. Topeka J.H.S. had lost an average of 4.1 white students over that same ten year period but gained an average of 11.3 Black students per year.

Source: L.2, 12.

Curiously, the E. Topeka J.H.S. had come to be an increasingly racially disproportionate Black school due to the assignment of Black students to that school by the Topeka school authorities. But the Crane J.H.S. had come to its Black racial identification essentially through the regular removal of white students from that school by those same authorities.

Abutting the Crane and E. Topeka junior high schools on all sides in 1966, the Jardine J.H.S. was 0.2% Black; the Holliday J.H.S. was 1.5% Black; the Roosevelt J.H.S. was 1.8% Black; the Eisenhower J.H.S. was 4.4% Black; the Highland Park J.H.S. was 13.6% Black; and the Boswell J.H.S. was 15.2% Black in pupil racial composition.

Those eight junior high schools taken together averaged only 13.4% Black in student racial ratio in 1966 and there was a total

of 726 pupil spaces sitting unused in those eight J.H.S.s.

Source: L.12, 20.

63.1% of all the attendance boundary changes in the Topeka school system at the junior high school level from 1954 to 1980, occurred prior to 1967.

Source: L.2.

And during the period 1954 through 1966, inclusive, the attendance boundary of every junior high school in the system was changed at least once.

Source: L.2.

There were 89 boundary changes put into place at the junior high school level by the Topeka Board of Education from 1954 to 1966 and 27 of them affected the Crane and E. Topeka J.H.S.

In effect that statistic represents anywhere from 27 to 89 opportunities to eliminate the disproportionate assignment of Black students to the Crane and E. Topeka junior high schools and white children to the schools immediately surrounding them or being built in anticipation of white enrollment from 1954 to 1966.

Thus by 1966 the total number of Black students assigned to the Crane and E. Topeka J.H.S.s by the Topeka Board of Education had increased by 151 since 1956, while the total number of Black students assigned to the remaining nine Topeka junior high schools combined had increased by only 140.

Source: L.1, 2, 10, 12.

The Crane and E. Topeka J.H.S.s were 31.7% and 47.8% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1966 respectively and still had 59.3% of

all the Black junior high school students in the school system assigned to them by the Topeka Board of Education.

Source: L.12.

The whitest junior high schools in terms of pupil racial composition in the Topeka school system in 1966 were: the Capper at 9.9% Black; the Jardine at 0.2% Black; the Holliday at 1.5% Black; the Landon at 1.5% Black; and the Roosevelt at 1.8% Black.

Source: L.12.

As of 1966, the Unified School District #501 school officials had assigned 56.2% of all the white junior high school pupils in the Topeka school system to those five schools, but only 3.6% of the system's Black junior high school students.

Source: L.12.

1967-1979

The chronological parallels between the evolution of the schools at the elementary level and the junior high level are clearly there.

For in addition to the 63.1% of attendance boundary changes being put into effect prior to 1967, so to were 76.5% of all classroom construction from 1954 to 1980 in place by 1967.

Source: L.14, 15, 20-33.

That developmental concurrence continued into the post-1967 era. For while there were 13 building projects from 1950 to 1966 at the J.H.S. level, there were only four from 1967 to 1980 with two occurring in 1980. And while there were an average of nearly seven boundary changes a year from 1954 to 1966 that dropped to

less than four from 1967 to 1980 and less than three if you acknowledge that 33.0% of them happened in 1975.

Source: L.2.

And the incidents of portable classroom placement and school closings at the J.H.S. level also closely followed the pattern in place at the elementary schools.

81.9% of portable classroom placements and 100% of junior high school closings were effected from 1967 to 1980.

Source: L.2, 33.

And, as in the analysis of the racial effects of administrative decisions at the elementary school level the following analysis will show that those administrative events which did occur at the junior high school level after 1966 only tended to fine tune the system of racial separation already in place by 1966.

In 1967 the Topeka Board of Education de-annexed the all-white Lyman elementary school attendance area from the Curtis J.H.S. attendance area.

Source: L.2, 12.

The Curtis J.H.S. lost 59 white pupils from 1966 to 1967. Had those 59 pupils been retained the Curtis could have been 13.3% Black in pupil racial ratio in a junior high school system that was 10.8% Black in 1966.

Source: L.12.

In 1975 nearly 1/3 of all post-1966 boundary changes at the junior high school level occurred. And with those occurrences and the closing of two junior high schools, the Curtis and the Crane,

the Topeka Board of Education had reorganized the northeastern half of the school system at the junior high level.

Source: L.2.

See earlier in this Report for the identical occurrence among the elementary schools that were disproportionately Black in 1975.

In 1975 the Topeka school authorities closed the Curtis J.H.S. and reassigned the former pupils of that school to the Roosevelt and Holliday junior high schools. For the first time since at least 1950 the junior high school children from the North Topeka "Eugene" area would have to come across the Kansas River as well as cross major thoroughfares and railway yards to pursue a junior high school education.

Source: L.2.

Of most significance is the fact that the junior high school boundary line drawn by the Topeka officials to separate those children going to the Roosevelt school from those going to the Holliday school was identical to the attendance boundary separating the Grant and Quincy elementary schools serving the same geographical area.

Source: L.1.

The history of the racial separation of Black and white pupils between the disproportionately Black Grant and disproportionately white Quincy is fully described earlier in this Report. Suffice it to say here that the Grant elementary school area was reassigned to Roosevelt J.H.S. and the Quincy elementary

school service area was reassigned to the Holliday J.H.S. in 1975.
Source: L.1, 2.

There were 638 elementary and junior high students in that north Topeka area of which 486 were white and 71 were Black.
Source: L.12.

Broken down racially by elementary school attendance area the Grant area contained 44.3% of all white elementary and junior high students in north Topeka in 1975 as well as 71.1% of that area's Black children of the same grade levels, while the Quincy area contained 55.7 of the white but only 28.9% of the Black, combination of, elementary and junior high school students in North Topeka in 1975.

The racial effect of the reassignment was that the junior high pupils from the 4.7% Black Quincy area was added to the Holliday J.H.S. feeder pattern which already included the Oakland (Lundgren) and State Street elementary schools which were 3.1% Black and 2.8% Black in student racial composition respectively in 1975. The Grant children were not assigned to the Holliday J.H.S.

Source: L.2, 12.

Once again the children from the geographic area defined by the Quincy school attendance boundary, though now junior high students, would be allowed to attend the white school most distant from the Grant school.

Had the Grant school area junior high school children been assigned to the Holliday along with the Quincy children, the Holliday could have been 6.1% Black rather than 2.6% Black in

pupil racial ratio in 1975 when the school system was 14.5% Black at the junior high school level by the same measure.

Source: L.12.

It is of little significance that the Grant area was reassigned to matriculate into the Roosevelt J.H.S. in 1975. For the price of that administrative decision, in the currency of racial imbalance, was that the Boswell J.H.S., which had enjoyed the racial stability of a proportion of Black pupils that was a reflection of the system-wide junior high school average for as long as racial data has been available prior to 1975, was now assigned Black students at a rate that was 2.6 times that of their assignment to the Boswell school in 1974.

Source: L.12.

The following analysis will illustrate the manner in which the closing of the Curtis J.H.S. could effect racial imbalance at the Boswell J.H.S. which was one junior high school attendance area removed.

In addition to the closing of the Curtis school the Topeka Board of Education also caused the Crane junior high school to be closed, and the children from that closing to be reassigned to the Roosevelt, Jardine and Boswell junior high schools.

Source: L.2.

The Crane J.H.S. was 44.1% Black in pupil racial ratio in 1974, when the J.H.S. system was only 13.4% Black, due in part to the fact that the Topeka school authorities were assigning 18% of all of the system's Black junior high school pupils to that school even though it was only one of 12 junior high schools then

in the system.

An examination of residential racial data for 1970 and 1980 will indicate that the portions of the former Crane attendance area assigned to the Roosevelt and Jardin junior high schools were predominantly white in their racial composition, while that portion of the Crane service area reassigned to the Boswell J.H.S. was predominantly Black in its residential racial make-up. Source: L.2, 6, 7.

And indeed Boswell J.H.S. increased by 90 Black but only 3 white students in 1975, i.e., Boswell got about 78% of the Crane Black children. Source: L.12.

Another significant fact was that while the Boswell school was significantly underutilized prior to the Crane closing it was not sufficiently empty to house the bulk of Crane children, so to create more room at the Boswell J.H.S., the Topeka Board of Education effected three boundary changes which reassigned former Boswell youngsters to the Roosevelt, Landon and Jardine junior high schools which surrounded the Boswell on three sides. Source: L.2, 22, 33.

The Landon J.H.S. was 2.1% Black in pupil racial ration in 1975 and the Jardine J.H.S. and Roosevelt J.H.S. were 3.8% Black and 8.8% Black respectively in student racial composition that year. The Boswell J.H.S., on the other hand, was 24.9% Black in pupil racial proportions in 1975 having been increased from 11.5% in 1974. All this in a system that was 14.5% Black at the junior high school level in 1975 having increased by just 1.08 percent-

age points since 1974.

Source: L.12.

Thus the other result of the Curtis and Crane closings and the attendant attendance boundary changes was to close the disproportionately Black Crane J.H.S. and use its student complement to create a new disproportionately Black student body at the Boswell J.H.S. in 1975.

Had the Topeka school officials assigned the Curtis J.H.S. students from the Grant elementary school area to the Holliday J.H.S. rather than the Roosevelt J.H.S. and then distributed the children from the Crane J.H.S. closing between and among the Roosevelt, Boswell, and Jardine junior high schools they could have effected at those three junior high schools average proportions of Black students approximating 12.3% Black in 1975.

The Topeka school officials also effected three attendance boundary changes at the E. Topeka J.H.S. as part of their 1975 reorganization.

Source: 2.

E. Topeka's northern attendance boundary was expanded to include a portion of the Holliday school service area, its western boundary was contracted giving a portion of the E. Topeka area to the Roosevelt J.H.S., and the southern attendance boundary of the E. Topeka J.H.S. was expanded to take in a portion of the Highland Park J.H.S. attendance zone.

Source: L.2.

The result of those changes taken together on the E. Topeka J.H.S. was that E. Topeka lost five white children, gained

another 23 Black children and was increased from 51.1% Black to 54.9% Black in its pupil racial ratio at a time when the average junior high school in the Topeka school system was only 14.5% Black.

Source: L.12.

The ultimate outcome of the U.S.D. #501 plan to reorganize the northeastern half of the J.H.S. system was to create a strip of land approximately three miles wide from north to south, and ten miles long running east to west from the eastern school system boundary to about two-thirds of the way west through the school system.

That strip of land contained 55.7% of all Black J.H.S. students but only 15.1% of the white J.H.S. students in the system in 1975.

Source: L.12.

The remaining 84.9% of the system's white students were assigned to the eight junior high schools which surrounded the Boswell J.H.S. and E. Topeka J.H.S. on three sides.

Source: L.12.

To the west of the Boswell J.H.S. which was 24.9% Black in assigned Black student representation, were the Landon and Capper junior high schools at 2.1% Black and 2.4% Black respectively. And to the north and south of the Boswell school were the Roosevelt J.H.S. at 8.8% Black, and the Jardine J.H.S. at 3.8% Black respectively in pupil racial ratio in 1975.

Those five junior high schools taken together were only 9.3% Black in student racial composition. All that kept the pupil

racial proportions in each of those schools from being reflective of that percentage were the attendance boundaries designed by the U.S. District #501 Board of Education.

Source: L.2, 12.

Similarly the E. Topeka J.H.S. was assigned to serve the eastern half of the strip described above and that school was 54.9% Black in student racial composition.

To the north of the E. Topeka the Holliday J.H.S. was 25% Black, and to the south the Eisenhower and Highland Park J.H.S.s were 19.3 and 22.1% Black in student racial proportions respectively in 1975.

Source: L.12.

Those three schools taken together would have an average pupil racial ratio of 24.5% Black in 1975.

Source: L.12.

Of course had the Topeka school board acted to desegregate all the junior high schools in the system in 1975, all ten junior high schools could have approached the system-wide 14.5% Black in their respective student racial compositions.

Source: L.12.

The fine tuning was essentially complete at the J.H.S. level by 1975.

All that remained was one additional attendance boundary change in 1976 which expanded the Landon J.H.S. service area to take a white residential area out of the Boswell J.H.S. attendance area.

Source: L.2.

The Boswell school enrollment was thereby decreased by 55 white children in 1976 making the Boswell J.H.S. 27.3% Black in a system that was only 15.5% Black in pupil racial composition at the junior high level.

Almost completely circumscribed by the 1975 attendance boundaries designed for the Boswell and E. Topeka J.H.S.s were the service areas assigned to three of the four historically all-Black Topeka elementary schools, Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington, and the historical attendance areas of five of the seven disproportionately Black elementary schools discussed earlier in this Report, i.e., Lafayette, Lincoln, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren.

Source: L.1, 2.

THE WHITE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 1966-1980

While relatively little of a direct nature was happening administratively to those junior high schools to which were assigned disproportionate numbers of Black children after 1966 the same cannot be said for the other racial pole.

In 1966 the number of pupils in attendance at the Jardine J.H.S. over and above the capacity of the school to actually accommodate them had increased by another 29 pupils in addition to the 59 pupil over-capacity of the year before.

Source: L.2, 22, 23.

To make more room at the Jardine school the Topeka Board of Education changed the north and west attendance boundaries of the Jardine J.H.S. so as to reassign former students from a Jardine-

Boswell optional attendance area to the Boswell J.H.S. and, by cancelling an option between the Jardine and Capper junior high schools, to the Landon J.H.S.

The enrollment statistics for the Boswell school show no enrollment increase but those of the Landon J.H.S. indicate that the number of children at the Landon J.H.S. increased by 106 in 1966.

The area reassigned to the Boswell school was immediately adjacent to the Crane J.H.S. attendance area and in fact had at one time been part of an optional zone that was between the Crane and Capper schools and before that between the Crane and Boswell junior high schools.

Source: L.2

The area reassigned to the Landon J.H.S. was effected with a very unusual procedure. The Landon J.H.S. was located in northwestern Topeka and provided educational services to a three square mile area within which the Landon school sat at the center of the westernmost quarter. The Jardine J.H.S. on the other hand, was at the east central part of an even larger attendance area serving the southwestern portion of the school system. The two schools were nearly four miles apart, as the crow flies, and their respective attendance areas were separated by the approximately three mile wide Capper junior high attendance area which served the west central portion of the school system.

Source: L.2.

In order to effect the 1966 boundary change now in focus the Topeka Board of Education had to create an attendance corridor

which was only one mile wide extending down the system's western perimeter taking in portions of the Capper attendance zone and an optional attendance area formerly serving Capper and Jardine but not Landon, and which at its farthest point ran nearly three miles from the Landon J.H.S.

Source: L.2.

Just more than two miles from the Jardine J.H.S. was the Crane J.H.S. and, as with the area transferred to Boswell described above, most of the northwest corner of the Jardine attendance area had two years earlier been a part of the Crane attendance area.

Source: L.2.

What's more the Crane J.H.S. was being underutilized by anywhere from 93 to 168 empty seats in 1966.

Source: L.2, 22, 23.

The Crane J.H.S. was 31.7% Black in pupil racial composition in 1966, nearly three times the system's junior high school average of 11.3% Black, and the addition of 168 white children from an area that had just recently been a part of the Crane attendance area would have brought the Crane proportion of Black students down to 21.5% Black.

Source: L.12.

Of course had the Topeka school authorities chosen to desegregate the Jardine and Crane J.H.S.s and help resolve Jardine's overcrowding problem they could have achieved an average of 9.7% Black pupil racial ratios at those two schools.

Source: L.12.

In 1967 the Topeka Board of Education annexed to the Jardine J.H.S. attendance area an area of land in anticipation of the construction of the French junior high school three years hence.

Source: L.2, 12.

The 1970 U.S. Census identifies the area annexed to the Jardine school to be all-white in residential racial composition and when the French school opened in 1970 it was assigned an all-white student body.

Source: L.7, 12.

The Jardine gained 45 white students in 1967 and was 0.3% Black in student racial composition in a year when the junior high school system as a whole was 10.8% Black.

Source: L.12.

With that assignment of 45 white youngsters to Jardine the Topeka school authorities had increased the number of white pupils at that school by 5.5%, overcrowding the school by 116 pupils in 1967. To accommodate those children the school officials were forced to place a 30 seat portable classroom at the Jardine school.

Source: L.12, 33.

Immediately to the northeast of the Jardine J.H.S. attendance area the Crane J.H.S. had nearly 2-1/2 times the system-wide proportion of Black J.H.S. students assigned to it but it was being underutilized by about 68 empty seats in 1967.

Source: L.2, 21, 33.

Had the Topeka school officials made room for the new white youngsters by changing the mutual boundary between the Jardine and Crane J.H.S.s and adding 68 white children to the Crane school that school could have been 20.2% Black.

Had the Topeka school authorities chosen to solve the overcrowding problem at Jardine and desegregate the students of both schools it could have effected approximations of a 17.4% Black pupil racial composition in each school in 1967.

In 1967 the Topeka Board of Education placed three portable classrooms of 30 seats each at the Landon J.H.S. which it had purposely built with a capacity that was only two thirds of the normal Topeka junior high school three years earlier.

The E. Topeka J.H.S. was being underutilized by about 274 empty pupil spaces in 1967 and had Black students assigned to it to a degree which made that school 47.4% Black in student racial proportion at a time when the school system at the junior high level was but 10.8% Black.

Source: L.12, 21, 33.

Had the Topeka Board of Education assigned the 71 excess white students from the 1.1% Black Landon J.H.S. to the E. Topeka J.H.S. that school would have had a student racial ratio of 41.8% Black in 1967.

Had the Topeka Board chosen to solve the Landon overcrowding problem and somewhat desegregate both the Landon and the E. Topeka they could have achieved two junior high schools with average racial proportions of 26.4% Black in 1967.

Source: L.12.

In 1968 the Topeka school officials cancelled a long-standing optional attendance area between the Roosevelt and Boswell J.H.S. and assigned the total area to the Roosevelt J.H.S. with the result that the number of white children at the Roosevelt school was increased by 12.

Source: L.2, 12.

Immediately to the south of the Roosevelt attendance area and the east of the Boswell attendance zone the Crane J.H.S. had just lost 73 white children while gaining 34 Black children resulting in the Crane J.H.S. going from 23.8% Black in 1967 to 37.1% Black in 1968.

Source: L.2, 12.

The Roosevelt J.H.S. was 3.2% Black in pupil racial composition in 1968 and the Boswell J.H.S. was 12.7% Black in that year, having decreased by 1.6 percentage points since 1967.

Source: L.12.

Had the Topeka school authorities chosen to desegregate the Roosevelt and Crane J.H.S.s in 1968, rather than transfer white children from Boswell to Roosevelt, they could have effected average pupil racial ratios of 17.2% Black at the Roosevelt and Crane J.H.S.s in 1968.

In 1970 the U.S. District #501 school officials opened the new French J.H.S. with an all-white student body in a year when there existed within the Topeka school system two junior high schools, the Crane and E. Topeka which were three and four times greater respectively in their assigned proportion of Black students than the average Topeka junior high school in that year.

Source: L.12.

The French J.H.S. was opened with an enrollment of 439 pupils and was immediately underutilized by 191 empty seats. In fact the French J.H.S. remained underutilized by an average of 170 empty spaces from 1970 to 1980 when it had 312 seats unused.

Source: L.2, 22, 33.

Immediately to the north of the French school, the Capper J.H.S. was averaging 182 empty seats from 1970 until its closing in 1976; the Jardine J.H.S. to the east had an average of 129 unused places from 1970 to 1980; and most importantly the Crane and E. Topeka J.H.S.s had a combined average of 528 empty seats for the years that they were operating after 1969.

Source: L.2, 22, 33.

The necessity for building the French school at all is to be seriously questioned when measured against the benefit that would have been derived racially from applying that resource of white children to the problem of the disproportionate assignment of Black students to the Crane and E. Topeka junior high schools.

In 1970 those two schools were 36.4% Black and 49.6% Black in student racial composition respectively. The addition of 141 white pupils to the Crane school would have brought it to 25.6% Black in 1970. And an additional 387 white students at the E. Topeka school would have brought that school's racial proportions to 28.5% Black in 1970 when the Topeka J.H.S. system was 12.5% Black.

Source: L.12.

Also in 1970 the Topeka Board of Education changed the

mutual attendance boundaries of the Highland Park and Eisenhower junior high schools to reassign nearly half of the Highland Park attendance zone to the Eisenhower school.

The Highland Park J.H.S. was 18.1% Black in pupil racial ration in 1969 the year before the change and the Eisenhower J.H.S. was 8.1% Black in that yea.

Source: L.12.

The Highland Park J.H.S. lost 42 white youngsters and the Eisenhower J.H.S. gained 49 white children in 1970 as a consequence of the change with the result that the Highland Park J.H.S. was increased in its proportion of Black students from 18.1% Black in 1969 to 21.7% Black in 1970, while the Eisenhower J.H.S. increased in its percentage of Black students by only 0.2 percentage points in 1970.

Had the Topeka school officials redrawn the common attendance boundary between the Highland Park and Eisenhower junior high schools so as to maximize the equal distribution of Black and white youngsters between and among those two schools, they could have achieved an average of 13.9% Black in student racial ratio at those two shcools in 1970.

In 1973 the Topeka school officials created an optional attendance zone within the French service area, between the Capper J.H.S. and French J.H.S. which resulted in a decline of white enrollment at the French J.H.S. of 46 in that year. The French and Capper junior high schools were 2.1 and 0.7% Black in their respecitve pupil racial ratios in 1973.

At the center of the school system the Crane J.H.S. was

underutilized by 157 empty seats and was 42.6% Black in student racial composition in 1973 having just lost 21 white students and gained 10 Black. The school system at the junior high school level was only 13.5% Black in its pupil racial proportions.

Source: L.12, 32.

The addition of 46 white children to the Crane J.H.S. enrollment in 1973 would have brought that school's proportion of Black pupils to 36.8% Black in that year rather than 42.6%.

Had the Topeka school officials sought to more evenly distribute Black and white pupils across the system as a whole and desegregate the Crane J.H.S. and French J.H.S. those two schools could have had student racial compositions that approached 18.3% Black in 1973.

In 1975 the Topeka school officials changed the mutual boundary between the Capper and the French junior high schools once again, this time to permanently assign the former French-Capper optional attendance area to the Capper school.

Source: L.2.

And also in 1975 the school authorities expanded the French J.H.S. attendance boundary to include a newly annexed all or predominantly white residential area.

Source: L.12.

All told the French J.H.S. lost 28 white and 3 Black students and was 2.7 Black in pupil racial ratio in 1975, and the Capper appears to have gained six Black students in 1975 while

itself losing seven whites and was 2.4% Black.

Source: L.12.

But of real significance symbolically is that the fact that the French J.H.S. decreased in its proportion of Black students from 3.2% Black in 1974 to 2.7% Black in 1975. That was only 0.5 percentage points but the Topeka Board of Education had actually acted to make more white the newest disproportionately white junior high school in the system while in that very year, it is to be remembered, the same school officials had also acted to reorganize the entire northeastern half of the school system, and had taken the Boswell J.H.S., which had enjoyed a stable and well proportioned relationship between its Black and white students for at least the last 20 years, and dramatically increased the Boswell's proportion of Black students by almost three fold in 1975 making of it a 24.9% Black school in a 14.5% Black J.H.S. system. The Boswell J.H.S. was only one school service area removed from the French J.H.S.

Source: L.12.

In 1976 the Topeka school authorities acted once again to more evenly distribute white youngsters between and among the disproportionately white J.H.S. of the west and southwest portion of the city.

They closed the Capper J.H.S. and redistributed its student complement to the Landon, and French junior high schools.

Source: L.2.

The Landon and French J.H.S.s were 2.1% Black and 2.7% Black in racial proportions in 1975 the year before the change but as a

result of the inclusion of the Capper children those two schools decreased to 1.1 and 1.9 in their respective percentages of Black students. The Topeka school board had acted once again to whiten the student bodies of already disproportionately white schools.

What's more, immediately adjacent to the former Capper, now Landon, attendance zone, was the Boswell J.H.S. to which the school authorities were assigning Black children at a rate nearly twice that of the average Topeka J.H.S. in 1976. And the Boswell J.H.S. as well had 112 unused pupil spaces in 1976.

Source: L.12, 28, 29, 33.

The Boswell J.H.S. was 27.3% Black in pupil racial proportion in 1976. Had the Topeka Board of Education added 112 of Capper's white children to the Boswell J.H.S. in 1976 it would have been 22.6% Black.

Source: L.12.

Had the Topeka school board elected to desegregate the Landon, French and Boswell schools they could have effected average student racial proportions of 10.3% Black in each of those schools.

Source: L.12.

Again in 1977 and 1978 the Topeka school authorities moved to exchange white students between and among the Landon, French and Jardine junior high schools, which served the western and southwestern portions of the school system, and completely disregarded the space available and the racial imbalance at the Boswell J.H.S.

The Boswell J.H.S. had averaged 140 empty pupil spaces over the period 1976 to 1978 and in fact had 163 unused seats in 1978. And the number of white students at the Boswell school had decreased by 15.7% over that three year period.

Source: L.12, 28, 29, 33.

Had the Topeka school board reassigned 163 white pupils to the Boswell J.H.S. in 1978, that school's racial enrollment could have been 23.4% Black rather than 31.2% Black in a 17.0% Black J.H.S. system in 1978.

Had the school officials opted to make more efficient use of overall system-wide available pupil capacity and desegregate the Boswell, Landon, French and Jardine J.H.S. in 1978 they could have designed the four school enrollments to approximate 11.5% Black in their racial proportions.

PORTABLE CLASSROOM PLACEMENT 1967-1980

The three disproportionately Black junior high schools, Boswell, Crane, and E. Topeka had a combined yearly average of 599 unused pupil spaces for the years they were in operation from 1967 to 1980.

Source: 12,, 22-33.

Over that same 13 year period the Topeka school authorities placed 113 portable classrooms at junior high schools within the school system.

Source: L.33.

Stated differently, the Topeka school officials provided an average of 270 pupil spaces in addition to the capacities

provided in regular junior high school buildings each year from 1967 to 1980.

Of the portable classrooms provided at junior high and middle schools from 1967 to 1980, 106 or 93.8% were placed at junior high schools which were either all-white or were no less than 97.8% white and other non-Black minority in their pupil racial ratios from 1967 to 1980.

The placement of portable classrooms in such numbers at predominantly white junior high schools after 1966 continued the pattern of the disproportionate provision of classroom capacity, through building construction and portable placement, at those same predominantly white schools prior to 1966 and aided in the program of containment of white students at those schools and the separation of Black students into other schools not so treated.

1980

In 1980 the U.S. District #501 Board of Education again moved to reorganize the junior high schools, serving that part of the school system wherein most of Topeka's Black citizens resided, for the second time in the last five years.

Source: L.2.

As part of this reorganization the school board closed the E. Topeka, Holliday and Highland Park J.H.S.s and made them part of the Chase and Eisenhower middle school attendance areas. And too the Roosevelt and Boswell J.H.S. were closed and made into the Robinson middle school attendance area.

Source: L.2.

This reorganization required the changing of seven attendance boundaries internal to the attendance areas of the group of schools just described.

Source: L.2.

Left unchanged, except in name only, were the attendance boundaries of the western and southwestern portion of the school system served by the Landon "middle", French "middle" and Jardine "middle" schools.

Source: L.2.

Also left unchanged was the attendance boundary between those three middle schools and the three middle schools assigned to serve the north and east portion of the school system in 1980.

That attendance boundary was established in 1975 during the first northeastern reorganziation and had been maintained ever since.

To the west of that boundary the Topeka Board of Education had assigned only 12.6% of all the Black "middle" school pupils in the Topeka school system in 1980 while to the east of that line the school board had assigned 87.4% of the system's black "middle" school students.

The ratio of Black students to white students in the "middle" schools to the west of the line was 1.5 Black students in each classroom of 30 pupils. While that same ratio to the east of that line was 8.6 Black children in each such classroom.

The middle schools serving each side of that line and their respective student racial proportions were as follows in 1980:

<u>West</u>	<u>%B</u>	<u>East</u>	<u>%B</u>
Landon	2.5	Eisenhower	39.8
French	3.1	Robinson	23.1
Jardine	9.7	Chase	20.6

System = 18.4% Black

Clearly the price of attempting to create two desegregated middle schools without the inclusion of the most disproportionately white schools was the necessity to create and maintain at the Eisenhower middle school a student population that had not only, once again, more than twice the system-wide proportion of Black middle school children assigned to it but in fact in 1980 contained 44.5% of all the Black 7th and 8th graders in the Topeka school system.

Source: L.12.

There are no indications of any major changes in the junior high (middle) school system from 1980 to 1983 except in the student racial data for the individual middle schools.

The changes in that data are in effect the proof of the pudding and reinforce the perceived folly of leaving the disproportionately white middle schools out of any attempt to desegregate the junior high system.

For the proportion of all the 7th and 8th grade, middle school, Black children contained at the Eisenhower middle school rose from 44.5% in 1980 to 49.8% as of 1983. And the proportion of the school system's white middle school children contained at the three disproportionately white middle schools, Jardine, French and Landon, increased from 43.4% in 1980 to 48.9% in 1983.

Source: L.12.

PART V: SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 1956 to 1983 OVERVIEW:

The Topeka school system operated one senior high school the Topeka senior high school (hereinafter S.H.S.), from 1931 to 1958; it added another, the Highland Park S.H.S. in 1959 through annexation; and it built and opened the third, the Topeka West S.H.S. in 1961.

Source: L.2, 33

In 1960 the year after the Highland Park S.H.S. annexation it is estimated through the interpolation of available student racial data and the use of 1960 U.S. Census data that the Topeka S.H.S. had 251 Black pupils assigned to it, and was approximately 11.0% Black in its student racial composition in 1960 and the Highland Park S.H.S. had 37 assigned Black students and was 5.1% Black that year.

Source: L.5, 11, 12,, 17.

Looking at it another way 87.2% of the Black students in the Topeka school system were being assigned to one of two senior high schools, the Topeka S.H.S., in 1960.

Again with the opening of the Topeka West S.H.S. in 1961 it is estimated, through extrapolation of existing student racial data and the 1960 U.S. Census, that: the Topeka West S.H.S. had all of two black students assigned to it upon opening and was 0.3% Black in pupil racial ratio; that the Topeka S.H.S. was assigned 263 Black pupils and was 14.5% Black in student racial composition; and that the 51 Black children assigned to the Highland Park S.H.S. made that school 6.5% Black in pupil racial

proportions in 1961.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

Once again those figures imply that there were approximately 316 Black senior high school students attending school in Topeka in 1961 and that 83.2% of them were assigned to the original Topeka S.H.S. It was a decrease of 4.0 percentage points but at that rate it would be nearly thirteen years before the Topeka S.H.S. would get to the 33.3% of total population of Black senior high students which would represent racial parity between and among the system's three senior high schools.

All in all it would appear that an equal distribution of black and white children between and among the three senior high schools of the Topeka school system was not high on anyone's administrative agenda in 1961.

Moving to 1966, the first year of comprehensive racial data for senior high schools after 1952 we see that 323 or 71.9% of Topeka's Black senior high school students were again assigned to the Topeka school while 27.4% of those students were assigned to the Highland Park S.H.S. and 0.7% were assigned to the Topeka West S.H.S. in 1966.

Source: L.12.

In 1977 the Highland Park S.H.S. surpassed the Topeka S.H.S. for the first time in the number of Black students assigned. And in that year: the Highland Park S.H.S. contained 49.1% of Topeka's Black senior high students; the Topeka S.H.S. was assigned 47.8 of those Black pupils and the Topeka West S.H.S. had been assigned only 19 or 3.1% of the system's black senior

high students.

Source: L.12.

One other statistic becomes apparent in 1977, i.e., the Topeka school authorities were assigning 38.8% of all the white senior high students in the system to the Topeka West S.H.S. That was up 15.3 percentage points from the 23.5% of those students estimated for 1961 and up 4.6 percentage points from 1966.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

And finally looking at 1983 student racial data, the trend appears to hold with the Highland Park and Topeka senior high schools evening out in their respective Black student proportions with 48.9% of the system's Black senior high pupils at the Highland Park S.H.S. and 45.1% of those students at the Topeka S.H.S.

Meanwhile the assignment of white pupils to the Topeka West S.H.S. had again been increased with that school now receiving 42.4% all the system's white but only 6.1% of the Black senior high students in 1983.

Source: L.12.

Clearly, in a retrospective going back to 1961, the Topeka S.H.S. would in fact never ever even approach the racial parity envisioned earlier.

From a strictly numerical point of view that came about because, while the Topeka S.H.S. was decreasing in its proportion of Black senior high pupils from 1949 on, and in fact decreasing in actual numbers of Black children from 1973 on, it was losing white children at an even greater rate.

Thus in losing an aggregate of 484 white students from 1960

to 1983, an average loss rate of 21 white students per year is indicated. While during that same period the Topeka S.H.S. gained a total of 91 Black youngsters for a rate of growth in that population of only 4.0 Black students per year. Obviously the individual proportions of Black students at the Topeka S.H.S. each year from 1960 to 1983 were much more dependent on the numbers of white children being lost than the numbers of Black children being gained.

Source: L.5, 11, 12,, 17.

The Topeka school system had gained but 225 white students at the senior high level from the estimate of 1961 to 1983 but over that period of time the Topeka West S.H.S. had gained 661 white students, a difference of some 436 students.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

The difference lay in the fact that the Topeka S.H.S. had itself lost 459 white students over that 22 year period.

The incremental analysis of U.S.D. #501, and its predecessor's, S.D. #23, administrative decisions which tended to disproportionately assign Black children to the Topeka and Highland Park S.H.S.s and white children to the Topeka West S.H.S. is what follows.

In 1959 the Topeka Board of Education annexed the High School District #10 also known as the Highland Park Senior High District and served by the Highland Park S.H.S. The Highland Park S.H.S. attendance area included: the attendance areas of the Avondale East and West elementary schools; the Highland Park North, Central and South elementary schools, the Belvoir, Dawson

and Rice elementary schools; and the Avondale S.W. and Highland Park J.H.S.s. And in addition the Highland Park S.H.S. attendance area also included some geographic areas outside the boundaries of the Topeka school system which supplied about 30% of the Highland Park S.H.S. enrollment.

Source: L.1, 2, 15, 16.

It was estimated earlier that the Highland Park S.H.S. contained 37 Black pupils and was consequently 5.2% Black in its student racial composition at the time of its annexation to the Topeka school system.

To the northwest, serving the other two thirds of the newly configured senior high school system, the original Topeka S.H.S. was 11.0% Black in student racial ratio and was overutilized by about 175 pupils in excess of its capacity to hold them.

Source: L.2, 20, 33.

The Topeka school authorities were assigning 87.2% of all the Black children in the expanded senior high school system to the Topeka S.H.S.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

The removal of 107 Black children from the Topeka S.H.S. in 1959 would have lowered the proportion of all Black, school system senior high pupils contained in that school to 50.0%.

The Highland Park S.H.S. was under capacity by 497 empty seats in 1959. The addition of 107 Black students and some additional white pupils to that school would have also brought the proportion of Black children there assigned to 50% and would have made the Topeka S.H.S. and Highland Park S.H.S. about 9.6% Black

in pupil racial ratio.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

An inspection of the 1960 U.S. Census data indicates that the largest concentration of Black population in the Topeka school system sat squarely midway between the Topeka and Highland Park S.H.S.

Source: L.2, 5.

A change of the common attendance boundary between the two schools would have accomplished the pupil transfers suggested. But the Topeka school officials chose not to make such a boundary change in 1959 upon the annexation of the Highland Park Senior High area nor for the next three years.

Source: L.2.

What the school authorities did elect to do was construct and open the new Topeka West S.H.S. in 1961 at the far western edge of the school district and assign to it all of an estimated two Black children and 702 white children.

Source: L.5, 11, 12, 17.

The attendance boundary designed for the new Topeka West S.H.S. by the Topeka Board of Education included within its perimeter the south and western half of the Topeka S.H.S.'s former attendance area.

The 1960 U.S. Census shows that the area included into the Topeka West S.H.S. service zone contained only six scattered city blocks, out of about 500 city blocks included, which had Black populations substantial enough to exceed 5.0% in residential

racial proportions.

Source: L.2, 5.

And that census data also indicates that four of five concentrations of Black residential population in the Topeka school system were contained within the Topeka S.H.S. attendance area, and excluded from the Topeka West S.H.S. area by the School Board designed common attendance boundary between those two schools.

Contained within the attendance area and consequent matriculation pattern configured for the Topeka S.H.S. by the Topeka school authorities, were: all of the remaining all-Black elementary schools, the Buchanan, Monroe and Washington elementary schools; all of six elementary schools designated by the "1953-1956 administrative integration plan" to receive disproportionately large numbers of Black children, the Grant, Lafayette, Lincoln, Lowman Hill, Parkdale and Van Buren elementary schools; seven of the eight elementary schools considered earlier in this Report as experiencing student racial transition as a result of Topeka school board administrative decisions, the Grant, Lafayette, Lincoln, Lowman Hill, Parkdale, Van Buren, and Quinton Heights elementary schools; and the two disproportionately Black junior high schools, Crane and E. Topeka, just recently considered by this Report.

In fact, recalling that the racial transition of the Quinton Heights elementary school from a predominantly white to a disproportionately Black school in pupil racial ratio, began in 1958 and started gathering steam in 1959, it is of striking significance that the southern point of the inverted pyramid shaped

attendance zone, designed for the Topeka S.H.S. in 1961, was drawn so as to specifically include the Quinton Heights attendance area into the Topeka S.H.S. feeder pattern.

Source: L.2.

Thus it could hardly come as a surprise that the Topeka S.H.S. in 1961, upon losing 702 white pupils, was 14.6% Black in pupil racial ratio and still contained 83.8% of all the Black senior high students in the Topeka school system when the average senior high school in the system was but 9.5% Black in student racial composition.

As of 1963 the Topeka Board of Education had established an optional attendance zone between the Topeka S.H.S. and the Topeka West S.H.S.

Source: L.2.

That optional attendance zone included the white Oakland (Lundgren) elementary school, the predominantly white State Street elementary school, and the predominantly white half of the Lafayette elementary school, attendance areas.

Source: L.1, 2, 5.

It is estimated that the Highland Park S.H.S. gained 94 white pupils in 1963 but only had 21.7% of the Black senior high students in the system assigned to it, while the Topeka S.H.S. still contained 77.7% of those students.

It should also be remembered from the analysis of the racial transition of the Lafayette elementary school in this Report that the Topeka School Board had taken a number of steps up to and including the actual movement of the Lafayette school building to

the predominantly white residential area which has just been described as part of this 1963 senior high optional attendance zone, in order to preserve the disproportionately white status of the Lafayette elementary school prior to 1962. But that analysis goes on to point out that in 1962 the Topeka Board of Education made a series of decisions which resulted in the maintenance of larger and larger proportions of Black elementary school students at the Lafayette elementary school in 1962 and after.

In all probability the bulk of the white youngsters living in the Lafayette attendance area has grown to secondary school age.

An estimated 38.7% of the number of white children attending the Topeka S.H.S. in 1958, when it was the only Topeka high school, had been removed by 1963 with the result that the Topeka S.H.S. was 13.4% Black in student racial composition while the Topeka West S.H.S. was 0.2% Black, the Highland Park S.H.S. was 8.0% Black and the system as a whole, at the senior high level was 8.7% Black by the same measure.

Source: L.2, 5, 11, 12, 17.

In 1966 comprehensive racial data was once again available for the senior high students in the Topeka school system.

Source: L.12.

That data reveals that the actions of the Topeka school officials had in effect increased the number of Black students at the Topeka S.H.S. by 42% from the estimated figure for 1958, while over the same period the number of white children at that

school had been reduced by 593 or 29% by 1966.

Source: L.2, 5, 11, 12, 17.

And in 1966 the Topeka S.H.S. was 16.7% Black in pupil racial composition, the Highland Park S.H.S. was 11.5% Black and the Topeka West S.H.S. was 0.2% Black.

Source: L.12.

In fact the Topeka West S.H.S. had decreased from 0.28% Black to 0.24% Black by 1966 in its ratio of Black to total number of students even though it had managed to gain one Black student in the five years since the school opened. The proportional decline however was due to the fact that the number of white children assigned to the Topeka West S.H.S. by the Topeka school authorities had increased by 539 or 76.8% since that school's opening in 1961.

In 1967 the Topeka school board de-annexed the geographic region described by the Lyman elementary school attendance boundary.

Source: L.2.

The Lyman elementary school and its residential population were all-white in racial composition and the effects of its withdrawal on the elementary and junior high schools of the Topeka school system have been discussed elsewhere in this Report.

The effect of that de-annexation on the Topeka S.H.S., from which it was removed at the senior high level, was to decrease the number of white students at the Topeka S.H.S. by some 45 children thereby playing a part in increasing the proportion of Black pupils at that school from 16.7% Black in 1966 to 19.2%

Black in 1967 in pupil racial ratio at a time when the average Topeka High School had gone from 10.6 to 11.4% Black, an increase of 0.8% percentage points by the same measure.

Source: L.12.

Also in 1967 the Topeka school officials annexed an all-white residential area into the Topeka West S.H.S. increasing that school's number of white children by another 173 or 13.9% and thereby assigning 36.5% of all white Topeka senior high students to that one S.H.S.

Source: L.12.

In 1969 the Topeka Board of Education cancelled one optional attendance area between the Topeka S.H.S. and the Topeka West S.H.S. and reassigned that area to the Topeka S.H.S., and closed a second optional attendance zone, this one between the Topeka and the Highland Park senior high schools and also reassigned those youngsters to the Topeka S.H.S.

Source: L.2.

And in 1969 the Topeka school officials expanded the Highland Park S.H.S. attendance boundary to take in several Black residential areas formerly assigned to the Topeka S.H.S.

Source: L.2.

The results of those three attendance boundary changes were that the Topeka S.H.S. gained 29 white students, lost 35 Black pupils and decreased from 19.4% Black to 17.4% Black in student racial ratio from 1968 to 1969.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka West S.H.S. had been experiencing overcrowding that was averaging over 300 pupils per year from 1967 to 1969 and all this activity involving the changing of boundary lines between and among Topeka's three S.H.S.s was merely an attempt to relieve this Topeka West problem by distributing it over the entire system, i.e., by transferring Topeka S.H.S. children to Highland Park S.H.S. and then transferring Topeka West S.H.S. youngsters to the Topeka S.H.S.

At the end of the process the Topeka West S.H.S. was 0.3% Black in student racial ratio and still contained 37.5% of all the white senior high school pupils in the school system and the Topeka and Highland Park senior high schools were 17.9% Black and 11.1% Black, by the same measure respectively, and they still had assigned to them 29.2% and 30.1% of the Black senior high students in U.S. District #501 respectively.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka and Highland Park S.H.S.s were themselves an average of 92 pupils each overcrowded in 1969 so relative over and/or under capacity was not at issue in 1969.

Source: L.12, 24.

Had the Topeka Board of Education chosen to spread the burden of desegregation over the entire system as well as the burden of overcrowding, it could have had three moderately overcrowded senior high schools with maximally desegregated student bodies that approximated the 10.4% Black of the average senior high school system in 1969.

Source: L.12.

The U.S.D. #501 school officials changed the attendance boundaries of the Topeka West S.H.S. in 1974, and 1975, to take in newly annexed areas, and in 1977 to take in a portion of the Topeka S.H.S. attendance area, all with the by now predictable result of including yet more all-white and predominantly white residential areas into the Topeka West S.H.S.

Source: L.2, 7.

And the Topeka school board expanded the western attendance boundary of the Highland Park S.H.S. in 1974, 1975 and 1976 to take in ever greater portions of the Topeka S.H.S. attendance area containing high percentages of Black residents.

Source: L.2, 7.

But that tactic had long since ceased to have any racial benefit at the Topeka S.H.S. and was in fact having just the opposite effect on the system of high schools as a whole.

For the proportion of the system's Black senior high students being assigned to the Highland Park S.H.S. by the Topeka Board of Education had jumped to 30.1% in 1969, 34.1% in 1971, and would, in part as a result of this last series of board actions, jump again to 37.1% in 1974, 44.2% in 1975 and 49.1% in 1972.

Source: L.12.

Thus the ongoing addition of Black children to the Highland Park S.H.S. on the far east side of the school system, while holding the Topeka West S.H.S. on the far west of the system for the almost exclusive use of white pupils was taking the relatively plastic, pupil racial imbalance of the last twenty years and

casting it into the concrete of solid geographic racial polarity.

In 1977 the Highland Park S.H.S. was 23.2% Black in student racial composition, the Topeka S.H.S. was 18.1% Black and the Topeka West S.H.S. 1.4% Black by the same measure.

Source: L.12.

The Topeka school board was assigning: 49.1% of all the system's Black senior high students to the Highland Park S.H.S.; 47.8% to the Topeka S.H.S.; and 3.1% to the Topeka West S.H.S. But at the Topeka West S.H.S., the Topeka Board of Education was assigning 31.6% of the white senior high pupils.

Source: L.12

In effect if you were walking through the halls of the Topeka West S.H.S. in 1977 counting Black students in their classrooms you would only be able to find one Black student in every third classroom of 30 pupils while on that search.

SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND PORTABLE
CLASSROOM PLACEMENT 1959 TO 1980:

By now the story of: opening new schools that were only all or disproportionately white in pupil racial ratio; building classroom additions only to schools that were disproportionately white; and placing portable classrooms primarily at disproportionately white schools, is quite familiar.

To establish that this was also the practice being followed with regard to the senior high schools I offer the following statistics.

The Topeka school authorities: opened 2 new or annexed senior high schools from 1959 to 1980; built and opened 39 addi-

tional classrooms during that period; and placed 106 portable classrooms also over that span of time.

Source: L.33.

Of the senior high school buildings opened one was the Topeka West S.H.S. opened in 1961 which had managed to get to a student racial composition of 1.4% Black by 1977 sixteen years later. And the other was the Highland Park S.H.S. in 1959 which was assigned only 1/7 of the number of Black pupils then being assigned to the Topeka S.H.S.

Source: L.33.

Of the 39 additional classrooms built by the Topeka Board of Education 31 or 80% were added to the Topeka West S.H.S. and eight were added to the Highland Park S.H.S. well before its transition into a disproportionately Black S.H.S.

Source: L.33.

And of the 106 portable classrooms placed at senior high schools over the years from 1964 to 1980, 103 or 97.2% were placed at the Topeka West S.H.S. by the U.S.D. #501 Board of Education.

Source: L.33.

In 1980 the Topeka school authorities reorganized the grade structures of all the junior and senior high schools in the system by transferring all 1064 9th grade students from the junior high schools to the senior high schools.

As a result of that action: the student population of the Highland Park S.H.S. was increased by 337 or 30.7%; that of the Topeka S.H.S. was increased by 463 or 35.2%; and that of the

Topeka West S.H.S. was increased by 264 or 20.1%.

Source: L.12.

But also as a result of that action the number of Black children at the Highland Park S.H.S., the Blackest city high school in pupil racial ratio, was increased by 40.6% taking it from 27.1% Black to 29.1% Black in student racial composition in 1980.

Source: L.12.

So as a result of the movement of 1064 Black and white school children into the senior high school system in 1980 the Topeka Board of Education had assigned: 51.5% of all the Black 9th through 12th grade students in the system to one senior high school, the Highland Park; and 44.4% of those Black youngsters to the Topeka S.H.S.; but only 4.1% of those Black children were sent to the Topeka West S.H.S. where the Topeka school officials were providing for the educational needs of 42% of the white Topeka 9th through 12th graders in 1980.

Source: L.12.

PART VI. SUMMARY: SCHOOL SYSTEM REVIEW 1950-1983

As a result of a review of the records of the U.S. District #501 Board of Education as they pertain to: school building construction; additional classroom construction; portable classroom placement; rental of non-public school building for public education purposes; the establishment, maintenance and modification of attendance boundaries and creation, maintenance modification and cancellation of optional attendance zones; the closing

of public schools and consequent reassignment of pupils; and in general the pupil assignment practices by race of the school authorities from 1950 to 1980, I can confidently state that I was unable to find one instance where any of those physical and administrative educational tools were used as a part of a purposeful and ongoing program of affirmative pupil desegregation at either the elementary, junior high or middle, or senior high school level.

Quite to the contrary I believe that this analysis and its supporting documents will testify to the fact that all of those administrative tools were used in an ongoing manner to actively separate the Black and white elementary, junior high and middle, and senior high students of the Topeka school system wherever and whenever feasible.

APPENDIX

- L.1 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs' #9 [e, f, h, i, j, k]
Elementary
- L.2 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs' #9 [e, f, h, i, j, k]
Secondary
- L.3 1940 U.S. Census
- L.4 1950 U.S. Census
- L.5 1960 U.S. Census
- L.6 1970 U.S. Census
- L.7 1980 U.S. Census
- L.9 Estimate of 1955-56 Racial Enrollment Dated May 4, 1955
- L.10 Negroes Enrolled in White School 9-28-56
- L.11 "Comparison of Total School Enrollment in District Black
Schools With Black Students Included on State Reports and
Annual School Census for Years 1940-1950"
- L.12 "Racial Inventory of U.S.D. 501 Students" . . . 1955-56;
1966-67; 1967-68; 1968-69; 1969-70; 1970-71; 1971-72;
1972-73; 1973-74; 1974-75; 1975-76; 1976-77; 1977-78;
1978-79; 1979-80; 1980-81; 1981-82; 1982-83; 1983-84
- L.13 "Excerpts from Topeka Board of Education Minutes" (the
Four Step Plan)
- L.14 "A Centennial History of the Topeka Schools"
- L.15 "Topeka Schools Plan -- A Study of School Building and
Site Needs" April, 1958
- L.16 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs's #10, 11, 18, 26, 27,
28
- L.17 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs' #9h, 2-4, 1 (1950-53)
- L.20 "Five Year Projection of Building Needs" May, 1966
- L.21 "Recommendations for Attendance Area Changes," 1967-68,
etc.
- L.22 "Five Year Projection of Building Needs," May, 1967
- L.23 "Five Year Projection of Building Needs," May, 1968
- L.24 "Five Year Projection of Building Needs", June, 1969

- L.25 "Capital Improvements Report," 1973
- L.26 "Proposed Short-Range Facilities Plan," December 3, 1974
- L.27 "Long-Range Facilities Plan," March 17, 1976
- L.28 "Capital Improvements Report 1975-76," April 6, 1976
- L.29 "Capital Improvements Report Facilities Planning Study,"
November 17, 1976
- L.30 "1977-78 Capital Improvements Report"
- L.31 "Long-Range Facilities Plan 1976-77"
- L.32 "Long-Range Facilities Plan 1977-78"
- L.33 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs' Interrogatory #9a-e,
g, o, s, t
- L.34 Defendants' Answers to Plaintiffs' Interrogatory #2
- L.35 Avondale School District #97 Historical Records