

INTRODUCTION.

~~THE TASK OF THIS REPORT IS TO ESTABLISH WHETHER OR NOT THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL GROUNDS FOR THE SUPPOSITION THAT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF TOPEKA, KANSAS, PRESENTLY KNOWN AS U.S.D. 501, CREATED, MAINTAINED AND EXACERBATED THE RACIALLY SEGREGATED CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE SYSTEMS~~

~~THE TASK OF THIS REPORT IS TO ESTABLISH WHETHER OR NOT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF TOPEKA, KANSAS, PRESENTLY KNOWN AS U.S.D. 501, USED THE "PHYSICAL ELEMENTS" OF THAT SCHOOL DISTRICT TO CREATE, MAINTAIN AND EXACERBATE THE RACIAL SEGREGATION OF STUDENTS WHICH IS ALLEGED TO BE IN PLACE TODAY.~~

~~THE "PHYSICAL ELEMENTS" OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM ARE: THE CONDITIONS AROUND THE COPIINGS OF A SCHOOL BUILDING, ITS SITE SELECTION, ITS COMPLEMENT OF ROOMS, THE NUMBER AND RACIAL COMPOSITIONS OF THE STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF ASSIGNED~~

~~THE "PHYSICAL ELEMENTS" OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM ARE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW SCHOOLS; THE PHYSICAL POSITIONS OF CLASSROOM SPACE TO ESTABLISHED SCHOOLS; THE USE OF "PORTABLE" CLASSROOMS TO RELIEVE CROWDING; THE USE OF LENTED FACILITIES IN ESSENTIALLY NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS, AGAIN TO RELIEVE CROWDING; THE UTILIZATION OF THE SYSTEM'S CLASSROOM SPACES, ^{AND} TAKEN AS A WHOLE; THE ASSIGNMENTS OF STUDENTS, ^{AND} TEACHERS ^{AND} ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF; THE CLOSING OF SCHOOL BLDGS.~~

~~THE ELEMENTS OF NEW AND ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION ARE REFFED TO IN THIS REPORT UNDER THE GENERAL HEADING CONSTRUCTION. THEY INCLUDE: THE SITE SELECTION FOR A NEW SCHOOL, ITS LOCATION, SIZE, AND ITS METHOD AND TIME OF ACQUISITION; THE NUMBERS OF CLASSROOMS IN THE ORIGINAL AND ^{ANY} ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION; THE TIMING OF THE PLACEMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS; THE USE OF TEMPORARY STRUCTURES OR FACILITIES, TO INCLUDE PORTABLE CLASSROOM BUILDINGS, AND RENTED SPACES AT NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL FACILITIES; AND THE NUMBERS AND RACIAL COMPOSITIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS ^{AND} ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF WHOSE SCHOOL ASSIGNMENTS WERE/ARE AFFECT BY THE SCHOOL BOARD'S CONSTRUCTION DECISIONS.~~

INTO 2

~~T~~HE CONSIDERATION OF THE WAYS IN WHICH U.S.D. 501 OR ITS PREDECESSORS MADE USE OF CLASSROOM SPACES EXISTING AT A GIVEN TIME, AND THE EFFECTS OF THOSE ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS ON THE ASSIGNMENTS OF PUPILS TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF IS REFERRED TO IN THIS REPORT AS FACILITIES UTILIZATION AND GENERALLY COMPARES THE CLASSROOM CAPACITY OF ONE OR MORE SCHOOLS AGAINST ONE OR MORE OTHER SCHOOLS FOR A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME.

~~T~~HE ASSIGNMENTS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF FROM YEAR TO YEAR BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD, AND THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THOSE ASSIGNMENTS ON THE LEARNING COMPOSITIONS OF THOSE GROUPS OF PEOPLE IN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL BUILDINGS, ARE SO INTERTWINED WITH THE ANALYSIS OF OTHER ELEMENTS UNITS THAT THEY ARE GENERALLY NOT TREATED SEPARATELY IN THIS REPORT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES.

~~G~~Enerally all of the above defined "physical elements" are so interlacing that in all probability, ~~the analysis of most~~ will be ~~analyzed~~ ~~simply~~ overlapped.

~~T~~HE ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES ARE MORE AN ADMINISTRATIVE TOOL THAN A PHYSICAL ELEMENT IN THE WAY THAT A SCHOOL BUILDING IS, BUT THE ~~IMPOSITION~~ ~~OF~~ IMPPOSITION OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES EACH YEAR BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD HAS THE EFFECT OF PHYSICALLY CAUSING STUDENTS TO ATTEND ONE SCHOOL OR ANOTHER, AND THIS ALSO WILL BE SEPARATELY CONSIDERED.

~~T~~HE ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL CLOSING CONCERN'S ITSELF WITH THE CRITERION FOR SCHOOL CLOSINGS AS EXEMPLIFIED BY ~~SCHOOL~~ ^{LOCAL} CLOSING PRACTICES IN THE PAST AS WELL AS THE EFFECTS ~~ON~~ THE RE-ASSIGNMENT OF THE CLOSED SCHOOL'S STUDENT COMPLIMENT ~~ON~~ ON THE RECEIVED SCHOOLS. THIS AREA OF CONSIDERATION IS REFERRED TO IN THIS REPORT AS SCHOOL CLOSINGS.

Analysis 1

As of the close of the 1952-53 school year there were three types of elementary schools in relation to the racial demographics of the general population served by #23 (so it's presecession).

There were the four elementary schools Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe, and Washington which were maintained strictly for attendance by black students on a system wide basis, and were located in all or predominantly all black residential areas.

(Seabrook) There were the five elementary schools Crestview, Baer, Oakland, Doug and Potwin which were maintained by school district #— for the exclusive use of white students and which were in fact located by the school district in all or predominantly all white residential areas.

And there were the remaining 15 elementary schools which, though also kept by school district #23 for the exclusive use of white pupils, were themselves located in residential areas that had varying levels of black residents ~~populated~~ in addition to the majority white residential population.

SOURCE: L1 & L2

Over the next three(3) years the school district #23 school boards set about the task of conforming to the U.S. District & Supreme Court remedial mandates. (L.13)

The school district #23 response to that mandate included: the continuation of 3 of the 4 all black elementary schools Buchanan, Monroe, and Washington in all black residential areas; 4 of the 5

the results of the school district #23 remedial responses to those mandates were as follows as of the 1956-57 school year (one full year after full implementation of the school districts 4 part interdiction desegregation remedial plan:)

Jeffrey
U.S.
move

Analysis 2

Black & White Elementary Student Distribution 1956-7

	BLACK STUDENTS			WHITE STUDENTS		
	% B	# B	% OF B.	# W.	% OF W.	
BUCHANAN	100	108	10.8	0	0	
MONROE	100	134	13.4	0	0	
WASHINGTON	100	193	19.4	0	0	
PARKDALE	24.4	80	8.0	248	3.0	
VAN BUREN	20.9	47	4.7	178	2.1	
LINCOLN	19.9	104	10.4	418	5.0	
GRANT	17.6	77	7.7	360	4.3	
LOWMAN HILL	17.4	53	5.3	281	3.0	
LAFAYETTE	13.7	50	5.0	315	3.8	
QUINCY	8.4	39	3.9	427	5.1	
CLAY	7.9	19	1.9	223	2.7	
QUINTON HARRIS	7.3	26	2.6	329	4.0	
CENTRAL PK	5.1	20	2.0	364	4.4	
STATE ST.	4.8	26	2.0	512	6.2	
SUMNER	2.8	9	0.9	317	3.8	
POLK	1.8	4	0.4	221	2.7	
RANDALY	0.7	4	0.4	573	6.9	
SOUTHWEST	0.5	4	0.4	862	10.4	
CRESTVIEW	0.0	0	0	802	9.7	
GAR	0.0	0	0	649	7.8	
OAKLAND	0.0	0	0	454	5.5	
DOWDIN	0.0	0	0	459	5.5	
STOUT	0.0	0	0	338	4.1	
SYSTEM ELEMENT	10.7	997	100.0	8300	100.0	

Source L.1 & L.10

846
435

THE 1956-7 DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK AND WHITE ELEMENTARY STUDENTS WERE IN STARK CONTRAST TO EACH OTHERS.

846 OR 84.9% OF ALL BLACK ELEM. PUPILS IN SCHOOL DISTRICT # 23 WERE ASSIGNED TO SCHOOLS THAT HAD ABOVE AVERAGE PERCENTAGES OF BLACK STUDENTS

AND OF THESE, 435 OR 51.4% WERE IN SCHOOLS THAT HAD NO WHITE STUDENTS AT ALL I.E. BUCHANAN, MONROE AND WASHINGTON THE THREE REMAINING ALL BLACK SCHOOLS.

By today's standards* 51.7% of all black elem. students had been assigned to schools that were racially identifiable as black schools by 1956-7.

Analysis: 3

And at the other end of the spectrum the column reflecting white elem. students shows that 6530 or 78.7% of all white elem. pupils were assigned to schools that had less than the system wide ave. of black students.

27
And further that 2702 or 41.4% of those 6530 white students were assigned to five elem. schools which contained no black students what so ever and which again by today's standards* would have been considered racially identifiable as white in 1956-7.

So it is that a full year after total implementation of the school district #23 remedial plan ~~_____~~ 3217 or 34.6% of all the system's elem. students had been assigned to ^{THE} ~~THE~~ ~~OUT~~ of the district's twenty-three schools which were still racially identifiable.*

* The standard of racial identifiability alluded to is: If the system wide student ^{STUDENT} racial percentage is at or less than black then any school with a racial proportion falling outside of the system average \pm itself would be considered as racially identifiable.

OR!

42 97
If the system wide student racial percentage is above 15% black then any school with a racial proportion that is greater than or less than the system wide ratio \pm 15% ^{RESPECTIVELY} would be considered as racially identifiable.

This situation was not the result of a racially neutral school district desegregation policy being side tracked by some capricious demographic phenomenon, but did in fact result from the following actions and inaction by the school board.

The Topeka School Board performed a systemic redesign of elementary school attendance boundaries in 1955-56, and gave the three ~~existing~~ system-wide black schools Buchanan, Monroe and Washington, formal attendance boundaries for the first time in their histories, that were an integral part of the pattern of attendance boundaries of the system as a whole.

But as a result of the manner in which they were drawn those new attendance boundaries insul-

Analysis 4

First of all the school district #13 continues the operation of 3 of the 4 all black elementary schools Buchanan, Monroe and Washington, in all black residential areas.

Secondly the school boards maintained ~~four~~ ⁴ of the 5 secure white schools, Crestview, Brook, Oakland and Potwin with all white student bodies in all white residential areas. AND IN FACT CREATED AND OPENED THE NEW STOUT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WITH AN ALL WHITE STUDENT BODY IN AN ALL WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREA, AS THE 5TH SECURE WHITE SCHOOL, IN SEPTEMBER OF 1958.

QUOTE?

Third, knowing full well that the placement of school blocks, in and of itself largely determined the nature of the residential area surrounding the school block. THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION ~~either~~ EXACERBATES THE SITUATION BY SYSTEMATICALLY DRAWING THE NEW ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES OF THE BUCHANAN, MONROE AND WASHINGTON SCHOOLS, SO AS TO PUT THEM IN STRICT CONFORMITY WITH THE GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES OF THE THREE MAJOR DEMOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATIONS OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN THE CITY OF TOPEKA (L.1, L.4, L.5 & DUDZIAK)

Fourth, THE SCHOOL BOARD ~~THE SCHOOL BOARD~~ CONTINUED THE POLICY OF ASSIGNING TEACHERS AND ~~ASSISTANT TEACHERS~~ TO SCHOOLS EXCLUSIVELY BY RACE.

FIFTH, A FOCUS ON THE PROVISION AND UTILIZATION OF SCHOOL BLOCKS INDICATES THAT ~~THE~~ FROM 1949 TO 1956 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD: PROVIDED NEW SCHOOL FACILITIES ^{ONLY} IN ALL OR PREDOMINANTLY ALL WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREAS; PROVIDED BLACK ADDITIONS TO SCHOOLS ONLY IN ALL WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREAS; PROVIDED PORTABLE CLASSROOMS TO SCHOOLS ONLY IN WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREAS; AND FINALLY, RENTED FACILITIES FOR EDUCATION PURPOSES ONLY IN WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREAS.

THESE Boards actions took place while over the same periods they maintained over 900 unused "pupil spaces in the ~~black~~ under utilized "blacks only" schools.

SCHOOL
SCHOOLS
COULD
WHITE'S

Analysis 5

The following tabulations will illustrate the points just made:

New school openings 1949-1956:

School	YEAR	% Blk Pupils	
		YR OF OPENING	1956
OAKLAND	1949	0.0	0.0
POTWIN	1949	0.0	0.0
SEABROOK	1950	0.0	C
SOUTHWEST	1952	0.0	0.5
CRESTVIEW	1954	0.0	0.0
QUINTON HTS.	1954	0.0	7.3
STOUT	1955	0.0	10.0
LAFAYETTE	1956	0.0	13.3
CAPPER J.H.S.	1953	0.0	0.0

Additions to existing schools:

CENTRAL PARK 1954 0.0 5.2

* CAPPER J.H.S. 1954 0.0 0.0 * REPRESENTS A 100% EXPANSION

Placement of portable classroom bldgs.:

GAGE	1951-1956	0.0	0.0
CRESTVIEW	1956	0.0	0.0
QUINTON HTS.	1953	0.0	7.3

Provision of rented facilities & use of basements as classrooms:

QUINTON HTS. 1949-1954 0.0 7.3

SEABROOK 1951-1954 0.0 C

Under-utilization of available capacity at Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe, & Washington (Denver Blk "S" schools) 1949 & 1956:

		1949		1956	
	CAPA.	ENROL.	+CAPA	ENROL.	+CAPA
BUCHANAN	240	130	-110	108	-132
MCKINLEY	240	120	-120	C	
MONROE	780	194	-586	134	-646
WASHINGTON	330	197	-133	193	-137
TOTALS			-949		-915

+ = OVER UTILIZED SPACE

- = UNDER UTILIZED SPACE

Analysis: 6

956-YES!
AFT. 2 PM

IT COULD BE AROUND THAT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS EXPERIENCING NORMAL GROWTH IN THOSE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS., DESSEGREGATION NOT WITHSTANDING, AND WAS MERELY RESPONDING TO THAT GROWTH.

TO EVALUATE THAT POSITION ONE HAS TO BREAK IT DOWN INTO ITS VARIOUS ELEMENTS NAMELY; WAS THERE GROWTH IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AS A WHOLE?; WAS THERE GROWTH IN BOTH BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS?; HOW WELL BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS ASSIGNED?; IS THERE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE GROWTH OF PUPIL POPULATION IN ONE PART OF THE SYSTEM WAS DUE TO "WHITE FLIGHT" FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE SYSTEM?

A CONSIDERATION OF THOSE QUESTIONS FOLLOWS:

WAS THERE GROWTH IN THE TOTAL SYSTEM?

THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS, YES. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL GREW BY 2453 STUDENTS, AN AVERAGE OF ABOUT 18 PUPILS PER SCHOOL PER YEAR FROM 1950 TO 1956.

WAS THERE GROWTH IN BOTH BLACK AND WHITE PUPILS?

AGAIN THE ANSWER IS YES, THE NUMBER OF BLACK STUDENTS INCREASED BY 339 AND THE WHITE STUDENT POPULATION INCREASED BY 2114 FROM 1950 TO 1956.

* THE NUMBERS VARY BY 117 OR 19.5 PUPILS PER PERIOD TO THE VARIOUS
~~IN TERMS~~ OF ACCOUNTING TIMES REFLECTED IN THE SOURCE
DOCUMENTS.

EQUIVALENT CLASSROOMS
How WELL THE BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS ASSIGNED?

FROM 1950 THRU THE SPRING OF 1953 BLACK & WHITE STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO STATE MANAGED RACIALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

IN THE FALL OF 1953 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARDS CLASSIFIED 10 BLACK CHILDREN, 1.3% OF THE SYSTEM'S ELEMENTARILY BLACK STUDENTS TO RANDOLPH & SOUTHWEST (E) ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. THESE FORMER ALL WHITE SCHOOLS HAD THE SMALLEST INDIVIDUAL BLACK PUPIL POPULATIONS IN THE SYSTEM. (L.13)

NO WHITE STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO DENVER ALL BLACK

ANALYSIS 7

IN SEPT. OF 1954 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD REASSIGNED 330 OR 36% OF THE SYSTEM'S ELEMENTARY LEVEL BLACK STUDENTS TO THEIR "HOME" SCHOOLS (THOSE SCHOOLS SEEING THE RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN WHICH THEY LIVES)

NO WHITE STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO THE HISTORICALLY ALL BLACK SCHOOLS. (BUCHANAN, MONROE, & WASHINGTON) IN 1954.

AS OF SEPT. OF 1955 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD HAD REASSIGNED 482 OR 53.7% OF THE BLACK ELEM. STUDENTS IN THE SYSTEM TO "HOME" SCHOOLS.

BUT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF 1 WHITE STUDENT WHO ATTENDED THE WASHINGTON ELEM. SCHOOL FOR 1 YEAR, NO WHITE STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO BUCHANAN, MONROE & WASHINGTON, THE THREE REMAINING ALL BLACK SCHOOLS.

IN SEPT. 1956 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSIGNED 562 OR 57.5% OF THE SYSTEM'S BLACK ELEM. CHILDREN TO "HOME" SCHOOLS LEAVING THE OTHER 42.5%, OR CARS IN ALL BLACK SCHOOLS.

AND AGAIN THE TOPEKA BOARDS ASSIGNED NO WHITE STUDENTS TO FORMERLY ALL BLACK SCHOOLS. IN 1956

BUT IN THAT YEAR, 1956, THE TOPEKA SCHOOL SYSTEM EXPERIENCED A GROWTH OF 99 BLACK STUDENTS AND 541 WHITE STUDENTS OVER THE ENROLLMENTS OF 1955

GIVING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT. IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT 60 OF THE THOSE NEW BLACK STUDENTS COULD BE ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE INCREASES AT THE "HOME" SCHOOLS BUT THAT BEING THE CASE THEN 39 OR 39.4% OF THE NEW BLACK STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO THE ALL BLACK SCHOOLS (BUCHANAN, & WASHINGTON).

FOR BUCHANAN ELEM. SCHOOL THAT REPRESENTS A 72.7% INCREASE IN BLACK STUDENTS. AND FOR THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL THAT INCREASE IN BLACK PUPILS WAS 11.1%.

LOOKING AT THE WHITE INCREASE, 406 OR 75% OF THE NUMBER OF NEW ~~2~~ WHITE STUDENTS WERE ASSIGNED TO SCHOOLS HAVING LESS THAN 1% BLACK PUPIL POPULATION. AND OF THAT 406, 230 OR 56.7% WERE ASSIGNED TO

Analysis 8

White Students 1955 & 1956:

SCHOOL	1956 % B	# WHITE 1955	# WHITE 1956	+GAIN -LOSS
CRESTVIEW	0.0	687	802	+115
GAGE	0.0	645	649	+4
POTWIN	0.0	441	459	+18
OAKLAND	0.0	436	454	+18
STOUT	0.0	263	338	+75
SOUTHWEST	0.5	716	862	+146
RANDOLPH	0.7	543	573	+30
POLK	1.8	227	221	-6
SUMNER	2.8	312	317	+5
STATE ST.	4.8	504	512	+8
CENTRAL PK.	5.2	354	364	+10
QUINTON HETS	7.3	308	329	+21
CLAY	7.9	180	223	+43
QUINCY	8.4	407	427	+20
LAFAYETTE	13.7	314	315	+1
LOWMAN HILL	17.4	242	251	+9
GRANT	17.6	296	360	+64
LINCOLN	19.9	438	418	-20
VAN BUREN	20.9	206	178	-28
PARKDALE	24.4	240	248	+8
BUCHANAN	100	0	0	
MONROE	100	0	0	
WASHINGTON	100	0	0	
TOTALS		7759	8300	+541

IS THERE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE GROWTH OF THE PUPIL POPULATION IN ONE PART OF THE SYSTEM WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO "WHITE FLIGHT FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE SYSTEM?"

The following chart illustrates the gain (+) and/or loss (-) in white students by individual elementary schools from Sept. 1953 to Sept. 1956.

IT IS RANK ORDERED FROM GREATEST GAIN TO GREATEST LOSS OF WHITE STUDENTS OVER THAT PERIOD AND CLEARLY SHOWS:

1. THE AVERAGE SCHOOL GAINING WHITE STUDENTS GAINED 120.8 WHITE STUDENTS OVER 3 YEARS
2. THE AVERAGE SCHOOL LOSING WHITE STUDENTS LOST 37.4 WHITE STUDENTS OVER 3 YEARS
3. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL GAINED 901 WHITE STUDENTS OVER 3 YEARS
4. THE TURKEY SCHOOLS GAINING WHITE STUDENT

Analysis 9

5. THE EIGHT SCHOOLS LOSING WHITE STUDENTS LOSING 799 WHITE PUPILS OVER 3 YEARS.

Therefore the answer to the inquiry is in the affirmative.
There is more than ample reason to attribute a goodly portion of the growth of white student population in the predominantly white elementary schools to a "white flight" phenomenon internal to the system.

WHITE STUDENT GAIN AND LOSS 1953-1956

School	% B.	# WHIT PUP.		+GAIN -LOSS
		1953	1956	
Crestview	0.0	NOT OPEN	802	+802
STOUT	0.0	NOT OPEN	338	+338
QUINTON HOTS	7.3	187	329	+142
GRANT	17.6	318	360	+42
SOUTHWEST	0.5	828	862	+34
CLAY	7.9	198	223	+25
LINCOLN	19.9	399	418	+19
GAGE	0.0	633	649	+16
OAKLAND	0.0	442	454	+12
POLK	1.8	210	221	+11
QUINCY	8.4	419	427	+8
PARCOURT	24.4	241	248	+7
RANDALP	0.7	576	573	-3
POTWIN	0.0	466	459	-7
SUMNER	2.8	326	317	-9
STATE ST.	4.8	530	512	-28
LAWRENCE HILL	17.4	292	251	-41
VAN BUREN	20.9	233	178	-55
LAFAYETTE	13.7	382	315	-67
CENTRAL PK.	5.2	453	364	-89
		7399	8300	+901

$$\text{Ave. GAIN} = 120.8 / 12 \text{ SCHOOLS}$$

$$\text{Ave. LOSS} = 37.4 / 8 \text{ SCHOOLS}$$

In fact it would be safe to assume that well over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the new capacity ^{THEN} provided at ^{THE} predominantly white schools by the Topeka School Board was being filled by white students from other Topeka schools.

Analysis : 10

FACILITIES UTILIZATION: ENROLLMENT V.S. CAPACITY
1950 - 1956

SCHOOL	% B	UNDER (-) OR OVER (+) UTILIZATION							AVE PER YEAR
		1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	
CRESTVIEW	0.0				-42	+32	+144	+45	
GAGE	0.0	+85	+134	+126	+153	+163	+165	+169	+142
POTWIN	0.0	+36	+58	+72	+106	+63	+84	+99	+74
OAKLAND	0.0	-33	+38	+78	+82	+98	+74	+94	+62
SEABROOK	0.0*	+9	+105		C				+57
STOUT	0.0					-247	-171	-209	
SOUTHWEST	0.5			+21	+425	+88	+65	+206	+181
RANDOLPH	0.7	+130	+191	-17	-24	-22	-51	-23	+26
POLE	1.8	-78	-2	-42	-60	-75	-40	-45	-49
SUMNER	2.8	-38	-23	-30	-55	-34	-34	-33	-35
STATE ST.	4.8	+34	+101	+102	+110	+21	+109	+118	+99
CENTRAL PK.	5.2	-34	-8	+55	+63	+2	-75	-166	-23
QUINTON LILES	7.3	-15	+37	+3	+7	-32	+5	+28	+5
CITY	7.9	-123	-104	-117	-132	-107	-123	-88	-113
QUINCY	8.4	-53	-157	-36	-31	+10	-4	+16	-36
LAFAYETTE	13.7	-28	-14	+20	+22	-28	+5	+7	-2
LAUREN HILL	17.4	-39	-3	+21	-8	-26	-10	+4	-9
GRANT	17.6	-84	-102	-38	-54	-51	+5	+62	-37
LINCOLN	19.9	-188	-170	-201	-183	-145	-72	-87	-96
VAN BUREN	20.9	+52	+28	+9	-7	-54	-22	-49	-6
PALMDALE	24.4	-78	-53	-69	-119	-119	-45	-31	-73
BUCHANAN	100	-96	-1	-78	-94	-118	-152	-132	-96
MURDOE	100	-223	-105	-199	-186	-183	-275	-286	-220
WESLEYAN	100	-130	-76	-68	-64	-92	-157	-137	-103
MCKINNEY	100*	-123	-146	-130	-173	C			
TOTAL UNDER		-1363	-1044	-1025	-1190	-1128	-1307	-1248	-1250
TOTAL OVER		+396	+692	+607	+968	+543	+544	+917	+691
SYSTEM TOTAL		-1017	-352	-418	-222	-585	-763	-331	-559
AVE SCHOOL		-46.2	-16.0	-19.0	-10.0	-26.6	-33.2	-14.4	-22.4

* % BLACK AS OF LAST YEAR OPENED.

THE CHART ~~ABOVE~~ ^{Below} COMPARES THE ENROLLMENT OF A GIVEN SCHOOL FOR A GIVEN YEAR WITH THE REGULAR CLASSROOM CAPACITY OF THAT SCHOOL FOR THAT YEAR AND COMES UP WITH A NUMERICAL FIGURE FOR EACH YEAR THAT REFLECTS THE DEGREE TO WHICH ~~THE~~ SCHOOL IS UNDER (-) OR OVER (+) UTILIZED. (L. 1, L. 15, L. 14 A's AND TOT'S 9's)

THE ABOVE CHART REFLECTS THE FOLLOWING:

1. THE "AVE PER YEAR" COLUMN INDICATES THAT 7 OF 1 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS THAT WERE 0.0% BLACK OR LESS THAN

Analysis (1)

STATE OF OVER(+) UTILIZATION (CROWDING) THAT RAN THE GAMUT³ FROM 1 EQUIVALENT CLASSROOM* TO 6 EQUIVALENT CLASSROOMS* PER BUILDING PER YEAR FROM 1950 - 1956

* 1 EQUIVALENT CLASSROOM = 25 TO 30 PUPILS

1. THE FIVE BLACKEST ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN 1956 HAD BEEN MAINTAINED AT LEVELS OF UNREAL UTILIZATION (EMPTYNESS) THAT RANGED FROM 1 EQUIVALENT CLASSROOMS TO AS MANY AS 7 EQUIVALENT CLASSROOMS PER BUILDING PER YEAR FROM 1950 TO 1956.

3. THE SYSTEM AS A WHOLE AVERAGED AN UNREAL (-) UTILIZATION OF ~~-559~~ PUPIL SPACES ~~PER~~ PER YEAR, THE EQUIVALENT OF ONE 18 CLASSROOM BLDG.

4. A CLOSER LOOK AT THE LINE ENTRIES "TOTAL OVER" INDICATED THAT IN 1953 AND 1956 THE TOTALS FOR OVER UTILIZATION IN CLOSED SCHOOLS WENT AS HIGH AS 40% AND 32%, RESPECTIVELY, ABOVE THE SYSTEM WIDE YEALLY AVERAGE OF +69%.

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	AVE. PER YEAR
"TOTAL OVER"	+346	+692	+607	+968	+543	+544	+917	+691
% VARIANCE FROM AVE.	-50.0	+0.2	+12.2	+40.1	-21.4	-21.3	+32.3	

4/0
33

1953 WAS THE YEAR OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "FIRST STEP" IN THE "INTEGRATION" OF TOPKA'S SCHOOLS AND 1956 WAS THE FIRST YEAR THAT THE FULL PROGRAM OF INTEGRATION WAS IN PLACE.

School Closings:

THE TOPKA SCHOOL DISTRICT CLOSED THREE SCHOOLS BETWEEN 1950 AND 1956. THOSE THREE SCHOOLS WERE THE SEABROOK, MCKINLEY, & AS QUINTON HHS. PERIOD SCHOOLS. AND THEY WERE ALL CLOSED IN 1954. THE INITIAL COMPOSITIONS OF THE CLOSED SCHOOLS FOR THE LAST YEAR OF OPERATION PRIOR TO CLOSING AND THE INITIAL COMPOSITIONS OF THE RECEIVING SCHOOLS FOR THE

Analysis 12

Closed School	YEAR CLOSED	PRIOR YEAR		REASSIGNING SCHOOL	BEFORE		AFTER	
		% B	# P		% B	# P	% B	# P
MCKINLEY	1955	100	67	GRANT	20.2	13	16.8	11
QUINTON HOTS	1954	0.0	0	QUINTON HOTS	0.0	0	7.3	10
SEABROOK	1954	0.9	0	CRESTVIEW	0.0	0	0.0	0

THE SEABROOK WAS CLOSED IN 1954 AND THE CHILDREN WERE REASSIGNED TO THE CRESTVIEW ELEM SCHOOL. THE SEABROOK WAS 0.0% BLACK WHEN IT CLOSED AND THE CRESTVIEW WAS 0.0% BLACK WHEN IT OPENED IN 1954.

THE OLD QUINTON HOTS ELEM. SCHOOL WAS CLOSED IN 1954 AND THE PUPILS WERE REASSIGNED TO THE NEW QUINTON HOTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. THE OLD QUINTON HOTS WAS 0.0% BLACK AT THE TIME OF ITS CLOSING AND THE NEW QUINTON HOTS WAS 7.3% BLACK AT THE TIME IT OPENED IN 1954.

THE MCKINLEY SCHOOL WAS CLOSED IN THE 1955-56 SCHOOL YEAR AND ITS STUDENT COMPLIMENT OF 67 "COLORED STUDENTS [WERE] ASSIGNED TO [THEIR] HOME SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREA" TO QUOTE DEFENDANTS ANSWER TO PLAINTIFFS INTERROGATORY # 9e.

THE MCKINLEY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WAS ONE OF THREE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS MAINTAINED BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL DISTRICT IN THAT NORTHERN PORTION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FORMERLY CALLED EUGENE WHICH IS ISOLATED FROM THE REST OF THE SYSTEM BY THE KAW RIVER. THE OTHER TWO SCHOOLS ARE THE GRANT AND THE QUINCY AND PRIOR TO 1954-5 THOSE TWO SCHOOLS SERVED THE WHITE CHILDREN OF THE AREA WHILE MCKINLEY SERVED ONLY THE BLACK CHILDREN IN THAT PORTION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM.

When McKinley was closed 70% of its student body was assigned to Grant and 30% was assigned to Quincy.

THE RACIAL EFFECT OF THIS RE-ASSIGNMENT WAS THAT GRANT WAS 20.2% BLACK WHILE QUINCY WAS ONLY 7.7% BLACK IN 1955, WHEN THE SYSTEM WAS 10.4% BLACK AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL.

By 1966, THE FIRST YEAR OF AVAILABLE DATA AFTER

Analysis 13

THE GRANT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WITH 108 BLACK STUDENTS HAD SEVEN TIMES AS MANY BLACK STUDENTS AS THE QUINCY ELEM. SCHOOL.

MEMBERS OF

HAD THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD CHOSEN TO DO SO IN 1956, THEY COULD HAVE DESIGNATED TWO SCHOOLS WITH STUDENT RACIAL COMPOSITIONS THAT WERE EACH ABOUT 13.4% BLACK, AS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE FOLLOWING CHART.

School	#B	#W	#T _T	%B
GRANT	75	196	371	20.2
QUINCY	34	407	441	7.7
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, AN INCREASE OF ONLY 2.4 PERCENTAGE POINT IN 10 YEARS.

School	#B	#W	#T _T	%B
GRANT	108	188	296	36.5
QUINCY	16	294	310	5.2
LYMAN*	0	179	179	0.0
TOTALS	124	661	785	15.8

* ANNEXED TO THE AREA IN 1962.

PRIOR THE TOPEKA SCHOOL DISTRICT ELECTED TO ALLOW THE NUMBER OF BLACK STUDENTS AT GRANT TO INCREASE BY 44% WHILE ASSIGNING BLACK STUDENTS TO QUINCY IN A MANNER THAT CAUSED THEIR NUMBERS TO DECREASE BY 47% OVER THE SAME PERIOD.

THE GRANT SCHOOL WAS RACIALLY IDENTIFIABLE AS BLACK IN 1966. AND THE LYMAN WAS RACIALLY IDENTIFIABLE AS WHITE. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS 11.33% BLACK IN 1966.

CONCLUSION: By 1956 THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD HAD ESTABLISHED

Analysis 14

Boundary Changes

SOME TIME EARLIER IN THIS REPORT IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE SCHOOL SYSTEM ITSELF ADOPTED ABOUT 900 WHITE STUDENTS FROM 1953 TO 1956, THOSE SCHOOLS WHICH GAINED ~~NOT~~ WHITE STUDENTS OVER THAT PERIOD, IN FACT GAINED ABOUT 1450 WHITE STUDENTS.

~~THE~~ FURTHER CONCLUSION WAS DRAWN THAT THE "EXCESS" AS IT WERE, OF WHITE STUDENTS ~~WAS~~ ATTRIBUTABLE TO ~~THE~~ ~~MIGRATION~~ OF WHITE STUDENTS INTERNAL TO THE SYSTEM. / ~~IN~~ IN A DIVERSE OR MULTI RACIAL CONTEXT, WHERE RACIAL SEGREGATION IS AN ISSUE, THAT MIGRATION OF WHITE PUPILS WITHIN A GIVEN SCHOOL SYSTEM IS USUALLY TERMED "WHITE FLIGHT" WHICH IMPLIES THAT THE MIGRATION OF WHITE STUDENTS ARE FLEEING THE POSSIBILITY OF ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOLS CONTAINING BLACK STUDENTS.

IF A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS ACCUSED TO BE AIDING AND ABETTING THE "WHITE FLIGHT" PHENOMENON THAT ALLEGATION IS USUALLY BASED ON THE FACTS THAT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS CONSTRUCTION OR OTHERWISE PROVIDING SCHOOL FACILITIES AT THE LOCATION TO WHICH THE WHITE STUDENTS ARE FLEEING, AND THAT SCHOOL SYSTEM IS DOING SOMETHING ADMINISTRATIVELY TO FACILITATE THE FLIGHT OF WHITE STUDENTS AWAY FROM ATTENDANCE AT FORMERLY ALL BLACK SCHOOLS.

THE "CONSTRUCTION" PHASE OF THIS ISSUE WAS COVERED EARLIER IN THIS REPORT. THE FOLLOWING IS A CONSIDERATION OF THE "FACILITATION" ASPECT.

THE METHODS GENERALLY USED TO FACILITATE THE ESCAPE OF WHITE STUDENTS FROM ATTENDANCE OR POTENTIAL ATTENDANCE IN ALL OR MAJORITY BLACK SCHOOLS ARE: THE CREATION OF ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES THAT ENCOMPASS STUDENTS OF ONLY ONE RACE ^{BUT THE MOST OF} INTO RACIALLY PLURAL ~~ENVIRONMENT~~ ENVIRONMENT; THE MANIPULATION OF EXISTING ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES WITH THE EFFECT OF SEPARATING OR KEEPING SEPARATE PUPILS OF DIFFERENT RACES; THE CREATION OF OPTIONAL ATTENDANCE AREAS OR ZONES WHERE BY THE STUDENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE GIVEN THE CHOICE OF THEIR SCHOOL OR ATTENDANCE ^{AND} THE INSTALLATION OF SPECIAL STUDENT TRANSFER POLICIES WHICH ALLOW A PUPIL TO ATTEND SCHOOL ^{OUTSIDE} OF THE ATTENDANCE AREA ENCOMPASSING HIS HOME.

Analysis 15

ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES:

THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE TOOL FOR THE MOVEMENT OF PUPILS FROM ONE SCHOOL TO ANOTHER IS THE CHANGE OF AN ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY. ~~POLICIES FOR BEING IN THE "OPTIONAL ATTENDANCE AREA", AND "SPECIFIC PUPIL TRANSFER POLICY"~~ POLICIES FOR BEING IN EFFECTIVE AND SCOPE.

THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD EFFECTED A TOTAL OF 65 ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY CHANGES BETWEEN 1952 AND 1956 AFFECTING THE ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES OF TWENTY-THREE OF THE TWENTY-THREE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN TOPEKA AT THE TIME.

OVERVIEW:

FOURTY FIVE OR 69% OF THOSE CHANGES TOOK PLACE IN 1955. AND 11 OR 17% TOOK PLACE IN 1956. I.E. 86% OF THE BOUNDARY CHANGES TOOK PLACE ON THE HEELS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "INTEGRATION" PLAN.

NONE OF THE BLACK CHILDREN ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL WHITE SCHOOLS IN 1955 & '56 WERE TURNED AS A RESULT OF AN ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY CHANGE BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD.

NONE OF THE ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY CHANGES FROM 1952 TO 1956 CAUSED WHITE CHILDREN TO BE ASSIGNED TO ~~FORMERLY~~ ALL BLACK SCHOOLS.

ALL OF THE BLACK PUPILS IN ALL BLACK SCHOOLS WERE TURNED AS A RESULT OF ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY CHANGES BY THE TOPEKA BOARDS OF EDUCATION.

meanwhile
AND ANYWHERE FROM ALL TO MANY OF THE WHITE STUDENTS IN ALL WHITE SCHOOLS WERE TURNED AS A RESULT OF ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY CHANGES BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD.

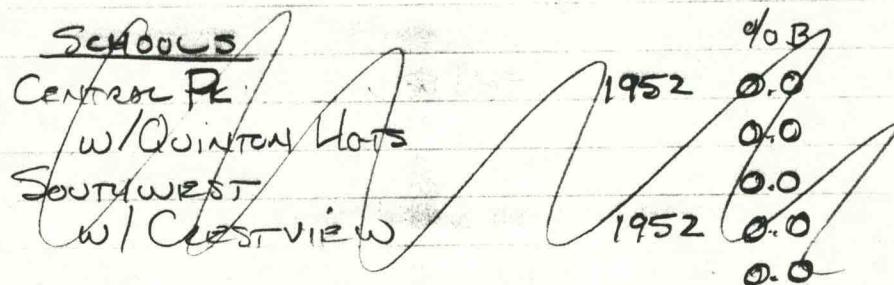
OPTIONAL ATTENDANCE ZONES:

OVERVIEW:

THERE WERE TWELVE NEW OPTIONAL ATTENDANCE AREAS CREATED BY THE TOPEKA SCHOOL BOARD FROM 1952 TO 1956. ONE OF THOSE CREATIONS WAS EFFECTED PRIOR TO 1955, THE REMAINING 11 OR 92% WERE CREATED IN 1955 & 1956 ~~SOON~~ AT THE TIME OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "INTEGRATION" PLAN.

Analysis 16

Boundary changes 1952-1956



FROM 1952 - 1954: 5 OF 9 BOUNDARY CHANGES BETWEEN ALL
THERE WERE 9 WHITE SCHOOLS
BOUNDARY CHANGES INVOLVING
12 SCHOOLS 4 OF 9 BROWN SCHOOLS FROM 0.0 TO
4.6% BLACK.

NO BOUNDARY CHANGES INVOLVED THE ALL
BLACK SCHOOLS.

FROM 1954 - 1955: THERE WERE ~~45~~ FORTY-FIVE (45) BOUNDARY
CHANGES INVOLVING ~~19~~ ^{E.S.} 19 SCHOOLS.

OF THESE ONLY ~~17~~ INVOLVED THE FOUR ALL BLACK
SCHOOLS MCKEEANAN, MCKINLEY, MONROE, & WASHINGTON.

THE OTHER ~~38~~ BOUNDARY CHANGES FOLLOWED:
AND 10 OF THOSE REPRESENTED THE DRAWING OF THE
ORIGINAL ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES FOR THOSE 4 SCHOOLS

SEE EFFECT SUPRA

THE OTHER 28 BOUNDARY CHANGES WERE BETWEEN AND
AMONG SCHOOLS RANGING FROM 0.0 TO 24.4% BLACK IN
STUDENT SOCIAL COMPOSITION AND BROKE DOWN AS
FOLLOWS:

WITH THE ONE EXCEPTION OF GRANT IN 1955 NONE OF THE
BOUNDARY CHANGES INVOLVING FORMERLY ALL WHITE ELEM.
SCHOOLS INVOLVED THE RELOCATION OF BLACK CHILDREN
INTO THOSE ALL WHITE SCHOOLS.

THE BLACK CHILDREN IN THOSE ~~4~~ FORMERLY ALL
WHITE SCHOOLS WERE THERE DUE TO ADMINISTRATIVE
ACTIONS NOT ~~ATTENDANCE~~ ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY RE-ADJUSTMENT

ALL BLACK CHILDREN IN ALL BLACK SCHOOLS WERE
THERE AS A RESULT OF THE DRAWING OF ATTENDANCE

Analysis 17

There were technically two kinds of pupils at the all black schools Buchanan, McKinley, Monroe, & Washington. Those two groups were the children who resided in areas immediately adjacent to the schools; and the children who were sent in from surrounding white schools.

The following chart gives a proportionate breakdown of those two groups:

Black Schools	INDIGENOUS STUDENTS		SENDING SCHOOLS					
	TOTAL #	% OF TTL		1	2	3		
			# SENT	% OF TTL	% OF SENT			
BUCHANAN *	173	88	51%	LAWRENCE	*	36	21	42
				CENTRAL PK	*	16	9	19
				CLAY	*	12	7	14
				SOUTHWEST	8	5	9	
				QUINTON HOTS	5	3	6	
				SUMNER	5	3	6	
				RANDOLPH	2	1	2	
				GRANT	1	1	1	
							85	
MCKINLEY *	168	72	43%	GRANT	*	61	36	64
				QUINCY	*	34	20	35
				SUMNER	1	1	1	
							96	
MONROE *	271	149	55%	VAN BUREN	*	40	15	33
				LINCOLN	*	40	15	33
				LAFAYETTE	13	5	11	
				STATE ST.	9	3	7	
				CENTRAL PK.	5	2	4	
				QUINTON HOTS	*	5	2	4
				PARKERSON	*	5	2	4
				POLE	*	3	1	2
				CLAY	1	0	1	
				SUMNER	1	0	1	
							122	
WASHINGTON *	258	172	67%	PARKERSON	*	36	14	42
				LINCOLN	*	21	8	24
				LAFAYETTE	17	6	20	
				STATE ST.	12	5	14	
							86	
TOTAL	870	481	55%					

* Schools having common attendance boundaries with their corresponding black schools. 100-101-12 Black Schools. 100-101-12

Analysis 18

THE FOLLOWING INSIGHTS CAN BE GAINED FROM THE ABOVE CHART.

THE AVERAGE BLACK SCHOOL DREW ~~SUPERIOR HIGH~~
THAN 56% OF ITS STUDENT POPULATION FROM THE RESIDENTIAL AREA IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING IT.

THE INDIVIDUAL BLACK SCHOOLS DREW MOST OF THEIR STUDENT BODIES FROM THE SCHOOLS IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING THEM (*) I.E. BUCHANAN (75%), MCKINLEY (99%), MONROE (76%) AND WASHINGTON (66%).

NOW TAKING ANOTHER LOOK AT THOSE FORMERLY ALL WHITE SCHOOLS WHICH RECEIVED BLACK STUDENTS FROM 1953 TO 1956:

School	#	% OF TOTAL	BLACK STUDENT GAINED 1953 - 1956		% BLACK 1956	% BLACK 1966
			1956	1966		
* LINCOLN	104	18.5			19.9	C
* PARKSALE	80	14.2			24.4	85.3
* GRANT	77	13.7			17.6	31.9
* LAWRENCE	53	9.4			17.4	46.6
LAFAYETTE	50	8.9			13.7	26.1
* VANBUREN	47	8.4			20.9	C
* QUINCY	39	6.9	6.7		8.4	4.4
* QUINTON HARRIS	26	4.6			7.3	33.6
STATE STREET	26	4.6			4.8	4.3
* CENTER PK	20	3.6			5.2	13.2
* CLAY	19	3.4			7.9	12.8
SUMMER	9	1.6			2.8	4.3
* PARK	4	0.7			1.8	9.9
PENOBSCOT	4	0.7			0.7	0.2
SOUTHWEST	4	0.7			0.5	1.1
	562				10.7	12.05
	*		469	83.5		

IT CAN BE SEEN THAT FULLY 83.5% OF THE BLACK STUDENTS GAINED OVER THE THREE YEAR PERIOD 1953 - 1956, WERE IN FACT GAINED BY THOSE FORMERLY ALL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WHICH WAS NEVER ASSIGNED ANYTHING OTHER THAN IN COMMON WITH THE REMAINING BLACK SCHOOLS IN 1955.

FURTHER, COLUMNS 3 & 4 ABOVE WILL ATTEST THAT 5 OR THOSE 10 SCHOOLS WERE FROM 1.5 TO AS MUCH AS

Analysis 19

IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

FOR PROPORTIONS OF BLACK STUDENTS IN 1956, AND THAT TEN YEARS LATER IN 1966, 5 OF THOSE 10 SCHOOLS WERE ANY WHERE FROM .6 TO 1 TIMES BLACKER IN THEIR STUDENT PROPORTIONS THAN THE SYSTEM AVERAGE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN 1966.

AT LEAST ONE AREA
ALL THIS SUGGESTS THAT THERE WAS DIFFERENTIATION AMONG THE FIFTEEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS THAT WERE FORMERLY WHITE BUT HAD SOME LEVEL OF BLACK POPULATION INDIGENOUS TO THEIR ATTENDANCE AREAS PRIOR TO 1954. AND ~~AS A RESULT HAD BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING BY 1956.~~

FURTHER DIFFERENCE WAS

~~Hence~~ THAT THE GROUP WAS DIVIDED STATISTICALLY BETWEEN THOSE SCHOOLS THAT WERE ASSIGNED ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES IN COMMON WITH THE ALL BLACK SCHOOLS; AND HAD ABOVE AVERAGE ATTENDANCE BY BLACK STUDENTS. AND THOSE SCHOOLS WHICH WERE ASSIGNED ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES IN COMMON WITH ALL WHITE SCHOOLS AND HAD BLACK ATTENDANCE LEVELS THAT WERE LESS THAN THE AVERAGE FOR THESE 15 SCHOOLS OVER THE 3 YEARS FROM 1953-1956.

THE SIGNIFICANCE IS NOT TAKEN FROM THE FACT THAT WHEN YOU TAKE AN AVERAGE YOU OF COURSE DIVIDE YOUR UNIVERSE BETWEEN THOSE NUMBERS THAT ARE ABOVE THE AVERAGE AND THOSE THAT ARE BELOW IT.

rather the significance is taken from the fact that 10 years later the division continues to hold with only one school, Quincy, varying from the norm above the average and only one school Quinton 4.65, varying from the norm below the average.

THOSE TWO SCHOOLS WILL BE SEPARATELY ANALYSED LATER ON.

ANYONE LOOKING AT THE CHARTS ABOVE AND AT THE SAME TIME LOOKING AT A MAP OF THE RESPECTIVE LOCATIONS OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS MIGHT ASK THE QUESTION "BUT DON'T SOME OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS INFACT MEET BOTH CONDITIONS AT THE SAME TIME?" I.E. AREN'T THERE SCHOOLS THAT HAVE BOUNDARIES IN COMMON WITH BOTH ALL WHITE AND ALL BLACK SCHOOLS?" B

ILLUSTRATED
IN COLUMNS
3 & 4 ABOVE