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CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY: EDUCATION IN GREATER KANSAS CITY

—A report of the Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission, and the Commission will make public its reaction. In the meantime, the findings and recommendations of this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees.

January 1977

CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY:

EDUCATION IN GREATER KANSAS CITY

-A report prepared by the Bi-State Committee on Education of the Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

ATTRIBUTION:

The findings and recommendations contained in this report are those of the Bi-State Committee on Education of the Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and, as such, are not attributable to the Commission.

This report has been prepared by the State Advisory Committees for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and to the Congress.

RIGHT OF RESPONSE:

Prior to the publication of a report, the State Advisory Committees afford to all individuals or organizations that may be defamed, degraded, or incriminated by any material contained in this report an opportunity to respond in writing to such material. All reponses have been incorporated, appended, or otherwise reflected in the publication.

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Kansas City, Missouri

Rev. Emanuel Cleaver
Kansas City, Missouri

Al-Donna Daniels
Kansas City, Kansas

Benjamin H. Day
Leavenworth, Kansas

Dwight D. Henderson
Kansas City, Kansas

Rayna F. Levine
Overland Park, Kansas

Fr. Thomas E. Punzo
Lawrence, Kansas

Magdalena F. Rodriguez
Kansas City, Kansas

Ray S. Rodriguez
Kansas City, Missouri

Mabel Schulenberg
Independence, Missouri

Gwendolyn Wells
Kansas City, Missouri

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KANSAS AND MISSOURI ADVISORY COMMITTEES
TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
January 1977

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Sirs and Madam:

The Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees, pursuant to their responsibility to advise the Commission on civil rights problems in these States, submit the report of their Bi-State Committee on Education on the problems of public education in the Greater Kansas City area.

The Bi-State Committee reviewed the current status of educational activities and problems in the area. It reviewed the activities of civic and political leadership in the area. It considered the significance of segregated housing patterns. Based on all of these, the Committee explored a range of possible solutions which became the basis for its findings and recommendations.

The school districts in the Greater Kansas City area are racially segregated in the sense that minority pupils tend to be concentrated within the two central city districts. The Committee recommends that desegregation plans be implemented in the central city districts. It also recommends voluntary city-suburban programs, increased fundings to improve the quality of education and the attractiveness of the central city schools, appropriate assistance from institutions of higher education, Federal agencies (acting through the Federal Executive Board), business, labor, and other relevant organizations. Such efforts should be made on a regional or metropolitan basis

involving at least the first tier of districts surrounding the central cities.

Large numbers of students in schools with large proportions of economically disadvantaged students are not acquiring the basic skills needed to obtain satisfying employment and a productive life. Additional State funds should be made available to ensure educational opportunity to economically disadvantaged students. Area school districts should take steps to eliminate socioeconomic segregation in student enrollment patterns.

The Committee does not recommend merely throwing money at the problem. The funds must be used effectively as part of a systematic effort to identify and solve student learning problems, improve the ratio of teachers to students in the schools, introduce appropriate teaching arrangements to allow for increased success in teaching basic skills and achieving other goals, improving the quality of staff, and providing relevant staff development activities.

The Committee believes desegregation plans should be part of a larger, comprehensive, long-range program of metropolitan development. The Mid-America Regional Council and similar municipal and civic organizations should begin to work with the central city school districts to develop stable, long-range desegregation plans extending beyond immediate desegregation of the schools. Racially and economically mixed neighborhoods and schools that now exist must remain attractive. Desegregation plans should make integrated neighborhoods more attractive than segregated neighborhoods.

We trust that the Bi-State Committee's report will be a useful contribution to the Commission's effort to assure equal educational opportunity for all.

The Bi-State Committee is forwarding this report to school officials, city, State authorities, and members of civil rights, community, and civic groups in Greater Kansas City.

Respectfully,

/s/

John B. Ervin
Chairperson, Missouri Advisory Committee

Constance L. Menninger
Chairperson, Kansas Advisory Committee

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was prepared by staff of the Central States Regional Office: Etta Lou Wilkinson, Joe R. Solis, and Malcolm J. Barnett with the assistance of Jo Ann Daniels and Gloria O'Leary.

All work of the office is guided by Thomas L. Neumann, regional director.

Legal review was conducted by Melvin L. Jenkins.

Final preparation for publication of this report was the responsibility of Deborah Harrison, Vivian Hauser, Rita Higgins, and Vivian Washington, supervised by Bobby Wortman, in the Commission's Publications Support Center, Office of Management.

Preparation of all State Advisory Committee reports is supervised by Isaiah T. Creswell, Jr., Assistant Staff Director of Field Operations, Washington, D.C.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, is an independent, bipartisan agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government. By the terms of the act, as amended, the Commission is charged with the following duties pertaining to denials of the equal protection of the laws based on race, color, sex, religion, or national origin, or in the administration of justice: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to denials of equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting denials of equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

THE STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as amended. The Advisory Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission on matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Advisory Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Advisory Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

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SUMMARY

The Kansas and Missouri State Advisory Committees to the United States Commission on Civil Rights have authorized publication of this report in their names. It is the work of the Bi-State Committee on Education, a group composed of members from both State Advisory Committees. The Bi-State Committee was formed in January 1976 to review the condition of public education in the Greater Kansas City region and particularly the problems of racial isolation. The Committee was asked to consider the context in which racial isolation existed and suggest practical solutions. Legal actions-an administrative law proceeding involving Kansas City (Missouri) School District (KCSD) and a Federal district court action initiated by the Justice Department against Kansas City (Kansas) Unified School District 500 (KCK)-were in progress. A citizens' task force on desegregation was also seeking solutions that would decrease racial isolation in KCSD.

The Bi-State Committee has sought to make an independent assessment of the problems and prospects for education in the areas. The study looked at desegregation, quality of education, and the complexity of metropolitan governance as they affect area public schools. The balkanization of school districts on the Missouri side stands out in sharp contrast to the increasing cooperation and interaction of other area institutions.

The Bi-State Committee reviewed the current status of educational activities and problems in the area. It also reviewed the activities of civic and political leadership in the area. It considered the significance of segregated housing patterns. Based on all of these, the Committee explored a range of possible solutions which became the basis for its findings and recommendations.

Although existing State laws have not encouraged umbrella governments, local governments in the region, at times urged by Federal authorities, have taken many actions to create effective regional service agencies in health, housing, criminal justice, water and sewerlines, transportation, employment, and planning. The most significant development is the creation by the local governments of the Mid-America Regional Council to serve as the reviewer of all Federally funded projects requiring A-95 review. This is required by a variety of Federal agencies as a condition of Federal support for services. But joint

planning and joint activities can be traced back to the 1940s and earlier. A growing number of Federal agencies have insisted on these joint efforts, just as earlier Federal expenditure helped the area expand and thus precipitated the proliferation of local governments.

Quality education is the goal of every parent. Yet for the children of less educated and lower socioeconomic groups, especially for minority group children, this goal has been and remains elusive. Differences in the median income of a community and the proportion of adults with high school education do affect the quality of education because they affect the environment out of which pupils relate to school. Particularly noteworthy in Kansas City is the unequal allocation of resources, especially for poor children. In addition, the Bi-State Committee found evidence suggesting that low-income students in the central city receive fewer educational services especially designed for their needs than do many low-income students in wealthier communities outside the central city. This is dramatically apparent from the provision of Title I services. The wealthier the community in which a school district is located, the more likely the concentrations of poor children are to have access to Title I programs, the better is the teacher/pupil ratio, and the more local funds are available to meet the needs of the poor.

Efforts to assess the instruction and services provided whether for minority and poor pupils or for all pupils in the metropolitan area were hampered by unavailability of data. Many districts refused to supply sufficient data on which precise assessments could be made, but they complained when assessments were attempted based upon what little data were available.

While it is generally conceded that suburban schools turn out higher achieving students, suburban district schools did not appear to provide a higher quality of education relative to the ability of their students than did the central city districts. Persons interviewed believe neither city nor suburban districts provide appropriate compensatory education, stimulate very large proportions of their pupils to maximum efforts, or consistently seek community participation in solutions. Local chapters of the League of Women Voters, business leaders, and community leaders all find fault with both city and suburban systems. Efforts to individualize instruction lag as compared with

outstanding school districts in some other metropolitan areas, and few schools are trying to improve the quality of instruction in a systematic fashion.

Racial isolation and lack of exposure to the multiracial and multicultural characteristics of the area are problems for both cities and suburbs. The central city districts are segregated, of themselves. But as districts they are also segregated by comparison with the suburbs around them. Real contact, in the light of existing demographic patterns, requires multidistrict involvement.

Remedies for racial isolation probably require some movement of pupils. Staff calculations show that at the high school level a school-to-school mean travel time of about 15 minutes would generally be required to eliminate racial isolation utilizing a 5-county base. A Jackson County base would require about 16 minutes in travel. An attendence area including three Missouri counties would require about 15 minutes in travel. Desegregation of KCK involving the Shawnee Mission district would require approximately 19 minutes in travel.

Enrollment changes are the consequence of a steady outward migration from the central cities coupled with changes in family cycles in many communities. This has resulted in a need to build more schools in some districts while other districts have surplus capacity.

All the school districts in the area plead poverty. Some are in reality poorer than others. There are really only a few districts whose resources or expenditures differ dramatically from the mean. But since some districts have greater <u>needs</u> than others, disparate educational opportunity results. Remedial and compensatory education require two to three times the expenditure that "regular" education requires. Educating the socially maladjusted or handicapped may require as much as three times the funding that "regular" education requires. Neither local resources nor State or Federal contributions provide sufficient additional resources to allow the central city districts to serve adequately their larger proportions of disadvantaged pupils at the same level as the suburban districts serve their disadvantaged. Merely reallocating resources in Jackson, Clay, and Platte counties on a per pupil basis would result in an increase of $69 per pupil for KCSD. Reallocation on a per person basis, to take account of the problems associated

with population density in a metropolitan area, would result in an increase of $28.10 per capita in KCSD. Similar changes on the Kansas side would not benefit the KCK school district because prior State action has already provided additional resources, but KCK still has insufficient resources to deal with its problems. Neither the Kansas formula nor the proposed Missouri reforms have or are likely to provide sufficient additional benefits for the central cities to compensate them for their educational or economic burdens.

The quality of education, the needs of new generations of students, the change in demographic patterns, the financing of education, and desegregation, all require attention. Yet effective leadership has been lacking-most especially on desegregation. Federal, State, and local government officials have been largely silent or hostile to efforts for comprehensive reforms that would reduce racial isolation. Some white groups and most black groups have supported desegregation. Other white groups, especially in the Jackson County area, have opposed change. Business has been silent, concentrating its efforts on the fiscal and administrative problems of education. Federal and State agencies with monitoring or supervisory authority have been unable or unwilling to push for change. The school districts have failed to take positive steps to end segregation where it has been created by legal action. Suburban districts have been reluctant to become involved in the solution to problems which they perceive as beyond their legal responsibility. Everyone in power claims that responsibility for change lies elsewhere.

The principal cause of the problem, everyone agrees, is racially isolated housing patterns. Both public and private sector providers of housing have effectively created and maintained racial isolation. The Federal Government has funded racially isolated housing and until recently encouraged "homogeneous" neighborhoods. Local governments have failed to establish or enforce fair housing mechanisms; they have been aided and abetted by the private housing industry. These circumstances have made evolutionary change difficult if not impossible.

The area confronts twin problems. Desegregation is the law of the land. It must occur in those districts which are racially isolated. At the same time, unless desegregation is stabilized, the problem will merely move from district to

district without permanent resolution. Mere adjustment of racial balance within already depressed central city districts may be imposed under a narrow interpretation of the Constitution. Unless the schools in these districts are improved signficantly so as to prevent the flight of the remaining middle class, both black and white, the problem will merely transfer to the suburbs as demographic changes occur.

A stable, quality educational system is the goal of the Bi-State Committee. To achieve this it will be necessary to upgrade education in the entire area. The special needs of the central city districts must be addressed. They have a larger share of educationally disadvantaged students. Educating such pupils is more difficult and more expensive than educating middle-class children. A comprehensive review of educational methods and practices is needed if the community is to obtain quality education. This will require cooperative efforts by all school districts in the area as well as substantial State and Federal financial assistance. Assistance for a magnet school program is needed from local colleges and universities and from the business and civic communities. These magnet schools should be designed in cooperation with the suburban districts to minimize duplication of services and offer the widest possible range of educational opportunities for students in the region. (An appendix to this report provides illustrations of the kinds of magnet schools which might be established.) Schools must be open to effective public scrutiny so that citizens may participate in identifying and resolving problems.

Effective desegregation must be stable. A voluntary metropolitan desegregation formula is possible. This would eliminate racial and economic isolation in the two central city districts and stabilize neighborhoods which are losing or may lose their middle-income populations. Such a remedy requires that the two central city districts improve instructional quality in their multiracial schools and ensure that student assignments make desegregated neighborhoods more attractive than segregated ones. Mid-America Regional Council, municipal planning agencies, and civic organizations can work with the central school districts to develop effective long-range desegregation plans that will be attractive and serve as a nucleus for redevelopment of neighborhoods on a racially and economically mixed basis.

If no action is apparent before March 1977, the Bi-State Committee will recommend that legal proceedings be initiated to bring about metropolitan remedies.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Bi-State Committee on Education was formed on January 24, 1976. Composed of members of the Kansas Advisory Committee and the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights who reside in the Kansas City area, the Bi-State Committee sought to use its resources as a factfinding body to shed some light on the problems of public education in the Kansas City metropolitan area. Several factors prompted the study:

1. As of January 1976, two of the area's largest school districts, containing the vast majority of the area's minority students, were involved in legal actions about desegregation. The Kansas City, Kansas, School District (KCK) was being sued by the U.S. Department of Justice, while the Kansas City, Missouri, School District (KCSD) had begun an administrative law hearing with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) regarding Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

2. Kansas City, Missouri, is unique in that 13 different school districts operate within the city's corporate limits. One district, KCSD, has a minority enrollment of 65 percent, while the other 12 school districts have an enrollment approximately 98 percent white.

3. In both Kansas and Missouri, proposals for desegregation remedies have been made that would involve white suburban districts. Much confusion exists concerning the degree to which such remedies are desirable or are likely, as well as practical implications for students attending suburban schools.

The Bi-State Committee set about to gather all available information on the area's schools. In cooperation with the Commission's Central States Regional Office staff, a comprehensive questionnaire was developed, for which the required Federal clearance was received from the Office of Management and Budget. The Committee then sought the assistance of the respective State agencies to obtain the required data.

The Kansas Department of Education cooperated fully with the Committee. It agreed to share whatever information it held on Kansas school districts[1] in the Kansas City metropolitan area. Further, the department offered to help refine the questionnaire to tailor it more precisely to the local conditions. It also arranged a meeting between the Committee and the several districts, to explain the nature of the study.

Missouri's response was much less cooperative and much more legalistic. The preliminary meeting with the department of education was dominated by the assistant attorney general; the commissioner of education took a passive role. Routine questions regarding the agency's structure and function were required to be put in writing; the innocuous replies were scrutinized by the attorney general's office for more than 4 weeks. As to the data request, the commissioner of education preferred not to be involved with it and advised the Committee to deal directly with the school districts.

The initial meetings with the State departments of education in Missouri and Kansas were held on February 25 and 26, 1976, respectively. In accordance with the Missouri commissioner's wishes, questionnaires were sent directly to 14 Missouri school districts[2] on March 9, with a requested return date of April 29. Committee staff then began to contact the district superintendents to discuss the project in more detail. Some of the superintendents objected to the study and refused to meet with the staff. Only four districts (KCSD, Center, Fort Osage, and Smithville) provided the requested information.

This response was not unexpected. The cover letter indicated that cooperation with the study was voluntary and that no penalties would be attached to refusal to cooperate. A similar attempt to gather data had been undertaken previously by the Independence League of Women Voters, and most suburban Jackson County school districts had chosen not to cooperate. One superintendent confused the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Bi-State Committee with KCSD's desegregation task force, and said the Committee would have to sue him tc get the data.

Faced with an almost complete information blackout on the Missouri side, the Committee staff went back to the State commissioner of education. He was urged to provide

data comparable to that being supplied by his Kansas counterpart. He agreed to give every consideration to the modified request, which was forwarded to him on March 26. Efforts to obtain the data dragged on for 3 months, with the commissioner indicating that his reluctance was due to his belief that ultimately a suit would be brought in court. On June 24, Committee staff traveled to Jefferson City to obtain the sought-after materials. The data requested was finally delivered in August.

The contrast between the responses of the two State departments of education remained vast. Cooperation from individual school districts varied greatly as well. The KCSD gave the Advisory Committee more information and it was provided more freely. As indicated earlier, the Center, Fort Osage, and Smithville districts responded to the original request. In mid-May Advisory Committee staff wrote to 21 districts asking the superintendents to notify administrators of possible visits by committee members and staff. Several Jackson County suburban districts replied that such visits would not be allowed without prior clearance of all questions.

One superintendent threatened to have local police prevent Committee staff entry. An aide dissuaded him from such action, and three buildings were visited. In all, Committee staff toured 15 public schools in KCSD, Hickman Mills, Raytown, and Shawnee Mission districts and one private school, Notre Dame de Sion Lower School. The visits were too brief and superficial to allow any definite conclusions. Some schools appeared to discipline students more than others, and some displayed greater interaction among pupils. In none of the schools was there any evidence of security problems, such as teacher or pupil safety.

The Committee also explored the thinking of the general community, particularly the business leadership and those citizen groups with an interest in public education. (See appendix D.) A very general set of questions was asked each group:

> What are the major problems with public schools in the Kansas City area, and the causes?
>
> What solutions do you suggest?

What is the best way to desegregate the public schools in the Kansas City area?

The answers are found in chapter 3 of this report.

This report has been prepared during the bicentennial year, which was marked by the Commission on Civil Rights with a serious emphasis upon school desegregation. In 1976 the Commission held three formal hearings on the issue (in Denver, Tampa, and Louisville). It commissioned a national survey involving some 1,300 school districts. Through its Regional Offices and State Advisory Committees, case studies were made of 29 school districts in which desegregation has occurred. It has published the findings derived from these initiatives in an August 1976 report, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law.

The Commission noted that, contrary to widespread opinion, school desegregation is working across the country. It is working best in communities where people want it to succeed, and worst where opposition is strongest. Local leadership, both in the schools and in the general community, is "the most important ingredient in school desegregation."

This report on Kansas City area schools is both an application and extension of the Commission's study. While the Commission's findings are applied to Kansas City, it also represents an attempt to go beyond desegregation to the issue of instructional quality. By doing so, the Committee in no way subordinates the constitutional imperative for desegregation. Its entire consideration is founded on the paramount fact that the Constitution demands equality of educational opportunity for all children. The Committee believes that school desegregation, properly implemented, will result in the improvement of educational quality.

Recognizing, however, that concerns about "quality education" have been used as an excuse for not supporting desegregation, the Committee has attempted to examine various aspects of quality among the area's school districts. In our view, the more that is known about the schools, the more intelligently can decisions about them be made.

Given the unique situation among school districts in Greater Kansas City, extraordinary local leadership is

required. In many areas other than education, there has been such leadership, with the result that the area enjoys a favorable reputation as a "liveable" city. To those leaders we simply say: a crisis calls out, and an opportunity awaits.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Shawnee Mission; Kansas City, Kansas; Turner; Piper; Bonner Springs; Olathe.

2. Kansas City, Missouri; Center; Grandview; Hickman Mills; Raytown; Independence; Lee's Summit; North Kansas City; Kearney; Smithville; Fort Osage; Liberty; Park Hill; Platte City.

II. ONE CITY IN FACT AND SPIRIT

The Bi-State Committee attempted to determine the extent to which the Kansas City metropolitan area acts as one large city. It also sought to determine the part played by Federal funding in the creation of the metropolitan area. It assessed the extent to which past development of the region, the emergence of federally oriented and locally oriented metropolitan agencies, and the activities of regional planning agencies have created a metropolitan structure in practice, as well as in law.

On paper the Kansas City metropolitan area is an assortment of jurisdictions: school districts, special districts, municipalities, towns, and counties. These coexist; sometimes cooperatively, sometimes competitively.

Yet, as was demonstrated during the 1976 Republican National Convention, the term "Kansas City" can apply to a territory that stretches as far as Topeka, Kansas. In many of its symbols and institutions, the area is one entity. Sports teams, symphony, opera, the art gallery, the American Royal horse show--all are supported by the entire area, and all of the area claim a proprietary relationship toward them. While visiting other metropolitan areas, Kansas City suburbanites are more likely to say they are from "Kansas City" than from "Gladstone," "Merriam," "Overland Park," or "Prairie Village." Many have overlapping ties to city and suburb, working in the former and residing in the latter.

Although the Kansas City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) currently includes seven counties--two in Kansas and five in Missouri--this report does not include Cass and Ray Counties, Missouri.

Metropolitan Kansas City, as defined in this study, includes Clay, Jackson, and Platte Counties in Missouri, and Johnson and Wyandotte Counties in Kansas. This area of 2,122 square miles has a population of 1,216,879 and lies within the basins of three major rivers-the Missouri, the Kansas, and the Osage-South Grand. Two distinct central business districts make up the core of the metropolitan area. Kansas City, Missouri, the largest city (population 507,330) of the Greater Kansas City area, is situated on the western border of Missouri, in northwest Jackson County, at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers. Kansas City, Kansas, is situated on the opposite side of the Kansas

River in eastern Wyandotte County, and is the second largest city (population 168,213) in the metropolitan area. The two Kansas Citys are followed in size by Independence, Missouri (population 111,630), and Overland Park, Kansas (population 79,034). Independence borders the Kansas City, Missouri, core area on the east. Overland Park, Kansas, is located in northeastern Johnson County, south of Kansas City, Kansas. There are a total of 53 other municipalities with populations of 500 or more within metropolitan Kansas City.

Existing State laws and traditions have frustrated a possible growth of formal metropolitan approaches to governmental institutions. In both Kansas and Missouri the incorporation laws encouraged the development of a multitude of small political jurisdictions. In consequence the development of multifunction regional or metropolitan goverments was limited. Neither did local leaders follow the southern precedent of vesting broad authority in county jurisdictions. In the absence of State laws, multiple tiers of authority proliferated, and political units were created on a service-by-service basis, resulting in a multiplication of governing units which often do not reflect their metropolitan environment.[1]

Kansas City development has moved from the twin central cities outward in the ever-wider circular growth patterns that are familiar to city planners. In the main the movement has been southward and westward. But recently there also have been northern and eastern movements on the Missouri side.

The principal causes of the continuing southward movement, especially on the Kansas side, were availability of land at low prices, heavy development, and cheap mortgage money--all influenced by the Federal Government. In addition, the selection of an airport site, access to transportation facilities, and tax advantages have also helped shape Kansas City's growth. Post-World War II development has been affected significantly by governmental action.

Highways

Perhaps the single most significant Federal action moving people out of the cities and into the suburbs has been the Federal highway program. The extent of the Federal

commitment over the past 20 years can be seen in Table 2.1. These figures do not reflect immediately the dimensions of the benefit that highway funds have conferred on suburbs at central city expense. While substantial sums have been allocated to the cities, they have applied chiefly to freeway construction that has aided central city abandonment. For example, only about $3 million of the funds allocated to Kansas City, Kansas, since 1972 were directed toward city streets. The rest were used for the construction of I-635, the new route from suburban Johnson County to Kansas City International Airport.[2] Highway funds to the two central cities have been used to demolish homes there, thereby destroying viable central city neighborhoods.

L.P. Cookingham, former city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, told the Committee that as long ago as 1943 there was joint planning on a bi-state basis for future highway needs.[3] The results of this effort were embodied in a report entitled: Expressways: Greater Kansas City.[4] It is obvious that metropolitan efforts in transportation have a long history.

The U.S. Department of Transportation regards the Kansas City SMSA as a single region for planning and the development of highway systems, and the Mid-America Regional Council (MARC) is the recognized agency. The legislative requirement for metropolitan planning was enacted in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962, Public Law 87-866, approved October 23, 1962.[5]

Housing

The findings of the Bi-State Committee's report, Balanced Housing Development in Kansas City, and subsequent data obtained from the Region VII office of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), show that HUD clearly treats the metropolitan area as a single housing market. Additionally, the Federal Government's housing policies over the past 40 years have done much to create metropolitanization. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insuring practices provided low downpayment, low interest loans to suburban residents, while simultaneously denying them to residents of multicultural central city neighborhoods. To this day, HUD programs concentrate on

outward development from the central cities. HUD has been found in Gautreaux v. Hills to have an obligation to ensure a metropolitan policy in the distribution of housing. Yet HUD encourages and maintains a multiplicity of municipal housing authorities. The introduction of A-95 review for housing suggests an intent to impose some joint efforts. HUD has asserted that it will take further steps to ensure regional efforts.[6] In Kansas City, such actions are likely to focus on efforts to redress the balance of development that has concentrated low-income housing in the central city and middle-income housing in the suburbs (and simultaneously isolated the minorities in the central cities).[7]

Health Services and Environmental Programs

The legislative history of the National Health Planning and Resources Development Act of 1975[8] and the regulations issued to implement that law[9] make clear the commitment by the Public Health Service to regional planning, a commitment that began in 1966 as a consequence of Public Law 89-749. There has been a consistent pattern of increasing commitment to regional planning, culminating in the designation of a regional health systems agency to coordinate the provision of health services in greater Kansas City, using the carrot-and-stick of Federal funding.[10]

Of particular significance is the designation by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) of Mid-American Health Systems, Inc. (MAHSA) as the health systems agency for the Kansas City region. The designation of a regional agency indicates the trend toward regional administration. But more important, MAHSA is not a mere conglomerate of local governments, as is MARC, its competitor for the designation. MAHSA includes 30 board members representing consumers and providers. It was opposed by the local and State governments in the region, who have initiated court action against HEW.[11]

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), has not had a formal policy for dealing with areas as single units until recently. However, it did treat metropolitan Kansas City as a single unit as a consequence of the A-95 review procedure--responsibility for which was vested in MARC.[12]

Table 2.1

FHWA Allocations by County and City
(millions of dollars; calendar years)

	1975-72	1972-69	1968-65	1964-61	1960-56
Suburbs					
Johnson, Kansas	20	14	10	11	19
Wyandotte, Kansas (excluding KCK)	9	1	1	0	1
Jackson, Clay, and Platte, Mo. (excluding KCMO)	13	14	51	28	11
Cities*					
Kansas City, Kansas	38	35	26	8	16
Kansas City, Mo.	56	56	60	33	51

*Estimates only.

Source: Regional Office, U.S. Department of Transportation.

The Schools

Within the three counties in Missouri education has not been a county function as it is in many southern and western States. There are 22 districts; 13 of these operate within the boundaries of Kansas City, Missouri. The central city district (Kansas City School District) covers only 25 percent of the incorporated land of the city, although it also reaches beyond the city limits into Independence and Sugar Creek. Kansas has proceeded further with consolidation. Shawnee Mission School district includes the territory of 13 former small elementary districts. The Kansas City, Kansas, School District has absorbed many small districts as well. In contrast to Missouri, the Kansas districts are encouraged by State law to achieve optimum consolidation.

The possibility of a metropolitan formula is discussed elsewhere in this report. But in considering such a solution it is worth noting the efforts that already exist. Some 50 suburban district superintendents meet in the Metropolitan School Study Group and the Jackson County Administrators Association. Board members and administrators meet in the Cooperating School Districts Association. Vocational-technical and special education services are provided on a consortium basis in both Kansas and Missouri. The U.S. Office of Education's funding for such efforts makes it a participant in the metropolitan process. Bi-State cooperation in higher education already exists. The University of Kansas provides a school of architecture and the University of Missouri provides a dentistry school for the region. Both universities have agreed to charge in-State tuition for all students from the region. Kansas residents are allowed a maximum of 6 hours' course work at the Univeristy of Missouri-Kansas City, (UMKC) at the in-State rates. The U.S. Office of Education's establishment of regional technical assistance centers suggests that it intends to encourage collective educational efforts.

Other Federally Funded Services

The Department of Commerce has indicated that it too believes that Greater Kansas City must provide services on a metropolitan basis. It has joined with HUD in using the A-95 review and supportive procedures to encourage such efforts.[13]

Metropolitan Provision of Services: MARC

L.P. Cookingham reports several instances during his tenure (1940-59) as city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, in which consultations occurred between municipalities and even across State lines on the provision of services.[14] Such efforts were formalized by the creation of MARC. Its organizers were Cass, Clay, Jackson, Platte, and Ray Counties; Independence and Kansas City, Missouri; and Johnson, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte Counties; and Kansas City and Overland Park, Kansas. This organization, which represents the county and local governments of the region, constitutes an official recognition of metropolitan governance for regional planning and development.

MARC serves a functional metropolitan administration in a variety of ways. Among the most important is as a clearinghouse to review applications for Federal grants for transportation (including highways and airports), water and air, waste disposal, land use planning, recreation services, housing, economic development, health, and programs for the aged.

The trend in Federal grants points to increased unitary treatment of the Kansas City region. The block grant system notwithstanding, far more Federal grants are perceived as having areawide rather than purely local significance. (See Table 2.2.)

Local Unification of Services

Table 2.3 indicates the range of municipal services that are already provided on a collective basis. A quest for efficiency has created a broad network of functional municipal administration.

Summary

Although legal boundaries separating cities, counties, school districts, and States remain important lines of demarcation, it is clear that they have been bridged when a bridge was deemed appropriate. Roads and mass transit routes have been pulled together into a single system. The same holds true of the housing market, health and environmental programs, and law enforcement planning. And, of course, the area remains closely united in support of local sports teams and cultural institutions.

TABLE 2.2

Federal Grants to Kansas City Metropolitan Region Cleared Under A-95 As Areas-Wide or Local Grants (in millions of dollars)

Grantor Agency	1975		1974		1973		1972		1971	
	Area	Local	Area	Local	Area	Local	Area	Local	Area	Local
LEAA	4.69	0.003	7.97	-	4.35	0.26	0.39	-	1.43	-
OEO/CSA	3.76	0.002	1.35	-	2.63	-	1.91	-	1.69	-
EPA	74.10	-	5.31	3.06	29.90	0.002	5.69	0.4	-	20.16
HUD	22.64	7.18	0.97	12.48	18.86	-	56.73	2.47	14.85	-
HEW	7.21	-	4.03	-	0.36	-	14.44	-	1.73	-
DOL	28.40	-	9.67	-	0.16	-	0.36	-	-	-
DOT & etc.	12.48	12.66	42.15	-	10.53	3.35	44.92	0.08	105.86	-
DOI & etc.	3.46	-	2.35	-	4.64	-	2.22	-	2.69	

Note: Separation into area and local was first published by MARC in 1974. Earlier divisions were determined by CSRO on the basis of the proposal submitted to MARC.

Source: MARC

Table 2.3

Examples of Functional Metropolitan Government in KCMR

Function	Provider	Participants
Planning (general)	MARC	All local government units
Planning (health)	MASHA	Citizens representatives from KCMR
Urban Research	Urban Observatory	UMKC, KU
Education (Special Ed.)	Shawnee Mission, KCK	Johnson County Districts Wyandotte County Districts
Libraries	Mid-Continent	Jackson County, KCMo
Airport	KCMo	Regional Use
Metropolitan Junior College	Metropolitan Junior College	Jackson County
Fire Protection	KCMo	Independence, Gladstone, Jackson County, North Kansas City
Metropolitan Highway Transportation (planning)	Greater Kansas City Interregional Highway Committee	State highway departments and and local officials
Water	KCMo	Kansas Water Co., (J.C. Nichols developments in Johnson Co.) Johnson Co. Water District #2, South Belton, Grandview, Lee's Summit, Raytown Water Co., (part of Raytown). Clay Co. Water District #6, Oaks Villages, Gladstone, NKC. In the past sold to Independence.
Planning (highways)	Johnson-Wyandotte Regional Planning Commission	Johnson and Wyandotte counties
Manpower	Johnson/Leavenworth Manpower Consortium Kansas City/Wyandotte Consortium	Johnson, Leavenworth counties
Criminal Justice	Kansas City, Mo. Consortium	Kansas City (Mo.), Clay and

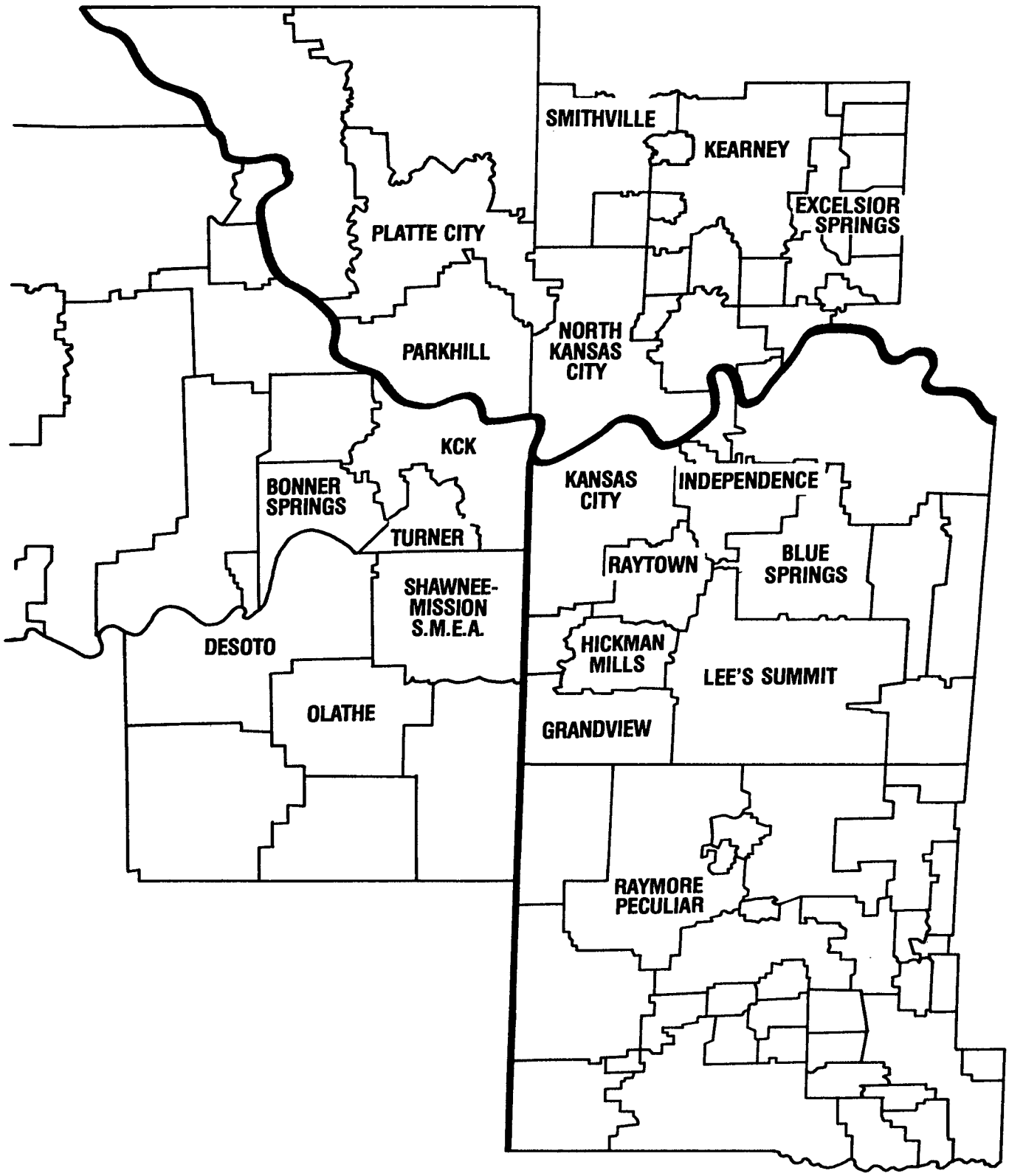
Table 2.3 (continued)

	Consortium LEAA-Metropolitan Criminal Justice Planning Commission Metro Squad	Platte Counties Johnson, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte Counties
Education	KCMo	All school districts in KCMo receives share of 1/2 percent earnings tax
Hospitals	KU Med Center General Hospital	Regional hospital facilities paid for with public funds
Public Transportation	A.T.A.	All counties in KCMR except Ray
Emergency Rescue Service	MARCER	All counties in KCMR
Aging	MARC Mid-America Council on Aging Wyandotte-Leavenworth Agency on Aging	5 Missouri counties 7 Kansas counties Wyandotte and Leavenworth counties
Drug Abuse	Regional Forum on Drug Abuse	25 members from drug abuse agencies in KCMR

MARC was formed to plan solutions to regional problems. Its board is comprised of elected officials from constituent governments. As successor to the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Mid-America Council of Governments, MARC has stressed that it is not a metropolitan government. Since its origin in 1971, it has been chaired exclusively by suburban officials. Still, it continues to play an ever-increasing role in Kansas City life. It operates area-wide programs for the elderly and for emergency medical services; it has virtually the sole voice in designing systems for transportation, air and water quality, and solid waste. It assists local governments in planning for parks, employment training programs, and housing. It serves an eight-county region as planner, forum for decisionmaking, supplier of services, and reviewer of and commentator on Federal grant applications. It serves a need of both central city and suburb yet is distrusted congenitally by both.

The continuing balkanization of school districts stands out in sharp contrast to the increasing cooperation and interaction of other institutions. The major urban function on which there is almost no metropolitan coordination is public education. More than 40 separate districts operate in the 8 counties. (See map, figure 2.1.) Little interaction exists: even the A-95 review authority does not provide MARC an opportunity to review school district applications. With respect to public schools, the Kansas City area remains rigidly subdivided; sometimes a district's boundaries appear to be arbitrary and lack any base in either common sense or administrative rationale.

Figure 2.1


SMITHVILLE
KEARNEY
EXCELSIOR SPRINGS
PLATTE CITY
PARKHILL
NORTH KANSAS CITY
KCK
BONNER SPRINGS
TURNER
KANSAS CITY
INDEPENDENCE
RAYTOWN
BLUE SPRINGS
SHAWNEE-MISSION S.M.E.A.
DESOTO
HICKMAN MILLS
LEE'S SUMMIT
OLATHE
GRANDVIEW
RAYMORE PECULIAR

Notes to Chapter II

1. See: Kansas City, Mo., Department of City Development, A Report of the alternative Futures Programs for Greater Kansas City (May 1975), pt. 1, p. 7.

2. Harvey Mendenhall, city engineer, Kansas City, Kans., telephone interview, May 24, 1976.

3. L. P. Cookingham, interview in Kansas City, Mo., Apr. 12, 1976 (hereafter cited as Cookingham interview).

4. Kansas City, Mo., City Planning Commission, Expressways: Greater Kansas City, Engineering Report to the Missouri State Highway Department and the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads (Mar. 19, 1951).

5. John B. Kemp, regional highway administrator, letter to staff, May 21, 1976.

6. U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD News, Apr. 6, 1976. See also Leonard S. Rubinowitz and Roger Dennis, "School Desegregation v. Public Housing Desegregation," Urban Law Annual, vol. 10 (March 1975), pp. 145ff.

7. Kansas and Missouri State Advisory Committees, Balanced Housing Development in Kansas City (November 1973), pp. 5ff. See also data supplied by HUD on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

8. Pub. L. No. 93-641.

9. Federal Register, Mar. 26, 1976.

10. C. Ray Maddox, Director, Division of Resource Development, Public Health Service, Region VII, letter to staff, Apr. 7, 1976.

11. Kansas City Times, Apr. 17, 1976; and, Kansas City Star, Apr. 13, 1976.

12. Gene Ramsey, planning division, EPA, Region VII, telephone interview June 7, 1976.

13. HUD News, Apr. 6, 1976. See also data supplied by EPA and Department of Commerce, on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Cental States Regional Office.

14. Cookingham interview.

III. RELATIVE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN AREA SCHOOL DISTRICTS

"Quality education" is a term that admits of widely differing meanings, and its interpretation has presented untold complications to the Bi-State Committee. While the quality of American public education has been argued for decades and the matter has received overwhelming emphasis since the launching in 1957 of Sputnik I, the first space vehicle, no single set of criteria has evolved.

Quality of education appears to be a matter of perception. It is widely believed that suburban schools educate better than central city schools. But the test scores that might confirm this belief are not available to investigators. Less precise measures of what happens in the schools are equally difficult to obtain. Observers from the academic community, the general public, and leadership groups observe differences in the schools. But it is not evident that these make the quality of education in one district superior to another.

Countless articles and books have expounded on why Johnny can't read, why children fail, and what's right or wrong with our schools. But the lack of agreement nationally about what constitutes quality education and how it can be achieved parallels the separated, fragmented character of school districts locally.

A report published by the The Brookings Institution made the following comment:

> Although most public concern has correctly focused on the disparities in the quality of education children receive, it has proven difficult if not impossible to measure and compare the quality of schooling provided by different districts.[1]

This discussion makes it clear that the results of schooling often cannot be measured adequately even by achievement tests. Moreover, it is hard to measure the effect of education when the outcomes are also affected by such factors as native ability, home environment, peer group pressures, and other factors.[2] In consequence, "analysts have been forced to rely on proxy measures-such as the amount of resources or expenditures devoted to educating each pupil-to represent educational quality."[3]

Atron Gentry and Byrd Jones of the Center for Urban Education at the University of Massachusetts have pointed out that another important element in quality of education is the sucess of schools in helping students adjust to the world around them. One of the most important elements in that world is its multicultured character.[4]

Christopher Jencks observed that, "If we want a segregated society, we should have segregated schools. If we want a desegregated society, we should have desegregated schools."[5]

The Bi-State Committee sought to determine the extent to which the quality of resources and the quality of society reflected in these perspectives have been attained in the greater Kansas City area schools. To do so it explored the extent of social and racial desegregation efforts, the availability of compensatory mechanisms to ensure quality educational opportunity for all, the extent to which factors such as voluntary or involuntary withdrawal from school occur, and the extent of the financial resources and commitment available to the schools.

Environment and Education: The Crisis of Urban Education

Schools have never been successful in adapting to the needs of children of the less educated and lower socioeconomic status (SES)[6] groups and of minority groups.[7] But when unemployment was the rule (as in the Great Depression) or when employment was available without some training in a skill (as was, largely the case following World War II), educators could ignore the crisis. Black pupils have been the victims of this system, but so were many children of lower-income, lower-status whites. As economic opportunities for whites expanded at a much faster rate than those for blacks, children who were from families of low socioeconomic status and black became an increasingly large proportion of the central city school population. Although some black children benefited from the economic gains of their parents, these were a small proportion of the black community.[8]

A substantial proportion of black pupils is from low-income, low-status backgrounds. Historically, the schools have never been able to educate this class effectively, irrespective of race. Many scholars perceive the remedy potentially most helpful: "Integration of a lower-class

child in a predominantly middle-class school does more than anything else to narrow the gap in achievement scores, but the gap remains large."[9]

The quality of education in Kansas City area school districts is generally believed to be directly proportional to the degree of education and the median family incomes of the adults in those districts. Table 3.1 shows that the median family income in the the Kansas City School District (KCSD) was only 70 percent of family income in the Center School District. Similarly, on the Kansas side, Kansas City median family income was only 63 percent that of Shawnee Mission. Both of the low-income urban districts enroll more than 98 percent of the area's minority students. The same pattern is evident in the academic background of parents. In both central city districts the proportion of adult high school graduates is 50 percent or less. In Shawnee Mission 82.9 percent of adults have at least a high school education. The other suburban districts range from 60 to 71.7 percent high school graduates.

The extent of deprivation for poor students can be seen from Table 3.2. This compares the proportion of children from low-income families (eligible for free or reduced price school meals) and the availability of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) Title I services (indicating both concentrated economic disadvantage and a large proportion of children who have shown by test scores that they are educationally disadvantaged).[10]

In Kansas City, Missouri, as in other big cities, schools in concentrated poverty areas face an overload of problems which compound their inability to provide effective instruction for many of the students who attend them. Professor Daniel Levine reports a significant relationship between 1969-70 sixth-grade reading scores and the percentage of housing units with 1.51 or more people per room (a good measure of concentrated poverty) in the neighborhoods served by 72 Kansas City, Missouri, elementary schools. Twenty-two of the 25 schools highest on this measure of poverty scored in the bottom 44 percent of the achievement distribution, which means nearly all of them had average achievement scores more than a year below the national average for the sixth grade.[11] Similar results have been reported for other big cities in which comparable analyses were carried out recently.[12]

Table 3.1

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Greater Kansas City School Districts (1970)

District	Family median income	Proportion of adults 25 years and older who have graduated from high school
KANSAS		
Shawnee Mission	$14,037	82.9%
Kansas City	9,024	46.8
Bonner Springs	9,645	51.4
Olathe	NA	NA
Turner	10,082	49.8
Piper	NA	NA
MISSOURI		
Center	12,630	71.0
Grandview	10,906	69.8
Hickman Mills	11,712	71.7
Independence	10,684	60.3
Kansas City	8,803	50.4
Lee's Summit	11,132	67.1
Liberty	10,498	63.6
North Kansas City	11,470	66.4
Raytown	12,120	67.1

NA = Data not available

Source: Daniel U. Levine tables prepared for KCSD.

Table 3.2

Eligibility For Free Or Subsidized Lunch and Availability of Title I Funding By District

Proportion of Pupils Eligible Per bldg.	Number of Buildings (Title I)									
	Excel. Springs	Liberty	Indep.	Bonner Springs	Olathe	Turner	Shawnee Mission	KCK	KCMO	Park Hill
0-9%		3	8			8 (2)	56	3	3	5 (2)
10-14	2 (1)	3 (1)	4		3	2	3	5	8	1
15-19	2	1 (1)	3 (1)		3 (1)		3 (3)	4	3	1 (1)
20-24	1		1	1	3 (1)		2 (1)	5	3 (1)	1
25-29			1	1 (1)	2 (2)		1 (1)	3	6	
30-34			3 (2)	2 (2)				2	6	
35-39				3 (3)				1	3	
40-44			1	1 (1)	1 (1)				6	
45-49				1				5 (1)	2	
50-54			1 (1)					4 (2)	6	
55-59			2 (2)					2 (1)	6	
60-64								3 (3)	7	
65-69								5 (5)	5 (1)	
70-74								2 (1)	8 (6)	
75-79									6 (4)	
80-84								5 (5)	3 (3)	
85-89								2 (2)	1 (1)	
90-94								1 (1)	5 (5)	
95-100								1 (1)	10 (6)	

Notes: Number of buildings receiving Title 1 services is in parentheses. The other number shows the number of buildings having each proportion of economically disadvantaged pupils.

Source: OCR, Kansas State education authority, and KCSD.

No systematic attempts have been made to identify the problems that may be most important in "overloading" public schools attended by a high proportion of economically disadvantaged students, and contribute to making them undesirable places in which to teach or learn. That such schools seldom provide an environment conducive to teaching and learning, however, is attested by the experience of many students and teachers who frequently have become frustrated and either have given up trying to improve conditions there or transferred-if they could-to other schools.

The overload problems in low status schools include such phenomena as the difficulty experienced by teachers faced with seven, eight, or nine students in the classroom who have serious learning problems. In the "typical" public elementary school, two or three students may have poor academic skills that require a great deal of special attention from the teacher. Most teachers find ways to provide this help and still work productively with other students in the class. In a low-status school, by way of contrast, the teacher may either have to neglect much of the class to provide special help to more problem pupils, or pupils with special problems may not be helped very much and often tend to develop even more difficult behavioral and instructional problems as they proceed through school.

Similarly, for administrators, counselors, and other school staff, increasing the number of problems that need attention may cause a "spreading thin" of professional resources so that few of the problems are dealt with successfully; as a result, the problems feed on themselves in the future. Doubling the number of problems in a school, in other words, may triple or quadruple the difficulty of dealing with them successfully, and may easily result in dysfunction throughout the institution.

The Bi-State Committee reviewed the efforts that had been made to mitigate both the consequences of poverty and the lack of parental involvement in their children's education.

Title I of ESEA as amended, is the Federal Government's principal vehicle for producing increased educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. It was intended to provide additional revenues for districts with a large proportion of disadvantaged pupils to be used as additional aid, beyond what the school district was already providing

Table 3.3

Faculty-Pupil Ratios in Title I Districts of Greater Kansas City

District	Title I schools	Non-Title I schools	Difference
Excelsior Springs, Mo. (Elem.)	16.5	19.8	3.3
Park Hill, Mo. (Elem.)	15.7	16.8	1.1
Independence, Mo. (Elem.)	17.7	20.0	2.3
Shawnee Mission, Kans. (Elem.)	13.6	15.7	2.1
(Jr. H.S.)	17.6	17.6	0
Kansas City, Kans. (Elem.)	21.0	21.3	0.3
(Jr. H.S.)	20.9	21.3	0.4
Kansas City, Mo. (Elem.)	15.5	16.3	0.8
(Jr. H.S.)	15.1	15.1	0
(Sr. H.S.)	13.8	16.5	2.7
Olathe, Kans. (Elem.)	16.9	18.1	1.2
(Jr. H.S.)	14.7	18.9	4.2
Liberty, Mo. (Elem.)	15.2	16.7	1.5

Note: This table includes only faculty paid for by the school districts. It excludes federally funded faculty.

Source: U.S. Office of Education Form 4560.

Table 3.4

Local Funding of Faculty in Title I and Non-Title I Programs
In Elementary School Locations, By School District
(In dollars per pupil)

	Excelsior Springs	Liberty	Shawnee Mission	Olathe	Park Hill	KCK	KCM	Indep.
Amount provided non-Title I schools (dollars)	389.60	470.61	537.48	385.00	460.08	404.98	527.43	460.34
Percent greater than base provided by district to Title I Schools	22.6	9.6	12	9	0	0.3	6.03	11.6

Source: State education authorities.

Recent studies indicate that upper- and middle-income children-black as well as white-perform well in an integrated setting, but that mixing low-income black children with low-income white children does not result in academic achievement gains. If this conclusion is valid, a district like KCSD, having large numbers of low-income pupils, will not be able to provide a high degree of educational quality under present circumstances.

As indicated earlier, the concept of "quality education" is distinct from school desegregation, which is itself distinct from "social class desegregation." Courts have required racial desegregation, not social-class desegregation. Yet because of the increasing evidence that social-class desegregation is closely connected with quality education and because social class is also closely connected with racial characteristics, change in racial desegregation, legally required, can be achieved best in the context of change towards economic integration. Professor Daniel Levine points out that there has yet to be a real legal test of the proposition that simultaneous economic and racial desegregation are valid remedies. In Brewer v. Norfolk City School Board in 1970 the district court refused to consider this combination as a joint remedy. However, the argument was not given a fair test because a metropolitan remedy was not then seen as a feasible solution in the Norfolk area. Professor Levine believes that a reasonable case now can be made for a joint remedy, given the Louisville and Wilmington precedents for metropolitan solutions to the problems of segregation in central city schools.[23]

The Current Quality of Education

In a study of 18 metropolitan areas released in May 1976, Geno Baroni and Gerson Greer concluded that during the 1960s black neighborhoods made greater gains in percentage of high school graduates than did the suburbs or white central city neighborhoods.[24] But despite these gains, the suburbs still have a much higher percentage of college-trained residents (23 percent) than do the central city areas, either black (9 percent) or white (8 percent).[25]

The Bi-State Committee attempted to determine quality of education in the 21 school districts surveyed. The attempt faltered for lack of precise indicators and from a general refusal by the districts to cooperate with the Committee's research. The districts on the Missouri side in

suburban Kansas City and Clay, Platte, and Jackson Counties were particularly noncooperative. Their reluctance to share even the most basic information-despite the essentially public character of their operations-was nearly uniform.

The only major Missouri suburban school district to reply to our data request was the Center district. Fort Osage and Smithville also replied. The rest responded negatively. Two interviewees stated that superintendents of Jackson County suburban districts are very fearful of a metropolitan school district court suit and have decided to stay in close touch with one another. One interviewee-a suburban school board member-had been urged by school officials not to talk to anyone regarding this study.[26]

One of the deepest impressions gained from this study has been the lack of openness exhibited by Missouri schools officials, from the State commissioner to the smallest school district. No previous study by a Civil Rights Commission Advisory Committee in Federal Region VII[27] has met with such "stonewalling" as that exhibited by Missouri's schoolmen.[28] Their zeal to conceal far outstripped that of any prison warden, housing administrator, elected official, or bureaucrat encountered in previous investigations. From our perspective, no institution in this region even approaches the Missouri public school administration as appearing to be the most closed, walled-in system. One superintendent admitted that his district's legal counsel has advised massive noncooperation with any group or individual seeking factual information.[29]

These educators also have rejected requests from other researchers who were merely seeking data for comparative studies. At the State level in Missouri requests for most routine information languished for weeks in the Missouri attorney general's office, ostensibly to be "sanitized" or purged of dangerous materials. This behavior is without parallel among the other attorneys general in this region.

This Bi-State Committee strongly suspects that the noncooperation of Missouri school officials is based on more than just the wish to protect themselves from legal challenges. In the course of some 70 interviews, comments on the poor quality of education in the Missouri suburban districts were heard frequently. Businessmen, community-based persons, educators, and social service providers expressed negative opinions about the quality of academic

programs, discipline, drug problems, and the like in suburban Jackson County. Owing to the secretiveness of the schools, none of the comments could be verified-or disproved.

The almost total lack of candor of the suburban districts and the State department of elementary and secondary education was set in sharp relief by the willingness of KCSD to share information.

The Kansas Department of Education also offered a welcome contrast to its Missouri counterpart in providing information. The Kansas division of the North Central Association, the regional accrediting agency, shared data openly; the Missouri unit argued that its evaluations-all relating to public institutions-were private and confidential.

The artistry with which school administrators paper over their failures has been discussed elsewhere.[30] The pervasive silence in Kansas City's suburbs has prohibited public scrutiny of school conditions both by the Bi-State Committee and the districts' patrons. The poor flow of information may be partially responsible for the relative apathy of the Missouri Legislature regarding matters of school financing. By not receiving all the facts, legislators have not been provided with a complete view of education in the State.

The Kansas school districts by no means exuded enthusiasm for this investigation. The assistance of the Kansas Department of Education eliminated the need to request much information from the individual Kansas districts. Ironically, the major obstacle was the central city district of KCK. Kansas City, Kansas' policies include precensorship of interviews with all district personnel. Committee staff were threatened with prosecution if they attempted to enter a KCK school building. A school superintendent indicated that the ongoing struggle over desegregation in KCK has propelled its superintendent Dr. O.L. Plucker into a policy of total resistance and obstruction.

Interaction between KCSD and the surrounding suburban districts, never very vibrant, has atrophied completely in recent years. For example, a teacher exchange program undertaken between Shawnee Mission and KCSD in the 1960s has

not survived.[31] Only the legally necessary cooperative agreements for the education of the handicapped at Delano School remain.

While it is generally conceded that suburban schools turn out higher achieving students, it has not been established that suburban schools provide a higher quality of education. Although urban schools have more problems with violence than suburban schools, the suburban districts confront students who find high school "alien, hostile, and deaf to their need for drastic educational and organizational change."[32]

Two members of the University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Education were interviewed by Committee staff. Professor Robert Denby concluded that Kansas City area school systems rely heavily on traditional methods. Professor Don Knight remarked that, although his "knowledge of Kansas City area school system is not extensive enough to know the degree to which they are making systematic attempts to improve instructional programs," Independence school district was the only district he knew about in which the central office staff has committed staff, time, and resources to individualize instruction in the primary and secondary schools. He added that innovations could be seen in many classrooms in area schools.[33]

Professor Denby observed that many of the suburban districts in eastern Jackson County had a tradition of "inbreeding"-bringing back their own former students as teachers. This tradition has weakened recently.[34]

The Bi-State Committee also sought the views of interested citizen groups and individuals. The Independence and Kansas City, Kansas, Leagues of Women Voters had done some studies. Interviews were conducted with selected members of the business community and citizen leaders.

The Independence League of Women Voters, after a study of Blue Springs, Fort Osage, Independence, Kansas City, and Raytown, concluded that "Quality education as we have known it and come to expect as a result of our tax dollars is no longer possible....Quality education of tomorrow may be an economical version of what we prepared for yesterday."[35]

The Kansas City, Kansas, League of Women Voters found in its most recent study, conducted nearly 10 years ago, but

still the most recent available study, that innovation was not the norm in Kansas City, Kansas. It found that black pupils were especially disadvantaged-achieving far below the national median. White students were clustered around the median. The league concluded that part of the black students' deficiency was due to poor school programs.[36]

Business leaders did not all agree on the state of education. Some thought that the Kansas City, Missouri, School District was the victim of unsubstantiated charges and rumors. Other commented that the Johnson County Kansas, schools were newer, better funded, better managed, and had a student population better oriented to educational achievement. Business leaders believed that fundamental financial and administrative changes would be needed to save public education, especially in Kansas City.

Community organization leaders were uniformly discontented with the schools. They were concerned about low achievement scores, high dropout rates, and disciplinary problems in KCSD. They did not believe there was "quality education" in the district. While they shared the business community's concern about finances and central administration, they also believed that principals and teachers bore a large share of responsibility for failure in KCSD. Although KCSD was most criticized and many had good things to say for the suburbs, the suburban districts were also faulted for failing to deliver as good an education as might be expected. There was general pessimism about the possibility for change.

Drs. Edwin Bailey and Andrew Darton of UMKC conducted a survey of the Kansas City School District in fall 1974 on attitudes about the schools. In the black community, parents, students, and educators were most satisfied with the district's efforts to teach the 3 R's, but even they had mixed feelings. In the white community, educators, parents, teachers, and members of the Kansas City Civic Council (a group of 120 influential citizens) believed the district was weak in teaching the 3 R's. All groups and individuals agreed that discipline was weak. All agreed that the superintendent (Dr. Robert Medcalf) was not doing his job. All believed that the board of education was not functioning effectively.[37]

At the request of the Kansas City School District, Midwest Research Institute (MRI) did a study entitled

Decision Criteria and Policy for School Consolidation. It commented on the loss of public confidence in the district. It pointed to divisiveness of past boards, their tendency to meddle in trivial administrative details, lack of strong leadership, "lame duck" superintendents, desegregation suits, and labor problems as overwhelming the district. MRI commented that "creativity and innovation do not flow from beleaguered educators." MRI pointed out that the district lacked any organizational cohesiveness and has not integrated "all administrative functions and guided them toward common and non-conflicting goals."[38]

The alternative futures program study found that community leaders believe the public schools have deteriorated. The leaders saw "outmoded practices and approaches to education that need upgrading in order to better prepare young people for learning, working and living...."[39] They recommended development of new educational systems in consultations with parents, community representatives, and the business sector, as well as educators. The report recommended that educators be kept in tune with community needs and use advanced teaching methods, modern communication techniques, and schools without walls.[40]

Gary Orfield has pointed out that changes are required to make desegregated schools work.[41] These changes are also required to make instruction more effective in any school. Regardless of the type of school, a systematic and coordinated school-wide improvement effort is needed if instruction is to be provided more effectively in the future than it has been in the past.

The need for improving the effectiveness of instruction is most acute in predominantly low-income schools because it is here that teachers are most overloaded with problems and most frequently are unable to bring students to minimum acceptable levels of performance. George Weber has examined several low-income elementary schools which are unusually effective in teaching reading, and identified some of the elements which differentiate them from others as follows:

1. strong leadership from "clearly identifiable individuals....[who are] outstanding leaders";

2. high expectations [for pupils]...;

3. good atmosphere, defined as "order, sense of purpose, relative quiet, and pleasure in learning";

4. strong emphasis on reading "reflected in many ways";

5. additional reading personnel who "bring expertise and concentration to the reading program...and allow the pupil-adult ratio to be reduced during reading instruction";

6. use of phonics "to a much greater degree than most inner city schools";

7. individualization in the form of "a willingness to modify a child's work assignments...to take account of his stage of learning to read and his particular learning problems"; and

8. "careful evaluation of pupil progress, often built in through the proper use of instructional materials or media systems."[42]

To individualize instruction effectively and to incorporate new media, staff, and instructional approaches in low-income schools, or to make comparable improvements leading to more effective instruction in other types of schools, systematic efforts are required to change instructional patterns on a school-by-school basis. Such efforts seldom succeed unless they include all of the following elements:

- introduction of appropriate organizational and scheduling arrangements to allow for increased success in teaching basic academic skills and achieving other educational goals.

- improvements in the selection and quality of staff, and provisions for substantial staff development activities relevant to the instructional improvements which are being initiated.

- creation of mechanisms for identifying and solving practical problems that arise when

attempting to bring about instructional improvements.

The Bi-State Committee was not able to find evidence that suburban schools in the Kansas City metropolitan area are generally more effective than central city schools in achieving academic or educational goals, given the differences in their student populations. Instructional improvement programs would be beneficial throughout the metropolitan area, regardless of whether or not the schools are racially or economically segregated or desegregated. These could be incorporated in educational planning throughout the metropolitan area with benefit to all.

While there is general agreement that achievement, college attendance rates, and other measures of school output are higher in many of the suburbs than in the central cities, there is little or no evidence that the schools are responsible. Many commentators believe that good pupils have produced good reputations and that the school input is minimal.

Access to Special Services

The newness of vocational-technical facilities, the plethora of television and other audiovisual equipment, and the design of special facilities make the new buildings visually more attractive than older structures. In the absence of impartial reviews it was impossible to assess the quality of these. Title I services and accessibility could be measured. Table 3.2 shows that in some districts the poor child had a better chance of receiving Title I services than in others. Table 3.3 and 3.4 show marked disparities in pupil-faculty ratios and local per pupil expenditure in Title I programs. Particularly noteworthy are the failures of districts such as Park Hill, Shawnee Mission (in the junior high school program), and Kansas City, Kansas, to provide significant reductions in the pupil-teacher ratio of Title I schools. Similarly, Park Hill and Kansas City, Kansas, have invested no additional local resources in Title I schools, while other districts have invested considerable local resources. The Kansas City Department of Urban Affairs reports that Title I failed to overcome disadvantage associated with economic and racial isolation.[43]

In short, Title I assistance has failed to equalize educational opportunity. Except for Kansas City, Kansas,

all school districts studied rank as high in provision of Title I services as they do in overall service delivery (but no higher). (See table 3.4.) While there is somewhat more disparity in rankings on faculty-pupil ratios, there is no general pattern of disparity. (See table 3.3.)

Socialization

Kansas City is a multiethnic community. Yet until children become adults they have little formal opportunity to get to know and understand other ethnic groups. Table 3.5 shows that even in the central cities many children have little or no contact with children of other ethnic groups than their own. In the suburbs the opportunities for contact are infinitesimal.

With the exception of one or two school districts, the area's children are segregated by race and by social class. The urban districts contain disproportionate numbers of minority students and low-income students; in both of these districts the majority of schools are racially indentifiable.

As a result, very few students are receiving an education that exposes them to the multiracial and multicultural characteristics of the Kansas City area. This point was made by several of the interviewees who reside in suburban districts. They expressed concern over the lack of cultural interaction and the distortion created in children by the absence of minority students and faculty.

Racial segregation in education may be defined in various ways. One of the most commonly used approaches is to define schools as racially imbalanced if they are either 90 percent or more minority or are 90 percent or more nonminority in student composition. This definition has been particularly used in States that had legally-required segregation of public schools before 1954 because the existence of such schools frequently helps demonstrate an unconstitutional failure to eliminate the vestiges of the previous dual system (as evidenced by Southern and border States cases).

Segregation clearly exists within the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school district. In fact every other school district in the metropolitan area is effectively segregated as well. The dual systems that were

legally required in Missouri and in Kansas City, Kansas, have not been effectively eliminated, and the courts and/or the Federal executive branch (HEW) could require action to eliminate racial segregation "root and branch."

Either within the central city school districts or on a regional or metropolitan basis, desegregation must be attained on a stable basis. If desegregation accelerates the withdrawal of white families and/or of middle-class families from the central cities or their public schools, a lot of money and effort will be expended with no permanent gains, and the underlying problems of deterioration related to middle-class flight from the cities will be further exacerbated.

Whether white and/or middle-class withdrawal is stimulated by desegregation of the schools recently has become a major national controversy, argued particularly in the national media as well as in research journals by James S. Coleman and his critics inside and outside academia. In 1975, Coleman reported the results of a study which concluded that desegregation had been accelerating "white flight" in big cities.[44] Dr. Coleman's data and analysis then were severely criticized by a number of other critics, who showed there were major inadequacies both in his methods and interpretations.[45] Following rather spirited debate in a variety of media, however, Professor Coleman and some of his critics reached partial agreement that "white flight" in response to desegregation is most likely to occur in big city school districts that have a high percentage of minority students and are surrounded by largely white suburban districts. This position has been summarized by Professors Robert L. Green and Thomas F. Pettigrew as follows:

1. There has been an enormous, long term trend of whites leaving the central cities for the suburbs and blacks coming into the largest central cities.

2. There is agreement among the studies that there is little or no effect of desegregation on the "white flight" of students in medium- and smaller-sized cities.

3. There is also agreement that there is little or no effect of desegregation on the "white

flight" of students in metropolitan-wide districts.

4. Desegregation required by Federal court orders has not had different effects on "white flight" from other desegregation of equal magnitude.

5. The loss of white and black students from large urban school systems is significantly related to the proportion of black students in the system.[46]

If white withdrawal attendant upon school desegregation is most likely to occur in big city districts with a high minority population, desegregation plans for the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts should take this possibility into consideration. Indeed, evidence has been reported indicating that such withdrawal has occurred over the years in the Kansas City, Missouri, school district,[47] and Professors Bailey and Darton have indicated that accelerated white withdrawal related to desegregation very well could occur in both Kansas Cities in the future, particularly if desegregation plans are largely limited to the confines of these two districts.[48]

It should be emphasized, however, that the real underlying problem is not "white flight" per se, but rather withdrawal of middle-class population, whether white or minority, from schools and neighborhoods in the two central city districts; this is the problem that has contributed to growth of the inner city and deterioration of large chunks of the metropolitan area. Many whites and most minority families, after all, are willing and often anxious to send their children to racially desegregated schools, but most middle-class families are not willing to send their children to schools that they believe are becoming or are likely to become largely low status in composition and character. The situation has been summarized by Gary Orfield of the Brookings Institution as follows:

> The assumption that the rapid movement of white families from the central cities is a flight merely from racial contact has been substantially undermined by recent evidence that minority groups themselves are beginning to flee very rapidly where they are able to buy suburban housing.

> Black public school enrollments are stabilizing or declining in a number of central cities and black middle-class families are increasingly moving to the inner suburbs. Among middle-class black families who retain central city residence, there are substantial numbers who have sent their children to private schools.[49]

Table 3.6 shows that the only remedy for the problem of racial isolation is multidistrict interaction extending across county lines. It is clear that either a single metropolitan district crossing State lines or two metropolitan districts, one on each side of the State line, would produce a balanced district with reasonable prospects for stable multiethnic experiences.

Does the appropriate remedy end at the city lines? If so, desegregated education will be more theoretical than real, for minority children will continue to attend city schools composed principally of minority and poor children in metropolitan areas that are predominantly white and affluent.

Transportation

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in its report, Fulfilling The Letter and Spirit of the Law, has noted that:

> Courts have not forced students to ride buses. Courts have required that boards of education reassign students to schools so as to eliminate dual education systems. Buses are a convenience made available to 7 percent of the students who are so reassigned, just as they are a convenience to the remaining 93 percent of the students who use them for purposes other than desegregation.[50]

All districts in the Kansas City metropolitan region provide transportation for some students, usually those living more than 1 mile from school. Suburban Missouri districts transport a large proportion of their students-all for reasons other than desegregation. Hickman Mills buses 85 percent of its students. Shawnee Mission transports the lowest portion, 11 percent. In the two urban districts the busing figure is a relatively low 20 percent.

Table 3.5

Number of Schools With Minority Enrollments in Selected Districts

%minority (nonwhite)	Excel. Springs (1972)	KCSD (1975)	KCK (1974)	Shawnee Mission (1974)	Center (1972)	Hickman Mills (1972)	Raytown (1972)	Indep. (1972)	NKC (1972)	Olathe (1972)	Bonner Springs (1972)
0-5	5	16	4	63	8	15	15	22	36	11	
6-20	2	9	15	3	1		1	2		2	7
21-33		12	15								2
34-50		10	5								
51-75		5	5								
76-85		1									
86-95		7									
96-100		34	10								

Source: Office for Civil Rights

Table 3.6

Proportion of Minority Students Within County Jurisdictions (as percent of area public school enrollment)

District	Minority Students Proportion	
MISSOURI		
Clay County	2%	
Jackson County	28%	(2% excluding KCSD)
Platte County	2%	
Three Missouri counties	25%	(1.8% excluding KCSD)
KANSAS		
Johnson County	2%	
Wyandotte County	35%	(1.4% excluding KCK)
Two Kansas counties	17%	(1.6% excluding KCK)
Five-county metropolitan area	21%	

Source: Office for Civil Rights

The high percentage of students who ride to school in the suburban Missouri districts may be due partly to the irregular physical configurations of the districts. More rational alignment of district boundaries would probably reduce the necessity for some of this movement and simultaneously reduce racial isolation.

Staff calculations for transportation time between predominantly minority high schools in the central cities and predominantly white high schools in the suburbs indicate that a mean travel time of 15 minutes would be required to greatly reduce racial isolation. This could be done in part by exchanging students from three predominantly white suburban high schools with each of the central city high schools. A solution involving only Jackson County schools would require transportation for an average of 16 minutes between each inner city KCSD school and two suburban schools. A three-county solution under the same conditions would require 15 minutes transportation. Transportation between KCK school districts's two minority schools and two Shawnee Mission schools would require an average of 19 minutes. (The data on which these calculations are based are reported in appendix C.) These results are merely illustrative. Additional time might be required for travel between elementary schools. But the Bi-State Committee believes that a multidistrict solution clearly need not involve substantial travel time for any student. MARC reports that it has the data from which exact calculations might be made of the transportation time required for reducing isolation at all levels.

Dropouts

The Bi-State Committee obtained information from HEW's Office for Civil Rights on school dropouts from some of the school districts. The rate of school dropouts is indicated in table 3.7. The rates in the central cities are dramatically higher than in the four suburban districts for which data are available. These conform to the patterns of the communities: higher dropout rates are associated with larger proportions of lower socioeconomic status pupils.

In its study of discipline procedures, the Children's Defense Fund, an advocate and research group, pointed out that dropout rates were symptomatic of the need for better counseling, improved preparation of teachers for dealing

with problem children, and expansion of the curriculum to reflect the special needs of disgruntled students.[51]

Enrollment Changes

Many of the districts are hurt by enrollment changes that move their population further from the central city and often result in sharp drops in the number of pupils. The four districts with more than 20,000 pupils-KCSD, Shawnee Mission, KCK, and North Kansas City-all reached their peak enrollment at least 5 years ago. Enrollment decline due to sharply lower birth rates is a national phenomenon. But it has been especially significant in KCSD, Center, and Raytown (see table 3.8). The Raytown superintendent ascribed his district's sharp decline to cyclical changes in the community. Raytown absorbed many large families in the 1950s. The children have completed their education and moved on; the parents still live in Raytown homes, but the school-age population has dwindled.[52] The same pattern holds true for Center and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Shawnee Mission. The older suburbs have fewer childbearing families and simultaneously have run out of land suitable for new residential development. The consequence of these changes on school finances has been particularly dramatic.

Finances

All the school districts in the Kansas City metropolitan region plead poverty. Some are poorer in reality than others. The Bi-State Committee studied the financing of education in the area to determine possible changes that might allow improvement in the quality of education and reduction of racial isolation.

The National Education Association reports that in 1974-75 local governments paid 48.2 percent of the cost of public elementary and secondary education; State governments paid 44 percent; and the Federal Government, 7.8 percent. The bi-State area figures are shown in table 3.9.

The State of Missouri is bearing significantly less than the average State burden for elementary and secondary education. The State of Kansas share is about average. Kansas local governments are bearing somewhat more than the average burden; Missouri local governments are bearing considerably more than the average.

Table 3.7

Dropouts from the Public School System--1974

District	% of Student Enrollment	Number of Dropouts
Kansas City, Kans.	3.0	926
Shawnee Mission	1.1	485
Bonner Springs	1.8	44
Independence	2.5	403
Kansas City, Mo.	5.3	3,032
Liberty	1.4	59
North Kansas City	1.6	335

Source: Office of Civil Rights Form 102

Table 3.8

Enrollment Changes in School Districts of Greater Kansas City

District	1974-5 or peak year enrollment	Net change to 1975-6
KANSAS		
Shawnee Mission	46,500 (1970)	-14%
Kansas City	35,250 (1967)	-16
Bonner Springs	2,310 (1974)	-1
Olathe	5,567 (1974)	+5
Turner	4,797 (1974)	+2
Piper	811 (1974)	+2
MISSOURI		
Center	5,866 (1969)	-25
Grandview	6,474 (1974)	+4
Hickman Mills	14,858 (1968)	-11
Independence	16,083 (1971)	-10
Kansas City	74,997 (1968)	-24
Lee's Summit	6,306 (1974)	+3
Liberty	4,040 (1974)	-1
North Kansas City	22,840 (1970)	-8
Raytown	16,729 (1968)	-22

Source: Kansas City Times, May 24, 1976.

Table 3.9

Revenue Receipts for Education by Source
(in percent of total revenue)

State	Federal	State	Local
Kansas (1975-76)	6.0	42.0	52.0
Missouri (1974-75)	7.8	33.4	58.8

Source: Kansas and Missouri State education authorities.

Summaries of the revenue and expenditures by the principal local school districts are presented in table 3.10 and show that per-pupil total revenue for instruction was comparable but that per-pupil local tax efforts varied quite widely. The revenue was high in Kansas City, Missouri, and Center but low in Independence and Kansas City, Kansas. The efforts to achieve these varied. Kansas City, Missouri, Independence, and Center were at the low end of the spectrum; Hickman Mills, Grandview, Shawnee Mission, Lee's Summit and Liberty were at the high end. The problems of the central cities are compounded by static or declining tax bases.[53]

The costs of education vary dramatically depending upon the type of education, the Brookings Institution reports. Because "central cities and rural areas have more than a proportionate share of students needing costly programs, while suburban jurisdictions...have a low cost mix of pupils,"[54] their costs of education are disproportionately high.

The relative costs of educating different classes of pupils are shown in table 3.11. The table demonstrates that remedial and compensatory education require two to three times the expenditure that basic education requires. Educating the socially maladjusted or handicapped may require as much as three times the funding that basic education requires.

While the data on resources available for economically disadvantaged pupils (measured using the proportion available for free or subsidized school meals) provides only a rough approximation to reality, it is clear that the suburban districts have far greater resources available to assist the disadvantaged than do the central city districts.

Expenditures for instruction per pupil averaged $1027.48. The standard deviation was $159.44. Center, Kansas City, Missouri and Grandview were more than one standard deviation above the mean. Olathe was more than one standard deviation below the mean. This narrow gap contrasts sharply with total per pupil expenditure figures. With a mean of $1,327.41 and a standard deviation of $155.40, Center and Grandview were one standard deviation above while Hickman Mills, Independence, North Kansas City, and Raytown were more than one standard deviation below the mean.

TABLE 3.10
Greater Kansas City School District Fiscal Data
A: Kansas School Districts' Revenue and Expenditures
Revenue 1974-75 (as of June 30, 1975)

District	Assessed valuation	Total mil rate	Revenue into the general fund				Per-pupil* assessed valuation	Per-pupil* total Rev. into general fund	Per pupil* local Rev. into general fund	Per-pupil* general fund rev.
			Local	County	Kansas	Federal				
Olathe (5583 students)	61,279,553	50.906	1,834,683	170,605	2,393,832	100,788	10,976.09	806.00	328.62	957.01
Shawnee Mission (41,369 students)	526,276,789	53.386	24,640,588		14,346,832	360,438	12,721.53	948.73	595.62	948.73
Kansas City (30,473)	291,238,763	48.703	7,873,167	740,593	15,020,478	91,932	9,557.27	778.60	258.37	778.59

Expenditure, 1974-75 (as of June 30, 1975)

	Total expenditure	Expenditure from general fund		Total per-pupil* expenditure	Expenditure per-pupil* from general fund	
		Instruction	Other		Instruction	Other
Olathe	7,289,599	3,167,353	1,420,932	1305.68	567.32	254.51
Shawnee Mission	57,685,914	28,217,658	10,476,803	1394.42	682.10	253.25
Kansas City	42,886,789	19,030,290	7,641,769	1407.37	624.50	250.77

Source: Annual reports, Olathe, KCK, Shawnee Mission School Districts.

* Based on Average Daily Membership

Table 3.10 (continued)
A.2

	Assesed Valuation*	Expenditure from the General Fund*
Olathe	62,402	4,672
Shawnee Mission	312,145	22,950
Kansas City	22,107	2,024

* Divided by the no. of pupils eligible for free or reduced price meals

B. Missouri School Districts: Revenue and Expenditures

District	Total Expenditure	Teacher	Incidental	per-pupil* Expenditure	Per-pupil* teacher and incidental funds	Divided by no. of pupils eligible for free or subsid. food	
						Assessed valuation	Pupil* expend.
Center	7,737,442	3,949,032	2,036,888	1,574.57	1,218.14	218.07	32,356
Grandview	8,455,382	4,565,092	2,685,362	1,519.66	1,303.10	509,964	16,220
Hickman Mills	15,383,011	8,241,581	4,526,257	1,117.46	927.49	375,721	10,659
Independence	16,625,591	8,991,910	4,618,722	1,090.85	893.03	109,888	12,373
Kansas City	82,349,124	43,657,567	30,692,161	1,467.64	1,325.07	27,979	2,538
Lee's Summit	8,309,301	4,010,166	2,221,822	1,351.76	1,013.83	387,524	10,084
Liberty	5,534,837	2,370,447	1,673,371	1,382.33	1,009.69	216,340	9,985
N. Kansas City	24,981,473	13,488,401	7,872,451	1,154.62	987.28	372,383	17,767
Raytown	16,009,936	9,358,979	4,684,369	1,162.50	1,019.70	384,612	44,440

* Based on Average Daily Membership

B1. Missouri School Districts: Revenue and Expenditures

District (number of pupils)	Assessed value	Total tax survey in cents	Revenue into teacher fund, incidental fund and textbook fund: Local	County	Missouri	Federal	Per-pupil* assessed valuation	Per-pupil* total revenue	Per-pupil* local revenue
Center 4,914	$ 83,523,270	445	3,717,138	149,447	1,590,921	615,256	16,997.01	1235.81	756.44
Grandview 5,564	61,705,654	561	3,279.050	153,971	2,825,755	432,106	11,090.16	1201.53	589.33
Hickman Mills 13,766	100,920,174	568	5,494,664	388,765	6,654,162	793,301	7,331.12	968.39	399.14
Independence 15,241	125,382,345	470	5,548,644	374,782	7,131,727	657,133	12,163.39	899.67	364.06
Kansas City 56,110	923,309,292	405	42,249,580	2,165.900	17,119,616	5188,298	16,455.34	1,189.15	752.98
Lee's Summit 6,147	75,954,793	520	3,289,778	178,852	2,565,416	253,495	12,356.40	1,022.86	535.18
Liberty 4,005	49,325,524	540	2,298,182	162,028	1,501,659	198,289	12,285.31	1,038.74	578.82
N. Kansas City 21,636	279,287,450	450	12,751,733	0	7,946,015	549,999	12,908.46	982.06	589.38
Raytown 13,772	121,537,384	575	6,719,377	438,588	6,345,702	516,644	8,824.96	1,018.03	487.96

Source: State of Missouri: Anual reports of secretary of boards of education, 1974-75

* Based on Average Daily Membership

Table 3.11

Ratios of Mean Current Operating Expenditures per Pupil by Program, Grade Level, and Type of School District to Mean Expenditure per Pupil in Basic Programs, Grades 1-6, 1968-69 School Year*

Program and Grade Level	Cities (12 Districts)	Suburbs (8 Districts)
Basic		
Grades 1-6	1.000	1.000
Grades 7-9	1.177	1.174
Grades 10-12	1.446	1.219
Mentally and Physically Handicapped		
Grades 1-6	2.397	2.436
Grades 7-9	2.098	1.878
Grades 10-12	2.220	1.752
Socially Maladjusted		
Grades 1-6	2.954	2.499
Grades 7-9	2,880	1.368
Grades 10-12	2,432	1.567
Remedial and Compensatory		
Grades 1-6	1,805	1.702
Grades 7-9	2.940	1.996
Grades 10-12	1.718	1.962
Vocational-Technical		
Grades 7-12	1.915	1.680
Prekindergarten	1.133	1.047
Kindergarten	1.298	1.110

*Ratios should not be compared across types of school districts.

Source: William P. McLure and Audra May Pence, "Early Childhood and Basic Elementary Secondary Education," in Roe L. Johns and others, Planning to Finance Education (Gainsville, Fla.: National Educational Finance Project, 1971), p. 26.

Both Kansas and Missouri have made some effort to provide assistance to central cities. Each uses a different formula with different drawbacks. But the consequence in each case is to lessen the opportunity of minorities and the poor to receive a quality, desegregated education.

Missouri provides $400 per student in attendance. It provides an additional $125 for each Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) recipient in attendance and $14 per pupil for districts that levy in excess of $3.50 per $100 of assessed valuation of real property (equalized to 30 percent of true value). From these are subtracted various amounts to equalize differences in valuation and special local revenue that may be available. The base rate is clearly less than the minimum necessary to provide adequate education. The AFDC grant is only one-quarter of the basic grant (where data presented earlier shows such students may require twice the basic grant). The basic grant does not consider the disparity between the costs of educating students at different levels. Because the county assesses at only two-thirds of the State mandated level, KCSD loses, in the long-term, about one-third of potential local revenue.[55] Were the assessment corrections dropped from the equation, there would be a substantial benefit to the central cities while the suburbs could be held harmless by employing a grandfather clause (as Kansas does). The Kansas City Times has pointed out that:

> It is bad enough that the State [Missouri] his been stingy with school aid. The problem is compounded by a constitutional requirement that all local school levies above $3.75 require a two-thirds vote at the polls. The total tax burden at all levels is high. Winning a two-thirds mandate for anything has become extremely difficult. The legislature has refused to do the right thing by the schools and at the same time has made it all but impossible for voters to fill the gap.
>
> The laws and leadership in 30 other States treat children better. That tells you a great deal about where Missouri places its values.[56]

Kansas has attempted to create educational opportunities using a "power equalization" formula (State aid has doubled since 1972-1973). However, this is based on a "legally adopted budget" that uses membership in either

the current or prior year and takes no account of the social forces that may make one pupil more expensive to educate than other pupils. Moreover, districts near the State border (as are Kansas City, Kansas, and Shawnee Mission) suffer because while the district's ability to tax is based on gross income tax liability, the amount paid to the district is based on net income tax receipts, which reflect substantial deductions for taxes paid to Missouri.[57] Robert Bothwell has pointed out that none of Kansas' cities benefits under the formula, although he concedes that Kansas has been more successful than most States in redistributing education revenue in favor of the State's poorer districts.[58]

Clearly neither Kansas nor Missouri has devised formulas that are equitable to all pupils. The student is penalized by district boundaries. Many proposals have been offered to deal with this inequality. Manly Fleischmann proposed that all districts receive a base State grant sufficient to educate the pupils based on an enrollment count taken annually rather than on average daily attendance. He proposed that additional grants be provided based on the number of students who scored poorly on reading and mathematics achievement scores. To finance this he suggested pooling all local education taxes at the State level and redistributing the resources so that each district received about two-thirds of the State average at the moment of inception of the plan.[59] Density adjustments have been used in Ohio and Illinois. Minnesota and Ohio have adjustments based on AFDC membership; New York has used achievement scores.[60] Rhode Island, Maryland, and Connecticut use other adjustments to aid poorer districts.[61]

One possible formula to remedy the inequality in central school finance in greater Kansas City is to merge districts (maintaining only the State dividing line) for financial purposes. The effect of merely reallocating the resources now available in the region was explored by the Bi-State Committee.

On the Missouri side, this would produce a district of 143,838 pupils. The area now receives $53,680,963 or $373.18 per pupil for teachers and incidental funds (total funds divided by the total number of pupils). Kansas City School District now receives only $304.61 in State aid. Merely taking the same gross amount and distributing it evenly would thus redistribute $69 per pupil to KCSD. There

are 721,909 persons in these districts. This makes the current per capita grant $74.36. By contrast, Kansas City receives only $46.26 per capita. The change from a per pupil to a per capita base would increase dramatically the resources available to the KCSD, in recognition of the special problems caused by high population densities and high incidence of economically disadvantaged pupils.

On the Kansas side such a merger (excluding Bonner Springs, Piper, and Turner), would produce a district of 77,245 pupils who now receive a total $31,661,142 in State aid to the general fund. This amounts to $408.92 per pupil. The districts contain 356,111 persons. The per capita expenditure is $88.91. The per pupil expenditure in Kansas City, Kansas, is $494.92; per capita expenditure is $96.33. The advantage to Kansas City, Kansas, is the consequence of previous formula corrections that have somewhat improved the situation for Kansas City schools to the extent that simple redistribution of funds provides no additional help. However, the Kansas City, Kansas, school district still needs additional funding to deal better with problems caused by high population density and poverty. But the limitations of the current level of benefits, by comparison with those available in other cities, have been discussed earlier.

Municipal overburden is particularly difficult to quantify because it is an elusive concept. Professor Terry N. Clark has addressed part of the problem when he discusses fiscal strain and its causes. Central city tax bases are declining. But municipal budgets are seldom adjusted to match the decline.[62] But overburden is more than mere accounting. It includes the services paid for by the city, either directly or by tax exemptions, which benefit a wide service area--such as hospitals, museums, libraries, churches, universities, headquarters of not-for-profit organizations, and the like. All these impose additional costs on an already fiscally hard-pressed central city which are seldom shared by the surrounding areas. The cities support the poor at poverty-level thus subsidizing low-wage employment in the suburbs. The very existence of the central cities promote the movement of new industries into the suburban periphery. But the costs are borne by the cities. Little is left in the local tax resources for education.

How much cities are overburdened is particularly difficult to assess. It has been dealt with only indirectly

here. Michigan has attempted to compensate school districts for the additional local tax burdens borne by municipal governments. The Michigan formula has not proved entirely successful or satisfactory as a resolution of the problem. Neither Kansas or Missouri have made any efforts to address this problem in devising school aid formulas.

Governor Christopher Bond has assembled a conference on education, one topic of which is school finance. Among the recommendations made to that conference are increases in the State income and/or sales taxes to be earmarked for education. In the context of a general increase in State support for education, a formula that took account of municipal overburden, concentrated poverty, and the proportion of educationally disadvantaged students might be introduced without taking funds away from districts not affected by these problems. Andrew Miller, education editor of the Kansas City Star, reports that the formula to be proposed by the Governor's conference will not aid Kansas City or other similarly situated districts.[63] Subsequent reports suggest some aid may be provided.[64] Data on educational disadvantage and concentrated poverty are already available to the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. Mark Flynn of the University of Missouri Extension Service will shortly publish data that will allow scientific measurement of municipal overburden. Given the low burden educational spending now puts upon the State's resources and the availability of data for effective calculation of circumstances, formula revision in Missouri becomes possible.

The Kansas City, Kansas, superintendent, Dr. O. L. Plucker, has raised a number of questions about the equity of Kansas' present formula. Legal action to correct some of the inequities has been proposed. Data are available to calculate the special needs of urban areas. Like Missouri, Kansas devotes only a relatively small proportion of its resources to education (by comparison with other States). Kansas' experience with the grandfather clause should demonstrate that other districts in the State need not suffer by State action to assist the urban areas.

Summary

Much has been written about the problem of education in the 1970s. Yet little is really known. The data presented to the Bi-State Committee indicated that problem areas prevail rather than accomplishments.

The problems of poverty and racial isolation are intertwined in central city schools. The poor have seldom received adequate training. Because a large proportion of the minority student population comes from low-income families, they are particularly disadvantaged. School districts in the Kansas City metropolitan area have not demonstrated that they have done anything to resolve this dilemma.

While it is widely believed that suburban schools educate better than central city schools, hard evidence has never been made available. The available data--all that the schools were ready to provide--and outside observers' perceptions do not show one district superior to another in the quality of education provided.

The extent of racial isolation in the schools has been outlined. The absence of multiracial interaction in the schools hampers student adjustment to a multiracial world. A multidistrict attendance area would help relieve this problem.

One of the principal objections to multidistrict attendance areas has been travel required away from "neighborhoods." Yet, existing transportation patterns indicate that such travel is already common. Travel to achieve racial balance in a metropolitan district would not require lengthy trips to schools too far away to be accessible.

In addition to the need to improve the quality of education and reduce racial isolation, districts face declines in enrollment and acute financial difficulties. These are intertwined. Some districts have underutilized plants while at the same time demographic changes require these districts and others to construct new facilities. All districts face financial pressures caused by inadequate State assistance and taxing formulas that cannot produce sufficient revenue to meet the districts' needs. The urban districts are particularly hard pressed. Alternate revenue

formulas could reduce the pressures on the most needy districts without depriving the others of adequate resources.

Improvements in the quality of education, especially to meet the needs of the educationally disadvantaged and to reduce racial isolation, are possible. This may require a multidistrict reorganization and realignment of financial resources. Such a remedy need not be either expensive or dislocating. Some suggested remedies are indicated in the paper by Professor Daniel U. Levine that is appended to this report. (See appendix A.)

Notes to Chapter III

1. Robert D. Reischauer and Robert W. Hartman, Reforming School Finance (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1973), p. 63.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. A. Gentry and B. Jones, Urban Education, The Hope Factor (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1972), pp. 63ff.

5. Christopher Jencks and others, Inequality (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 106.

6. Socioeconomic status refers to the categorization of people into social strata based on their economic status- usually either occupation, income measures, or a combination of the two are used.

7. See: Elwood P. Cubberly, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), pp. 338ff. See also: Manly Fleischmann, The Fleischmann Report (N.Y.: Viking Press, 1973), vol. 1, p. 25.

8. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Twenty Years After Brown; Equality of Educational Opportunity (July 1975), pp. 75ff.

9. Gary Orfield, "School Integration and Its Academic Critics," Civil Rights Digest, vol. 5, no. 5 (Summer 1975), p. 4.

10. There is a widely held misconception that Title I is for students who are merely economically disadvantaged. The point is clarified in U.S.C. 241e (1).

11. We agree with the critics of standardized achievement tests who point out these tests are biased against economically or socially disadvantaged students and should be evaluated cautiously as a measure of the performance of individual students. However, an average classroom reading score a year below grade level by the sixth grade indicates that at least one-fourth of the students cannot read well

enough to get along well in high school. When one also takes into account that inner-city schools frequently have average sixth grades scores much more than a year below grade level, it is clear that we are considering a very serious problem.

12. Daniel U. Levine and others, Concentrated Poverty and Reading Achievement in Five Big Cities (Kansas City, Mo.: Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, September 1976).

13. Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, Evaluation and Reform (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1975), pp. 24, 70.

14. Herbert J. Walberg and Andrew T. Kopan, Rethinking Urban Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), p. 162.

15. Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 81ff.

16. Kansas City School District, Division of Instruction, The Informer, vol. 3, no. 6 (n.d.), p. 4.

17. Data supplied to the Bi-State Committee on Education by Kansas City School District.

18. S.K. Bailey and E.K. Mosher, ESEA: The Office of Education Administers A Law (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), pp. 233-4.

19. Ibid.

20. H.B. Scribner and L.B. Stevens, Making Your Schools Work (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), p. 68.

21. Ibid., p. 106.

22. Data on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

23. Daniel U. Levine, untitled manuscript on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

24. G. Baroni and G. Greer, Who's Left in the Neighborhood? (Washington, D.C.: The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, May 5, 1976), p. v.

25. Ibid., p. 11.

26. Rowena Trevor, interview in Kansas City, Mo., March 1976.

27. Includes the States of Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska.

28. The gender designation is deliberate, since every decisionmaker dealt with was male; all but one were white.

29. Robert Atkins, interview in Raytown Mo., May 7, 1976.

30. Scribner and Stevens, Making Your Schools Work, p. 106.

31. Daniel U. Levine, Education in the Urban Crisis (Kansas City: Greater Kansas City Council on Religion and Race, 1969), p. 55.

32. Scribner and Stevens, Making Your Schools Work, p. 68.

33. Don Knight, telephone interview, July 6, 1976; Don Knight, letter to Stanley Rostov, Oct. 5, 1976. See also: Robert Denby, interview in Kansas City, Mo., July 9, 1976.

34. Robert Denby, interview in Kansas City, Mo., July 9, 1976.

35. League of Women Voters, Independence Chapter, untitled manuscript, (November 1974), p. 17, (mimeographed).

36. League of Women Voters, Kansas City, Kansas, Chapter, Survey of the Potential Policies and Programs in the Kansas City, Kansas, and Turner School Districts, Nov. 18, 1967 (Mimeographed.) A more recent study was not available from the district.

37. E.R. Bailey and A.W. Darton, Problem Recognition, Exploration and Prioritizing Project (Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1976). (hereafter cited as PREP).

38. Midwest Research Institute, Decision Criteria and Policy for School Consolidation (Kansas City, Mar. 15, 1974), pp. 10ff.

39. Kansas City, Mo. Department of City Development, A Report of the Alternative Futures Program for Greater Kansas City, May 1975, pt. 2, p. 23.

40. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 4.

41. Gary Orfield, "How to Make Desegregation Work: The Adaptation of Schools to their Newly-Integrated Student Bodies," Law and Contemporary Problems, vol. 34, no. 2 (Spring 1975), p. 317.

42. George Weber, Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read. (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1971), pp. 26-28.

43. Tables on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

44. James S. Coleman, "Recent Trends in School Integration," Educational Researcher, vol. 4 (1975), pp. 3-12.

45. E.g., Christine H. Rossell, "The Political and Social Impact of School Desegregation Policy: A Preliminary Report," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1975 pp. 53-54; Gregg Jackson, "Reanalysis of Coleman's 'Recent Trends in School Integration';" Educational Researcher, vol. 4 (1975), pp. 21-2.

46. Robert L. Green and Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Public School Desegregation and White Flight" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1976), pp. 36-37 (Mimeographed). See also: R. L. Green and T. F. Pettigrew, "School Desegregation in Large Cities-a Critique," Harvard Education Review, vol. 46 (February 1976).

47. Daniel U. Levine and Jeanie K. Meyer, Level and Rate of Desegregation and White Enrollment Decline in a Big City School District (Kansas City, Mo.: Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, May 1976).

48. Bailey and Darton, PREP.

49. U.S. Congress, Senate, Gary Orfield, "Is Coleman Right?," May 11, 1976, Congressional Record, 96th Congress, May 11, 1976, S6880-S6883.

50. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law (August 1976), p. 159.

51. New York Times, Sept. 17, 1975.

52. Robert Atkins, interview in Raytown, Mo., May 1976.

53. Seymour Sacks, and others, City Schools-Suburban Schools: A History of Fiscal Conflict (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), tables 19 and 20.

54. Reischauer and Hartman, Reforming School Finance, p. 64.

55. Data supplied by Kansas City School District.

56. Kansas City Times, May 20, 1976.

57. Orvin L. Plucker, Problems in School Finance Equity Kansas City, Kansas, May 4, 1976 (mimeograph). Dr. Bolton, Kansas Commissioner of Education, comments that the Kansas Legislature "has decided rather than to weight pupils...it would be equitable to provide categorical aid...." Commissioner Merle Bolton, letter to Stanley Rostov, Oct. 12, 1976.

58. Robert O. Bothwell, "State Funding of Urban Education Under the Modern School Finance Reform Movement" (January 1976) pp. 16, 26 (mimeograph) (hereafter cited as "MS").

59. Fleischmann, The Fleischman Report, pp. 64ff.

60. Bothwell, "MS", p. 19.

61. Ibid.

62. Terry N. Clark, and others, How Many New Yorks? (Chicago: University of Chicago, Sept. 15, 1976), pp. 17-20a.

63. Kansas City Times, Sept. 3, 1976.

64. Kansas City Times, Sept. 9, 1976.

IV. DESEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY: THE LEADERSHIP VACUUM

Desegregation and quality integrated education require a total commitment from all levels of government and from the community. The Bi-State Committee surveyed the role of Federal, State, and local government officials; the courts; the media; the black and white communities; and community leadership groups.

While substantial progress has been made in public school desegregation over the last decade, millions of minority children remain in segregated schools. The most recent enrollment statistics compiled by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) for the school year 1974 show that two of every three black children in the county attend predominantly minority schools and two of every five attend schools that are intensely segregated (90 to 100 percent minority in their enrollment). Hispanic-American children are in a similar situation; 2 of every 3 are in predominantly minority schools and 3 in 10 are in intensely segregated schools.[1]

Many minority students in rural communities, towns, and smaller cities have been enrolled in desegregated schools during the past decade. But the great majority of black and Hispanic-American children who live in large cities remain in racially isolated public schools. The dimensions of these remaining problems of segregation are very large indeed, for the big cities are where most minority children live. According to 1970 census statistics, 58.2 percent of all blacks reside in central cities, with 36 percent living in the central cities of the 26 largest metropolitan areas (SMSAs) of the nation.[2] About 50 percent of all Latino citizens reside in central cities, with 27 percent living in the central cities of the 26 largest metropolitan areas.[3]

The difficulty of dealing with racial isolation in very large cities is compounded by the fact that in many places, the problem has become not simply the existence of segregated schools but of segregated school districts.

Federal, State, and Local Government Officials

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in its 1976 report, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law, reminded

leaders at the national, State, and local levels that their support for desegregation will make the change easier for their communities. The Commission's report stated:

> The public generally follows the lead of officials who are responsible for school desegregation. Commitment and firm support from these officials encourage law-abiding citizens to make desegregation work. Under this type of leadership even opponents of school desegregation conform to the standards of behavior exemplified by their leaders, thus ensuring tranquility and a peaceful learning environment for their children.[4]

The December 1975 adoption of the Byrd amendment, which limits the ability of HEW to require substantial amounts of busing to achieve desegregation, was symbolic of and responsive to public hostility to busing. The limits imposed were already in effect as a consequence of the August 1975 amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.[5] The President and the Attorney General have both spoken in favor of a fundamental review of the principles that the Supreme Court has established dealing with remedies for illegal segregation. Further, President Ford submitted to Congress the School Desegregation Standards and Assistance Act of 1976. This bill sought both to narrow the definition of illegal segregation and to restrict the scope of remedies available to the courts.

The area's elected congressional representatives have largely bypassed the opportunity to provide leadership on the question of school desegregation. Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri and Representative Martha Keys of Kansas have taken no position on the issue. Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton has announced his opposition to busing.[6] Kansas Senator Robert Dole has announced his opposition to busing.[7] Representative Larry Winn spoke and voted in favor of the Esch amendment, which prohibited HEW from requiring transportation as a remedy for desegregation.[8] He also signed a letter to President Ford supporting a constitutional amendment to prohibit transportation to achieve desegregation.[9] Kansas Senator James Pearson has not opposed busing, but has urged that all other possible measures be attempted first.[10] Only

Representative Richard Bolling has informed his constituents that busing is a legal remedy for past illegal acts.[11]

None of the principal elected State officials-Governors Christopher Bond, Missouri, and Robert Bennett, Kansas, Attorneys General John Danforth, Missouri, and Curt Schneider, Kansas-has made any public policy statements for or against school desegregation since being elected to their respective offices. Although individual State legislators have made statements favoring or opposing desegregation efforts, no leadership has been evident from that quarter.[12]

Elected local officials had occasion to involve themselves with school desegregation in Summer 1975, when desegregation of Kansas City School District (KCSD) appeared imminent. Both Mayor Charles B. Wheeler of Kansas City, Missouri, and Jackson County, Missouri, County Executive Mike White responded to requests from individual KCSD school board members to organize a task force of local officials. Earlier Mayor Wheeler led the successful effort for a one-half cent sales tax for public education, a rather unique accomplishment by a municipal official.

The renewal of the one-half percent sales tax for education assessed by the city and distributed to all 13 school districts within its boundaries based on the number of school-aged persons resident in the district was significant. This was first approved by the voters on August 6, 1974, for a 1 year period.[13] To obtain support, the city had to agree not to impose its affirmative action standards on the districts.[14] In exchange, the formula favored KCSD by distributing funds based on population and not based on either attendance or enrollment.[15] This tax was necessary to provide funds for a settlement of the KCSD teachers strike which had begun earlier in the year.[16] The tax was renewed by referendum in August 1975.[17] Success of this renewal was credited to Mayor Wheeler's active intervention in support of the measure.[18]

At the same time both Mayor Wheeler and County Executive White took actions during the 1975 crisis that hampered the opportunity to develop community support. The Mayor publicly requested 24-hour police protection for himself and the school board president, although there had been no hint of violence. The county executive made clear that he was not supporting the decision to desegregate.

Mayor Richard King of Independence, Missouri, urged KCSD to delay its desegregation efforts.[19] Repeated calls by staff to the press office of Kansas City, Kansas, Mayor John Reardon produce no information on statements he may have made on school desegregation.

The Commission on Civil Rights has pointed out that public support for desegregation efforts by Federal, State, and local officials makes for greater public acceptance of change.[20] There has been no salient support. Rather, some politicians have chosen to oppose change, encouraging the public to believe that desegregation can be avoided.

The Federal courts have been the initiators and most consistent supporters of school desegregation. At times they have stood alone in bringing the force of the Constitution to bear on the rights of America's minorities and poor.

In May 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court abandoned the "separate but equal" doctrine as it applied to the public schools. In Brown v. Board of Education (347 U.S. 483), the Court held that segregation in public schools by State law denies children of minority groups the equal protection of the laws, thus violating the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

In the succeeding years legislative and administrative efforts to thwart the intent of Brown have been declared unconstitutional by the Court in such decisons as Aaron v. Cooper (358 U.S. 1 (1958)) (which thwarted interposition doctrines); Green v. County School Board of New Kent County (391 U.S. 430 (1968)) (which declared that deliberate speed must also be prompt), Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (402 U.S. 1 (1971)) (which specified the requirement of an effectively unitary district and offered busing as one possible means to that end), and Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado (413 U.S. 192 (1973)) (in which the Court held that intentional segregation in a significant portion of the Denver school district created a prima facie case of unlawful segregative design by the school authorities and that in consequence the burden was on the school authorities to prove that their actions as to other segregated schools in the system were not motivated by segregative intent).

The Court has also had to consider the validity and legality of various remedies. Busing was declared legitimate and reasonable in Swann. The Boston cases indicate that the Court continues to regard busing as a valid remedy.

The Court has yet to find an alternative to massive busing for large central cities. In some districts (St. Louis, Milwaukee, Atlanta), lesser remedies have been accepted by plaintiffs in the belief that immediate improvements in instructional quality were more important than physical desegregation. Where plaintiffs have asked for their full entitlement, the Court has found no easy solution.

In Indianapolis, Richmond, Detroit, and Wilmington the courts have held that suburban school districts could not wantonly be involved in remedies. But while rejecting a metropolitan remedy for Detroit, Mr. Justice Stewart in his concurring opinion stated that:

> This is not to say that an inter-district remedy...would not be proper or even necessary, in other factual situations. Were it to be shown, for example, that State officials had contributed to the separation of races by drawing or redrawing school districts lines...; by transfer of school units between districts...; or by purposeful racially discriminatory use of State housing or zoning laws, then a decree calling for transfer of pupils across district lines or for restructuring of district lines might well be appropriate.[21]

The courts have already accepted multidistrict remedies in: U.S. v. Board of School Commissioners of Indianapolis (503 F. 2d 68 (1974)); Evans v. Buchanan (Wilmington) (Civil Action Nos. 1816-22 (D. Del. May 19, 1976)); Newburg v. Board of Education of Jefferson County (Louisville) (510 F. 2d 1358 (1975)); and U.S. v. State of Missouri (388 F. Supp. 1058 (1975)).

Most relevant to the Missouri portion of the Kansas City area is U.S. v. State of Missouri in which Judge Meredith (Eastern District of Missouri) required that the districts of Ferguson-Florissant, Berkeley, and Kinloch be merged to create a single district in order that State-sponsored segregation in Kinloch might be eliminated. A

decision is expected shortly in U.S. v. Unified School District 500, et al (Kansas City, Kansas) (C.A. No. KC 3738, D.Ks. (1976)). Judge O'Connor has said that should he find for the plaintiffs, he would then consider the inclusion of the suburban districts in a proposed remedy. Thus, in both Missouri and Kansas circuits the possibility of a metropolitan solution for desegregation problems is present.

Promoters of Ideas: Academics and the Media

The academics have originated most of what is known about desegregation. Their ideas, communicated through the media, soon become folk wisdom.

For years the academic literature firmly supported desegregation by all possible means. The present controversy over busing as a technique, although a side issue, now dominates academic discussion. Against assertions, now largely modified, by James Coleman that busing would not work, several scholars-Gregg Jackson, Professors Robert Green, Thomas Pettigrew, and Christine Rossell-have shown that busing can work and white flight can be "kept to a minimum." But the effect of this dispute, as John Mathews pointed out in the Washington Star, is to confuse rather than resolve fears about desegregation.[22]

At a recent conference in Kansas City, Professor Vernon Haubrich reported that children who attended an integrated school were better able to accept an integrated world than children who attended segregated schools.[23] Since students must live in a multiracial world, encouragement of a segregated society makes the transition more difficult.

Professor Nancy St. John points out that "in some schools there is considerable friendly interaction and mutual respect."[24] Professor St. John also points out that contrary to the media perception of clear failure, desegregation "is not yet a demonstrated failure."[25] According to her,

> the evidence of wide-ranging studies is in one respect clear: school desegregation per se has no unitary or invariable effect on children... At all levels, from the national administration to the local school, leadership may be the most essential variable in the achievement of integration.[26]

Professor Daniel Levine has reviewed the research on desegregation and related issues and concluded that if a high proportion of middle-class children are mixed with a low proportion of low-status children, desegregation can produce improvement in education for both groups.[27]

In the midst of this debate, it is not surprising that the media have presented varied, sometimes contradictory, views of the prospects for desegregation. The principal newspapers in the area are the jointly operated Kansas City Times and Kansas City Star. They have denounced efforts to call back the past discriminatory practices. They have opposed efforts by the Federal executive to override the decisions of the courts. They have criticized the efforts of South Boston and President Ford to eliminate busing where that is the only possible remedy.[28]

The Star and Times attitudes on desegregation in Kansas City have been generally supportive. In 1969 the Kansas City Star commented that while a desegregation plan offered by Superintendent Hazlett, "Concepts for Changing Times," might cause anger in the community, failure to act would cause greater anger. Realities, however difficult, the Star stated, could not be avoided.[29] But the two papers then said nothing about comprehensive desegregation efforts until February 1973. At that point the Kansas City Star noted the difficulty of solving the problems of KCSD in the midst of white flight. The Star noted that the board was "on record as maintaining a neighborhood school policy and the majority says it has no intention of cross-bussing...." The Star urged that other approaches be explored.[30] In March 1973 the Star reiterated the need for some solution that would not further white flight.[31] When the district proposed to bus only from lower to higher socioeconomic level schools, the Star approved. It expressed concern that further flight to the suburbs would result from social integration where middle-class children were sent to low-status schools.[32] But it also supported the KCSD decision to transfer staff to promote staff integration. It urged rapid integration and support for the effort. It also pointed to the failure of North Kansas City, Independence, and Center to join in the effort to promote desegregation.[33] More recently, commenting on HEW's efforts to force compliance with Title VI, the Star noted: "The unfortunate fact remains that the Kansas City School Board is being treated as if it were a laboratory specimen suspended in a vacuum."[34]

The principal minority publication in Kansas City is the Kansas City Call. This paper has taken a consistent line in favor of the maximum possible desegregation. Dr. Jeremiah Cameron, education chairman of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), provides indepth commentary to supplement regular stories and editorials.

There are also many community newspapers and many neighborhood weeklies (mostly shoppers' papers with some comments included). The Kansas City Kansan, a daily which serves Kansas City, Kansas, has had no comment on desegregation. The Independence Examiner reported only press service stories. The Sun newspapers report they have not taken an editorial position on desegregation. Some of the weekly shoppers, such as the southwestern Kansas City Wednesday Magazine, have published articles by local officials hostile to desegregation efforts.

Responses from the Community

The quest for desegregation has often stemmed from pressures by the black community. Following an initial move to desegregate after the Brown decision, black organizations in the Kansas City area sought to speed the process through negotiation rather than litigation. They did not expect desegregation to occur all at once. They were prepared to wait a reasonable amount of time.[35]

During the 1960s, integrated citizens' groups presented several proposals calling for greater desegregation within KCSD. These proposals were ignored. It was not until 1973 that the black community in Kansas City resorted to litigation. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sponsored a lawsuit against KCSD by several individual plaintiffs. It was later dismissed without prejudice. Lack of funds to pursue the case was one reason for dropping it, according to one of the plaintiff's attorneys.[36] After the dismissal of the lawsuit, SCLC sponsored several community meetings to obtain community opinion on school desegregation. These meetings were poorly attended and no further action was taken by SCLC.[37]

Local NAACP chapter action since 1973 has focused on several different fronts. The chapter has received most publicity for its efforts to ensure adequate minority

employment in the school system. Having complained to HEW, it hoped that the KCSD board of education would be forced to change. Dr. Cameron reported that the NAACP did not believe the board would comply with anything less than a direct order for desegregation.[38]

There has been some white middle-class support for desegregation. There is also considerable opposition.

One spokesman for the desegregation forces is Robert Freilich, professor of law at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. He and others have argued for a metropolitan solution. Representatives of some predominantly white groups in the southwestern area of Kansas City, Missouri, have indicated support for maximum desegregation.[39]

Many groups have opposed "involuntary" desegregation. Typical of these are the Van Horn Patrons Association and other Independence citizen and political groups who fought to de-annex the predominantly white, Van Horn attendance area from KCSD and attach it to the Independence, Missouri, school district to avoid desegregation.[40] Another example is a Taxpayers Defense League which called for a vote against a proposed sales tax because some the money would go to the KCSD and could be used for cross-district busing.[41]

Such groups have been supported by area suburban school superintendents. In March 1976 "several superintendents of State school districts came to the capital...to support a resolution opposing long-distance busing for racial integration."[42] Tom Foraker, then superintendent of Hickman Mills, said that he "...opposes busing because it removed children from the close surroundings of their parents and their neighborhoods."[43] Mr. Foraker did not mention that the Hickman Mills district currently buses 85 percent of its students. This contradiction between preference for "neighborhood schools" and quite extensive busing to get children to distant schools is common in the suburbs.

In their study of attitudes toward desegregation, Professors Edwin Bailey and Andrew Darton report that whites were considerably less enthusiastic than blacks about efforts to establish racial balance in the schools.[44] Even when whites were sampled in age groups, at least 71 percent opposed busing.[45] Whites believed the schools were already doing a good job in promoting integration.[46]

White and black people shared the belief that outmigration from the central city was an effort to escape integration.[47] White people were found to oppose racial balancing, while black people were generally in favor.[48] It would appear that whites see the district as "sinking" into desegregation while blacks see little or no progress at all toward effective integration. In the face of such confusion, it is not surprising that signals of support or opposition to further desegregation have been muted.

The Role of Business Groups

The Council on Education and the Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce's education committee are the two chief vehicles through which the business community deals with education issues.

The Council on Education is a structure created by the business community to consider educational problems in the metropolitan area. The council states that it was created to:

> offer a continuity of citizen involvement and support for quality public education in Greater Kansas City....In offering its support, the Council does not seek to usurp or supplant the responsibilities and prerogatives of constituted educational authorities. Rather it wishes to serve in a facilitative, supportive capacity; providing a forum for discussion of educational goals and problems, and cooperating with the interest and efforts of the many groups and individuals concerned with quality education in the Greater Kansas City Area....[49]

Midwest Research Institute outlined for the council an ambitious set of possible activities.[50] In its first year the council has made efforts to change the Missouri school aid formula and to provide greater help for urban districts, offered management training, and sponsored public forums for school board members. It has not yet taken a position on school desegregation.

In April 1976 the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Kansas City published its Report of the 1985 Task Force. The chamber indicates that it is prepared to take a leadership role in correcting deficiencies in the Kansas City central

city school districts. It particularly indicates its concern for improving the quality of education, educational administration, and resources available to the districts. The chamber proposes to explore the possibility of a metropolitan school district as a vehicle to improve both the fiscal and racial characteristics of the Kansas City central city districts.[51]

The Role of HEW and State Education Departments

State and Federal agencies have been constituted to supervise educational standards and to monitor civil rights efforts in education. None of the responsible agencies-HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) or the two State education authorities-have been effective supervisors or monitors of civil rights efforts.

Monitoring Efforts

OCR is authorized to supervise desegregation efforts under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). Under Title VI, OCR must assure the Office of Education that a district is eligible to receive Federal assistance. If a district is found by OCR to be ineligible, it must initiate administrative action to terminate Federal education funds.

Past efforts have been minimal. Federal district court Judges Pratt and Sirica have issued orders requiring that OCR begin effective administration of Title VI. This was necessary because in March 1976, while 84 districts were under review, only 31 had been processed past "Notice of Intention to Initiate Formal Enforcement Proceedings," and only 1 had actually lost Federal funding.[52]

OCR's efforts in Kansas City have followed the national pattern. In 1973 OCR sent a form letter to KCSD asking for data to be used in a Title VI review, but assuring the district no action would be taken if Federal District Court Judge Pratt's order requiring action was reversed on appeal. Only in 1975 did formal proceedings begin. However, OCR has been firm in requiring that ESAA Title VII funds, granted to aid desegregation, not be given until the district does begin to desegregate. The Kansas City Star reported in March 1976 that OCR was contemplating methods whereby it could circumvent the Esch and Byrd amendments which prevent

it from requiring busing as part of any desegregation order.[53]

The Kansas education department's functions are largely mechanical-certification of personnel, accreditation of schools, and allocation of statutorily authorized funds. It has a relatively small staff, smaller than some of the larger school districts it nominally supervises. It has sought to verify the absence of discrimination, where monitoring was mandated by Federal law. It has not played any part in desegregation efforts.

Supervisory Efforts

The Spainhower Commission in its report to the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission, asserted that:

> Education is recognized as a function of the State. As a result, the State legislature, subject to constitutional provisions, has the authority to establish, maintain and regulate schools....School districts are purely creatures of the State and as such have no inherent powers.[54]

The Missouri Legislature has vested the responsibility for carrying out the education policies of the State in the board of elementary and secondary education, its commissioner, and its department.[55]

The commissioner takes a more restrictive view of the role his department can play. He writes that he cannot specify the influence of the department over the local boards of education "because the department does not control [their] day-to-day operations or policies." He states that the department has "encouraged all local school districts...to comply with court decisions regarding desegregation." The department will furnish technical assistance in designing desegregation plans "when requested by a school district."[56]

The State arguably could desegregate metropolitan area schools by compelling reorganization of the area districts into a single district. But the department has asserted that it could do so only as the consequence of a court order, as in the Kinloch case. The department claims that reorganization could be mandated by the county board of

education,[57] but a member of the Jackson County Board of Education in the 1960s reported that since reorganization has been completed, the county board no longer initiates plans. Were the county board to act, he reports, it would do so on directive from the State board of education.[58] There is apparent confusion over the ultimate responsibility for ordering changes which might reduce racial isolation.

Summary

While it is true that agencies take their cue from the elected officials to whom they report, they nonetheless can exert considerable leadership by force of their expertise and sharing of information. As regards school desegregation in metropolitan Kansas City, none of the authoritative agencies has indicated much interest. The Office for Civil Rights had to be compelled by a Federal judge in Washington to pursue desegregation in KCSD. The Kansas Department of Education lacks sufficient power to compel desegregation. The position of the Missouri department is ambiguous. It has eschewed any interposition in the Kansas City problem, despite having been compelled by the court to similar activities in the Kinloch case.

Inaction by these agencies has deprived the local districts of an incentive to address the issues of quality integrated education.

Actions of the School Districts

In both central cities legal or administrative actions have been brought by the Federal Government against the school districts for their failure to dismantle segregated school systems. Decisions are awaited from an administrative law proceeding initiated by HEW against the Kansas City, Missouri, School District and a Federal district court action against the Kansas City, Kansas, Unified School District 500 by the U.S. Department of Justice.

The records in both cases have a common theme. They contain allegations by the Federal Government that the districts pursued policies which perpetuated segregation or encouraged resegregation. The school districts attempted to rebut the charges by alleging that environmental and administrative circumstances prevented the schools from achieving desegregation.

Both districts are charged with drawing school attendance boundaries in ways that maintained or established segregated schools. The Federal Government contends that alternatives existed which would have reduced racial isolation. The districts contend that geographic or demographic factors required the option selected.

Both districts are charged with transporting students in ways that maintained or established segregated schools. Again, the districts respond by contending that sound administrative practice dictated the option selected.

Both districts are accused of constructing schools in locations which created new segregated schools. Both districts claim they constructed schools only where population expansion required additional capacity. Both districts asserted that they should not be blamed for housing decisions which were beyond the control of school authorities.

The Federal Government indicated several options, including some which had originated in the school districts, that if implemented would have decreased racial isolation. Both boards contended that the prospect of white flight made such plans unacceptable and unworkable.

In short, in the face of accusations that the two districts had violated the law by maintaining segregated school systems, the districts chose to respond by insisting that desegregation was not feasible. Fear of white flight, reliance on "uncontrollable forces" such as housing patterns, and administrative neutrality are offered as explanations for policies that created or maintained segregation. It was easier to avoid hard options with prospects for effective desegregation by choosing soft options which maintained racial isolation.

Summary

The degree of support by political and civic leaders for quality integrated education is difficult to evalute when no formal desegregation plans exist. Local officials cannot be criticized too severely for failing to take a stand for a controversial issue that was presented hypothetically. Local institutions of higher learning have kept themselves clear of the desegregation controversy. Federal and State education authorities have stood on the

sidelines while the two central city school boards either struggled with, or struggled to avoid, the legal implications of racial isolation. Suburban districts have ignored the problem. The major metropolitan daily newspapers have given coverage both to national and local desegregation matters. Business leaders have bemoaned the erosion of the central city school district, but have taken no stand on desegregation.

The observer is left only with a brace of might-have-beens. Had KCSD been allowed to expand along with the city's annexations, a better racial and socioeconomic mix might well have resulted. State school aid formulas more sensitive to concentrated poverty could have been provided. More aggressive Federal monitoring 10 years ago could have mitigated the need for the current push. But hindsight is of course so much easier. The need for leadership continues to grow more critical.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Sources: U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, May 1976, 122 Congressional Record, June 18, 1976, pp. S9937-38.

2. Ibid., p. 2; See also, U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract, p. 21, table 22. An SMSA or "standard metropolitan statistical area" is ordinarily defined as a" county or group of contiguous counties...which contains at least one central city of 50,000 inhabitants or twin cities with a combined population of at least 50, 000."

3. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC(1)-series, 1972.

4. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law (August 1976), p. 155 (hereafter cited as School Deseqreqation).

5. Office for Civil Rights, Director Peter Holmes to the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, memorandum entitled "Busing Limitations of Federal Law," Sept. 18, 1975.

6. Focus-Midwest, Vol. 11, no. 68, p. 4.

7. U.S., Congress, Senate, 94th Congr., 1st sess., Congressional Record, vol. 121., no. 127, pp. S-15154-56, 93rd Conq., 2nd. sess, Congressional Record, vol. 120, no. 139.

8. U.S., Congress, House, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record, 8267-8268 no. 41, and Kansas City Kansan, Mar. 28, 1974.

9. Richard L. Bond, member of Representative Winn's staff, telephone interview, Sept. 1, 1976.

10. U.S., Congress, Senate, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record, vol. 122, no. 75, S7603-7604.

11. Congressman Richard Bolling, letter to staff, July 22, 1975.

12. Kansas City Times, Jan. 27, 1976.

13. Kansas City Times, Aug. 7, 1974.

14. Kansas City Star, Aug. 4, 1974.

15. Kansas City Star, July 12, 1974.

16. Kansas City Star, July 23, 1974.

17. Kansas City Times, Aug. 20, 1975.

18. Ibid.

19. Kansas City Star, Nov. 21, 1974, and June 27, 1975.

20. School Desegregation, pp. 155ff.

21. Milliken v. Bradley, 94 S. Ct. 3132 (1974).

22. Washington Star, Dec. 5, 1975.

23. Vernon F. Haubrich, A Comparative and Developmental Study of the Effects of Desegregation in Selected Public Schools (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1972), pp. 114ff. This report was presented at the Conference on Urban Education in Kansas City in 1975.

24. Nancy H. St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children (New York: Wiley, 1975), pp. 120-121.

25. Ibid.; see also, Meyer Weinberg and others, Three Myths (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1976), pp. 15-17.

26. St. John, School Desegregation; Outcomes, pp. 121,124.

27. Daniel U. Levine, "Racial and Socioeconomic Balance in Big City Schools" (background paper for the Urban Observatory Housing Study Personnel, February 1975), pp. 5ff.

28. Kansas City Star, May 24, 1976; Kansas City Times, June 24, 1976.

29. Kansas City Star, May 2, 1969.

30. Kansas City Star, Feb. 28, 1973.

31. Kansas City Star, Mar. 21, 1973.

32. Kansas City Star, Apr. 14, 1973.

33. Kansas City Star, July 21, 1973.

34. Kansas City Star, Apr. 19, 1976.

35. Dr. J. Cameron, interview in Kansas City, July 21, 1976.

36. Kansas City Call, Feb. 8, 1974.

37. Kansas City Times, Mar. 11, 1974.

38. Dr. J. Cameron, interview in Kansas City, July 21, 1976.

39. Concerned parents from Border Star, Bryant, Hale Cook, Marborough, Nelson, Nichols, Ruhl, Bingham Junior High and Southwest Senior High schools, "Position Paper", Aug. 30, 1973 (mimeograph).

40. Kansas City Times, July 19, 1974. See also Position Memorandum of Van Horn Patrons Association, Inc. Independence, Mo., Summer 1974 (Xerox).

41. Joe Enright, a member of the Taxpayer Defense League, Kansas City, Mo.

42. Kansas City Star, Mar. 31, 1976.

43. Ibid.

44. E. Bailey and A. Darton, Problem Recognition, Exploration and Prioritizing Project (Kansas City, 1976), p. 45.

45. Ibid., p. 52.

46. Ibid., p. 56.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 45.

49. Midwest Research Institute, Council on Education (Kansas City: Midwest Research Institute, Jan. 31, 1975), p. 1.

50. Ibid, pp. 13ff.

51. Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Report of the 1985 Task Force (Kansas City, 1976), pp. 14-19.

52. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Status of Title VI Compliance, Interagency Report, Cumulative List No. 336 (Mar. 4, 1976). See St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 16, 1976, and, Brown v. Weinberger, Memorandum and Order (July 20, 1976), pp. 9ff.

53. Kansas City Star, Mar. 7, 1976.

54. Missouri School District Reorganization Commission, School District Organization for Missouri: A Plan to Provide Equal Access to Educational Opportunity for All Children (November 1968), pp. 55ff.

55. VAMS 161.092(2).

56. Arthur Mallory, Missouri Commissioner of Education, letter to staff, Apr. 20, 1976.

57. John Alberty, coordinator of the Division of Administration, Missouri State Board of Education, interview in Jefferson City, Mo., July 16, 1974.

58. Edgar Hatfield, member of the Jackson County Board of Education, interview in Kansas City, July 19, 1974.

V. THE IMPACT OF RACIALLY ISOLATED HOUSING

Both central school districts when challenged by the Federal Government for practicing de jure segregation have responded by blaming racial isolation in the schools on racially isolated housing. The Bi-State Committee reviewed the evidence for these assertions. It found that there was racial isolation in housing. This was caused by Federal, State, and local actions or neglect, as well as by the activities of the real estate and banking industries.

Public Sector Housing

Governments at all levels have exercised great leverage on housing built with or subsidized by public funds. Adverse comments by local recipients of community development funds can persuade the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to direct low income housing away from suburban areas.[1] Yet none of the levels of government used its powers to prevent the concentration of housing for the poor (and hence for many minorities). Only with the decision of Gautreaux v. Hills (1976), did the court assert the principle that HUD has a responsibility to ensure dispersal within the jurisdiction of the local housing authority. But as long ago as 1963 in Executive Order 11063 President John Kennedy ordered that there be no discrimination in Federal housing programs. Although the Executive order has been superseded by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (forbidding the use of Federal funds in a discriminatory manner)[2] and the Housing Act of 1968 (prohibiting racial discrimination in the sale or rental of virtually all housing),[3] the neighborhoods of the Nation, including the Kansas City area, remain heavily segregated. National studies continually find Kansas City ranked very high among cities with patterns of residential segregation.

The housing over which the Federal Government has most control is that for which specific subsidies either by grant or loan guarantee are provided and for which prior plans must be submitted. Table 5.1 shows that HUD and the Kansas City Public Housing Authority have been glaringly ineffectual in providing for racially integrated housing projects.

The extent of racial isolation can be seen even more clearly from table 5.2. This compares those sites that are

racially heterogeneous with the total number of sites. It is clear that only a small fraction of federally financed sites have been integrated and that most of those are in the central cities.

State and local governments have been equally ineffective. The Bi-State Committee found no evidence that successful efforts had been made to disperse minorities. The Missouri Housing Development Commission had commitments to only 1,052 units in Kansas City Metropolitan Region (KCMR) as of January 1976. A significant portion of these was to be located in impacted areas; e.g., in Kansas City, Missouri, near to the Wayne Minor housing project. Half of the Kansas City area units were to be located in the Kansas City School District (KCSD).[4]

Neither central city housing authority has made efforts to provide varied opportunities for its clients. The Kansas City, Kansas, housing authority has admitted it did not consider the potential of racial isolation in choosing locations for new low-income projects. Only two of the eight Kansas City, Missouri, low-income public housing projects have ethnically balanced clienteles. Only one-seventh of Kansas City, Missouri's, scattered public housing is located outside of the KCSD. Many suburban governments have assisted this practice of containment by not establishing local housing authorities to build their own low-income public housing.

Where construction of public projects required relocation of minority residents, none of the levels of government have taken steps to ensure opportunity for integrated housing. The Federal efforts are the subject of current litigation.[5] Urban renewal in Independence drove blacks from a potentially integrated community back into a segregated central city community.[6] The Bi-State Committee found that redevelopment under the Missouri State urban redevelopment laws displaced minorities with public buildings or luxury high-rise apartments rather than with low-income housing.[7]

Quite apart from specific acts that had discriminatory effects, the various levels of government by failing to use available powers have worsened the housing imbalances. Most have provided low-income housing only for the elderly and not for families. The Federal Government's role in approving and funding programs of local governments who

refused to provide such housing should not be overlooked, nor was HUD ignorant of the circumstances. Table 5.3 shows the units of housing construction for low- to moderate-income families and multifamily housing (207 multifamily units are for any income range) approved by HUD. To allow the bulk of such housing in the central cities while placing high-income housing in the suburbs magnified the problem.

Federal inaction is even more apparent in Section 8 housing, the largest of the current Federal programs. Table 5.4 shows that HUD allowed Johnson County suburbs to provide grossly inadequate numbers of units of family housing (for which minority families might be eligible), while allowing large numbers of units for the elderly, the vast majority of whose occupants will be white.

HUD generally allowed too little construction in the suburbs to absorb even a small portion of the minorities who might be relocated from central city racial isolation. At the same time, it has provided large sums of Federal funds for water and sewer systems to these suburban cities. Under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, cities now receive large block grants, which can be used as the cities see fit. The amount of the grant is derived from a mathematical formula based on the extent of poverty and the extent of housing overcrowding.[8] The stated primary objective of the act is to provide decent housing, a suitable environment, and expanding economic opportunities, principally for persons of low and moderate income.[9] A recent study of eight cities, however, indicates that citizen participation in housing programs has diminished under the new law and that minorities and low-income persons are receiving fewer benefits than before.[10]

Local governments have participated in the continuation of racial concentration by failing to allow low-income housing for families to be built outside the areas of racial isolation. Only 12 of the 79 local governments in the metropolitan area have established the housing authorities that are prerequisite to public housing construction. Many suburbs, most notably Overland Park, have not established such authorities, thereby preventing the construction of public housing in their areas.[11]

The Federal Government, through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA),

has a considerable investment in private, single-family development through its insurance programs.

The Federal Government intervened initially during the Depression to prevent the collapse of the housing market. One of the major instruments chosen to accomplish this goal- the mortgage insurance program of the FHA - eventually became a key factor in fostering the growth of the suburbs. By eliminating the risks to lenders of extending mortage loans, the Federal Government was able to induce financial institutions to provide favorable terms, including lower down payments and interest rates and longer periods of repayment, which brought standard housing within the reach of many millions of Americans. In doing so, however, the FHA was impelled to adopt guidelines for financial institutions, which would help to protect the soundness of the Federal investment. The document containing these standards, the FHA Underwriting Manual of 1938 stated baldly the Federal Government's policy toward housing opportunities for minorities and racial desegregation. To qualify for mortgage insurance, new subdivisions had to protect against influences that would adversely affect the soundness of the project and "Important among adverse influences...are the following: Infiltration of inharmonious racial or nationally groups."[12]

To guard against these influences, the manual prescribed the "enforcement of proper zoning regulations and appropriate deed restrictions," thus placing the Federal stamp of approval on racially restrictive covenants. Indeed among the detailed concerns of the FHA about preserving racial homogeneity was one of particular interest. Even if the subdivision itself excluded "inharmonious racial groups,"

> ...if the children of people living in such an a;a area are compelled to attend school where the majority or a goodly number of the pupils represent a far lower level of society or incompatible racial element, the neighborhood under consideration will prove far less stable than if this condition did not exist.[13]

The FHA-prescribed remedy for this "evil" was interesting: assign children to schools outside of their neighborhood in order to preserve racial and class segregation.

Table 5.1

Federally-Financed Housing
by Location, Program and Ethnic Group, December 1975
(in family occupancy)

	Scattered Site		Turnkey		LPHR		202		207		220	
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Kansas City, Kans.	74	74	336	214	1,104	846	151	46	19	7		
Kansas City, Mo.	251	124	193	118	1,785	1,433	264	156	126	6	585	75
Jackson (except KCMo)					196	40			178	29		
Clay					189	8			305	11		
Platte									41	0		
Wyandotte (except KCK)					20	15			189	0		
Johnson					45	3			347	7		

T=Total
M=Minority
*See Table 5.6 for a list of the programs HUD finances and descriptions.

Source: Data supplied by HUD.

Table 5.1 (continued)

	608		232		231		221d(3)		236		224	
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Kansas City, Kans.	313	95	96	92			1,138	453	662	296	262	90
Kansas City, Mo.	1,057	77			761	43	3,005	1,473	1,887	1,303		
Jackson (except KCMo)	48	0	81	2	234	1	1,125	20	173	65	864	40
Clay							545	13	523	40	437	18
Platte							53	0	150	5		
Wyandotte (except KCK)												
Johnson					213		358	12	224	14	386	9

T=Total
M=Minority
*See Table 5.6 for a list of the programs HUD finances and descriptions.

Source: Data supplied by HUD.

Table 5.2

Federally-Financed Housing Sites
with at Least 20% and Not More than 80%
Minority by Comparison with All Sites.

	KCK	KCMo	Johnson	Wyandotte	Jackson	Clay	Platte
No. within 20% - 80%	16	14	0	1	1	0	0
Total No. of Sites	44	91	10	2	45	23	4

Source: Data supplied by HUD

Table 5.3

Housing Construction
Assisted by HUD, FY 1976
(numbers of units)

Location	236 Program low-income housing	207 Program multifamily units
Clay	580	284
Jackson County Suburbs	720	438
Platte	285	---
Johnson County	325	232
Wyandotte (KCK)	605	---
Kansas City, Mo.	2,415	250
Kansas City, Kans.	268	---

Source: HUD Regional Office

Table 5.4

Section 8 Housing (FY 1974-76)
(units of accomodation)

	Family	Elderly
Clay County	47	170
Jackson County (excluding KC)	485	66
Kansas City	497	351
Platte County	5	25
Johnson County	24	198

Source: HUD Regional Office

The consequence of these policies was not only to promote the development of new segregated neighborhoods, but to exclude blacks and other minorities from opportunities for homeownership. The policies declared by the manual were continued explicitly until the late 1940s. Encouragement of the use of racially restrictive covenants was not dropped until after the Supreme Court ruled such covenants unenforceable as a violation of the 14th amendment.[14] By that time, the practices of the housing industry and the Federal Government were well entrenched. FHA was a dominant factor in the mortgage market, insuring almost half of all loans for new housing, and from World War II until 1959, it was estimated that only 2 percent of this housing was occupied by blacks.[15] As late as 1966 there was evidence that FHA allowed discrimination in the sale of its own properties.[16] Even as late as 1975 there is little evidence of HUD-sponsored [17] The bulk of its housing was concentrated in the central cities.[18] Less than 5 percent of HUD's minority occupants were located outside of these areas.[19] Only 3.2 percent of VA-supported loans went to minority persons moving into Johnson County.[20]

It is clear that public funds supervised by public agencies have supported or at least perpetuated racially homogeneous neighborhoods.

Private Sector Housing

Housing owned by public bodies makes up only a small proportion of the available accomodations. Most families, including poor families, rely on the private sector, either as homeowners or renters. While HUD insures a substantial portion of such housing, the prime administrators are the real estate and banking industries. Both have participated in the creation and maintenance of racially isolated communities.

The Housing Information Center reports that discrimination remains common in the rental market to which many minorities are confined. Only in 1970 did J.C. Nichols Company issue a firm reminder to its agents that all rental property was to be shown and let on a nondiscriminatory basis.[21]

The real estate industry has used various techniques to prevent minority housing choices throughout the area. Prior to 1947 (and the Supreme Court's ruling in Shelley v.

Kraemer) restrictive covenants forbade sale to minority groups and prevented blacks, Jews, and others from purchasing homes in most sections of the city. As the black population was able to move southward and eastward, real estate agents used blockbusting to ensure that neighborhoods moved swiftly from segregated white through integrated to segregated black. This was done because the transactions were profitable to the industry both as a source of commission and as a basis for property speculation.[22] The local board of realtors successfully opposed fair housing laws until the passage of the 1968 Federal fair housing law.[23] The Bi-State Committee's 1973 report, Balanced Housing Development in Kansas City, documents the perpetuation of a dual housing market. Whites are steered by white real estate agents away from potentially desirable integrated neighborhoods into the virtually all-white suburbs. Black real estate agents lack connections to the white suburban properties, and white real estate agents steer black customers away from them.[24]

Lending institutions contributed to the maintenance of racial isolation. For many years Douglass State Bank (a minority-owned bank) was the only source of conventional mortgage money for minorities.[25] The lenders cooperated with HUD policies that provided mortage money for minorities, but only for housing within minority neighborhoods.[26] At present, most banks and savings and loans are still unwilling to reinvest in central city neighborhoods-a sine qua non to their racial reintegration.[27]

Local and State governments have become parties to the maintenance of racial isolation through their failure to establish building regulations that might make movement of minorities within the private sector possible. Restrictive zoning that stipulates minimum lot sizes or prohibits high density construction effectively bars much private low- and moderate-income development.[28] States have the power to prevent the enactment of such zoning regulations. Local governments can withdraw them now that it is clear such laws have no economic or social validity.[29] Yet no such action has been taken.

The Prevention of Discrimination In The Housing Market

There are Federal, State, and local laws that prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. These have not been enforced.

In its Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort studies, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has documented the failure of HUD to enforce the 1968 Fair Housing Act, as amended.[30]

Both Kansas and Missouri have State fair housing laws administered by State human rights commissions. The Kansas Commission on Civil Rights has a full range of statutory powers to deal with complaints but it cannot initiate pattern and practice investigations that might result in significant action.[31] The Missouri Human Rights Commission has similar powers.[32]

The two central cities both have fair housing laws. Frustration over the city ordinance in Kansas City, Kansas, led to revision in March 1976.[33] The complex administration of the Kansas City, Missouri, law has rendered it virtually inoperable.[34]

While the failure of the central cities to promote fair housing within their boundaries intensified racial isolation, its maintenance is due also to the inaction of suburban governments. Table 5.5 demonstrates that whether they have fair housing laws or not, suburban governments have failed to enforce equal housing opportunity. In April 1970, the Overland Park Fair Housing Committee refused to initiate an investigation of discrimination in housing.[35] In these circumstances, the low proportions of minority residents in the suburbs are hardly surprising.[36]

Summary

Racially isolated neighboods make racially integrated neighborhood schools less possible. The actions and inactions of all participants in the housing industry have encouraged and maintained practices that make isolation possible, indeed inevitable. Despite recent lawmaking activity, only significant changes in the way housing is provided can appreciably reduce the extent of isolation. In the absence of such efforts, an increased burden is placed

on the schools-which must by law be conducted on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Table 5.5

Fair Housing Laws and their Administration in the Suburbs

Municipality	Local ordinance	Method of administration	Level of activity
Blue Springs	No		
Fairway	No		
Gladstone	No		
Grandview	No		
Independence	Yes (1974)		
Leawood	Yes (1974)	Delegation to Johnson County Human Relations Commission (JCHRC)	none--no power to receive complaints
Lee's Summit	Yes (1976)	Via Human Relations Commission	passed--February 1976 none yet
Lenexa	No	Delegation to JCHRC	
Liberty	Yes (1968)	Via Human Relations Commission	none reported
Mission Hills	No		
Merriam	Yes (1969)	Inactive	
North Kansas City	No		
Olathe	Yes	HRC has no power of enforcement. Can only refer complaint to city prosector	1 case--nolo contendere 3--referred to KCCR in last year
Overland Park	No	Delegation to JCHRC	Inactive
Prarie Village	Yes	Open occupancy commitee	
Parkville	Yes	Via Mayor and Council	None
Raytown	No		
Shawnee	No	Delegation to JCHRC	

Note: Jurisdictions in Johnson County, Kans., are also covered by the activities of the Johnson County Human Relations Commission under an agreement worked out by the Johnson County Council of Mayors. While this Commission can do studies, it has no powers to investigate complaints, or enforce nondiscrimination.

Source: Local ordinances.

Table 5.6

Major Housing Related Programs That Have Been Administered by the Federal Housing Administration

TITLE I: Urban Renewal. Loans and grants to assist communities undertaking programs for the elimination and prevention of slums and blight. Federal share 2/3 of net project cost. (Housing Act of 1949)

TITLE I: Property Improvement. FHA insurance for loans to repair or improve property. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

TITLE IV: New Communities. Guarantee of financing. (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968)

TITLE VIII: Fair Housing. Provides protection against acts of discrimination in housing based on race, color, religion, or national origin. (Civil Rights Act of 1968)

TITLE X: Land Development and New Communities. FHA mortgage-insurance financing for purchase of land and site preparation for housing. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 106: Low- and Moderate-Income Housing Projects. Financial aid to nonprofit sponsors for planning and developing. Interest free loan. (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968)

SECTION 108: New Technologies. Development of new technologies in the development of housing for lower-income families and mortgage insurance to finance the housing. (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968)

SECTION 112: Colleges and Hospitals. Credit as local grants-in-aid to urban renewal may be allowed communities for expenditures by such institutions. (Housing Act of 1949)

SECTION 115: Housing Rehabilitation in Urban Renewal and Certain Other Areas. Grants for rehabilitation of owner-occupied homes and related property up to $3,500 through urban renewal agencies. Often combined with loans under Section 312 loan. (Housing Act of 1949)

SECTION 116: Demolition of Unsafe Structures and Rat Harborages. Grants, not to exceed 2/3 of the cost of demolition. (Housing Act of 1949)

SECTION 117: Concentrated Code Enforcement. Grants for 2/3 to 3/4 of cost of housing inspection and limited rehabilitation and clearance in project areas threatened with, but not currently, blighted.

SECTION 118: Interim Assistance Program. Grants for 2/3 to 3/4 of cost of various environmental improvement and public service measures in blighted areas needing urban renewal but unable to secure such funding in the immediate future. (Housing Act of 1949)

SECTION 202: Rental Housing for the Elderly and Handicapped. Direct loans. Three percent direct Federal loan to non-profit organization. (Housing Act of 1959)

SECTION 202: Community Facilities. Loans. (Housing Amendments of 1955)

SECTION 203(b): Construction or Purchase of One- to Four-Family Homes. FHA mortgage-insurance financing up to $30,000 for single-family houses; higher limits for two- to four-family houses. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 203(b): Purchase of Mobile Homes. FHA mortgage-insurance financing up to $10,000 for 12 years for purchase of a mobile home. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 203(i): Construction or Purchase of Homes in Outlying Areas. FHA mortgage-insurance financing up to $13,500. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 203(k): Repair of Homes Not in Urban Renewal Area. Insurance of loans. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 207: Construction or Purchase of Multifamily Rental Housing Projects. FHA morgage-insurance financing up to $20 million for private mortgagors and $50 million for public mortgagors. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 207: Construction or Purchase of Mobile Home Courts. FHA mortgage-insurance financing up to $1 million for private mortgagors. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 207: Housing for Low-Income Families, Including the Handicapped. Grants for demonstration of new or improved

means of providing housing. Market Interest Rates. (Housing Act of 1961)

SECTION 213: Cooperative Housing Projects. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 220: Construction or Rehabilitation of Housing in Urban Renewal Areas. FHA insured-mortgage and insured-loan financing. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 220(h): Repair and Rehabilitation of Homes and Multifamily Housing in Urban Renewal and Code Enforcement Areas. Insurance on loans. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221: New or Rehabilitated Homes and Rental Housing for Displaced families or Low- or Moderate-Income Families. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(d)(2): Construction, Rehabilitation, or Purchase of Homes. FHA mortgage-insurance financing for families displaced by governmental action and for other low- and moderate-income families. Market Interest Rates and $200 down payment. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(d)(3): Construction or Rehabilitation of Multifamily Housing for Low- and Moderate-Income Families. FHA mortgage-insurance financing for rental or cooperative housing. Market Interest Rates or Below Market Interest Rate loans at 3 percent. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(d)(4): Housing Projects for Moderate-Income Families and Families Displaced by Governmental Action. FHA mortgage-insurance financing at market rate of interest. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(h): Rehabilitation of Homes by Nonprofit Sponsors for Resale to Low-Income Families. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. Below Market Interest Rates 1-3 percent. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(i): Conversion of Section 221(d)(3) Below Market Interest Rate Rental Projects to Condominium Ownership. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 221(j): Conversion of Section 221(d)3 Below Market Interest Rate Rental Projects to Cooperative Ownership. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 222: Construction or Purchase of Homes by Servicemen. FHA mortgage-insurance financing up to $30,000. Mortgage-insurance premiums paid by Department of Defense, or, in the case of Coast Guard personnel, by Department of Transportation. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 231: Construction or Rehabilitation of Multifamily Housing for the Elderly or Handicapped. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 232: Construction or Rehabilitation of Nursing Homes. FHA mortgage-insurance financing--mortgage may include nursing home equipment. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 233: Experimental Housing that Incorporates New or Untried Materials and Techniques. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 234: Purchase of an Individual Unit in a Condominium or Construction of a Condominium Project. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. Market Interest Rates. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 235: Homeownership for Lower-Income Families. FHA mortgage-insurance financing, with interest-assistance payments by FHA to the mortgagee on behalf of the homeowner. Subsidy down to 1 percent interest or housing cost of 20 percent of resident's income. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 235(j): Homeownership Rehabilitation. FHA mortgage insurance financing, with interest-assistance payments by FHA to the mortgagee on behalf of the homeowner purchasing a dwelling owned and rehabilitated by the project sponsor. Subsidy down to 1 percent interest or housing cost of 20 percent of owner's income. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 236: Construction or Rehabilitation of Multifamily Housing Projects for Lower-Income Families. FHA mortgage-insurance financing, with interest-assistance payments by FHA to the mortgagee on behalf of the mortgagor. Subsidy down to 1 percent interest or housing cost of 25 percent of resident's income. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 237: Mortgage Insurance and Counseling Program for Persons Unable to Obtain Home Mortgage Financing Because of Poor Credit Histories or Irregular Income Patterns. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 240: Fee-Simple Title to Land on Which Owner's Home is Located. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 301: Study of Housing and Building Codes, Zoning, Tax Policies, and Development Standards. (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965)

SECTION 312: Rehabilitation Loans in Urban Renewal and Certain Other Areas. Loans for owners or tenants of homes or business properties. Direct loans at 3 percent interest through Urban Renewal agencies. Often combined with Section 115 grant. (Housing Act of 1964)

SECTION 314: Urban Renewal Demonstration Projects. Grants. (Housing Act of 1954)

SECTION 608 (inactive): World War II and Veterans' Rental Housing. Mortgage-insurance. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 701: Comprehensive Planning. Grants to State, areawide and local agencies for 2/3 cost of comprehensive planning program. (Housing Act of 1954)

SECTION 702: Public Works Planning. Advances. (Housing Act of 1954)

SECTION 803--also referred to as "Title VIII": Military (Capehart) Housing. Mortgage-insurance. (National Housing Act)

SECTION 809 and 810: Construction of Housing for Civilian and Military Personnel on or near Military, Department of Defense, NASA or AEC Installations. FHA mortgage-insurance financing. (National Housing Act)

Notes To Chapter V

1. There are 11 entitlement communities in the Kansas City SMSA which receive community development funds under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Pub. L. 93-383 (1974). These communities must under 42 U.S.C. §5304(a)(4) submit as part of this application a "Housing Assistance Plan" which inter alia "assesses the housing assistance needs of lower income persons...residing in or expected to reside in the community...." HUD is required to give these communities an opportunity to comment on the consistency of proposals for construction of low-income housing within the municipal jurisdiction with the respective Housing Assistance Plan not later than 10 days after receipt of such an application. 42 U.S.C. §1439(a)(1)

2. 42 U.S.C. 200(b) (1964).

3. 42 U.S.C. 3601 et seq. (1970).

4. Mid-America Regional Council, Status Report on State Role in Housing in Kansas City Metropolitan Region (February 1976), pp. 34f.

5. Duke v. HUD, C.A. no. 75 CV 63-w-1.

6. Kansas and Missouri State Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Balanced Housing Development in Kansas City (November 1973), p. 33 (hereafter cited as Balanced Housing); See also: Adams v. HUD. et al., CA no. 74 CV 468 w.-1 (1975).

7. Balanced Housing, p. 32.

8. Michigan State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, (June 1976), p. 5.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 55ff., 125-126.

11. Jerry Riffle, Kansas City Legal Aid Society, telephone interview, Sept. 2, 1976.

12. The FHA provisions for 1935 and subsequent years are included as exhibits in Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond, 338 F. Supp. 67, 215(1972).

13. Ibid.

14. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1(1948).

15. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Housing, book 4 (1961), p. 63.

16. Regional Health and Welfare Council, Equal Opportunity in Housing Kansas City, Mo., (1971), p. 68 (xerox) (hereafter cited as EOH).

17. Balanced Housing, p. 20. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has attested to the accuracy of this data.

18. Data supplied by U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and by Veterans Administration. The data is on file with U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Information from the files of the Housing Information Center of Kansas City.

22. EOH, p. 67.

23. Ibid., pp. 30ff.

24. Balanced Housing, pp. 28ff.

25. EOH, pp. 12, 18.

26. U.S., Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, De Facto Segregation and Housing Discrimination, 92nd. Cong., 1st. sess., Aug. 25, 1970, p. 2755. See also EOH, pp. 18, 40.

27. Kansas City Star, June 29, 1975, and Oct. 5, 1975.

28. Robert Freilich, untitled, n.p., undated pp. 1-2. Manuscript is on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Central States Regional Office.

29. Robert Freilich and others, Freedom of Choice in Housing: The Impact of Restrictions in Kansas City Metropolitan Region. Kansas City., Mo. (Sept. 27, 1971), pp. 1ff, 8ff, 19 (Xerox). See also, Real Estate Research Corporation, The Cost of Sprawl, Environmental and Economic Costs of Alternative Residential Development Patterns at the Urban Fringe (1974).

30. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort-1974, vol. II.

31. KSA 44-1015 to 1019.

32. RSMo., Chapter 213.

33. Carl Wilkes, housing specialist, Kansas City, Kans., Human Relations Commission, telephone interview, Sept. 7, 1976.

34. Chris Lopez, human relations specialist, Kansas City, Mo., Human Relations Commission, telephone interview, Sept. 7, 1976.

35. Information from the files of the Housing Information Center of Kansas City.

36. Balanced Housing, pp. 5ff.

VI. ROOTS of the PROBLEM

After devoting considerable energy to the study of public education in greater Kansas City, this Bi-State Committee sees no cause whatsoever for optimism. The Kansas City area suffers all the problems of separate and unequal opportunities that characterize metropolitan America; but here the Kansas-Missouri border makes an equitable, and therefore lasting, remedy much more difficult.

In housing, as an earlier study of ours indicated,[1] separate, unequal opportunities are virtually ensured by the interaction of public and private institutions. Zoning commissions, real estate brokers, mortgage lenders, and others ensure by their activities that low-income housing, predominantly for minority consumers, is concentrated in inner-city areas. New suburban housing development is reserved almost exclusively for affluent whites.

The whole process of separate, unequal opportunity has been underwritten by Federal action. Federal funds have routed expressways through central city areas, destabilizing established communities in order to provide suburbanites with fast transportation to downtown jobs. Federal funds gave water lines and sewers to the suburbs, thus making large scale development possible. This in turn helped to drive up the cost of suburban land beyond the reach of low and moderate income persons. The Federal Housing Administration openly supported racially segregative residential patterns in cities and suburbs well into the 1950s. By granting mortgage insurance for new higher-income housing developments in the outer areas, it continues to support those trends. Conversely, nearly all low-incomes units, especially public housing, are concentrated in inner-city minority neighborhoods.

Inequality and separateness are intensified by a third corollary, municipal overburden. By providing services that surrounding suburbs need not provide-often because suburban constituents can make use of existing central city institutions-cities end up with a disproportionate per capita financial burden. For example, tax-exempt institutions such as hospitals, churches, government complexes, and cultural facilities are usually concentrated in central cities. City streets, which receive more commercial and nonresident traffic than suburban cul-de-sacs, require costly maintenance that is not recompensed.

In some instances, libraries, recreational facilities, and museums are municipal institutions not replicated by suburbs. The same holds true for water treatment plants, sewage facilities, and garbage disposal.

The higher costs incurred by a central city in providing services to the whole community are compounded by its reduced revenue sources. Relatively low values of older real property, the concentration of tax-exempt facilities, and the preponderance of low revenue, high service citizens all combine to make the city less than attractive to residents. Newcomers to the area choose to locate in suburbs. Affluence and federally funded highways drew shopping centers to suburban fringes, attracting businesses from the central cities. Industries have moved out of the downtown area to industrial parks rendered more convenient by Federal highways. The transfer of resources, together with the retention of high-cost, low-income residents has been devastating for central cities.

In the case of Kansas City, Missouri, municipal overburden and the concentration of poverty intersect most devastatingly in the realm of public education. For, while the city itself has annexed large tracts of developable land and thus has many suburban characteristics, the Kansas City, Missouri, School District (KCSD) has taken on an increasingly inner-city nature. It has lost many of its affluent students, white and black alike. Unlike the city, it was prohibited from expanding its boundaries by a 1963 State law specifically directed at KCSD. Compared to its suburban neighbors, KCSD has the oldest buildings, the most educationally disadvantaged students, the highest costs, and the poorest reputation. Kansas City, Kansas (KCK), district's position is less difficult in some ways because it was allowed to annex some middle-class areas as they joined the city but it also faces extreme problems related to municipal overburden and financial overload because it serves a very low-income population.

The high load of problems and poor reputation of KCK and KCSD are responsible for most of the pessimism in this report. This Committee could find no hard evidence that any of the more than 20 area school districts is delivering significantly higher quality education than the others. The outputs (academic achievement level, college attendance rate, dropout rate, etc.) of schools in the Kansas City metropolitan area, as elsewhere in the Nation, reflect the

economic characteristics of their students more than the "quality" of their instructional program. We could find no evidence that schools with higher outputs provided better instruction; these schools did, however, have relatively few economically disadvantaged students. Neither were we able to discern that these schools were doing more than low-performing schools to improve the effectiveness of their instructional programs. Some children cannot be prevented from learning; the schools generally have been bragging about these children, while guarding the release of information about the rest.

Where communities believe they have "good" schools, the school board and superintendent enjoy solid community support. In such districts many school administrators simply "play it safe," sticking to established methods so as not to risk negative public reaction. Teaching methods in public schools in the metropolitan area have changed little in the last several decades, compared to training methods used in the profit-motivated business arena. Most of the schools tend to rely on "more of the same" (e.g., more and better equipment, or facilities with pleasant colors and attractive design) rather than attempt to respond with real changes.

Although KCSD and KCK appear to be trying to do as much for their students as most other districts, their poor reputations and their financial and other problems have propelled middle-class parents into other districts that do not necessarily provide better instruction but do at least provide an opportunity to avoid the problems of predominantly low-status schools. The loss of the middle class was seen by most respondents as a serious blow to the two central city districts. It has deprived them of traditional sources of leadership, both on the school board and among groups supporting local schools.

Recent attempts to attract middle-class families back into central city neighborhoods have received considerable attention and a modicum of Federal support.[2] Yet locally these projects are inhibited by the reluctance of families with school-aged children to locate within KCSD. Moreover, many influential leaders in the community do little toward improving the school district because they believe it hopeless.[3] The educational problems of the central cities, made worse by the urban-suburban dichotomy described above, have themselves evolved to the point where KCSD and KCK

represent a major obstacle to solving any other problems of the central city.

Crisis or Opportunity

The current discussion about desegregating KCSD and KCK has pointed up the unique arrangement of school district boundaries in Kansas City. Simultaneously this has generated discussion of merging school districts to achieve a broader socioeconomic and racial mix of students. Legal precedents from other metropolitan areas indicate that a desegregation plan involving Kansas City surburban districts would be possible. Such a suit, with plaintiffs from KCSD, has been discussed since 1974 and could occur at any time irrespective of support from KCSD itself.

It is important to draw up and implement desegregation plans in such a way as to minimize the possibility that they will encourage further white and/or middle-class withdrawal from central city neighborhoods. The frequently utilized desegregation criterion of bringing each school to less than 90 percent minority or majority in racial composition, usually by bringing each school within 10 or 15 percent of the overall minority percentage of the district, does not constitute a constructive policy for Kansas City. It would result in increasing the number of schools in both Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, that are half or more minority in racial composition and, equally important, are predominantly low status in economic composition, thereby probably accelerating the withdrawal of white and/or middle-class families. Instead, each school should be brought to a minimum of 30 to 35 percent minority wherever possible, taking care to make sure that this does not create more predominantly low-status schools.

Meanwhile, planning for additional desegregation should begin immediately utilizing the first tier of suburban districts (those immediately adjacent to KCSD and KCK). This will enlarge the base for racial and economic desegregation and thereby enhance the feasibility of attaining stable desegregation in the schools. At the same time, steps also should be taken to increase the attractiveness of racially and/or economically deprived schools and neighborhoods, in order to maintain stable desegregation where it exists and expand desegregation to neighborhoods where it does not now exist.

This goal may be partly achieved by drawing up desegregation plans in such a way that students living in the attendance areas of currently desegregated schools (e.g., the East High School attendance area where a local effort for desegregated quality education is in its seventh year) are not reassigned to other schools as part of a systemwide desegregation plan. Since students living in segregated neighborhoods would be reassigned for part of their school careers, living in a desegregated neighborhood would be more convenient for many families than moving to a segregated neighborhood. In addition, care should be taken to make sure that the logistics of desegregation (e.g., travel time for transported students and walking distance for nontransported students) involves minimal inconvenience for students and their families; otherwise the public's commitment to local institutions and its willingness to support or participate in stable desegregation plans will be drastically reduced. (37.) Similarly, State and local governments can help to make desegregated neighborhoods more attractive by providing special tax or other incentives for families who live in racially and/or economically desegregated neighborhoods.

Desegregation plans also should be drawn up so as to discourage the resegregation of suburban neighborhoods in the path of growth of the inner city and the racial concentrations in the central city. One way to work toward this goal is to follow the policies outlined above for desegregation in the central city school districts; in addition, it is important to carry desegregation plans on a regional basis if resegregation of more parts of the cities and the suburbs is to be permanently avoided. As pointed out by Gary Orfield:

> Without a cross-district desegregation plan, the inner suburbs near the city ghettoes and the suburban communities most willing to practice genuine fair housing tend to become the focal points for black movement and for school resegregation. In the St. Louis metropolitan area, for example, the suburb of University City had been an early leader in housing integration. By 1972, its school enrollment was 55 percent black with a larger black majority in the lower grades....

> Where suburban school systems are small and black suburbanization begins in earnest, the only alternative to continual repetitions of the Inglewood experience would be some kind of desegregation plan crossing district lines, preferably with supporting housing policies. The most immediate and dramatic benefits of a metropolitan desegregation plan might well accrue to inner suburbs.[5]

It should be noted that some of the communities just outside the Kansas City, Missouri, and the Kansas City, Kansas, school districts are now becoming racially desegregated; this will make them "natural" targets for resegregation in the future and eventually for economic deterioration when low-status black families begin to replace middle-class black families as the inner city continues to grow. For this reason, many residents of these communities in the first tier of suburban school districts could become vigorous allies in working for regional desegregation, and efforts should be made to enlist their cooperation in working toward this goal.

It also should be noted that meaningful, voluntary movement toward desegregation may be preferable in many ways to court-ordered desegregation, not least because voluntary action might increase the chances of developing and implementing desegregation plans that give appropriate attention to the goal of stability. Meaningful, voluntary efforts will help, in many cases, to convince a judge that serious action is being taken and is likely to continue in the future, whereas judges who see that local government and civic leaders are for all practical purposes inactive or recalcitrant with respect to desegregation understandably may conclude that nothing will happen without a sweeping court order. This is as true for metropolitan desegregation plans as it is for central city plans; for this reason it would be the wisest course for suburban school districts to join with the central city districts in carrying out plans for as much desegregation as can be attained before the courts mandate a regional or metropolitan remedy for school segregation which currently exists in the Kansas City area.

This type of effort can be supported with legislation and financing similar to arrangements that are now being used in the Milwaukee metropolitan area, where school districts have been required to establish a council to

develop plans for stimulating inter- and intra-district student transfer that reduce segregation, and the State government will make nearly $5 million per year available to pay for costs associated with such transfer. A similar program is being considered in Illinois, where objections regarding cost led State Superintendent of Instruction Joseph M. Cronin to state that, "To say that spending $4 million or $5 million a year on this would trigger a tax increase is ridiculous. We spend nearly $4 billion a year on elementary and secondary education, and the question is what does it take to overcome 25 or more years of racial and residential segregation?"[6]

An effort should be made to ensure that there is a substantial proportion of whichever group is in the minority in a given school, the exact proportion varying with the demography and special circumstances that characterize the schools and communities participating in a desegregation plan. As Charles Willie has pointed out:

> ...a significant variable which ought to be considered is the sense of efficacy which school desegregation might stimulate among blacks. Most school desegregation plans have tended to ignore...[this].
>
> In the light of these findings, we veered from the requirement of a similar ratio of black, white, and other minority children in each school and proposed that the student bodies of Boston schools be diversified rather than strictly balanced. Whites need not always be the majority in good schools. If a sense of control is significant educationally, some schools should have a majority of whites in the student body with a sufficient minority of blacks to have educational impact upon the total system. Other schools should have a majority of blacks with a sufficient minority of whites to have a meaningful influence.
>
> The concept, sufficient minority, is relative and could vary from 49 percent to 20 percent. My own studies of community organizations suggest that minority participation of less than one-fifth in a democratic and free organization tends to have little effect upon institutional decisionmaking.

> A school desegregation plan should attempt to have a racial majority (blacks, browns, or whites) in each school of not more than two-thirds of all students; this proportion can accommodate population changes in the future without requiring the drawing of new district boundaries too often....
>
> Ultimately, desegregation is to achieve quality education. In a pluralistic society, there can be no quality education where there is not desegregation. But desegregation can go forth in a constitutional way without facilitating quality education. How to prevent separation of method from purpose in education is a problem in need of serious study.[7]

Long-Range Solution: Metropolitan School District

This Bi-State Committee views a metropolitan merger as the only lasting solution to unequal educational opportunity in greater Kansas City. It should be noted that the establishment of a single district incorporating both the central city and its suburbs-is not an uncommon administrative arrangement for American school systems. In many States, particularly in the South and West, school districts have long been organized on a county basis and such districts frequently are urban counties containing both a central city and its suburbs. Such districts can be very large in land area or in student population. For example, the Clark County system of Nevada, which includes the city of Las Vegas, covers 8,000 square miles.[8] School systems of Miami-Dade County and Tampa-Hillsborough in Florida are among the largest in the country,[9] with student enrollments of 241,809[10] amd 106,294[11] respectively.

Secondly, however school districts are currently organized, the administrative framework for implementing metropolitan remedies is already available in almost all States within the existing education bureaucracy. In 48 States, significant responsibility for educational affairs has been centralized within the State boards and departments of education, and procedures have been established for the reorganization of local districts through consolidation, annexation, or merger.[12]

Such authority does not exist simply on the statute books; the consolidation of school districts to accomplish purposes deemed to be educationally desirable has been a national movement for several decades.[13] In the 40 years between 1932 and 1972, more than 86 percent of the country's school districts have been eliminated through reorganization.[14]

While consolidation activity has been greatest in the small districts outside metropolitan areas,[15] the number of districts in metropolitan areas has also declined dramatically.[16] Consolidation of school districts has been employed as a preeminent method for improved public instruction. "In the period from 1949-50 to 1969-70 the number of school districts [nationally] decreased over 75 percent."[17] Unification of smaller districts has taken place in the Kansas City area, most notably resulting in the Shawnee Mission district.

Indeed, the administrative problems posed by a metropolitan remedy are not unsurmountable. When the Louisville school district, faced with a finding that it had engaged in de jure segregation, decided to accede to a metropolitan remedy, it simply utilized State law and procedures to dissolve itself and become part of the Jefferson County system.[18] Similarly, when a three-judge Federal court decided recently that a metropolitan school desegregation plan was constitutionally required in Wilmington and New Castle County, Delaware, it was able to rely on existing provisions of State law to answer many of the questions posed by the need for consolidation.[19]

Other techniques that have been suggested as means for accomplishing metropolitan school desegregation-the redrawing of district lines or the assignment of children across the boundaries of existing districts-are also well recognized in State law.[20] The latter device has the advantage of leaving district lines undisturbed, but the disadvantage of having a significant number of parents who live and pay taxes in one district while their children attend school in another district, a fact that has led at least one Federal court to prefer consolidation as a desegregation remedy.[21] Notwithstanding this difficulty the transfer of students to districts other than those of their residence has been used for a variety of purposes.

Apart from the use of transfers in a racial context, some States have provisions encouraging the use of facilities in neighboring districts for special education[22], vocational education[23]or, more generally, to cope with inadequate facilities in the sending district.[24] In all of these situations, statutes commonly provide for formal procedures, establish tuition levels or ceilings and specify the means for payment of tuition.[25]

In short, State laws provide a variety of instruments for restructuring school districts to meet perceived educational needs. While some of these devices may be preferable to others, if school desegregation on a metropolitan basis is constitutionally required or deemed educationally advantageous, the means are at hand to accomplish it.

A single metropolitan school district, operating on both sides of the State line, would offer some distinct advantages:

1. It would reduce the incentive for middle-class flight from the central cities and older suburbs that are in the path of expansion of the inner city. By including much of five counties, the affluent sections of the community would be involved. Racial balances would be less threatening.

2. It would make possible improved programs the individual districts cannot now afford.

3. It would allow less transportation and shorter distances where transportation was necessary by making it possible to transport across adjoining districts where appropriate, rather than long distances from one end of a district to another.

4. It would help to equalize revenue sources for schools throughout the State. (Currently, for example, disparities range from Hickory County, with 11.4 percent valuation, to St. Louis City, which has a valuation of 47.9 percent.)

5. The larger scale would result in financial savings from lower operating costs: (a) volume purchasing of supplies; (b) eliminating duplication of

services (e.g., one set of administrators, one personnel office, etc.); (c) fewer school boards, fewer elections.

6. It would increase the talent supply for school district leadership. Currently most Kansas City civic leaders live outside Kansas City, Missouri, or Kansas City, Kansas, school districts.

A large metropolitan district need not be impersonal and inaccessible. In fact, it could offer greater opportunity for community involvement, by creating subdistricts for every high school attendance area. Options could be structured for greater neighborhood participation, including participation in the selection of school principals (out of a pool designated by central administration).

In short, if States and localities wish, there is nothing inherent in the concept of metropolitan school desegregation to prevent them from devising administrative structures which will maximize parental participation in school affairs.[26] Nor does a metropolitan remedy jeopardize the prerogatives of States or local governments to experiment at the local level and to tailor educational programs to local needs.[27]

In fact, metropolitan remedy can actually enhance the opportunities for locally initiated innovation.[28] The only constraint on such efforts would be that they not undermine desegregation.

The major drawback to a single Kansas City metropolitan school district is its bi-state character. Creating and administering such a district would require sophisticated interstate cooperation well beyond anything previously undertaken by the Kansas or Missouri legislatures. Equitable, objective formulas for allocations, and constant monitoring through use of electronic data processing equipment, however, would reduce the possibility of unduly subjective decisionmaking.

No one appears to dispute the view that, given a continuation of current migration trends in many metropolitan areas, central city schools will become increasingly black and Latino in their enrollment, whether or not they are required to be desegregated. Yet, unless

metropolitan remedies are available, many courts will have no choice but to require desegregation of central city schools, even though they recognize that the intracity remedy is not likely to remain stable. This is so because in an increasing number of large cities, it has been demonstrated that public schools have been segregated as a result of deliberate policies of local officials.[29]

In contrast, where school desegregation remedies have beem implemented on a metropolitan basis they have proved to be quite stable. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina; Tampa-Hillsborough, and other Florida counties; and Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, are all cases where courts have ordered school desegregation to be carried out on a metropolitan basis. All of these districts experienced some loss of white children to private schools during the initial years of desegregation. Yet, in each situation, the trend toward withdrawal abated, white children began to return to the public schools, and after several years desegregation was largely accepted.[30] Even those who have been critical of school desegregation as leading to white flight have conceded that their data show that metropolitan plans such as Tampa-Hillsborough have proved stable.[31]

Indeed, the apparent stability of metropolitan remedies in part is attributable to the fact that such remedies take place on terms that most parents perceive as not educationally disadvantageous.

In addition to the fact that interdistrict plans are likely to be more stable and educationally advantageous to all children than those limited to central cities, there are other educational gains that may be realized by reorganizing education in metropolitan areas.

The drive for consolidation of school districts over the past 40 years has been activated by a belief that reorganization of school districts into larger units can provide more efficient and economical education, and authorities believe that continued efforts to this direction are needed.[32] In the view of some authorities, such efforts are specifically needed in metropolitan areas, where school districts often are extremely unequal in size and overlap the lines of political jurisdictions.[33] As educators have recognized a need for more individualized treatment of children, they have sought to establish special education programs to meet the needs of the gifted and handicapped, to

provide a broader range of counseling services, and to respond to demands for increasingly sophisticated training for careers and vocations. Individual school districts, unless they are extremely large, lack the resources to meet many of these needs; efficiency, economies of scale, and the scarcity of specially trained personnel require that the services be centralized and draw students from a number of districts. Similarly, efficiency in training teachers, improving administrative services, and in using computers and other expensive equipment as instructional tools also point toward centralized or cooperative efforts.

It is possible, of course, for suburbs to meet some of these needs through cooperative arrangements among themselves without involving central cities. But even greater economies of scale may be obtained if central cities are allowed to participate.[34]

Two metropolitan Kansas City school districts-one in Kansas, one in Missouri-would be more easily administered and somewhat less difficult to obtain politically. They would not put an end to interdistrict tensions, however, and a transfer of resources (affluent population, economic development) would probably continue, generally from Jackson County, Missouri, to Johnson County, Kansas. In view of this situation, the best solution might be to establish two regional school districts, one on each side of the State line, but to finance them with a single metropolitan tax source.

Short-Range Solution: Intensive Upgrading in KCSD and KCK

Sooner or later the advantages of a metropolitan solution will become apparent to the community. Declines in enrollment, financial problems, and potential economies of scale will make the unthinkable attractive. Either at the initiative of the courts (to achieve desegregation) or the legislatures (to rationalize education), metropolitan arrangements will come. The Bi-State Committee believes that steps to facilitate this change can begin now.

Pivotal to any eventual change are improvements in the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts. Noticeable improvement would attract middle-class families-black and white-back to the public schools. Utilizing the expertise of local colleges and universities, supported by area business and industry, KCSD could, we

believe, become at least a limited showcase of education achievement. Magnet high schools, offering high quality tracks in science, fine arts, and business, could be established. Sequences could be designed to provide the inner-city student with sufficient skills to move directly into a job in a growth industry such as computer technology. Dr. Daniel U. Levine discusses such options in an appendix to this report.

Some of the resources needed for such programs are available; much of the corporate and institutional resources of the metropolitan area are located within KCSD. Several studies[35] have highlighted the importance of a sound KCSD to the future of Kansas City. Clearly, the time for concerted action by the KCSD and KCK school boards, the community in general, and civic leaders in particular is at hand. Cooperation from the teachers' unions and the area's institutions of higher learning will also be necessary. But the basic resources are present to introduce attractive programs in KCK and KCSD.

More difficult to assess is whether KCSD and KCK can demonstrate a capacity to impart basic skills (reading, writing, speaking, mathematics) to their students, a high proportion of whom are educationally disadvantaged. To our knowledge no large school district in the country has reported dealing effectively with concentrations of low-income students, though some gains are being made in Chicago, Philadelphia, and other large cities. Public education traditionally addressed the middle and upper classes. The current problems of urban education reflect in large degree the inability of educators to solve the problems associated with socioeconomic changes in student populations. With the bulk of Kansas City's middle-class children living in suburban districts or attending private or parochial schools, it is doubtful that KCSD or KCK will show high pupil achievement in the near future, without drastic changes and an infusion of new funds.

Several factors could make this bicentennial year the foundation of a revolutionary comeback for public education in Kansas City. The 1976 school board election in Kansas City, Missouri, saw an antibusing slate go down to defeat. It also saw incipient involvement of the business community primarily through the Council on Education, in voter education, and in offering technical assistance to the school board.[36]

The Council on Education represents the most serious commitment of the business community to public education thus far. Since obtaining a staff in April 1975, its primary focus has been on improving the State formula for aid to urban school districts. Other evidence of civic concern includes the report, Chamber of Commerce Task Force 1985, which lists public education as one of its priorities. The Alternate Futures Program for Kansas City was established by the city council to "develop the foundation for a citywide strategy for the future of Kansas City."[37] In May 1975, after 2 years of analysis, it found that "the deterioration of the public school system within the KCSD is the most serious critical problem facing the Kansas City urban system."[38] Other studies also documented KCSD's problems. "Many years of failure to solve academic and administrative problems of the KCSD have eroded public confidence in the administration, the board, the teachers and other school system in general."[39] Role clarification and role objectives seem to be lacking in the central office. Serious communication gaps exist within the educational staff and in the general community as well as between the board and professional staff[40]

Three other events have stimulated hopes that the KCSD can be revived. The Title VI hearing between the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the KCSD might create an atmosphere more receptive to systemic change. Secondly, the board established in late 1975 a task force to develop a desegregation plan. Finally the board, after taking the unprecedented move for soliciting community opinion concerning the qualifications for a new superintendent, set out to obtain someone with experience in school desegregation.

These recent signs, however, should mislead no one into thinking a solution is at hand. Sc far there have been no more than faint signals that Kansas City is beginning to recognizing the problem. Similar signs, have appeared before. For example, from 1970 to 1973 KCSD sponsored a study commission on community involvement. After holding 25 plenary sessions, the commission issued a 62-page report, none of whose recommendations were adopted. Since then the board has been unable to reach agreement on such vital issues as hiring a superintendent, deciding on a desegregation strategy, and determining whether to continue in existence.

In our view, the central city district's most vital need is for some immediate help from the school administration, the teachers' union, local colleges and universities, the business sector, suburban districts, and the public.

School Governance

Over a period of years the KCSD school board has suffered criticism for meddling in the traditional domain of central administration. The current board, however, is far more reflective of the district's enrollment than before, and more solicitous of citizen participation. The current board has gone to the public for ideas both on superintendent qualifications and regarding its financial audit.

The board can best serve its constituents by: (1) selecting an administrator who has a clear understanding of the need for change; (2) giving the superintendent a set of goals, long and short range; and (3) supporting that person in his or her quest to reach those goals. The board can and should monitor results and revise goals as circumstances change. But it should entrust administrative responsibilities, including hiring and deployment of personnel to the superintendent.

The board should encourage the increased support of the Kansas City business community and local institutions of higher learning, drawing on their expertise more than it has done previously. Local government resources should also be used where appropriate. As an integral part of the metropolitan area, KCSD should call upon all who can help-and then use that help. The board should develop a list of needs that the other institutions can begin to address. The Kansas City, Kansas, board has been isolated from the community by a system that ensured co-option rather than election. Real community participation is needed.

The Teachers' Union

Local 691 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) represents the majority of employees of KCSD. Although its president can tick off a number of instances where the local has offered both technical assistance and political support to the district, he acknowledges that working relations with

the district have not been good. The union is best known for its 42-day strike in the spring of 1974.

The union will have to play a vital role in any revival of KCSD; that role requires flexibility. Different categories of teaching personnel may have to be recognized; early retirement plans might be encouraged; standards for teacher performance might be introduced. In all of these situations the union's stance could determine the final outcome. The KCK National Education Association (NEA) has had much less power than the AFT. It needs a chance to show what contribution it might make to the resolution of problems.

Local Colleges and Universities

Although eight colleges, including two State universities and five community colleges, are located in greater Kansas City, none has demonstrated much concern for the problems of its urban school districts. While individual professors or administrators exhibit a responsibility to apply their resources to community problems, rarely has this translated into a major program or policy.

The education colleges of the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) and University of Kansas could provide valuable assistance to a magnet school program for both KCSD and KCK. Their involvement might help persuade the suburban districts to take part in interdistrict activities. Currently UMKC helps sponsor the Metropolitan School Study Group, a loosely-structured association of 52 superintendents that meets infrequently for a casual exchange of opinions. This group could serve as the springboard to closer interaction; better use of facilities and avoidance of duplication would be two desirable results.

Institutions of higher learning must put their own houses in order if they are to exert positive influence on the public schools. Many have not met their responsibilities to minorities and women in regard to their admissions and employment practices. Certainly their assistance must go beyond the traditional pattern of using the schools as training grounds for students teachers. Yet the fact remains that higher education in Kansas City is a largely untapped source for upgrading public education in the metropolitan area. Each of the colleges has some

contribution to make, and the learning experience would enrich the college as well as the school district.

The Business Sector

The business community can contribute funds, talent, and time to the improvement of KCSD and KCK on a far greater scale than has been tried. First of all, it can create an educational foundation to finance programs using the best available techniques for developing basic skills and/or relevant career training. The district could assign one or more schools to the foundation, to allow experimentation with contemporary methods. New systems of management and accountability could be tested. Individual corporations could team up with a particular magnet school allied to their field of interest. Individuals could act as mentors to students in apprenticeship type positions within many businesses.

The business community can also assist in improving the public image of KCSD. A "prime time" program illustrating successful projects within the district-and there are a few lamps burning beneath bushel baskets-would provide a start. College scholarships for inner-city graduates could be increased and better publicized.

The chamber of commerce and the Council on Education have worked unsuccessfully for an improved financing formula for State aid to KCSD. Citizen groups, which frequently ascribe to business interests more influence in State legislatures than they in fact possess, sometimes feel only a halfhearted effort is being made. The Council on Education needs to grapple with the problems directly, not just scratch the noncontroversial surfaces. A lobbying campaign should solicit the help of all available supporters-teachers' union, parents' groups, and neighborhood and community organizations. It should enlist the aid of similarly affected areas such as St. Louis. A strong lobbying effort and more direct involvement in the school problem thicket is needed, before KCSD patrons are convinced of the business community's depth of commitment.

Suburban School Districts

The suburban districts in Missouri interact with each other in vocational education and many extracurricular functions. In general, they carefully avoid contact with

KCSD. From all indications, this isolation preceded discussions of a metropolitan suit in 1974.

The current fear of litigation fortifies the suburban league against the urban district. Voluntary interaction with KCSD would be politically risky for administrators; hence, there is none. Unfortunately, this apartheid only ensures that efforts will be made to attack segregation "root and branch."

Summary

Desegregation and educational change will come to the Kansas City area. If the experience of other cities is any indication, community leadership will play a large role in determining the shape of that change, and thus the results. Recent progressive civic leadership has been credited with bringing Kansas City to the threshold of greatness in many respects. Whether that leadership will act effectively on behalf of its schools remains yet to be seen. The Bi-State Committee will do all in its power to bring about voluntary, cooperative action from all sides. But the choice-cooperation or conflict-rests with the community.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. Kansas and Missouri State Advisory Committees, to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Balanced Housing Development in Kansas City (November 1973).

2. For example, the Urban Homestead Program and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. 42 U.S.C. 5301 et seq. (1974).

3. Norman Rotert, a leader in housing redevelopment, interview in Kansas City, Mo., June 8, 1976.

4. John A. Finger, Jr., "Why Busing Plans Work," School Review, vol. 84, no. 3 (May 1976), pp. 364-372.

5. U.S., Congress, Senate, Gary Orfield, "Is Coleman Right?," Congressional Record, 96th Congress, 2nd sess., May 11, 1976, S6880-6883.

6. Geof. Dulson, "Illinois to Watch Milwaukee Busing," Chicago Sun-Times, July 26, 1972, p. 20.

7. Charles V. Willie, "Racial Balance or Quality Education?," School Review, vol. 84, no. 3 (May 1976), pp. 318-325.

8. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, School Desegregation in Ten Communities (1973), p. 198.

9. Ibid., p. 14.

10. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts (1972), p. 234.

11. School Desegregation in Ten Communities, p. 14.

12. C.O. Fitzwater, State School System Development: Patterns and Trends (1968), p. 45. Illinois and Wisconsin are the two exceptions.

13. Massachusetts authorized consolidation in 1838. Connecticut established the first consolidated district in 1839. (P. Smith, Pupil Transportation: A Brief History,

Inequality in Educ. (1972), pp. 6, 10. Between 1882 and 1909, all the New England States abolished their small districts and replaced them with town (township) districts. (Fitzwater, p. 23.) The process of consolidation has never stopped.

Redistricting has been widespread. Since 1945 only six States (Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Utah, and West Virginia) have not made changes in their organization for school districts. Six other States (Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia) had more school districts in the fall of 1966 than they had in 1945....[T]he remaining 38 States all had reductions: 26 States reduced their numbers of districts by more than one-half, 18 by more than three-fourths, and 6 by more than 90 percent.

(School Desegregation in Ten Communities, p. 14.) The States making no changes already had exceptionally few districts. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census,, 1972 Census of Governments, Public School Systems in 1971-72, at 4, 7, table 1, (1972) [hereinafter cited as Public Schools Systems in 1971-72.]

14. In 1931-32 there were 127,531 school systems in the United States. Thirty years later, in 1962, there were only 33,086 districts. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Education Statistics of State School Systems, 1967-1968, at 22, table 5 (1970). By 1971-72 there were only 16,771 operating school systems in the United States. National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Education Directory 1971-72, Public School Systems in 1971-72, 1972 xii, table 1. (1972).

15. Public School Systems in 1971-72, pp.3-4

16. There were 6,604 school districts in the 212 SMSAs in 1962. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1968, vol. 1, p. 17. By 1972, there were 4,390 districts in SMSAs, a decline of over 33 percent in 10 years. Public School Systems in 1971-72, p.2. The decline is sharper than even those figures show, for at the same time there was an increase in the number and size of metropolitan areas.

17. Marilyn Gittell, "The Political Implications of Milliken v. Bradley," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in Milliken v. Bradley: The Implications for Metropolitan Desegregation (November 1974), p. 39.

18. Board of Education of Louisville, Ky. v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, Ky., 522 S.W. 2d 859 (Ky. Ct. App. 1975).

19. Evans v. Buchanan, F. Supp. (C.A. Nos 1816-1822 D. Del., May 19, 1976) pp. 66-67.

20. See, e.g., Ga. Code Ann., tit. 32 §650 (1969) (transfer subject to rules of State Board of Education and approval of receiving district) (former §938 required approval of both districts); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. §430.24 (primary school districts authorized to close schools and arrange for education in another district); §340.582 (receiving district has discretion to admit; tuition and transportion expenses); §340.761 (district not having a high school obliged to pay tuition and transportation expenses of pupils attending high school in another district); §340.763 (districts without high schools permitted to pay tuition and transportation to high schools in adjoining states) (1967), as amended, (Supp. 1974); Neb. Rev. Stat. §§79-494 - 79-4106.05 (1971) (provisions for nonresident high school education for Nebraska pupils in Nebraska districts and in neighboring states); N.C. Gen. Stat. §115-176 (1966) (school districts can, by joint agreement, required the attendance of pupils, individually or en masse, at schools outside the district of the students' residence); In re Varner, 266 N.C. 409, 146 S.E. 2d 401 (1966); In re Hayes, 261 N.C. 616, 135 S.E. 2d 645 (1964).

21. Evans v. Buchanan, supra note 14 at 37. The court noted that a transfer plan would "make it much more difficult for individual parents to require accountability from teachers and administrators who are employed by districts other than that of their voting residence." Courts have not been troubled by the split between voting residence and school attendance in circumstances where it was expected to be only an interim arrangement. For example, a Georgia court justified taxing Atlantans to support county schools they had no present right to attend on grounds that through annexation, the schools would soon be a part of the Atlanta district. McLenna v. Aldridge, 233 Ga. 879, 887, 889, 159 S.E. 2d 682, 688, 689 (1966) (dictum). In Memphis,

Tennessee, public officials raised no objection to a school desegregation plan that exchanged students between a city school and a county school expected to be annexed by the city district. Robinson v. Shelby County Board of Education., 467 F 2d 1187, 1195 (6th Cir. 1972) (McCree, J dissenting).

22. See, e.g., Mass. General Laws Ann. ch. 71B, §4 (Supp. 1972); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. §340.771a (Supp. 1974-75).

23. See, e.g., Mass. General Laws Ann. ch. 74, §7 (1969); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. §§340.330-.330u (Supp. 1974-75).

24. See, Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. §§340.24, .761, .763 (1968), as amended, (Supp. 1974-75).

25. See, e.g., Cal. Educ. Code §10801 (West 1969); Ill. Ann. Stat. ch. 122, §29-6 (Smith-Hurd 1961); Ohio Rev. Code Ann. §3327.04 (Page 1972).

26. Metropolitan school desegregation is compatible with administrative decentralization. See Gittel, "The Political Implications of Milliken v. Bradley," in U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Milliken v. Bradley: The Implications of Metropolitan Desegregation (1974) at 43-4; Milstein and Cole, A Federated Metropolitan Education Plan, (Education and Urban Society Aug. 1970); Foster, Desegregating Urban Schools: A Review of Techniques, 43 Harv. Educ. Rev. 5, 35 pp. (1973); Dimond, Reform of the Government of Education: A Resolution of the Conflict Between Integration and Community Control, 16 Wayne L. Rev. 1005 (1970) at 119 ff-.

27. In Milliken, the Court observed that "local control over the educational process affords citizens an opportunity to participate in decisionmaking, permits the structuring of school programs to fit local needs, and encourages 'experimentation, innovation and a healthy competition for educational excellence." Milliken v. Bradley, at 742, citing San Antonio School District v. Rodriques, 411 U.S. 1,50 (1973). It is true that consolidation would likely entail a uniform system for financing the reorganized school system. But currently in many States citizens cannot exercise much control over expenditures at the local level. Because of the wide variation of property tax bases from district to district, there is no direct correlation between tax effort and revenues produced, and in many districts a high level of tax efforts does not assure that the level of educational

expenditures will be competitive with other districts. See, Coons, Clune, and Sugarman, Private Wealth and Public Education (1970) pp. 201-242. Accordingly, if metropolitan remedy brought a reorganization of the tax base, local control might actually be enhanced.

28. Desegregation has increased parental participition in some districts. New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, The Fleischmann Report (1972) vol.I, p 230; and Taylor, "The Legal Battle for Metropolitanism," 81 U Chi. L. Rev. 331,341 (1973).

29. Denver, Keyes v. School District No. 1, 303 F. Supp. 279 (D. Colo. 1969); Detroit; Bradley v. Milliken, 338 F. Supp. 582 (E.D.Mich.1971); Buffalo, Arthur v. Nyquist, F. Supp. Civ-1972-325 (W. D. N. Y. Apr. 30, 1976) Boston, Morgan v. Hennigan, 379 F. Supp. 410 (D. Mass. 1974).

30. Giles, Cataldo and Gatlin, "Desegregation and the Private School Alternative" in Symposium on School Desegregation and White Flight, (CNPR 1975) 22 ff.

31. Coleman, "Liberty and Equality in School Desegregation," in Social Policy, (1976) p. 12.

32. Fitzwater, pp. 11-18; S. J. Knezevich, Administration of Public Education 2d ed. (1969), pp. 129-32, The Committee on Educational Policy has suggested that the total number of operating school districts in the nation should be 5,000 or less. National Academy of Education, Committee on Educational Policy, Policy Making for American Public Schools (for House Comm. on Education and Labor, 1969), cited in Educational Research Services ERS Information Aid, 21 (no. 8, June 1971).

33. See, e.g., Havighurst, ed. Metropolitanism: Its Challenge in Education (University of Chicago, 1968); Havighurst and Levine, eds. The Sixty-Seventy Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (1968), pt. I Education in Metropolitan Areas (Allyn and Bacon 1971).

34. The Fleishmann Report, vol III. pp 33ff.

35. See: Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Report of the Task Force for 1985; Kansas City, Department of City

Development, A Report of the alternative Futures Programs for Greater Kansas City (1975).

36. Midwest Research Institute, Council on Education (Kansas City, Jan. 31, 1975), p. 15.

37. Alernative Futures Program for Greater Kansas City pt. 1, p. 18.

38. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 20.

39. Midwest Research Institute, Decision Criteria and Policy for School Consolidation (Kansas City, March 1974), p. 10.

40. Edwin R. Bailey and Andrew R. Darton, Problem Recognition, Exploration, and Prioritizing Project (Kansas City, 1976), p. 119ff.

VII. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on its 9-month investigation and on comments received from reviewers of its preliminary draft report, the Bi-State Committee on Education of the Kansas and Missouri Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights submits the following findings and corollary recommendations to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and to the agencies authorized to implement them.

Finding 1:

School districts throughout the Kansas City metropolitan area are racially segregated in the sense that minority pupils tend to be concentrated within the two central city districts. The Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts already have too high a proportion of minority and low-income pupils to allow for total and stable desegregation at a meaningful level within their own boundaries.

Recommendations

1a. To the degree possible, the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts should immediately develop desegregation plans to be implemented within their boundaries no later than August 1977. The plans should aim initially at obtaining a better racial balance, such that every school has a minimum of 20 to 30 percent minority students during the 1977 school year.

1b. Voluntary city-suburban programs should be established to reduce segregation in the public schools. These programs should include inter-district pupil transfers designed in part to use currently-available space in suburban and city schools as well as to establish regional magnet schools open to students from throughout the metropolitan area. Both city and suburban school districts should immediately begin planning for these programs by surveying facilities to determine how much space may be available and by obtaining information on the types of new magnet curricula which may be most attractive to students

and parents. State government officials in both Missouri and Kansas should provide financial support, and where necessary, initiate legislative changes to support these activities.

1c. Increased funds should be made available as part of desegregation planning to improve instructional opportunities in newly-desegregated schools. Title I funds and other resources now available for educating economically disadvantaged students should "follow" these pupils to their new schools when desegregation occurs. The State departments of education in Kansas and Missouri, with funding assistance from the U.S. Office of Education, should make available sufficient funds to desegregated schools and monitor their expenditure so that desegregation will prove beneficial, academically and otherwise, for all the students who attend these schools.

1d. Higher education institutions, appropriate Federal agencies acting through the Kansas City Federal Executive Board, business, labor, and other organizations which possess educational and cultural resources should assist public schools in the desegregation process and with efforts to improve the quality of instruction in the schools. Higher education institutions should assist by establishing close cooperative relationships aimed at improving opportunity in elementary and secondary schools in the region, particularly in the two central city school districts and in desegregated, regional magnet schools. Business and labor should join in similar partnerships, and also should establish a special school improvement foundation to help finance efforts to find ways to systematically improve instruction in the public schools.

1e. Desegregation plans for the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts should be carried out on a regional or metropolitan basis involving at least the first tier of districts by which they are surrounded. The optimum mode for carrying this out would be through voluntary interaction, involving the local school districts, community colleges and

universities, top elected executives and leaders from the business community, and citizen groups. If this coalition does not form before March 1977, the municipal governments of Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, should join their central city school districts in instituting legal proceedings to bring about metropolitan remedies.

Finding 2:

Academic performance in many schools with a high proportion of economically disadvantaged students is very low, in part because the educational environment in low income schools is not conducive to teaching and learning. Large numbers of students in these schools are not acquiring the basic skills needed to obtain satisfying employment and a productive life.

This latter conclusion was documented for the Kansas City, Missouri, Public School District, where average achievement scores are far below grade level in the district as a whole and in low-income schools in particular. It could not be quantitatively documented for the Kansas City, Kansas, School District, the North Kansas City School District, the Independence School District, and others for which it also may hold true, because officials in those districts would not release information on school-level academic performance even though such information is routinely published by many school districts throughout the country and thereafter is widely used in working with citizens to improve the quality of local schools. However, interviews with residents of these and other districts in the metropolitan area indicated that, as in Kansas City, Missouri, many students in low-income schools are not achieving minimum skills required to hold a good job.

Recommendations

2a. Additional funds should be made available particularly from the Missouri and Kansas State governments, which constitutionally are responsible for providing equal and adequate educational opportunities for all citizens, to improve instruction for economically disadvantaged students. Increased funds for this purpose can be provided in part through changes in the State aid

formulas to take more account of the problems of educating concentrations of poverty pupils and of the incidence of educationally retarded students in each school district.

2b. Since predominantly low-income schools generally do not provide a setting conducive to teaching and learning, area school districts should take steps to eliminate economic segregation in student enrollment patterns. No student should be required to attend a predominantly low-income school involuntarily. State government should pay for the costs of eliminating economic segregation because the State government is constitutionally responsible for ensuring that the public schools offer equal educational opportunity to all students.

Finding 3:

The recommendations enumerated above require substantial expenditures in order to overcome the effects of racial and economic isolation which are pervasive in public schools in the Kansas City metropolitan area. However, the Bi-State Committee also concluded that funds now spent on public education are not used as effectively as they could or should be.

In part this is because (a) the present configuration of school districts, especially on the Missouri side, is not designed for optimum managerial or fiscal efficiency; (b) little information on school performance is made available to the public; and (c) few efforts have been made to systematically improve the effectiveness of instruction in the schools. These deficiencies in school organization and governance in the metropolitan area must be corrected if educational opportunities available to young people in the Metropolitan area are to improve substantially.

Recommendations

3a. In order to make effective use of funds to equalize educational opportunity, efforts to improve instruction in schools with a high proportion of economically disadvantaged students or in desegregated schools should be part of a systematic plan designed to (a) identify and solve

student learning problems on an individual basis; (b) improve the ratio of adults to students; (c) introduce appropriate organizational and scheduling arrangements to allow for increased success in teaching basic academic skills and achieving other educational goals; (d) improve the quality of staff and provide staff development activities relevant to the instructional improvements which are being initiated; and (e) ensure identification and solution of the practical problems which arise when attempting to bring about these improvements.

3b. Office of Education should require each State and local education authority, as a condition of receiving any funds for administration of any Federal funding, to collect and maintain for a period of five academic years all budgets, grant proposals, reviews, test scores, and other data pertinent to the efficiency and efficacy of education. These records should be maintained in a location that is easily accessible and from which data can be duplicated at minimum expense.

3c. Local education authorities should be required by the State to publish and distribute copies of the annual budget, copies of program budgets and reviews, as well as periodic assessments of the schools, from whatever source.

Finding 4:

Desegregation plans should be part of a larger, comprehensive, long-range program of metropolitan development involving all levels of government as well as business, civic leadership, and other private institutions and individuals.

Recommendations

4a. The Mid-America Regional Council, municipal planning agencies, and civic organizations should begin working with the Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school districts to develop long-range desegregation plans aimed at (a) eliminating racial and economic isolation in the two districts; (b) stabilizing neighborhoods which

are losing or may lose their middle-income population; and (c) renewing other neighborhoods which have become physically and economically deteriorated. These plans should include establishment of attractive public school programs which will help serve as a nucleus for redevelopment of already-deteriorated neighborhoods on a racially and economically mixed basis.

4b. Desegregation plans should place major emphasis on maintaining the attractiveness of racially and economically mixed neighborhoods and schools where they now exist. The Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, school boards should make a formal commitment to do everything within their power, and should act accordingly, to maintain a good racial and economic mixture and to improve instructional quality in schools which already have a good balance or are in multiracial neighborhoods.

4c. Student assignments in desegregation plans as well as in regular school planning should be aimed at making integrated neighborhoods more attractive than segregated ones. This can be accomplished partly by maintaining current enrollment in schools with a good racial balance and by providing magnet school programs and other special services in schools located in integrated neighborhoods.

4d. The logistics of desegregation plans should be worked out so as to ensure maximum convenience regarding the length of transportation assignments, with particular attention given to maintaining citizen commitment to local public schools.

4c. To ensure that educational needs are addressed equitably throughout the metropolitan area, all Federal grants to local school districts should be submitted to the A-95 Clearinghouse agency (MARC). The Bi-State Committee recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights seek to have the Office of Management and Budget mandate

that all Federal grant applications by school districts be subjected to A-95 review.

APPENDIX A

VOLUNTARY CITY-SUBURBAN PROGRAMS FOR PROMOTING INSTRUCTIONAL IMPROVEMENT AND INTEGRATION IN KANSAS CITY METROPOLITAN AREA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Daniel U. Levine
July, 1976

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate possibilities for voluntary cooperation between central city and suburban school districts to improve educational opportunities for elementary and secondary students in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. Improvement in educational opportunities is defined herein by two major dimensions: improvement in the quality of instruction offered in metropolitan area schools, and reduction in the racial and social isolation of students which is now characteristic of schools throughout most of the metropolitan area. Both goals could be substantially advanced through various kinds of cooperative city-suburban programs which are described in the remainder of this chapter.

The programs described below are illustrative of the types of activities which could be carried out on a widespread basis following intensive study of the technical and administrative feasibility of a variety of alternatives. In many cases any given program is relatively small in terms of the numbers of pupils who might participate and the length of time they probably would be involved. Taken together, however, a series of coordinated projects such as those described below could result in substantial improvement in the educational opportunities available to a relatively large proportion of elementary and secondary students in the metropolitan area.

It is important to emphasize that programs for city-suburban cooperation can and should be designed to serve a number of important goals in addition to direct improvement of educational opportunities. Because

public schools generally have failed to coordinate their programs with other public and private organizations such as city planning agencies, business and industry, neighborhood organizations, and cultural institutions throughout the community, major opportunities have been lost for guiding urban growth in desirable directions. Instead, the schools--acting in isolation from other public and private organizations--have been a major factor responsible for the decline of central city neighborhoods, the proliferation of irrational patterns of government organization in the metropolitan area, and a growing mismatch between the outcomes they are producing and the needs and desires of the public they are supposed to serve.

Accordingly, the programs described in this chapter have been selected, whenever possible, for their potential in serving additional goals such as the following:

- better utilization of space currently available in metropolitan area school districts.
- better utilization of transportation networks which have been constructed at considerable expense to the taxpayer.
- preservation of existing neighborhoods and redevelopment of deteriorated neighborhoods in the central city and the suburbs.
- better utilization of community resources for learning, particularly with reference to the development of career and occupational skills required for employment in a modern economy.

Nothing in this chapter is meant to suggest that school districts in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area have been or are now negligent in failing to initiate programs designed to improve understanding among racial and social groups or to improve instructional opportunities for economically

disadvantaged students. Just the opposite: a number of brief exchanges have been arranged occasionally between city and suburban schools, a large number of schools have revised their curricula to place a greater emphasis on urban affiars and on intergroup understanding, materials for multi-ethnic studies have been collected and made available to students throughout the region, and most districts are trying as hard as they can to improve instruction in inner city schools (i.e. schools enrolling a large proportion of economically disadvantaged students).

All these efforts are worthwhile and should be continued, but considered as a totality they fall far short of what will be required to sufficiently improve educational opportunities for both minority and majority young people in the metropolitan area. To accomplish the latter objective will require considerable joint long-range effort on the part of a multitude of participants including not just educators but also civic, business, and political leaders; key local, state, and federal agencies; and public-spirited citizens throughout the metropolitan area. The future viability of the Kansas City region may well depend on it.

CITY-SUBURBAN TRANSFER PROGRAMS

One of the most successful forms of city-suburban cooperation for improving instruction and increasing integration consists of arrangements wherein central city students--particularly inner city minority students--attend schools in the suburbs and, less frequently, suburban students attend schools in the central city. Given the financial and other problems in central city school districts such as Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas, only a small number of suburban students can be expected to enroll in the city schools, although many more might do so if magnet schools and similar attractive alternate programs recommended elsewhere in this chapter were established in the central city.

Where city-suburban transfer programs have been put into operation, however, significant numbers of inner city students do elect to attend schools in the suburbs, and probably receive a better education there than they would have experienced in their problem-ridden neighborhood schools.

A good example of a superior city-suburban transfer program has been in operation for nearly ten years in the Rochester Metropolitan Area, where five suburban districts have made space available for students transported from central city schools. By 1975, approximately 1,100 central city students were attending suburban schools on a voluntary basis, and the districts involved were trying to obtain additional funding to double the size of the program.

Costs of the program including instruction and supporting services averaged out to less than $1300 per pupil--considerably less than the average Monroe County per pupil expenditure of about $2200 and the Rochester City expenditure of about $2100. Evaluations of the program have indicated that some inner city students have made significant academic gains after transferring to integrated suburban schools,[1] which has not always been the case in evaluations of other transportation programs (both voluntary and involuntary) to achieve integration.[2] Somewhat similar city-suburban transfer programs have been conducted for a number of years in other metropolitan areas including Hartford and Boston.

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[1] Aline M. Mahan and Thomas W. Mahan, "Changes in Cognitive Style: An Analysis of the Impact of White Suburban Schools on Inner City Children," Integrated Education, v. 8 (1970).

[2] Nancy H. St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children. New York: John Wiley, 1975.

Much the same type of program could be introduced in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area with relatively few logistical problems. A recent survey (May, 1976) by The Kansas City Times showed that enrollment had declined appreciably in a number of school districts adjoining Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas, suggesting that there is some unused classroom space available in these districts which could accommodate students transferring from inner city schools. Enrollment in the Center, Raytown, Hickman Mills, Independence, and North Kansas City districts surrounding the Kansas City district declined from 75,418 to 66,117 during recent years, and enrollment in the Shawnee Mission and Bonner Springs districts adjoining Kansas City, Kansas declined from 48,810 to 44,288. Granted that some of the suburban schools were overcrowded and others may now have been closed, some room exists there for enrolling central city students in a voluntary transfer programs. If combined with a metropolitan magnet school program drawing suburban students to the city and vice versa (see below), substantial numbers of students could be involved in voluntary programs to provide integrated education in the metropolitan area.

METROPOLITAN ACTIVITIES CENTERS

One of the soundest, most feasible, and most exciting approaches being introduced elsewhere to break down barriers between differing racial and social groups and improve learning experiences for all students is to operate a school to which students from throughout the metropolitan area can come to study urban and metropolitan affairs. Organization, operation, and administration of such a school can be very flexible: it can enroll students at any grade level for any length of time ranging from a week to a semester or more, and learning opportunities

provided this can be made an integral part of basic academic as well as co-curricular instruction in almost any subject area.

Probably the best current example of such a Center is the Metropathways Program in the Boston Metropolitan Area, though similar outstanding programs have been conducted in the Chicago area (Project Wingspread) and other cities. Metropathways is designed to help students become aware of the richness and diversity of metropolitan Boston's culture and heritage through collaborative efforts of urban and suburban districts. Six hundred secondary students--thirty percent of them minority--from thirteen school districts were enrolled for the 1975 spring semester in five special courses described as follows:

> Ethni-City aims to develop in students a more perceptive understanding of Boston's Native American, Afro-American, Chinese and Hispanic populations using the combined perspectives of history and anthropology.
>
> Theatre Arts as Enrichment utilizes English and drama skills to introduce professional theatre to teachers and students as a method of enriching the ongoing curriculum. A professional theatre person teams with a teacher and a group of students to explore ways to make the acquisition of specific information a richer experience for students.
>
> Charles River and Its Environs examines in connection with the Charles River, land, air and water systems, the interaction of ecology and technology, and resulting social and political problems. There is a wealth of resources--institutions, government and community agencies, the city and the suburbs--available to participants.
>
> Political Perspectives makes the working of federal, state and local government structures comprehensible to students through both theoretical exploration and first hand observation.
>
> Self-Discovery through the Theatre Arts teaches students basic theatre techniques with particular

attention given to the stage as a place of magic and illusion. Professional theatre personnel team with classroom teachers to expose students to methods of relaxation, ways to create character and techniques of gaining a sense of place and stage reality.

In some ways, relatively old and compact areas like Boston are in a better position to operate this type of project than are newer, spread-out metropolitan areas like Kansas City. Public transportation in Boston includes subways which make it easy for many students to reach the metropolitan center quickly and inexpensively. Looked at differently, however, young people in relatively decentralized and dispersed metropolitan areas like Kansas City frequently have little opportunity to visit the central core area and other metropolitan sub-centers, and learn about their cultural resources and problems. A program such as Metropathways or Wingspread would enable many students from outlying parts of the city and the suburbs to learn a good deal more than they do now about problems and opportunities for development throughout the metropolitan area, at the same time that students from all parts of the region were brought together to study and learn in a common setting. In so doing, the program would help generate individual and intergroup understandings and attitudes regarding metropolitan cooperation which are vitally needed if the metropolitan area as a whole is to prosper in the future.

SECONDARY MAGNET PROGRAMS

At the present time, the most promising approach for improving public school opportunities through programs which include voluntary integration of central city and suburban students at the secondary level--particularly the senior high school--is to establish specialized magnet high schools which might attract students from all parts of the metropolitan

area. Many cities are now establishing or expanding such schools but all except the largest school districts with 100,000 or more students are having difficulty doing so because they generally lack enough students to justify the expense of building and/or operating schools with highly specialized staff and facilities.

Cooperation between city and suburban schools to establish magnet high schools would provide a more adequate resource base for financing their programs as well as a more adequate pool of students from which to draw. The schools established should be designed in accordance with the unique situation--particularly the employment and economic situation--which exists in a given metropolitan area. More specifically, they should capitalize on the economic and geographic characteristics of the area they are established to serve.

A series of special high schools enrolling interested students from throughout the Kansas City Metropolitan Area might be designed to emphasize programs such as the following:

1. Health Science Occupations High School.

The natural place to locate such a school would be near the Hospital Hill area in Kansas City, Missouri, where one of the region's largest medical service complexes is already taking shape. Drawing on the many and varied facilities and personnel available in the area, this high school could offer excellent vocational and scientific training in a variety of fields ranging from pre-collegiate traning for potential physicians to preparation for nursing and paramedical training such as physician's assistants and nurse clinicians.

Given the growing emphasis in the health service field on reducing the length of training of physicians and other specialists on the one hand and upgrading requirements for paramedical and nursing-related

occupations on the other, it would be possible to rationalize the training of health service personnel by coordinating curricula offered at this high school with programs offered at local institutions of higher education--particularly Penn Valley Community College and the UMKC schools of dentistry, medicine, nursing, and pharmacy. This type of coordination not only would be desirable in itself but could present very attractive opportunities for students from all over the metropolitan area. Located fairly close to I-70, such a school could draw interested students--particularly juniors and seniors--from outlying parts of the city and the metropolitan area, while providing the best possible on-the-job training opportunities and preparing outstanding personnel in occupations which are likely to be much in demand in the future.

If properly planned and located, such a school also could serve as an additional stimulus to the redevelopment of the central core part of the metropolitan area, particularly the wasteland which now exists between and around the downtown business district and the Crown Center and Hospital Hill areas. Like magnet high schools now operating or being built in other cities, a Health Science Occupations High School would offer a solid program of curricula and instruction in all basic skill areas such as language, science, and mathematics, together with assurance to parents that their children would receive academic preparation as good as any in the metropolitan area. This in turn would make it possible to attract middle-income population to new housing which might be built in central core parts of the city which are undergoing commercial development (Crown Center, Pershing Square, etc.) but will never be very attractive to middle status families with children unless a superior public secondary school with excellent elementary feeder schools is

established nearby. Carried out on a step-by-step basis, a plan for renewing inner core parts of Kansas City, Missouri based on coordinated improvements in commerce, public education, transportation, and other urban functions could set a national example of excellence in city redevelopment.

2. Aviation and Aeronautics High School.

High schools emphasizing occupational preparation in aviation-related fields are now being developed or considered in every metropolitan area which is the home base of a major national airline. It seems likely that these fields will continue to provide a substantial number of jobs--albeit technically evolving jobs--for a long time in the future, and metropolitan areas fortunate enough to serve as headquarters for a major airline are in a position to train individuals who can fill these jobs and can obtain employment, if necessary, elsewhere in the nation or the world.

A few training programs in these fields already exist at the secondary and post-secondary levels in the metropolitan area, but most either are small in size (at the secondary level) or are providing jobs for trainees drawn from outside the area. Much probably could be done to improve the scope of training and opportunities for employment for young people in the metropolitan area by expanding and coordinating these programs at a suitable site accessible to locations for on-the-job training. A high school emphasizing such programs also is desirable inasmuch as it would provide particularly exciting and absorbing learning experiences for many young people and it also unquestionably would provide a solid foundation of instruction in all the major academic areas.

To successfully build and operate such a school, however, would require drawing on physical and human resources from throughout the

metropolitan area. In several ways, Kansas City is in a particularly good position to do this because I-435 provides excellent transportation to many appropriate sites. The best place to locate an Aviation and Aeronautics High School might be on or near the campus of Maple Woods Community College, perhaps drawing on aviation training facilities which already exist there and coordinating the programs of instruction at the two institutions. Alternately or concomitantly, aviation training facilities which exist at the vocational school in Fort Osage might be expanded to be more accessible to students from the eastern half of the metropolitan area.

3. Petrochemical and Agribusiness Industries High School.

A magnet high school specializing in preparation for jobs related to the petrochemical and agribusiness industries would be particularly desirable because of the diversity of skills and interests required in these industries, which makes it necessary to draw on a geographically-large pool to find students interested in these possibilities. While both these industries have been changing rapidly, and the Kansas City Metropolitan Area has lost jobs in connection with this change, both are likely to be a major source of employment for the foreseeable future for persons trained in and/or directed to new areas of specialization which are emerging within them.

Viewed from this perspective, a Petrochemical and Agribusiness Industries High School, with an up-to-date curriculum reflecting recent changes and an instructional staff familiar with the latest developments in these fields, could help solidify the metropolitan area's place as a regional and national center for service in petrochemical and agricultural-related services, attracting new industries and businesses with unusual long-range growth potential.

Probably the most desirable location for this high school would be in Kansas City, Kansas, perhaps near the intersection of I-635 and I-70. A suitable facility in an underutilized or currently non-utilized building probably could be found and rehabilitated relatively quickly, and, if properly selected and planned, might help serve as a basis for further renewal of the Gateway-Northeast-Central Business District (CBD) part of the city in much the same way as the Health Science Occupations High School might do in Kansas City, Missouri.

4. Performing and Fine Arts High School.

Like the other magnet high schools described above, a high school specializing in the performing and fine arts could offer opportunities vastly superior to those which now exist in these fields in traditional high schools because specialized staff, curricula, and facilities are required to provide optimal preparation while still offering excellent preparation in other areas of study. High schools offering specialized opportunities in performing and fine arts are attractive not only to students with unusual talent or developed interest in these fields, but also to students who are searching for opportunities other than those emphasized in traditional high schools; partly for this reason, magnet schools in the performing and fine arts which are being established elsewhere in the country tend to have long lists of students waiting to enroll.

One natural location for the Performing and Fine Arts High School would be near the Country Club Plaza cultural center and UMKC, with its emerging emphasis on and facilities for advanced education in these areas. Access from Highways 50 and 71 would be fairly good, and many possibilities would exist for coordinating training and facilities in the area. Students preparing for careers in commercial art, for example, would be

relatively close to Crown Center as well as the Plaza, where they might find part-time on-the-job employment opportunities. UMKC students preparing to teach in these fields could work closely with high school students as part of the scholastic requirements at each institution, and nearby facilities such as theatres, radio stations, and art galleries could be drawn on to carry out the program of instruction. In addition, a suitable facility---perhaps Paseo High School--probably could be found and converted to a Performing and Fine Arts High School within a relatively short period of time, and the new school in turn might help stimulate redevelopment in deteriorating parts of the city East and South of the University and the Village Green apartment complex.

5. Commercial High School.

Many big cities such as Chicago and Boston have long successfully operated high schools oriented toward careers in commercial fields such as sales and merchandising. Even though excellent specialized opportunities for careers in these areas have been slowly expanding for decades, enrollment has not kept pace because--among other reasons--central city neighborhoods have deteriorated and middle status students who might be interested in enrolling have been moving to the suburbs. In brief, some outstanding commercial high schools have come to be perceived as low status centers for the inner city poor--particularly during the era now ending when people thought any "decent" student had to go to an academic high school and then to college.

In any case, moreover, central city school districts have not had the funds to expand or even adequately maintain outstanding commercial high schools, and most suburban school districts have lacked sufficiently sizeable and interested student populations to establish such schools in the first place. The net result has been a loss for everyone: neither

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the central city nor the suburbs are able to offer adequate preparation for commercial careers, and instead shunt low status students into "dumping ground" non-programs (e.g. remedial work to prepare unskilled clerks) and/or shunt middle status students into professional career lines for which many are neither suited nor interested.

Kansas City has never had an outstanding commercial high school, probably in part because the central city districts (K.C. Mo. and K.C. Ks.) are relatively small, and personnel trained in commercial fields were never in as great demand as in many other cities. Times have changed, however, with the partial revitalization of the CBD, the building of the new convention center and arena, natural growth in all aspects of commerce and merchandising, and long-term nation-wide economic shifts from manufacturing toward services and commercial jobs. Occupations for which students would be trained could include bookkeeping, merchandising, key punch operations, stenography, sales, advertising, and others for which market demand remains relatively high. The most natural place to locate a Commercial High School is near the CBD, of course, but it might be desirable to establish several satellite centers at easily-accessible commercial centers like the Oak Park Mall near I-35 or the Independence Center near I-70. A centrally-located Commercial High with several satellite centers could share specialized instructional personnel and facilities, and students might well rotate from one location to another to obtain experience in a variety of differing commercial settings.

In addition to the magnet high schools described above, a number of other possibilities exist for improving instructional opportunities for youth in the metropolitan area and simultaneously achieving racial and social integration at the secondary level. These and other possibilities should be carefully explored along with detail studies of the feasibility of the magnet high schools already recommended above for

consideration. Among the most promising additional possibilities are the following:

- Metropolitan High School Without Walls.

  Many large cities now have one or more so-called High Schools Without Walls established in recognition of the fact that nearly all high schools in the United States no longer provide satisfactory educational opportunities for many of the students who attend them. A growing proportion of secondary youth are unwilling or unable to learn very much in traditional classroom settings, and neither leaving them alone to sit bored in school nor forcing them out on streets helps the young people involved or society as a whole. Equally or more important, much of what many young people should learn cannot be learned within traditional high schools in the first place. For these reasons High Schools without Walls are being established to provide an opportunity for acquiring skills and participating in valuable learning experiences which seldom are available within the four walls of the traditional high school.

  For example, a High School Without Walls provides opportunities to develop career interests and vocational skills which it simply is not feasible to pursue meaningfully in existing high schools. A Kansas City High School Without Walls, for example, would give students a chance to prepare for jobs in the area's growing underground industry complex, in its emerging international trade centers, in its regional recreational facilities, and in a myriad of other locations which will provide a substantial proportion of future jobs. Similarly, students at a High School

Without Walls or a comparable high school oriented toward community learning settings could pursue various special interests by studying part time in government offices[3] (also a major source of jobs); at major cultural institutions such as the Art Gallery, the Museum, and the Planetarium; at a wide variety of businesses such as the utility companies and the transportation companies; or at a Missouri River School designed to develop career and other skills in a number of academic areas.[4] Many students in such programs would develop definite career goals which they would pursue later, and all would have a chance to learn more directly and effectively than is now possible about the urban society in which they live and their responsibilities as citizens within it. Many high schools now provide opportunities of these kinds for a few students, through such courses as COE (work-study) and urban-affairs oriented social studies, but traditional scheduling and organization make it infeasible to do so on any but a token basis.

It should be emphasized that students might attend a School Without Walls for only one, two, or three years between grades nine and twelve, thus making it possible for a significant proportion of secondary youth to attend such a school even though enrollment was limited to 750 or 1000. Chicago operates an outstanding Metropolitan High School Without Walls but less than five hundred students are allowed to attend, and suburban students are

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[3] Two metropolitan programs of this type--The Metro City School and the Political Discovery Program--are now being established in the Boston SMSA.

[4] Similar river-oriented programs have been established in Cincinnati and Boston.

excluded from participation. A truly metropolitan school of this type would be much preferable because it would provide educational opportunities for suburban as well as central city students.

- Metropolitan Ecology and Nature Centers.

With its magnificent park facilities and its unusual amount of open green space, the Kansas City Metropolitan Area is an ideal region in which to establish secondary learning centers concentrating on ecological and natural science studies. Several such mini-centers already exist, particularly the program at Swope Park, but for the most part these programs are designed for middle-grade students and emphasize recreational studies with formal learning provided only haphazardly and unsystematically. Developing such centers with much more systematic and longer-term learning opportunities would offer students a chance to pursue career interests involving ecological problems which are certain to be serious national problems--and sources of substantial employment--for the foreseeable future, and would help equip students with knowledge and understanding of the problems they will have to solve in maintaining the future "livability" of the metropolitan area.

Centers of this type could be established and/or expanded at Swope Park, Shawnee Mission Park, the Eastern Jackson County lake area, and several other dispersed locations accessible to major highway routes. While the larger school districts in the region (i.e. K. C. Mo; K. C. Ks.; Shawnee Mission; North Kansas City) may already have the capacity to operate such programs on their own, it would be desirable to have them function as part of a coordinated metropolitan network providing differing specialized facilities at each location which could be drawn on as needed by students throughout the area.

- Metropolitan Vocational High Schools.

The Kansas City Metropolitan Area already has several vocational high schools, including an outstanding one operated by the Kansas City, Missouri School District. Much more in the way of vocational high school programs is needed, however, in order to adequately serve area youth. Experts in the field of vocational education estimate that a pupil population base of 42,000 is required in order to establish and maintain an efficient vocational high school with up-to-date facilities and programs.[5] Few of the school districts in the metropolitan area currently serve anywhere near this size population base. It is true that limited arrangements for enlarging the population base and otherwise sharing the high costs of modern vocational training already are in effect, but these arrangements fall far short of enabling area school districts to deliver modern training for all who could benefit from it. To accomplish this latter goal requires metropolitan or at least semi-metropolitan planning and cooperation.

Metropolitan vocational high school programs could be operated successfully at a number of locations including vocational high schools already established in Kansas City, Missouri, Eastern Jackson County, and Kansas City, Kansas. Given some expansion at these sites and establishment of additional convenient sites such

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[5]This estimate was based on the response of experts surveyed in The Great Plains School District Organization Project which examined the organization of public education in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska. One important conclusion of the project was that "comprehensive vocational educational opportunities at the secondary school level must be provided in centers serving multi-administrative districts, or multi-secondary school centers in large administrative districts." Guidelines for School District Organization. Lincoln, Nebraska: The Great Plains School District Organization Project, 1968, p. 93.

as the intersections of I-435 with I-71 and I-35,[6] occupational and career training for young people throughout the metropolitan area could be substantially improved. Particularly if students attended such highly-specialized facilities on a half-day basis, a significant proportion of area youth could be enrolled, and opportunities for career orientation programs for sixth, seventh, and eighth graders could be greatly enhanced.

It should be emphasized that all the possibilities for magnet high schools described above as well as others which might be proposed following more extensive study are well in line with proposals for improving secondary education put forward by thoughtful and concerned laymen and educators throughout the nation. The past few years have brought growing recognition that traditional secondary school programs no longer achieve or can achieve many of the purposes they were established to serve. Evidence of this has become so overwhelming that a number of prestigious national commissions have been formed to determine what went wrong in secondary education and what might be done to revive and revitalize it.[7] Harry Passow of Teachers College, Columbia University has reviewed their reports and identified eleven common themes all of which are compatible with the analysis in this chapter advocating the establishment of a system of metropolitan magnet high schools:

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[6] Vocational high school programs at these sites should be coordinated, respectively, with Longview Community and Johnson County Community Colleges.

[7] These commissions and their reports include the following: The National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, The Reform of Secondary Education: A Report to the Public and the Profession. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, Report of the

First, the objectives of youth education are broad and encompassing . . . /and are not/ limited to the acquisition of cognitive skills and knowledge . . . /and which should include/ the acquisition of skills that expand the personal resources . . . /and learning/ of responsibilities affecting other persons. . . .

Second, there is consensus that the high school does not and cannot provide a complete environment for youth education. . . .

Third, the age-segregation of youth must be overcome if they are to be provided a more complete environment for transition to adulthood. . . .

Fourth, an effective education-work policy must be developed. . . .

Fifth, citizenship education should be moved into the larger community . . . .

Sixth, a variety of educational options and alterna-- tive programs should be provided both within and outside the school with public financial support for students exercising choice among the alternatives. . . .

Seventh, the range and kinds of nonformal educational opportunities should be extended. . . .

Eighth, compulsory attendance laws should be changed so as to lower the school-leaving age and individuals should be offered alternatives to the conventional twelve-year schooling pattern. . . .

Ninth, the learning and teaching sources of school and community should be integrated. The high school is described as an encapsulated, isolated institution. . . . The reports urge such integration be developed not just in terms of alternative programs but rather for the total educational process. . . .

Tenth, secondary education should be designed as an integral part in a lifetime continuum of education. . . .

National Panel. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1974.
Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Youth: Transition to Adulthood. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
Conference Report on American Youth in the Mid-Seventies. Washington, D. C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1972.

> Eleventh, the size of the high school should be drastically reduced and its functions made more specialized. . . .The proposals for alternative programs are also aimed at creating different kinds of environments from that found in the traditional school. . . .Work, citizenship education, and aesthetic education are among the areas for which non-school agencies would be given greater responsibility, in coordination with the high school.[8]

ELEMENTARY MAGNET ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS

Alternative magnet school programs at the elementary level provide a vehicle for substantially improving the quality of instructional experiences in schools in the metropolitan area while also reducing the racial and social isolation of city and suburban youngsters, both white and black. A large variety of such programs could be and in fact are being envisioned and established in other metropolitan areas but the Kansas City Metropolitan Area has lagged behind many others and the quality of instruction is sadly deficient in all too many schools. Both part-time and full-time metropolitan magnet programs could help to rectify the situation.

PART-TIME LEARNING CENTERS

One of the most promising approaches for improving elementary education in the metropolitan area would be to establish subject-matter Learning Centers which students at a particular grade level could attend for anywhere from one week to one month per year in order to study in specialized facilities under specialized staff in a given subject area. The reason that these centers are able to provide superior instruction is because no single elementary school or group of elementary schools

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[8] A. Harry Passow, Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976, pp. 38-46.

can afford to purchase or maintain the equipment or hire the specialized staff to systematically provide a high degree of enrichment in a given subject area.

For example, an elementary learning center (such as Topeka's Adventure Center) in science can maintain a planetarium, an aquarium, a collection of basic scientific machinery, high-powered microscopes for each student, and an endless variety of other equipment which can make science studies more effective and more interesting. An elementary learning center in math can maintain a variety of instructional aides including computers, visual displays, and experimental equipment which help both slow and fast learners master mathematics skills more quickly and thoroughly. Provided that home school staff accompany their students and help conduct instruction at the learning center, and provided that the learning center curriculum is closely articulated with curricula the remainder of the school year, learning centers can be a boon not just in terms of enrichment of existing instruction but also in improving basic skills of both students and teachers.

A model for this type of program already exists in Cleveland, where students in the middle grades attend learning center programs devoted respectively to science, social studies, mathematics, and fine arts (depending on the grade level) for one week a year. Other elementary subject areas in which instruction could be enriched and improved through this approach include ecology and nature studies, career education, and physical education. Unfortunately no school district in the Kansas City area has had a sufficient pupil population base or funding to introduce this type of program on a systematic basis covering a variety of subject areas over a period of several school years.

FULL-TIME LEARNING CENTERS

Many students could be attracted to and could benefit from attendance at full-time learning centers which emphasize particular instructional approaches such as self-directed learning, "discovery" or experimental methods of learning, and exploration of the physical and social environment of which the school is a part. Parents frequently prefer this type of approach for their children, and many children learn better and maintain more interest in education following such approaches to instruction, but most elementary schools have been able to do very little to modify traditional practices and procedures to implement them effectively. As a result, many parents who can afford to do so send their children to private schools which are able to provide flexible and non-traditional programs for students who can benefit from them. Some of these private schools are located within the boundaries of the Kansas City, Missouri School District, in effect making them elitist--though racially integrated--magnet schools to which parents transport their children from a considerable distance.

One model for this type of public school exists in Rochester, New York which has operated the World of Inquiry School since 1967 and which enrolls students from suburban as well as central city neighborhoods. Another existed in Chicago, where the Ray Elementary School had considerable success in improving learning for low status minority students as well as high status whites. The World of Inquiry School has demonstrated that many suburban children can be attracted to an outstanding elementary learning center, while the Ray School demonstrated that such a school can help preserve neighborhood stability and can be an important part of a successful effort to renew deteriorating big city

neighborhoods. Schools of this type could be established at presently unused or underutilized schools in Kansas City, Missouri, Shawnee Mission, and other districts, and thus also could help solve the problems connected with declining enrollment which recently have plagued a number of school boards in the metropolitan area.

OTHER FULL-TIME ELEMENTARY MAGNET SCHOOLS

In addition to Learning Centers, many school districts are establishing or planning to establish alternative elementary schools which provide superior instructional opportunities and also have the capability of attracting students from a wide geographic area. One of the most promising of the approaches being developed for this purpose is the Individually Guided Education School (IGE), which forms the basis for Cincinnati's so-called "Fundamental School" program for establishing learning alternatives for elementary students.

The IGE approach emphasizes improvement of basic skills through built-in methods for identifying and solving individual learning problems and for providing individual assistance to help students adjust better in school and/or find school more rewarding and enriching. Many educators believe that the IGE approach, or variations on it, is the single most promising development in education in the past fifty years, with great potential for solving a variety of school problems including poor discipline, student alienation, and low academic performance levels.

The IGE approach is now being implemented in all parts of the country, but Kansas and Missouri lag far behind and only a few schools in the two states have been working seriously to develop IGE or similar approaches. In part this may be because IGE programs are thought to

be most promising when a network of participating schools and external supportive resources are available to enhance efforts in development and implementation. The Kansas City, Missouri School District fitfully carried on a preliminary effort to develop IGE schools but little progress has been made due to problems in initial funding and other areas.

Meanwhile, capable resource personnel to help in development are available at Kansas University, Kansas State University, the University of Missouri at Kansas City, the University of Missouri at Columbia, and other institutions in the region. Drawing on these resources, a metropolitan network of IGE schools easily could be established at eight, ten, or more strategic locations designed to improve instructional opportunities for students from a variety of backgrounds and neighborhoods. Like the High School Magnet Programs and Elementary Learning Centers described above, these schools also could serve other important goals such as stabilization of integrated neighborhoods and renewal of deteriorated neighborhoods, simultaneous improvement and equalization of educational opportunities between city and suburban school districts, and upgrading of the skills and capabilities of teachers in public schools throughout the metropolitan area..

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter has described several types of programs which might be established in undertaking voluntary city-suburban efforts to improve educational opportunities for elementary and secondary students in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. Efforts to initiate and operate such programs will be neither easy to organize nor simple to carry out. A large number of obstacles of various sorts can be anticipated at every step in the process, including legal, financial, and bureaucratic difficulties which are certain to be raised from the very beginning. Much

will depend on the amount of time and influence civic leaders are willing to devote to making such programs a reality. Much also will depend on the degree to which concrete, resource-consuming action is taken to reach the general public and gain widespread support. One of the products least needed in the Kansas City area at this time is still another glossy report to be filed on the shelf of materials from prestigious organizations designating education as the major public function which must be improved to assure the future prosperity of the metropolitan area.

One of the earliest problems to appear in implementing city-suburban programs is that of funding, particularly at a time when school districts are strapped for money. Despite the fact that the programs described in this chapter would be inexpensive in relation to the gains they might yield in improved educational opportunity and efficient operation of the schools, significant amounts of money would be required to pay for teacher training, facility rehabilitation, curriculum preparation, and a number of other activities and services indispensable to their successful implementation. Some of these funds probably would be available from federal sources, but others would require changes and improvements in state legislation and funding.

Matters involving transfer of students from one school district to another, the distribution of Title I funds for students transferring out of inner city schools, and allocation of local resources for regional purposes also would require action or even legislation at the State government level. Some other states are considering or even moving toward passage of such legislation, particularly in states like Minnesota, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Illinois where some influential legislators recognize

the advantages which might accrue from city-suburban cooperation to improve educational opportunities in the public schools. Little or no such recognition appears to exist as yet in the Kansas and Missouri legislatures, and interested citizens in the Kansas City SMSA could make a major contribution to the solution of metropolitan educational problems by initiating and supporting a long-range campaign to bring about appropriate legislative action in both states.

Finally, it should be emphasized that even the successful establishment and operation of programs such as those described above constitute only a short-range response to the problems of racial and social isolation which exist in the schools and other public institutions in metropolitan areas like Kansas City. Ultimately, changes in city-suburban housing patterns which lock many of the poor and the socially disadvantaged into deteriorated sections of the metropolitan area must occur if equal and adequate opportunity in education and other fields is to be provided for the entire metropolitan population.

Recognizing this, and prodded by a large-scale required busing program which inconveniences a number of students in the public schools, officials in the Louisville area have begun to advocate and support serious efforts to increase racial and socioeconomic integration in housing throughout that metropolitan area. For example, in contrast to Kansas City and most other metropolitan areas where action to support housing integration has been only token and toothless, the City of Louisville and Jefferson County have joined together to require that federally-aided housing, lending, and community development funds will be used in practice (instead of on paper) to promote desegregated housing on a county-wide basis.[9] Here, too, is another type of goal on

[9] "Sec. 8 to Aid Busing Plan," Trends in Housing, v. 19, no. 6 (Winter 1975-76), p. 4.

which interested citizens in Kansas City can work with local civic and government leaders to improve educational opportunities available to young people in the metropolitan area.

APPENDIX B

TABLE B-1
GREATER KANSAS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS:
NUMBERS OF PUPILS, TEACHERS, AND BUILDINGS

DISTRICT	DATE	NO. OF PUPILS	NO. OF TEACHERS	NO. OF SCHOOLS
KANSAS				
Shawnee Mission	1974	41,861	1849	69
Kansas City (Ks)	1974	30,473	1311	57
Bonner Springs	1974	2,365	111	10
Olathe	1972	5,400	221	13
Turner	1972	4,986	211	10
Piper	1972	679	29	7
MISSOURI				
Blue Springs	1972	4,558	188	6
Center	1972	5,376	252	9
Excelsior Springs	1972	3,463	142	7
Fort Osage	1972	5,064	222	10
Grandview	1972	6,438	274	9
Hickman Mills	1972	14,044	608	15
Independence	1972	16,046	673	26
Kansas City	1974	56,701	2419	77
Lee's Summit	1972	6,029	270	10
Liberty	1974	4,014	157(1972)	8(1972)
North Kansas City	1974	21,608	896	36
Park Hill	1972	6,029	277	8
Raytown	1972	14,900	657	16

SOURCES: OCR FORMS 101, 102, EEO-4 and other data provided by State education authorities to staff.

APPENDIX B
TABLE B-2
GREATER KANSAS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS: ETHNIC COMPOSITION
STUDENTS

	BLACK	SPANISH ORIGIN	OTHER MINORITIES	OTHER CAUCASIAN
KANSAS				
Shawnee Mission	273	395	264	40,929
Kansas City	11,417	1,363	156	17,538
Bonner Springs	264	87	14	2,000
Olathe	167	24	24	5,085
Turner	28	113	14	4,831
Piper	14	31	1	633
MISSOURI				
Raytown	78	86	91	14,695
Kansas City	32,731	1,943	300	21,227
Center	73	44	24	5,235
Hickman Mills	211	0	6	13,827
North Kansas City	60	209	142	21,197
Liberty	115	15	28	3,856
Blue Springs	6	45	51	4,456
Fort Osage	4	21	5	5,034
Lee's Summit	9	18	24	5,978
Grandview	114	53	42	6,229
Independence	135	159	172	14,755
Park Hill	29	28	38	5,933

SOURCES: Data supplied by O.C.R. and Kansas Department of Education.

APPENDIX B

TABLE B-3 : DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN GREATER KANSAS CITY

DISTRICT	1970 BLACK POPULATION	1972-73 MINORITY STUDENT POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION
KANSAS			
Shawnee Mission	0%	1.6%	182,470
Kansas City (Ks)	38.3	22.2	155,923
Bonner Springs	15.5	7.5	9,957
Olathe	NA	4.0	NA
Turner	0	3.1	19,106
Piper	0	NA	NA
MISSOURI			
Center	0	2.6	33,581
Grandview	0	3.2	17,894
Hickman Mills	0	0.8	47,882
Independence	0.9	2.6	67,643
Kansas City	30.1	64.4	370,109
Lee's Summit	0	0.8	21,749
Liberty	0	3.0	16,014
North Kansas City	0	1.3	87,451
Raytown	0	1.4	59,586

NA - Data not available on these districts

SOURCE: Daniel U. Levine, University of Missouri-Kansas City, tables.

APPENDIX - C

DATA ON PUPIL TRANSPORTATION

Using transportation data provided by Mid-America Regional Council, staff calculated travel time between six central city high schools which are predominantly black and seventeen high schools which are predominantly white (including sixteen from the suburban districts and Van Horn which is in KCSD). The results of these calculations are reported here.

The tables show the time required to travel between the two sites and to load and unload. They do not reflect additional time which might be required for intermediate stops, or for a less than optimum route such stops might require.

Kansas City (Mo.) School District contains four schools that are overwhelmingly black: Lincoln, Central, South-East and Paseo. Time required to travel between these and suburban schools are shown in table C-1, which appears on the next page.

For the two predominantly minority high schools in Kansas City (Ks.) only optimum travel between them and shawnee Mission was calculated. The results appear in Table C- 2

TABLE C- 2
OPTIMUM TRAVEL BETWEEN TWO KANSAS CITY, KANSAS CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS AND TWO SHAWNEE MISSION SCHOOLS (IN MINUTES)

Sumner to	Shawnee Mission-North-West	22
	Shawnee Mission-North	22
J.C. Harmon to	Shawnee Mission-North-West	19
	Shawnee Mission-North	11

SOURCE: MARC

APPENDIX - C

TABLE C-1

TRAVEL TIME BETWEEN 4 CENTRAL CITY AND 17 SUBURBAN SCHOOLS. (IN MINUTES)

BETWEEN NAMES	PASEO	LINCOLN	CENTRAL	SOUTH EAST
Van Horn	18	12	10	17
Raytown	15	20	16	13
Hickman Mills	16	22	18	11
Ruskin	19	27	22	14
Center	12	21	20	10
Grandview	22	29	25	17
Raytown South	15	21	15	12
Chrisman	28	22	22	27
North Kansas City	21	12	18	28
North Kansas City - Winnetonka	32	23	27	32
Park Hill	31	23	28	38
Oak Park	29	20	25	35
Shawnee Mission - East	17	24	23	17
Shawnee Mission - West	22	25	26	24
Shawnee Mission - South	23	30	28	20
Shawnee Mission-North West	10	17	17	11
Shawnee Mission - North	17	20	21	21

SOURCE: MARC

Table C-3 shows travel time between the four Kansas City School District schools in alternate attendance areas. Tests were made for districts including Kansas City School District and Jackson County schools; combine Kansas City School District with Platte and Clay County schools; combine Kansas City School District and Johnson County (Ks.) schools; combine Kansas City School District with suburban schools in Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties; combine Kansas City School District with Jackson, Clay, Platte and Johnson County schools.

Table C-4 shows the effect of optimum distribution of pupils from the six central city schools to other schools in the five counties.

Clearly these tables reflect optimum conditions. Moreover, they are intended to do no more than illustrate the relative ease with which various transportation schemes might be used to reduce racial isolation. It should be noted that involvement of the elementary schools would produce another set of data, perhaps somewhat different.

Mid-America Regional Council which supplied the data for these calculations is capable of providing far more detailed information. It reports that it has the capability to calculate transportation routes from centers of minority population to predominantly white schools and from centers of white population to predominantly minority schools. In such calculations might be included additional data held by MARC which would allow fairly precise estimation of the numbers of white and minority students to be transported from each point to each school.

APPENDIX - C
TABLE C-3

AVERAGE TRAVEL TIME BETWEEN CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS IN KANSAS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT AND SCHOOLS IN THE SUBURBS, PRESUMING ALTERNATE ATTENDANCE AREAS (IN MINUTES)

Lincoln to	Jackson County	21.75
	Clay and Platte Counties	19.5
	Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties	21.0
	Johnson County	23.2
	5 County	21.64
Central to	Jackson County	18.5
	Clay and Platte Counties	24.5
	Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties	20.5
	Johnson County	23.0
	5 County	21.23
Paseo to	Jackson County	18.13
	Clay and Platte Counties	28.25
	Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties	21.5
	Johnson County	17.8
	5 County	20.4
Southeast to	Jackson County	15.13
	Clay and Platte Counties	33.25
	Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties	21.16
	Johnson County	18.6
	5 County	20.41

SOURCE: MARC

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