DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 133 389 UD 016 637

AUTHOR	Chin, Laura, Ed.
TITLE	The Six-District Plan. Integration of the Springfield, Mass., Elementary Schools. A Report of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.
INSTITUTION	Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Boston.
PUB DATE	Mar 76
NOTE	65p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Bus Transportation; Citizen Role; Community Role; *Elementary Education; *Integration Methods; *Integration Plans; Negro Education; Race Relations; Racial Integration; *School Integration; *Success Factors
IDENTIFIERS	*Massachusetts (Springfield); *Six District Plan

ABSTRACT

This report reviews the first year of integration, under the implementation of the Six-District Plan, of the elementary schools in Springfield, Massachusetts. Through this plan the school department changed the racial composition in five previously imbalanced elementary schools and integrated the elementary school system. Redistricting, the reassignment of students, and the transportation of students were major tools in this plan. A profile of both the community and the school system is provided in the report, and the historical events that led up to school integration are reviewed. In the description of the plan, special attention is given to the problem of students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. The city of Springfield was able to integrate its elementary schools with a minimum of trouble. Some of the factors responsible for this are: The school department worked over several years to develop and implement the plan. Both the mayor and the school superintendent lent their leadership and support. In addition, Springfield's prior experience in integrating the junior and senior high schools probably facilitated integration of the elementary schools. The plan is still opposed by many residents who believe that mandatory busing is not the appropriate path to integration. Of much greater seriousness is the unsolved problem of the Puerto Rican students. (Author/AM)

THE SIX-DISTRICT PLAN

INTEGRATION OF THE SPRINGFIELD, MASS., ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

—A report of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee 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 conclusions in this report are those of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and, as such, are not attributable to the Commission.

March 1976

THE SIX-DISTRICT PLAN

Integration of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Elementary Schools

--A report prepared by the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

ATTRIBUTION:

The conclusions contained in this report are those of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee 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 Committee for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
March 1976

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Sirs and Madam:

The Massachusetts Advisory Committee submits this report on the desegregation of the Springfield, Massachusetts, elementary school system as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission on relevant civil rights problems within the State.

In the spring of 1975, the Advisory Committee and Commission staff interviewed members of the Springfield School Committee, the school department, other city agencies, and civil rights, civic, and other community groups. The Advisory Committee collected the data in preparation for the Commission's hearing on the Boston school system. The major conclusions were presented at that hearing, which was held June 16-20, 1975, in Boston.

The study focused on the implementation of the city's Six-District Plan, by which the school department changed the racial composition in five previously imbalanced elementary schools and integrated the elementary school system. Redistricting, the reassignment of students, and the transportation of students were major tools in this plan.

The Advisory Committee concluded that the plan was implemented without serious difficulty for two major reasons: first, the political leadership took a strong stand in support of compliance with the State-ordered plan; and, second, the school department made specific and careful preparations for the implementation of the plan.

The Advisory Committee is forwarding this report to city officials and members of civil rights, community, and civic groups in Springfield.

Respectfully,

/s/

Julius Bernstein
Chairman

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Northeastern Regional Office, New York, N.Y., for its help in the preparation of this report. Research and writing assistance was provided by Linda Dunn and Eleanor Telemaque. Legal assistance was provided by Eugene Bogan, regional attorney. Staff support was provided by Diane Diggs, Yvonne Griffith, and America Ortiz. All worked under the guidance of Jacques E. Wilmore, regional director.

The Advisory Committee also wishes to acknowledge the valuable contribution of Kristine Haag, who completed a research study of the Springfield school system.

Final edit and review was conducted in the Commission's Office of Field Operations, Washington, D.C., by editor Laura Chin, assisted by Audree Holton.

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

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: 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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PREFACE

In March 1975 the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights decided to review the process by which the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, integrated its elementary school system in the fall of 1974 to comply with the State's Racial Imbalance Act. This effort focuses on the implementation of the city's integration program known as the Six-District Plan and covers only the first year of its implementation through June 1975. The Committee did not attempt to evaluate the impact of the plan on race relations in the school system or in the community as a whole.

The Advisory Committee undertook this project to provide additional information for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) at its factfinding hearings on the integration of the Boston public schools. During the spring, public officials, school department staff, teachers, parents, and other persons involved in the integration of the Springfield schools were interviewed. Data on the school population and programs were gathered and the Six-District Plan was analyzed.

It is the Advisory Committee's hope that an analysis of how Springfield peacefully integrated its elementary schools will be useful to the Commissioners in their current study of desegregation in selected school systems across the country.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Profile of the Community

According to the 1970 census, the population of Springfield is 163,905. About 13.1 percent are members of racial and ethnic minority groups; of that percentage, 12.6 percent are black and approximately 3.3 percent are of Spanish speaking background.[1] Springfield, like many other cities in the United States, is declining in population. Its population has dropped from 174,463 in 1960 by about 6 percent. During that time, the white population has decreased by 11.5 percent while the minority population increased by 60.1 percent.[2] As is typical of most cities, many whites have moved to the suburbs and lower income minority groups have come to the city.[3]

1. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Massachusetts, Table 81 (hereafter cited as Social and Economic Characteristics). Minority include blacks, Asian Americans, and American Indians; Spanish speaking background persons are classified as white.

2. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, Massachusetts. Tables 23 and 24. It is generally conceded that there is an undercount of the Puerto Rican population in the 1970 census. See the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, Counting the Forgotten (April 1974).

3. Hereafter minority refers only to black and Spanish speaking background persons in this report.

TABLE I

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD

Population by Race: 1960 and 1970

	Total	Minority	% Minority	White[1]	% White
1960	174,463	13,363	7.66	161,000	92.37
1970	163,905	21,387	13.05	142,518	86.95
Change	-10,558	+8,024		-18,582	
% Change	-6.05%	+60.05%		-11.54%	

1. Spanish speaking background persons are classified as white in this table.

Source: 1970 Census.

In 1970 almost one-third of Springfield's population belonged to white ethnic groups, of which almost 9 percent were first-generation and the remainder second-generation. These groups, listed in order of their greatest representation, include French Canadians, Italians, Irish, Polish, and Greeks.[4]

According to several persons interviewed by the Advisory Committee, Springfield prides itself on being a city of great tolerance for racial minorities.[5] This is due, they say, to the mix of races, especially Irish and blacks, who have lived together in the city for a long time. The black community in Springfield traces its roots to before the Civil War when Springfield was a stop along the underground railroad. In recent years, an increasing number

4. Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 81.

5. Several sources, including Maureen M. Wark, member of the school committee, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 15, 1975 (hereafter cited as Wark Interview); Richard Garvey, editor of the Springfield Daily News, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 1, 1975.

of lower-income blacks and Puerto Ricans have moved into the city. Although there are no accurate census statistics, Spanish speaking background persons are the fastest growing population.[6]

Because of a recent influx of immigrants, Springfield has a high percentage of people who have not had much schooling. Of all persons over the age of 25, only one-half have completed high school and only 7.5 percent have completed 4 years of college or more.[7] Nevertheless, the four colleges in the city of Springfield - American International College, Springfield College, Springfield Technical Community College, and Western New England College - contribute to the quality of life in the community.

In Springfield the median income for all families in 1969 was $9,612, almost $800 below the State average. About 9.6 percent of all families had an income below the poverty level. Of that percentage, 25.6 percent were black, 10.4 percent were of Spanish speaking background, and the remainder were white.[8]

Although there are no physically-isolated communities in Springfield, there are distinctive neighborhoods characterized by income level and ethnic group. Hungry Hill is the old Irish section located in the Liberty Heights area. Winchester Square, the heart of the black community, is located in the Model Cities or Hill-McKnight area. This old, deteriorating section, a mile west of the central city, has been the residence of blacks for many generations. But in the last 10 years, blacks have moved into other areas of the city and Puerto Ricans have moved into Brightwood, the North End, and western Liberty Heights, all formerly white neighborhoods.

Urban renewal and highway construction are changing the profile of the oldest sections of the city, including the central business district, Pearl, the North End, and the South End. These

6. The growth in the Spanish speaking background school population between 1965 and 1974 is one indication of the growing Puerto Rican population. See Table II in this report.

7. Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 83.

8. Ibid., Tables 89, 90, and 101.

are the neighborhoods with greatest decreases in population and the lowest mean income of the city.[9] They are approximately 95 percent white.

By contrast, the fastest growing and one of the highest income areas of the city is Sixteen Acres, which is a predominantly white residential neighborhood at the southeast edge of the city.[10]

B. Profile of the School System

1. Structure

Springfield's public school system consists of 47 schools: 4 high schools, 6 junior high schools, 36 elementary schools, and 1 special services school.[11] The four high schools are all located in or near the center of the city. Each has a distinctive curriculum (technical, commercial, college preparatory, etc.) and has been integrated under a voluntary open enrollment system since the early 1900s. The junior high schools include grades seven to nine. They were integrated in 1968 when a predominantly black school was closed and its students assigned to the other facilities in the city.

Until 1974 the elementary schools[12] generally served the neighborhoods in which they were located. Eight elementary schools were built before 1900 and nine more before 1925. As the population expanded, new schools were built in the outlying areas. Consequently, the schools in the old areas of the city, now inhabited by low-income whites, blacks, and Puerto Ricans, tend to be older than those serving predominantly white neighborhoods. Although there is no

9. Springfield, Mass., Planning Department, Summary of the Neighborhood Analysis, City-wide Profile and Individual Neighborhood Profiles (June 1973).

10. Ibid.

11. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Research Office, Data on Springfield Public Schools (hereafter cited as Research Department Data). Available in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR), Northeastern Regional Office files.

12. Ibid.

clear-cut correlation between date of construction and quality of facility, more outlying schools have better facilities than inner-city schools.[13]

Springfield's elementary and secondary school facilities are not in adequate condition. In its 1972 report on the Springfield school system, the Educational Planning Associates concluded that 22 of the city's 36 elementary school facilities were not up to standard, and recommended that 16 of those schools be abandoned.[14]

Although Springfield never operated a dual school system or one with de jure segregation, in 1972,[15] 5 of the 36 elementary schools were racially imbalanced.[16] Since the focus of school integration is on these five schools, it is appropriate to include an additional word on their condition. Two schools, Homer Street in district III and Tapley in district V, were constructed before 1900; their facilities are old and, according to the Educational Planning Associates study, not in adequate condition.[17] Both lack

13. Educational Planning Associates, Springfield Schools in the 1970's (January 1972), pp. 13-16, 19-23 (hereafter cited as Clinchy Report).

14. Clinchy Report, pp. 112-115.

15. William C. Sullivan, mayor, letter to Jacques E. Wilmore, regional director, Dec. 24, 1975, in which the mayor responded to a draft of this report. His Letter and response are available in USCCR files. See also Appendix B of this report.

16. Research Department Data. Under the State Racial Imbalance Act, a school is racially imbalanced if its student body is 50 percent or more minority. Throughout this report, the term "segregated" is used to describe schools which are racially imbalanced under the State Racial Imbalance Act, and "integration" is used to describe efforts to achieve racial balance.

17. Clinchy Report, p. 113.

gymnasiums and cafeterias. At the Homer Street School, lighting is poor and pipes are not insulated.[18] The school department has been considering closing both schools for at least 5 years.[19]

The Brookings Schools in district I was built in 1925 and has both a gymnasium and a cafeteria. The DeBerry school, which was built in 1950, has a combined gymnasium-cafeteria.[20] The Ells school built in 1960 has a separate gymnasium and cafeteria.

2. School Committee

The Springfield school system is administered by a citywide, elected school committee of seven members. The voting chairperson is, by statute, the mayor. The school committee appoints the superintendent and the assistants.

According to many persons interviewed, the Springfield school system is a very closely knit group, as are many small-town systems. School department staff maintain a high degree of both horizontal and vertical communication. A large number of employees have been in the school system for a long time.[21] The school committee members are known personally to hundreds of Springfield's residents and have interlocking relationships with other government institutions. Wilbur J. Hogan, who is third-generation Irish, has been on the school committee for 12 years and is active in parent-teacher and civic groups. The wife of Francis P. Coughlin, another school committee member, is on the city council. One of the seven members, Dr. Walter H. English, is black. A former teacher in the public school system, he was elected on a pro-busing platform in 1972. Voting records as well as public statements indicate that four of

18. Constance Tarpey, president of the Glickman School Parent Teachers Association, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Tarpey Interview).

19. Dr. John F. Howell, research director, Springfield School Department, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Howell Interview).

20. Clinchy Report, p. 20.

21. Wark Interview.

the committee members form a solid anti-busing block. Although they say that they are not against integration, *per se*, they have consistently opposed all plans which include mandatory busing. Two of the remaining three committee members have been solidly in favor of integration and busing, if necessary, as a means of achieving it.

3. Student Data

The public elementary school enrollment has shown a gradual but steady decline. It has dropped from 18,568 in 1960 to 17,640 in 1970, and to 15,560 in 1974.[22] This 14-year decrease of approximately 17 percent reflects the general decline in the city's population.

On the other hand, between 1965 and 1974 the black enrollment in the public elementary and secondary schools has increased by 40.7 percent along with an increase in the city's minority population. (See Table II) (The first racial census of the Springfield schools was taken in 1964, so it is impossible to measure the increase before that year.) In 1965 the public school enrollment was 17.4 percent black and approximately 2 percent Puerto Rican. These figures have continued to rise. By 1974, 26.3 percent of the pupils were black, and 11.4 percent were of Spanish speaking background. There was a total minority enrollment of 37.8 percent.

Table II shows a similar pattern in the elementary school population. The total elementary school population decreased by 18 percent between 1965 and 1974 while the black population increased by 13.4 percent and the Spanish speaking population by 375 percent.

4. Staff Data

In 1974 the teaching staff of the Springfield public school system consisted of 1,710 persons. Of that total, 1,552 or 90.8 percent were white, 133 or 7.8 percent were black, and 25 or 1.5 percent were Spanish surnamed. As indicated by Table III, the school has hired a greater number of minority teachers in recent years. The number of black teachers has grown from 89 to 133 since 1968, an increase of 44. The number of Spanish surnamed teachers has grown from 1 to 25.[23]

22. Research Department Data (See Appendix A).

23. Joseph G. Hopkins, personnel director, Springfield School Department, letter to Linda Dunn, May 21, 1975. Available in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Northeastern Regional Office files.

TABLE II

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Student Population by Race: 1965 and 1974

Elementary and Secondary

	Total	Black	% Black	Spanish* Surnamed	% Spanish Surnamed	White
1965	30,899	5,370	17.38%	590	1.91%	24,888
1974	28,767	7,553	26.26%	3,268	11.36%	17,946
Change Over 1965	-2,132	+2,183		+2,678		-6,942
% Change	-6.90%	+40.65%		+453.90%		-27.89%

Elementary

	Total	Black	% Black	Spanish* Surnamed	% Spanish Surnamed	White
1965	18,975	3,681	19.40%	477	2.51%	14,778
1974	15,560	4,174	26.83%	2,261	14.53%	9,125
Change Over 1965	-3,415	+493		+1,784		-5,653
% Change	-18%	+13.39%		375.05%		-38.25%

*In 1965 the school department classified students as white, black, or Puerto Rican. In 1974 the Puerto Rican classification was changed to Spanish surnamed. The large majority of persons of Spanish origin in Springfield are from Puerto Rico.

Source: Springfield School Department (See Appendix A)

TABLE II

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Student Population by Race: 1965 and 1974

d Secondary

Total	Black	% Black	Spanish* Surnamed	% Spanish Surnamed	White	% White
30,899	5,370	17.38%	590	1.91%	24,888	80.55%
28,767	7,553	26.26%	3,268	11.36%	17,946	62.38%
-2,132	+2,183		+2,678		-6,942	
-6.90%	+40.65%		+453.90%		-27.89%	
18,975	3,681	19.40%	477	2.51%	14,778	77.88%
15,560	4,174	26.83%	2,261	14.53%	9,125	58.64%
-3,415	+493		+1,784		-5,653	
-18%	+13.39%		375.05%		-38.25%	

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Puerto Rican classification was changed to Spanish surnamed. The large
persons of Spanish origin in Springfield are from Puerto Rico.

ngfield School Department (See Appendix A)

TABLE III

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Teaching Staff by Race: 1968 - 1974

	Total	Black	% Black	Spanish Surnamed	% Spanish Surnamed
1968	1,522	89	5.85%	1	.07%
1970	1,526	112	7.34%	6	.39%
1972	1,593	118	7.41%	20	1.26%
1974	1,710	133	7.78%	25	1.46%

Source: Springfield School Department

As indicated by a comparison with Table II, in 1974 the percentage of minority teaching staff was more than 30 percent below the percentage of minority students and 20 percent below the percentage of black students. Black teachers made up 7.8 percent of the teaching staff while black students made up 26.3 percent of the student body.

II. HISTORY

A. Events: 1965-1973

In 1965 the Massachusetts Legislature passed the State Racial Imbalance Act.[24] At that time, according to the terms of the act, there were eight imbalanced schools in the city of Springfield.

The task of integrating these schools has been long and arduous. Because detailed reports covering the period up to 1972 have already been written, this section will be limited to a brief outline of events.[25] The Springfield School Committee submitted

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24. Racial Imbalance Act 1965, Mass. Gen. Laws, Ch. 71 §§37 C and 37 D, and Ch. 15 §§ 1I-1K, amended by ST. 1969, C. 643; ST. 1971, C 958 §1; ST. 1974, C. 636 (hereafter cited as Racial Imbalance Act.).

25. Two of the more comprehensive studies are Harold Flannery, and others, A Study of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act (Cambridge, Mass: the Harvard Center for Law and Education, 1972) and State of Massachusetts, Department of Education, Balancing the Public Schools: Desegregation in Boston and Springfield, prepared by the Massachusetts Research Center (1975) (hereafter cited as Mass. Research Center Report). The following summary of the process of integration in Springfield is based on material from these reports and information from the Springfield School Department.

its first racial imbalance plan to the State board of education in December 1965. The board did not approve this plan because it lacked detail.

Between 1966 and 1968 the school committee submitted several other plans to the State board which were subsequently approved by the board and enacted by the city school department. Their implementation resulted in the closing of Buckingham, the single imbalanced junior high school; Eastern Avenue and Hooker, two predominantly black elementary schools; and the fifth and sixth grades at Homer Street and Tapley schools. Students from these schools were transferred to facilities throughout the city. An open enrollment program, a city-suburban busing program known as METCO, and minor redistricting plans also were approved and put into operation.[26]

The State board accepted as satisfactory Springfield's efforts to develop and implement plans on a short-term basis. However, a dispute arose over long-term plans to ensure the integration of the city's schools. In 1966 the State board threatened to cut off all State school aid until the city completed such a plan.[27]

In September 1967 the school committee submitted a long-range construction plan proposing integration through busing of inner-city black students into yet-to-be constructed schools in predominantly white neighborhoods.[28] The State board subsequently approved this plan. As the city argued over construction sites, the black community began to organize in opposition. Black groups challenged the plan in Federal district court on the grounds that it involved construction of schools only in white neighborhoods and depended largely upon one-way busing of black children.[29]

26. Mass. Research Center Report, Ch. 5.; Wilbur J. Hogan, school committee member, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 19, 1975.

27. Mass. Research Center Report, Ch. 5.

28. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Dimensions for a Decade (September 1967).

29. Maness v. Springfield School Committee, Civil Action No. 71-143-M, District Court Mass. (1971) (hereafter cited as Maness).

Meanwhile, in 1971 the State board ruled that the 1967 construction plan was no longer acceptable and that a new, more comprehensive plan must be submitted.[30] The board withheld funds for the second time. That same year, the U.S. district court denied the suit brought by the black community since the board had already acted on their complaint.[31]

Although the State board voted to restore funds in February 1972, it withheld them for the third time in June. The school committee then took the State board to court arguing that the withholding of funds was unjust.[32] More than 1 1/2 years later, the State Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the board had acted "improperly and prematurely" in withholding State aid and ordered it to work with the school committee to come up with a racial balance proposal for enactment in September 1973.[33]

Between 1968 and 1971 the school department developed several new plans which involved rearrangement of grades within schools and the grouping of a limited number of predominantly white schools with those predominantly black.[34] Rather than act on these plans, the school committee hired the Educational Planning Associates, an educational consultant firm, to develop a plan acceptable to the committee and the State board. The Clinchy Report, published by the firm in January 1972, was not approved by the school committee, however.[35]

30. Mass. Research Center Report, Ch. 5.

31. Maness.

32. Springfield School Committee v. Massachusetts Board of Education, 287 N.E. 438, Mass. Adv. Sh. 1543 (1972); Appeal after remand 311 N.E. 2nd 69 (hereafter cited as Springfield I).

33. Ibid.

34. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Ways to Eliminate Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools (Mar. 9, 1971).

35. Clinchy Report; Mass. Research Center Report, Ch. 5.

On November 30, 1972, the school department presented what is now known as the Six-District Plan.[36] At the outset, the school committee rejected this plan because it called for the busing of white as well as black students. The committee proposed a more limited plan.

In August 1973 the State board of education held public hearings in Springfield to review several proposals and receive testimony from community groups. In September, Peter Roth, the hearing examiner, recommended the implementation of the Six-District Plan in the fall of 1974.[37] The full State board upheld this decision and called for the school committee to develop an implementation schedule.[38]

The school committee challenged the plan in court. However, the plan and the implementation schedule were upheld in a temporary order by a single judge in December and by the full State Supreme Judicial Court in May.[39]

To understand the reasons why the Six-District Plan was adopted, a review of the school department's progress in integrating the schools between 1965 and 1973 is appropriate.

B. Progress Towards Integration: 1965-1973

With the closing of the racially imbalanced Eastern Avenue and Hooker elementary schools and Buckingham Junior High School, the school committee was taking significant steps toward integrating the school system. Open enrollment, which had 120 participants,

36. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Recommendation for Eliminating Racial Imbalance in the Springfield Public Schools (Nov. 30, 1972) (hereafter cited as the Six-District Plan).

37. State of Massachusetts, Board of Education, Report and Recommendations, prepared by Peter Roth (Sept. 12, 1973).

38. State of Massachusetts, Board of Education, Opinion and Order (Oct. 12, 1973).

39. Springfield School Committee v. Massachusetts Board of Education, 311 N.E. 2d 69, Mass. Adv. Sch. 657 (1974) (hereafter cited as Springfield II).

and METCO, which had 95 participants in 1972, also contributed to the integration process.[40]

Table IV indicates that from 1965 to 1972 the percentage of blacks in imbalanced schools declined. An increasing number of blacks were attending white schools. Superintendent John Deady believed that Springfield was making substantial progress through open enrollment and other piecemeal efforts to integrate the schools and should have been permitted to continue without a major busing plan.[41] However, as Table IV indicates, the greatest progress in integrating the student body was made between 1965 and 1968 because of the closing of the two elementary and one junior high schools. Little progress was made between 1968 and 1972.

At the elementary and junior high school level, these limited efforts called for the busing of black students into predominantly white schools without imposing a similar burden upon the white community. Except for DeBerry, the imbalanced schools were becoming increasingly black. As indicated in Table V, between 1965 and 1972 the percentage of blacks compared with the total student body in the four individual schools increased as the percentage of blacks in the school system grew.

In summary, a number of black students were transferred to white schools, with most of the transfers occurring before 1968. Because of the rising black population in the city, the percentage of blacks in the imbalanced schools continued to increase. Thus, in 1972, the progress in integrating the Springfield elementary schools was limited. The Six-District Plan was developed to correct this situation and to integrate the five racially imbalanced schools.

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40. Dr. John Howell, research director, Springfield School Department, letter to Kristine Haag, June 2, 1975, available in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Northeastern Regional Office files.

41. Dr. John Deady, superintendent of schools, Springfield School Department, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 15, 1975 (hereafter cited as Deady Interview).

TABLE IV

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Black Students in Imbalanced Schools: 1965 - 1972

	1965-66	1968-69	1972-73
Total Blacks in Imbalanced Elementary Schools	2,891*	2,187	2,310
Total Black Elementary School Population	3,681	3,990	4,434
% in Imbalanced Schools	78.5%	54.8%	52.1%

* Includes Eastern Avenue and Hooker Schools

Source: Springfield School Department.

TABLE V

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Percent of Black Students in Each of the Imbalanced Schools 1965-1972

	1964-65	1966-67	1968-69	1970-71	1972-73
Buckingham Jr. High*	63.22%	66.75%	--%	--%	--%
Brookings	58.69	65.73	71.70	72.29	75.88
DeBerry	90.76	91.15	91.40	91.38	91.86
Ells	60.59	71.34	77.75	87.47	93.05
Homer	47.28	64.99	64.96	73.89	79.56
Hooker**	82.51	--	--	--	--
Eastern Avenue**	86.61	--	--	--	--
Tapley	75.04	80.31	85.43	86.35	87.39
% Blacks in Total Elementary Population		21.09	22.41	24.57	26.28
% Blacks in Total School Population		18.57	19.93	22.49	24.78

* Closed in 1968.
** Closed in 1966.

Source: Springfield School Department (Appendix A)

C. The Six-District Plan

1. Description

The Six-District Plan groups Springfield's elementary schools into six districts, five of which contain one of the predominantly black imbalanced schools. The schools in district VI, which have a majority Puerto Rican enrollment, are not involved in the plan.[42] In each of the five participating districts, black and white students are bused between the 5 racially imbalanced schools and the 25 predominantly white schools to achieve racial balance. Table VI shows a map of the six districts.

Thirty of Springfields's 36 elementary schools are involved in the plan. These 30 schools formerly went from kindergarten through sixth grade. In September 1974 they were converted to lower elementary schools with grades 1 through 4 or upper elementary schools with grades 5 and 6. Both lower and upper elementary schools retain kindergarten classes.

In each district, one or two upper elementary schools are established for fifth and sixth graders. The remaining schools are lower elementary schools (grades 1-4). Kindergarten school children, who are exempt from the plan, attend their neighborhood school.

In September 1974, 6,461 pupils or slightly more than one-third of Springfield's public elementary school students were bused. Of those, 2,628 or 40.7 percent were black and 3,833 or 59.3 percent were white.[43]

Many students are bused for reasons of safety. In district I, for instance, all pupils live within 1 1/2 miles from the school they attend. According to school department regulations, the department is not required to bus for that distance. However, some parents requested that the city provide transportation for their children to avoid the hazards of walking to school.[44]

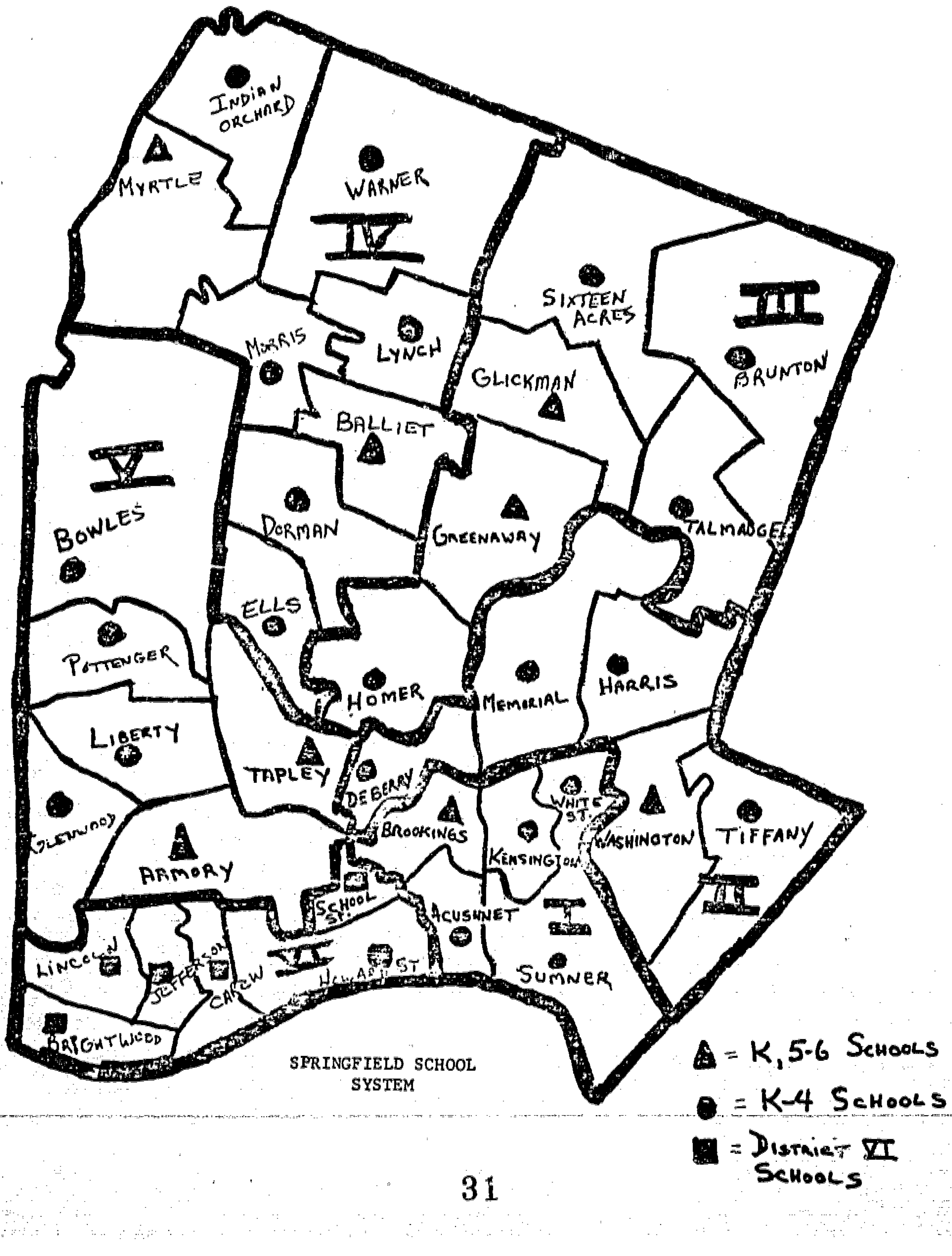
42. See discussion pp. 21-22.

43. Howell Interview.

44. Ibid.

TABLE VI

Map of the Six-District Plan



With the integration of the five imbalanced schools in the fall of 1974, the racial composition changed in 30 of the 36 elementary schools. The new racial composition of the schools ranged from 13.6 percent black at the School Street School to 44.6 percent at the Tapley School. The student body of the majority of the schools fell within the range of 25 to 35 percent black in a system in which blacks make up 26.8 percent of the elementary school population. The change in the black population at the five imbalanced schools between 1973 and 1974 is shown in Table VII.[45]

TABLE VII

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Black Students in the Five Imbalanced Schools
1973 and 1974

1973-74	Brookings	DeBerry	Ells	Homer	Tapley
Number of Blacks	566	439	288	507	346
% Blacks	71.37%	89.05%	94.43%	86.08%	88.49%
1974-75					
Number of Blacks	303	169	81	243	177
% Blacks	38.90%	41.94%	44.51%	43.39%	44.58%

Source: Springfield School Department.

45. Data on the racial balance in all the schools are included in Appendix A.

2. Analysis

For several reasons the Six-District Plan was more suited to the city of Springfield than the earlier plans. First, the entire city except for the Spanish speaking population was included in the plan in order to help distribute the inconvenience of busing equally among all groups in the city. For several years the school department research staff had recognized that transportation of students was needed to integrate the schools. Because of overcrowding in the inner-city schools, limited busing would necessarily involve more black than white students. The school department, therefore, decided to involve all segments of the city in a busing plan. According to Dr. John R. Howell, the department's research director, the plan was designed to minimize the distance for students but not the number of students to be bused.[46] The longest distance to be traveled by bus would be between 5 and 6 miles.

Second, the six districts were devised to maintain existing neighborhoods wherever possible. Areas which are geographically accessible to each other were grouped together, and no district included neighborhoods that are substantially cut off from the others by physical barriers. Transfer assignments were made to maintain a sense of neighborhood. For instance, the school department assigned students in groups according to where they lived so they could continue to attend school with their friends and neighbors.[47]

All former school districts remained intact when they were included in one of the six enlarged districts. Thus, all students living in one of the former districts became part of the same larger district. These districts were small enough to allow for the development of a sense of community in each district. This concept of community within district was emphasized by the assignment of all fifth and sixth grade students to the same one or two schools.[48]

On the other hand, all districts were comprised of neighborhoods that varied in social and economic characteristics. Each imbalanced school was included in a district which encompassed higher income communities at the edge of the city.

46. Howell Interview.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

Third, the exemption of kindergarten children from the integration plan, an innovation with few models elsewhere in the country, had several educational advantages. According to Dr. Howell, the neighborhood kindergarten was designed to make the transition from the home to school easier for the child. Because the ethnic makeup of kindergarten reflects the community, the child's first school experience would be a familiar one. At the same time, the integrated upper grades immediately presented a view of a multi-racial society. The neighborhood kindergarten was also designed to allay parent's fears and enable them to walk their children to school.[49]

Fourth, the division of the schools into facilities with fewer grades was intended to concentrate resources for each grade level and allow for specialization at each level.[50] The grade division also minimized the arbitrariness in transferring students. In many elementary schools, two-thirds of the first through fourth graders attended their own neighborhood schools. The majority of children attended their neighborhood school for either their lower or upper elementary school years.

Fifth, the Six-District Plan was designed to be flexible enough to adapt to changes in Springfield's racial composition, therefore eliminating the need for modifications as the city population changed.[51] Because the entire city, except for the Spanish speaking population was involved in the plan, the busing pool was large enough to absorb major increases in minority students.

3. Problem of Spanish Speaking Background Students

Spanish speaking background students are not covered by the Racial Imbalance Act.[52] In September 1974 the school department decided to meet only the requirements mandated under the State law, i.e., to integrate the black student body and postpone the problem of the Spanish speaking background students. As a result,

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Racial Imbalance Act.

district VI, which is largely Puerto Rican, was not included in the Six-District Plan.[53] The problem of Spanish speaking background students became a major issue following the implementation of the Six-District Plan.

As early as October 1973 the State board had issued a long-range order requiring the school committee to develop a plan which would also eliminate the isolation of Spanish speaking students in district VI.[54] In May 1975 the school committee submitted (without its own approval) long-range recommendations to the State board.[55] In June 1975 the State board still continued to press for a full plan approved by the school committee.[56]

Some members of both the Spanish speaking community and the school committee opposed the integration of Spanish speaking background students for several reasons. First, some individuals in both groups argued that the Spanish speaking community wanted to strengthen its cultural identity and did not support integration. Second, other persons believed that the dispersal of the Spanish speaking students would necessitate distributing bilingual resources to a greater number of schools and thereby weaken the program. Other groups argued, however, that integrating the Spanish speaking students would not weaken the bilingual program and believed that comprehensive integration should be achieved.[57]

53. Six-District Plan, p. 6.

54. State of Massachusetts, Board of Education, Opinion and Order, Aug. 18, 1975, p. 1 (hereafter cited as Opinion and Order).

55. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Long-Range Recommendations for Springfield Public Schools Revised, May 9, 1975.

56. Opinion and Order, p. 3.

57. Cornelius Hannigan, director of school community relations, Springfield School Department, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Hannigan Interview).

III. IMPLEMENTATION

In this section, the implementation of the Six-District Plan is described in some detail. An examination of this process indicates why the city of Springfield integrated its elementary schools with a minimum of trouble.

A. The School Department

The Springfield School Department played a major role in the development and implementation of the Six-District Plan. As indicated in the previous section, department staff worked for several years to develop plans that were acceptable to the school committee and the State board of education. Once the Six-District Plan was approved, the staff turned their efforts to planning for the 1974-1975 school year, when the plan was scheduled to go into operation.

Dr. John E. Deady, superintendent of schools, had a major influence on the entire integration process. From his arrival in Springfield in 1967, he consistently defended the progress made by the city in integrating its schools through minor redistricting and voluntary transfer programs. When faced with the State board order to integrate at a faster and more comprehensive rate, he recognized the need for mandatory transportation of students.[58]

Superintendent Deady personally favored integration and mandatory busing when needed. However, he never took a public stand on either issue. He said that he saw his job as carrying out the mandate of the school committee and the State board of education.

58. Deady Interview.

In an interview, Dr. Deady said, "I sympathize with the man who wants his neighborhood school. However, I believe that the majority must sacrifice that neighborhood school in order to create the integrated society which in the long run will benefit us all. In Springfield, busing became unavoidable."[59]

From the beginning, Superintendent Deady emphasized the importance of community involvement in developing a desegregation plan. In 1968 he created an office of school-community relations to disseminate information to the public. The school department held several large public meetings in 1972 (nearly 2,500 persons attended one such meeting) and a series of smaller meetings to discuss integration proposals.[60] The department also issued bulletins on the five racially imbalanced schools to provide positive information on these schools.

In December 1972, after the Six-District Plan was proposed, the school department again held special public forums to discuss the proposal with community groups and organizations. The groups represented ranged from anti-busing homeowners and taxpayers associations and apprehensive parent-teacher organizations to the strongly pro-integration League of Women Voters and church and civic groups.[61]

After the State board ordered the implementation of the plan, the school department went ahead at an accelerated pace to develop an implementation schedule. In November 1973 Superintendent Deady assembled a team of central department staff -- assistant superintendents, resource specialists, and research staff -- to complete the required schedule and plan for the following year. Although staff members spent as much as one-third of their time on the Six-District Plan, no new persons were hired.[62]

59. Ibid.

60. Hannigan Interview.

61. Ibid.

62. Deady Interview.

Dr. Deady said, "I resolved that we were going to do the best possible job, overlooking nothing. The word was woe be it to the principal, the supervisor, or the staff person who talked down the plan."[63]

During January 1974 the staff worked daily on the plan. Early in the month, the superintendent made assignments to develop an implementation schedule. Staff began assembling data on the student population and gathering information on teacher training programs and related issues. Dr. Deady later called the staff together again to set specific implementation timetables. School officials met with a bus company to discuss transportation costs and conferred with teachers and interested parents. On January 29, 1974, the department issued its formal implementation guidelines.[64]

Activity of this nature continued during the winter and spring of 1974. The school department held several meetings for elementary school principals and staff to discuss the Six-District Plan and sponsored a workshop in April to review the detailed implementation guidelines.[65] The staff completed a computerized list of students by street, race, and grade, and manually assigned all students to schools.[66] The central school department began a more intensive public information campaign, holding a series of community meetings and releasing information to the media on a regular basis. Approximately 600 persons attended a public meeting at Putnam High School at the end of March.

63. Deady Interview.

64. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Schedule of Implementation of the Six-District Plan (Jan. 29, 1974) (hereafter cited as Implementation Schedule).

65. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Plans for Carrying out the Six-District Racial Balance Plan (Apr. 17, 1974).

66. Howell Interview. See also Springfield, Mass., School Department, Pupil Assignments - Districts I, II, III, IV, V (March 1974).

In addition, each principal held meetings for the parents.[67] According to the guidelines distributed at the April workshop, each school was required to hold what were called sending and receiving meetings. The sending meetings were set up for parents of students presently attending the school, and the receiving meetings were for parents of students to be transferred to the school under the new plan. At both meetings, parents met the new staff assigned to their children and discussed issues such as school programs, busing arrangements, and safety precautions.

Attendance at these meetings varied. However, several principals interviewed said that these meetings were a valuable method for showing parents the best aspects of the schools and successfully changed the attitudes of many parents who were critical of the plan.[68]

B. The School Committee

During 1973 and 1974, up until the opening of school, the school committee continued to oppose the Six-District Plan and fought the State board order calling for its implementation in a series of court suits. The anti-busing majority remained outspoken critics of mandatory busing and promised residents of Springfield that they would fight it to the end in the courts.

In November 1973 the school committee began its legal battle against the State board's August ruling and filed suit in county court.[69] The school committee ignored the order to develop an implementation schedule and took no action on the grounds that the ruling would be reversed. Although the committee did not instruct the school department to begin planning, it did not interfere with the school department when the first steps were taken.[70]

67. Hannigan Interview.

68. Interviews with the following principals: Theodore Levin, Homer Street School, May 1; Flemming R. Cocchi, Brookings School, May 1; Raymond F. Lynch, Ells School, May 2; Bruno Marsili, Tapley School, May 2; Mary Walsh, Sixteen Acres School, May 15; Diantha Ferrier, Kensington Avenue School, May 15; Charles O'Leary, Glickman School, May 16; John O'Malley, Lincoln School, May 16, all in Springfield, Mass.

69. Springfield II.

70. Hannigan Interview.

In December 1973 a single justice handed down a temporary order requiring the school committee to submit an implementation schedule.[71] The school committee again took no formal action, but the school department continued to develop the implementation schedule. On January 28, 1974, a single justice ordered the school committee to complete its schedule by February 1, 1974.[72] The following day, Mayor Sullivan announced that the school committee would comply with the court's orders and the school department released the completed implementation schedule.[73]

At the same time, the school committee appealed the ruling. On May 1, 1974, the Supreme Judicial Court for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts issued its long-awaited decision and unanimously upheld the State board's right to impose the integration plan.[74] Again, the school committee took no formal action.[75] The mayor announced that, although he did not like the court ruling, the school committee would abide by the law. On May 15, the court issued an accompanying opinion clearly assigning responsibility for Springfield's delay in complying with the State law to the school committee.[76] On July 26 the Racial Imbalance Act was amended by Chapter 636 which prohibited the State board from requiring busing to achieve racial balance.[77]

On August 1, the school committee voted to open the schools on September 4, with the same grade structure and pupil assignments as the previous year and ordered the school department not to take further action on the Six-District Plan without its specific approval.[78] The committee asked the State Supreme Judicial Court the following day to vacate its May order in light of the amended law.

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71. Springfield I.

72. Springfield II.

73. Implementation Schedule.

74. Springfield II.

75. Hannigan Interview.

76. Springfield II.

77. ST. 1974, C. 636.

78. Springfield, Mass., School Committee, Resolution (Aug. 1, 1975).

Throughout this period, the city solicitor, William Flanagan, reported to the press several times that the school committee would win its fight to throw out the Six-District Plan.[79]

On August 13, the State board issued an opinion recommending that the school committee's most recent challenge be denied. On the same day, the school committee reversed its earlier decision prohibiting school department action on the plan without committee approval.[80]

With the opening of school approaching, the school committee asked for a temporary restraining order on the implementation of the Six-District Plan. This motion was denied on August 15.[81] The school committee still delayed action on the implementation of the plan. Its inaction restricted some school department activity, for instance, preventing the department from hiring a bus monitor supervisor for several months.[82]

On August 22, 1974, the State Supreme Judicial Court held hearings on the school committee's suit to void the court's May ruling in light of the amendment to the Racial Imbalance Act.[83] In an order handed down that same day, the court rejected the city's motion and ordered it to proceed with the Six-District Plan. In the accompanying opinion issued in November, the court ruled that the racial imbalance amendment could not be applied retroactively.[84]

79. Wayne Phaneuh and Robert Hardman, reporters, Springfield Daily News, interviews in Springfield, Mass., May 1, 1975.

80. Springfield, Mass., School Committee, Resolution (Aug. 13, 1975).

81. Springfield II.

82. John F. Maloney, bus monitor supervisor, Springfield School Department, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975.

83. Springfield School Committee v. Massachusetts Board of Education, 319 N.E. 2nd 427; *cert. denied*, 95 S. Ct. 1977 (hereafter cited as Springfield III).

84. Ibid.

The school committee made one last effort to avoid the Six-District Plan. On the same day as the final court ruling, it voted to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. In April the Supreme Court refused to hear the case.[85]

C. The Community

During 1973 and 1974 many community organizations joined the fight over integration. A predominantly black pro-integration group called the Quality Integrated Education Committee (QIEC) organized in the spring of 1973 to solicit support for the Six-District Plan. Under the leadership of Carmenceita Jones, QIEC expanded into a citywide coalition including the Council of Churches of Greater Springfield, the Comprehensive Community Development Conference, the League of Women Voters, Model Cities, the NAACP, and other church and civic groups. This biracial coalition stood for better education through integrated schools and maintained that quality education could never be achieved in a segregated society.[86] QIEC testified in support of a modified Six-District Plan at the State board hearings.[87] It then filed a brief as interveners in the school committee's suit challenging the board ruling.[88]

QIEC remained active throughout 1974. During the spring, Mrs. Jones and Model Cities staff held a series of meetings with parents and civic groups in homes, churches, and community centers to build support for the plan.[89] In May QIEC met with the Governor

85. Ibid.

86. Carmenceita Jones, director, QIEC, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 2, 1975 (hereafter cited as Jones Interview).

87. QIEC recommended at the State board hearings in Springfield, Mass. (August 1973) that the Spanish speaking community in district VI be included in the plan.

88. Springfield II.

89. Elaine Rucks, Model Cities coordinator, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Rucks Interview).

and his staff to convey their support of the plan and their opposition to any change in the State's Racial Imbalance Act. Representatives from QIEC testified before joint legislative hearings on the repeal of the State law and again at hearings on the proposed amendment, which was subsequently passed. At the State court hearings in August, the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union argued for the Six-District Plan on QIEC's behalf.[90] In the same month, QIEC sponsored an all-day workshop at Springfield Technical Community College to provide detailed information to the community on the Six-District Plan. The Springfield Chamber of Commerce later reprinted and distributed information prepared for the conference.[91]

Several member groups of QIEC took action on their own. Model Cities held a series of meetings in the black community and sponsored a large public forum at the Winchester Square branch of the public library.[92] The Council of Churches of Greater Springfield, a federation of about 62 Protestant churches, also played a major role. Rev. Ronald Whitney, the director of the council's urban ministry, had issued his first formal statement to the press in favor of school integration in 1971. Through him the council continued to speak out on the school situation and to inform its member churches of events on a regular basis. In the spring of 1974, as a result of his request, several member churches held meetings to solicit support for the Six-District Plan.[93]

Opponents of the Six-District Plan were outspoken during this period. Although they were never organized on a citywide basis, several groups began to take a stand against "forced busing." The most vocal was an ad hoc group of parents from the Freedman School in district III. These parents believed that Freedman, along with four other schools in districts I and IV, should be exempt from the plan since they were integrated and located in integrated communities.[94]

90. Jones Interview.

91. Rucks Interview.

92. Ibid.

93. Rev. Ronald Whitney, urban ministry director, Council of Churches of Greater Springfield, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Whitney Interview).

94. Patricia O'Neill, Freedman School parent, telephone interview, June 3, 1975 (hereafter cited as O'Neill Interview).

Another group of parents at the nearby Glickman School also asked for exemption on the grounds that Glickman was already integrated.[95] (Since 1967 a group of black students from the Homer Street School had been assigned to Glickman to eliminate overcrowding at Homer.)

In early 1974 the two parent groups collaborated. Using school department data, they modified the Six-District Plan and presented their proposal to the State board of education. The alliance was short-lived and ended when Freedman School parents presented a separate proposal for exemption that did not include the Glickman School.[96]

During the summer each group continued to pressure the school committee to modify the plan. Both groups argued that the Six-District Plan placed an unfair burden on the Glickman and Freedman schools. Since those two schools were converted into fifth and sixth grade schools, all first through fourth grade students in the neighborhood were required to be bused into the formerly imbalanced Homer Street School. In most other communities, they argued, the majority of lower elementary school students attended their neighborhood school. As late as August 26, the Freedman parents requested the school department to convert Freedman into a lower rather than an upper elementary school.[97]

Several other groups opposed the plan. In May 1974 a small group of parents from Warner School in district IV participated in an anti-busing demonstration at city hall. They presented Mayor Sullivan with a petition of 2,000 signatures from parents and grandparents who threatened to keep their children out of school if the plan went into effect.[98] Cannon Circle parents in Sixteen Acres in district III organized another anti-busing rally shortly before the opening of school. On September 9 about 20 parents demonstrated at city hall.[99] A fifth group organized within the East Springfield

95. Tarpey Interview.

96. Ibid.

97. O'Neill Interview.

98. Springfield Daily News, May 10, 1974, p. 1.

99. Aime LaCourse, Cannon Circle resident, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975. See Springfield Daily News, Sept. 9, 1975.

Homeowners Association. With William Crosby as their spokesperson, the parents argued that "forced busing" deprived citizens of a fundamental right to determine where they could send their children to school.[100]

According to both anti- and pro-busing leaders, the anti-busing leaders had the support of a large number of residents in many different communities in the city.[101] The vast majority of those opposing busing were committed to fight integration through peaceful means, they said. Because anti-busing groups never organized into a citywide coalition, they never became an obstacle to integration.

D. After the Final Court Order

Following the State court's ruling in August 1974,[102] Mayor Sullivan, the school department, and the school committee worked together to put the Six-District Plan into effect. With few exceptions, all parties stressed that the court order must be obeyed and that the safety of the children was at stake.

The day after the court decision, Mayor Sullivan issued a public statement announcing that the school committee would obey the law and urging that the residents of Springfield do the same.[103] He made a similar statement again in September just before the opening of school.[104]

100. William Crosby, president of the East Springfield Homeowners Association, telephone interview, May 24, 1975 (hereafter cited as Crosby Interview).

101. These were the opinions of most of the anti-busing leaders interviewed as well as those of school department officials, such as Cornelius Hannigan, director of school-community relations, and members of the press.

102. Springfield II.

103. William Sullivan, mayor, Springfield, Mass., statement, Aug. 23, 1974, available in USCCRNERO files.

104. Mayor William Sullivan, statement, Sept. 13, 1974.

The school committee never formally approved the Six-District Plan, but by early September 1974 most committee members either supported the plan or remained silent. Only one member, Francis Coughlin, opposed the ruling. He was quoted in the press as urging parents not to send their children on the buses.[105]

Within the school department, the mechanisms set in place by Superintendent Deady went into operation. Because he had requested all central staff to take their month's vacation at the beginning of the summer, the entire support structure was ready to operate. College students, hired in July to pack and tag furniture, moved equipment and supplies to the appropriate schools. Department staff completed final arrangements for transportation and confirmed all students and teacher assignments.[106] Individual principals took steps to facilitate the integration process. Most of the principals interviewed had carefully reviewed bus routes. Diantha Ferrier, principal of Kensington Avenue School, changed the routes to insure that no child attending her school would cross a street to meet the bus. After the term started, she sent a handwritten note to each parent with a map showing the child's route.[107]

The school department worked closely with the news media to insure that complete and accurate information on the plan reached the public. Throughout 1974 the Springfield newspapers and radio and television stations provided extensive coverage on the plan and notified the community of meetings and other events. The two daily papers and one of the two local television stations took a strong pro-integration stand and gave editorial support to the Six-District Plan. The second local television station did not take an editorial position on the issue.[108]

105. Springfield Daily News, Aug. 24, 1974.

106. Howell and Hannigan Interviews.

107. Diantha Ferrier, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 15, 1975. (hereafter cited as Ferrier Interview).

108. Richard Garvey, editor, Springfield Daily News, May 1, 1975; Durham Caldwell, editor, WHYN, May 16, 1975; William Putnam, owner, WWLP, May 16, 1975, all interviews in Springfield, Mass.

In the days preceding the opening of school, media coverage increased. Radio and television stations made public service announcements as often as four times an hour. A variety of persons were taped for these announcements, including principals of the imbalanced schools, church leaders, and former anti-busing leaders who now urged parents to send their children to school. A panel discussion on safety precautions taken to protect the children and a 2-hour review of integration and the Six-District Plan were broadcast in early September. The Sunday before the opening of school, school staff discussed on WHYN the danger of affecting children negatively by keeping them out of school.[109]

At the request of the council of churches and the Catholic Diocese, many ministers of all denominations and priests talked about the Six-District Plan and the importance of integration from the pulpit the Sunday before the opening of school and urged their parishioners to obey the law.[110]

Only a small group of Warner School parents urged other parents not to send their children on the buses. Other anti-busing spokespersons remained silent or recommended compliance with the law. William Crosby, president of the East Springfield Homeowners Association, publicly urged parents to sent their children to school.[111]

Because of the implementation of the Six-District Plan, the elementary schools opened 8 days late, on the 16th rather than the 4th of September. During that week, each school held orientation sessions for all teachers. Mayor Sullivan, usually accompanied by Dr. Deady, visited all 36 elementary schools and spoke to the staff, asking for their full cooperation and stressing the safety of the children.[112] In a separate meeting with the entire school department, Dr. Deady spoke on a similar theme. "My slogan was that a successful school year was essential for the sake of the youngsters," he said.[113]

109. Hannigan Interview.

110. Whitney Interview.

111. Crosby Interview.

112. William Sullivan, mayor, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Sullivan Interview).

113. Deady Interview.

Elementary schools opened as planned on September 16. Mayor Sullivan earned the respect of liberals and conservatives by riding a bus to school on that first morning.[114] Dr. Deady supervised from the central school department building, where an emergency communication system had been established with schools throughout the city.[115] Many parents monitored the classrooms and the bus stops. Others, apprehensive about the busing plan, accompanied their children to school. Ministers organized by the council of churches informally patrolled bus routes and bus stops.[116]

Police officers on regular assignments handled the traffic buildup as parents followed the buses or drove their children to school. They also patrolled bus stops to give parents a sense of security. An additional 10 motorcycle police officers were put on duty and assigned to follow buses and patrol potential trouble areas. According to police officials, the police department maintained a "low profile" during the day to avoid creating the appearance of a crisis situation.[117]

A minor problem occurred at Cannon Circle where a citizen attempted to stir up parents in opposition to busing. A small crowd of protesting parents gathered but did not cause trouble. The same group dispersed on the second day after a busload of singing children arrived at the bus stop.[118]

No major incidents occurred during the day. One boy, who was reported lost, spent the day at the wrong school. Minor problems such as misplaced equipment and furniture occurred but were easily resolved. The school day ended, buses picked up the children, and the Six-District Plan was in effect. "It was beautiful the way it worked," said Cornelius Hannigan, director of school-community relations.[119]

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114. Sullivan Interview and interviews with city officials and residents.

115. Deady Interview.

116. Whitney Interview.

117. Paul J. Fenton, police chief, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975; and Thomas Moriarty, community relations and public information officer, telephone interview, June 6, 1975.

118. Sullivan Interview.

119. Hannigan Interview.

E. Factors in the Integration Process

Although the Advisory Committee did not conduct a comprehensive review of elementary school programs during the fall term, principals at eight schools and central school department staff were interviewed on a number of topics. The following is a summary of the information given to the Advisory Committee on several issues relevant to the integration process.

1. Parent Involvement

Following the opening of school, parent involvement in the schools diminished. Many principals invited parents to come and inspect their school's facilities and programs. Some held sending and receiving meetings similar to those in the spring, and others held an open house for the entire community.

The role of formal parent associations varied from school to school. The Brookings School had no parent group at all.[120] The Glickman School, on the other hand, had a fully-organized parent-teacher association (PTA) when school opened.[121] The PTA president from the previous year contacted parents during the summer, established an ad hoc group, and appointed officers. Other schools maintained contact with the parents through informal meetings and social events.[122]

2. Bus Monitors

In September 1974 approximately 210 monitors were hired to supervise the buses transporting students under the Six-District Plan. The number of monitors was increased to 244 by April 1975 as more schools asked for second monitors on their buses. Approximately 85 percent of the monitors were women; 70 to 75 percent were of minority groups. There were 15 monitors of Spanish speaking

120. Flemming R. Cocchi, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 1, 1975.

121. Tarpey Interview.

122. Ferrier Interview.

background. Each monitor was paid $4.50 per run, or $9 a day, or $45 a week. The estimated cost of the program was approximately $260,000 for the school year.[123]

John F. Maloney, the bus monitor supervisor, stressed the importance of hiring competent monitors. He said that many monitors had initial difficulties in maintaining order on the buses. Mr. Maloney said that men were generally more effective than women, and that persons from a background similar to the students were more effective. Seventeen monitors were reassigned from one bus because they were unable to maintain order. After two black college basketball players were hired, no further trouble occurred on that bus.

All bus monitors were given a 2-day training program including first aid, emergency procedures, and human relations. The training was criticized by both Dr. Deady and Mr. Maloney as ineffective but they said that it would be improved in the 1975-76 school year. In the coming year, all monitors would be made special police officers to give them greater prestige.[124]

3. Teacher Training

During the summer of 1974, the school department, in cooperation with the University of Hartford, Conn., provided a 2-week workshop for 60 teachers, 2 from each school. In addition, 30 federally funded teachers were trained as reading specialists with emphasis on problems in multiracial classrooms. In the spring of 1975, 140 teachers participated in 2-and 3-day workshops where they discussed issues related to integration and problems which had occurred during the fall. About 40 elementary school counselors received training 1 day a week for a 3-week period.[125]

123. The information in this section was provided by John F. Maloney, bus monitor supervisor, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975.

124. Ibid.

125. The information was provided by Dr. John Sullivan, Federal program coordinator, Springfield School Department, telephone interview, June 2, 1975.

Although the school department had set aside up to $100,000 for staff training, State and Federal funds were used as they became available. The 1974 summer program was funded by a $20,000 Federal grant to the University of Hartford General Assistance Center and by $8,400 of city money. The spring 1975 program was funded by a $10,000 Federal grant to the University of Hartford and $9,000 of Chapter 636 funds. An additional $12,000 of State funds initially allocated for staff training was scheduled to be used for workshops in the summer of 1975.[126]

These new training programs were set up to facilitate the implementation of the Six-District Plan. Human relations training was offered as part of the school system's regular, inservice staff training.

4. Evaluation of the Six-District Plan

At the time of the Advisory Committee study, the school department was in the process of evaluating the Six-District Plan through three separate studies. None of the studies had been completed and results were not yet available.[127]

Two studies conducted during the 1974-75 school year measure attitudinal changes toward integration in the students and the third will measure achievement levels. In one study, approximately one-half of the students in the sixth grade were rated on the following: social value of education, race and prejudice, black cultural handicap, and the value of integration. Of all the indicators, the school department research staff concluded that the measure of race prejudice was the most reliable. Dr. John Howell, the department's research director, said that initial results indicated that students in an integrated situation have more positive attitudes towards integration than students in segregated situations. The same students will be given the same test in the seventh grade.

In the second study, approximately 50 classes of third and fourth grade students were evaluated to determine their social preferences at the beginning and at the end of the school year. Students were asked to identify whom they preferred to invite to their homes and sit beside in class.

126. Ibid.

127. Howell Interview.

The third study tests the reading and math levels of all students in the 1974-1975 school year. Because the school department has no records on achievement levels by race, scores will not be compared by race. However, the department will compare grade averages, measuring levels for 1974-1975 with previous years.

5. Budget

Approximately $4,500,000 were spent for the implementation of the Six-District Plan.[128] Of that amount, $3,000,000 came from city revenues with the expectation that the funds would be reimbursed by the State. The remaining funds were made available through two special programs, one State and the other Federal, designed to provide assistance to localities integrating their school systems.

The total school budget for 1974-1975 was approximately $39,200,000, with $34,698,000 coming from city revenues[129] and $4,512,000 from State and Federal programs.[130]

The most expensive single item in the implementation of the Six-District Plan was transportation. Approximately $2,600,000 was spent on contracts with two bus companies. Other items related to the plan and funded by city revenues included the bus monitor program, additional staff for the noon supervision program, improved kitchen facilities, and employment of 65 college students for the summer to clean, pack, tag, move furniture, and complete records. At the time of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee review, the school department planned to request reimbursement from the State for all these programs.[131]

128. Leon Thiem, assistant superintendent, Springfield School Department, interview in Springfield, Mass., May 16, 1975 (hereafter cited as Thiem Interview).

129. Springfield, Mass., 1975-6 School Budget Recommendations, as submitted to the city council (Apr. 7, 1975).

130. Springfield, Mass., School Department, Approved Federal Projects (1974-1975), memorandum to Dr. Deady (Mar. 3, 1975).

131. Thiem Interview.

The school department received special State and Federal allocations, which it would not have received under the segregated system, to facilitate the integration process. Approximately 60 staff persons with instructional, counseling, and home liaison duties were hired through a $628,678 grant from the 1972 Federal Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA).[132] A total of 125 professionals and 90 paraprofessionals were hired to work in the integrated schools, and part of the school's inservice training program was funded through a $828,000 grant from the State's Chapter 636 Act.[133]

Table VIII on the following page shows the funds related to the implementation of the Six-District Plan.

According to Leon Thiem, the assistant superintendent in charge of the city's school budget, the noon supervision and kitchen improvement funds were allocations with a three-fold purpose. School department staff had long recognized the need to improve the breakfast and lunch program and facilities. Mr. Thiem said that the staff took advantage of the integration plan to obtain these needed funds. At the same time, they requested the additional funds as a result of a policy decision to improve programs and facilities to make the schools more attractive. School staff also believed that additional staff for the noon supervision program would reduce disciplinary problems at that time.[134]

Of the ongoing Federal programs, only resources funded under Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary School Act were affected by the Six-District Plan.[135] Since Title I funds are allocated according to a formula based on the number of students from disadvantaged families at a school, the schools eligible for Title I shifted as the inner-city students were moved out and the students from the outlying districts were bused in. In school year 1973-74, a total of 15 schools, located in the central and northwestern sections of the city, and Indian Orchard in the far northeast corner, received funds. In school year 1974-1975, a total of 20 schools

132. Emergency School Aid Act, 20 U.S.C. § 1601-1619.

133. St. 1974, C.636.

134. Thiem Interview.

135. Sullivan Interview.

TABLE VIII

SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL SYSTEM

Funds Related to the Implementation of the Six-District Plan
1974-1975

Type of Program and Description	Estimated Cost	Source
Transportation Busing for the Six-District Plan	$2,600,000	City revenues-Request for State reimbursement
Bus Monitors Approximately 240 persons at $4.50 a run	260,000	City revenues-Request for State reimbursement
Noon Supervision Staff to improve breakfast and lunch programs	50,000	City revenues-Request for State reimbursement
Kitchen Improvement Funds to improve kitchen facilities	80,000	City revenues-Request for State reimbursement
Summer Student Employees Approximately 45 college men and 20 college women for custodial and clerical work	75,000 to 100,000	City revenues-Request for State reimbursement
Instructional and Counseling A total of 60 staff persons-instructional, counseling, and home liaison duties	628,678	Federal Emergency School Aid Funds
Instructional and Counseling A total of 125 professionals and 90 paraprofessionals	807,000	Chapter 636 Funds
Inservice Training Staff training provided in cooperation with the University of Hartford	21,000	Chapter 636 Funds

Source: Springfield School Department

received Title I funds. Although the five previously imbalanced schools continued to receive Title I funds, other inner-city schools did not. However, additional schools outside of the inner city became eligible. All schools that lost Title I funds received additional assistance through one of the special State or Federal programs.[136] Integration of the schools did not affect the total amount of money received under Title I.

136. Sullivan Interview.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

In September 1974 Springfield's public elementary schools pened peacefully under a comprehensive integration plan. After years of struggle, this western Massachusetts city integrated its irst through sixth grades with little difficulty, no strong community pposition, and no outbreak of violence. As in Boston, the State oard of education and the courts, which took a strong stand in apport of the enforcement of the 1965 Racial Imbalance Act, were ne impetus for the change.

In the face of State-ordered integration, the situation in oringfield was very different from that in Boston. Of the many actors which accounted for peaceful integration, the Advisory ommittee believes that two have greater significance than the thers. One, the school department exhibited unusual management id planning skills in developing and implementing the integration oposal. Two, after the final State court order, the mayor and blic officials demonstrated strong and responsible political adership, suppressing their objections to "forced busing" and ging compliance with the law. The Advisory Committee also be-eves that credit for the successful implementation of the Six-strict Plan must, in the final analysis, go to the entire city -- e parents, civic leaders, teachers, school department staff, and udents -- who, together, enabled the elementary schools to open September 1974 without major problems.

No attempt was made by the Advisory Committee to evaluate the tent to which meaningful integration occurred in the classrooms ler the Six-District Plan, the extent to which the plan fostered ality education, or the impact of the plan on race relations in e community. Instead, the study focused on the actual implementa-on of the plan.

The Advisory Committee notes the following factors which help explain why the Six-District Plan was implemented peacefully and ccessfully.

1. Under the leadership of Superintendent John Deady, the Springfield School Department worked tirelessly over several years, often without school committee approval, to develop and implement the Six-District Plan. With no assurance that the program would be implemented, the school department meticulously planned the smallest details--student and staff reassignments, exchange of equipment, bus routes, and curriculum changes--and informed the community about these changes.

Superintendent Deady's personal leadership and commitment to implementing the plan was a major factor in its success. Central department staff, principals, and teachers showed initiative and persistence throughout 1974. Because of their positive attitudes, problems such as underrepresentation of minority staff or difficulties in the bus monitoring program had no serious repercussions.

2. The mayor, as the city's chief executive and chairman of the school committee, made a major contribution to the implementation process. His statements urging compliance with the law and his positive support of the plan provided a model for all city residents and established an atmosphere of cooperation in the city. His initial opposition to busing seems to have worked in favor of the actual implementation of the Six-District Plan. Because he had been the spokesman for the anti-busing forces and initially assured the public that students would not be bused, there was no reason for the anti-busing forces to organize, and it became easier for him to gain their support once the plan went into effect.

3. Although the Springfield School Committee consistently refused to approve plans calling for mandatory busing, its role ultimately was not a negative one. In general, the committee did not interfere with the school department's development and implementation of the Six-District Plan. As in the case of the mayor, their recommendation to obey the law after the final State court order lead the anti-busing groups to take the same stand.

4. The community -- both pro-and anti-busing groups -- deserve credit. Pro-busing groups, led by the Quality Integrated Education Committee, helped consolidate public support for the Six-District Plan and provided valuable assistance in the fight over the plan in court.

The anti-busing groups, which never organized on a citywide basis, largely used established channels--the school committee and the State board--in their efforts to eliminate or modify the Six-

District Plan. No one spoke out in favor of violence and the anti-busing forces never became a serious obstacle to integration.

5. The media played a vital role by providing extensive coverage of the Six-District Plan. By keeping the Springfield residents informed, the media helped establish an atmosphere of reasonableness in the city. The newspapers and the television station which supported the plan in their editorials contributed further to its successful implementation.

6. Springfield's prior experience in integrating the junior and senior high schools probably facilitated integration of the elementary schools.

7. The small size of the city may have made it easier to devise a comprehensive plan. Because no one neighborhood is physically isolated from another, there were no enclaves, reinforced by physical barriers, with entrenched opposition to integration.

8. The design of the Six-District Plan was well-suited to Springfield's elementary schools. First, the plan involved the entire city (with the exception of district VI) Second, the districts were drawn up to maintain existing neighborhoods, and student assignments were made to further a sense of neighborhood identity. Third, the educational components helped improve the quality of education provided to all Springfield elementary students. And, fourth, the plan was flexible enough to adapt to the changing racial composition of the city of Springfield and therefore eliminated the need for modifications as the city population changed.

The Six-District Plan is not perfect. Black students, who constitute 26.8 percent of the elementary school population, make up 40.7 percent of those bused and bear a disproportionate burden of the busing. The plan is still opposed by many Springfield residents who believe that mandatory busing is not the appropriate path to integration. Of much greater seriousness is the unsolved problem of the Puerto Rican students.

APPENDIX A

SCHOOL DEPARTMENT DATA
1964-1974

SPRINGFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Springfield, Massachusetts

PERCENTS OF NON-WHITE PUPILS IN GRADES K-12

SCHOOLS	1964 Mar. 9	1965 Oct. 1	1966 Oct. 3	1967 Oct. 2	1968 Oct. 1	1969 Oct. 1	1970 Oct. 1	1971 Oct. 1	1972 Sep. 29	1973 Oct. 1	[illegible]
Classical High	6.18	6.77	8.05	8.87	7.55	8.42	8.17	8.50	11.02	11.83	[illegible]
Commerce	11.46	15.10	17.40	21.03	22.39	26.77	28.49	33.96	34.19	37.57	[illegible]
Technical High	7.67	11.51	12.55	12.93	11.93	12.44	14.02	18.55	21.09	28.02	[illegible]
Putnam High	7.36	10.26	13.91	15.91	18.12	18.37	20.23	19.36	18.28	15.45	[illegible]
Buckingham Jr.	63.22	65.51	66.75	81.84	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Chestnut St.	21.87	18.76	18.39	23.72	25.00	25.66	29.81	22.51	21.93	21.88	[illegible]
Classical Jr.	17.56	26.43	26.15	27.55	34.42	33.19	35.48	29.18	34.68	---	
Duggan Jr.	2.27	13.16	18.38	17.43	21.15	20.55	20.00	22.51	21.98	29.05	[illegible]
Forest Park Jr.	0.17	0.16	0.58	8.40	14.21	14.81	14.60	16.87	16.27	19.98	[illegible]
Kennedy Jr.	---	---	12.47	12.36	19.03	17.80	17.98	16.47	17.35	18.71	[illegible]
Kiley Jr.	1.52	2.09	3.12	10.06	17.17	15.47	18.21	18.80	22.07	29.11	[illegible]
Myrtle St. Jr.	3.66	3.77	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Van Sickle Jr.	0.23	0.56	0.69	4.87	10.41	25.00	23.62	33.95	36.51	37.74	[illegible]
Acushnet Ave.	4.90	5.56	11.04	15.29	14.67	14.38	14.85	18.99	24.78	21.68	[illegible]
Armory	0.81	3.45	8.85	17.13	16.49	17.77	19.44	25.23	25.22	28.18	[illegible]
Balliet	4.85	6.63	7.14	8.82	9.46	15.34	18.18	23.21	24.26	21.64	[illegible]
Bowles	3.38	0.37	9.95	8.79	9.64	8.92	9.89	9.91	15.48	14.82	[illegible]
Brightwood	27.20	42.52	41.27	36.20	35.54	38.75	35.05	30.00	18.81	23.31	[illegible]
Brookings	58.69	58.75	65.73	67.72	71.70	74.52	72.29	74.94	75.88	71.37	[illegible]
Brunton	0.42	2.14	4.69	6.75	9.90	8.87	10.11	7.81	5.53	4.18	[illegible]
Carew Street	58.92	20.54	18.77	15.99	13.37	8.26	8.62	7.38	8.04	9.07	[illegible]
DeBerry	90.76	90.88	91.15	90.10	91.40	92.26	91.38	91.33	91.86	89.05	[illegible]
Dorman	7.02	9.20	10.65	12.38	13.07	17.72	22.80	27.35	32.86	34.09	[illegible]
Eastern Ave.	86.61	82.40	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ells	60.59	68.02	71.34	74.77	72.75	80.48	87.47	92.24	93.95	94.43	[illegible]
Freedman	1.17	3.78	9.47	12.23	16.99	20.72	23.87	26.29	30.34	33.17	[illegible]
Glenwood	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.36	17.83	19.65	21.91	24.27	25.60	25.07	[illegible]
Glickman	0.00	1.06	6.54	21.80	23.61	26.84	32.84	28.74	27.38	20.32	[illegible]
Harris	0.00	0.62	0.49	0.67	2.06	3.12	3.21	4.48	4.59	5.70	[illegible]
Homer Street	47.28	58.48	64.99	60.96	64.96	69.17	73.89	74.87	79.56	86.08	[illegible]
Hooker	82.51	48.82	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Howard	18.30	11.49	20.17	23.51	24.27	25.64	21.62	21.34	26.22	24.55	[illegible]

SPRINGFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Springfield, Massachusetts

PERCENTS OF NON-WHITE PUPILS IN GRADES K-12

1965 Oct. 1	1966 Oct. 3	1967 Oct. 2	1968 Oct. 1	1969 Oct. 1	1970 Oct. 1	1971 Oct. 1	1972 Sep. 29	1973 Oct. 1	1974* Oct. 1
6.77	8.05	8.87	7.55	8.42	8.17	8.50	11.02	11.83	13.76
15.10	17.40	21.03	22.39	26.77	28.49	33.96	34.19	37.57	38.10
11.51	12.55	12.93	11.93	12.44	14.02	18.55	21.09	28.02	33.93
10.26	13.91	15.91	18.12	18.37	20.23	19.36	18.28	15.45	15.88
65.51	66.75	81.84	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
18.76	18.39	23.72	25.00	25.66	29.81	22.51	21.93	21.88	21.52
26.43	26.15	27.55	34.42	33.19	35.48	29.18	34.68	---	---
13.16	18.38	17.43	21.15	20.55	20.00	22.51	21.98	29.05	27.63
0.16	0.58	8.40	14.21	14.81	14.60	16.87	16.27	19.98	21.49
---	12.47	12.36	19.03	17.80	17.98	16.47	17.35	18.71	24.94
2.09	3.12	10.06	17.17	15.47	18.21	18.80	22.07	29.11	25.23
3.77	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
0.56	0.69	4.87	10.41	25.00	23.62	33.95	36.51	37.74	33.57
5.56	11.04	15.29	14.67	14.38	14.85	18.99	24.78	21.68	34.27
3.45	8.85	17.13	16.49	17.77	19.44	25.23	25.22	28.18	28.91
6.63	7.14	8.82	9.46	15.34	18.18	23.21	24.26	21.64	35.54
0.37	9.95	8.79	9.64	8.92	9.89	9.91	15.48	14.82	31.81
42.52	41.27	36.20	35.54	38.75	35.05	30.00	18.81	23.31	21.97
58.75	65.73	67.72	71.70	74.52	72.29	74.94	75.88	71.37	38.90
2.14	4.69	6.75	9.90	8.87	10.11	7.81	5.53	4.18	31.65
20.54	18.77	15.99	13.37	8.26	8.62	7.38	8.04	9.07	7.16
90.88	91.15	90.10	91.40	92.26	91.38	91.33	91.86	89.05	41.94
9.20	10.65	12.38	13.07	17.72	22.80	27.35	32.86	34.09	33.42
82.40	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
68.02	71.34	74.77	77.75	80.48	87.47	92.24	93.95	94.43	44.51
3.78	9.47	12.23	16.99	20.72	23.87	26.29	30.34	33.17	24.61
0.00	0.00	1.36	17.83	19.65	21.91	24.27	25.60	25.07	26.17
1.06	6.54	21.80	23.61	26.84	32.84	28.74	27.38	20.32	25.13
0.62	0.49	0.67	2.06	3.12	3.21	4.48	4.59	5.70	16.74
58.48	64.99	60.96	64.96	69.17	73.89	74.87	79.56	86.08	43.39
48.82	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
11.49	20.17	23.51	24.27	25.64	21.62	21.34	26.22	24.55	6.54

SCHOOLS	1964 Mar. 9	1965 Oct. 1	1966 Oct. 3	1967 Oct. 2	1968 Oct. 1	1969 Oct. 1	1970 Oct. 1	1971 Oct. 1	1972 Sep. 29	1973 Oct. 1
Indian Orchard	5.09	7.07	7.72	7.83	7.93	10.42	10.86	9.82	14.91	16.45
Jefferson Ave.	7.32	9.50	12.96	11.11	9.72	5.92	5.36	6.25	3.83	2.66
Kensington Ave.	0.17	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.32	0.49	1.08	0.86	0.90	1.83
Liberty	0.18	0.23	0.74	0.93	13.12	11.78	14.55	15.85	18.27	16.22
Lincoln	5.71	4.00	8.38	6.17	10.42	7.20	4.58	6.25	4.01	3.01
Lynch	0.28	4.02	10.50	8.23	15.58	19.15	18.41	16.88	20.21	18.99
Memorial	15.57	19.17	21.22	28.09	31.34	33.41	38.74	37.29	39.01	42.90
Morris	10.33	13.16	11.81	14.18	14.94	15.66	21.83	17.48	21.03	26.42
Myrtle Street	0.00	0.92	21.34	17.85	18.18	16.12	11.11	9.52	8.55	9.37
Pottenger	1.66	2.36	4.65	3.95	8.38	9.29	12.80	14.65	12.24	12.45
School Street	18.63	2.97	5.26	28.74	24.73	22.45	26.85	30.69	20.19	13.33
Sixteen Acres	0.18	0.18	1.76	3.79	5.27	5.62	6.36	7.32	6.82	7.49
Sumner Ave.	0.00	0.19	0.75	1.03	1.10	0.75	2.27	1.85	2.10	2.16
Talmadge	1.24	1.45	1.70	1.64	1.49	1.84	2.06	2.37	3.96	5.04
Tapley	75.04	77.34	80.31	83.61	85.43	85.18	86.35	82.52	87.39	88.49
Tiffany	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.22	3.39	4.67	6.80	11.11	9.54
Warner	1.48	2.65	4.71	5.91	7.66	8.67	10.82	13.50	14.79	15.52
Washington	0.47	0.35	0.49	0.23	4.71	5.33	5.80	7.67	9.41	11.77
White Street	0.52	0.54	3.22	2.26	4.73	5.79	7.21	7.17	8.11	9.77
Special Services						18.87	39.34	43.40	43.45	38.79

*INTEGRATION PLAN IMPLEMENTED

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
SUMMARY									
SENIOR	12.10	13.27	14.74	15.79	16.50	17.66	19.92	21.13	22.72
JUNIOR	15.70	16.67	17.62	19.25	20.52	21.76	22.82	24.05	26.75
ELEMENTARY	19.40	21.09	20.99	22.41	23.26	24.57	25.54	26.28	26.32
SPECIAL SERV. CTRS.					18.87	39.34	43.40	43.45	38.79
SYSTEM									
TOTAL ENROLLMENT	30899	31695	31770	31613	31506	31216	30844	30433	29628
WHITE	24939	25106	24636	24159	23409	22368	21424	20535	19220
PERCENTAGE	80.71	79.21	77.54	76.42	74.30	71.66	69.46	67.48	64.87
BLACK	5370	5887	6109	6302	6694	7020	7339	7540	7603
PERCENTAGE	17.38	18.57	19.23	19.93	21.25	22.49	23.79	24.78	25.66
SPANISH	590	702	1025	1152	1403	1828	2081	2358	2805
PERCENTAGE	1.91	2.21	3.23	3.64	4.45	5.86	6.75	7.75	9.47

64 . 9	1965 Oct. 1	1966 Oct. 3	1967 Oct. 2	1968 Oct. 1	1969 Oct. 1	1970 Oct. 1	1971 Oct. 1	1972 Sep. 29	1973 Oct. 1	1974* Oct. 1
.09	7.07	7.72	7.83	7.53	10.42	10.86	9.82	14.91	16.45	26.68
.32	9.50	12.96	11.11	9.72	5.92	5.36	6.25	3.83	2.66	3.90
.17	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.32	0.49	1.08	0.86	0.90	1.83	22.45
.18	0.23	0.74	0.93	13.12	11.78	14.55	15.85	18.27	16.22	20.39
.71	4.00	8.38	6.17	10.42	7.20	4.58	6.25	4.01	3.01	2.09
.28	4.02	10.50	8.23	15.58	19.15	18.41	16.88	20.21	18.99	29.71
.57	19.17	21.22	28.09	31.34	33.41	38.74	37.29	39.01	42.90	23.86
.33	13.16	11.81	14.18	14.94	15.66	21.83	17.48	21.03	26.42	30.38
.00	0.92	21.34	17.85	18.18	16.12	11.11	9.52	8.55	9.37	29.21
.66	2.36	4.65	3.95	8.38	9.29	12.60	14.65	12.24	12.45	26.33
.63	2.97	5.26	28.74	24.73	22.45	26.85	30.69	20.19	13.33	13.64
.18	0.18	1.76	3.79	5.27	5.62	6.36	7.32	6.82	7.49	19.30
.00	0.19	0.75	1.03	1.10	0.75	2.27	1.85	2.10	2.16	23.37
.24	1.45	1.70	1.64	1.49	1.84	2.06	2.37	3.96	5.04	33.68
.04	77.34	80.31	83.61	85.43	85.18	86.35	82.52	87.39	88.49	44.58
.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.22	3.39	4.67	6.80	11.11	9.54	19.53
.48	2.65	4.71	5.91	7.66	8.67	10.82	13.50	14.79	16.52	27.01
.47	0.35	0.49	0.23	4.71	5.33	5.80	7.67	9.41	11.77	28.54
.52	0.54	3.22	2.26	4.73	5.79	7.21	7.17	8.11	9.77	31.39
					18.87	39.34	43.40	43.45	38.79	45.71
PLEMENTED										
			SUMMARY							
	12.10	13.27	14.74	15.79	16.50	17.66	19.92	21.13	22.72	24.78
	15.70	16.67	17.62	19.25	20.52	21.76	22.82	24.05	26.75	25.96
	19.40	21.09	20.99	22.41	23.26	24.57	25.54	26.28	26.32	26.83
					18.87	39.34	43.40	43.45	38.79	45.71
			SYSTEM							
	30899	31695	31770	31613	31506	31216	30844	30433	29628	28767
	24939	25106	24636	24159	23409	22368	21424	20535	19220	17946
	80.71	79.21	77.54	76.42	74.30	71.66	69.46	67.48	64.87	62.38
	5370	5887	6109	6302	6694	7020	7339	7540	7603	7553
	17.38	18.57	19.23	19.93	21.25	22.49	23.79	24.78	25.66	26.26
	590	702	1025	1152	1403	1828	2081	2358	2805	3268
	1.91	2.21	3.23	3.64	4.45	5.86	6.75	7.75	9.47	11.36

APPENDIX B

Letter from Mayor William C. Sullivan to Jacques E. Wilmore
Regional Director, Dec. 24, 1975

DEC 30

WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN
mayor

office of the mayor
CITY OF SPRINGFIELD.
MASSACHUSETTS. 01103
AREA CODE (413) 736-2711

December 24, 1975

Jacques E. Wilmore, Regional Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Northeastern Regional Office
The Federal Building
26 Federal Plaza, Room 1639
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Wilmore:

Thank you for the opportunity of reviewing the draft report of the Massachusetts Advisory Commission to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

I attach to this letter a list of comments regarding P.P. 5-50 of the draft report. (I have received only p.p. 5-50.) In addition to these comments, I would like to emphasize that the Springfield School System was never a dual school system or de jure segregated. See Barksdale v. School Committee of Springfield 348 F 2d 261 (1965). The experience covered in your report arose under a state statute, unique among all of our fifty United States, which mandates racial balancing -- the elimination of de facto segregation, which is not required by the constitution. Thus we had not been dealing with a constitutional question until the Massachusetts Supreme Court's decision in Springfield III.

When the constitutional question arose, many of the problems with the implementation of the Six District plan vanished, as is evident from your description of the implementation of the plan. I believe that these legal considerations are fundamental to an understanding of the relations between the School Committee and the State Board of Education which resulted in the implementation of the Six District plan.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN,
Mayor

Let's Meet in Springfield—Soon!