The evidence in the literature is that both students' efforts and administrators' responses have fallen far short of what it takes to change a system substantially. The categories of literature covered in this bibliography include student and educator perceptions of conditions in schools that generate conflict and impetus for change; empirical studies of students' powerlessness and surveys of the actual and desired extent of student participation in school decisions; case studies of individual schools in which students' actions brought about changes; and prescriptions and strategies for involving students in the shaping of education. (Author/JP)
POWER TO THE PUPIL: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF STUDENT INVOLVEMENT, STUDENT POWER,
AND STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING
IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Three aspects of public secondary education today strike me as drastically wrong. High schools are not organized to serve the needs and interests of students but of other groups in society, decision-making structures of schools give students no legitimate power to exercise influence over their own education, and schools are oppressive institutions that exert meaningless control over students' personal lives. These are the problems that must be attacked if educational reform is to be more than token tinkering.

Students' efforts to deal with these problems in the sixties sent shock waves through institutions of secondary education. Now we must ask what significant reforms have resulted from the dramatic confrontations of 1965-1970, what has been learned about students' potential for changing education, and how we can use these learnings to generate further reform. This bibliography is intended as a tool for students, educators, organizers, consultants, and researchers trying to answer these questions.

My personal impetus for making this compilation comes, first, from my continuing involvement in educational reform using organizational development, a change strategy that values the participation of organizational members in decisions affecting them. Second, I have wanted to see what evidence might be found for the hypothesis that high school students have been a significant force for reform in public education, as Fashing and Deutsch found that recent reforms in higher education have come from students rather than faculty or administration. Third, I have for some time wanted to do something about my sense of having lost touch with the
high school experience, a sense I felt deeply on a recent occasion when my attempt to lead a group of high school students during a weekend retreat turned into a minor debacle. Finally, I feel a commitment to changing the institutions that shape students' experiences so that my four-year-old son will have a fighting chance to survive the system.

The evidence in the current literature is that both students' efforts and administrators' responses have fallen far short of what it takes to change the system substantially. The entries included here represent the best available information on the effects that students' efforts have had, responses that administrators have typically made, and directions that future reform efforts might take; and the best is not very good. I have tried to include a variety of examples and perspectives -- some trivial and some significant -- to indicate the current situation and possible futures. It seems to me that serious efforts to change the system must proceed from a thorough understanding of what has happened already, of the system's capacities and predilections for resistance or reform, and of the usefulness (or lack of it) of alternative strategies.

While I have found it difficult to define precisely the criteria that guided my selections from a literature of substantial proportions, the following description of categories that are and aren't included will give an indication of the focus of the inquiry.

Students' perceptions of conditions in schools that generate conflict and impetus for change are included, as are perceptions of educators on these issues. Some empirical studies of students' powerlessness, and surveys of the actual and desired extent of student participation in school decisions, are included. Case studies of individual schools in which
students' action brought about changes are included. Several entries represent prescriptions and strategies for involving students in shaping education, while others describe organizations that advocate student interests or work for educational change. Many writings included here do not share my belief that students ought to have a major influence on decision-making in high schools. A small subject index appears at the end of the listings.

Several categories have been systematically excluded. The amount of trivia published is substantial, so I have not included examples of "student involvement" that seem thoroughly minor, nor several analyses and prescriptions that seem to ignore or misunderstand the main issues. Further, I have not included analyses of general social problems, such as racism and the war, that gave rise to many student protests in the sixties, nor those dealing with the new student left as a general political and social phenomenon. I have not included works that simply describe conditions in schools, or instances of disruptions, without reference to visible changes that resulted. Writings from the psychological literature on student alienation, or psychodynamic analyses of the roots of the student movement, are likewise excluded, because I do not believe that the fundamental causes of the movement are to be found in personality or socialization. Nor have I included anything on ways in which the student subculture influences classroom interaction and the culture of the school, because my focus is on direct, organized action by students. Also, I have not tried to represent alternative schools, since my focus is on the existing public school system. I
have eliminated reports of several conferences on student activism attended by students, educators, parents, and others, since none of them seemed particularly illuminating. Finally, I have not tried to cover the underground press.

Two other exclusions deserve comment. I have not included any entry on the major study of student participation in school governance now being conducted by students of Kenneth Polk at the University of Oregon. While potentially significant, this study has not yet reached publication stage; I would urge the reader to watch for reports on this study. Finally, I have not included any reports on student-initiated court action to change schools. It was not until I had covered a great deal of ground that I discovered that students have forced several changes through legal action; the Tinker and Gault cases remain the most significant examples. The interested reader should refer to publications of the ACLU and "The Student's Day in Court," an annual publication of the National Education Association's research division.

My procedure has been a combination of the systematic and the serendipitous. Primary sources include Research in Education, Current Index to Journals in Education, Education Index, and Dissertation Abstracts for 1968-72; all issues of several major journals (e.g., High School Journal, Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Nation's Schools) for the same period; the bibliographies listed at the end of this compilation; and the libraries of the University of Oregon, the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management. Further, some important entries were brought to my attention by colleagues, and others I simply stumbled
upon in the course of this and other explorations.

The literature on student involvement, activism, and protest is itself an interesting phenomenon. Virtually nonexistent prior to 1968, the literature grew to substantial proportions in 1969 and 1970, began to drop off in 1971, and shrank significantly in 1972. Reported instances of dramatic student confrontations and the incidence of court cases involving students' rights followed much the same pattern, and the rise and decline of the student movement is faithfully reflected in the literature. Given the uneasy calm that seems to prevail in 1973, it is hard to remember the stunning impact of the student movement that made it such a popular topic in educational journals for a brief time.

Like the majority of U.S. institutions, public secondary schools were immensely surprised by the student movement, and the assertion of student rights and demands in petitions and strikes scared the hell out of most administrators. The revolutionary potential of high school students traditionally had been ranked only slightly higher than that of over-cooked oatmeal, but the dramatic confrontations of the sixties gave principals and superintendents visions of Armageddon on the playground.

In reaction, educators and others rushed into print with explanations of student unrest, dramatic descriptions of students' organizations and confrontations, and remedies for harried administrators. The reader is warned that the "liberal" or "sympathetic" viewpoint is vastly over-represented in the literature. Educators who do not understand the student movement, who oppose it, or who discount its significance, don't seem to publish; they just keep on oppressing students and maintaining the system. Further, conceptual biases and ideological assumptions are built into the
language we use to discuss the student movement. Consider the following terms: "disruption," "dissent," "involvement," "activism," and the like. These terms subtly incorporate the assumptions that a stable, unchanging, and morally defensible institution should be the center of our attention and concern, and that students are essentially peripheral to the life of the institution. For example, writers typically give at least nominal attention to the legitimacy of student grievances, but then emphasize that the major danger involved is the threat of anarchy and chaos. Their usual response is to ask how student energies can be channeled into "constructive action." That is, the desirability of perpetuating the current structure is assumed, if perhaps with some accommodation to defuse students and thus maintain the distribution of power and perogatives. Rarely do writers examine fundamental issues of the purposes of high school education, possible redistributions of power, and how structural changes might be accomplished. I think that the educational establishment's attention has been devoted more to devising workable means for containing insurgency than to addressing the fundamental issues that might open the way to substantial changes.

There are several kinds of "student involvement," each having its own implications for the power structure of the schools, and the accommodations to students made by institutions varies systematically with these implications. The most potent form of involvement would be voting power equal to that of faculty, administration, and community on decision-making groups dealing with significant issues: budget, staffing, curricula, discipline, and grading. In most surveys, administrators' willingness to allow students influence varies inversely with the importance of the
issue. While some educators genuinely want to grant students equity in important areas of school life, there is also ample evidence of the system's vast capacity to trivialize student efforts, co-opt student energy, and effectively deal with challenges to the legitimacy of institutional authority. Further, the reliability of administrators' claims that students are significantly involved in decision-making is suspect. In the few cases in which administrators' perceptions of student involvement have been tested by site visits or interviews with students and teachers, the discrepancy between rhetoric and reality is clear.

In particular, I would categorize the flexibility in programs of study, the liberalization of regulations about students' appearance, and the involvement of students in advisory positions as relatively minor changes that do not essentially alter students' subordinate status; nor do these changes seem to me to be productive avenues for pursuing substantial reforms.

Students are sometimes said to be "involved" because they have some freedom in choosing courses and a program of study. But in this case students act as individuals only, and as long as the school maintains control over what is on the menu, it makes little difference whether a student chooses salad or dessert. I have similar reservations about short-term experimental or mini-courses, even when they are initiated and conducted by students, because they remain tangential to the basic curriculum and carry little significant implication for the political structure of the school.

Another recent change is the general liberalization of dress codes, regulations of hair length, and -- to a lesser extent -- student
conduct codes. It seems to me naive to claim this new freedom as a major reform. Rather, it seems to me to reflect the realization that a docile student who looks like a hippie is still a docile student. Adults still retain control over the significant regulations, notably discipline and evaluation.

A widely recommended and practiced means of involvement is that of allowing students to sit on curriculum and governance bodies as purely advisory members; voting membership is much less common, and student control of significant decision-making bodies that deal with important issues is virtually non-existent. These means of incorporating students into the established political structure range in intent from sincere attempts to give students a channel for influence to outright tokenism. Advisory representation is administratively useful in providing the shadow but not the substance of student power and in co-opting student leadership.

Of course, there is a wide variation in students' opinions and preferences: students can be radical, liberal, mugwump, or conservative, just like everybody else. While the small minority who identify themselves as political radicals would probably demand that students gain a great deal of power, there seems to be a large percentage of students who would be satisfied if school personnel simply got off their backs. Several surveys have shown that many student protests and strikes arise out of minor but immediate issues, such as dress codes, hair length, cafeteria food, and so on. It may be that the immediate quality of life in high schools is so bad that major portions of available student energy are directed just to making life tolerable. If so, two interpretations seem possible. It may be that resolution of these issues will provide the impetus to engage
the system at a more fundamental level and to press for action on more significant issues. Alternatively, it may be that resolution of these grievances is a terminal point for most students. If they view high school only as something that must be endured but not as a potentially significant institution in their lives, it may be that they will be satisfied simply to arrange for a more tolerable passage through it.

The reader's perception that a certain pessimism runs through this introduction is quite correct. Exactly where we are on the questions that shaped this inquiry remains, for me, problematic. At times it seems to me appropriate to divide efforts to change schools into two piles labelled "trivial" and "impossible." At other times the prospect seems to be one of merely overwhelming difficulty. At any rate, I hope that others can get into the literature as I have, and find in these entries some useful conceptual frameworks, vulnerable leverage points, and productive strategies.


2. I have marked a number of items as "Recommended" or "Highly Recommended," A list of the items I personally consider most important, interesting, and useful appears at the end of the subject index.

An "analysis and prescription" article included mainly as an example. Among the causes of student unrest considered are the bureaucratic nature of schools, adult hypocrisy, the media, a milieu of criticism of schools, increased numbers of students, and the schools' reliance on competition as the main motivational technique. Among the cures suggested are increased communication; involvement of students, community and minorities; re-education of staff; and sensitivity to changes in student and community aspirations.


The author of the NASSP pamphlet to help principals administer schools in compliance with court rulings on student rights concludes that the pamphlet was thoroughly ineffective and that schools did not move toward democracy and due process. In the next article, "An Activist Student Comments" (pp. 13-19), Ackerly's 14-year-old son describes the pamphlet as an "interesting though somewhat elementary presentation of the student-administrator relationship in the school." He describes the oppressive administration and atmosphere of his own school in terms of the issues discussed in his father's article. (Special issue on "The Authority Crisis in Our Schools.")


A survey of 29 school systems in which students formally evaluate teachers or teachers evaluate administrators; in only one school is student evaluation of teachers mandatory. Includes five sample instruments for student evaluation of teachers, and a 45-item bibliography, unannotated, on student ratings of teachers.


Describes 17 recent attempts to supplement the regular curriculum with short-term courses based on student and teacher interest; most have heavy student involvement in creation, planning, and teaching.


A survey of 74 school systems reporting student involvement in decision-making; nearly all efforts to involve students were begun in the 1969-70 school year. Advisory committee at the local school was the most frequently reported method, while 5 districts included students as non-voting board members, and 15 said students served on
district advisory committees composed entirely of students or of students and adults. Eleven systems said that students served on curricular committees as advisory or voting (and in some cases paid) members. Other methods included participation of textbook selection, staff selection, human relations, accreditation, and disciplinary bodies. Tables briefly describe the systems, committees, membership, methods of operation, and areas of concern of groups on which students participate. Resolutions on student participation by NEA-related organizations are included.


A survey of students and others in 27 secondary schools in 19 urban areas on causes of unrest and disruption, "successful strategies for mitigating" such unrest, and policy recommendations. Generally agrees with earlier findings (items 18, 93) and finds that major issues are discipline, dress codes, school services and facilities, curriculum, and racial issues. It concludes that disruption is more likely in large schools and racially-integrated schools (though not if a high percentage of black students is matched by a high percentage of black staff). While 50% of the schools reported that students voted on the student conduct policy committee, 18% said students voted on the disciplinary body, and 20% said students voted on the curriculum development body, these claims were not supported by site visits to schools. This disparity of staff claims and actual student participation is common.


Describes one school in which student activism forced alterations in lines of authority, more effective communication by the administration, and administrative review of challenged policies.


Selections from high school underground newspapers are tied together by the 17-year-old editor's narrative of his own experiences and comments on the issues raised, so this collection is more coherent and useful than other similar collections. It includes sections on the underground press vs. administrators, student power and powerlessness, student unions and similar organizations, and student-initiated educational reforms. Descriptions of the current situation provide a background for the proposals and programs included.


A forum of seven school board members concludes (with some dissent) that students should be involved in all phases of school board decision-making except actual voting.

Argues that schools' abuse of authority and the lack of alternatives (among other reasons) make students choose a change strategy based on confrontation and induction of crisis, and discusses possible administrative responses: reformed classroom practices, channels to handle student grievances, and measures to take when the crisis erupts.


One of several reports by the Educational Change Team (ECT) at the University of Michigan. Interviews with students in secondary schools that experienced crisis show that many complaints focus on curriculum inadequacies and racism. Among the recommendations are the establishment of a faculty-student government to establish grievance procedures and stimulate dialogue. Role-playing exercises that highlight student-school conflict are included.


Data collected from students, principals, and teachers in seven schools experiencing disruption include perceptions of causes and underlying conditions, each group's perception of its ability to influence school policy, and the amount of influence desired by each group.


Discusses rationales for, meaning of, and risks involved in sharing real power with students, and suggests several strategies for achieving shared power. One of the few entries that views students as a legitimate interest group that ought to have power.


Discusses student concerns with schools and administrators that can lead to violent protests, and suggests methods by which students and staff can turn disruption into an opportunity for change. Short-range methods include negotiation and establishing grievance procedures, while long-range methods focus on decentralized decision-making and restructuring schools.

Proposes a restructuring of schools based on a redistribution of power to include students and other legitimate interest groups. The organizational variables of conflict, power, trust, communication and structure are discussed in the context of a "power-conflict" model of change. Several examples of strategies used by the authors to bring about changing students through training students are included. Recommended article.


A survey of 352 California high schools found that 56% had no student involvement in curriculum development, but that most schools intended to initiate such involvement. Specific examples of student participation and problems encountered are discussed.


Finds that most respondents felt that students should be involved in decision-making, but only in advisory capacities, and not in staffing, directing, budgeting, or grading decisions.


A survey of nearly 7000 secondary school students finds that they felt they were regularly subjected to undemocratic decisions. Ten objectives for future civic education are included. A massive study with several breakdowns of data, but poorly-written.


Describes current changes in society, schools, students, administrators, and student councils, and presents recommendations for integrating the student council into significant school decisions.

Survey of 370 students finds that they felt uninvolved in school, had little hope of exerting influence, and wanted more influence. The major concerns, in order, were: dress codes, censorship, hall conduct, discipline, extracurricular activities, counselor duties, and curriculum. No variation in response was found by race, social-economic class, or urban/suburban location of school.


A collection of 250 excerpts from the underground press, arranged by topic: schools, society, students. Not as good as Birmingham (item 8), but another perspective on conditions and changes.


A case study of the boycott, including school and community conditions, hypotheses of causes, events, and changes that resulted, including a greater voice in discipline by students. See also item 27.


Argues that students lack the opportunity of redistributing power through political processes, and so have chosen disruption as an alternative strategy. He argues that the whole institutional structure of education has to be restructured through some kind of disruption.


A widely-cited analysis of student activism, including examination of the roles of students and adults, types of activism, and ways in which activism can benefit education. Includes recommendations for dealing with activism, especially when the crisis erupts.


A collection of 23 articles on conditions and challenges of change, the future curriculum, and special problems and opportunities.
Except for articles by Weingartner and Friedenberg (which are recommended) it is a conventional view-from-the-top batch of predictions, with little attention to political processes of change or student power.


A student of the Educational Change Team (see entries 11-15) describes attempts to share power among staff, students, and parents in seven case studies. His conclusions include several procedural suggestions for starting to share power; most of the suggestions reflect strategies similar to those of Program 1503 of CASEA (entries 34, 85).


Case study of the White Plains, N.Y. student boycott (see item 22). (Special issue on "The Activated Student.")


Discusses ways to involve students in solving educational problems by (1) creating a district agency that has student life as its main concern, (2) adding students to decision-making bodies, such as school board, faculty selection, policy formation committees, and (3) engaging students as producers of educational products and services for other students, for example, as tutors of younger students.


Presents recommendations for responding to legitimate student demands by creating mechanisms for incorporating student input into school decisions, and discusses the need to emphasize student development and curriculum change.


Arguing that schools will be changed by conflict or attempts to avoid it, she describes a strategy of using a team of students, teachers, and the principal to intervene in crises and exploit their potential for constructive change.

A special report on unrest in high schools describes: the ombudsman in the New Trier, Ill., schools who works with students; students in Dade County, Fla., who work as aides to school board members; and the Friday afternoon seminars on student-chosen topics in Teaneck, N.J.


Applies Goffman's concept of "total institutions" to analysis of unrest, and argues that organizational imperatives -- including power and control -- of the institution virtually guarantee student rebellion.


Report of a six-month study of high schools funded by NASSP. He discusses issues, presents case studies, describes alternative responses to dissent, and reports cases in which student organizations have exercised influence and/or developed experimental curricula. The emphasis throughout is on the principal's role.


Describes the attempt of CASEA's Program 03 to involve students and staff in joint decision-making. The attempt, based on organizational development training, was never carried through, but Flynn describes his own later efforts to engage students in joint action with staff.


A useful analysis focusing on differences in protest at high school and college levels. Among the important differences are: adolescents are denied legal protections accorded to adult-aged college students, institutional traditions and organizational norms in high schools emphasize bureaucratic control of clients, high school protesters cannot link local issues to national concerns, and high school administrators have less room to maneuver and less inclination to negotiate with their captive clients than do college administrators. Recommended.

A collection of Movement writings includes a section on education, with several student reports on schools and efforts to change them. An organization titled RESIST (763 Massachusetts Ave., No. 4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139) has been set up as a clearinghouse for individuals and organizations doing high school organizing.


A must collection of 23 articles by radical thinkers on the school crisis, including descriptions of schools, radical theory (especially on student participation, ghetto schools, and the curriculum), and descriptions of schools that offer freedom and student power. See especially Friedenberg's widely-reprinted article on "Autonomy and Learning," and the superbly-done critique and proposal by the Montgomery County (Md.) Student Alliance; the latter is probably the best example of organized student research and thought in the literature, and is widely-cited. Highly recommended.


Another must collection of radical critiques on "the most absurd part of an educational system pervaded by absurdity." Includes essays on adolescent-adult conflict and the schools' role; descriptions of schools by students and hip teachers; and descriptions of seven good high schools that stress the individual and collective participation of students in shaping the school, in varying degrees. Highly recommended.


Perhaps the most clear and widely-known document of the liberal wing of the NEA complex. Aimed at administrators, it describes reasons for student grievances and disruptions, urges establishing formal channels for student communication and grievance procedures, and cites several examples of student involvement in curriculum and policy development. While calling for alleviation of student grievances and opening up school districts to more communication with students, the main emphasis is on what to do when the dam breaks, and fundamental inequities are never seriously discussed.

A widely-cited article in which a psychiatrist catalogues and comments on several hypotheses to explain alienation and activism. "Critical" hypotheses include permissiveness in child-rearing, unwillingness of youth to assume responsibility, effects of unearned affluence, or family-pathology explanations. "Sympathetic" hypotheses include explanations citing spinoff from the civil-rights movement, effects of the war, reaction to international competition, and the deteriorating quality of life. "Neutral" hypotheses focus on impersonal, structural causes such as media influence and students' adoption of the prevailing world-view stressing scientific progress, the solvability of societal problems, and the possibility of human perfection.


The U.S. edition of a handbook for students originally published in Denmark; this book caused something of a flap in educational circles when it first appeared: many educators regard it as scurrilous and/or seditious. Describes basic information for understanding and coping with the school system, and how to use schools for students' purposes. Includes sections on decision-making and how to have influence. Interesting, but not that seditious.


Describes a student boycott of five predominantly Chicano schools to back demands for reform. Eventually involving 5,000 students, with community and AFT support; the boycott came after years of inaction by the school board. Describes the events, students' demands, and later attempts of the school board to meet the demands. Good example of a student-community coalition. See also item 47.


Describes the seminar in Grants Pass, Oregon, its efforts and accomplishments, as well as reactions of the generally conservative town.


A collection of eight papers by leaders in the educational establishment, based on two conferences held by ASCD. The main themes are unmet needs of youth, causes of unrest, characteristics of alienation, promising programs and strategies for making education relevant, and conflict intervention strategies.

A review of literature and theory on student protest, characteristics of student protesters, powerlessness of students, and organizational characteristics of schools. Includes descriptions of alternative responses to protest.


Included here as an example of the literature on the underground press -- a focal point of student activity and administrative resistance -- the article discusses several explanations of the phenomenon of unrest, reviews some studies of the underground press, and presents a content analysis of several issues of one publication.


Exactly two years after the "blowout" item (item 42), students and their allies demonstrated again. The article describes the original demands of the Educational Issues Committee, the inaction of the school board, and the lack of progress from 1968 to 1970.


Statements by leaders of the Cleveland Movement for a Democratic Society, the New York High School Student Union, the United Student Movement in Palo Alto, and the Chicago Black Students.


Describes the N.Y. High School Student Union and other examples of student activism in Fall, 1968.


Description of Niles Township, Ill., schools, where three students are advisory members of the school board, and students serve on the citizens' advisory council.


Description of the participation of 20 students on the Buffalo, N.Y., schools' curriculum committees; they are paid for summer work.
Case study of Staples High School in Westport, Conn. The old student council dissolved itself, and a faculty-student committee created the new school government. Composed of ten students, seven teachers, and three administrators elected by their constituencies, the Staples Governing Board has real power in curriculum, behavior codes, school-community relations, and extracurricular activities (but apparently not in budgeting, staffing, or grading). The principal's veto may be overridden by a 75% vote. Jacoby emphasizes that SGB members have not crossed staff-student lines, but that liberal-conservative factions cut across formal roles.

Focuses on organizational student-adult conflicts having roots in the school's control orientation, student powerlessness, and alienation. Discusses uses of third-party consultants in constructive resolution of conflicts to promote organizational development.

Describes student participation in governance of Pacific High School in Palo Alto. (Special issue on "Student Participation: Toward Maturity?"

Historical study of the Philadelphia schools' response to unrest is coupled with a critical study of one incident. He finds support for the hypothesis that under certain management conditions, unrest can produce productive change. Six areas in which change resulted from unrest are discussed. The major "management condition" seems to be the actions of the superintendent (presumably Mark Shedd) who was problem-oriented rather than primarily concerned with maintaining the institutional status quo.

Paired with literature and research on black and white student activism, student organizations, and the effects of student activism on principal...

A collection of 21 articles by students on suburban radicals, black students, youth culture, junior high and high schools, private schools and women's liberation. With the exception of three articles on the politics of the high school movement, this collection is not as valuable as Birmingham's (item 8).


Case study of a student walkout in Amsterdam, N.Y., partly in reaction to the board's proposed budget cuts. The boycott led to board action and involvement of students in school board election campaigns.


Calls for a coalition of curriculum workers and students to create a politically-aware curriculum to cope with repressive and dehumanizing educational institutions and practices.


A survey of 33 principals finds little accommodation, consisting of some changes in administrative practices and policies, and some fairly insignificant student involvement in decision-making, with the least accommodation coming in curriculum.


Analysis of the effects of 18-to-21-year-old candidates in school board races in Fall, 1971. Of the 67 candidates, 41 were 18 years old, 14 were 19, 7 were 20, and 5 were 21; 58 were college students and five were high school students. More than half the candidates ran in Ohio races, while others ran in Texas, Washington, Iowa, Arizona, Massachusetts, California, Rhode Island, Oregon, and Wisconsin. Most ran on liberal, not radical, platforms; communication, drug education, and curriculum were the major issues. The issues and campaigns of the nine successful candidates are described.


A survey of the legal environment of student organizations in the 50 states, and a discussion of legal implications of the organization's activities and relationship to the school structure.

Claims that this statewide advisory body of student council representatives has been "effectively involved in an advisory capacity in the areas of youthful concern and educational activity."


An "analysis and prescription" article focusing on dull curriculum, unmotivating teaching practices, poor human relations, and the lack of student involvement in decision-making, with a few recommendations. McKenna was the head of the NEA task force on student involvement; the group's report is said to include "100 techniques for responding to unrest." I have been unable to find the report.


A study of effects of student participation based on data from 3450 students and 765 teachers. Surveys teachers' and students' perceptions of actual and desired student participation in decisions on social and political rules, courses, discipline, rating teachers, and grades. Perceptions of actual participation generally agree, but students want more involvement than teachers want to grant, and students perceive greater discrepancy between actual and desired participation than do teachers. Teachers and students generally have similar priorities: both want more student participation in non-academic matters than in academic matters, though a quarter of the teachers would welcome real student authority in academic decisions. Most students were satisfied with schools' services and facilities but a substantial minority was not: boys, older students, and students of higher social class were more critical than students of other categories. While most students were interested in the student government only for the social services it offered, a minority in every school wanted access to the government to advance its own ideas for social change. Recommended.


Fourteen students elected by peers or appointed by student governments meet twice monthly with the school board to bring student concerns to the board's attention.

Describes the "Office of Students and Youth" within USOE, started in September 1969. The office was set up to seek technical and financial assistance for innovative student-run programs, keep USOE tuned in to students, and present a national overview of school tensions and ways of dealing with them. The office also runs the Student Information Center in Washington, D.C. Staffed mainly by local students, the center collects information on innovations in public high schools, especially those started by students; student rights; and participation in governance. At the time of the article the center was trying to establish a clearinghouse of information on secondary school issues, especially student-initiated reforms.


Prescriptions and sample policies on student rights, participation, and grievance procedures, none of which seem to offer substantial amounts of student power.


Recommendations for ways of opening channels for students to express opinion and assume greater responsibilities for solving educational problems in policies, attitudes, extracurricular activities, the student council, human relations, and the curriculum.


Argues that students can organize themselves to present demands to school officials, and that some of the things they demand can be negotiated successfully.


Includes a section on high schools that suggests questions for pin-pointing the system's weaknesses, some issues that can be used to rally students to an organization, and strategies. Chapter references include handbooks for starting high school underground organizations, and four national organizations of high school students.

Among the more radical indictments to be found in the establishment press. Analyzes the split between teaching democracy and the bureaucratic repression in schools, powerlessness of students, and schools' control-authority obsession. Argues that if open rebellion is the only way students can achieve citizenship, then so be it.


An indictment of the secondary school system for dehumanization, oppression, and irrelevance, and discussion of students' reactions to the system. The editors include a funny little note of apology to readers who might be offended by the strength of the argument.


Describes the Seattle schools' appeals procedure. Students first go to a guidance counselor appointed by the principal, then to a board composed of four students (one each appointed by the principal, student body president, student council, and student union) and three faculty.


See especially Chapter 4, "Preparing for Democratic Citizenship," which describes Pearl's views on student rights, governance, proper administrative reaction to strong student organizations, and his suggestions on giving students real power.


Case study of Oak Park, Mich., high school, where a black student group successfully negotiated demands. A white student group then negotiated demands for more power and participation, and then a student liberation front arose to present further demands. He claims that avoidance of over-reaction and prior commitment to change were instrumental in the success of negotiations.


A famous and supercilious account of militants in New York and else-
where, with responses by five educational leaders. Friedenberg's response calls attention to the inadequacy of typical administrative assumptions about students and schools.


Delightful scenario for alternative education when the mayor of New York shuts down secondary schools and lets students do useful and interesting things around the city. Recommended.


Essential reading for students and others. A McLuhanesque collection of analysis, information and strategies for making changes; unfortunately, it has neither index nor table of contents. Based on a metaphor of judo as a strategy (float like a butterfly, sting like a bee) and the authors' emphasis on language as a shaper of thought. The grab-bag approach comes from their insistence that no lineal change program is suitable for all situations. Rather, you look at where you are (understand very well the structure of the system, its symbols, and the psychology of people in it), decide where you want to go, and look at different ways of getting there. A good point considering the energy spent in confrontive tactics in the past five years, the movement has been depressingly inefficient. With few real changes, the system persists, better than ever equipped to deal with confrontation. Includes many short sections on principles, strategies, cartoons, many examples of what students have done, Nader, ACLU, starting publications, questions to help structural analysis, and "Ten Smart Things You Can Do Anytime Within the Next Two Weeks." Highly recommended.


A by-now familiar rationale for inquiry teaching and freedom, some suggestions for doing things differently, and altering authority relations. See especially chapters on new teachers and big city schools.


In an issue devoted to results of a survey of 670 schools in 45 cities of more than 300,000 population, each chapter describes one facet of contemporary big-city schools: goals, structure, staff, curriculum, activities, school-community relations, and others. See especially Chapter 8, "Student Activism and Conflict." Reports of the frequency of conflict, contributing factors, support among adults and students, confrontations, issues, and demands at stake are included. Recommended.

Finds that administrators would welcome more student involvement in extracurricular activities, assembly programs, curriculum, dress codes, building plans, faculty meetings, and building use, but not in discipline, teacher appraisal, school board membership, length of periods and school days, and athletic decisions.


A student discusses problems of getting through to administrators and teachers, analyzes causes of unrest, suggests proposals for change, and describes "Students for Responsible Reform," an independent radical action group that has been instrumental in some changes in curriculum and conduct policies in Hampden, Connecticut.


Case study of Moline, Ill. Senior High School, where students presented a petition to change the dress code, and negotiated changes.


Describes the proposal to test organizational development strategies as a way of re-distributing power in schools. Rejecting confrontive and "administrative fiat" strategies, the authors propose to give each group training in communication and problem-solving skills, to help each group develop norms promoting collaboration and joint action, and then to bring the groups together to develop new decision-making structures, set consensually-validated goals, and adopt strategies for achieving the goals. Recommended.


Directions for role-playing game: students have presented demands for greater participation, the principal has refused to discuss them, and some community members have supported students. The game puts the roles of teacher, student, parent, central office administrator, and principal in a one-day conference called by the superintendent.

See especially Chapter 8, "Reforming the High School," with his suggestions for loosening arbitrary administrative procedures, and description of recent developments that hold promise. Includes profiles of Parkway (Philadelphia), Adams (Portland, Ore.), and Murray Road Annex (Newton, Mass.) schools. There is disappointingly little discussion of collective action by students or student involvement in governance.


Describes the difficulties encountered in trying to establish genuine shared power in an experimental school operated jointly by the Cambridge schools and Harvard. The 120 students and 30 adults began with no formal governing structure and tried to create one. The author's impressionistic account cites the failure to develop a coherent ideology or political theory as a major cause for failure. Introduction by Frederick Mulhauser raises good questions about what form of governance might replace the status quo in public schools.


Case study of Brighton High School, Rochester, N.Y., where a faculty-student forum, a stronger and more representative student council, and greater flexibility in curriculum are recent changes.


Eight-article review of ways students are more involved in different aspects of schools. Curriculum consultation, advisory groups, mini-courses, teacher evaluation, underground newspapers, and community action in several school systems are discussed. Includes articles on Parkway school in Philadelphia, and the Montgomery County Student Alliance.


Discusses causes of unrest, explanatory hypotheses, and administrative responses, based on his experiences in Nassau County, N.Y., where organized students issued an 80-page critique of schools and developed proposals for change.

Finds that student involvement in decision-making is limited to inconsequential matters, partly due to teacher resistance. Administrators in the schools reported changes due to activism -- especially in relations with the central office -- but teachers and students did not perceive the same changes.


Famous report of a survey of 1000 high school and junior high school principals. Some 56% reported some kind of protest (from 81% in large urban schools to 50% in small rural schools). Protest occurred in junior highs (56%), nearly as much as in high schools (59%). Most student protest focused on oppressive administration regulations (82%), especially dress and hair codes, followed by smoking regulations, cafeteria, assemblies, and censorship. The study found relatively little demand for involvement in curriculum decisions and policy-making, and only about a quarter of protests involved racial issues or the war in Vietnam.


See the testimony and materials submitted by Dr. Arthur E. Thomas, director, Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights, and Responsibilities, Dayton, Ohio. Using parents as ombudsmen, the center protects students' rights and is working on ways to use the state's criminal code as a legal basis for educational reforms. The strategy is buttressed by scholarly analysis and research, and genuine student and community involvement in defending themselves against the system and trying to change it. The materials include a fine prepared statement, a report on the Dayton Community School Council, the Student Rights Handbook published by the Center, and an unannotated bibliography of approximately 350 items covering public and higher education and related issues. An impressive effort, and Recommended.


Describes the committee of high school students formed to promote greater student involvement. Sponsored by the state education department, the committee tries to be a forum for student opinion.

Describes an attempt to test ways of changing policies and procedures to decrease alienation, identify new roles in decision-making for students, and to examine ways of training teachers to create learning experiences for delinquent and non-delinquent youth. Change agents from the district worked with two schools, including summer workshops and follow-up training during the school year, to promote organizational change. Major strategies were to establish new communication channels among role groups and to bring students and teachers together in curriculum development and other joint ventures. One of the very few reported attempts to base a deliberate change effort on a theory and consideration of relevant variables, but it seems to be very poorly conceptualized, planned and executed. The poorly-written report gives little indication of what events actually occurred, much less solid data on outcomes (this information may be in appendices that were not included in the copy I found). My impression is that very little happened, other than some talk.


Advocates applying behavioral research to educational change problems, especially conflict, and describes the efforts of several schools working with psychologists to change long-standing norms.


Talks about student freedom, student-teacher relationships, and student involvement in decision-making at John Adams High in Portland, Ore., but doesn't really say much about what actually happens and how decisions are made. One of four articles in this issue on Adams.


Survey of organization and activities of the New York student union; student unions in Seattle, Baltimore, and Ohio; and student activities in several other cities.


Case study of the 1967-68 year in Cubberly High School in Palo Alto, following formation of the Student Power Conference.

Study of powerlessness among students in ten high schools that were disrupted by student activity. Includes measures on distribution of power among staff and students, student feelings of influence over school policy and his own life, alienation, and racial correlates. Finds that students who feel close to other students, in a school that has a high level of total power, believe more strongly in their own ability to control their environment. Implications for school system organization are discussed.


Survey of 318 administrators in Ohio and Pennsylvania indicates that 60% plan some kind of student participation in decision-making. He claims to have found more instances of constructive student actions and involvement than are reported in the current literature.


Describes dissent in New York schools, the high school student union and its demands, and the formation of advisory councils for each high school, consisting of five students, five parents, and five staff.
ADDITIONAL POSSIBILITIES

I was unable to check the entries listed below, but their titles suggest that they might be interesting and useful, so they are included as additional sources.


This document is available from the Center, 431 South Dearborn, Suite 1527, Chicago, Ill. 60605.


REFERENCES


The 16 unannotated items are reviewed in a short introduction under 10 headings, including issues involved in student unrest, and procedures used to promote student participation. A spot check reveals less than 25% overlap in items between my bibliography and Armstrong's.


More than 300 entries on administrators, decision processes, political-economic influences, PPBS, and others.

Hall, John S. Selected Bibliography on Student Activism in the Public Schools. Eugene: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration (now Educational Management), 1969. ED 027 644.

Most of the 86 entries were published after 1967, and deal with protest, academic freedom, involvement, behavior codes, governance, and related topics. Unannotated.


More than 900 items from the "futures" literature are arranged by the nature of the educating institution. Author, subject, and organizational indexes are included. A model bibliography, immensely useful, and it is so read. Recommended.


This second edition of the preceding entry includes 200 recommended entries, with greater emphasis on the general futures literature not immediately related to education. Recommended.

Partly annotated 45-page listing of works with a focus on organizational theory, organizational development, structural variables, and selections from the behavioral sciences literature useful to change agents in public education.
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