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"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education." (Thomas Jefferson).

"An ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory simply because it is only in experience that any theory has vital and verifiable significance. The thinking that the boys have to put into questions concerning their society includes all the steps of the process of thinking - the sense of a problem, the observation of conditions, the formation of a suggested conclusion and the active experimental testing." (Dewey.)

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CHAPTER 1.

The Need for Democracy in Education.

Section 1.

Education in relation to the individual and to the community.

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CHAPTER 1.

THE NEED FOR DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

1. Education in relation to the individual and to the community.

There is, in defining the aim of education, a great rift between those who consider education in relation to the personality of the individual, and those who consider it in relation to the community. Theoretically, it may be correct that the good individual is also a good citizen. But in practice the education which follows from regarding the child as an individual is different from that which follows from regarding the child as a future citizen. The good of the individual is not the same as a tiny fraction of the good of the whole community, because the good of the individual requires wide knowledge, emotion appropriate to the object and the ability which enables him to bear his part as a vehicle of change in a changing world.

Now these elements are not fundamentally social; consequently it is only through exercise of the will that such an individual becomes an effective member of the community; as such he endeavours to bring harmony out of the conflicting wills that exist around him, for as a citizen he is bound to be circumscribed by his neighbours, and his fundamental characteristic is that he is co-operative. Governments, however, of whatever complexion, except possibly after a successful revolution, desire citizens who admire the status quo and are prepared to

exert themselves for its maintenance. Consequently, there tends to be an inadequacy in citizenship as an ideal, for it implies a willingness to acquiesce and an absence of creativeness. This is contrary to the character of great men, and, carried too far, prevents the ordinary man from attaining the heights of which he is capable. But in education the issue between citizenship on the one hand and individuality on the other, is practical and important. Education is so expensive that it is the duty of the State, the other body interested - and that on a decreasing scale - being the Church. These two bodies have conflicting interests in education for the State's purpose is to train citizens, while the interest of the Church is to produce godliness, which is an attribute of the individual rather than the citizen. In contemporary education are two elements of individual culture; both are mainly traditional; they are the godliness of pre-Reformation days and the gentility of the post-Renaissance period; both are likely to be replaced by education in citizenship. Herein lies a danger, for though wise education in citizenship can retain the best elements in individual culture, the danger is that the ideals of citizenship may be narrowly conceived and even more narrowly implemented. This is largely because education in general tends to be reactionary and to support the status quo, if only in so far as its content is largely determined by the society in which it exists. "The educator must take his orders

from the statesman, because the statesman has to use the material that the educator has prepared. Politics is architectonic to education. In modern states it cannot be denied that this is the principle on which education is conducted. In sober truth the educator has to take his orders from the statesman." (1) The revolutionary's conception of duty to the community may be just as narrow but he is still likely to give better education than the adherent of the status quo, for by his very nature he must have a certain imagination and standard of appreciation for "orthodoxy of any kind is the grave of intelligence."

In addition there is conflict between the individual and the education of the citizen, narrowly interpreted, in regard to scientific attitude to doubtful questions. The scientific attitude of mind facilitates research and discovery, the educated citizen may not be capable of it. The work of the man of science is personal, not social, it depends on what he himself has ascertained, and not upon what society deems it prudent for the good citizen to believe. Though these arguments show some of the dangers inherent in education for citizenship, the arguments in favour of education to produce citizenship are overwhelming. For the amenities of civilised life depend on co-operation and every increase in individualism demands an increase in co-operation; further, international co-operation is more and more necessary, for upon it depends survival. The

(1) Adams.Evolution of Educational Theory. P.3.

education of the individual may produce a finer flower, but in relation to the needs of time, the education of the citizen must take first place.

2. Contemporary conceptions of the purpose of education.

Broadly speaking, there are at present three divergent theories of education's purpose:- the newest, but a negative theory, is that its sole purpose is to provide opportunities of growth. This attitude has been put in a more positive form: "It is generally agreed that --- the task of education is to develop those possibilities in the human personality which are worthy and good and to control those that are unworthy and base; and within relatively narrow limits all educated opinion is largely agreed as to what is worthy and good, what unworthy and base." (1)

The second theory considers education in relation to the community; the third believes its purpose is to give culture to the individual and to develop his faculties. In practice no system of education can be based entirely on one theory, for any system must contain each in differing proportions.

Until comparatively recent times, it was widely accepted that the function of education was to train a child in the way he should go. This was interpreted widely as covering the morals, knowledge and industry required by his station in life. With the minority for whom it was intended it achieved its purpose, for it gave that minority self-discipline, social conformity and power of command, by starving the

(1) Times Educational Supplement, Aug. 2nd., 1947.

intelligence and emotions and strengthening the will. Against this the nineteenth century Romantic movement protested in the name of the emotions against the undue weight given to the will. It is now commonly accepted that freedom is essential, that its absence causes conflicts with only half-understood psychological results, destroys or impairs originality and intellectual enthusiasm. This tendency to freedom in education is good but has its limitations imposed by the nature of the child. For example, punctuality has to be taught, for, necessary though it is in modern life, it is hardly likely to be learned in a completely free atmosphere; so with cleanliness, for habits of cleanliness are not self-acquired by children - war-time evacuation provided ample evidence of this. Children, too, show singularly little respect for the property of others. Psychologically, too, complete freedom for young life appears undesirable and routine is important; teachers of experience know how nervously exhausting to children a life of uncertainty can be, for a fundamental need of childhood is security. The capacity for self-direction is singularly absent from children who desire others to take the initiative. Neither complete freedom nor rigid discipline, but rather a mixture of the two, is needed to strengthen the will. The second is limited by the importance of having the co-operation of the child's will, consequently it should require the minimum of emotional restraint. It is not possible,

however, to leave the acquisition of knowledge to nature, for modern life is too complex, consequently education cannot be the mere provision of opportunities for natural growth.

There must, therefore, be greater harmony between individuality and citizenship; education must cease to be part of the struggle for power between religions, classes and states, and the pupil must be considered for his own sake and not as a recruit.

"The inefficacy of education in general, that is apart from constant attention to all the elements of its constitution, is illustrated in Germany itself. Its schools were so efficient that the country had the lowest rate of illiteracy in the world, the scholarship and scientific researches of its universities were known throughout the civilised globe --- Nevertheless, German lower schools furnished the intellectual fodder for totalitarian propaganda, and the higher schools were the centre of reaction against the German Republic." (1)
Later, in Mein Kampf, Hitler stated that the basis of education was the training of the body so that the individual should be capable of service. The second task was to acquire the readiness to serve - this demanded the training of the will, of character as a whole, which Hitler declared to be the ultimate aim of education. The training of the mind was hardly mentioned; the main task

(1) Dewey. Freedom and Culture. P.41.

was to get the young not to think of themselves primarily as individuals, but rather as members of a group, with loyalty to that group as the most important demand upon them. (1) Despite this, power was largely concentrated in the hands of the masters and boys were given little responsibility and few opportunities to lead - for it has to be remembered that to give responsibility means to allow some freedom of action, and freedom of action leads to freedom of thought.

The English and American methods and approach are, in contrast, shown in the following illustration. Recent enquiries in American secondary schools where 2006 students were questioned, revealed a great lack of knowledge of the meaning of democracy, for the replies showed that 63% defined democracy in terms of rights and privileges only, and only 27% in terms of responsibilities as well as rights and privileges. (2) This condition calls for quick action, for personal liberties, without assumption of civic responsibility, will not long endure. "The condition on which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." Moreover, practically all students referred to civil liberties and the rights of the individual, most mentioned universal suffrage, but only 8% mentioned anything relating to economics.

The essential thing to look for in education in democracy is that form of education which will enable people

(1) Rowan Robinson. Education for Citizenship in Germany. P.5.
(2) Educational Policies Comm. Learning the ways of Democracy. P.47.

to think clearly and without fear about those institutions which democracy has developed, the committee, the public meeting, the conference, the ballot box, and the ability to distinguish between fact and propaganda. People must be taught to think in a crowd - and school self-government contains the germ of this ability. Moreover, mechanisation tends to stamp the individuality out of mankind and so makes for superficiality of mind and prevents the development of thought processes, - a development which can be checked by providing an enriched personality and a more resilient mind. "Any education given by a group tends to socialise its members, but the quality and value of the socialisation depends upon the habits and aims of the group." (1) This truth has been realised more clearly by totalitarian than by democratic communities, for the former have realised that the rate of transformation of society "can be accelerated if deliberate changes in education are planned, for whereas education becomes empty preaching when there is no real situation to which it refers, it accelerates the process of transformation when it is bound up with social forces which are moving in the same direction." (2)

In the last 150 years we have become an industrial nation, from agrarian we have become a manufacturing and distributing people, with the centre of gravity transferred from the open country to the congested city. Our condition as an island favoured the development of free and representative

(1) Dewey. The Democratic Conception in Education. P.95/6.
(2) Mannheim. Man & Society in an Age of Reconstruction. P.195.

institutions, and by force of conditions the democratic ideal has grown to mean much more than a form of government; it has become a social ideal. But the citizens of a country which kept its independence, embattled against Europe every 100 years, and which remembered Cromwell, were inclined to look with jealous eyes upon all political authority and the extension of the powers of the central government. Freedom was too much thought to be identical with limitations of powers of government. Similarly, in the nineteenth century, laissez faire in economic matters appeared to set forth the ideals under which life might prosper. The dominant purpose of school education was to prepare individuals for successful achievement, for 'getting on'. Competitive individualism has bad effects on education; its science and technology have helped to form a society in which insecurity is a dominant factor and is regarded as a motive for work, achievement, and thrift. They have created a popular mentality which regards acquisitive motives as the normal ones in human nature. This emphasis on success has intensified the motives which oppose, to the greatest extent, the tenor of all deliberate religious and moral teaching and create a state of ethical confusion and conflicts. Fortunately, there has been an increasing repudiation of laissez faire in favour of the principle and practice of general social control and education has a responsibility for training individuals to share in this social control instead of merely equipping

them with ability to make their own private way in isolation and competition. The ability and the desire to think collectively, to engage in social planning conceived and conducted experimentally for the good of all, is a requirement of good citizenship under existing conditions. Educators can ignore it only at the risk of evasion and futility.

It is probably true to say that recent changes in education no longer aim at forming an ideal person in general, but a person who will probably be needed in the next stage of social development. When previous school features are abolished to check the encouragement of ambitious and competitive people, such abolition helps to bring to an end a human type well represented in successful material life, and finding its rewards in successful competition against others. At the same time modern education can cultivate those types which have the capacity to strive for intrinsic values without depriving others. Accordingly, if group education can be directed along these lines then man may be transformed so that he is fit for a society whose driving force is not conflict and competition. Modern state education is beginning to plan - and must so continue - not only the communication of skill, knowledge and technique, but also the fundamentals of character formation.

Previously the church claimed to educate the whole man; it definitely tried to create a type on a pattern it thought

desirable - as later the state brought up the citizen. In two ways, however, these earlier differed from present day attempts. In the first place former societies produced types adjusted only to practical situations and, as a result, only successful there; we are now endeavouring to produce a type adapted not only to certain social milieu, but to the underlying tendencies of our time. Secondly, it is more likely that previous educational ideals took shape largely through chance selection, whereas today reflection has increased to such a degree that we can consciously make our selection of ideals and reshape them according to the function in society they have to perform. For whenever a school is conceived of as an experimental community, this kind of planned transformation is at work. The clumsier and less adaptable an education is, the more it will try to stamp its effects directly on the pupil's mind instead of leaving him to make his own reactions. It was in this sense that Dewey rightly believed that experimental education, that is to say encouraging the child to make his own adjustments, is essential to modern democracy.

Today we also know that, without a certain amount of enthusiasm, no knowledge can be assimilated, that the importance of certain issues can only be realised in the context of collective processes, which have their origin in the strivings - maybe unconscious - of the group. This does not mean that emotion is an end in itself or a test of

truth; or group education only an appeal to the emotions. Well handled emotions do not obstruct the evolution of the higher faculties of the mind, their function in group education is rather to prepare and pave the way for reasoned judgment. If our educational institutions are planned they will advance gradually from the emotional stage to a mastery of the emotions. The education of the masses, if it is democratically planned, does not involve the inculcation of a creed, but starts with certain issues on which there is emotional agreement, and gradually passes on to a more individual level of critical self-government.

A new type of action can give rise to a new type of thought. This attitude has borne fruit in education, as instanced by the effort to replace the old abstract sermonising by a new technique of transformation, which consists in creating situations in which the children can practice the principles they are learning, in which mere exhortation has been abandoned for practice. The essential changes in the methods of modern education spring from the discovery that the vital clue to the moulding of character and the integration of personality lies in the mastery of the situation by the pupil. Authoritative teaching tries to develop isolated qualities, attitudes and habits, so that the citizen may become ever more ready to respond to centralised command. Any education which, on the other hand, aims at producing citizens who will be capable of independent judgment and spontaneous co-operation, will

train its pupils to respond to situations. The situation is the simplest context in which the child can be brought to use his own judgment and thus to face the elementary conflicts of everyday life.

Moreover, in the past, professional thought has tended to evade the question of the scope of education in that it has not tackled the relationship between the education of the young and their initiation into the world of citizenship. For education is social philosophy in action, and so expresses the choice to which each generation is prepared to commit itself. But it also determines, though to an unknown degree, what kind of society it is possible to create. Education "is the conscious channel through which each individual receives his share of the common inheritance and his opportunity to add to it." In the past there has been too great an emphasis on the first part of this quotation, for traditions of both aristocratic and clerical origin were carried on into a democratic world of universal education - but without a vision of the task education has to perform in a self-governing state. The Spens Report busies itself with details of adjustment and organisation, not with the relation of the secondary schools with the schools in which the vast majority of the people are educated. Recent educational legislation provides a wonderful opportunity but it must be remembered that the majority of the English people have never evolved their own schools, which have nearly always been provided from above, and in a form, and

with a context, that suited those above. Their purpose was to produce usefulness (which included obedience) rather than any other result. The new secondary schools will have an opportunity to develop a genuine popular philosophy of education, and in that philosophy self-government should play a part, springing, as it does, from the traditions of the people.

Moreover, the school has lagged behind the general contemporary social development, and much of conflict and of defeat comes from the gap between the undemocratic organisation within the school, and the growth and extension of the democratic principle in life generally, outside the school. The anomalous position has arisen whereby democracy has, in principle, developed an organised machinery of public education, but has not yet become conscious of the ethical principle upon which it rests - the responsibility and freedom of mind in discovery and proof. This freedom and responsibility the adult citizen may share, with other members of the community, but inside school the growing boy or girl is given little opportunity of serving an apprenticeship. The school should give to the pupil active and vital participation in the means of building up first hand experience. Training in the art of self-government must start in the school; only then can adults expect to have, and in many cases be sufficiently interested to have, active and vital participation in the self-government of the adult community.

CHAPTER 2.

THE INADEQUACY OF TEACHING CITIZENSHIP.

Section 1.
The demand for teaching citizenhip.

Section 2.
The difficulties involved in teaching citizenship.

Section 3.
Self-government in schools as a means of welding together theory and experience.

CHAPTER 2.

THE INADEQUACY OF TEACHING CITIZENSHIP.

1. The demand for teaching citizenship.

Of recent years it has been increasingly alleged that education was failing in that it did not adequately prepare pupils for citizenship in a democratic community. The teaching of citizenship has been suggested, and in some cases carried out, in order to remedy this defect. It appears logical that the educational system in a democracy supporting representative government should include some instruction on the rights and duties of its citizens and on the conception which that form of society in which it lives is meant to embody. In particular, for older pupils it is felt that there should be some clear instruction in the working and meaning of democracy, with practice and teaching supplementing one another; for democracy implies freedom of speech and criticism, the freedom to advocate the abolition of the democratic itself, provided that it is done by persuasion not force, by the way of peace not violence. The teaching of citizenship in the classroom is, however, fraught with dangers and, further, is inadequate.

2. The difficulties involved in teaching citizenship.

The first difficulty is the old problem of transfer. The chief qualities needed to form a wise judgment on social affairs are interest, knowledge, clear thinking, which includes the power to consider data and weigh arguments, and the elimination of prejudice. With these in mind, it can be

argued that learning as such does not teach citizenship. The scientist, with his exact standards, may feel that as his standards and methods are not applicable, then there are in such studies no standards at all. Consequently, he may become completely indifferent to all such questions, or he may enter into them without any of the care he would observe in his own studies. It was Lord Bryce who pointed out that attainments in learning and science do little to make men wise in politics. The theory of transfer, in effect, asserts that "facility acquired in any particular form of intellectual exercise produces a general competence in all exercises that involve the same faculty." (1) There is now general agreement among psychologists and educationalists that there is much less "transfer" than was once thought, that neither the mind as a whole nor its separate faculties can be trained by simply exercising them. "Education consists rather in implanting specific habits memories, ideas, forms of manual and mental skill, intellectual interests, moral ideas and a knowledge not only of facts and conclusions but of methods." And yet again, "On the whole the experimenters must be granted their claim to have shown that transfer is nothing like as easy to detect as it ought to be, were it occurring on as wholesale a scale as once was believed." (2)

(1) Nunn. Education. Data and First Principles. P.240.
(2) Thomson. Instinct, Intelligence & Character. P.141.

Later Thomson concludes "Anyhow, certain conclusions seem forced upon the acceptance of the educator. Transfer of training appears, to put it cautiously, to be much less certain and of much narrower spread than once was believed."(1) If, then, there is little transfer, it appears that classroom training in citizenship can best be done through subjects which are directly of value to the citizen in after life.

To add to the time-table subjects such as economics, civics, or a study of forms of government is difficult. In the first place, some of these subjects, for example economics, are themselves matters of controversy. Moreover, schools are faced with the difficulty of an already overcrowded time-table. A more important point is that the teaching is inevitably biased. Though inevitable, it is unfair to children, and its extension into deliberate bias has been seen in totalitarian states. Some bias is inevitably present because it is the expression of the individuality of the teacher and of his sense of values. But bias in geometry is totally different from bias in economics or social science. We teach dogma in individual ethics; it might then be urged that we should teach a corresponding body of social values on which the moral standards of the community are based. But to do this would mean that the teacher would lay himself open to a charge of undue doctrination, and the measure of advocacy required is only less in degree than that demanded in the totalitarian state.

(1) Thomson. Op cit P.143.

A somewhat different point may also be made. On the subject of citizenship, more than any other, the teacher is tempted to lay down the law, or if he is too tactful to do this, or is aware of the danger of promoting reaction by too much insistence on one point of view, he still acquires undue authority for his opinions and judgments on subjects in which opinions differ, - because right and wrong are not as clearly distinguished as black and white, - by the fact that he has to speak the last word on other subjects where there is right and wrong on which it is his duty to insist. "There is no room for civics to become a classroom subject, and such a subject, to be fairly taught, will need a number of teachers of varying views, and will at best tend to become self-conscious; it is possible that for senior boys and girls in their last year something along these lines should be attempted. But for the most part it is better to draw out the lessons of citizenship from a little world which is the image of the great, and from those subjects which our experience has taught us are most truly educational." (1) We have to remember that Lycurgus has given us one of the best examples of the successful application of educational principles. For fifth century (B.C.) Sparta was the ideal military state as a result of deliberate choice and education. And of Sparta we remember only its military achievements, while to Athens almost the whole world owes a debt.

(1) Jacks. Education as a Social Factor. P.162-3.

There are, moreover, other, and equally pregnant, objections to "teaching" citizenship. The popular argument in favour of compulsory free education of the people is that it pays the State by improving the quality of its citizens, for it makes the youth of the nation better fitted to enter upon those special kinds of work that bring prosperity to the nation. It is not that it makes folk better human beings or better citizens, but that it makes them more profitable members of the community. It is taken for granted that both a sense of citizenship and a social conscience will develop from the mere fact of living in a community. This may have been true of the free members of a city state, because it was so small that it could be both known and visualised, in any case the latter, but modern states are too unwieldly for the imagination, and citizenship becomes vague. As a consequence, special means have to be taken to produce good citizens; to produce a specific object we have to take specific means. One may not begin too early in training a mind, but one can easily begin too early in directing that mind to specific ends.

In this respect the school is a community, and offers an environment that helps to prepare for the wider environment outside. To get full advantage from school life it is necessary that the two environments should be associated, assimilated, as closely as possible, consequently the greater the number of elements common to the two, the greater the practical value of the training. This problem

is not only important but difficult; in Professor Darrochs words, "What seems to me of importance in the educational reference is to realise the differences between a school society and the other social grouping. In particular, what the educational psychologist must note is the fact that in school we are compelled in many cases, to substitute for real problems fictitious problems, for real purposes fictitious purposes. This is unavoidable and herein lie the difficulties of educational method." (1) Adams has quoted an example. "For several years the Scottish Education Department included the metric system among the arithmetical requirements of the upper standards in the hope that, in this way, the general adoption of the system might be hastened. The teachers opposed it on the grounds that it was teaching in the air. They were prepared to teach the system as soon as it had an existence in British experience. The requirement was withdrawn without having accomplished anything." (2)

It is the purpose of this essay to show that self-government in a school is not only possible and desirable, but that it is preparation for a community life common to the British experience.

It is a vital educational principle that it is not generally profitable to study theory without some practical experience of the facts to which it relates, a principle well recognised, for example, in medicine and engineering.

(1) Darroch. The Place of Psychology in the Training of the Teacher. P.42.
(2) Adams. Evolution of Educational Theory. P.394 note.

This principle was acknowledged by Aristotle. "One may enquire why a boy, though he may be a mathematician, cannot be a philosopher. Perhaps the answer is that mathematics deals with abstractions, whereas the first principles of philosophy are derived from experience; the young can only repeat them without conviction of their truth, whereas the definitions of mathematics are easily understood - - . The young are not fit to be students of politics, for they have no experience of life and conduct, and it is these that supply the premises and subject matter of this branch of thought." In other words politics is concrete, mathematics is purely abstract and does not spring from life or need experience of life to illuminate or verify it. The problem is, then, to relate citizenship to life in the case of children.

It is indeed possible to go further than this and to distinguish between two different kinds of learning, the learning of something from a book or some similar source, and the learning of something at first hand from direct experience - millions have, within the last few years, realised the difference in learning about war from reading and from hearing the sound of guns and bombs. The first form of knowledge is not valueless, but only in the second have we real apprehension through direct experience. On the stage King Lear is not a popular play because the emotions it portrays are hardly understood as they do not come within the experience of the audience. For education

to be profitable we must, therefore, weld together theory and experience. The teaching of citizenship in the classroom generally fails to do this; the practice of school self-government achieves this union. "Before you can study the theory of right and wrong in political experience --- you must have wrestled yourself, in some way, with the problems of conduct and organisation which arise in human societies." (1)

3. Self-government in schools as a means of welding together theory and experience.

Yet educationists increasingly feel that children should not leave school without having some knowledge of map reading with which to explore the vast uncharted region of citizenship. This notion not only leads to the overcrowded curriculum, but to mistaking mere information, which never becomes a living part of a boy's experience, for education. This teaching of citizenship is too remote from the experience of the child who is not a citizen except of his school community. Even the attempt to remedy this weakness, and to give reality, by imaginary sessions of Parliament, by visits to local Council Meetings, is little more than entertainment. The pupils will have little sense of the real issues, as little as they do of illness when pretending to be a doctor, or of flying a plane when pretending to be a pilot. The object should be to make the pupil aware of the problems, excitement, enthusiasms, in school citizenship, rather than detailed instruction. In those few schools where the pupil

(1) Barker. The Citizens' Choice. P.150.

is also a citizen, he will both be awakened and learn to handle in practice, so that in this case his personal experience can be sufficient proof that there is such a thing as citizenship.

It was Whitehead who stressed that the valuable intellectual development is self-development, and that "inert" ideas are harmful. "In training a child to activity of thought, above all things we must beware of inert ideas, that is ideas that are merely received into a mind without being utilised, tested, or thrown into fresh combination." (1) Rather, the ideas introduced into a child's education should be few and important, they should - and teaching cannot do this - be thrown into every possible combination. The child should make such ideas his own and should understand their application in the circumstances of his actual life. "From the very beginning of his life, the child should experience the joy of discovery, and the discovery he has to make is that general ideas give an understanding of that stream of events which pour through his life and is his life, and the understanding we want is of an insistent present." (2)

When the children have an idea, the first thing is to prove it, to prove its worth or emptiness, and if of value to learn appreciation by use. "Further, whatever interest attaches to your subject matter must be evoked here and now,

(1) Whitehead. The Aims of Education. P.1.
(2) " " " " " P.3.

whatever powers you are strengthening in the pupil must be exercised here and now, whatever possibilities of mental life your teaching should impart must be exhibited here and now. For the problem of education is to make the pupil see the wood by means of the trees. The pupils have to be made to feel that they are studying something and not merely executing intellectual minuets." (1) The danger in teaching citizenship lies in the fear that it will become the execution of "intellectual minuets", while, on the other hand, school self-government presents no such dangers.

It is, then, harmful to load the mind of the child with ideas which can be tested only by comparison with life, which he has not experienced; further, the less intelligent the pupil the more "inert ideas" there are likely to be, and the greater the boredom and feeling of futility. In the school, citizenship must be made a reality in life, not a tale told in the classroom. With reality will come both the desire and the awakening. The insistence, fortunately now less than before, on disinterested intellectual appreciation is a psychological error, for our action in the transition of events from cause to effect is fundamental; any educational system which ignores this fundamental fact is of little value. First hand knowledge, not book learning, is the ultimate basis of intellectual life; book learning can rarely reach the importance of immediate practice.

(1) Whitehead. The Aims of Education. P.9.

The school should aim at making the immediate events of the pupils' lives instances of their general ideas. What is wanted is a system whereby boys and girls are themselves citizens of no mean community, their school, in which they can obtain the experience on which alone real understanding can be based. For experience cannot be taught, it has to be acquired by each community for itself, by each individual for himself.

The teaching of politics is, then, too difficult for schools, for it has few certainties and doubtful conclusions. It is, moreover, beyond the schoolboy's experience for it requires experience of life. You cannot study the theory of right and wrong in politics, with understanding, unless you have some practical experience, in which is included the problems of organisation and conduct which inevitably arise in human societies. The individual boy may be drilled, but he will only acquire habits by practice, not philosophy. He cannot yet digest political philosophy; but he may become intellectually dishonest by accepting misunderstood general ideas. If the teaching of politics be continued, for school use, as dealing only with the rights and duties of citizenship, it is nevertheless a part which is very like the whole, for in dealing with rights and duties the foundation is laid. Nor can education for citizenship be done imperceptibly, for it is hardly possible to put a sense of civic duty into a boy without telling him something of civic institutions, of civic fairness and tolerance, without,

in effect, dealing with the democratic method of government by discussion.

Here, then, is another difficulty. If you educate for citizenship you educate for the state, and for good membership of the state; if you do not educate for citizenship you invite trouble when your state is a democratic state demanding intelligence and thoughtfulness in its members. It has long been an English dread that the state should take over our education and adjust it as required. We have developed national education because we have managed to keep it, in the subject matter and method of teaching, independent of the government. Should, however, training for citizenship become part of teaching, it may be extremely difficult to keep it out of the government's hands. It is hardly possible to visualise a party in power permitting a teaching of civics of which it disapproves. Further, we have had of recent years, experience of Continental States where the government has taken a hand, in contrast to the English system in which a distinction is drawn between the duty of thestate to provide and supervise education, and the duty of the teacher to provide and conduct the actual education given. That distinction is likely to be impaired, without being worth the price, by importing civics into the content and process of teaching.

On the other hand, by not educating for citizenship, one is inviting trouble in a democratic state; for democracy is not automatic, it demands thought and feeling, intelligence

and emotion. That is a reason for doing something more than mere civic drill, something more than an appeal to the heart, for it implies an appeal to and preparing of the mind. "If we are preparing children for life we must prepare them for the life political".

Between the horns of this dilemma there are certain things we can do. Firstly, in talking of education for citizenship we mean for the democratic state, and an education of a citizen in such a state is not to suit the government, but to make the government. Further, education for citizenship is, in its essence, a process of self-education and not of imposed education, the purpose of which is to adapt us to something other than ourselves. As such this process is not confined to schools, it is done by doing as well as learning, in many associations in which we learn in small what we have to do in large, as we do in self-governing schools. These associations provide not only education for citizenship but the practice of citizenship. Finally, it must be remembered that education for citizenship is only a part of education, and not the chief part perhaps. Too much emphasis on civics and too little on other aspects may lead to the young being treated as a means and not as an end.

It is, however, possible to give the civic incentive quietly, unobtrusively, and without drill. The necessary stuff of civic knowledge can be given not by direct teaching but by a preaching of civic pride and civic duty; by making

use of the subjects already in the curriculum. Some sense of current affairs is a matter of history, though one must be careful not to modernise the past. Finally, and most important of all, there must be an organisation of education which is itself civic and suits the requirements of citizenship. Education for citizenship is not only a matter of teaching, it is a matter of the organisation of the whole school to suit a civic ideal.

It can also be argued that intellectual training in citizenship may do harm, for this training only may result in the destructive critic. Criticism without a sense of social responsibility and without a desire to construct is of little value. But the school community, by introducing real situations, can give not only a sense of balance, but a feeling of community responsibility. This may be given by membership of the General Meeting or its equivalent, with the privileges and duties such membership conveys. The war years may have seen many developments along the line of community service, but few, if any, based on democratic government inside the school - at least in Great Britain - and the control by the pupils themselves of such forms of community service. Such training is likely to produce leaders more readily than activities such as week-end camps, for, holding offices over a period, they can acquire considerable technical skill. The provision of opportunity for service which self-government provides, is of great importance, for the pupil will use any talent he may

possess for the common good to a greater extent than if he has merely been told it is his duty to use it.

School self-government has one more advantage over intellectual training in citizenship, for through its General Meeting all school activities can be visualised and comprehended as a unity. The school society is usually sufficiently homogeneous for wide demands to be made on its members and a sense of proportion, dignity, and maybe a philosophy, comes not through teaching but through such experiences and the impact of the school environment. For education comes in the first place, through situations not speech, through experience not through academic instruction. "From the point of view of the state, education is an apprenticeship for citizenship, and the more the school can be a miniature reproduction of the larger community outside, the more practice in actual citizenship it can provide, the more its subjects can have of social value ..... It is true, of course, that citizenship , like most other things, can best be learned by actual practice, and a school community is well adapted for reproducing under protected conditions, many of the circumstances which determine adult citizenship .... just those responsibilities for the welfare of others as well as for oneself, that concern for the proper administration of one's own time, that conflict of loyalties, which meet every citizen every day of his life. The school becomes in this way a little world - the image of the great." (1)

(1) Jacks. Education as a Social Factor. P.9.

Present-day conceptions of the purpose of education have been largely formed by three developments in thought, each about 30 years old. The first was a new educational philosophy which held that the most important thing about the school is the child, not the subject. A new psychology emphasised the importance of individual interests, abilities and differences. Thirdly, a combination of these stressed the importance of "doing" over " learning about". To be effective, education must have three elements, pertinent knowledge, worthy ideals, and functional habits. Knowledge may be basic to learning and living but, in itself, it does not constitute education, for it is of little real value until it is used. "There is nothing in the nature of the ideas about morality, of information about honesty or purity or kindness, which automatically transmits such ideas into good character or good conduct." (1)

Appropriate ideals are essential in the production of good citizenship because they supply the motive power and the standards by which achievement is assessed. The third essential of effective civic education is a set of habits which capitalise the knowledge of ideals in positive action - and there can be no good citizensip without these habits. School training for citizenship is weak unless it provides for practising the necessary habits, unless the school is an embryonic typical community, moral training must be partly formal and partly pathological.

(1) J. Dewey. Moral Principles in Education. P.1.

In discussing the specific objectives of student participation, as distinct from academic instruction, one must distinguish between getting things done and getting things done with educative results. Pupil participation, the general meeting, are not administrative devices, their purpose is to educate those who participate either directly or indirectly; activities are important, but it is more important that the students concerned should profit educationally, that through practical experience they should acquire the basic elements of good citizenship. The first of these elements is a knowledge of the theory of democracy; in the past much of such information has been academic because it does not concern the interests and activities of childhood. This weakness can be strengthened by supplementing theory with practice, and in doing this student government represents a device through which a knowledge of democracy can be made meaningful and vital because its interests and activities are those of student life. A second essential of good citizenship is sentiments of law and order, by which is meant the maintenance of reasonable mechanisms for established social welfare. This discipline may be external or internal; it may, and should, develop from the pupils themselves. The school authorities cannot escape their legal and moral obligations, nor should they; but it does mean that the students should help to set the goal of efficient self-discipline and set out to reach it. Intelligent respect for authority is also

essential, for every group must have some recognised authority, whether it is accepted blindly or intelligently. Intelligent obedience implies considerable respect for the purposes, abilities and sincerity of those in authority. Intelligent respect also implies that the individual will realise that he cannot enjoy freedom and safety without established authority, and that he should obey sincerely and to the best of his ability. Where self-government is operative the students' observance of authority will be sincere and conscientious because of their direct and personal interest.

Good citizenship also recognises the need for increasing self-direction. Childhood is the age of control because the child lacks the knowledge, ideals and habits which make for independence and competence, while in adulthood he possesses them. But the individual cannot step suddenly from one to the other, he has the slow process of learning and practising to go through. This training for social living can come easily and naturally through a miniature society in which the individual acquires the knowledge, ideals and habits for successful membership, and this the growing boy or girl can get by student participation, and, moreover, this setting provides for increasing self-direction in the matter of individual interests and abilities. Successful democracy depends upon skilled leadership, which must rest on its authority and support - intelligent followership. Wise selection of leaders is, therefore,

vital, and so electors must be trained to appreciate the importance of a deliberate unbiased assessment of leaders' qualifications. This characteristic must be developed, and the student parliament idea provides natural settings for training in leadership and followership. The elected leader who is autocratic, careless and erratic, is likely to be replaced; the follower whose activities suffer from his vote will soon recognise the fault as his own. A further essential is co-operation; for teaching this the curriculum offers fewer opportunities than the extra- curricular field, with its potential manifold activities. Morale is also vital to organised effort. It is founded on two bases; it needs something to which to be loyal, and it must have a feeling of personal responsibility. Here student participation can develop and co-ordinate opportunities for many different forms of co-operation, each of which, promoted for the school as a whole, represents a morale-developing setting.

Self-government is not the one and only medium through which good citizenship can be developed. Other school and out-of-school activities contribute to this training and should continue to do so. But of all activities, self-government, properly organised and guided, offers the best of these opportunities because its objectives are educationally justifiable, and its methods and procedures psychologically sound. It is a motivated and functional miniature democracy, one which represents student

interests and activities and all students, and a plan which more closely resembles adult democracy than anything now to be found inside the school. It is, in short, a laboratory for citizenship. The essential word is "laboratory". Whereas with Latin or Mathematics the pupil studies certainties, citizenship requires some previous experience of life; for before he can study the theory of right and wrong in politics, he must have some sort of political experience; he must know what it is to be confronted with difficult issues; he must himself have struggled with the problems of conduct and organisation which arise in any community. The study of citizenship in the classroom is not, then, possible for those who have still to collect the necessary experience; if it is attempted the danger is that the pupils will accept uncomprehended generalisations, which have no relation to their experience. This is the road to intellectual dishonesty; it is the road which can be avoided by the practice of self-government in the school, but it must not be self-government narrowly conceived. For if it is merely the delegation of the power to keep order to a few senior boys, the school will be a working model of an oligarchy, nothing more.

CHAPTER 3.

THE HALL MARKS OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

Section 1.
Democracy implies close identity of interest between the individual and social.

Section 2.
Patterns of School Democracy.

Section 3.
How Democracy can ensure greater efficiency.

Section 4.
Limits to School Democracy.

Section 5.
The hall-marks of Democracy in Education.

CHAPTER 3.

THE HALL MARKS OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

1. Democracy implies close identity of interest between the individual and social.

It has been pointed out in the preceding chapter that neither citizenship nor democracy can be taught by instruction, and that it is not profitable to study theory without some practical knowledge of the media to which it relates. Later chapters will suggest that self-government is one method by which democracy in schools, and a democratic way of life, may be developed. It is first necessary, however, to establish certain hall marks of democracy in education. In general, the democratic way of life is that in which the identity of interest of the individual and the social is best realised. For the democratic faith is individual in that it asserts the claims of every individual to the opportunity for the realisation of potentialities, unhampered by birth, family status, or external authority. By the same token it is social in character, for this end for individuals can only be realised through a particular type of institution. Historically, conditions first emphasised the negative aspect of this principle - the overthrow of institutions that were autocratic. It is now obvious that the positive side needs attention, that is, the extension of democracy to the creation of the kinds of institutions that will

effectively and constructively serve the development of all individuals. In this the school can play a part, for it is reasonable to expect the school to orient the student in the life of which he is a part. To do this the school must not shadow-box with life by confining itself to subject matter, for by so doing it constructs an artificial environment. But re-orientation, too, must have a sense of direction. That is to say, the school must so arrange its activities that it will provide successive experiences that lead to a progressive understanding of life in the present. It is clear, for example, that each individual pupil will one day face the problems that centre in the organisation of community life. The school should, therefore, desire to bring the pupil to a knowledge of the machinery, the mechanics, and the spirit, of government of the community, by the community, for the community.

It is reasonable, too, to expect the school to set up an environment in which all of its members, through active participation in its organisation and control, may move progressively to a more complete appreciation of the deeper significance of the democratic way of life. To prevent an unwitting development of callous spots in individual lives, it must provide opportunities, appropriate to varying age levels, for students to practice service to others as part of their normal school activity. Occasions for this are so plentiful in the school situation that they will occur to all who admit the need for taking advantage of them.

The school should also assume responsibility for assisting all students, at all age levels, to work out, through their relations with their fellows, self-directive inner standards of conduct and behaviour. It can specifically arrange the life of the school to permit students to work together in the formulation of standards of conduct. As conflicts and issues appear within school groups, as they inevitably will in almost all spheres of activity, teachers should see that these are resolved in ways that lead to an increasingly developed appreciation of the values and advantages in an overarching purpose that brings to pass an intelligent compromise of conflicting ideas, and unites in a common course the antagonistic forces. Out of the regular procedure, therefore - and nowhere more so than where self-government is practised, of having groups think through common problems, not only should there evolve ideals and standards of conduct that may carry over to life outside the school and transform it, the student should also rise to the conscious adoption of methods of resolving conflicts in the light of a fair hearing to all concerned. This is the essence of the democratic way of life, and the school should launch a programme that provides ways of living deliberately intended to help the individual devise the appropriate instruments for guiding his conduct in a world of uncertain and confused standards.

Further, the spirit of competition in the adult world presents a new problem. Schools became widespread under

conditions in which competitive and acquisitive motives were given full play. Under such conditions the school, reflecting adult conceptions, went no further as a social institution than to represent a community effort to help the individual prepare himself to play effectively a lone hand when he entered the normal adult world of competitive activity. The competitive motive operated - and still operates - as normally as it did in the social situation. Hence the whole paraphernalia of marks, contests, grades, prizes and so on to stimulate intellectual endeavour. Today emphasis on the springs of human conduct is more than ever desirable. For the results of unrestrained competition are disastrous today in a way they were not in a social system where new opportunities existed as a constant element. Secondly, men can no longer live unto themselves alone; for interdependence is one of the conditions of life in the present that is inescapable. These facts forced the school to recognise that the potential values of a corporate society are only to be realised when people learn to think and to live with reference to the conditions of co-operative endeavour.

2. Patterns of School Democracy.

If it be then agreed that a democratic spirit in educational practice is both essential and desirable, what different conceptions of democratic education may we expect to find; which conceptions are truly democratic, which false, which bear the hall marks of democracy in education? It is

probable that we shall encounter in practice the mind which sets democratic ends and directs action towards their attainment. This is the tempting line of efficiency, and it has all the surface features of benevolent despotism. But we have to remember the school should seek to serve all economic and social classes with justice, to provide opportunity for all children, and that it shapes practice to the needs of th children. It also raises the question whether democratic ends can be obtained in an autocratic manner, and to what extent can teachers, students and citizens, have a direct voice in determining the nature and instruments of the purposes of a school.

A second likely interpretation of the democratic spirit in education is that which maintains that students should be kept busy practising the use of the tools of democracy. The idea is to get all the students doing something; it is based on the belief that you cannot have successful democracy unless everyone has much experience of democratic activities in small groups, hence, furnish action with the apparent aim of keeping everyone busy. There is likely, in such a case, to be a multitude of staff-inspired activities, but behind these the school is trying to give its pupils experience in using the tools of democratic living, the ballot, parliamentary procedure, representative government, group action, among others. This leads to the question whether the amount and distribution of student participation are reliable indicators of the presence of the democratic spirit, and whether a

school can be an efficient teacher of democracy if pupils do not share in determining the kinds of activity in which they will take part, and the purposes which these activities are to serve.

Yet a third interpretation is that in which formulas for democratic planning are made the chief ends of education. The method likely to be adopted is that of student-teacher co-operation in planning units of work, and in choosing the means for working towards those goals, as is often done in schools in the United States. The question immediately arises - is it possible to learn the skills of democratic planning and policy making in situations in which the group must produce results, within limits set by an outside authority? Once again we are confronted by the question of efficiency. Freedom to do as one pleases may, by others, be considered the heart of democracy; in this case we should expect to find few, if any, rules, avoidance of uniformity, protection of individual liberties of students and teachers, and the greatest opportunity for self-development. The danger on this path lies in an excess of individual freedom, which raises the whole question of the place of freedom in democratic living. Because of its relation to the task of getting a job done efficiently by a group, the consistency of individual freedom with group action and efficiency must be settled. Still another conception of the democratic idea in education may be found, the conception of service in which socially useful work, with widely shared responsibilities,

engages the whole school. Here the aim is school and community service, the initiating and carrying through of projects for the public welfare. Efficiency is important, organisations may be used for particular jobs, there is a wide sharing of responsibilities. But is education for democracy achieved when students have many experiences of democratic living of this kind? Rather, such experiences should lead on to reflection about their meaning, to understanding of their distinctive democratic characteristics, to formulation of the principles of democracy, and to application of those principles in other situations.

Finally, it may be urged that laws of learning and of man set limits to democratic education. Here the view is that the ways of democracy are not part of our native equipment, but have to be learned, and should be learned under teachers who know how to teach them. All will know then exactly where student authority begins and ends. In this interpretation other questions arise - the problem of the group making the most efficient use of its personnel in doing the work to be done, of ensuring competence and responsibility on the part of those in authority, and the problem of deciding whether all members have the right to execute as well as determine policies.

These six possible patterns of school democracy - the master-mind, the busy at work, the freedom by formula school with its emphasis on procedure to be followed in group planning, the do-as-you-please, the get-work-done, and the liberty within limits type - provide two conclusions.

The first is an indication of a desire to make school democracy work, and to increase its efficiency. In the second place they suggest that every school will have to answer three questions, and the difference between schools will be found in their answers to these questions. The first concerns what is to be done - this is the problem of purpose; the second asks how it is to be done - this is the problem of procedure; and the last endeavours to find out who is to do it - this is the problem of personnel.

3. How Democracy can ensure greater efficiency.

In contrast it may be urged that democracy is not as efficient as autocracy - but this, provided democracy is fully understood, is a point of view which neglects various factors. Democracy will be more efficient if it utilises the true advantages inherent in democratic action, because its primary purpose is the welfare of each individual, in an autocracy individual welfare must be made secondary. In an autocratic environment the problem of purpose is never satisfactorily solved, for the administrator is cut off from his chief source of progress - the intelligence and resourcefulness of his fellow workers. The subordinate who is in the beginning bold enough and resourceful enough to offer opinions and recommendations, soon becomes one who only presents facts - recent history has produced sufficient examples of Lord Acton's famous dictum "all power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely." Moreover, the procedures of democracy can also be more efficient than those of autocracy. For no agency, in the first place,

remains efficient very long unless it is subjected to continuous criticism and evaluation. Autocracy also tends to stifle inventiveness, and usually is accompanied by degenerating management, which is indicated by the glorification of procedure. Lastly autocracy is predestined to fumble the problem of utilising all the resources of the group, for a man must have freedom to use his skill and intelligence, but autocracy has to limit the individual's freedom for it substitutes automatic obedience for true skill, and blind allegiance for intelligent loyalty. Democratic action is, then, not only compatible with group efficiency, but can attain the highest efficiency. Its ends cannot be obtained in an autocratic manner; its habits of procedure cannot be learned apart from democratic purposes; nor is it possible to learn the skills of democratic planning and policy making in situations in which the group must reach decisions within limits set by an outside authority. The procedures of true policy making and pseudo-policy making may apparently be indentical, but in true policy making the actual purposes of the group are changed by the process, whereas in pseudo-policy making purposes remain fixed by outside authority while the group does work because it looks democratic.

4. Limits to School Democracy.

It has also to be determined whether a school can teach democracy unless students have a direct voice in determining activities and purposes; to what extent is such a voice needed; whether all members of a democratic group have a full

right to take part in executing policies as well as determining them; and whether the amount of distribution of participation in group activities are reliable indications of the presence of a democratic spirit. To the first question the answer is that every member of a democratic group must have the right to have a voice in determining the group's purpose. There are, however, two limitations, for not all policies can be determined by school personnel because of legal requirements; and, further, the ways of democracy must be learned, therefore the ability of a child to take part in democratic processes is conditioned by his maturity and experience. But the right to take part in policy execution rather than policy determination, must be decided by competence for the task. Since, however, the school is a training ground, responsibilities should be passed round until each child has had a fair opportunity to develop capacity for executive work; the senior posts being filled by those who have proved competence. So the amount and distribution of participation in activity is no reliable indicator of democracy - if people are active in deciding where they want to go and how to get there, there is evidence of democracy; but if they are active in going they know not whither, or in doing what someone has told them to do, their activity only proves they are busy.

Other questions will arise relating to the use of personnel. These are likely to be (1) how can the democratic group make the most efficient use of personnel in doing the work to be done, (2) how can it assure

competence and responsibility on the part of those in a position of authority (3) how can it best use the expert? To use its personnel efficiently a democratic group must have a clearly defined policy, it must select the most competent people available, without fear or favour, and it must hold them responsible for carrying out its policies, and for efficiency in performance - hence reports of accomplishments are likely to be important in checking the value of work done. Freedom is always consistent with, and necessary to, efficiency in group action, for democracy is based on intelligent liberty. It is the business of the school for democracy to develop a scale of social values for understanding and evaluation of individual liberty, and to give practice in applying those values. Nor is the school limited in its action as a democratic society by the fact that the ultimate source of authority is outside it, and that its officers are responsible to a body other than the personnel of the school. The source of authority is outside the school as it is the public, but this does not impose a necessary limitation upon the school as an agency for democratic education, and the school can go at least as far as the public wants it to go. Experience of such democratic living is invaluable, but it must be accompanied by intelligent thinking, as, for example, on the application of democratic principles to situations which are beyond the range of direct experience of the student.

5. The hall-marks of Democracy in Education.

It is now possible to recognise the hall-marks of

democratic education. It has as its purpose the welfare of all the people; it serves each individual with justice, seeking to provide equal educational opportunity for all, regardless of intelligence, race or religion. To this, by virtue of his membership in the democratic community, each person is entitled. It respects the basic civil liberties, and clarifies their meaning through study. Hence, whatever the child's legal dependency, these are morally the child's rights also, and the school for democratic citizenship will show proper regard for these liberties in every relation with the child. Further democratic education is concerned for the maintenance of those economic, political, social conditions, which are necessary for the enjoyment of liberty. It guarantees to all the members of its community the right to share in determining the purposes and policies of education. This is limited for children to suit the experience and maturity of pupils, but their share increases with ability. It uses democratic methods in the classroom, in administration, and in student activities. It makes efficient use of personnel, teaching respect for competence in positions of responsibility. Through experience, it teaches that every privilege entails a corresponding duty, every authority a responsibility, every responsibility a recounting to the group which granted the privilege of authority - this is the lesson of democratic discipline, the learning of which is a long difficult process that cannot begin too early. Democratic education demonstrates that

far reaching changes, of both policies and procedures, can be carried out in orderly and peaceful fashion, when the decisions to make changes have been reached by democratic means. It liberates and uses the intelligence of all, and promotes loyalty to democracy by stressing positive understanding, and by summoning youth to service in a great cause. Democracy is a hard road, and one which some members of the group may wish to reject in favour of the smooth straight tunnel of autocracy. The problem of making the democratic spirit prevail falls chiefly to education, for the basic problem, underneath its social, economic, and political masks is, forever and always, simply and completely, the problem of modifying behaviour by the method of education. The following sections suggest one way in which schools may modify behaviour, and aim at a greater feeling for the democratic spirit by self-government.

CHAPTER 4.

THE APPRENTICESHIP IN DEMOCRACY.

Section 1.
The need for self-government in the School.

Section 2.
The features of two self-governing schools.

Section 3.
School A - a direct democracy.

Section 4.
School B - a representative democracy.

Section 5.
The origins of self-government in a school.

Section 6.
Self-government and the age range in Secondary Schools.

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Section 8.
Should adults be present?

Section 9.
The problem of the law-breaker: a pupil court.

Section 10.
The Headmaster and the use of the veto in Schools A and B.

Section 11.
The position of the Headmaster and the powers of the pupils.

CHAPTER 4.

THE APPRENTICESHIP IN DEMOCRACY.

1. The need for self-government in the School.

It can fairly be inferred from the preceding sections that it is reasonable to expect the school, particularly the Secondary School, to set up an environment in which all of its pupils, through active participation in its organisation and control, may move progressively to a more complete appreciation of the deeper significance of the democratic way of life. It may be concluded that the aim of education is not so much to build up or mould character, or train the mind, but rather to provide the right conditions for guided growth. But it is growth of a particular kind, for it is growth for a life which is essentially social, which has to be lived among other men and women. Education should give freedom from a sense of inferiority; from all restrictions which hinder healthy growth; it should nurture individuality - in short it should be creative rather than possessive.

This aim is not to be achieved by setting up courses, for too often the autocratic creation of courses has been allowed to take the place of active participation. Experience is the greatest teacher, but, as has already been shown, a course in Civics does not give pupils experience. The only way to experience democracy is to experience it, whether it be in the School or State. Recent developments in self-government in schools are a move in the proper direction,

but in many cases there is need for a greater degree of realism, for a greater correlation between life inside and life outside the school. Then when pupils go out into the world they will not find themselves in a totally strange atmosphere. "Public education is best defined as a process of harmonisation between the inner and the outer. It is the means by which the growing generation is assimilated into the life of the community." (1)

2. The features of two self-governing schools.

It is, therefore, suggested that self-government in the school is necessary; it remains to explain its working, both from experience in practice and from the point of view of theory, and to consider some of the various questions it brings in its train. For any teacher who puts such a system into practice will have to tread his own road, his work will be largely experimental, for he will find no syllabus laid down. But there are certain broad features on which school self-government is likely to be based. These broad features have been found as the result of personal experience, latterly as Headmaster, of self-government in two schools of widely different types. The first, A, was a small school, a boarding community of some 60 boys, aged 11 to 18.

The second school, B, of which I have personal and intimate knowledge, is quite different. It is situated in what is a dormitory of a very large town; it has, therefore,

(1) Zimmern. Learning & Leadership. O.U.P. 1928. P.26.

lost its rural without gaining urban characteristics. Its pupils are boys and girls aged from 11 to 15+; there are rather more boys than girls. In July 1946 the numbers were 236, in July 1947 286, and in September 1948, 460. There has, obviously, been a rapid increase in numbers in the last two years; two years hence the numbers will probably be about 550. At the present time, there are 14 forms, 4 in the first year, 4 in the second, 3 in the third and 3 in the fourth (the average age of this latter is just under 15). The smallest form numbers 24, the largest 38. As the school is Secondary Modern in type, there is considerable variation in intelligence - the first school might be regarded as Secondary Grammar. The background of the children is also very varied, some are the sons and daughters of well paid professional men, others the children of unskilled labourers, and, frequently, out-of-work dockers. In very many ways, therefore, the second school forms an excellent contrast with the former for experimental work in school self-government.

3. School A - a direct democracy.

In A, self-government was the creation of the Headmaster, in response to a felt, though unspoken, need and it originated in a natural occurrence. On one occasion a number of boys endeavoured to deal by physical force with two larger boys who had made themselves somewhat unpopular by bullying. Arriving on the scene in the middle of the conflict, the Headmaster suggested that there was a better way to deal with the question than to rely on force, and that it could be more adequately dealt with by discussion. From this seed a whole

scheme of self-government rapidly developed as a natural growth, each step being taken because it was felt desirable. It must also be clearly understood that, apart from the initial suggestion, and the provision of school time for meetings, the Headmaster stood on one side and left the development entirely to the boys themselves. An early essential feature was a general meeting of all pupils, democracy was direct rather than representative in this school, probably because it was small, there was never any suggestion that representatives should be elected. The function of such a meeting was to deal with those spheres of school life which fell into the boys' province. Rules and regulations were necessary, and it was later found desirable to create machinery to deal with offenders against such rules - this took the form of a judicial body. The general meeting elected, as its servants, certain of its members to hold posts of responsibility. There was no written constitution at any time - though there were rules relating to some offshoots of the general meeting, for example the judicial body known as the council. In this respect a great contrast is presented with the second school, which started self-government with a written set of rules forming a constitution. (1) The posts of responsibility normally vary according to the numbers of pupils in the school, and the sphere of control exercised by the general meeting. A meeting was held weekly, with arrangements for special meetings, normally during school hours. Though this system

(1) See chapter 4 page 57 ff.

has the drawback that such a meeting at such a time might be an attractive alternative to Latin grammar, it has the compensating advantage that it convinces the pupils of the sincere attitude of the Headmaster to the scheme. Moreover, one general meeting can often be of more educational value than many periods of Latin grammar.

The meeting discovered almost immediately that it needed a chairman and secretary; this in its turn raised at once the question of vote by ballot or by show of hands. The boys decided on vote by ballot, and this method became regular except for quite minor elections. This may have been due to knowledge of the outside world, to fear of the bigger boy in the early stages of the scheme, or to a belief in its essential fairness. Experience in this case suggested that the ballot is easily accepted, and once accepted, is not likely to be superseded. In the second school of which I have personal experience, and details of which are given later, (1), the ballot was never used during the whole of the first two years, despite suggestions by staff representatives that it was the more appropriate procedure. Personal reasons were given for this decision by the children themselves, sometimes that it was too much trouble to take a ballot vote, sometimes that it would make no difference to the voting, and sometimes that voters should have the courage to register their votes openly. It is difficult to know which of these reasons were predominant; I can think of no occasion when the voting might, in my opinion, have been

(1)See chapter 4 page 57 ff.

have been different had it been by ballot, yet I still think it would have been more objective had ballot voting been customary here as in the first school.

The boys in the first experiment quickly realised the qualities necesary in a chairman - judgment, shrewdness, efficiency and coolness when faced with a series of amendments. I can remember no inefficient chairman being elected in 4 years; some, because of their obvious ability for the post, were elected for a total of three terms, even the most efficient had to submit to the feeling that others might be as good, and that it was fair that offices should not become a monopoly. Similarly, the virtues of a secretary were found to be a business-like approach, intelligence and neatness. The boys soon appreciated the different qualities required, for I can remember no single instance of a secretary, however good, having been elected chairman. (1).

Other posts to which members were elected come quickly to mind. These were the Captains of Games, the Secretaries, the School 'shopkeeper', the Magazine Committee, the Games Wardens, into whose care was placed all equipment, - most of these offices involved working in conjunction with other boys on equal terms. Members of the judicial body - the Council, were elected; the Games Committee looked after all games - not only the actual day-to-day arrangements, but also fixtures, the purchase of equipment, the marking of pitches (a job often reserved for boys under punishment by the Council - wisely so,

(1) See Simpson's Sane Schooling. The reader will see the author's indebtedness to Simpson, especially in this and the next chapter, but it is a debt arising from close association with him rather than from a perusal of his book.

in many ways, since it was a constructive form of punishment, of use to the rest of the community), and the entertainment of visiting teams. What games should be played, and whether or not they should be compulsory, is obviously a subject which the Head can hand over for decision by the General Meeting. Personal experience suggests that in the winter term some form of football is likely to be adopted, where facilities are available, for all except those medically unfit. I can remember no challenge to compulsory football, on the other hand, the question of whether cricket should be compulsory was a most hotly debated subject every year; though the 'cricketers' were in a majority, it was so small that compulsory cricket was not enforced for some years, and the non-cricketers were allowed to have their own forms of summer exercise, - an interesting case of the majority giving the greatest possible respect to the rights of a minority. Looking back, I think it might have been wiser if, for boys up to the ages of fourteen or thereabouts, cricket had been made compulsory, since it can be argued that every boy should be expected to know something of his national summer game - but I believe this to be an adult point of view.

The example of compulsory cricket is interesting as providing an instance of policy developing over a period of years. During the whole of this time the decision rested with the boys, the Headmaster spoke in debates, offered suggestions or advice, but the decision was entirely a matter for the General Meeting. For some time compulsory cricket was never enforced and a large body of non-cricketers played

other summer games, though some years later, when the non-cricketers formed a smaller number, cricket was made compulsory. During this period, too, a sub-committee, consisting of the Headmaster (because any decision depended partly on accommodation, numbers and facilities), another master, and boy, reported with suggestions on the future position of cricket and football grounds. These suggestions were rejected by the General Meeting, though a later Special Meeting, on being given further information, reversed the previous decision and accepted the sub-committee's report.

A similar independence was shown six months later, when, in November, the Meeting was discussing the programme of cricket matches for the following summer. This programme was very heavy but was carried against the Headmaster's advice.

Two years later the question of compulsory cricket was brought up in another form. Matches were usually umpired by boys; the question arose whether non-cricketers should be available as umpires. Fundamentally this was a question of principle, and led to a very heated discussion, as a result of which it was agreed that non-cricketers should volunteer as an act of courtesy. The Headmaster then suggested that the only solution was to have cricket as a game for the whole school - a suggestion which was rejected. At the same meeting two boys asked to become cricketers, the examinations being finished. Considerable discussion arose, since it was felt that they had not objected to cricket as such, but purely on grounds of convenience. Permission was granted, but a rule was made at the same time that, in order to change from a chosen game, a

boy must obtain permission from the meeting at the beginning of the term.

In the next year there was a stronger feeling that all should have some knowledge of the national summer game, coupled with the idea that boys could not make up their minds whether they liked cricket unless they had played it. As a consequence, the meeting decided that junior members (i.e. the two lowest forms) were not to be given the option, at the discretion of the Games Committee, of not playing cricket. Moreover, non-cricketers, who had previously organised their own games, were now to play games, other than cricket, as arranged by the Games Committee.

Two further Committees were the House Committee and the Entertainments Committee. The former was responsible for newspapers, magazines, the library, the general care and tidiness of school property - humdrum but nevertheless essential work. The Entertainments Committee was responsible for indoor games and entertainments in after-school hours and evenings. Obviously it would have more scope in a boarding than in a day school. But if our day schools were to develop a desire among their pupils and teachers to regard the school as a centre of activity, - instead of which many tend to produce an atmosphere which encourages pupils to rush home as soon as the set hours of instruction end - it would be possible for very many activities to be organised by an Entertainments Committee. Here lies a promising field in the development of youth activities. In my own case, I found that the Entertainments Committee had comparatively

little to do in the summer term except plan future activities. But in the winter terms it was extremely active, and its members probably did more work on behalf of the community than any other elected officials. On almost every Saturday evening of the autumn and spring terms there was a full scale entertainment, frequently charades acted by various forms, sometimes two or three one-act plays, sometimes a whole play, chess or draught competitions, treasure hunts, and, occasionally, fancy dress dances. None of this work was compulsory, everything from beginning to end was voluntary - and I have little doubt that much of the enjoyment was due to the fact that the participants were doing the work of their own accord, and that they felt they were doing something for the school, for their fellows. There are many other aspects of such youth activity which are worthy of examination. They form no part of an account of school self-government - the activities themselves are mentioned as examples of the spirit of co-operation and enthusiasm which self-government helped to engender in one school.

4. School B - a representative democracy.

As in the first case so in School B[1] the beginnings of self-government were deliberately planned, and were, in that sense, an artificial creation in the same way as a time-table is artificial. The first step was the provision of one period per week for each form, (at that time there were eight forms), to hold a form meeting. This early and elementary apprenticeship was of great value. The children learnt something of the art of controlling a meeting, of speaking in

(1) See chapter 4 page 49 for details of this school.

public, of elections, and of expressing thoughts in words - an important factor in dealing with children in Secondary Modern Schools whose g V is generally lower, often considerably lower, than that of children in Grammar Schools. Moreover, it was realised that the children would soon appreciate that there were many questions on which form discussion alone was insufficient, and that some other body to link forms, and so represent the whole school, was desirable. This proved to be the case, and so the central body was created in response to a definite felt need.

The method adopted was to elect two representatives from each form to discuss the machinery by which this central body was to work, and after a series of meetings a Constitution was adopted. This method is akin to that usually followed in American schools, though less common in this country - in the case of School A described earlier in this chapter, no written Constitution was ever adopted. Experience suggests, however, that some definite rules are advisable, especially in a large school, since it was frequently found necessary to refer back to the Constitution. Two members of the staff were elected to represent the teachers (1), and the Headmaster was asked to serve as chairman; the rules finally adopted are given below.

1. Introduction.

This Constitution was decided upon in a series of meetings of representatives from each form and the staff, with the

(1) This is in contrast to Simpson's decision - see Simpson's Sane Schooling.

Headmaster as chairman. Its purpose is to create a central body of representatives, of pupils and staff, to take charge of those aspects of living together as a community which the Headmaster might at any time hand over to this central body.

2. Name.

The central body shall be known as --- Secondary Modern School Council, and a copy of this Constitution shall be kept permanently by each form.

3. Elections.

(1) Every form in the school shall elect representatives, irrespective of sex; the two of these with the most votes shall become form representatives on the Council, the two with the next greatest number of votes shall be prepared to act as deputies at Council Meetings in the case of the absence of the first elected representatives.

(2) Two representatives from the staff shall be elected.

(3) One representative, as in clause 3 (1) above, shall be elected, irrespective of sex, from each of the four School Houses.

(4) Council representatives shall be elected for one year, normally in September, but in the case of representatives elected to the first Council, they shall hold office until the end of the next summer term subject to clause 4 below. (1) Representatives shall also be elected at any other time when a separate form may be created or when a representative may leave the school.

(1) The first School Council was elected in February.

(5) Retiring members may be re-elected.

(6) A member of the Council may represent one body (i.e. Form or House) only.

4. Removal of Representatives.

A member of the Council can be removed from office, before the end of his period, only by the wish of the Form or House he represents.

5. Committees.

(1) The Council shall normally work through Committees which will be responsible to it.

(2) Each Committee shall include at least one member of the staff (in an advisory capacity), two members of the Council, and a representative elected by each Form in the School.

(3) Following the election of the Council the following Committees shall be elected: Games Committee, Entertainments Committee, Magazine Committee, Buildings & Traffic Committee.

This Constitution has been in existence for well over a year, and, during that time, no change of importance has been made. The debates preceding its adoption were in themselves of great value, for, after discussion and acceptance by the Council, each form debated the proposals, so that there was a constant interplay of proposal and amendment.

Moreover, during the discussions, the Headmaster and staff representatives had their first opportunity to show the children that their views and decisions were all important, and that the scheme was not intended to provide a cloak for staff dominance of pupil activities. Advice was given, particularly in the wording of the Constitution, but all

decisions were the children's.

Some questions were hotly debated, some of these are likely to be debatable in any school, some apply only to a mixed school. One of the latter concerns the sex of the representatives. In the discussions preceding the adoption of the Constitution one group, mainly girls, who were in a minority of some 20 to 30 in the school as a whole, wanted form representatives to be one boy and one girl. They feared that, being in a minority, girls might be outvoted. Finally, they accepted the view that the sex of the representative did not matter, and that it was the duty of the representative to vote as he thought best for the community. This distrust did not die; it showed itself twice later in the first year when it was suggested that, in questions which concerned girls mainly, only girls should vote. This was never put to the vote because discussion revealed that it was impracticable. Nor is there any reason to believe that the girls had any firm foundation for their doubts; no single instance can be called to mind of a decision having been reached in which boys outvoted girls en bloc. The advisability of representatives being elected from each House was also hotly debated. The opponents of the suggestion claimed that it served no useful purpose; its supporters claimed that, as the House occupied a definite position in the school, especially in relation to games, and that, as the Council would be closely concerned with games, each House should be represented. In this case experience suggests that there is little point in representation of Houses in most schools, though obviously the question is one

on which no general rule can be laid down. In principle, too, it is contrary to democratic practice, for it means that each individual is represented twice, through his Form and through his House. I believe the election of House, in addition to Form representatives, was a mistake, and it was later decided to drop House representatives as they served no useful purpose.

This representative democracy faced a problem which did not arise in the direct democracy school. During the first two years, on various occasions, there arose a difference of opinion between some of the Forms and the School Council. It was the sort of difference always likely to arise with representative institutions, but some Forms adopted the viewpoint that they elected "representatives" to express their point of view, and that these should be delegates rather than representatives. They were to vote as ordered by their Forms, not as they themselves thought desirable or advisable. The question came to a head when two "representatives" were removed by their Form from the Council, on the ground that they had not voted as instructed. While accepting the right of the Forms to elect whom they wished, the Council finally asserted that the deputies elected were representatives and not delegates. But protracted debates preceded this decision; the argument based on efficiency, that if deputies were delegates it would be possible to have eleven different orders given by eleven Forms to delegates, with resultant chaos, had little effect. The three members of staff who were Council members were divided on the issue. The view

that gained the day, for the "representative" school, was that if the deputies were delegates then the Council would suffer a serious loss of prestige, and would become simply an institution to rubber-stamp decisions made elsewhere. It was gratifying to realise that Council members felt themselves so honoured by election, and were so conscious of their prestige. It is also quite certain that few members present during the discussion will ever forget the difference between a delegate and a representative, - it is certainly doubtful whether any teacher can say this of any class to which he has endeavoured to explain the difference.

In this school, while Form Meetings and the School Council remained the policy-making bodies, the day to day work was done by Committees. The Buildings & Traffic Committee took charge of notice-boards, the inspection of bicycles, etc. The Games Committee took charge of school games. This meant that it was responsible for the ordering, care and maintenance of games equipment, match fixtures, the entertaining of visiting teams, provision of coaches for travelling to away matches, the marking of pitches, repair of hard tennis courts, and the multifarious work associated with games in a school of 460 children. It was probably the hardest worked of all the committees, and its task was made more difficult by the fact that it was a mixed school. The Social Committee also had varied work. It helped in the production of public dramatic performances, was responsible for the running of the Social Club, for all seating arrangements for school concerts, etc.,

the maintenance of scenery, and end of term parties among other duties. The Magazine Committee's work was more rigidly defined - it was concerned only with the production of the school magazine. This appeared each term, and later twice a year. Some estimate of the success of this Committee may be gleaned from the following facts. During the first year the magazine had to be subsidised out of Council funds to the extent of £12. The fourth number paid for itself by increased circulation, and by the publication of advertisements to which the Council had given consent - a consent which appeared somewhat reluctant and was obviously due to its financial advantages.

Each Committee was subject to the Council, which maintained liaison by electing two of its members to every committee, and control by authorising expenditure. For public money could be spent only by consent of the Council - of which a member of the staff was treasurer, with a pupil as assistant-treasurer. (1) In a school this appears to be the only possible course, since an adult must accept this responsibility; not only is it too great for a child of 14, but a child treasurer is in practice unacceptable. Apart from the two Council members every Form elected one representative to each Committee, which, therefore, totalled thirteen with one member of the staff to act as adviser. This was rather large

(1) This differs from the system in School A, where a Finance Committee of three boys acted, in effect, as Treasurer, with the School Secretary's assistance.

and unwieldly, and as a consequence, there was a certain loss in efficiency, but the general feeling was that this was worth while because it gave so many children experience of the working of self-government and of committees - in practice 52 children were at any one time committee members. On certain occasions, moreover, special committees were created for specific purposes.

5. The origins of self-government in a school.

Of course, such systems as described cannot grow up overnight; to reach maturity is likely to take a few years, until, in fact, a tradition and a reputation have been established. The initiation of the scheme will most likely have to be the work of the Headmaster, or some other member of the staff. Nor does it lose on this account, so long as his influence is used for initiation and advice only. Self-government in a secondary school will not begin naturally, it is an artificial expedient in that it is a definitely planned educational device - as is a syllabus. It may be suggested that if you let boys experience complete chaos - in itself of doubtful wisdom and probably also unfair to the staff - then self-government will develop naturally. The pupils will most probably find government naturally in such conditions, but it is likely to be government by the strong, especially the strong-limbed, rather than self-government. The Headmaster and staff might further help the process of self-government in its early stages, by stimulating the ability to speak. This can be done, for example, by ten minute talks by boys

in their normal class work in the form of lectures. Further, the acting of plays - Julius Caesar" is always popular - though providing few opportunities for girls in a mixed school, has the effect of breaking reserve, and generating spontaneity. Experience suggests this is of great value with children whose verbal ability is limited. Once established the scheme does not need renewal. For the school becomes a living society, and each generation of pupils does not need to renew its form of society. It should rather have a sense of continuity. The Headmaster can, however, always provide fresh questions on which common discussion, common decision, and collective responsibility can be employed, and further fields of control may be found to hand over to the children.

6. Self-government and the age range in Secondary Schools.

A further problem which arises is due to the age range, in many cases 11 - 18, which is normally found in the secondary school. Are all pupils, irrespective of age, to have equal powers of voting and of holding office? The latter is less likely to arise as young boys are not likely to be elected, but the former question is of great importance. For the seven years, 11 - 18, cover a period in which great changes, physical, mental, emotional and spiritual, take place. The secondary school stage "marks the affirmation of self-consciousness in its various manifestations, physical, emotional and intellectual. It carries the growing citizen across the crisis of adolescence and faces him, in the vast

majority of cases in a practical form, with the problem of his personal relationship to the community." (1)

Personal experience suggests that the best age for the scheme to operate well is 13 - 17; or perhaps 14 - 18; it does not appear to be suitable for pupils under 13. The child below this age is, relatively, inclined to be self-assertive, he wants to be noticed by other people, especially by adults; in his own small group he wants to excel, but his own group has little feeling, for it is really a collection of individuals and he is an individual rather than a member of the community. It is the age of romance, of initial awakening to the school, an age of taming difficulties and searching for power and information. Moreover - and more directly bearing on self-government, it is par excellence the age of hero-worship and of imitation of older people, particularly the good athlete. It is essentially not, and cannot be expected to be, the age of judgment. Moreover, at this age young children find great difficulty in expressing themselves in the company of older children, and are apt to sit silently while questions affecting them are decided. For younger children the authority, both of prefects and of the general meeting or school council, are needed, even though at this stage they will appreciate the latter only dimly; they should not, I believe, be allowed to speak or vote. The theory of democracy cannot be applied for these young children are in effect only de facto members of the community;

(1) Zimmern. Learning and Leadership. P.34.

their senses and emotions are still individualist. In a discussion suitable for 11 year old pupils senior pupils will be out of place; the opposite is also true. Pupils under 13 should be able to attend General or Form Meetings but only as witnesses. This suggests that, in practice, first year children in an English secondary school should be excluded from any scheme of self-government in the sense that they should not be allowed to vote or speak in a General Meeting, or elect representatives to a representative body. There is one further point, also emphasised by experience. The scheme of self-government envisages a judicial body, Senate, Court or Council, or at any rate judicial functions. Among young children there is little tendency to admit wrong, to "own up". Here again personal experience emphasises that some School Courts have had conspicuous success in weighing the evidence of 14 years old and above, but comparative lack of success with those under 14. (1)

Nevertheless, these young children are members of the school who will, even if at first excluded, later take part in any self-government scheme, - after approximately one year. (2) It is essential that they should be connected with this scheme as soon as possible, that they should acquire some knowledge and experience of its working. One method of doing this is now being tried in the secondary modern school,- School B, of which details have already been given; though it

(1) See chapter 8 page 246.

(2) By which time many of them will be 13, very few will be less than 12 years 9 months.

is as yet early to give a final verdict, it is very promising. The method adopted was to appoint four senior pupils, elected by the Council, each to be the representative of a first year form. Not only did these pupils express the opinions of the youngest children in the Council, but they attended first year Form Meetings at which they acted as chairmen. In this way they were in close contact with the Form's feeling and were able to give it adequate representation, they were able to explain the Council's work and the reasons for its decisions, and to give the youngest children in the school some training in taking charge of meetings. Moreover, as a result of this system, these young children, already somewhat lost in new surroundings and conditions, were made to feel more definitely a part of the school, welcome and wanted, rather than a minority incapable of playing any part in the life of the community.

With the age group 13 - 16, different tendencies emerge and develop which offer better foundation for self-government. Probably the most characteristic is the gregarious tendency, which creates a group and is loyal to it; this group is in the earlier years hardly ever synonymous with the school, though by the age of 16 or 17 it has usually grown to that. It is not the age of ideals, or of vision, it looks little forward or backward, it is concerned with the present, the seen and the known. This is the age of house rather than school loyalty, for the house is a smaller unit with which the child can more easily identify himself. To the schoolmaster

or schoolmistress this group instinct is not, in itself, either good or bad, it is the period of the schoolmaster's opportunity, for the group feeling becomes what he makes it by granting or denying to the pupils the right opportunities for directing themselves in a creative manner. The virtues the boys give to the group should be extended to the school. Inside their group the boys have very clear notions of what they consider right and wrong; they are tolerant and sympathetic if their organisation - house or school - gives them a proper sense of responsibility and of service within the group. Here again sound discipline is of importance. Discipline for its own sake, rather than for some further end, such as the common good, produces only the usual conventions, makes good form the salvation, and unorthodoxy the unforgivable sin.

It is for this group that self-government, through a General Meeting or comparable institution, is most valuable - and into this group practically all secondary school pupils pass, while comparatively few pass into the third stage, the approach to manhood, covering approximately the years 17 and 18. For the 13 - 16 years age-group self-government undoubtedly creates a greater sense of responsibility, and it directs public opinion into more valuable forms of expression than the creation of certain taboos. Inside this group the boys and girls were found to be extremely tolerant of individual differences; each child could feel she was an active member of society, could feel that she

could do something for the community. In so many schools the only contribution a child of this age can make is to represent his community at games. There is one further important point, important particularly to this age group. Through the General Meeting the Headmaster can show that he respects and trusts the group, by handing over to it various duties and opportunities for service, and by letting it manage its own affairs. At both schools A and B, experience showed quite quickly that boys and girls of this age, particularly girls, could organise and execute plans on their own resources without the assistance of authority, and even without desire to win its approval - which so rarely entered into the Meeting's consideration.

At about the age of 17 the pupils - perhaps rather earlier in the case of girls - pass into another stage for which self-government seems hardly so suitable. They are approaching adulthood and are less satisfied emotionally by life in a group of their own age. They are interested in the opposite sex - which they may not find in school, and are looking for new adventure. The pupil is looking beyond the confines of school to the world outside where his future lies, school standards and limitations are becoming a little narrow and he is becoming a little impatient. At this age the boys want to get to grips with the outside world, and need to feel more and more that their work is connected with the life to which they are looking forward.

Whitehead (1) about another matter, has drawn distinctions

(1) Whitehead. Aims of Education. P.52.

concerning age groups which are important from the view of self-government in school. He remarks that when the stage of romance has been properly guided another craving grows. The freshness of inexperience (the age when children should be witnesses only) has worn off, there is general knowledge of the groundwork of fact and theory, and there has been plenty of browsing amid first hand experience involving adventures of thought and action. The enlightenment which comes from knowledge can now be understood, for it corresponds to the requirements of common sense and deals with familiar materials. We may analyse the law of progress by saying there is the initial awakening, (non-voting) the stage of discipline, (the school citizenship period) and the fruition on the higher plane (manhood). In each the principle of progress is from within, the discovery is made by ourselves, the discipline is self-discipline, and the fruition is the outcome of our own initiative.

7. Self-government and the size of Schools.

A further practical problem in self-government arises out of the size of schools. Ideally it is most suited to the smaller secondary school, but the present tendency suggests that numbers in schools are likely to increase. It is obvious that a general meeting with three or four hundred voting members is likely to be unwieldly - more so if the younger and perhaps non-voting members can speak. To this question of numbers there are two possible solutions. Neither in my opinion is desirable, though one seems

unavoidable. The first, and better, is to solve the difficulty by some method of representation, as already described in School B. This will, of course, involve elections to the Council or similar body at periodic intervals. The second, and less valuable, scheme would be to divide the school into two or three groups, and allow each group to be responsible, for a period, for those school functions delegated to the General Meeting, after which it would give way to the next group. There are many objections to this, not the least being the break in continuity. If possible the General Meeting should include all pupils at one and the same time; if this be found impossible, some form of representation on a form basis as is commonly done in America, is probably the best solution. This, incidentally, is one more argument against the tendency to increase the size of schools.

8. Should adults be present?

The would-be initiator of self-government in a school will also find that a decision will have to be made very early on the question of adults being present at the meetings. In so far as the scheme is likely to have to be first introduced (in an immature form only, so that the pupils can create their own machinery and solve their own problems) by a Headmaster or Headmistress, it will probably be necessary for such a person to be present. Moreover, this work is largely experimental and if the value of the experiment is to be well assessed then an experienced adult

must be present. But, as a result of my own experience, I believe it important that he should not be present in any official capacity, but simply as an observer and adviser. However well intentioned and sincere the master, he cannot be on a footing of real equality with the children - this is a feeling more likely to be felt by the pupils than the master. Unless there is real equality the scheme will have little value.

There are, however, other reasons why adults should be excluded. It is possible that a discussion may arise on questions of principle or about the children's problems, in which there may be strong differences of opinion among the adults present. Such differences of opinion are only likely to be confusing to the pupil-citizens. Admittedly, it is good training for the pupils, after discussion, to be able to reject the advice of adults. But, as against this, authority, in the shape of the school staff, should be united, not divided and perplexing. Furthermore, a member of the staff must be especially suited for this type of work, either by experience or temperament, or training, he must have the ability to make rapid decisions, sympathy, and faith in the children and himself. In addition he must be able to detect that what is apparently a decision of the children is really their own, and when it is actually only a half-accepted suggestion from outside.

My own experience in School A provides one remarkably good example of the effect of adults being present. At

that time self-government in the school had been in operation for between one and two years, the entire staff attended meetings, and joined in the discussions, even though on a limited scale. It was customary to have the General Meeting weekly on Mondays. At that time, too, it was customary - the practice was later dropped - to have adults as members of committees. On one such committee the wife of a member of the staff served, and had in her possession the keys of the room in which all the costumes for plays were kept. Among the members of the committee concerned was one boy, at that time 15 years old, who had done more work than any other boy to further entertainments in the school. He had produced a play to be acted on a Saturday evening; on endeavouring to obtain the keys he was mistakenly informed that the master's wife, in whose custody they were, had gone away and would not be back that evening. Bitterly disappointed, he announced at school tea that the play was cancelled, gave the reason, and added "What is the use of having a person like that on the committee." It was simply a wild remark of a disappointed boy.

At that time the system of dealing with offenders against the general social welfare, which will be described later, had not been evolved. The matter was reported to the husband concerned. He took no action, neither did the Headmaster, probably on the understanding that, as the remark had been critical of a servant of the Meeting, it was fit and proper that the members of the Meeting should deal with it.

Consequently, on the following Monday, the question was introduced. A long, and at times heated, discussion developed, in which the staff took no part. There were few defenders of the "accused" who put up a skilful, but evasive, defence. The Meeting, though against him, did not quite know how to deal with the matter. Finally, one master said "If ------- continues to hold you at bay much longer I think he is to be admired, not blamed." At once the tone hardened against -----. Further discussion took place, but no boy made any proposal about the method of dealing with the accused. At last, seemingly impatient, a mistress said "I propose he is given sixteen strokes with the cane." With no further discussion, and no amendment, the proposal was carried.

This example seems to me to contain so many reasons why adults should be excluded. Both suggestions which led to a conviction came from the staff, and, because of that, had some air of authority behind them. The proposal was followed by no discussion - it originated from the staff. In fact the decision was not really the boys' own - it was an outside suggestion accepted. It may be argued that, without intervention, the "accused" would not have been punished. He probably would not, an apology would have been accepted by the Meeting. In my opinion, even if he deserved punishment and would not have been given it by the Meeting, this would have been preferable to the staff giving the lead in this instance. Had he escaped punishment it

would have shown only that the Meeting had not yet developed a sufficiently strong social conscience; the pupils, by failing to punish, might have made a mistake, but - and this is fundamental - they would have made their own mistake, and from it would have learnt a lesson - and a lesson they would not have forgotten. (1)

A further important point is raised by the question - to what extent was his punishment due to the presence, apart from actual suggestions, of the staff? I believe it is true to say that some boys voted for the proposal because they thought the staff considered it right, and in some cases they wanted to curry favour with the master whose wife had originally been insulted.

Nevertheless, it is probably advisable for the Headmaster to be present to act as an adviser - there are certain to be many questions on which the pupils will need advice. Furthermore, the school community consists not only of pupils, the staff are an integral part of it, and so may rightly claim to take part in any self-government scheme. It is also important to realise that if the system is to be given a fair trial, members of the staff must be, at the least, tolerant towards it. No matter how keen a Headmaster or pupils may be on self-government, the whole idea can easily be killed by an unsympathetic staff. They, too, must be converted, and their support is less likely to be obtained if they are excluded from this aspect of school life.

(1) See chapter 8 page 236.

Probably the best method, with which my experience accords, is that members of the staff be elected by their colleagues to represent the teachers. They, with the Headmaster as adviser, would attend all meetings. But it is fundamental that their aim should be to provide discussion without pressure, even though the Meeting's decisions may be unwise, for there is no learning to compare with the experience of making mistakes. For unless advice, however good, can be rejected, it is not advice but coercion. In the experiment described in School B, and at a later stage in School A, the Headmaster and staff representatives sometimes offered advice, were sometimes asked for it, but the pupils always remained completely free to act on it or reject it. Some four terms after the initiation of the scheme it was agreed to purchase a wireless set out of public funds - this was against the Headmaster's advice, since he pointed out various difficulties and it was envisaged that the cost would be approximately £20. A later suggestion by the Headmaster on a different subject was, however, accepted. This was that advocates should be introduced; the Meeting then passed a rule that if any non-member (i.e. forms 1 and 2) were accused, he had the right to call on his prefect as advocate, if he were an accuser he must first consult his prefect who could help him to bring up his case. (1) On another occasion contribution to the debate by the Headmaster had no effect on the decision. The Cycle Committee reported on the condition of the school bicycle

(1) See chapter 8 page 233.

which was used for teaching boys to ride, and estimated that it would cost at least £1 to repair. Despite very plain speaking by the Headmaster on the folly of allowing the bicycle to go to ruin, it was decided to let the matter drop. The attitude of allowing complete freedom and equal right to express and act on opinions is essential; it is acknowledged and respected by boys - as is suggested by the incident of one boy who cried because he was bowled out by a master and exclaimed "You ought not to bowl me like that" - an outburst which led to very strong condemnation of his behaviour. On another occasion, when self-government had been in existence for some seven years, a similar attitude of regarding the master as on a footing of equality was seen. The Saturday evening "acting" was late, and some of the audience started clapping in impatience. Protests against this were made at a meeting a few days later, all the more significant by virtue of the fact that the clapping had been started by a member of the staff.

9. The problem of the law-breaker: a pupil court.

There can be little doubt that children will, after a time, regard members of the staff as colleagues in the Meeting or Council. The example previously quoted (1) is, in effect, only part of a much wider question, that of the wisdom of allowing boys to punish boys. This raises questions, not only of practice, but of psychology. These will be discussed in chapter 5; for the time being a method which worked

(1) See chapter 4 page 76.

remarkably well, will be described.

As already suggested, self-government is likely to be adult-initiated. It is probable that once it has reached a certain stage of maturity, the children will find themselves faced with the problem of dealing with the person who breaks laws, community-made for the benefit of the community. Their first attempts to tackle this problem are likely to be experimental, possibly hesitant, possibly mistaken. That is less important than the fact that they have recognised a problem and are facing up to it. If the problem of handling a lawbreaker does not occur to them, the Headmaster may have to resort to his own initiative, in which case it will be comparatively easy to find the right opportunity to throw out a suggestion.

In the first example under consideration, School A, the machinery created was simple, fair and successful - though perhaps less so with younger boys who had less capacity to own up, and were less socially conscious. (1) The proposal to divide the Meeting's business into legislative and judicial originated from the boys, after experimental self-government had been in operation for a few terms. After some little discussion, voting on the proposal was postponed for approximately a month. It was then decided:-

1. to have separate legislative and judicial bodies,
2. to elect as members of the judiciary 7 'judges' above the age of 15,
3. 'judges' were to hold office for 'life'.

(1) See chapter 8 page 246.

In the discussion which arose it was agreed not to use the word "judge" or "court" but "council", and this body held its first meeting some ten days later. In practice members were not necessarily prefects, as members of the Council they had respect, no rights but only duties. They were all boys of proved character. Council Meetings were distinct from General Meetings - the Council was in control, but accusation and evidence were proved in public. At the first meeting it had to be decided whether breaches of discipline only should be brought up, but it quickly became the practice for the Council to deal not only with breaches of laws made by the community, but also with all offences against the well-being of the citizen body. It was agreed, too, that any case could be brought before the Council provided there was a definite accuser and accused - other cases being sometimes referred by the Meeting to the Council for enquiry or investigation. An example of the latter is seen in the case of collecting birds' eggs. This was generally forbidden by the Meeting, which, however, recognised the claims of serious students by granting the Council power to investigate applications for permission to collect eggs. The principle was also quickly established that anyone could appeal from a decision of the Council to the General Meeting.

It is a tribute to the original architects that this scheme worked well for some six years before there was any general criticism. As a result of this and ensuing discussion, during which there was fundamental talk on the whole question

of the Council, a committee was appointed to enquire into its working. During this meeting, and especially of one Form, the attitude had been summed up in the question "Why should people bring each other up?" Three weeks later the appointed committee introduced the following proposals for Council reform:-

1. The Council should meet twice weekly, on Mondays and Fridays, at 1.35 p.m. (i.e. non-games days).
2. The whole school (i.e. including juniors, who were not members of the Meeting) should attend Council Meetings unless a notice to the contrary was posted.
3. An accuser must inform the accused when a case was put on the agenda, which could be done at any time.
4. Should a member consider a case exceptionally grave or urgent he may ask the chairman to call an emergency meeting.
5. If two or more members of the Council disagree with the rest the matter must be referred to a General Meeting.
6. Members of the Council need not be over 15 years of age.
7. The whole Council should retire at the end of the summer term, but could be re-elected. (Originally elected for 'life').
8. The General Meeting rule that no person could hold office for more than two terms should not apply to the Council.

These proposals were adopted by the General Meeting and are in existence to this day.

As will be seen later in chapter 5, it is possible to operate in a school a scheme of self-government involving

some form of economic system controlled by the pupils. Such a system would naturally tend to increase the sphere of the Council's authority. This is shown by the following samples - average samples - of business transacted by one Council Meeting. A boy had borrowed, and damaged, a bicycle, which he had taken without the owner's permission. It was decided that he should pay for the damage. Some other boys had not paid their taxes; they were ordered to do 1½ hours work each - of a nature to benefit the community. Some other boys had not done routine work for the Games Committee - such work as marking pitches, rolling tennis courts, etc. The Committee were given power to use these boys, at their discretion, for a fortnight. A more interesting, and more unusual case, was that of a youngish boy charged with not paying a debt. Enquiry revealed that he was "bankrupt". The Council decided to appoint an older boy as trustee until such time as the debt was paid. These examples are characteristic of the punishments inflicted. They hardly ever took the form of learning or writing lines, but invariably were designed to be of benefit to the community against which the offence had been committed. A further point was the rare occasions on which corporal punishment was inflicted. The Council had power to inflict such punishment; it was rarely used, and when it was employed a Council member was appointed to execute the sentence in the presence of two other members as witnesses. (1)

(1) See chapter 8 page 237.

In the case of the second school few 'judicial' functions have yet been embraced by the Council. The only type so far handled has been that of the child who has not contributed to the Penny a Week Fund - which is more fully described in a later chapter. In this case, the desire has not been to punish a law breaker, since there is no rule that a child must contribute - but it was felt that a comparatively small number of unco-operative children did not intend to contribute, and, in consequence, the Council ruled that they should not be allowed the use of Council games material during out-of-school time. One boy who came under this ban retaliated by bringing his own football to school; the Council then ruled that non-contributors should not be allowed on the games field during out-of-school hours. This proved more effective, especially as, a little while later, members of the Council were elected to see that the rule was enforced. Such officers served for one month only.

Apart from this one example there was, in the case of School B, a secondary modern school, considerable reluctance to deal with the law breaker. Any report was regarded as "sneaking" and, on occasion, threats of personal violence were made by offenders to officials who dared to suggest they would be reported. This suggests there was little community spirit. But I do not believe there is the slightest reason to think that this, in itself, suggests

a failure of self-government, though it does suggest a very great difficulty, greater in a day than in a boarding school There were many reasons for this lack of community spirit, this lack of a feeling of responsibility for the general well being. In the first place the school is now only 9 years old, for six of these years conditions were abnormal owing to the war. Again, children came, at 11 years old, from a number of contributory schools; in many cases they were taken to and from school by special buses. Such children had little opportunity to enter into activities after 4 p.m., because, if they did not catch the special bus, it meant, in many cases, a five mile walk home. Consequently, to these children, the school tended to remain only a building in which they received instruction. It was not a living community in the sense that a boarding school, such as School A, can be and often is. The Council official, in School B, who was threatened with personal violence, faced a very real threat. In one particular case the offender waylaid the officer on his way home. As this was after school hours neither the Council nor the Headmaster could give the official adequate protection, since many parents stressed to their children that they could not be called to account, by the school authorities, for anything they chose to do after 4 p.m. This, again, would not have arisen in a boarding school. Moreover, the eldest children were only 15, they were not particularly intelligent, and because of these two factors alone, were not able to give the guidance, to establish

the control, or to set the standards, which one can generally expect from pupils of 17. Allowance must also be made, I believe, for the tendency to judge children by adult standards.

There are ways in which it is possible to develop this sense of responsibility in a day school catering for children up to 15 only. Self-government is undoubtedly one; though the process is likely to be long, often disappointing, and success difficult to measure, because one is endeavouring to measure the intangible. The achievements of the first two years in the secondary modern school studied, are in themselves encouraging. A great contribution will be made, too, if the school can do work of such value that a number of children will wish to stay beyond the school leaving age. Above all, when the minimum leaving age is raised, the school will have a larger proportion of older children who will have lived as members of a self-governing community for some years.

10. The Headmaster and the use of the veto in Schools A & B.

An important question that immediately arises, especially in connection with any judicial powers, is the extent to which it may be necessary for the Headmaster to exercise a veto on Council or Meeting decisions. This is part of the broader question of the respective spheres of control of General Meeting and Headmaster, for unless the General Meeting has complete control of all aspects of school life, there must be some form of dualism. The narrower issue, Headmaster's veto of Council punishments, can perhaps best be dealt with on the

lessons of experience. Given sympathy with the idea of self-government, it should be extremely rare, I believe, for interference by the normal school authorities to be necessary. In four years experience of such a system in a boarding school, I only remember one case where a Council punishment was vetoed - and that was, I believe, justifiable. A boy of about 14, intellectually dull but cunning, was accused of robbing a bird's nest in the school gardens. The evidence was not contradictory, but the accused persistently denied the accusation. The Council went into the case at great length and with meticulous detail, and recognised that the boy accused was of a type who would not react to normal punishment. He had already given considerable trouble both to the General Meeting and to the staff. It was finally decided that he should in effect become an "outlaw" and be debarred from the General Meeting and its privileges. This the Headmaster vetoed on two grounds. The first was that the accused was a 'difficult' boy who really needed careful handling by a competent psychologist. The second was that by declaring him an outlaw the Council was, in effect, putting him outside their jurisdiction; was, in effect, evading the problem and handing him over to the control of the prefects. In this case, I believe the interference and the veto to have been justified; it was accompanied by an explanation of the reasons; nor was there, as a result, the slightest resentment on the part of the boys.

In the secondary modern school, during the two years in which the Council has functioned, the Headmaster has vetoed only one decision; that was done with full explanation, and accepted. During discussion on the proposal, the Headmaster stated that if it were carried he would have to veto the decision; the children, despite this, voted for what they believed right. But when the decision was vetoed, there was no feeling on the part of the children that it was useless for them to take part in any scheme of self-government because it was only a fake. Their confidence in the Headmaster, and the system they were working, was such that the veto was accepted without question, and without impairing the general scheme in any way, for they knew from their own experience that it was the only time in a year (the period for which, at that time, self-government had been in operation) that the Headmaster had imposed a veto on any decision.

11. The position of the Headmaster and the powers of the pupils.

On the broader question of the Headmaster's position under some such scheme of self-government, the fundamental point is not to interfere. In the early stages it may sometimes be necessary to help the meeting to face the real problem at issue; after an event mistakes may be pointed out - after the pupils have been given the opportunity and have made the mistakes. It may sometimes be helpful for the Headmaster to appear in the guise of a legal expert and to give advice on points of procedure, or on matters of precedent. Such

questions are likely to become less numerous with each succeeding generation of school children. The Headmaster can also help by bringing new material before the meeting, and, if asked, by giving advice as to the answer - provided he is prepared to see it ignored. Passive suggestion may be used in helping the pupils to get to the bottom of their problem. This may be done by their own efforts, by creating in their minds a feeling of uncertainty about the rightness of their decision. Then, if the children do not find the solution by their own efforts, the master must let them operate their decision, and discover, by experience, that it has failed to take cognizance of the facts. On rare occasions, too, the Headmaster may find it advisable to speak to groups of children about the principles which underlie such an organisation - new pupils are a case in point. Apart from occasions such as those quoted, the school authorities should proceed on the principle of non-interference.

It is, of course, essential for the Headmaster to decide clearly what matters should be handed over to the children's control. This is a question on which there seems at present to be insufficient evidence to form a sound conclusion; in the whole realm of education, treatment of this question varies from complete control by the Headmaster, to almost complete control by the pupils, while the number of schools in which self-government experiments have been made is very small.

The argument usually centres in the curriculum, and the points at issue are whether the pupils should be excluded from

all curriculum matters, whether they should have some control, or complete control. A compromise between the General Meeting and the Headmaster on this point will not be easily worked. In my opinion it is better for curriculum matters to be excluded, nor do I think this creates an unnatural dualism, though it does, admittedly, create dualism. Nor do I think it restricts liberty where it is chiefly needed - though, on the other hand, secondary schools must give greater opportunities for the less stereotyped kind of education, and should make a greater endeavour to make out-of-school hours a stimulus to further and wider growth of mind and spirit, both during and after school hours.

In dealing with the criticism that to exclude the curriculum creates an unnatural dualism, there are several points to be remembered. It may be claimed that there is a natural dualism in a boy's mind, to which division of authority between the General Meeting and the Headmaster roughly corresponds. Dr. David says (Life and the Public Schools) "There are two lines which must be followed concurrently in the education of human beings at all stages and for all purposes of life. The one is deductive. It proceeds by the recognition of external authority, expressed in terms of law. But nature adds to the process of education an individual element, bidding us learn by our own experience, grow by adventurous exercise of our growing powers, and advance by our own discoveries." There are many ideas which pupils cannot develop from their own consciousness,

consequently they need to be presented with these new ideas, and to be faced with experiences which will make demands on their emotions and intellect. Inside the classroom is the most likely place where this may be done; but time is needed to digest these new ideas and experiences, to weave them into the boy's pattern of his own life, and this process is best done with the minimum of restrictions - outside the classroom.

There is a further important point; education must be related to the facts of life, and one vitally important fact is that boys and girls have to earn a living. For the vast majority this means that they must reach a certain educational level. It follows that pupils will have to follow a secondary school curriculum, though without the paraphernalia of mark-lists, form orders, penalties and prizes. The attitude of the General Meeting suggested that children want co-operation not competition, and competition would have been lacking in affinity with the kind of organisation examined. Moreover, the majority of pupils know that they have to reach a certain standard in any case - a further reason for getting rid of the traditional incentives.

CHAPTER 5.

SCHOOL ECONOMICS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Section 1.
Self-government and pupil control of funds - School A.

Section 2.
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Section 3.
Pupil control of funds in School B - how money was obtained and spent.

Section 4.
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Public monies as the source of pupil controlled funds.

CHAPTER 5.

SCHOOL ECONOMICS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

1. Self-government and pupil control of funds - School A.

The preceding chapter dealt in some detail with self-government in two particular schools; many questions arising from it will be examined more fully later. One most important element, the control of money, needs to be separately considered, for in this respect one of the schools was unique. Quite naturally, the control of many of their own affairs immediately brought the boys to face the problem of money - games material, for example, had to be bought. The normal method is for the school authorities or the local authority to pay, or to make a grant. This method robs the pupils of much valuable training.

In the case of the school first studied, School A - admittedly made easier by the fact that it was a boarding school - a sum of money, one shilling and sixpence, was paid weekly, by the Governors, to each boy throughout the term. (1) On the other hand no games material was provided, no newspapers, magazines or indoor games. The boys soon realised that if they wished to play games, they would have to purchase the necessary equipment. Machinery for this was soon created. The various spending Committees presented estimates to the General Meeting. When all had been accepted the total sum required during the term was known - and

(1) Simpson's Sane Schooling, chapter 2. Here, as in chapter 4, the debt to Simpson is obvious, the debt being double because of personal experience of his work and of the use I have been allowed to make of his unpublished MSS.

estimates were presented either at the end of one term, or in the first week of the next. A Finance Committee of three boys was elected, and was responsible for collecting the taxes weekly. Rules were soon made whereby a boy, on receipt of his weekly sum, immediately handed over that part which was to be paid in 'taxes' to the Finance Committee, which passed on the money to the Banker, from whom those bodies whose expenditure had been authorised drew their money.

In most schools subscriptions are merely extra fees. In this case the allowance had to pay for stationery, newspapers, breakages not due to fair wear and tear, games material, and transport of teams. It is obvious that, in such a scheme, the collaboration of parents is essential, for, to obtain full benefit from it, it requires the limitation of pocket money from home. It was rarely that parents exceeded the amount which they were asked to allow their boys. Nor in any general scheme of this nature would parents fail to collaborate - much closer collaboration between schools and parents is strongly desirable. If parents would not co-operate, it might be possible for a school to introduce its own coinage, though this would mean that shops outside school would be of no value. Incidentally, it should be noted that the extra money in the form of the allowance would be a boon to poor parents.

2. The value of pupil control of funds.

Such a scheme in a school has one great merit, especially so in a school where self-government is the rule, for it gives

to self-government reality. In the adult world the citizen comes into contact, more often than not, only with the financial demands of the community's government, national or local. In a school a far greater sense of reality is introduced if a boy can help to decide not only how many bats shall be purchased, but also what they are to cost, and how they are to be paid for. Without some such financial powers exercised by a General Meeting, self-government can easily become a sham.

A further merit of some such scheme is that it makes it much easier to let the boys learn by making mistakes, to learn to spend judiciously and boldly, while the results are rapidly seen in their everyday life. Here again it is important to realise that boys should be permitted to make their own mistakes - they may be offered advice but must be left free to ignore it. The value of this is suggested by one or two examples from the school already described. Quite early the Headmaster was asked to ascertain the price of a wireless set, and reported that one could be bought for about £20. Discussion arose on three points:-

1. whether a wireless was wanted at all;
2. whether it was fair to make next year's new boys pay for an article bought before their arrival, (since the cost would be spread over two or three terms);
3. what should be done with £5 already raised for another fund, now suspended, (here it was agreed to give £2 to a local hospital).

The next day a committee reported that the estimates of the 'spending' committees could be cut down by £5.4.0, to this was added the balance of £3 from the fund already mentioned, and in the space of twenty-four hours, it had been decided to spend £20 on purchasing a wireless set - against the Headmaster's advice.

Arrangements were made for supervision, a committee of four being elected. It was soon apparent that the set was inefficient and trouble was constantly being met, until finally a committee of three was appointed to enquire into "the wireless and what can be done about it." It was again put right and the whole meeting heard it before deciding on its future. After hearing it, a vote was taken; (after a suggestion that all boys must vote had been defeated), it was decided to keep it, and a permanent committee of one member of the staff and four boys was given full power over it - a decision which suggests the General Meeting was here trying to pass its responsibilities on to other shoulders. Despite the labours of this committee, it was decided three months later to sell the set for £12.10.0. Of this sum £4.10.0 was voted to the Pavilion Fund, £1.3.0 for plates for the cricket telegraph, £3.12.0 for a cricket bag, and £3.5.0 for gramophone records. The Meeting received more for the set than expected, but the loss of £7.10.0 in fifteen months, and the constant trouble it had given, were a permanent reminder of the value of learning by making mistakes, and the folly of hasty and injudicious expenditure.

A third virtue of the economic scheme is that it provides training in the control and use of money. It must be remembered that Committee's estimates had to be fought through Meetings. The Games Committee's summer term estimates often exceeded £40 in a school of 60 and, on one occasion, reached £54. Debates on these were very educative, and the value of acquiring a balance to help meet heavy summer term expenditure was soon obvious. Further, before a new committee was elected, accounts of the old committee had to be audited and passed. It may be suggested that the handling of such sums as those mentioned put too much strain on a boy's honesty - especially that of the banker. Experience suggests this not to be so, for in twelve years only one was dishonest-(1) and that was a small price to pay for introducing to a school many of the circumstances of real life, especially to adolescents, who had got beyond the stage of make-believe. It must be remembered, too, that a boarding school of 60 children is a very closely-knit community.

Further training in the controlled use of money and introduction to circumstances of real life, - a policy much favoured in some American schools, was provided by the school shop. Three years after self-government had started the Headmaster informed the boys that they could either elect two boys to run the shop or leave it to him. The Meeting decided to elect two shop-keepers, (later increased to three), and immediately made rules limiting the amount which could be purchased at any one time, forbidding credit, or the

(1) Simpson. Sane Schooling. P.102-3.

acceptance of stamps or postal orders. The profits on the first term were 32% and remained steadily around that figure for six years.

Then a difficult and delicate situation arose; but was handled with great dignity. The shop account book had disappeared, or been taken, while in the possession of the Bank Committee, and had been found in A's pocket. Another boy, B, was suspected. The General Meeting met to discuss the situation, the discussion was excellent, and the situation faced with a dignity beyond the member's years. B was completely exonerated, this being acknowledged by his opponents. After a discussion regarding the right course to pursue following the loss of the book, it was decided that there should be no punishment.

A fortnight later another difficulty arose. The shop had been opened by X with the shopmen's permission, while the latter (except Y) were in an examination. X and Y were punished on being charged before the Council, but appealed to the General Meeting. It was maintained that they should be punished because it was an accepted principle of the Meeting that duties could not be delegated. The Headmaster spoke impartially on the principles of the appeal, which was allowed by a large majority on a ballot vote. This case, in addition to its obvious financial implications which were shortly to be revealed, turned on the difficult issue of written and unwritten law.

The termly audit of the shop, held immediately following

the above case, showed a deficiency in cash or stock of £7.0.0. This was on the last day of the Christmas Term, December 19th, and following the Christmas party, a long meeting was held at 11 p.m., and continued the next day before boys went home, so important did the business appear. After much discussion these resolutions were put to the Meeting:-

1. That the shopmen were not guilty of dishonesty.
   This was carried by an overwhelming majority, but there were twelve abstentions, understandably so, since the whole question was concerned not with black and white, but with intermediate shades.
2. That the banker was not guilty of dishonesty.
   This was also carried by an overwhelming majority, but thirteen abstained from voting.
3. That the shopmen were guilty of gross carelessness.
   This was carried by a smaller majority, even though in the proportion of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; there were ten abstainers.

A further proposal that the shopmen should be brought before the Council was not seconded, and after further discussion, it was agreed that three new shopmen should be elected, that they should bring forward suggestions for reform, and that the bank should be checked weekly.

This appears to be an excellent example of the Meeting's ability to handle a difficult matter; it was approached from the viewpoint of putting things right, rather than the desire to apportion blame; it was handled by boys of 12 to 18 with

much greater dignity than is frequently shown in similar circumstances by adults, and it was excellent training in controlling property, and in meeting a real-life situation in which public money was involved.

3. Pupil control of Funds in School B - how money was obtained and spent.

This first school was a special case in that money was provided, if not by public authorities, at any rate by the Governors, as an integral part of a self-government scheme. No similar case has been found, though there are examples of pupils controlling money by other means. This is the case in the secondary modern school previously mentioned. Every penny spent by the Council had to be raised by children and staff. An allocation of about £45 per annum made to the Headmaster by the local Education Authority for games equipment had to be spent by him only; even he could only submit an order through a Divisional Office, with such inevitable delays that cricket material usually arrived at the end of the summer term. Consequently, in order to have sufficient money for the various activities, and to bring reality to the Council's deliberations, various expedients were used.

Some of these devices were primarily the work of the staff, others of the children. Two dances a year were arranged by the staff, the sale of tickets, provision and serving of refreshments, were done by the children. A jumble sale was organised entirely by a children's committee, with

two co-opted members of the staff as advisers - it made a profit of £37.14.6. Twice in one year public performances of plays were given. The main purpose was educational, and the work represented an entirely new development in the school. But the Council was quick to appreciate its money-raising value. The plays were chosen and produced by the staff. This work was done almost entirely in out-of-school time; it involved a very large number of children besides those actually appearing on the stage. Hessian was bought and made into back and side curtains, black-out material was bleached and then dyed, and finally decorated to form a front curtain, - this was mainly the work of a number of girls. An expanded lighting system was arranged by some senior boys. Boys and girls alike helped to make the costumes and scenery; all the tickets were sold by children, who also acted as ushers. In every way the effort was extremely successful. Financially, the first play produced a profit of £26.14.3, the second a balance of £62.3.0.

The following accounts indicate how, during the first year of self-government, money was raised and spent:-

How the Council's Money was raised during the School Year 1/9/46 - 31/8/47.

	£. s. d.
Cash in Hand (funds previously at disposal of Headmaster)	27. 12. 11.
Children's subscriptions of 1d. per week	35. 10. 7.
Dances (two - arranged as described in preceding paragraph)	35. 11. 0.
School Play	26. 14. 3.
Concert Party (produced by friends of the school)	7. 3. 0.
Carried forward	132. 11. 9.

	£. s. d.
Brought forward	132. 11. 9.
Sundry sources (sale of lost property, of football shorts, sports programmes, etc.)	7. 0. 0.
	£139. 11. 9.

The only unusual item in the above account, of which more will be said later, is "Children's subscriptions of 1d. per week". Apart from that, the other methods of raising money are fairly common, to them are various objections which are dealt with later in this chapter. (1)

The way in which the Council spent its income was illuminating - far and away the greatest proportion was spent on sports equipment of various kinds. This was only partly due to children's desire to spend money on articles giving immediate pleasure. Another contributory cause was the lack of sports equipment in a school of, at that time, 350 children, as a result of the war, with its consequent removal of male staff, and difficulties of supply. Moreover, part of the expenditure on games material, while providing immediate pleasure, was also long-term. Adjoining the school field were two hard tennis courts. In bad repair, they were rented by a local club from a Trust Committee which controlled the field. As the club had ceased to exist, the Council rented the courts and bought the assets of the club, which included the pavilion, roller, nets, etc. The pavilion was dismantled and re-erected at school where it became the store for stage

(1) See chapter 5, page 113 ff.

properties. The expenditure on hessian for curtains was long-term, it was not determined by a knowledge that profit would result from the production of plays because, at this time, no dramatic work whatsoever, except in forms, had been done. Further, the subsidising of the Magazine represented expenditure on an exclusively educational project. Appended below is an analysis showing:-

How the Council's Money was spent - 1/9/46 to 31/8/47.

		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Association Football.	4 footballs	9. 5. 10.	
	8 bladders	2. 3. 6.	
	2 sets jerseys	7. 11. 0.	19. 0. 4.
Rugby Football.	2 balls	4. 18. 6.	4. 18. 6.
Badminton.	4 racquets & presses	5. 11. 6.	5. 11. 6.
Tennis.	Pavilion, roller, etc.	15. 0. 0.	
	Wire netting (for repairs)	4. 18. 6.	
	Net	2. 5. 0.	
	1 dozen balls	1. 8. 6.	
	5 racquets & presses	6. 15. 4.	
	Tapes	2. 2. 0.	32. 9. 4.
Cricket.	Reblading bats	5. 13. 4.	
	Pads	1. 8. 6.	
	Balls	4. 15. 0.	
	Bats	4. 0. 0.	15. 16. 10.
Athletics.	Sand	1. 10. 0.	
	Spiked Shoes	3. 13. 0.	5. 3. 0.
Rounders.	6 bats	2. 0. 6.	
	Balls	2. 2. 0.	4. 2. 6.
Stage, etc.	Books & Make-up	2. 10. 0.	
	Electrical Equipment	4. 19. 3.	
	Hessian Curtains	12. 7. 6.	19. 16. 9.
Sundries.	Paint, creosote, nails, staples, locks & keys, roofing felt, brushes, subsidising magazine	23. 0. 0.	23. 0. 0.
			£129. 18. 9.

As pointed out later in the chapter (1), income from the sources mentioned tends to be erratic, with a consequent difficulty in drawing up a sound budget. The next term, the Autumn Term 1947, produced a large income, because a jumble sale was arranged, and another play produced. On August 31st, 1947, there was a balance of £9.13.0, by December 31st, 1947, this had increased to £115.2.4. Early in the Spring Term of 1948 the treasurer presented to the Council a balance sheet for the year 1/1/47 to 31/12/47 as below:-

Income.	£.	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£.	s.	d.
Cash in Hand	29.	0.	11.	Sports Equipment	87.	5.	6.
1d a week contributions	49.	3.	6.	Stage Curtains	12.	7.	6.
Concert, Jan. 1947	7.	3.	0.	Magazine	23.	5.	0.
School Plays, March 1947	26.	14.	3.	Trip to Theatre	1.	18.	0.
School Plays, December 1947	62.	3.	0.	Overcoat repaired	1.	0.	0.
Dances	34.	4.	0.	Stamp Club	1.	5.	0.
Jumble Sale	37.	14.	6.	Christmas Parties	5.	17.	6.
Camp Refunds	9.	14.	0.	Sundries - postage, paint, creosote, plants, flowers, team teas, books	25.	0.	0.
Subscriptions	2.	3.	0.				
Magazine	12.	0.	0.				
Lost Property		11.	6.				
Sundries	2.	9.	2.	Balance	115.	2.	4.
	£273.	0.	10.		£273.	0.	10.

Some of the above items need further description. Camp refunds were refunds to parents who had paid for their children to go for a week's camp. This was entirely arranged by the Headmaster. A balance resulted - amounting to 3/10 per child taken, and some parents asked that this should go towards the Council's funds. The small amount covered by subscriptions was a gift to the Council by a local club which had been allowed,

(1) See chapter 5, page 113 ff.

free of cost, the use of the school football field.

At the beginning of 1948 the Council had a balance of £115.2.4. This has since been steadily reduced because expenditure has exceeded income. From January to the end of April 1948 expenditure totalled £100.5.7; income amounted to £58.2.5, leaving a balance of £63.2.3. The bulk of this expenditure has been on games equipment, out-of-school activities such as the Stamp Club, the Social Club, transport for teams and the School Magazine. It appears likely that the proportion spent on games will decline in future as stocks of material are built up. This was in the mind of the Council when, in January 1948, on passing the balance sheet, it called for an inventory of games material to be taken. This was done by the Games Committee which produced the following list showing separately the amount, and condition, of material supplied by the local Education Authority and bought by the Council.

Statement of Sports Equipment supplied by the local Education Authority.

Article.	New.	Usable.	Unservicable.	Under Repair
Football Cases	2	3		
Football Bladders		5		
Rugby Football Cases	1	1		
Rugby Football Bladders		1	1	
Rugby Football Shirts		15		
Ass.Football Shirts		36		
Batting Pads		3 prs		
Hockey Sticks		22		

Statement of Sports Equipment purchased and owned by the School Council.

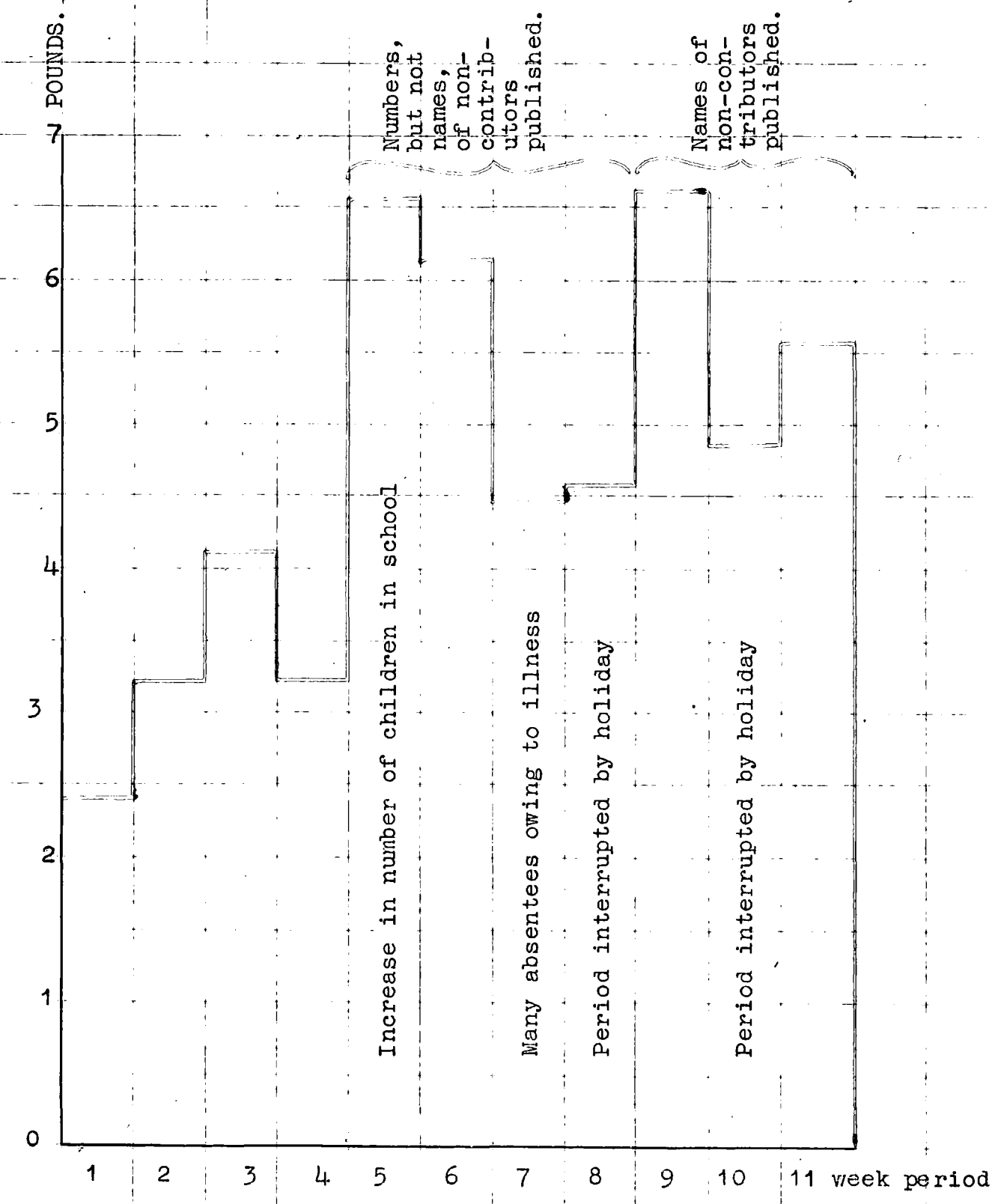
Article.	New.	Usable.	Unservicable.	Under Repair.
Football Cases	2	5	3	2
Football Bladders		6	4	
Rugby Football Cases		4		
Rugby Football Bladders	1	2	1	
Rugby Football Shirts		16		
Assoc.Football Shirts		24		
Cricket Bats		5		
Batting Pads		1 pr		
Cricket Balls, composition		5		
Cricket Balls, leather		4		
Wickets, sets of 6		2		
Rounders Bats		11		
Rounders Balls		1	9	
Football Lacer		1		
Football Inflator, complete		1		
Football Adapter		1		
Hockey Sticks		5		
Hockey Kicking Pads		2 prs		
Hockey Balls		15		
Hockey Goal posts (sets)		1		
Tennis Racquets & Presses		8		1
Tennis Balls		12		
Tennis Nets		2		
Badminton Racquets & Presses		2		2
Baseball Bats		2		
Athletic Shoes		6 prs		
100 ft Tape		1		
Stop Watch		1		
Tennis Court Roller		1		

During its first year the Council raised some £273, of which £158 was spent. The Council alone sanctioned expenditure; each budget was discussed in both Form and Council Meetings before being passed. It is likely that some of the money spent was

wasted, - but the children had been presented with a true real life situation in being given the opportunity to spend the money. Their contribution had not taken the form of work only. Much income was from sources which are criticised later in this chapter, but, in the period January to December 1947, £49.3.6 came from Penny-a-week subscriptions.

Very soon after self-government had started in Form Meetings, it was suggested that, as money would be required, an effort should be made to obtain funds which should be entirely at the disposal of the children. This need, with the recent war experience, gave rise to the scheme whereby each child was asked to contribute 1d per week towards the central fund. It was entirely voluntary, the staff had no connection with it, and the usual method was to collect at each weekly Form Meeting. The Form Treasurer then handed the money over to the Council Treasurer, as he afterwards became known. No record of individual contributions was kept, and no distinction of any kind made at the outset between subscribers and non-subscribers. Graph A, page 107, shows the amount subscribed in each of the eleven four-week periods following the adoption of the scheme. The fifth of such periods coincides with a large increase in subscriptions; there was at this time an increase in the number of children in school; in addition to this the Council decided to publish the number of children in each form who had not subscribed. This decision was reached because it was felt that some children were prepared, as in most communities, to take any benefits arising

GRAPH A to show the amount subscribed in each of the eleven four week periods following the adoption of the Penny a Week Scheme.



from the Council's resources, but were not prepared to make any contribution. It was hoped that, by publishing the numbers in each form who did not contribute, an improvement would result as an element of form competition would be introduced. This improvement occurred - though it was still true that any period interrupted by a holiday showed a smaller total, because children forgot to bring their subscriptions during the first week after the holiday.

Some months later, because it was still felt that there were too many non-contributors, - (see Graph B, page 109), on one occasion, following a fortnight's holiday, they numbered 43%, - the Council decided to publish, weekly, the names of those who did not contribute. Contribution still remained voluntary, but non-contribution was made public. The percentage of non-contributors, as might be expected, dropped immediately, the highest during the ten-week period being 17%, the lowest 2%. It was significant, but not surprising, that the greatest percentage of non-contributors was among first-year children; in one week, before name publication, 54% did not contribute, the highest percentage in the weeks following the publication of names was 28%. Further analysis, perhaps of more importance to students of intelligence levels than to students of self-government, showed that children in the C and D streams of the first year were the greatest offenders, even after the publication of their names the percentage of non-contributors among such children varied between 4% and 39%. Partly because of this the Council has now decided that non-

GRAPH B to show:-

(1) % of non-contributors in school.

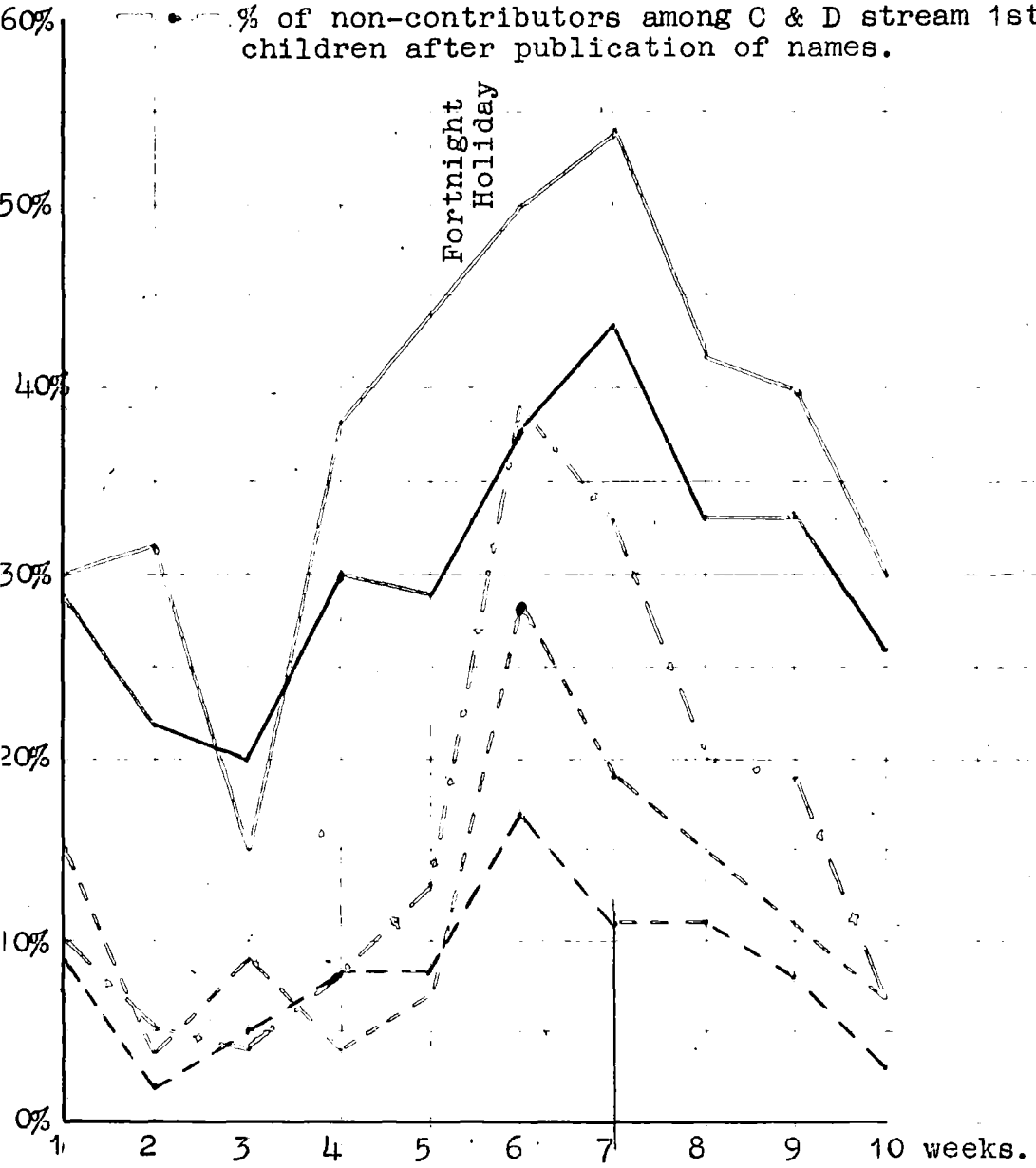
——— for 10 week period before publication of their names

– – – " " " " after " " " "

(2) – · – · % of non-contributors among 1st year children during a 10 week period before publication of their names.

– – – % of non-contributors among 1st year children during a 10 week period after publication of their names.

– – • – – % of non-contributors among C & D stream 1st year children after publication of names.



contributors, in addition to having their names published, shall not be allowed to make use of games equipment in out-of-school time, and has elected four children to see that this ruling is carried out. Although, therefore, subscription is still voluntary, it has now virtually become an "admission fee". As such it is subject to some of the criticisms of admission fees made later in this chapter. Despite this, because it is regular, because it is a contribution to the common object, it is, I believe, the best way of financing the Council's activities I have yet found, short of the provision of money by the public authorities.

4. An experiment in New Zealand.

Pupil control of money has been successfully tried in one New Zealand school, (Fielding Agricultural High School), the funds being obtained from "fees". In this case the Council, (i.e. members of teaching staff, captains of boys and girls in each form, captains of cricket, tennis, swimming, football, hockey, basketball and athletics, house captains and such other officers, not exceeding six, as these elected members may appoint), and the Council only, was authorised to collect subscriptions from the members of the school. This subscription was 5/- per term per member, and the Council allocated such sums as it thought proper to each School Club.(1) In this school the Council only had full control of the raising and spending of money from pupils; it was used for the carrying on of games, library, magazines, etc. Clubs

(1) L.J. Wild. An experiment on Self-government. O.U.P. 1938. P.18.

were responsible for their own expenditure, subject to the Council, which in effect acted as the club's banker.

5. Pupil control of funds in United States schools.

In the United States of America much useful work in training for citizenship has been done by allowing students to assume responsibility for school enterprises involving financial transactions and the spending of considerable sums of money. In Philip's High School, Birmingham, Alabama, the students are responsible for the school store; the school cafeteria and lunch administration is similarly controlled at the Benjamin Franklin High School, New York City; at Norris High School, Tennessee, the pupils control the Schools Co-operative. (1) Further examples of the use of public funds are frequent. At Tappan Junior School, Ann Arbor, Michigan, students pay 60 cents per term for parties, plays and auditorium programmes. The Council and Committee Chairman make up a budget at the beginning of the year for each Committee. Cheques are signed by the business student manager of the Council, the faculty adviser and the Principal, (2) and other schools have similar methods; at Pasadena Junior College, California, for example, the student Council is responsible for spending and accounting for over £8,000 a year in students' funds. (3)

An interesting and valuable learning experience arose out

(1) Examples quoted from Educational Policies Commission. Op. Cit. P.262 ff.
(2) and (3) Educational Policies Commission. Op. Cit. P.253-5.

of student control of public funds at Fieldstone School. (1) In 1938 there was a surplus from student activities of about £900 and the Council decided to buy a spectroscope. It was found that the best came from Germany, but there was a strong anti-German feeling because of the treatment of Jews and the seizure of part of Czschoslovakia. This led to the question of boycotts, a study (in classroom) which inevitably included Japan, so that the mere act of buying a spectroscope turned out to be a valuable learning experience in foreign relations.

Another American school, Tilden High School, New York City, gives further evidence of the ability with which pupils can handle such affairs. This school has a bank handling 8,000 open accounts, 125 students daily take part in its work, in ten years the bank has handled over £70,000 with a total loss of about £6. (2)

Available evidence from the United States of America suggests that methods of financial administration of out-of-school activities, in those schools which have some form of self-government, grew up with the activities, were often loose and unbusinesslike, and "even today extra curricular finances are still far from satisfactory. As a matter of fact, this phase is the weakest part of the extra-curricular programme."(3) In any school there are two main purposes of financial control of out-of-school activities by the pupils. The first is to ensure a wholesome and well balanced programme - and financial control exercised by the supreme body is the most effective way

(1) and (2) Educational Policies Commission. Op.Cit. P.253-5.
(3) McKown. The Student Council, pub McGraw Hill 1944, P.224.

of guiding the development of school activities. The second main purpose is to educate the participants, directly and indirectly. The proper ideals and practice can be developed, and the student receive a practical education he can use as long as he lives.

6. The sources of pupil funds - the admission fee and other methods.

Nearly all schools in the United States, and in this country, which finance a programme of out-of-school activities, obtain their money from various sources. None of these sources are similar to those in the boarding school described at the beginning of this chapter. There is no comparable figure for this country, but in the United States the cost of a programme of activities is five dollars or more per student.(1) This money has to be raised, and in most schools, here or in America, the main financial standby appears to be the admission-fee event. It is the best revenue producer because expense is relatively small and income relatively large, - in the case of the secondary modern school studied, performances of three one-act plays on three successive evenings near the end of the Christmas term 1947, resulted in a profit of just over £62 - the gross takings being £94. The performances were in a hall with a seating capacity of 320, and tickets were sold at 1/6 and 2/- each.

There are, however, objections to the admission fee event. The major justification of any activity must be its educational value, but the profits which can be made from an indoor show

(1) McKown. Op. Cit. P.226.

are such that they may lead to an audience-pleasing policy; the admission-fee event presents a temptation because it may lead to an emphasis on the raising of money, rather than on the educational value of an activity. The educational potentialities of an activity must not be completely capitalised. If there are two objects in producing a performance, the educational and financial, the educational rather than the financial is likely to be relatively neglected. In particular, the financial object is likely to be very attractive to children, - it certainly appeared that they were more interested in a profit of £62 than in the educational value of the production of three one-act plays. "Despite teachers', coaches', and administrators' voluble assertions to the contrary, the average school show is staged mostly for the benefit of the public with an eye to the box office receipts." (1) In the United States this is particularly true of athletics, in which programme more money is involved than in all other extra-curricular activities combined. (2) The desire to make money "accounts for the fact that the average high school play is a low grade farce, staged to tickle students and parents, produce belly-laughs, and bring fee paying crowds." (3) This criticism may not be applicable to British schools in general, but its underlying cause is:- that, if out-of-school activities are financed by admission-fee

(1) McKown. Op. Cit. P.230.
(2) McKown. Op. Cit. P.230.
(3) McKown. Op. Cit. P.233.

events, there will be a tendency for the form of such events to be determined by predominantly financial motives.

Most schools have additional methods to raise money. Some American schools promote circuses - such methods tend to be cheap, undignified, and too disorganising to the schools. Sales of articles and services are common - the most widespread form being the school store. Though such an activity may be educationally valuable to those in charge, the turnover and profit is likely to be small, and some capital is always tied up in goods. Income from special sales is comparatively small. The modern school promoted, in November 1947, a jumble sale; it was agreed that its purpose was primarily to raise money. Many children worked hard collecting and making the articles to be sold; some forty were engaged actively in the few days before the sale in pricing and marking the goods and then in taking charge of the stalls. Very considerable enthusiasm was aroused, there was a strong feeling of co-operation for the benefit of the school community - and a profit of £37.14.6. The enterprise was regarded as highly successful, - but it was, I believe, somewhat undignified, and it could not, in any case, be repeated successfully except after a considerable period.

Income from such sources is therefore erratic. Income from subscriptions is undesirable, - and fortunately comparatively infrequent, - because it puts activities on a charity basis. Further, magazine profits are undesirable - a magazine should have an educational, and not a financial, object. It is worthy of note that the secondary modern school

quoted produced, for four terms, a magazine each term. It was necessary for the Council to subsidise it from its funds at a cost of approximately £12 per year. The Magazine Committee then proposed that the magazine should be published only during the Christmas and Summer terms. The Headmaster and one of the staff representatives joined in the Council discussion, and spoke, and later voted, against the proposal, their argument being that the magazine's object was fundamentally educational. By a large majority the Council voted in favour of two, instead of three, numbers per year. One of the strongest arguments in favour of the motion was that the Council had to pay £4 for each number produced, in addition to the income from sales.

From this, and other instances, I have little doubt that children will be generous in allotting funds for purposes which they themselves enjoy, for example to provide games equipment, but will be far less generous in providing money for purposes which do not give personal pleasure. Staff representatives on a school council can be very valuable in advising against this, and in favour of a more educational point of view, - provided always that only advice is given, and that it can be ignored.

A very common means of raising money, to be spent by pupils on extra-curricular activities, in American schools, is by the sale of activity tickets. This ticket gives admission to all out-of-school events, the price being usually one third to one half of the total amount represented by the

items covered. The ticket usually takes the form of a numbered card, book of coupons, or strip of tickets, which affords the purchaser all the opportunities for which fees are charged. Purchase is voluntary, but those who do not buy pay full prices for any events they attend.

This plan of finance eliminates cheaper methods of raising money, it offers a saving to the student, it allows an accurate budget to be drawn up because approximate income is known, and it makes possible activities which are valuable but have insufficient income. It is a business-like method but illogical, for the only logical method is by grants from public funds. If out-of-school activities are educational, they should be supported in the same way as all other educative opportunities, - by the community.

7. Financial Organisation.

By whatever means money is provided the financial organisation is important. There is no doubt that centralised organisation, whereby all funds are in one account and can be spent only by the supreme body, is the best organisation. It is the practice in many American schools which have a form of self-government, in a number of such schools in this country, and in the case of the two schools minutely examined. In some cases, however, the Headmaster handles all funds, and makes all decisions involving money. This is unwise because it separates financial affairs from other Council activities, - in which case the Council is robbed of reality. In other cases American schools make the commercial department responsible,

subject to the Council, for handling all financial matters. There is much to be said for this, it certainly makes local circumstances and immediate conditions an educative factor.

I do not think it advisable to apply the argument of logic in discussing the question of whether a student or an adult should be treasurer. It is logical to have a student, who would thereby gain valuable experience; moreover, an adult treasurer might carry too much weight. But to have a pupil as treasurer is hardly likely to provide sufficient continuity in this office; he is too immature - and it is likely to prove difficult to bond him. It appears strongly desirable to have an adult as the central treasurer, with students as treasurers of committees or individual bodies. In smaller self-governing schools the Headmaster generally controls all funds - in which case the fundamental factor will be the Headmaster's acceptance of his responsibility to the Council. In larger schools the Headmaster is unlikely to have time, nor is the school secretary A commercial teacher is very suitable, he is a competent technician, can give professional assistance and is a specialist. But any adult must be prepared to act as the servant of the Council. This is easily possible given genuine belief in self-government.

8. Public monies as the source of pupil controlled funds.

In conclusion, it appears fair to say that financial affai appear to be among the less satisfactory aspects of self-government in schools. This is largely due to the methods whi have to be adopted to raise money. If out-of-school activitie

are educational, then they should be supported out of public funds. Public financing would make such activities more dignified and important, it would ensure adequate support for them, and it would improve them because they would need to be only educationally and not financially profitable. It is also essential that the amount of money must have a close relation to the objects upon which the children are free to spend it. The control of the purse has always been fundamental to the growth of democracy in the State, it is the handmaiden of pupil self-government in the school. But with public financial support there must be freedom for pupils, - even to make mistakes - and to profit by their experiences.

CHAPTER 6.

SELF-GOVERNMENT in other BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Section 1.
The machinery of self-government.

Section 2.
The presence of members of the staff.

Section 3.
The right to vote.

Section 4.
The use of veto powers.

Section 5.
Pupil control of funds.

Section 6.
Pupils powers of punishment in self-governing schools.

Section 7.
Types of punishment.

Section 8.
Elections.

Section 9.
The monopolisation of offices.

Section 10.
Public officials and prefects.

Section 11.
Freedom to make mistakes.

Section 12.
Lessons from Curry's experiment.

Section 13.
Results of a recent survey.

CHAPTER 6.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN OTHER BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

1. The Machinery of Self-government.

The two immediately preceding chapters have dealt in some detail with experiments in self-government in two English schools; there is, unfortunately, evidence of work along the same lines in but few schools. The first great difficulty is to distinguish between true and false self-government, between that which is genuine and allows the pupils a voice in determining policy, and that which creates some façade of self-government which merely provides a means of giving the Headmaster more complete control.

In order to gain information and an accurate idea of the extent to which self-government was being tried out, questionnaires were sent out to as many schools, with pupils of secondary school age, as could be traced and which were known, or reputed, to be working along these lines. In all some thirty-five schools were circulated and useful replies were received from twenty-one. (1) Some were day schools, some boarding, some were boys only, some girls only, and some were co-educational. Replies from the latter were thought to be likely to be of particular value in matters of self-government. For in discussions in the School Council or Meeting, each sex has its own particular contribution to make. For both in the making of the actual code of rules under which the school government is carried on, and even more in the

(1) See Appendices 1 and 2 at the end of this chapter.

gradual shaping of opinion and feeling, which is more important than any written rules, it is a great asset to have a two-fold contribution.

The schools which replied to the questionnaires varied in numbers from 60 to 200, with an age-range from 3 to 18 years. (1) The machinery by which self-government worked was naturally varied. In one girls' school of 120 pupils government was by a Senate of ten girls, two prefects being elected by each of four houses, the head girl and one other being added. The next on the list had a similarly elected body - this was a co-educational boarding school. The third had Head-appointed prefects, who held a meeting weekly and then another in consultation with the Headmistress and Vice-Principal "who may decide to act on their recommendations or to refer the matter to a staff meeting." Here the function was advisory not legislative, but the prefects were elected by the pupils. One school of 200, with an age-range of 3 to 18 years, confined self-government to those above ten, an idea which may not be democratic but which personal experience supports. General behaviour, discipline, and administration, were dealt with by an Advisory Council. This was created by the election of four members by the whole Upper School, an elected member from each form in the Upper School, and two elected members from the staff, with three ex-officio members, the Headmaster, Secretary, and Head of the Lower School. The Advisory

(1) Some schools obviously included children below secondary school age, but they are included because the majority of children were over eleven.

Council elected the head boy or girl from the four elected by the whole Upper School, and they took the chair alternatively at meetings. Each week, in school time, the representatives discussed matters with their own forms, explained decisions, and collected items for the agenda for the Council's weekly meeting.

Yet another school, one of the foremost experimental schools in the country, replied to the first question 'one person, one vote, weekly meeting' - the school had 65 pupils, boys and girls, aged 4 to 17 years. A further co-educational school left "government" in the hands of the School Council, including everyone over five, each having one vote. It had a new chairman each term - but a meeting was only held if someone wished to summon it - and can anyone imagine a child of five summoning a meeting? A similar school held a general meeting once a month, the chair being taken by a boy or girl, rules were revised annually. Some rules were made by the Headmaster and could not be interfered with, though they could be discussed and recommendations made. All school societies and organisations reported to the meeting.

In a further school self -government was approached from the point of view that most school rules are a matter of expediency, since the school is responsible to parents for health, academic progress, and general development. Consequently, situations are of two kinds, those which must be solved by school authorities, and those which can be

resolved by children; into which category any situation falls must be decided by the Headmaster. Proceeding from these assumptions the Senior School was divided into ten companies which met frequently to discuss business with one staff member as adviser. Each company elected representatives to the School Council, of which advisers were also members. After business had passed the School Council it went to a General Meeting for discussion, ratification, or rejection, and so the responsibility for passing rules lay with those who had to obey them. Contrast with this the next school on the list which had an Inner Council which had "no executive power beyond the administration of school charities". In one instance the School Council appeared to be little more than a propaganda organisation to secure conformity with the Headmaster's ideas. It was an advisory committee, comprising representatives from every form. It assisted the Head in drawing up rules "and so far as the more important rules are concerned, it exerts its influence on the side of discipline and sane government - Whenever it has been decided that a new movement shall be started, or another phase of the experiment begun, the Council has frequently made contributions of considerable practical value during the preliminary discussions, and has subsequently acted as an excellent medium for getting the scheme understood and accepted by the whole school." The whole of this quotation suggests that the sole purpose of the Council's existence is to win over the remainder of the school to the Headmaster's views - this may possibly make for efficiency

but not for self-government.

There is very great variety in the actual machinery of government, though generally when representation is used it is on a form basis, but the smaller schools have, rather, direct democracy. One school of 160 girls holds weekly meetings of the whole school, when reports from officers are given, and a similar system is used in the forms, and it is believed to result in a general atmosphere of freedom and happiness and absence of self-consciousness. No claim is made that this is self-government but rather that it is government in which staff and girl representatives co-operate. Joint meetings elect prefects, sub-prefects being nominated from lists submitted by forms. At the end of term the staff and prefects interview officers and comment on the execution of their work - adverse comment, I believe, would be less resented if made by equals in a general meeting. If staff and girls take opposing views the matter is postponed for further consideration.

A further claim to self-government is suspected to be false for one school replied that suggestions carried by the girls' infrequent meeting are "submitted to a meeting of the staff for ratification or otherwise." In another school so little faith in the pupils' ability exists that the Headmistress wrote "If control by children breaks down it is at once assumed by the staff." The last school to furnish a helpful reply made the point that any existing regulations exist by general consent of the community, that at first

there were no rules and no systematic organisation, but problems were discussed informally and everyone had a voice. Organisation and procedure gradually developed, but owing to the waste of time on detail at General Meetings, a committee was elected to handle details and do less important business, and General Meetings were only called to vote on new regulations proposed by the committee or to discuss special problems; this had developed and functioned very successfully for four years.

2. The presence of members of the staff.

From the schools circularised it appears to be definitely the custom to have staff members present at General Meetings, this applies both to pseudo, and to real, self-government. (1) In the case of the girls' school first mentioned, the Headmistress is present only when asked to attend, and members of the staff only occasionally when the Senate wishes to discuss particular points with them. A co-educational boarding schoo reported "These members elected by the staff take part in the Council, and vote. The Housemaster and Housemistress are members in virtue of their positions. The Headmaster attends all Council Meetings, but does not vote. He listens to all that is said, and gives information, and makes remarks, as and when necessary." In schools where self-government is genuine the point is stressed, over and over again, that staff members must discuss on equal terms with children, and should have voting power - if the latter is not exercised they are immediately placed in a class apart. One schoolmaster

(1) See Appendices 3-6 at the end of this chapter, giving the Constitutions of various School Councils.

replied to the query about presence of staff "Yes, of course, but with no privileges. A staff can be accused and punished, say, for slacking when the meeting has decreed a compulsory work day, say, for digging spuds."

3. The Right to Vote.

The next point on which information was requested was that of age and the discrimination, if any, made according to age or similar qualification, in determining citizenship. Here considerable variety was revealed, though generally the smaller schools tended to take less account of age differences than the larger - probably because of the greater family feeling in the smaller schools. In the two examples already studied in detail the members of the junior forms are not full citizens and do not vote. (Chapter 4.) In the case of the girls' school previously quoted all girls of nine upwards have a vote, provided also that they have been school members for a whole year. This qualification seems reasonable in so far as the pupils are entering a strange environment and need some little time to get used to their surroundings and responsibilities. In another school pupils of all ages sit on the Council and have equal rights "but it has never happened that a junior member was elected as President or Vice-President, or as a member of the Executive." The next school allowed none under twelve to vote in the General Meeting, and had a second 'safeguard' against younger members' votes by allowing girls in the Senior Sitting Room, i.e. Prefects, to have a double vote. Those

pupils not members of the Meeting were allowed to vote for their own form or sitting-room heads.

Only in few schools was the right to vote allowed to the youngest, and it appears that in such schools that decision was the pupils', while in most schools where younger pupils had no vote that decision, on advice, was the Principal's - evidence is, however, suggestive, rather than conclusive, on this point. My own experiments indicate that children, if given a completely free hand, will allow all children to vote, irrespective of age. In one of the most publicised experimental schools the Headmaster replied "child of four has same vote as Head." In general the evidence points to a dividing line at about ten to twelve years of age, with those younger than this usually having no General Meeting votes (though they may have subsidiary votes, such as for form representatives), and those older than this being full members.

4. The use of veto powers.

One important test of the sincerity of the Headmaster, and of the genuineness of self-government, is his use of the power to veto decisions of the General Meeting. For such power must reside in his hands, he is responsible to parents and to authorities outside the school with whom he is in touch, while the pupils are not. In particular, he has to be careful of the reputation of the school in the outside world, has to be its interpreter and guardian. Sovereignty must, therefore, lie in his hands, the crucial test is whether

he exercises that authority to override the decisions of pupils, or whether he proffers advice but is content to accept any decision, except in extreme cases, even though made contrary to his advice. In general the evidence suggests a striking readiness to accept pupils' decisions and not to use veto powers except in very rare circumstances. One Headmistress replied "I have not found this (use of veto) necessary, but I try to keep closely in touch with the Senate through the Head girl." The Headmaster of a co-educational boarding school replied, "The Headmaster occasionally exercises his power of veto." A third said "Once in a blue moon - i.e. once in about ten years, when an unsuitable choice of prefect has been made." (This alone is a striking testimony to the pupils' ability to choose good prefects.) Another Headmaster answered "He has powers of veto but this has not, I believe, been used in the past 15 years." In yet another case the reply read "Never necessary - but when a lawbreaker is a problem the jury will often hand the case to the Head", - is this the seeking of advice or rather the shifting of responsibility? The writer has used his veto once in three years in his own experiments. Only in one case did the Headmaster appear to consider his power of veto necessary and useful and he "would not hesitate to use it whenever necessary".

5. Pupil control of funds.

One deficiency in almost all schools practising pupil-government is the almost complete lack of pupil-control of

funds of any kind - a discrepancy commented on in the previous chapter. Examination of replies suggests that here is a further most fruitful field for the extension of self-government experiments, especially as, in the few cases where students have some control over money, the comment is generally made that it is "very good training". One Headmaster of a privately controlled school, in which committees in charge of some funds had to report to the Advisory Council, commented, "Financial responsibility is all important in my view, including in, e.g. the boys' workshop - the consequence to the boys tends to be check of extravagance, forethought, business acumen - though the tendency is sometimes to spend on a thing which is only used for a year and then neglected - but normally pretty wise action is taken". In this particular school, a boarding school of 120 boys aged eight to eighteen, considerable funds were controlled by committees. The Games Committee, for example, were responsible for the expenditure of about £380 per annum - it consisted of the Headmaster in the Chair, two or three members of the staff and ten boys. The Reading Room Committee was elected by the whole Senior School on the basis of form representation, the Headmaster was represented by a boy and a member of staff took the Chair. It controlled about £45 per annum as well as being responsible for Reading Room discipline, cleaning, repairs, newspapers, etc There are a few examples of special cases in which, for particular purposes - as for instance when a school paper is sold for cash, or a collection is made to cover the cost of

a party - accounts have to be submitted to an Advisory Council or General Meeting, but the scope of such a scheme is extremely limited, nor does it introduce the merits attaching to regular income and budgeting. In one case financial matters were introduced when a lawbreaker was fined, but for anything special, the meeting passed a general levy paid by all. From investigation the paramount difficulty appears to be a question of the necessary money. Privately controlled schools have made the greatest advance towards pupil-government, but, except in very few cases, school authorities have not yet placed funds at the disposal of pupils. In the case of publicly controlled schools, far fewer tendencies towards self-government are manifest.

6. Pupils powers of punishment in self-governing schools.

One important development of self-government is the question of punishment, and it is no unfair test of the sincerity of the school authorities to enquire whether boys are allowed, by jury, court, or meeting, to deal out punishment to other boys, who may be lawbreakers of community-made laws. Of one of the earliest experiments in self-government in this country it has been said, "It will soon also be found that business is delayed by violations of previous regulations and it will soon be decided to divide judicial business from legislative and the court will be created." (1) In general there is comparatively little evidence of judicial systems at work in schools approaching self-government - the offender

(1) Bazeley. Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth. P.42.

is often dealt with by the staff and prefects, who enforce rules made by the Meeting. This tendency is unfortunate in many respects - it robs pupils of seeing at first hand the results of their actions, and it tends to diminish the feeling that the lawbreaker is an offender against the community. One Headmaster reported that an experiment had been tried of allowing a court to exercise powers of punishment "Some time ago a Court of Justice was established at the request of several Council members, and I agreed to it after discussion. The Court lasted for two terms, and then lapsed because no boys or girls felt it necessary to go to the Court of Justice. This, I think, indicated that they felt they were being justly treated by the staff and by the whole body of prefects." It would, indeed, be unfortunate if the justification for a court were unfair treatment by staff and prefects - the lapse was probably due to the schoolboy attitude towards 'sneaking' which the pupils had not outgrown. In other words, they still regarded authority as alien - had they regarded it as belonging to themselves they would almost certainly not have allowed the Court to die, because they themselves would have dealt with the offender instead of allowing him to be punished by officials deriving authority from a Headmaster.

With the exception of one school described in chapter 4, few schools had a judicial system in which the power of punishment lay in the pupils' hands. One reported that it

was only rarely that the power to punish was necessary, that public opinion, largely controlled by the Advisory Council, was sufficient to deter "criminals". "Punishment in a serious sense is almost unknown here. The rules are sensible, there is much more scope for letting off steam, so there is little crime." Another school had a system whereby a jury elected on the spot determined both the question of guilt and punishment, though the Chairman had the right to refuse to accept a verdict, in which case a new jury was formed. If a jury could not decide then the case was decided by a meeting vote. One or two schools having some form of self-government with a judicial system, made claims which suggested that it was, in effect, a farce. In one case the statement was made that the Council had never yet imposed fines or punishments, or had a trial, as not necessary The children made rules, the staff enforced them, - in which case there seems to be less reason for having a Council at all. Moreover, would the staff enforce rules made by the children which the adults might consider unwise? A further school, in which the Council dealt with disciplinary cases, reported, "In serious cases the Council is quick to recognise if the offence has some deep rooted and difficult psychological cause with which such a body may not be competent to deal." (1)

Another Headmaster wrote to me, "When the Inner Council dealt with the problem of theft, they were alternatively wise and unwise! One year they set the standard by accepting a rea-

(1) Modern School Handbook. P.110.

penalty for failing to show how they had hated dishonesty, and about fifty of us fasted. This was a 'Gandhi' suggestion; it had overwhelming influence for the next twelve months. Then an equal reaction against it set in. Another year they proposed detective methods and third degree interrogation. I find, however, that over the age of fourteen they are most considerate and wise in their attitude to an offender (even though a boy might be privately vindictive in a case which did not come before the community)." This is in contrast with the opinion expressed in a survey of self-government in schools, which reports that detention is fairly common and sometimes courts are set up to deal with petty offences. The feeling about these, however, was said to be that children tend to be too harsh in sentencing each other, and that there should always be a counter-check on the Council's findings. (1) A counter-check is essential, but personal experience supports the opinion previously quoted rather than that of the survey.

One point is emphasised frequently, - the ability of boys to recognise when cases are outside their powers, when the cause is not perceptible. Invariably the case is wisely handed over, usually to the Headmaster. Another Headmaster, who has tried the system for some twenty years, replied "In all the years we have had self-government I have never seen an unfair or cruel verdict." I have found that courts are

(1) Democracy in School Life. Issued under the auspices of the Association for Education in Citizenship; pub. O.U.P. 1948; page 50.

usually created at the wish of the boys themselves, whether for the whole school, for a part of the school, or for a form only. (1)

7. Types of Punishment.

The next question dealt with the form taken by punishment. Here was very great emphasis on two points, that the punishment should be "constructive" (i.e. of benefit to the individual concerned and the community), and, secondly, with rather less agreement, that it should not take the form of corporal punishment. "The object of punishment is the desire to improve --- I have found this power to "make good" most valuable." Another school replied "We have no set punishment and very few punishments. The particular circumstances and the character of the child are taken into account. There is no corporal punishment in the school --- Offenders may be deprived of privileges, or they may be excluded from activities where they have caused a disturbance." In yet another school the only type of punishment inflicted was isolation. Public opinion, largely controlled by the Advisory Council, was sufficient to deter "criminals". Punishment in a serious sense was almost unknown. The general attitude summed up in one reply was "In twenty-five years no one has suggested corporal punishment. If not a cash fine, then work in garden or tidying up grounds." The problem of punishment probably showed a greater similarity of attitude and treatment than any other question asked, but there was one thoughtful

(1) Craddock. The Classroom Republic. P.77.

and experienced defence of corporal punishment. This quotation, (1) taken from a letter in the Times Educational Supplement, is from the Headmaster of a school to which a questionnaire was sent; the constitution of the school is also given at the end of the chapter - appendix 3. "You might be interested in the views of boys who have conducted our experiments to find a suitable system of punishment. These views are the result of six years' extensive practical research, not in a crank school but in an ordinary maintained secondary grammar school of 250 boys, 110 of them being boarders.

The background against which the experiments are conducte is as follows: This community is self-governing and endeavours to live as a Christian democracy. The Headmaster can, by the agreed constitution, impose rules concerning health, finance, or the good name of the school, but otherwise has no authority beyond the right to catch the speaker's eye in debate. He cannot give punishments and does not have that right of veto which removes reality from so many self-governments. I write in particular of the boarding house. A similar but modified system exists for the whole school.

One of our major problems has been to solve the question of punishment. Starting with half the community as unpunishables - i.e. those who will in no circumstances be punished in any way for any offence whatsoever - we reached the stage where the whole community, excluding juniors, was

(1) Extract from a letter in the Times Educational Supplement of May 24th, 1947.

unpunishable. Finally we completed one term with no rules whatsoever.

The behaviour all this time was very good, but at the end of it the Headmaster was asked to suggest an ideal set of rules, and punishments - including corporal punishment - were reintroduced (the Leader of the Opposition spoke in favour of this motion, stating that "the Headmaster has now got more sense and will not introduce all the damn silly footling little rules he would have done two years ago.") The present system is that the senior boys have abolished corporal punishment for themselves in favour of compulsory labour, but the juniors retain corporal punishment. The abolition of corporal punishment has twice been proposed but was turned down by the Small Side themselves on each occasion. At the moment, however, the Chief Justice is having an experimental period of labour for the small boys instead of corporal punishment, since a section of the small boys wish it to be abolished. Thus we have the two systems side by side, and the Cabinet has the power to "transfer from one system to the other any boy who does not appear to be profiting by his present system."

Against this background a motion "that the statement "no reputable educationist would now defend the continued use of corporal punishment in schools" is nonsense" was carried by 82 votes to 4, it being noteworthy that no boy who was present when the experiment with no rules was conducted voted against. The present view of the House was expressed after

long debate as follows:-

"That this House has tried and is still trying to find a better system of punishment, but at present has failed to do so for the Small Side."

I venture no opinion of my own as to whether corporal punishment is a good or bad thing, nor as to its value as a deterrent to wrong-doing. My experience, though brief, has been long enough to stifle any facile generalities. I merely record experimental results, and could record many intimate discussions with the "brutes" who administer and the "degraded ones" who receive it. The fact remains that, starting with strong views in favour of "unpunishability", I now have corporal punishment in my school." (1)

8. Elections.

In any form of self-government the question of election to public offices is all-important. It is essential that office-holders be elected by, and be responsible to, the community. There was found to be considerable difference on this point; in some cases the only office-holders in the school were those elected by their fellows, in others there was a mixture of public office-holders, and officials appointed by the staff, in yet another group all officials were appointed by the Head. The lack of regularity in the systems adopted suggested a vigorous desire to work out a solution, rather than to conform to an accepted pattern.

(1) Extract from a letter in the Times Educational Supplement of May 24th, 1947.

When offices were filled by election it was sometimes election by a representative body, sometimes by the General Meeting. "The School Council elect their President and Vice-President and Secretary and members of the Executive --- I appoint the prefects in consultation with the House Staff and with the Head Boy and Girl." In another case the system was "Prefects are elected by theGeneral Meeting, and other Heads in smaller groups concerned." Another reply stated "Yes, all offices, including games captains, magazine committe fire brigade, etc., are elected by the General Meeting." One school, co-educational from the age of five, made an interesting and important point. All officials were elected except the Head Boy and Girl, Prefects and Games Captains. For eight years these, too, had been elected, but were now appointed because it was felt that they took a more serious view of their responsibility if they derived their authority from the Headmaster. "A boy or girl arrives at a certain stage in development when he or she is ready to feel a greater responsibility for the other children and to identify himself or herself with the management of the school. It was felt that, in so far as it is possible to guage the arrival of this time, the Headmaster was the best person to do it." (1) This introduces a most important question of responsibility which it is proposed to discuss more fully later.

9. The monopolisation of offices.

In so far as officials were elected the question then

(1) Modern Schools Handbook. P.75.

arose as to the extent to which such offices might be monopolised by comparatively few people. While an analysis of a result in one particular school is made in chapter 8, further information was solicited from numerous other schools. The general opinion was that there was an undoubted, but inevitable, tendency towards monopoly, reduced in some cases, as one girls' school pointed out, by the fact that no one person could perform several duties efficiently. Another school reported that while positions of responsibility generally fell to the more Senior boys and girls, they were not unduly monopolised by a few. The next school on the list reported that they tended to become monopolised, "The same efficient willing horses are elected time after time." The same point was made more strongly by the Headmaster who wrote "Yes, children tend to do this deliberately." The determining factor seemed to be the question of efficiency - the efficient pupil found himself in demand as a public servant. "Pretty well - e.g. boy of twelve very efficient crockery officer with power to fine 1d. per article borrowed from the kitchen and not returned" - in a school where the oldest pupils were 17. In a few cases there appeared to be a definite attempt to share offices throughout the school. "We make a very special effort to place responsibility as widely as possible; there are a host of secretaries and committees."

10. Public officials and prefects.

There is an apparent danger in schools where public officials and authority-appointed prefects both exercise control, of a clash between these two groups, a danger, however, which the evidence and my own experience suggests is more apparent than real. It did not occur in the schools already described in detail (chapter 4); schools replying to questionnaires supported this view, partly no doubt because, in some cases, respective spheres of authority were carefully laid down. A girls' School reported that the authority of prefects had, on occasion, been challenged by a General Meeting but that "a discussion has helped to put things right." The next school reported that the Headmaster would deal with such matters, "If the decision of a prefect was objected to, the matter would come before me. There is no need for twenty or thirty people to discuss a small matter when this can easily be dealt with by me". (In passing it may be remarked that this appears to be a rather dangerous attitude, which, extended, might undermine any system of self-government.) The most uncompromising attitude, in the other direction, was expressed by the Headmaster who replied "We all abominate the name of prefect, and no one has ever suggested we have them." As opposed to this was the view "Representatives of the prefects are on the School Council and I have never known the exercise of their duty to be challenged." And yet again the opposite point of view was expressed, "Of course - constantly, they aren't dictators.

Their job is to be good chairmen, good leaders, interpreters of the general wish and servers of what is good in it."

11. Freedom to make mistakes.

Fundamental in any scheme of self-government, as already pointed out, is willingness to allow pupils to make mistakes, to learn by creating and facing situations, even though the results may be unfortunate. On this point there was strong feeling that mistakes should be permitted, so long as the general good of the school were not too gravely prejudiced. "I allow the School Council to make decisions that I think are unwise, provided that I feel that the damage done to the school is not too great, as I want the Council to learn through their mistakes. If I feared grave damage I should veto the decision and if possible give my full reasons for doing so." And again the same point is put - "Yes, but Head and staff might try to prevent wrong decisions being made by pointing out why they were wrong. If voting still went in favour of a wrong decision, the Head would not veto it unless it were prejudicial to the general good of the school. A third Headmaster replied when asked if the Meeting were allowed to make mistakes, "Of course. Yet I can't recall any mistake. Children are very wise." One more reply may be quoted "If a meeting is a permanent body, it must be allowed to do so (i.e. make mistakes or it collapses."

12. Lessons from Curry's experiment.

Curry (1) has recently described an experiment in pupil-

(1) W.B. Curry. Education for Sanity. (Heinemann) 1947 - P.14ff

government which, in many ways, agrees with the results of my own experience and experiments. It developed naturally in a small community, with the Headmaster suspecting that it would lead to too much government, and too much punishment. After the informal start the pupils elected a Headmaster's Advisory Council; the name Advisory was later dropped, and the Council became the rule-making body, with health matters the chief subject reserved by the Headmaster. It was significant that there was no desire to interfere with the time-table - this supports my own experience, both as Assistant and as Headmaster, that dualism in a school, Head and Council, can be accepted without difficulty by children.

Two weaknesses soon showed. The first was that the absence of adults from the Council, - other than the Head, - caused frequent reference back, and consequent delay. This difficulty was solved by giving the staff representatives, and by publishing the Council's agenda in advance so that representatives could consult constituents. This also increased the effectiveness of the Council and its sense that it mattered. Voting never became a question of staff versus pupils. The second weakness was that popularity for unsuitable reasons might cause unsuitable persons to be elected. To solve this it was decided that, while everyone should vote in elections for the Council, there should be a way of limiting the eligibility of candidates for the Council. Only responsible persons could be elected - responsible meant

a member of the staff or a pupil judged to have attained sufficient maturity, sense and influence. Responsible persons were determined by the Council in a meeting which considered every person in the school. These reponsible people became the Council, and the smaller legislative executive body became the Cabinet and met twice a week, while the Council met once a month. While the Cabinet could be over-ruled by the Headmaster's veto, it had never been used; it could also be overridden by a School Meeting.

My experience supports Curry's view that there is less evidence of success with younger people - some reasons for which have been suggested in chapter 4. It is undoubtedly difficult to make younger children understand the idea of representative government, and too much seems to depend on the quality of the few dominant personalities. There is, too, the question of emotional security of young children which partly depends on adults not abdicating too much.

13. Results of a recent survey.

This latter point accords with one of the results of a recent survey, in this country, published under the title Democracy in School Life (1), wherein it is suggested that pupil responsibility must be kept within the limits of the capacity of the age group concerned. In the course of the survey 62 schools, of every secondary type, were visited. Of these 23 had democratically elected Councils whose purposes were variously described as, to draw the pupils into fuller

(1) Democracy in School Life. Issued under the auspices of the Assoc. for Education in Citizenship. Pub. O.U.P. 1948.

participation in running the school; to represent the pupils' interests and present the pupils' point of view; to give ready outlet for new ideas; to give experience of responsible government; to develop the feeling that the whole school forms a co-operative community; and to keep the school informed about what is happening and what is going to happen. As might be expected, methods of election were various, so was the size of the Council, though forty was common. Elections were generally held once a year, but if the form were the basis of representation there was a considerable change in personnel. Sometimes senior forms had more representatives. One school started with no representatives for its first year forms, but now has them, - a contrary development to that described in chapter 4 in my own school. The frequency of meetings varied from weekly to when required. The latter appears to be of little use, regularity of meetings is important if only because unfamiliarity tends to make staff and pupils vote in blocks. Meetings were held both in and out of school time, and many scgools tried to compromise on this question. My own experience suggests they should always be held in school time as they are an educational medium and should be recognised as such. Few schools permitted discussion of curriculum matters; only occasionally was there evidence of preparation of an agenda. Liaison between the school and the Council was covered by various systems of reporting back, a most important point as, without it, the pupils do not feel the Council is acting on their behalf, - and it also stresses the value of

discussion and the give and take of democratic society. Further, Council decisions must be acted on vigorously or reasons given for the delay, otherwise pupils will lose faith with their representatives. In brief, the Council must have responsibility.

The survey also revealed that prefects were common, and occupied a special place in schools where pupil government existed. Their relations with the school community varied enormously; sometimes they were only vested with a part of the Head's authority, the opposite conception was of prefects as the leaders of the school, receiving community recognition as a group of competent members selected from the community to give a lead. Sometimes they were appointed by the Head only, sometimes elected by the whole school. However chosen, the consensus of opinion was that the best prefects were usually appointed, but the more democratic the procedure, the more they valued their position.

This survey, replies to questionnaires, and my personal experiments, confirm one further point. "If democracy is to work well, people must <u>feel</u> its principles and not merely know them intellectually. That is why <u>instruction</u> in citizenship, valuable though it can doubtless be, is not an adequate substitute for <u>experience</u> of citizenship."

This, and the two preceding chapters, have dealt with evidence collected principally in Great Britain. The next chapter will deal with experimental work which has been done

in the United States of America. With all the evidence then available, it is proposed in the concluding section to draw conclusions and to estimate the merits of self-government in secondary schools.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 6.

No. 1. Questionnaire sent to schools.

No. 2. List of schools from which detailed replies to the questionnaire were received.

No. 3. A boys' school of 230 boys, aged eleven to eighteen, of whom 110 are boarders, 120 day boys.

No. 4. Constitution of the boarding house only, of the school whose full school constitution is given as No. 3.

No. 5. A boarding school of 180 boys of secondary school age.

No. 6. A boarding school of 120 boys, aged eight to eighteen.

A constitution of a mixed secondary modern school is quoted in chapter 4.

APPENDIX 1.

Questionnaire sent to schools known or believed to be working on self-government lines.

1. To what extent is self-government operative in your school? What is the total number of pupils? Ages?
2. Can you briefly describe the machinery by which it works?
3. Are members of the staff present at the meetings?
4. Do all pupils have votes or is there discrimination, on account of age, or for any other causes?
5. Is it necessary for the Headmaster to use his powers of veto as a Headmaster?
6. Does the scheme incorporate any financial aspects - e.g. control of any funds by the boys? If so, what do you consider is the effect of this?
7. Does the power of the meeting include ability to inflict punishment on pupils? Is such power exercised by the whole meeting or by a smaller number of older elected boys?
8. What form do such punishments usually take? Is corporal punishment banned? If so, by whom?
9. Are elections to public offices made by the General Meeting? If possible make a list of such offices.
10. Is it found that offices are fairly distributed or do they tend to become monopolised?
11. If you have prefects do you find instances in which a prefect's authority clashes with that of the General Meeting, or is challenged in a General Meeting?

12. Is the Meeting allowed to make decisions though such decisions may be a mistake?

13. Is there any evidence that the system tends to produce leaders who could not otherwise attain positions of responsibility in the school life?

14. What evidence is there, if any, that self-government in school can produce qualities of leadership, etc., which will be carried into adult life beyond the school? If possible please give examples.

APPENDIX 2.

List of schools from which replies to the questionnaire (Appendix 1) were received.

1. Abbotsholme School, Derbyshire.
2. Badminton School, Bristol.
3. Beacon Hill School, Surrey.
4. Bedales School, Hampshire.
5. Bembridge School, Isle of Wight.
6. Bishop Wordsworth's School, Wiltshire.
7. Bryanston School, Dorset.
8. Dartington Hall School, Devon.
9. Dauntsey's School, Wiltshire.
10. Farmhouse School, Bucks.
11. Frensham Heights School, Surrey.
12. Home Office Approved School, Aycliffe.
13. King Alfred's School, Hampstead.
14. Leighton Park School, Reading.
15. Maltman's Green School, Essex.
16. Queen Elizabeth Grammar School for Girls, Barnet.
17. Queen Elizabeth School, Crediton, Devon.
18. Rendcomb College, Cirencester.
19. St. Christopher's School, Letchworth.
20. St. Trennion's School for Girls, Edinburgh.
21. Summerhill School, Suffolk.

APPENDIX 3.

SCHOOL CONSTITUTION, DECEMBER 1946.

1. School Meetings. School Meetings shall be voluntary. In any term those members who have attended not less than 60% of the meetings in the previous term may vote. Persons who have failed to attend 60% of meetings of the previous term are allowed to vote at the Chairman's discretion. School meetings cannot alter the Headmaster's rules for behaviour inside school, they may only suggest alterations, but they can make rules governing behaviour outside the school gates. All rules made during school meetings shall be binding. Notice and agenda of School Meetings shall be posted at least two days before the Meeting. Alterations and additions to the constitution shall be made only at a school meeting and shall require a majority of two thirds of those present and voting. The exact wording of any additions and alterations shall be posted at least two days previously to the meeting. The chairman is elected each term. Any individual being voted on shall withdraw.

2. Prefects. The school is the only body which can elect and remove prefects. Prefects can only be removed from office by adverse motions at two Meetings, at an interval of not less than seven, or more than twenty-eight days. There must be a two thirds majority of those voting in favour of removal. From these prefects, school prefects are elected by the staff. They are appointed to maintain discipline and to carry out such duties as may be determined at time to time, by the staff or school.

3. School Officers. They are appointed by a joint meeting of the staff and prefects. Principal school officers wear the insignia and have the status of prefects. They have the authority in the execution of their duties.

4. Representatives.

(a) Election. A representative may not necessarily be a member of the form he represents. He may only represent one form. The representatives have the power to co-opt any number of members. The representative body is made up of:-

Headmaster,

Head Boy,

3 members of the Staff,

3 members from the Sixth Form,

2 members from the Upper Fifth,

2 members from the Remove,

2 members from each Lower Fifth,

2 members from the Fourth Form,

3 members from the combined Second and Third Forms.

All elections shall be conducted on one day, at one hour, in the first week of term. Responsible persons appointed by the previous representatives shall be returning officers. A representative may be changed by his form at any time.

(b) General. A chairman and secretary are elected by the representatives from themselves. The period of office for a representative shall be one term.

APPENDIX 4.

1. All resident members of the Boarding House are members of the Democracy.
2. The self-government shall embrace as wide a field as possible, the customary rule by adults being replaced as far as possible by the Principle of Responsibility and the Principle of the expert.
3. Certain rules concerning health, finance and the good name of the School may be imposed by the Headmaster, and a list shall be posted of all such rules which are not accepted by the Democracy under the principles of Article 2.
4. The ultimate authority in all matters is the Democracy. No member may have a vote unless he has attended three meetings in the previous term. Cases of hardship to be judged at the discretion of the Speaker. Members of the Old Democrats' Society may have a vote. Sick boys may have a vote on issues of importance as and when arranged by the Speaker. The Speaker has a casting vote only. The Democracy elects the President, the Vice-president, the Chief Justice, the Leader of the Opposition, the Speaker, the Upper House, the Penal Code Committee, and a number of members from whom the President, with the assistance of the Vice-president, picks the Cabinet, all annually.
5. Democracy meetings may be called by the Speaker, or by any five members giving notice in writing to the Speaker. The exact wording of motions affecting the Constitution

must be posted for three days. Motions of thanks, regret (not implying censure), and adjournment require no notice, unless ten or more members (voting) object, otherwise the substance of motions must be posted for three days. Similarly, any amendments which are added to the motion within the first two days, may be voted on. Members who have given the Speaker three days' notice of a question are entitled to an answer.

6. The President shall decide any matters which, in his opinion, have to be decided at once. The President's decision shall be immediately obeyed, and shall stand until reversed by the Democracy or Upper House. The President shall not give any punishments. The President shall preside at Cabinet Meetings.

7. The Speaker calls and conducts meetings of the Democracy in accordance with the Constitutional Practice of this Democracy. On points not covered by our Constitution or practice he will endeavour to ascertain the customary constitutional practice.

8. The Chief Justice administers the Penal Code, and may award punishments for offences not covered by the Penal Code. He presides at trials and sentences offenders, but he has no vote in the verdict. He may replace by Resident Masters, or suitable persons not objected to by any counsel, any members of the Judicial Body, who are objected to by any counsel. He is a consultative member of the Cabinet, but has no vote.

9. The Cabinet is responsible for all discipline, the supervision of all departments and for the determination of policy. It consists of the President, the Vice-president, all ministers, and the three consultative members who have no vote - the Chief Justice, and the Chief Citizen and the Chief Citizen's wife.

10. The Judicial Body hears appeals against punishments given under the Penal Code and conducts trials on other matters. It interprets the Laws of the Democracy but does not make them. It consists of five members elected by the Democracy. In the event of any member of the Judicial Body being objected to by any counsel, the Chief Justice may, if he thinks fit, replace them by resident masters, or by suitable persons not objected to by any counsel. If the Chief Citizen is not present at a trial to look after the legal points and interests of the accused, a reliable and intelligent member of the Democracy shall be appointed to represent him.

11. One Public Prosecutor and three Public Defenders shall be elected by the Democracy. They must accept briefs when requested.

12. The Chief Citizen has the right to catch the Speaker's eye during debate when he wishes. He decides whether trials are to be held in camera. He may intervene in trials to explain a legal point, or point in favour of the accused, but may neither prosecute nor defend. He is also a member of the Cabinet without having a vote. Similarly for the Chief Citizen's wife.

13. The Penal Code is a matter between the ordinary members of the Democracy and the Chief Justice. It represents those maximum punishments which the Democracy will accept from the Chief Justice without calling the Judicial Body. It is drawn up by a Committee elected by the Democracy.

14. Appeals may be made against punishments awarded under the Penal Code. They shall be made to the Chief Justice and once made, they must be heard by the Judicial Body, whose decisions are not bound by the Penal Code.

15. Members and others holding position of authority recommend punishments to the Chief Justice.

16. An Upper House shall be elected annually, consisting of the Chief Citizen, the Chief Citizen's wife, ten members of the Cabinet, and fifteen people elected by the Democracy, presided over by the Speaker. The Upper House shall have the power to reverse or amend decisions of the Cabinet and the President without notice being given.

17. Certain grades are adopted as an important means of encouraging a high standard of personal conduct.

18. Alterations and additions to the Constitution can only be made at Democracy meetings and shall require a majority of two thirds of those present and voting.

19. A right of reprieve shall be vested in a Committee consisting of the Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition and the Chief Citizen, sitting together.

APPENDIX 5.

REVISED CONSTITUTION.

Preamble.

The object of the School Council is to provide an opportunity for people to put forward and discuss any points relating to the school, and to further in all ways the welfare of all whom it may concern.

Article 1. (Official Status.)

That the Council shall be advisory in that final decisions shall rest with the Headmaster, but executive in that steps resulting from accepted proposals shall be taken by the Council or its representative officers.

Article 2. (Membership.)

Section One. That members shall include the Headmaster, housemaster, housemistress, three staff members, the head boy, the head girl, all the prefects, twelve members from blocks VI, V and IV (at least three of which must come from block IV) and six junior members divided equally among the lower blocks.

Section Two. (a) That those of less than one term's standing shall not be eligible for candidature or have the right to vote.

(b) That the members for blocks VI, V and IV shall be elected by all the members of those blocks. That the junior members be elected by their blocks.

(c) That such elections be by secret ballot.

(d) That no member of less than one year's standing in the school shall have the power to vote in meetings, excepting the headmaster, housemaster, housemistress, head boy and head girl.

Section Three. That the staff members be elected by the Staff.

Section Four.

(a) That such elections of senior members shall take place annually.

(b) That election of the junior members shall take place every term.

(c) That such elections be sponsored by the retiring official, or in their absence by the head boy or head girl.

Article 3. (Presidency).

That the President of the Council be elected every term, and that he automatically become chairman of the executive committee.

Article 4. (Executive Machinery).

(a) That the action of the Council be effected through an executive committee.

(b) That this committee include: Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and three ordinary members.

(c) That these be elected at the first meeting of each term of the Council, by secret ballot.

Article 5. (Procedure).

That the Council be presided over by the President and the Executive. That a quorum of the School Council shall consist of half, plus one, of the total members for that term, including at least half, plus one, of the executive.

That a vote may be taken over any point at the President's discretion.

That the agenda shall be put up on the day board a week before the meeting and taken down two days before the meeting, during which two days it be shown to the headmaster and considered by the Executive, who will have power to refer points to other bodies, subject to the approval of the proposer, arrange points in order for discussion, and gather suggestions for their discussion.

Article 6. (Reporting Back.)

That provision be made for each form to meet with their form staff and form prefect before and after each Council Meeting; that the form prefect or other member of the Council shall be able to bring up points for their form.

Article 7. (Visitors.)

Section One. That non members of the Council be allowed to attend if they have proposals to put forward, on the following conditions:-

(a) That they may speak and vote only in connection with their own point.

(b) A proposal may only be put forward by one person.

Section Two. That non members of the Council having no proposals to put forward be allowed to attend on the following conditions:-

(a) That they must have attended no previous session of the Council that term.

(b) That they may neither speak nor vote.

(c) That all visitors must receive permission to attend from the President and the Staff whose class they propose to miss.

Article 8. (Times of Session.)

That provision shall be made for the Council to meet at least once a fortnight. Meetings to be called and cancelled at the President's discretion in conjunction with the executive committee and the headmaster.

That any extension to a session required be held within a week.

Article 9. (Record.)

(a) That a file be kept for reference containing all the proposals carried.

(b) That these be signed by the headmaster and the president.

(c) That they be entrusted to the secretary.

Article 10. (Amendments.)

That amendments to this constitution take effect when introduced by the Executive Committee and ratified by a two thirds majority.

APPENDIX 6.

Constitution of the School Council.

1. The Council shall be composed as follows:-

   The Headmaster,

   1 member of the staff as Chairman,

   The Senior Prefect,

   2 representatives of the staff,

   1 representative of the Prefects and:

   Forms:

   Forms numbering 16 and over, and the Sixth Forms, shall return two representatives.

   Forms numbering 15 or less shall have one representative.

2. The Headmaster shall nominate 2 members of the staff, one of whom shall be chosen by the Council to be Chairman. The Chairman shall be subject to re-election at the beginning of every school year; in the event of the Chairman resigning or of the Council failing to re-elect him, the Headmaster should be asked to nominate two other members of the staff for election.

3. The representatives shall be appointed at the beginning of each school year. A form may alter its representation once a term. No substitute for a representative may attend the School Council, except in a case of a prolonged absence, in which case a temporary member may be elected.

4. Alterations in the Constitution can be made only by a School Meeting. Any alteration in the Constitution must be preceded by a week's clear notice.

5. Any subject which concerns the welfare of the school may be dealt with by the Council.

6. The Minutes of the Council shall be freely accessible on application to the Secretary by any member of the school.

CHAPTER 7.

SCHOOL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

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Soviet Russia.

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A study of school self-government at Fielding Agricultural High School, New Zealand.

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CHAPTER 7.

School Self-government in other countries.

1. Soviet Russia.

The last twenty-five years has seen considerable progress in educational method in Europe and America, in the latter indeed the development is somewhat older. In the former the dominant reason appears, in at least one case, to be political, and despite laudatory accounts, the suspicion remains that the main purpose in Russia is propagandist, to maintain one political system. "In government the school is a miniature reproduction of the State. It is a network of Soviets and Committees elected or appointed by groups or forms, with a Central Executive responsible to the General Assembly. Two things struck me particularly in this self-government system which I found in every school I visited (1928). One is that every child is drawn into some position of responsibility, and that it was not only the older ones who were members of the committees. There were various devices for this, but the most common was that the group unit was divided up into sections, each of which acted as a committee for some purpose (e.g. sanitary, sport, library, etc.) for a limited period and then interchanged with the others. Each of these had a respresentative on the form or Group Soviet."(1) The second remarkable feature was the very real responsibility which rested on the children - even including nomination, without which entrance to the University was impossible.

(1) New Era. Vol. 9. P.24.

A second observer reports that in the U.S.S,R. "Self-government means that the children learn to arrange their school life and their work according to the interests of the community. They choose their representatives who form a school committee which directs life in the school for a certain period. This school committee carries out its work under the leadership of the head and other teachers of the school."(1) Yet a third pays tribute to the remarkable extent to which the Soviet student is trained to participate in the running of affairs. This starts in school and they have clung to slef-government and their committees "unlike the artificial parliaments of some of our schools," for the class elects its own leader and its own committee and the whole school also has its elected committee to deal with school affairs." (2) Behind this activity, however, appears to lurk a political motive, and the new standard which judges right and wrong by the test of service or disservice to the community, means a different motive and aim in life from those current in our type of society.

2. An experiment in Budapest.

Another isolated experiment is to be found in Madame Martha Nemes Home School at Budapest, (3) where a scheme for self-government for children between six and ten years is organised. Children between six and eight are passive, those

(1) New Era. Vol. 15. P.101.

(2) V. Ogilvie in New Era. Vol. 18. pp.169-73.

(3) Rawson (Ed.) A New World in the Making. P.33.

between eight and ten are active members, for it has been found that children below eight obey authority rather than law, they are not yet really social beings and so do not easily fit in with the self-governing organisation of the school. Activity is of three forms, legislative, which is especially valuable for the boys in whom the conflict between force and the idea of justice has begun; the maintenance of order, in which penalties are decided upon only with the teachers' advice; and practical service. In the latter the most desired tasks have been found to be those with a chance of issuing commands.

3. A study of school self-government at Fielding Agricultural High School, New Zealand.

With the peculiar English genius for working models rather than fine theoretical constructions, it is only to be expected that school self-government has appeared in English-speaking communities of mainly British descent. New Zealand, Australia, and the United States of America provide examples, the latter being very valuable on account of the extent to which school participation, the American phrase, has spread and developed. Of one New Zealand experiment, at the Fielding Agricultural High School, a detailed account has been given. (1) At the start there were 119 pupils, 67 boys and 52 girls, the total later increasing to 300. No rules were made, no prefects appointed, and forms were then invited to arrange

(1) L.J. Wild. An Experiment in Self-government. O.U.P. 1938.

their own affairs and were given one period a week for form meetings, the Headmaster being present, first as Chairman and later on only as an adviser on procedure. Officers, as required, were elected, the need for organisation first becoming obvious in games and their necessary finance, and first taking shape in a committee of staff, form officers and games captains, the form officers being elected by the pupils. Teachers could vote and speak in form meetings, but as pupils appeared too willing to accept teachers' opinions, they either refrained from expressing them, or arranged to speak on opposite sides. This represents one great difficulty, for in any such scheme the teacher has to find a middle way between doing too little and so failing to give guidance, and doing too much and so discouraging other opinions.

Soon the Sports Committee developed into the School Council and consisted of staff, form captains, house captains, and captains of all sports clubs, its general function being to control all public business of the school, the staff, in early days, taking considerable leadership in drafting out rules. As there were no disciplinary rules each incident was dealt with on its merits and the School Council, by going into Committee, became the School Court, and so dealt with its first cases - of disturbing the peace while a Council Meeting was in progress. A committee then proposed various other modes of procedure which also proved cumbersome, but ultimately a judicial committee was formed of house captains, boys for boys and girls for girls. The Council then became

only a Court of Appeal.

The need for a constitution was early discovered for if there is to be a representative assembly - and in larger schools direct democracy is not possible - there must be some agreement as to what groups are to be represented and to what extent. In this connection it is better for the constitution to grow out of custom and precedent. A Drafting Committee suggested the following proposals be put to the whole school:-

1. That a School Council be constituted to
   (a) control the finance and public business of the school generally,
   (b) to exercise general supervision over all sports, literary and social clubs,
   (c) to promote the interests of the school generally.
2. That the Council comprise the following:-
   (a) the members of the teaching staff,
   (b) captains of boys and of girls in each form,
   (c) captains of cricket, tennis, swimming, football, hockey, basketball and athletics,
   (d) house captains and such other officers, e.g. librarian, not exceeding six in all, as these elected members may appoint.
3. That the Council appoint from its members such executive officers, and form such regulations for the efficient discharge of its functions, as it may deem expedient.

4. That it be a recommendation to forms that form officers be appointed for a half term period.

Within this elastic and comprehensive setting the constitution soon became a matter of precedent and custom, needing only occasional revision. So well did it work in practice that it was finally codified after 11 years, the Headmaster reserving only "as the prerogative of my office, the right of veto, at my discretion, of any elections, appointments, resolutions or procedure of the school or council as in my judgment are deemed to be harmful to the interests of the school." (1) The objects of the Council were the same as before, but the members representative of the whole school increased in number as opposed to the representatives of particular groups - a point to be discussed more fully later. (2) Other rules made at the same time included the Council's right to inspect accounts, a decision that boys only should vote in matters which affected boys only, girls similarly, the decision as to whom matters affect being left to the Council. Provision was also made for amendments to the constitution. Other rules provided for the summoning of Council Meetings, decided the question of a quorum, that forms might have "reporters" at meetings, dealt with subscriptions, reports, etc., and laid down the duties of officers - secretary, treasurer, recorders (magazine editors) common room officers (responsible for tidiness), librarian,

(1) Wild. Op. cit. P.21.

(2) See chapter 8, page 195ff and also chapter 7, page 156.

and the awarding offatigues. "Form captains and house captains are authorised to give fatigue and any other member of the Council is authorised to give fatigue only when the transgression concerns his or her position on the Council." (1)

In order to give greater dignity and to stress the importance of the occasion, writs were issued, along the lines of parliamentary procedure, for the election of Council members and for the election of the chairman. "Looking back on the roll of past presidents of the Council, now numbering 18, I recall only one election that I was disposed at the time to veto, and regretted after that I did not veto; and there is only one pupil in the whole list who has not made some mark in the particular sphere into which he or she has entered," (2) - a striking testimony to the wisdom of the pupil electors.

In this school self-government was not confined to out-of-school activities, for the Council sometimes enquired into the work and progress of various forms. In one case a pupil committee reported that the cause of certain trouble was that "the well disposed members have been content to regulate their own conduct, without definitely trying to assist their leaders" - a criticism showing very considerable insight. After making suggestions for improvement, including a period during which the form was to be put on "its honour", at the

(1) Wild. Op. Cit. P.25.

(2) Wild. Op. Cit. P.27.

end of which period another report should be submitted, it was added that if there were a further adverse report, the form should be deprived of self-government, and be under the direct control of the staff and any prefects who might be appointed by the Headmaster. The appreciation of self-government is here again obvious, since its abolition was the greatest punishment that could be suggested for a form - an appreciation often indicated by an extremely strong sense of community spirit and belief in self-government. When, later, the question of form government arose, mainly round an apparent lack of self-reliance, pupil committees were once more appointed. In accepting this course of action several useful purposes were served, for the Council took responsibility for the welfare of the school, committees were trained to make an enquiry and report, and forms were brought face to face with their own shortcomings.

In this school self-government was not confined to legislative and executive, but also included judicial functions. This question, in principle, is to be discussed later; (1) in this particular case a system was early evolved of submitting matters of conduct, discipline, etc., to a committee of house and form captains. It showed great attention to its work in conducting general enquiries especially, and, pupils being members, it had access to information not normally available to the staff. In addition, it was felt that being children they were better able to assess the importance of circumstances

(1) See chapter 8 page 223 ff.

not directly related to the case. It was observed that there appeared to be general unwillingness to convict a person of an offence, if he persisted in pleading innocence, despite strong circumstantial evidence. This appears to have been due to confidence in one anothers' truthfulness, perhaps to a belief that this was preferable, even if one were occasionally betrayed, to living in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust.

4. Questions arising from this experiment - sectional interests, sex discrimination.

This account by Wild is valuable largely because of its detail; it further provides evidence with which my own experience agrees, and finally it raises important questions of principle, as, for example, the representation of interests rather than the community, which are discussed in the next chapter. It is clear that, in this experiment, the beginnings of self-government were informal and that they grew out of felt need. This latter is important, for it provides the best conditions to start school self-government. The Headmaster helped to promote this need by having an almost complete lack of rules; some such method can almost always be adopted as a better alternative than the creation of self-government machinery from above.

It is clear, too, that the presence of teachers in form meetings leads to a tendency to accept their opinion. This is a very real danger, made even greater if the teachers concerned are believers in efficiency at all costs. For

such teachers will dominate the form meetings, whose decisions will not then be reached in a democratic manner even though the method may appear democratic. It cannot be too strongly stressed that school self-government can be made or ruined most easily by the staff who provide or destroy the necessary conditions for its growth. My own experience supports that of Wild very strongly.

A further point to be discussed in more detail in chapter 8 (1) is also fundamental. For the Council in the school described consisted of the staff, form captains, house captains and captains of sports clubs. These members were really representatives of interests, not of the community. The football captain would represent the football interest, not the community at large. In course of time this weakness was recognised, though not wholly eliminated, for representatives of the community increased in number while those of particular interests diminished. Moreover, there was considerable overloading by staff representatives, for all members of the staff were Council members, and as there were 300 children in the school one may assume not less than ten teachers - certainly a large number to be Council members. In the case of the school of which I am Headmaster, there are 450 children and 19 teachers, - two of whom are elected by the staff as their Council representatives in the same way as each form elects two representatives. This system is more likely to ensure there is no staff domination of the Council.

Two further points in the experiment need comment. The

(1) See also chapter 7 page 152 and chapter 8 page 195 ff.

first is the growth of the Court for dealing with lawbreakers, this later developed into a judicial committee of house captains. This point will also be discussed in more detail in chapter 8, but it illustrates that in any self-governing school a decision will have to be made on this important subject. For if a community makes laws it will inevitably find a number of lawbreakers; will the community be empowered to deal with them or will they be left to the Headmaster and staff? Finally, in Wild's school, only boys voted in matters concerning boys, girls in matters concerning girls. I believe, both on grounds of theory and personal experience, this to be wrong. It is in reality an extension of the idea of representing interests rather than representing the community. It brings in its train many practical difficulties; there is a possible clash of boys against girls on some important issue; it encourages sectional rather than community interests; it is not found in the adult world and is therefore artificial and does not accord with real life. Moreover, in any mixed school, there are bound to be numerous questions which cannot be said to appertain particularly to either sex. Further light on these points will be thrown by a study of experiments in other countries.

5. The growth of school self-government in North America.

In the United States of America self-government in schools, or student participation as American educationalists prefer to call it, is older. Dr. Bronson made experiments in New York schools shortly before 1900; failures were many

but were attributed to the fact that the councils were planned by enthusiastic principals and teachers, and were not the outgrowth of felt needs of the pupils - this point is still very true. In this century there has been a consistent increase in student participation for pupils of secondary school age range, so much so that more than 50% of secondary school student councils date from about 1925. (1) It is also estimated (1944) that rather more than 50% of American secondary schools and colleges have some form of student participation. (2) Some circumstances not operative elsewhere have contributed to this steady growth. It has been due to successful example; to the establishment of a virile democratic idea for preparing more directly for active citizenship; the formation of local, state, and national organisations largely inspired by Welling and Ringdahl; the development of out-of-school activities; and the growth, after about 1910, of the traditionless junior high school. It is not perhaps, too much to hope that the secondary modern school, as created by the Education Act of 1944, with few or no traditions to bind it, will similarly take the lead by experiments in educational content and method.

6. Types of representative assembly in America - representation of special interests.

Self-government in American schools reveals an intense complexity of pattern and form, not unexpectedly, for there can be no blue print, and no two organisations are exactly alike because no two school settings are exactly similar.

(1) McKown. The Student Council. McGraw Hill. New York 1944.P.14
(2) McKown. Op. cit. P.15.

A representative assembly - usually called a Student Council - is very common, as, owing to the size of many American schools, direct democracy as used in some English schools is impossible. These representative assemblies - or Councils - may be classified, broadly, on three bases, by source of membership, by the degree of responsibility assigned and accepted, and by their general structure or organisation.

The first group - the type of assembly according to the source of membership - shows the representation of special interests. It is an old form, the representatives being elected from particular organisations in the school. It has the logical support that if the Council is to supervise activities, these should have the right to elect members of the group which is to control them. To some extent it is, too, a natural outgrowth of the group, but, on the other hand, this method of representation has objections. The Council member is elected as the representative of a group, it is accordingly very possible that his main interest may be that of his group rather than the school as a whole - there is much to be said for the point that, in the eyes of the electing group, the best representative is the one who gets most. Another objection is that some activities may not be represented owing to the smallness of their total numbers - and the value of an activity cannot be measured by the number of students taking part in it. Further, students who are not members of some organisation may not be represented

at all, or if they are by members-at-large, these are likely to have little standing. Logically too, a student belonging to several organisations is represented several times. Fundamentally, in this plan democratic ideals and standards are limited, the emphasis is not upon a programme for a school but on specialised parts, not upon giving but upon getting, not on co-operation but on competition between organisations for Council patronage. Probably the only setting in which representation of specialised groups is justifiable is in the small school where representatives are elected from and by classes. For a class is more democratic than any specialised activity, and in a small school general school interests loom larger than class interests.

7. Automatic representation based on office holding and citizenship records.

Automatic representation on the representative assembly in American schools is of two forms, either on the basis of office already held, and/or citizenship records. In the first case officers automatically become members of the Council. It has the advantage of providing an assembly of recognised leaders and of ensuring close co-operation between groups. But a very serious drawback is that it gives too much responsibility to too few students, it therefore limits the number of participation opportunities, it does not capitalise the abilities of non-office holding students, it is illogical, and it is likely that only one side of a question would be presented to the basic group. It is, however, a

system fairly widely used in smaller American schools. In the second method records of high academic work or citizenship carry membership of the Council. "To be eligible for a Senior Office, the candidate must be in the upper third of the class scholastically. Also, he or she, may not have a ten point activity and must have the approval of the senior counsellors, the senior sponsor (staff) and the principal." (1) In favour of scholastic qualifications there is little to be said, academic is not the only form of intelligence, and the Council is an organisation for service, not for honour. If Council members are only those with good citizenship records it does not allow for recent additions who have had no opportunity to establish a record, it is also undemocratic because it takes from students their choice of representatives. The question of qualifications for membership will be discussed a little later. (2)

8. "Representation" by appointed officers.

There are other possible sources of Council membership. Representation by members appointed by the Headmaster or staff violates all principles of representative government. Yet in 1940 of 1801 schools replying to a questionnaire, 120 had faculty appointed officers. (3) It cannot be too strongly urged that representation is based on elected, not appointed, officers. The only sound basis is representation by

(1) Extract from Central High Register of Central High School, Omaha, Oct3rd, 1947.

(2) See chapter 7 page 167 ff and page 178 ff.

(3) Kelley. Student Co-operation. Pub.Nat.Self-government Committee Inc. New York 1941. P.9.

unspecialised units of the school, by representatives elected from classes or the school at large. This provides representation for every student, it interests every student and makes him feel individual responsibility, it represents all activities, provides opportunities for all to vote and hold office, is simple and easy to understand. This lesson from American is equally true of English schools.

9. Classification according to powers - the informal discussion group.

Student participation in America may also be classified on the basis of what the representative assemblies are allowed to do, or the direction and extent of their authority. Here is great variety, from mere discussion to complete control of student activities; some Councils are informal in nature, and are, in effect, only a group called together by the Headmaster to discuss some problem. He may tell the group to tackle that particular job. But the group is not in reality organised, it has little authority, few powers, no policy; it is responsible only to the principal; it offers few and limited educational opportunities; in no way does it represent democratic practices or ideals. Some such group, called together by the Headmaster to get the students' point of view, is in no way a representative assembly, but it may be a useful method of making a beginning in self-government.

10. Responsibility for particular activities.

Another method adopted in some American schools is to make a group responsible for a particular activity. There

may possibly be several such groups, but they are not by any means Councils or representative assemblies, they are in fact activity committees. There are the advantages of definite assignment of duties and the consequent capitalisation of special student aptitudes, but the lack of co-ordination will inevitably lead to inter-committee conflicts, and duplication, and a poorly balanced programme will result. To provide experience, and to encourage the growth of self-confidence and of preparedness to face responsibility, this method is useful, for it shows the possibilities of self-government, to which it should develop.

11. The Council as a central body representing the whole school.

The most acceptable form of Council, in many ways the most complete, is that in which it is a general central group representing the whole school, and having the final responsibility, except for the Headmaster's veto. It is a single body, though with various sub-committees, and represents the ideal form to which the informal, discussion, and specific service types should develop.

12. Classification according to organisation - the single house Council.

It is possible to distinguish various types of Council by yet another division - according to organisation. Very common in American schools is the single-house Council. This is simple to create and to understand, for it consists of one central body, the size of which usually depends on the size of the school. This form is found in all types of school,

and varies from a small group having responsibility for a single activity, to a large highly organised group responsible for all the activities of the school. Larger Councils sometimes have an executive committee, the contact between the two bodies being very close. The advantages of the single-house system are many. It is simple and direct, and so fosters efficiency, it is easy for students to understand; responsibility is definite and there can be no "passing the buck"; it provides direct and close contact between the Council and represented groups, and its meetings are easily arranged. It is possible that in large schools such a Council may be unwieldly and that it may neglect some of many activities, while its size may militate against free and complete expression by all its members. The obvious way to avoid these dangers is by the use of committees, which have the further advantage of helping to capitalise abilities.

13. Multi-house Councils.

Larger American schools often have Councils in which there is more than one main body. Of this type the two-house Council is most popular, and is often imitative of upper and lower legislative organisations. Neither the source of membership, nor the degree of authority, appears to determine any particular form of organisation. Further, there is often no clear distinction between legislative and judicial functions, and as a result there may be considerable confusion. The system appears designed, in some cases, primarily for show purposes. It often happens, too, that the lower house, the

larger body, is advisory. This is undesirable; the larger group should be charged with general legislative activities, because it represents all students and has close contacts with relatively small electorates. The upper house should then be mainly executive and judicial (1), a clearing house to get things done. It is essential that each house should have clearly defined areas of responsibility or there will be clashes which will always be detrimental.

In comparatively few cases, despite the American doctrine of separation of powers, are three house Councils found; when they are, the judicial is separate from the executive, and legislative. (2) In some few cases too, each major area of school activity elects its own Council. (3) This method is of little value, the control should be exercised through committees. A further form of organisation, not now so popular as previously in American schools, is the "school city". Holland High School, Michigan, (4) has such a Student Council - one of the oldest - patterned on city government lines with "wards" for representation corresponding to grades; each ward elects two "aldermen" on the Council, whose president is'Mayor' and which meets once a week. Usually this form of organisation consists of a single house,

(1) McKown. Op.cit. P.39.

(2) McKown. Op.cit. P.90/91.

(3) McKown. Op.cit. P.91.

(4) Educational Policies Commission. Learning the ways of Democracy. Nat. Educ. Assoc. & American Assoc. of School Administrators. 1940. P.248.

following the main outline of local municipal government. This means that it is motivated because it is imitative of a close real-life model, it provides functional training in natural settings, and parents readily support it. But it has certain disadvantages - the more complete forms of municipal organisation are hard to reproduce, and failure to reproduce these may in itself be considered a failure; some school activities, such as athletics, do not lend themselves to municipal function classification; further, the attempt to duplicate may detract from more important aspects of participation.

14. The extent of self-government in American schools as shown by surveys.

Various studies of student Councils in American schools show great diversity and are generally indicative of a search for sound principles and practice. In 1940, 152 charters and constitutions were examined from 37 states. (1) Many suggested the prevalence of adult purposes - for example, over three times as many mentioned promoting the welfare of the school as mentioned promoting the welfare of the student body. Much emphasis was placed on controlling and centralising the activities of the school, and purposes related to activities are the most important. Here again, the reason may be the adult purpose of administrative convenience. The promotion of co-operation is a frequently stated aim, but the teaching of government is rarely

(1) Kelley. Op.cit. P.9.

mentioned - only 9 constitutions specifically named it, although 30 others talked vaguely about the promotion of good citizenship.

At the same time a brief questionnaire was sent to 5,000 schools, and 1801 usable replies were received from every state in the Union, from Central America and Hawaii, representing a combined enrolment of some two million students. (1) Of these, 1,431 replies were from secondary schools; from the total replies it appeared that 91.9% of the students attended schools having some sort of student participation. This cannot be regarded as a fair cross-section since it may be assumed that many schools which did not reply were not interested, and had no self-government.

The most frequent choice of officers was by election at large in home-rooms or in classes, the smallest schools using this method least, the largest - those with over 3,000 pupils, used it most. Seventy per cent of the schools which replied stated that officers did not have classroom functions - this probably means that since the government of the school was representative and not a daily functioning matter, it did not go into the lives of non-office holding students. Greater classroom participation appears to be the cure. The survey also revealed that student officers perform many functions not many of which concern government, as for example social affairs. In general promoting activities appeared more frequent than planning or managing elections.

Qualifications for membership or office-holding - more especially the latter, were frequent. Nearly 75% of the

(1) Kelley. Op.cit. P.10.

schools had rules under which some students were ineligible to hold office. This was especially so in larger schools, 96.5% of those with over 3,000 students having such a rule. (1) Not only is this practice undemocratic, but it suggests an attempt on the part of the staff and administration to create situations where the students of their choice are most likely to be elected. Very commonly it was required that an office-holder must be a good student and must behave himself. This ignores the probability that often the poor student remains poor because he feels he does not belong, and he is just the one who would improve most if elected to office. In 80 schools students, to be office-holders, had to be upper-class men, freshmen being ineligible. In 58, students were disfranchised if they had not paid dues. All such practices are undemocratic and suggest adult interference. So does the fact that in 40% of the schools students did nothing but vote. About one fifth operated student courts - 35% of which were in schools with more than 3,000 students, 15% being in schools with less than 500 pupils. Of schools having courts only 5% said they could not recommend them to other schools, while 149 of the remainder were strongly opposed to them. Rather less than half held weekly Council meetings. In 86% of the schools everything the Council did was subject to veto, while in a few cases, 8%, some things could be done without veto, as one school expressed it, "Routine is not subject to veto, policy is." On these points as in those previously mentioned,

(1) Kelley. Op.cit. P.13.ff.

there is much evidence of adult manipulation, though the National Association of Secondary School Principals reported in 1944 that, though the power of veto was invariably held by the Principal, "when the Principal and Adviser have gained the confidence of the Council it becomes extremely rarefor a Principal to exercise his veto power. Many, many Principals have had a Student Council in their schools and have never once found it necessary to exercise their veto." (1)

Two further surveys, both undertaken in 1944, reveal further important facts and tendencies. In the first self-government machinery in 448 schools was studied, 80% of these being secondary, the remainder elementary and colleges. (2) The schools were distributed over 44 states and included the Canal Zone, and replies from different types of schools were as follows:-

32 replies were from elementary schools,

48 replies were from junior high schools,

329 replies were from senior high schools,

47 replies were from junior colleges and colleges.

In addition there were a few replies from private schools and "correctional institutions". The most common - and generally the best in both theory and practice - method of choosing representatives was from the homeroom or the class. There were 34 cases of election at large - a good method in a small school, but not in a large one. For this reason it is more

(1) National Association of Secondary School Principals. The Student Council in the Secondary School. P.95.

(2) The Clearing House. Vol. 19 No. 4 Dec. 1944. The figures quoted in the immediately following pages are from this number.

generally practised in English than in American schools.

Table 1. Method of Electing Student Council Officers in 445 Schools.

Unit.	Number of Schools.
Homerooms	90
Classes	74
School as whole	34
Homerooms and at large	26
Homerooms and classes	19
Classes and clubs	18
Clubs	14
Classes and at large	14
Homerooms and clubs	14
Appointed	3
Social Studies Classes	2
Informal	2
No answer	135

A useful indication of the effectiveness of a Council is the period between meetings, for it is likely that those having frequent meetings will be most effective - and in this instance the survey revealed that weekly or bi-weekly meetings were most common.

Table 2. Frequency of Council Meetings.

Weekly	197 schools
Bi-weekly	114 "
Monthly	49 "
On call	34 "
Twice a week	8 "

Table 2 (Continued).

Frequency of Council Meetings.

Daily	7	schools.
Bi-monthly	5	"
Three times a week	3	"
No report	31	"

In any survey it is obviously difficult to get an accurate picture of the extent of powers of the Student Council and duties undertaken. Nevertheless such a picture must be obtained, though it will be in the nature of a crayon drawing rather than a detailed portrait, and allowance must be made for difficulty in deciding under which heading a school should be placed.

Table 3. Extent of Powers of Student Council and Duties Undertaken.

Powers and Duties.	No. of Schools.
Holds extensive powers	50
Governs and promotes student activities	82
Promotes Social Affairs	52
Controls Student Organisations	50
Takes care of Student finances	47
Helps regulate assemblies	39
Little or no powers	38
Keeps order	30

The remainder (60 schools) either gave replies which could not be classified, or did not answer the question. On the use of the veto the replies made possible the production

of a more accurate picture. In 189 schools it had never been used; it was rarely used in 90, occasionally in 74, often in 60, in 23 the need to use was prevented by discussion; in 63 cases there was no reply. The most interesting group is that in which the need was prevented by discussion, because this phrase may include the best or the worst practices in student participation, in some cases co-operation with the staff may be so free that there is never any need for a veto, in others it may be that the Council dare not make a move contrary to adult opinions. All depends on the kind of discussion that takes place.

The second survey was carried out in 1944 by the National Association of Secondary School Principals, who, in that year, founded the National Association of Student Councils, with which, within 5 months of its formation, 283 Councils had enrolled. (1) The majority of these were in the North Central Area of the U.S.A., that is the older and more industrial region. The same Association estimated that something like 80% of secondary schools had some form of Student Council organisation operating. (2) It appeared that student participation was intended to serve two major purposes, the improvement of both the student and the school, for the former it should provide wholesome and satisfying experience, for the latter it was felt that Councils must contribute to the effectiveness of its work;

(1) National Association of Secondary School Principals. The Student Council in the Secondary School. P.16.

(2) National Association of Secondary School Principals. Op.cit. P.11.

that they must positively attempt to develop adolescents to be discriminating and thoughtful citizens in a democratic school society. In the State of Michigan 160 High School Principals were asked to give their view on the aims and purposes of a Student Council, and the following table indicates the percentage who mentioned each of these objectives. (1)

Table 4. Objectives of Student Councils.

Objective.	%.
1. To develop student responsibility, initiative, leadership and school pride.	93.7
2. To promote worthy citizenship training.	69.3
3. To provide for pupil expression.	51.2
4. To provide a working model of a governmental system under which students will live.	22.5
5. To promote welfare of the school through proper student-faculty relationship.	1.5

The replies made it clear that student participation was not the only method of promoting future good citizenship, but that this total process is helped by many factors. But it does provide an excellent method for giving young pupils a habit of mind that will consider the public business a matter of special interest to the private citizen.

A further study of 110 Student Council constitutions revealed the following chief purposes - the table shows the

(1) National Association of Secondary School Principals. Op.cit. P.17.

number of times each purpose was mentioned in the constitutions examined. (1)

Table 5. Purposes.	No. of times mentioned.
1. To promote harmonious relations between teachers and students and the students themselves.	45.
2. To develop in students an appreciation of membership in a democracy by providing educative responsibilities of, and principles of participation in, such a democracy in school.	43.
3. Co-ordinate and promote student activity and encourage greater participation on the part of students.	42.
4. Advance causes which will best contribute to the school community.	38.
5. Stimulate and develop a healthy school spirit.	29.
6. Encourage the practice of good citizenship.	19.
7. Provide systematic channels for student thought and action.	15.

Other purposes were mentioned fewer times. It is significant that a considerable change has taken place in a few years in the opinion of purposes of student participation.

(1) National Association of Secondary School Principals. Op.cit. P.19.

In the following table all the specific purposes are compared with similar categories under which a previous study for the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1940 had grouped them. (1)

Table 6. General Grouping of Specific Purposes.

	% 1940.	% 1944.
1. To furnish citizenship training.	26.4	48
2. To allow pupils to participate in or manage extra-curricular activities.	39.5	16.4
3. To promote proper student-faculty relationship.	11.6	15.5
4. To promote general welfare.	7.0	12.1
5. To provide for student expression.	3.6	4.3
6. To furnish a working model of government.	3.6	0
7. Miscellaneous.	8.3	3.7

The most significant change in the period of four years lies in the first and second purposes. It probably represents the impact of war on the United States, and its consequent emphasis upon the obligation and duties rather than the privileges of citizenship. For the war provided an opportunity to link the school's activities with those of the community, as, for example, when, following a wave of juvenile delinquency, schools started youth clubs which were then frequently taken over by the public. (2) Campaigns of

(1) National Association of Secondary School Principals. Op.cit. P.20.

(2) The Clearing House. Vol. 19 No. 7 March 1945.

various kinds also opened the door for school activity groups to link their activities with those of community groups. Current affairs also came in for much thought on the part of young people as a result of the war. The School Assembly, often largely controlled by the Council, was given greater purpose and motivation by being utilised as a medium for unifying the school community. All these developments emphasise that students have been given more and more responsibility, and that it is extra-curricular activities which have provided the opportunity.

It is possible, too, that the effect of the war can be seen in the types of Council organisation. The changes are indicated in the following table and should be read in conjunction with Table 1. (1) For the form of a constitution should be a prime consideration and should be related to what it plans to do. The following table shows changes in the forms of government in a number of United States schools and indicates a marked increase in the percentage having Councils composed of home room representatives or class representatives, the two totalling 55%. (2)

Table 7. Types of Council Organisation.

Type.	% 1939 survey.	% 1944 survey
Home Room President	27	6
Home Room Representative	12	25

(1) See chapter 7 page 170.

(2) National Association of Secondary School Principals. The Student Council in the Secondary School. P.24.

Table 7 (Continued). Types of Council Organisation.

Type.	% 1939 survey	% 1944 survey
Federal Government	14	2
Forum	9	1
Class Representative	6	30
Class representatives & organisations	2	9
Class Rep. and Home Room Rep.	2	6
Home Room Rep. & Organisations	3	4
City and State Government	15	0
Miscellaneous	10	17
Total	100	100

This analysis reveals not only an increasing tendency to elect representatives either from home room or class to the Council, but also a strong tendency to make constitutions self-directive rather than imitative of state, national or municipal constitutions - in the former case there is an increase from 18% to 55%, in the latter there is a fall from 29% to 2%. The home room method of representation, like the class method, is widely used because it more nearly represents the school as a whole, is easily administered, and is the most democratic. The home room representative is usually elected as such and has no other office in the home room organisation, and the system is used by both large and small schools - as, for example, by Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, with 3,000 students and by Foxcroft Academy, Maine, with 200 pupils. (1) An example of the Forum type is Edgerton Park

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.25.

High School, Rochester, New York, in which one representative from each home room is elected to form a Forum, but the Executive Council exercises power. (1) At the other end of the scale, and included in the above table under the heading "miscellaneous", are examples of direct democracy, as in Stanley High School, Kingfield Maine, a small school in which the entire student group is the legislative body. (2) Among the few constitutions modelled after the Federal Constitution is that of Simon Gratz High School, Philadelphia, which has used it for years with slight modifications. (3)

Further information was thrown on the vexed question of qualifications, for in the 165 constitutions examined in this survey almost all made some specific scholastic requirements, not only for Council officers, but for representatives as well. (4) A few examples will illustrate the type of qualification demanded. In Santa Barbara High School, California, Article 1 of the Bye-laws reads: "The President ----- must have had a grade of A in citizenship and at least a B average in all academic work during the previous semester." Similar demands are made on the Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary. Article 6 reads, "The Boys' Athletic manager must have had at least a grade C in citizenship and a C average in all

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.64.
(2) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.64.
(3) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.86-7.
(4) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit. P.96.

academic work. ----- He must have the approval of the Boys' Athletic coach." Article 12 states "The Forge (magazine) business manager must have the same qualifications for office as the Girls' Athletic manager" (1), (i.e. the same as the boys). In the case of Maryland Park High School, Seat Phesant, Maryland, membership article 3 lays down exemplary conduct and that the Principal and faculty shall have the power to expel any member of the Council for unbecoming conduct not beneficial to the interests of Maryland Park High School (2), a clause which, apart from membership qualifications, gives ground for doubt about the value of the Council in this school.

There can be no doubt that such qualification demands are not only undemocratic but unprofitable. Many normal student activities are beyond the reach of many members of the school; abilities required for games, music, hobby clubs, etc, are not needed in student government which has been responsible for discovering abilities in pupils previously ignored as possessing no talents. It is, therefore, disconcerting to find scholarship requirements for membership of the Council so frequently required despite progress in other directions in recent years. For in 1938, in 80 Chicago secondary schools, it was found that "mere election as the choice of some group" was followed in 58.5%, the

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.30-31.
(2) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.47.

others needing some qualification. Earlier studies in 1928 showed scholarship requirements for eligibility to membership in more than half the schools. (1)

A study of Councils in United States schools suggests that, in many cases, they are over-elaborate and over-organised. It also indicates that, to be successful, three basic essentials must be fulfilled; representation must be equitable; there must be a clearly defined internal division of a reasonable schedule of non-professional duties; and there must be structural efficiency. Above all there is no blue print, it is the responsibility of each school to seize the opportunities, to display initiative and courage, and to realise the educational value of experiment and experience.

15. Consideration of sample situations.

Consideration of a number of examples will help to show difficulties and opportunities, and the type of situation which may be expected to arise. In one school (2) it was realised that the Student Council of 30 members was giving experience to only a small fraction of 500 pupils. With Committees there were soon more than 3/5 of the student body involved, and voluntarily staying for 45 minutes after school once a week. It was felt that this use of committees was of great value, for each committee planned creatively for its own phase of school organisation, it was a tangible body to which all matters concerning that phase of activity might be referred,

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op cit P.96.

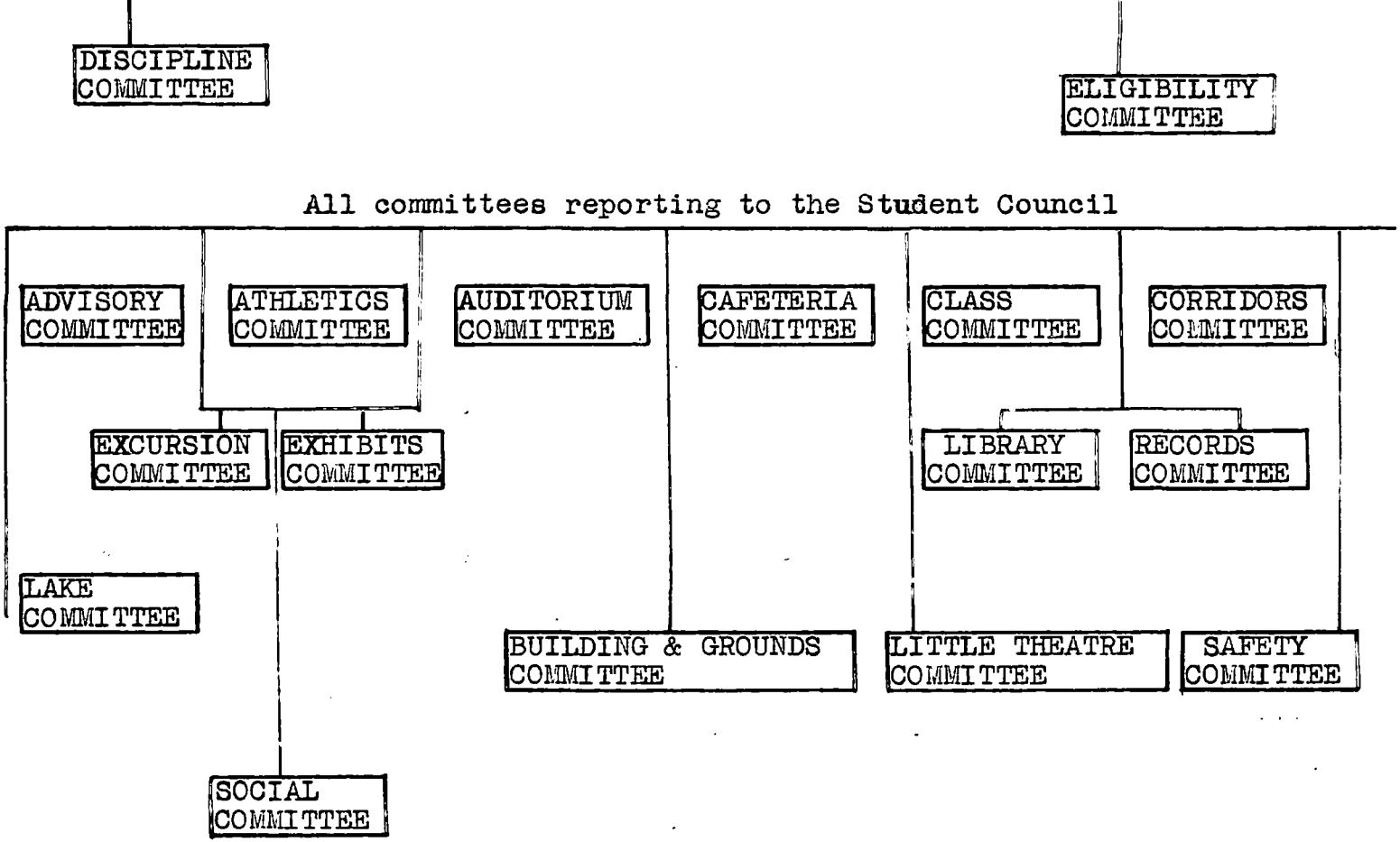
(2) Quoted from Keopman, Miel & Misner. Democracy in School Admin. P.235.

while control was kept in the hands of the Council for each committee reported to it weekly. Each committee had a staff adviser, but there was no complaint that teachers were controlling affairs. "Never in the history of the school had greater interest and pride been shown in all that the school was doing. Lessons learned from revising the constitution of the Student League and working out the bye-laws of the school, as well as conducting the semi-annual elections, were invaluable lessons in the mechanical aspects of citizenship." (1)

To prevent multiplication of offices (a common danger) and so spread participation, all committees met at the same time. The final organisation is shown on the following diagram (see page 182). (2)

The Student Council with all committees reporting to it, was the clearing-house for the 17 sub-councils, and met twice a week - regular meetings being rightly regarded as of great importance. Membership and attendance at meetings was equally impressive. (3)

(1) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op.cit. P.237.
(2) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op.cit. P.236.
(3) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op.cit. P.238.


DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE
ELIGIBILITY COMMITTEE
All committees reporting to the Student Council
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ATHLETICS COMMITTEE
AUDITORIUM COMMITTEE
CAFETERIA COMMITTEE
CLASS COMMITTEE
CORRIDORS COMMITTEE
EXCURSION COMMITTEE
EXHIBITS COMMITTEE
LIBRARY COMMITTEE
RECORDS COMMITTEE
LAKE COMMITTEE
BUILDING & GROUNDS COMMITTEE
LITTLE THEATRE COMMITTEE
SAFETY COMMITTEE
SOCIAL COMMITTEE

Student Council Membership & Attendance.

Committee.	Membership.	Average % of Attendance.
Advisory	15	90
Athletic	29	80
Auditorium	21	85
Building & Grounds	13	80
Cafeteria	14	90
Class	18	25
Eligibility	35	90
Discipline	5	100
Excursion	19	85
Exhibits	24	80
Lake	35	80
Library	10	85
Little Theatre	25	85
Corridors	13	70
Records	14	80
Safety	18	80
Social	22	85
Total	330	85

The reports of the committees are not only informative but show the diversity of powers and decisions. (1) The Library Committee laid down rules for the use of the library; the Social Committee made party arrangements; the Athletic Council managed tournaments, games room rules, and refereeing, and conducted a track meeting each spring; the Class Council

(1) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op. cit. P.239 ff.

reported that it had "frequently ... been requested to pass judgment upon controversial points raised in the classes. This in itself indicates a healthy attitude on the part of pupils in that they have come to look upon the Class Council as the appropriate body to decide controversial issues pertaining to class conduct." The Little Theatre Council reported that during the year its work had consisted of:-

1. Thorough cleaning of both costume rooms.
2. Washing and repairing costumes.
3. Various members were on duty three mornings a week to give out costumes and also took charge of putting them away on Thursday nights.
4. A few new costumes were made for assembly and integration plays.
5. Pictures and ideas were found for people from classes who had charge of the costumes for a play.
6. Costumes were made for "Hansel and Gretel".
7. The Council took charge of dress rehearsals and performances of "Hansel and Gretel", checking in getting costumes on time, distributing and collecting them, dressing the cast, and assisting in making-up.
8. The Council increased the collection of illustrations.
9. The Council managed the costumes for the performances of "House in Blind Alley".
10. The Council enjoyed a museum trip and demonstrations.

The Discipline Committee found itself largely concerned with traffic violations, and acted as a Court for dealing with

such cases, which averaged two per week. "After the case has been reviewed and the pupil has been given an opportunity to state his side of the matter, the method of treatment is an appeal to school loyalty, and the pupil is asked to do his best to abide by the school laws. No punishment is given. The method has worked so well that, during the entire year, so far, only three pupils have been reported for a third offence."

The remaining Councils similarly reported, and their reports provide sufficient evidence of ability to work together, enthusiasm, and preparedness to assume responsibility for the common good. It is obvious that students who participated in this work were engaged in activities that had real social meaning to them, that there was ample allocation of time, and that the number of students participating was large. The president of Milwaukee Vocational School's alumni council said, of his old school,(1) "Ours is a school council, all powerful in its school control and one hundred percent democratic -----Operating as we do on the principle of instilling in every individual social consciousness and civic responsibility; policemen hold no part in our picture. Daily we have morning and afternoon assemblies of 2,000 students at one time, completely student supervised, and commonly without a single faculty guest. Our corridors are unpatrolled, our classrooms unsupervised should a teacher leave them. After seven years we submit that each and every student has assumed

(1) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op. cit. P.258.

the adult obligation of citizenship, and has proven the wisdom of our undertaking."

Experience has shown that some such internal school organisation can work successfully with children of coloured parents. McKinley High School, Honolulu, is a large school, with 3,850 students, 75 per cent of whom are of Oriental descent. (1) There student-teacher participation in school control was the outcome of a principle laid down in 1926, that a central feature of any educational programme aimed at fostering intelligent citizenship in a democratic society must be student-teacher participation in the management of the school community. This was a logical application, in school, of the idea and ideal of participation by all adults in the affairs of the larger community. "We came to see that young people ----- must be helped to develop habits of citizenship through practising citizenship, just as children learn to play baseball by playing baseball - and not merely through studying a baseball rule book." As a result, the co-operation of the staff having been enlisted, all students were organised into groups that met daily for ten minutes, and whose representatives met fortnightly to discuss school problems and to participate in making school policy. The School Representative Assembly (one representative to each class) dealt with school problems and policy, important matters being referred back to the class for discussion and decision.

(1) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op.cit. P.259.

The work of students and teachers was integrated through teachers being advisers of student committees.

To quote once more (1) "The Principal appears to be not afraid at all of an organisation that gives teachers and students so much power. What is done in the way of policy making is always undertaken experimentally to see how it works. If a particular move is ill advised, it is not long before the shoe begins to pinch somewhere, and a proposal for reconstruction is heard from some quarter. The Principal has come to look upon his office as a manager of a democratic co-operative enterprise." This quotation touches on some of the qualities needed in a headmaster who wishes to introduce some such scheme of self-government, he must have faith in the young, he must trust them, he must not endeavour to enforce a blue-print, and he must be prepared to allow experiment. What can be done in so large a school, with children of mixed parentage and colour, can assuredly be done no less worthily in our smaller British schools.

Other schools show examples of some particular aspect of self-government. Control through group regulation and enforcement is stressed by South High School, Omaha. (2) Here, 375 of 3,300 pupils daily give part of their time to controlling the conduct of the students. They are responsible for orderly behaviour in halls, between classes, in the lunch hour, they control stair traffic, traffic through exits,

(1) Keopman, Miel & Misner. Op. cit. P.263.

(2) Educational Policies Commission. Learning the ways of Democracy. Pub. by Nat. Educ. Assoc. & American Assoc. of School Administrators, 1940.

supervise the clearing of tables, and attend to locker inspection. This body of students is organised under ten captains, appointed by the Student Council which is a representative body elected by the various classes and clubs. Captains select the Committee men from a list of eligible students which is drawn up by the students. Members are removed for misconduct or unsatisfactory work; at any one time about 300 are ineligible for appointment. Promotion of Committee men was one duty of the captains and Student Council; very few students refused committee appointment. Regulations governing conduct in out-of-classroom situations were made by the Student Council, whose meetings were attended by the Principal and a few members of the staff, who did not vote. When students violated the Council's regulations flagrantly or repeatedly they could be reported by anyone, though almost all cases were reported by committee men. A student court of four, appointed by the Council, judged each case; the greatest punishment given was three days "off schedule", or until such time as the miscreant brought his parents to school. Appeals could be made from the Court to the Council and from the Council to the Principal - but in one year only two cases were sent back by the Principal for rehearing. A typical sample of business transacted at one meeting was a report of the Inspection Committee on the negligence of certain hall monitors, a time-table for mid-day bells, and the designation of certain stairs for one-way traffic. Three cases were heard by the court, two minor offenders being warned, the third case being held over for

further enquiry.

It is obvious that this school believes that one way in which the students can learn the obligations of democratic citizenship is by assuming responsibility by observing the rules made for them by a representative legislative body. "Observation indicated that the plan results in a school which operates in a smooth and orderly fashion without apparent regimentation."

In Mount Pleasant High School, Schenectady, a school of 3,000 students, a different approach to the problem of conduct was made, and responsibility was placed on the individual, not on the group. (1) There were no monitors, no regulations about traffic, nor had the staff monitorial duties. The idea being to fasten individual responsibility, no one was in charge of the tool rooms, for example, and yet it was claimed that not so much as a screw driver had been lost in nine years. The attitude of the pupils was that they had excellent equipment and wanted to take care of it. There was no student court, cases of misconduct were handled by the Principal and no student body had any responsibility for student conduct. This stress on individual responsibility is perhaps liable to create confusion, and it is significant that few American schools use this method.

Other forms of endeavour to control student conduct by student control are shown at Holtville High School, Alabama,

(1) Educational Policies Commission. Op.cit. P.198-200.

and Rudford, Virginia, High School. (1) In the former the Students' Court tries to prevent misconduct, and so, whenever a student was reported as causing trouble, two members of the court talked with him to try to bring about an improvement. It was claimed that this method was so successful that in the first six months of 1939 not a single case had been brought up - a claim which seems far-fetched and suggests either the acceptance of a very low standard, or very few spheres handed over to student control. Should a trial be necessary, a jury of twelve was drawn from the six classes of the school. In the second instance only a Student Council existed, it tried to control conduct without the use of monitors or court, and so dealt with each problem as it arose.

Many other such examples can be quoted from American schools. The High Schools of Des Moines, Iowa, were troubled by rowdyism in their football games, but "when the students who were causing the trouble realised that a group of students was trying to solve the problem, and that the majority supported this group, they changed their attitude to become co-operative". (2) That the reasons for this and other forms of student participation is appreciated, is suggested by the remarks, written in 1939, by the President of the student body of Collinwood High School, Cleveland, "Thus, we see that Collinwood is producing among its students, potential American

(1) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.201.

(2) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.204.

voters and lawmakers, a deep regard for the advantages of democracy; and that it is partly creating this feeling by giving to its students a living operating example of democracy -----."

16. Centralised and decentralised school governments.

In general the common practice in American schools, where student participation is encouraged, is to have a general student body organisation, under whose authority smaller working bodies of students are organised. The most common form of the smaller working student organisation is the Student Council. Invariably there is provision for the setting up of a representative functional group, usually limited in size, to allow efficient working in matters of detail. Representatives are usually chosen by popular election, most frequently by members of the home rooms or their equivalent. Government may be centralised or decentralised. Pasadena Junior College, California, is an example of the former. (1) It provides for three branches of government, legislative, executive and judicial, executive authority being vested in the student body president, legislative in the hands of an elected board of representatives composed of the presidents of each of the four classes, presidents and associate presidents of the boys and girls organisations, and one elected representative for each 1,000 students. Judicial authority is vested in a minor court consisting of four appointed justices, and a superior court

(1) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.246.

of five justices appointed by the student body president and confirmed by the board of representatives. In larger institutions such a governmental organisation with centralised authority is often found.

The decentralised form is illustrated by Parker High School, Birmingham, Alabama. (1) In this negro school is no student council, but a functioning body made up of the presidents of all the home rooms of the school. They are elected by the members of the home rooms and meet once a week, with a staff adviser, for the purpose of discussing matters relating to the welfare of the student body. Official action is taken by students voting in their home rooms. This form is simple in organisation, and assures a prompt reference of a question to the entire student body through the channel of the home rooms.

Between these two forms lie many schools which endeavour to strike a balance between centralised authority and general participation in legislation and policy making. Benjamin Franklin High School, Rochester, has a respresentative student organisation, known as the Junto, composed of two elected student representatives from each home room. From this large group is chosen a smaller group known as the executive council. At times matters are referred to the student body at large; questions for debate may originate anywhere, and school officers are nominated by home rooms on qualifications set by the students. (2) This endeavour to

(1) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.246.
(2) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.246-7.

strike a balance is also shown by the John W. Weeks Junior High School, Newton, Massachusetts, where the Council acts without an executive committee. All matters presented for action at council meetings must be referred to home rooms for consideration before the Council can vote; this delays action, but ensures the participation of the entire student body in all important actions, and makes the Council truly representative.(1) A similar middle course between centralisation and decentralisation is also seen at Shaker High School, Ohio, where several representatives on the Council stated that their personal choices on a certain question were different from the votes they had recorded, but that their home rooms, after full discussion, had instructed them to vote in that way. (2)

Invariably councils are authorised to appoint committees. Usually too, in American schools, the local unit of student organisation is the home room, or something corresponding to it - in some few schools the home room plays a large part in policy making and legislation. But more often its part is limited to electing representatives, and hearing reports after action has been taken by the council. Here American schools appear to be missing a favourable opportunity; the home room should not only hear reports, it should provide one of the most favourable settings for training in democratic citizenship, especially in the processes of representative government

(1) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.247.

(2) Educational Policies Commission. Op. cit. P.247.

and the formation of informed public opinion on the part of the electorate.

17. Examples from primary schools.

Self-government is not confined to American secondary schools, though it is in them that it has made its greatest, and most widespread, development. At Angill Elementary School, Ann Arbor, Michigan, some such scheme was implemented. (1) But one weakness was that there was no council as a co-ordinating group - a deliberate omission, since it was felt that it would be a mistake to start such an experiment with too complicated machinery. The organisation adopted was that of a number of committees - Newspaper, Assembly, Building and Grounds, etc., to which forms elected representatives. At the end of the first year both teachers and pupils were reported to be enthusiastic about the scheme. Other elementary schools, the Warren and Franklin Schools in Toledo, also reported success with committees, whose members showed an age range from kindergarten to Form 8. (2) For children of elementary school age a simpler organisation may be necessary, but at this level they are not too young to start learning to work co-operatively.

(1) Keopman, Miel and Misner. Op. cit. P. 263.

(2) Keopman, Miel and Misner. Op. cit. P. 266.

CHAPTER 8.

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CHAPTER 8.

EXPERIENCE ANSWERS PROBLEMS.

1. General principles underlying pupil participation.

It is now possible to suggest certain general principles which underlie various types of student participation, and to answer some questions which have been raised by critics. Evidence points to the fact that, though self-government should develop in response to a felt need, it can also be inspired from above. (1) There may be various types of participation, but the basic ideas are the same, and among them is that the school must feel a continuous need for self-government. If there is no feeling of need there is far less justification for participation, - but study and adaptation may be necessary to maintain this felt need.

It is too, of vital importance that the whole school should be represented. At present, in general, there appear to be two main plans by which students are elected as members of a representative body, either by definitely organised groups, such as clubs, or by units of the school as a whole, such as a class or a home room. The dangers of the first plan are that not all students will be represented because not all will belong to the organisations allowed representatives that those who belong to more than one organisation will be represented more than once; that petty politics may, in these circumstances, develop; and that larger organisations, usually represented by more members than the smaller, will benefit at

(1) See Simpson, Sane Schooling, and Neill, That Dreadful School.

the expense of the latter. In this scheme the emphasis is on getting, not giving, and there is a definite danger of loyalty to the group overshadowing loyalty to the school. Election by unspecialised units such as form groups, avoids these dangers, since all are represented as all are in forms. Despite the fact that new entrants to a self-governing secondary school may be large in numbers, and brought into a system of which they know little, it is probably better in practice, and certainly more democratic, to allow them votes, though there is much to be said for a method whereby, for a time, representatives may be elected on their behalf by the School Council. (1)

If the school parliament is to be a co-operative school effort, then teachers as well as students should be elected to it, not appointed by the Head. It must, however, be clearly understood that they have no privilege as staff members. As far as the teachers themselves are concerned, a regularly held election adds to dignity and importance and will help to prevent misunderstandings and jealousies. Teachers, like students, should feel their representation. This, in itself, is a further argument for election by unspecialised school units, for even with some members at large, there is likely to be little feeling of felt representation on the part of those outside the specialised groups for whom the members at large exist. Generally speaking, the smaller the unit represented, the greater is the probability that its members will feel their representation and their responsibility.

(1) See chapter 4 page 68-9.

If the school is sufficiently small to enjoy direct democracy, this feeling of responsibility will be all the greater because it is direct. If representation is necessary, the student must feel that vote-casting alone is not sufficient, he must have the opportunity to assist in the development of school policies and plans. Reports back by representatives do little to alter this because the student had little opportunity to discuss before the Council acted. To develop this essential felt responsibility in the school citizen, the Council should encourage the discussion of pertinent problems in the group represented. For the purpose of participation is to educate electors as well as elected, and this purpose will not be achieved unless suitable opportunities are provided for it.

The question of qualifications for Council membership has already been discussed. (1) They have no justification. Nor, in a mixed school, is there any real justification for having certain proportions of representatives for boys and girls as is sometimes the case (2), for sex alone is not a factor in determining ability to represent a group. Personal experience suggests that, left to themselves, children will not consider the sex of representatives. Similarly the scholarship-leadership co-relation is fallacious, there is no sound reason for demanding certain academic standards as a requisite

(1) See chapter 7 page 178 ff.

(2) Examples quoted in chapter 7. Wild's experiment.

of membership. That student members should be approved by teachers is equally illogical and undemocratic; it is in reality but a reflection of the fears, and jealousies, of the staff. Educationally too, it represents a denial of an opportunity to learn, by refusing to allow elections of representatives who might be unfitted. The only restriction on appointment to office should be ability. Limitations are unsound because they generally represent staff, not student ideals; they are unfair discrimination which is not practised against other school activities, and they represent faculty pressure to determine who shall represent the students. With such restrictions you have the semblance of democracy without the fact - and yet, in nearly 75% of 1431 constitutions of American schools examined, such limitations were present, and in schools with over 3,000 students the percentage was 96.5. (1)

Each member of the Council should assume some responsibility, for a council without responsibility will soon disintegrate because it can only develop self-respect and morale through successful discharge of its duties. Similarly, each sub-group should be strictly accountable for its particular responsibility. A committee without responsibility is a handicap to an organised body because it will either lose interest or trespass on the area of other groups. The order should be - get the job first, then the Committee to do it - not the reverse. Regular committee

(1) Kelly. An evaluation of student participation in Government in American Sec. Schools (Unpub. doctoral thesis, P.122, N.W. University.)

reports to the Council are a good idea.

The size of the Council is important, for one that is too large is unwieldly and scattering in its efforts and allows "sleeping" members. If it is too small, ability will go uncapitalised, members may be overawed, and the represented units will be so large that members may not feel their representation. The ideal Council should be large enough to provide felt representation, to include a variety of interests and abilities, and to furnish an equitable load for its members, and small enough to handle its business with efficiency and despatch. Its duties and responsibilities should be specifically defined. This is not easy because many of these formerly belonged to the staff, but it has to be done in order to avoid misunderstanding and conflict in, and with, authority. The rights, duties, privileges and responsibilities are only delegated by the Head of the school who cannot escape his moral and legal responsibility. In American schools delegation is usually through some authorised and adopted constitution, a plan which has the virtue of being definite. It is very important that all concerned should realise that the Head's authority is only delegated. If, however, a Head vetoes frequently he will discourage the Council, and encourage lack of interest, if not opposition. Occasional use of the veto may be educative because it places responsibility squarely on the Council. It is reasonable that the Headmaster should act through the Council, it is courteous, businesslike, and proves his

confidence; his representations should go through staff members unless he is himself a member.

The Council must not be made a dumping ground for disagreeable tasks, for mending damage is only a part of its job. This idea is more common to staff than to students, and is likely to develop in a school in which the staff have only half accepted the idea of participation. Similarly the Council must not be considered a disciplinary body; it should not itself handle disciplinary cases, because if it does it will become so side-tracked that it will neglect more important constructive projects and so lose standing in the school. For disciplinary cases a special committee should be used with the Council retaining the right of review. Generally, provisions for handling discipline should come late, not early, in development. Successful discipline requires an understanding and skill which inexperienced students do not possess. Responsibility must be grown into slowly.

The co-operative aspects of self-government should be continually stressed. The Council can avoid the attitude of despotism if it reflects co-operation in its activities and talk, always remembering that there are two kinds of co-operation, of the student body with the Council, and of the Council with the student body. Financial policy should be well organised; but the machinery of the whole organisation should be simple. Pretty, complicated schemes should be put on one side, the simple effective one should be adopted, the effort should be put into the programme, not into the

machinery. In this connection it must be added that meetings should be regular. This is a sound business principle, and as they represent an educative setting they should be held in school time. This guarantees the presence of all members, officially recognises and sanctions the programme, adds to its importance and dignity, helps to ensure a good teacher and student attitude, and brings a co-relative demand that students' and teachers' time will be well invested.

Council meetings should be open to all who care to attend; arguments for the exclusion of teachers and students who are not members are usually due to fear of reaction to what is said and done at meetings. Attendance of junior forms is especially educative. Secret sessions are foreign to democracy. There should be a regular place for meetings. The Council itself should make continuous study of its direction and aims; schools change, and such changes must be reflected in the adjusted ideals, policies, and programmes of the Student Council - attention has already been drawn to the changes made in America during the war years. (1) Reasons for success and failure must be studied, for in reality a failure is only a failure when it is not capitalised in the direction of a success. The Council should be jealous of its position and should allow no other organisation to usurp its place - in America, for example, it has rivals in the National Honour Society and the High School Victory Corps.

(1) See Chapter 7. Table 6, page 175.

Two further points should be borne in mind by the would-be initiator. You cannot democratise a school in a few terms - student government is not an end but a process; it never can be, never will be, expert government.

Nor must it be thought that it will necessarily be successful; this is not always the case. A study of deterrents to success in 80 Councils (1), for example, found five chief reasons. First was the difficulty of securing efficient and successful pupil leaders; then came the problems of getting all members to participate in work; thirdly pupils tended to choose leaders on the basis of popularity rather than ability; this was followed by lack of interest and responsibility on the part of pupils, and lastly objections to being disciplined by fellow pupils. Further the population of a school is always changing, so that a continuous programme of education to acquaint new teachers with theory and local application of the plan is necessary. It may be done with assemblies, notice boards, exhibits, school publications, and possibly an installation ceremony.

2. The initiation of self-government.

These foregoing principles, which underlie the various forms of student government today, must be remembered when initiating the Council. Initiation is all-important, for the Council must be properly designed and equipped, started and kept going. The importance of a felt need has frequently been stressed. Consent is fundamental, for a

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Student Co-operation in the Sec. School. P.22.

democratic form of government cannot be imposed from above, it must be a response to a demand - possibly a stimulated demand - from inside the group. This need, because of traditional organisation, the initiator should develop by a study of the participation idea itself, and it is wise to begin school participation by having democratic organisation elsewhere in smaller units. Social Studies classes may also be capitalised. The teachers must also be favourable because they are in a position to encourage or discourage - so educate the teachers first. When the idea is accepted it has to be applied to the particular school. Education of the student body follows education of the teachers, but it is now likely to be three headed - the education of a smaller body of leaders, education of representatives of the various democratic units, and lastly of these units through their representatives. Student leaders called together may study the plan with the staff; after acquaintance with the idea comes its application to the local school. When enlightened enthusiasm of the student leaders has been developed, the next step should be to arrange meetings between them and the representatives of the major democratic units of the school - for example, classes or forms. When the representatives are fully conversant with the plan they can educate the student body. This programme can itself tend to develop a need for participation.

The vast majority of schools have a written constitution; the larger the school the more likely it is to be written.

The constitution is really the blue print defining the area of Council responsibility, describing organisations; and officially recognising the plan. It should be very carefully hammered out and fully discussed before approval; its adoption should be by a properly organised ballot. The next business is to create an official student organisation, and to have proper elections. Office holders may then be installed - it has been found that a ceremony of installation, sometimes with an oath, adds dignity and heightens the sense of responsibility. There is a tendency in American schools for installation ceremonies to become increasingly numerous - though there is often a strange mixture of the Lord's Prayer and the Star Spangled Banner. Since the first efforts of the Council are of great importance it should start on a piece of constructive work immediately; it will probably attempt too much, but one small job well done is better than several half done, so it should choose some small, definite and easily recognised task - a concrete action where definite success is possible - some such project as bicycle parking may be organised. Many such activities will occur in every school.

3. The importance of the Constitution and of the principles underlying it.

In any democratic form of government the constitution is the fundamental law. A study of student participation suggests that the principles which underlie constitution making are seven in number. In the first place every scheme of self-government should be based on a written constitution

for this course of action may prevent needless discussion and misunderstanding. The document must fit the local setting. It should be simple since it is not an end in itself but only a means to an end. It should indicate clearly the source of authority, and fifthly it should be positive not negative, otherwise it will become a set of formal impersonal commandments, whereas it should give the impression of positive and constructive policies. The importance of previous study before adoption has already been stressed; lastly it should be published, for this gives it dignity and significance, and makes the school more conscious of the scheme.

The elements and form of the constitution will embrace several features. (1) The vast majority include the name of the Council - or Cabinet, or representative assembly as the case may be, and also the name of the entire organisation, in which the name of the school is included. Purpose statements are usually of two types, either a short general statement such as the "purpose of the Council is to promote the general welfare of the school activities", or a longer and more formal statement in the nature of a preamble. Of the two the latter, if not too long, is probably better. The constitution should also make declarations regarding membership and powers - this latter is the heart of the participation plan. It should also deal with the organisation

(1) See the constitution printed as appendices to chapter 6. In general constitutions in American schools follow a more definite pattern than these English examples.

of the entire student body and of the Council itself; it should name Officers, deal with the use of office, re-election eligibility, election procedure, vacancies, duties and responsibilities; other points may be dealt with by bye-laws - questions relating to the quorum, frequency of meetings, etc.

4. Elections.

Elections should attract everyone's interest; if this is to be democracy in practice all should participate, and consequently ability to vote should not depend on payment of taxes, or purchase of activity tickets, as happens in many U.S.A. schools. The election of able and capable representatives is one of the most important problems of self-government, for no organisation is any better than its officers. The objective of an election is not merely to put good leaders into office, but to do this with maximum educational benefits for all concerned. The type of election varies all the way from highly formal to informal; it depends largely on the size of school, some having a simple ballot in home rooms, some, as for example Wells High School, Chicago, having specific rules governing the Convention - one of which, that there shall be no adjournment for lunch, may not be entirely wise. (1) Whichever is better will depend on the local setting, the type of school, the age of students, the form of organisation, and other factors. The main point at issue is to determine which plan has the most to commend it from an

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Student Co-operation in the Sec. School. P.115.

educational point of view. The formal plan not carried to excess, adds dignity to the event, brings vital interest, has an emotional appeal, and is realistic enough to be functional as preparation for later adult activities.

In practice nominations may be either from the floor, by a committee, or by petition. Many schools in America, in preparing the ballots, require the candidates to secure a certain number of signatures in order to have their names placed on the ballots - the number varying from 25 to 100 according to the size of the school. (1) This device, if too many signatures are not required, is useful to prevent freak candidates and a consequent waste of time. Nomination from the floor is the simplest and most direct, but it may not sufficiently allow for the evaluation of the potential nominees, temporary emotional reactions may out-weigh intellectual considerations, it allows for little organised effort on behalf of nominees, many nominations may result in split votes, such open nominations may possibly be influenced by friendly relationships. Except in small informal groups this plan should not be used. On the other hand, in nomination by committee the advantages are that it represents a variety of interests, and it centres attention on a serious study of candidates fitness for office. Experience suggests that nomination by committee or by petition is better than from the floor.

In American schools, unlike English, it is usual to find an election campaign. This undoubtedly arouses enthusiasm,

(1) McKown. Op. cit. P.165.

it clarifies issues, and mobilises support for school improvements. For campaign purposes there is often a political party organisation, in others it is non-partisan. The party plan has the advantages of arousing interest and providing realism, but it can easily become cheap, and it tends to concentrate attention on party, not on school. Without it, attention is centred on the posts to be filled and the candidate's qualifications; petty politics are less likely to come in. This is obviously a case in which relative values depend on the local setting, and the extent to which the advantages of each plan are embraced and the disadvantages are minimised. For the election of officers there are two possibilities, election by all students, or election by the Council. Both methods are being used successfully in the United States, the former being the more popular. (1) It is customary in adult life and so gives vital functional experience, the school at large becomes more interested, and it can capitalise ability which is not in the Council. Sometimes there is a restriction that certain offices can be held by upper form members only. This is based on the assumption that they will be more experienced in school affairs and more mature in judgment. This may not be correct for seniority does not guarantee these virtues. The second assumption is that because of numbers the lower classes may dominate the election. This is not necessarily true, personal experience as boy and Headmaster suggests rather that officers will be elected

(1) McKown. Op. cit. P.165.

from the upper classes, but there is no reason for making this mandatory. The purpose of an election is to get good officers, where they come from is a minor consideration.

5. Committees.

There is considerable variation in tenure of office, the most common appear to be one term, two terms, or one year. Short periods mean more opportunities for officer electing and office holding experience; they add to interest in the participation idea and allow for early removal of incompetent officers - though this should be possible, on proof of incompetence, at any time. But short tenure may break into a desirable continuity of policies and activities. In practice the best method seems to be to vary tenure since in some offices it may be desirable to maintain continuity, other and less demanding posts may be of short tenure so that many pupils will benefit from experience. Similarly, it will probably be found that two types of committee are necessary, the standing and the special committee, the latter created only when required. Standing committees should generally have a staff member for this brings experience and more mature judgment to the committee deliberations. Committee organisation should not be laid down, it will depend in each case on needs - the axiom should be the job first and then the committee to do it, this is a much better procedure than the reverse. It is possible to think immediately of many possible committees in most schools. An Assembly Committee would supervise

arrangements for, and conduct at, school assemblies. An Athletics Committee would take charge of arrangements for games and athletics, of kit etc. An Entertainments Committee would manage all activities such as music and school dramatics. Bicycle, cafeteria, magazine, traffic committees are names which suggest definite functions. But committee work could be extended, for example a Current Events Committee could summarise weekly a few of the most interesting and significant school, community, national, and world events. A Health and Sanitation Committee could take charge of elementary health rules, of the cleanliness and sanitation of the school, encourage good health rules, - even to the extent of providing tooth brushes and mugs and seeing that they were used. Care of public property would be improved if it were in the hands of a School Property Committee, whose functions might be to encourage general neatness, look after waste paper baskets, report broken or loose equipment, discourage mutilation of school equipment, and generally to inspect the school grounds. Other examples could be quoted, in every school the opportunity is there, but vision and courage are wanted to seize it. Every sort of job must be done so that there are enough to go round. Whether a task is menial or not depends on who imposes it and the spirit with which it is undertaken, and tasks set by other students for the benefit of the community are not menial.

In conclusion, then, it is possible to say that a School Council should be organised to include everybody.

It should give everyone a feeling of partnership, if the student feels the school is his, he will be interested in seeing it operate well. There must be many opportunities to serve, the simplest task becomes worth while if it is the student's enterprise. There must be opportunity and machinery for legislation by the ordinary member of the school; this means the plan of organisation must permit intensive discussion and a clear channel from every individual in the school to his representatives on the Council. There must be ample opportunity for discussion by the ordinary citizen; and finally Council organisation must allow for mistakes. Once again it must be stressed that there is no single answer.

6. Staff Advisers.

Most American schools in which a student participation plan is in operation have a Student Council Sponsor or Adviser. His job is to act as guide, counsellor and friend to the Council; accordingly he should be interested, prepared, and equipped, to guide the representative assembly. He should preferably be elected by the staff than appointed in any way; in United States schools about 50% of sponsors are appointed by the administrative officer, though the number elected by staffs is increasing. (1) The staff should recognise and accept its responsibility in electing sponsors. In small schools one is sufficient, in larger more are likely to be required. The sponsor must represent the staff and feel obligations to his constituency. He must understand and appreciate the participation idea, be sympathetic to it,

(1) McKown. Op. cit. P.301.

recognising at the same time that he is a missionary and so cannot expect an easy road. In the representative assembly he is a leader, not a teacher, he leads but does not drive, but at the same time he must not become too conspicuous, too much personality may be as detrimental as too little in work where acceptance, participation, and agreement, are not required by external authority. A sense of humour is important, as is a sense of relative values, and the ability to stress and practice co-operation. He must be prepared to experiment, for the elimination of something wrong, bad, or inferior, must mean a closer approach to what is right, good or superior; he should be prepared to allow mistakes because of the educational opportunities they afford; and he must be able to find his chief satisfaction in pupil growth, and not in expressed appreciation of his efforts.

The sponsor will need to guide the Council in its choice of activities, for though there is always plenty of room for activities, not all are equally suitable. They must be carefully chosen according to certain criteria and experience suggests that the following are points to bear in mind. The activity must be interesting, understandable, desirable and practicable. It should encourage initiative and originality, enlarge the students' horizon, develop responsibility, and lead to further interests. It should promote co-operation and citizenship, and help students to assume adult responsibilities. There is no fear of lack of response, for over and over it has been proved that youth is eager to

serve the community when aroused, and that it wants a part in planning for such community service. Consequently the best areas of service are those which represent the real interests and problems of youth. The only limits imposed should be those imposed by youth itself, in accordance with its willingness and ability to assume and perform the services.

7. The position of new pupils as citizens.

The Council will find in the course of its career that it has many problems to face. One of these will, undoubtedly, be the new pupils who enter the school every year. In one example this problem was tackled by the theoretically undemocratic expedient of not allowing juniors to be citizens for some time. (1) In the case of the New Zealand experiment, it was found that first year forms were somewhat difficult and seemed to have little conception of what self-government and co-operation really implied. The reason for this was mainly the beginning of secondary education which involved a distinct break in the pupils primary school experiences and associations. "Some few (pupils) are still thinking and acting as members of a sixth standard." (2) This difficulty is likely to occur at times with senior forms. In the case just quoted the following suggestions were made; that forms must become conscious of the need of, and therefore desire, form spirit and organisation, and that in any self-governing

(1) The first school studied in Chapter 4.

(2) Wild. Op. cit. P.38.

community all have not reached the "age of 21". "There are those who, through lack of experience and education, are unable to carry the weight of responsible citizenship and are 'unable to exercise the privilege thereof' ". (1) It was suggested also that all first year groups be regarded as minors in the school community until the beginning of the second term or such other times as might be decided; that the first forms should be divided into small groups, each with an appointed leader responsible to a Council committee; and that they should have no representative on the Council or any of its committees until they received the right to vote. Some of these suggestions, by denying the rights of citizenship to some members of the community, were not only undemocratic but educationally unsound, and a scheme of advisory committees to first year forms was adopted as a permanent feature. A somewhat similar method was later adopted in the examples studied in detail in chapter 4. This problem of educating new students in self-government is one every Council has to face. In the school of which I am Headmaster an attempt to solve it is being made by the Council electing senior pupils to represent the first year forms. These representatives attend all meetings of first year classes. Moreover, such forms attend Council meetings as spectators.

8. The problem of spreading experience.

The Council may, too, find that its work appears ineffective, in which case its diagnosis will probably

(1) Wild. Op. cit. P.39.

penetrate to essentials. It may find that self-government is just a name and that the students have little authority to make decisions of any kind; that it is a piece of machinery inserted into a smooth running principal operated school only as a concession to modern trends. In this case it should endeavour to establish the essentials upon which student participation in the school community should be based. It should be given a significant part of school time for democracy is more costly of time than more autocratic forms of government, consequently definite time allotments should be made for the operation of the machinery of living at school. Students committees, conferences, elections, and reports, should be looked upon as matters of importance. Above all students must be given the dominant place in carrying forward these activities. There must be no subterfuge. They must have the right to make mistakes in their government as well as to achieve success. If the school organisation is merely a front behind which teachers dominate school decisions, a large part of the educative value of the experience is lost. This is not to imply that a school can suddenly be placed under student control when it has previously been governed entirely by teachers, but it is easy to say that the success of a school can be measured to no small degree by growth in the interpretation and utilisation of democratic processes in its government. Moreover, the areas of democratic control in a school community must be extended far beyond disciplinary and similar problems. Not only should these aspects of

school government be handled on a democratic basis but student concern and responsibility can reach such matters as the maintenance and operation of the school plant such as cafeterias, school services to the community, and the like. Care must be taken, too, to make sure that the participation of students is not limited in areas or in numbers of children who are given an opportunity to participate in the government of the school community. It is so easy for only some 25-40 pupils to get direct governmental experience at one time, therefore given situations must be found with sufficient activities for others to engage in it, for an actual situation responsibly faced is the ideal unit of educative experience.

This question of giving the young sufficient experience and training is vital, for they are the heirs of the body politic. In the New Zealand experiment, which has previously been mentioned, a similar position arose in 1933. The difficulty occurred because many boys stayed on at school owing to lack of work, and were now so accustomed to leadership that they were tending to become, unconsciously, autocratic. Of the Judicial Committee of seven, four or five had been on the Committee for two or three years, and were coming to be regarded, not as instruments of the school's authority, but as authorities in their own right. Despite elections they continued automatically. Older boys not in a position of leadership were hostile, but the Committee were against nominating them as they thought the

risk too great. But the system was changed so that the Committee was now to consist of the three boy house captains, a chairman elected by the Council, and three members sitting for a month, elected by ballot from a list approved by the Council. Pupil members later drew up a report on the changes which said, "We recommend that this system remain in vogue because (1) the sense of responsibility is fostered in individual pupils, by placing them in a responsible position, (2) the system is more democratic and representative. As this is a self-governing school all are equals and peers. (3) It possesses a moral value in that each one strives to be worthy to be placed on the list of eligible jurymen." (1)

9. Financial control introduces realism.

Experience places it beyond doubt that if the pupils can have some control of financial administration of school activities, there is a great gain not only in breadth of experience, but in relationship to life. This is often one of the most unsatisfactory features of self-government in American schools, - financial administration is the phase of extra-curricular activities most investigated by graduate students and others. The purposes of student control of financial administration are two, the first is to ensure the development of a wholesome and well balanced programme - and this is most effectively done by financial control. The second purpose is to educate the participants, both direct and indirect. The school that provides a favourable situation for loose practices in handling money is, at the

(1)Wild. Op. cit. P.65.

least, careless, at the most, little short of criminal. The crime is not so much that some pupils or teachers may have an easy chance to be dishonest, but rather that as a result of the schools muddling along the pupils should come to think that public business should be handled in this way. Pupil financial administration of school activities will both set the proper ideals, and give some actual practice in proper business methods.

10. The source of funds and financial administration.

The best source of income is undoubtedly public funds. In America the methods of raising money just grew up; it is estimated now that the cost of Council activities averages 25/- per person per year. (1) The chief, and oldest, source of income is by making a charge for admission to events. The inside show, staged by students and teachers, is most popular because it is most profitable. It is justified by custom, but it is not sound educational practice because the objective of a school is educational development. Moreover, an admission fee policy over-emphasises the raising of money, for the educational potentialities of an activity cannot be completely capitalised so long as it is considered a means of raising money - American school and college athletics are a case in point. The vicious relationship is emphasised by the fact that the greater the "gate" the greater the benefits for all activities. Dramatics and music suffer from similar dangers. Another method of financing activities is by the sale of services and articles by the students. The

(1) McKown. Op. cit. P.342.

school shop gives useful service and provides educational opportunities for the students directly interested in it, but the volume of business is likely to be small while the stock on hand means that there is always some capital tied up which someone must provide. Irregular sales produce only relatively small sales and are often cheap and undignified. The activity ticket system is spreading because it interests a large number of students in all activities, it helps to guarantee good attendance, subsidises those activities which have little support, makes it easier to calculate income by the sale of tickets for a whole year, and so helps to budget. Of 371 schools answering a question on source of income 42% used this method; and 76% of the schools in which the Council had control of extra-curriculum monies used it.(1) In one school 97% of 1709 students bought activity tickets and the Council was trying to get 100% sale. (2)

Membership just as a means of raising money should not be permitted; because the school is an organisation supported by public funds, all the students should have equal right to join any organisation in the school. Some American schools use a regular tax, and limit voting and participation to those who pay this tax. This is supported by the argument that this is similar to that used in an adult system of self-government, and that it helps to finance the extra-curricular programme. Even if legal it confuses "self-government" with "participation in control"; moreover it is

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sed. School Principals. Op. cit. P.193.

(2) Central High Register of Central High School, Omaha, Oct. 3rd, 1947.

probably difficult to raise much money in this way. There is only one logical, justifiable, and adequate, method of supporting activities, and that is by grants from the public authorities as in the New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, Illinois. (1) If activities such as envisaged are educative they should be supported in the same way as all other educative opportunities. Such public financing would make these activities more dignifiedand important, ensure adequate support, and improve them because of the resultant demand that they represent profitable educative investments.(2)

In the organisation of financial administration, little can be learnt from examples outside the United States because of their rarity. (3) In America one type of administration is decentralised, and is often found in small schools. Each activity raises and spends its own sums. This method is undesirable, far better is the centralised form in which all funds from whatever source, are placed in one central account, and the money is disbursed as publicly approved. Methods of handling Council finances vary. In smaller schools particularly, the tendency is for the principal to have sole control of money. This is unwise as any Council's programme is inseparably tied up with finance and the two cannot be separated - if the principal controls finance he has the power of running the Council. Administration by the Council

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op. cit. P.208.

(2) See chapter 5 for examples of revenue raising in two English self-governing schools.

(3) See chapter 5 however for details of two English examples.

as a whole is good in a small school, in a larger one it is probably better to delegate it to a special committee. A further method is by a Finance Committee to which all key individuals are elected, so that they become a clearing house on all financial matters - but it is advisory not legislative. In many cases the actual bookkeeping and financial work is done by students of regular commercial classes. Here is expert bookkeeping, and help in duties, dictating, typing, etc, and all these activities represent very practical education for the students concerned, and also give a tight centralised control. It does not eliminate the committee but provides competent supervised help in the handling of detailed operations. A rather similar system is the School Bank, one of the most highly developed forms of Student Council administration. In this case all business is handled through representatives responsible for the organisation of the bank - this is imitative of adult practice.

In any case somewhere will be a Central Treasurer; the question arises whether it should be a student or adult. In favour of a student is that it is logical, he can gain valuable experience, he is capable of discharging the duties, and if he were inefficient that would soon appear, while an adult treasurer might not recognise his proper place as an "employee". In favour of an adult is the fact that it tends to greater permanence in office, that students are too immature to be responsible for considerable sums of money,

the school may lack complete confidence in him, - while because of his age it may be difficult to bond him legally. On the whole it is probably better to have an adult as the central treasurer, and students as committee treasurers; my own experience suggests that the right adult as treasurer is preferable to a pupil.

Financial administration, of whatever form, should be properly organised and used to ensure tight control. Financial returns of all activities should be kept and purchases controlled unless properly authorised. The book-keeping must be accurate, complete and simple, and audit should be by competent disinterested parties. The Activities Budget requires very careful consideration because of the relationship between finance and activities. Disbursements should be made only on the basis of need and all income should go to one central treasury. In a large school committees may present budgets to the Finance Committee who recommend them to the Council for acceptance, or suggest revision in view of the total income and expenditure. After adoption by the Council the budget is posted (this would not be necessary if adopted by the whole school) and the Central Treasurer allocates the proper balance to the credit of each organisation.

Councils having no financial responsibility will probably exert comparatively little influence on the life of the school; of 371 schools studied in 1940, 24% in answer to the question "Does the Council determine budget

appropriations for each organisation?" indicated that the Council had legislative control of all extra-curricular funds. (1) Principals who have delegated control of such funds report that nothing increases respect and prestige of the Council so much as having the right to apportion funds to organisations - this opinion I have myself confirmed from personal experience in two schools. Good business demands the adoption of a budget by each organisation. In the Nevada High School, each committee prepares its own budget, these are then combined into a general budget. (2) In Wheaton, Illinois, High School, in the year 1943-4 the income was estimated at 4,440 dollars, and was distributed among 28 organisations, whose incomes varied from 21.52 dollars (the Book Club) to 1458 dollars (The School Annual) (3); the distribution being the responsibility of the Ways and Means Committee. Summary reports of the financial condition of each organisation were prepared monthly and centralised along the following lines:-

Account.	Income. (sub-divided if necessary under headings according to origin.)	Expenses to date.	Balance.

11. Pupil control of discipline - the pupil court.

The aspect of self-government about which there is likely to be most disagreement is student administered discipline. There may be some form of self-government without involving discipline, but it will be a weak attenuated form, probably

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op. cit. P.197.
(2) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op. cit. P.197.
(3) McKown. Op. cit. P.265. (footnote).

possessing advisory powers only. In the United States of America of 1431 schools with a Student Council, one fifth had student courts; of these 78.9% recommended the idea, 5% would not recommend it, and 16% did not answer the relative question. (1) A court can be defined as a formally organised and officially authorised group of students charged with the responsibility of assisting in maintaining discipline, especially in out-of-class activities and conduct. It varies in size, complexity, and plan, but if the student group is authorised to deal with infractions of rules and regulations then it is a court.

One of the great arguments for a court is that democratic living demands not only that standards of conduct be set, but that actions be judged on the basis of these criteria. The student court is one device to be used in this accomplishment.

Further, through actually helping to maintain standards of conduct, the student will better understand the necessity for these, and more fully appreciate his own responsibilities as a school citizen. Without personally felt sentiments of law and order there can be no real value in true democracy. Moreover the Student Court gives realistic training in the duties of citizenship. The student applies what he has learnt about such procedures, and his education thereby becomes functional. One important point is that the Student Court emphasises constructive education rather than punishment,

(1) Nat. Assoc. of Sec. School Principals. Op. cit. P.198.

defendants are considered as fellow students needing counsel rather than as outcasts, the main purpose is to change a student's attitude, not to punish. Psychologically it is sound as it represents discipline from within. The average pupil would rather face disapproval from his teachers than from his fellows. Lastly, it is perhaps not too much to hope that such experience, in school, should help to bring about a reform in adult court procedure, with its delays, endless bickering, high fees, and emphasis on law rather than on justice.

Against student courts it can be urged that pupils are not sufficiently experienced and mature to handle cases of discipline, and are likely to be influenced too much by emotion and too little by intellectual considerations. Those who urge this will, in many cases, forget that in many schools powers of discipline are already exercised by prefects, who are of course sufficiently experienced, mature, and intellectual. It may also be believed that parents will object to having their children disciplined by other children. This point over-emphasises discipline, in practice experience suggests comparatively few children will be disciplined - the argument in effect represents a fear rather than a fact. Legally students may not be authorised to discipline their fellows. If this argument be true it applies equally to prefects - but cannot such authority be delegated, as in so many other activities and responsibilities? It is possible that a student court may stir up animosities, that officials

newly vested with authority will become arrogant and dictatorial. This is less likely to happen when authority is derived from their fellows than when derived from a Headmaster; but though it is possible in student as in adult life that some may so develop, that is no argument against the whole plan. Most will be fair and conscientious, and there is the further safeguard that overbearing officers can be removed. The argument that students are more likely to challenge court authority than staff authority is not borne out by experience; the best discipline comes from within, the poorest from without, the court iswithin the student body, the teachers are without. May it not be possible, however, that student courts will tend to promote petty politics because of student friendships and obligations? On the whole this appears less likely than in adult life, experience suggests an almost complete absence of petty politics - and it might be argued that temptations to show partiality represent a good educational setting. Neither are courts likely to deal too severely with offenders, because it can be assumed that all penalties must be approved directly or indirectly by the Head - here again experience suggests the arguments to be untrue. It is, however, possible that penalties may be unwise, but is not this the fault of those who supervise student discipline rather than of the student discipline idea? The objection that trials over-emphasise petty violations and serious cases are made out of relatively trivial ones, is again an objection to the method rather than

to the basic ideas. Experience shows that many courts do not penalise for a small first violation, and some examples show courts taking action against students who wasted time by bringing pointless charges. It is true that a teacher's punishment is more immediate - while a court may be slow and cumbersome. Immediate punishments may, however, be least profitable because they may be made in anger, they are often not likely to be based on a knowledge of why the individual acted as he did, and they allow little time for careful consideration; no teacher can know as much about a pupil as his fellow pupils, and they rarely represent thinking in terms of student first, which is the aim of all student court plans.

An examination of courts in action will reveal a basis for faith, and facts on which to form a solid opinion of their value, their work, and the ability of youth to sit in judgment on its fellows. In the case of the New Zealand experiment already quoted, the Judicial Committee reported after it had been in existence six months. (1) During that time it had ordered corporal punishment in twelve cases of individual boys, tried nineteen cases, and given sentences to the extent of 24 days' fatigues (a fatigue was work from 10.30 a.m. to 10.45 a.m. and from 1 p.m. to 1.25 p.m.) It had worked off 514 days' fatigue, 214 days in the first term, 148 in the second, and 152 in the third. "Having no rules to go by it has tried each case in relation to what it has

(1) Wild. Op. cit. P.16-17.

considered the honour of the school in the matter." Moreover it had developed a fatigue organisation and for the purpose of time-keeping had appointed officers known as prefects of the week, such officers "being the two house captains and such other members of the Council in the V. and V1. forms as the Committee considers suitable." It had arranged weekly meetings every Wednesday, to hear the report of the Prefects of the Week, to try cases, and to consider any matter in its province and had decided to enter up the records of cases tried and to have them signed by the Headmaster.

In an English school a Headmaster who has done much experimental work reported that all that it was necessary to say in defence of self-government was that "one weekly General Meeting is, in my opinion, of more value than a week's curriculum of school subjects. The educational value of practical civics cannot be over-emphasised. The child realises the value of self-government and in Summerhill the pupils would fight to the death for the right to govern themselves." (1) In this case self-government developed from a family affair to the election of a chairman, a jury, and then a cabinet of five to deal with all charges and to act as a jury. Usually the government's verdict was accepted; not once on appeal was a sentence increased. The jury rarely sought adult advice - in fact only once in years(2).

In the first example studied in chapter 4, self-government had been in existence for some two years before the

(1) Neill. That Dreadful School. P.46.
(2) Neill. Op. cit. P.49.

question of judicial functions was settled. It was then proposed to divide the General Meeting's work into legislative and judicial branches, but the decision was postponed. This was followed by a number of cases of duties being unsatisfactorily done, the cleaning of class-rooms for example, and a fortnight later the General Meeting made the following decisions:

1. to have separate legislative and judicial machinery,
2. to have 7 "judges" above the age of fifteen,
3. "judges" were to hold office for "life",
4. accused should have the right of appeal to the General Meeting.

It is important that this judicial branch was created because it was felt necessary; there was no artificial form but an endeavour to work out an answer to a concrete problem. The four basic rules remained substantially unaltered for years. The first appeal to the General Meeting occurred four months later, and was lost. One early question that had to be decided - and a most important one since it arose out of the development of a social conscience in the community- was whether only breaches of definite rules could be reported. Here - at a time when the oldest boys in the school were 15-16, it was decided that any case could be brought before the Council so long as there were a definite accuser and accused.

In American schools, as might be expected from their greater number and greater desire to experiment, courts are of many types. The first might be called the Council Court,

because in it the entire Council participates as a unit. This is both simple in form and logical, for the Council, having authority over organisations can have authority over individuals. One possible handicap is lack of time for there is much other business, and the tendency may then develop to over-emphasise disciplinary activities. There is the further point that the Council represents all types of person and activity, but it may be argued that discipline is a field in which specialised competence is most important. Consequently, unless the school is small, a better plan may be the creation of a division which specialises in discipline. In the case of a Discipline Committee the constitution or Council usually authorises a regular standing committee to handle disciplinary cases; it being responsible either to the representative assembly or the whole student body. There are possible weaknesses in this method; a committee is often an informal organisation, and lack of formality may mean lack of dignity and prestige. Lack of responsibility may also mean that the committee will feel less responsibility, so that a more formally organised and more definitely empowered court may be preferable.

On occasion American schools use a one judge plan, imitative of adult life. This is comparatively rare, and almost always involves a higher court to which appeals may be taken. More frequent is the multi-judge court. In this case a bench is composed of a group of judges, the advantages being in the number of heads, formality and

dignity, so that it can easily win school support and respect. This is a good form providing there are not too many judges. Judges and jury courts are common; the judge and his clerk are the only "professionals", the jury being drawn by lot from either the whole school or the upper forms. Juries usually serve only for a short term; majority decisions usually decide a case. This plan is popular because it offers fair opportunity for everyone concerned, it prevents loss of time, etc, by not requiring a unanimous vote, and it provides opportunity for wide participation. Occasionally a "Supreme Court" is found. It is used as a Court of Appeal. There is little need for it, it is complicated, and in any case the Headmaster is usually the supreme court - in cases warranting suspension or expulsion for example he, not the student, should make the final decision. This is an example of a tendency to slavish imitation of adult models which fortunately is dying in American schools.

The simplest form of court organisation involves a number of officials; there must be a complainant who may be anyone provided he makes the complaint and is willing to appear against the person concerned; there is the defendant, innocent until proved guilty, and even if guilty he does not have to admit it. There should also be a presiding officer in charge of personnel and proceedings, and responsible for pronouncing sentence; a clerk to keep the records giving the main points of each case - these may be of great assistance in dealing with similar cases later. If a jury is used it decides on guilt and may recommend punishments - in America

a jury usually numbers five to nine. It may be chosen in various ways, may serve for different terms, but must have no connection with the case under trial. Often too - as in the school first quoted in chapter 4 - the defendant can be represented by a friend. There are also witnesses. In America a member of the school staff is also present; in student courts, as in other activities, there is a chance of mistakes, friction and unwise decisions; so it is desirable for the court to have an adviser to bring experience, maturity, and judgment, and to give expression to the staff view. He does not, however, dominate policies or practices, and once the court is established his duties are of the watching, and less of the participating type.

In practice court officials are usually either appointed by popular election or by the representative assembly. In favour of general election is that it is an adult procedure, and that students have a right to elect officers under whom they serve. Those who advocate appointment by the representative assembly maintain that the Court's responsibilities are executive not policy making, that it should be rule-enforcing, not rule making, and that a Council made court is more efficient because it is unbiased, and it is not obligated to particular individuals or groups. This question appears not yet to have been finally determined, though the balance is in favour of the representative assembly appointment plan.

There is considerable agreement about general court procedure, but in America it tends to be somewhat more formal

than in the few cases in which English schools have courts. There a citation is usually given to the accused, which is merely an order to appear to face the charges filed. The trial may be simple or not according to the machinery developed. If the verdict is guilty a defendant may be asked whether he thinks his trial just - only rarely does he think it is not. (1) In procedure which makes use of a prosecutor and a defender (2) there is real danger that winning an acquittal or conviction may become the main objective of trial as happens in adult life; it is fatal for the student court to be anything but an impartial fact-finding body.

12. The problem of punishment.

Student courts have been opposed not only on the grounds that pupils are incapable of dealing, or should not be allowed to deal, with discipline cases, but also that punishments are often unfair, and do not "fit the crime". On this point there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary; all suggesting that boys have a very keen sense of justice. This is pre-eminently a point on which no sound judgment can be based without very careful weighing of the evidence, and preferably personal experience, of student courts. Such personal experience, and careful records, convince the writer not only that students have a keen sense of justice, but that they are fully capable of work of this nature. Examples

(1) McKown. Op. cit. P.284.

(2) See chapter 4 page 78.

have already been quoted of the types and amount of punishment awarded in one New Zealand school. (1) One most significant feature is the lack of puhishment of the old academic type, often purely negative; its place has been taken by punishment which is designed to make restitution to the community, a punishment which is constructive, which contributes to the well-being of all. The subject of punishment is all important for confidence rests largely on it. One American commentator has written "It is well known that more students' courts have been abolished because of difficulties over punishments than for all other causes combined." (2) In the United States one form used is lowering marks; it is defended on the ground that the student works for marks, and fining him in terms of marks is as reasonable as fining him in terms of money. This is likely to be commonly used in schools where teachers reduce marks as a disciplinary measure. It is completely unjustifiable, for apart from the basic question of the value of marks, a mark should be an index of what the student knows about or is able to do in that particular subject, and should not include irrelevant matter. A teacher does not, for example, raise a student's marks for picking up his handkerchief, why therefore do the opposite for opposite conduct? A system of demerits is sometimes used where schools keep records of conduct. This is better than allowing demerits to lower

(1) See chapter 8 page 227.

(2)McKown. Op. cit. P.285.

subject marks, but is ineffective where students are disinterested in conduct or citizenship. It is, however, definite and easily administered. An old method, detention, is also used; this, broadly conceived is harmful because of the inevitable implication that school work is a punishment. Further, it violates a tenet of educative punishment - that is a close relationship between offence and penalty.

Difficult administrative problems are raised by a further American form - the "pest room". This is a study, with strict supervision, to which offenders are sentenced. There is no additional work and no out of school periods, but simply a denial of the privilege of studying in a pleasant atmosphere among friends. Extra school work is, however, illogical and unjustifiable. It not only makes school work a punishment, but it is also the professional responsibility of the teachers not the students. Temporary disqualification from activities is, however, both logical and fair, because it represents the removal of privileges and can reflect the activities concerned in the violation. Suspension or removal from office is severe and should be used sparingly; it is, however, a very real punishment, and is justifiable because conviction proves that a student has not lived up to the high standards of good school citizenship. Suspension from school should be imposed only by the Headmaster; menial tasks are justifiable if appropriate. Admonition is often effective with first offenders and with less serious cases; periods of probation are useful, especially as the court exists to reconstruct and

not for vengeance. A suspended sentence often serves a similar purpose. Apology often requires considerable courage, but a forced apology may be detrimental as it may be mere outward observance (1); in many cases apology is insufficient.

The most disputed form is likely to be corporal punishment, most disputed largely because of the emotions involved. Many who would not permit a pupil court to inflict physical punishment would be likely, either to forget, or to allow, its use by prefects. Here again actual observation of self-government at work, and in particular pupil courts, is most instructive. In the New Zealand example the court in the first six months of its existence ordered corporal punishment in the case of twelve individual boys. (2) It was adopted on the proposal of a boy, and approved by the Headmaster, subject to the following limitations. (3)

1. The offender to have the right of appeal to the Council.
2. The offender to be given the right of taking his punishment from the Headmaster or house captain.
3. In the event of his choosing the latter course, the punishment to be meted out by his house captain in the presence of at least three prefects of the week.
4. Punishment in such case never to exceed four strokes.

Later Judicial Committees kept the punishment. The Headmaster's conclusion, after considerable experience, was

(1) See chapter 4, P.77.
(2) Wild. Op. cit. P.16.
(3) Wild. Op. cit. P.17.

that though it should be permitted, there were certain types of boys to whom it should not be applied. He considered that it was retained because there was a feeling that offences were expiated, it was impersonal and led to no ill feeling, while the culprit, for the time being at any rate, intended to be more careful. Presumably a further reason for its retention is that juveniles are not so mature as adults, and adult society has not yet found a way of abolishing capital and corporal punishment. But it was not retained simply as a custom, for on occasions the Judicial Committee was thrown out of office and lively discussion thereby caused; this procedure served useful purposes, it reminded the Committee it was responsible to the school, it showed aggrieved persons a constitutional way of seeking redress, and it showed the futility of destructive criticism without accompanying suggestions for improvement.

In the English school first described in chapter 4 corporal punishment was also permitted, and careful records kept over a period of six years give an accurate indication of the extent to which it was used. (1) During that period 263 boys were punished by the Council in various ways; of these 21 were given corporal punishment, totalling 91 strokes, the greatest sentence (in number of strokes) being six with a rubber soled slipper. On these figures it can hardly be maintained that corporal punishment held an undue place.

(1) The records are in MSS form and are not likely to be published; they have been carefully analysed and form the basis of the remainder of this chapter.

When inflicted, the boy who carried out the sentence, together with two witnesses, was nominated by the Council. It was, therefore, purely impersonal since he was acting as the representative of the General Meeting - and it was noticeable that the carrying out of the sentence was genuinely distasteful. Nor was it ever inflicted to avoid thought and as being the quickest way out of a difficulty. Further analysis of the figures just quoted, however, suggests that it may have been "fashionable" at one time. For of the total of 21 boys punished in 18 terms in this way, 11 were so punished in 4 consecutive terms, and a total of 19 in 6 terms. During the last 10 terms of the period only 2 received corporal punishment, and, during the last 5, none at all. Used rarely, as it was even during the "fashionable" period, it was not brutalising, and impersonally inflicted as it also was, it had none of the psychological objections which so often exist when used habitually by one person. This also must be remembered, that under the system described it was vastly different from corporal punishment inflicted by prefects.

In the cases of schools for which statistical details exist, it is then clear that corporal punishment is comparatively rarely inflicted by the pupils. Further analysis will show the type of punishment commonly used and the extent to which it fitted the crime. The figures refer to a school of 65 boys, all boarders; no other comparable figures are obtainable; the four years have been chosen at random from records concerning a much longer period.

Offences have been divided into a number of main categories (the few offences not falling under these headings have been omitted from column 4).

Term	No of Council Meetings	Total No charged	Main types of offence	Total No pun:	Form of punishment	No not pun:	No of successful appeals
1	7	50	19 against hygiene 25 against discipline 1 slackness in duty 4 causing nuisance	30	7 boys given total of 8½ hrs work 23 boys given specific tasks	20	0
2	9	30	7 against hygiene 4 slackness in duty 3 against discipline 10 causing nuisance 1 against property	21	9 boys given a total of 12 hrs work 4 boys given tasks 8 boys given a total of 30 strokes (of these 6 were given 3 strokes each and a task)	9	0
3	7	18	8 against hygiene 2 against discipline 3 against property 4 causing nuisance	17	12 boys given a total of 10¼ hrs work (7 appealed successfully) 2 to repay cost of damage 2 given tasks 1 seen by Council	1	7 (all hygiene cases)
4	6	27	8 against hygiene 17 causing nuisance	12	4 boys given a total of 4 hrs work 7 given tasks 1 to repay & given 3 strks	15+	0

+ (Form left room untidy, ordered to elect 1 boy as responsible.

Term	No of Council meetings	Total No charged	Main types of offence	Total No pun:	Form of Punishment	No not pun:	No of successful appeals
5	12	17	5 against hygiene 4 against discipline 3 against property 2 against nuisance 1 slackness in duty	16	10 given a total of 15 hrs 55 mins work 2 caned- 5 strokes ea. 3 given tasks	1	0
6	9	30	9 against hygiene 3 against discipline 2 against property 4 slackness in duty 2 causing nuisance	24	13 boys given a total of 29 hrs work 7 given tasks 4 caned - 4 strokes each	6	0
7	8	35	11 against hygiene 11 causing nuisance 7 slackness in duties 3 against discipline	31	11 boys given a total of 22 hrs work 11 boys given tasks 4 caned - total of 21 strokes	4	5
8	7	14	4 causing nuisance 4 against discipline 3 against hygiene 3 slackness in duties	14	6 boys given a total of 11 hrs work 8 boys given tasks	0	0
9	2	2	2 causing nuisance	1	1 boy given 3 hrs work	1	0
10	2	2	1 against property	1	1 boy given 5 strokes	1	

Term	No of Council Meetings	Total No charged	Main types of offence	Total No pun:	Form of Punishment	No not pun:	No of successful appeals
11	7	22	12 slackness in duties 4 against property 1 causing nuisance 1 against discipline	17	11 boys given a total of 14 hrs work 4 boys fined to restore property 2 made to take runs	5	
12	5	14	9 slackness in duties 3 against discipline 1 against property	9	6 boys given a total of 6 hrs work 2 given tasks 1 caned - 3 strokes	5	

Totals:- 12 terms, 81 Council Meetings (average 1 meeting per fortnight), 261 boys charged, 193 boys punished, 67 not punished, 13 appeals successful.

Types of Offence.		Form of Punishment.
Against hygiene	90.	90 boys given 130 hrs 40 mins work.
Against discipline	48.	67 boys given specific tasks.
Slackness in duties	41.	20 boys given corporal punishment.
Against property	16.	7 ordered to refund cost of damage.
Causing a nuisance	57.	2 boys sent for a cross country run.
	252.	1 boy interviewed by the Council.

Through this four year period there was a decline in offences against hygiene, which in every case were punished by a period of work (weeding, rolling tennis courts, etc.) until in the last year there was no reported case. The persistence

of offences is shown by the accompanying graph. (page 245).

This graph reveals a number of interesting points. The "peak" periods, only to be expected, for each of these years saw a considerable intake of new boys, moreover they followed the long summer holiday. The general decline in offences as the school year progressed suggests a general raising of the standard of the new boys so that of the remainder of the school, and a raising brought about by the force of public opinion rather than the fear of punishment. Over the four year period offences against hygiene disappeared; those constituting a nuisance almost disappeared. Slackness in the performance of duties varied considerably, but the most persistent, though not the most numerous type of offence, was against property.

The normal activities of the Council are indicated further in the following table, which shows details of its work during each of three separate terms in a period of five years. The individual charged in each case is indicated by a capital letter of the alphabet.

SAMPLE TERM 1.

Meeting of Council.	Offence.	Punishment.
1	A. using wrong towel.	3 hrs work (an older boy)
2	B. disobeying server at meals	To mark out tennis courts
3	C. breaking a lock	1 hrs work
4	3 members of Games Committee charged with inefficiency	To clean pavilion and to prepare pitches

SAMPLE TERM 1 (Continued.)

Meeting of Council.	Offence.	Punishment.
5	D. ending cricket nets late and so interfering with other activities	To wash down 'causeway' (concrete path) three times
	E. making a mess with ink	2 hours rolling
	F. desk left filthy	1 " "
	F. not putting name on table list	1 " "
6	G. making noise during prep	2 hrs work on theatre
	3 boys charged with stealing 1 lad had already returned the goods	2 boys to be caned - this was postponed by the Head as they had just been cane for smoking
7	3 boys for snatching new bread and disobeying the server	To remove all cricket nets and store them at the end of term
	SAMPLE TERM 2.	
1	H. riding cycle in cycle shed	Not to use cycle for 28 days
	I. taking ball without leave	1 hours work
2	3 boys forgetting to pay taxes in time, 2 of them being prefects	1½ hours work each
3	X had loaned his cycle to Y, but said he had suspended permission, after which Y had broken the cycle & buckled the wheel. X & Y represented. Council decided there was a conflict of evidence; left to the General Meeting to decide whether Y should pay for the damage	1½ hours work each Y to pay for the damage he had caused
4	3 boys for not doing work set by the Games Committee	At disposal of Games Committee for 14 days
	K. taking too much honey	1 hours work
	L. -taking games material without leave	To clean cricket pads
5.	K. not paying taxes in time	2 hours work
	M. taking pavilion key away	To open & shut windows for 14 days

SAMPLE TERM 2 (Continued.)

Meeting of Council.	Offence.	Punishment.
6	Two Games Wardens for not checking material and for having lost one pad	6 strokes each with a gym shoe
	3 junior boys for not rolling	Warned
	N. for using another boy's towel	2 hours work

SAMPLE TERM 3.

1	O. late for games	1 hours rolling
	20 juniors for not playing games properly- case brought by referee	The 2 captains given 6 chairs to mend for not bringing offenders before the Council
2	P. wearing another boy's shorts	1 hours work
3	Q & R. for leaving charred paper about in the lab.	Case dropped - complaint considered sufficient.
	S. for leaving on lights	1 hours work
4	T. not putting polish in boot room	1 hours work
	U. refusing to take flags up to Games Field (U denied refusing but was contradicted by 2 witnesses)	To clean games room for 10 days
5	12 boys for leaving 3 water closets in an in-sanitary condition	To clean all lavatories
	V. late for breakfast	5 days cleaning
6	W. ragging in the library	1 hours work
	W. putting salt in another boy's sweet	1 hours work
	6 boys leaving 1 water closet in a dirty condition	To scrub it for the rest of term
7	X. for throwing ink	To learn 20 lines of poetry
	Y, for interfering with another boy doing prep.	1½ hours work

GRAPH to show the number charged with various types of offence over a four-year period.

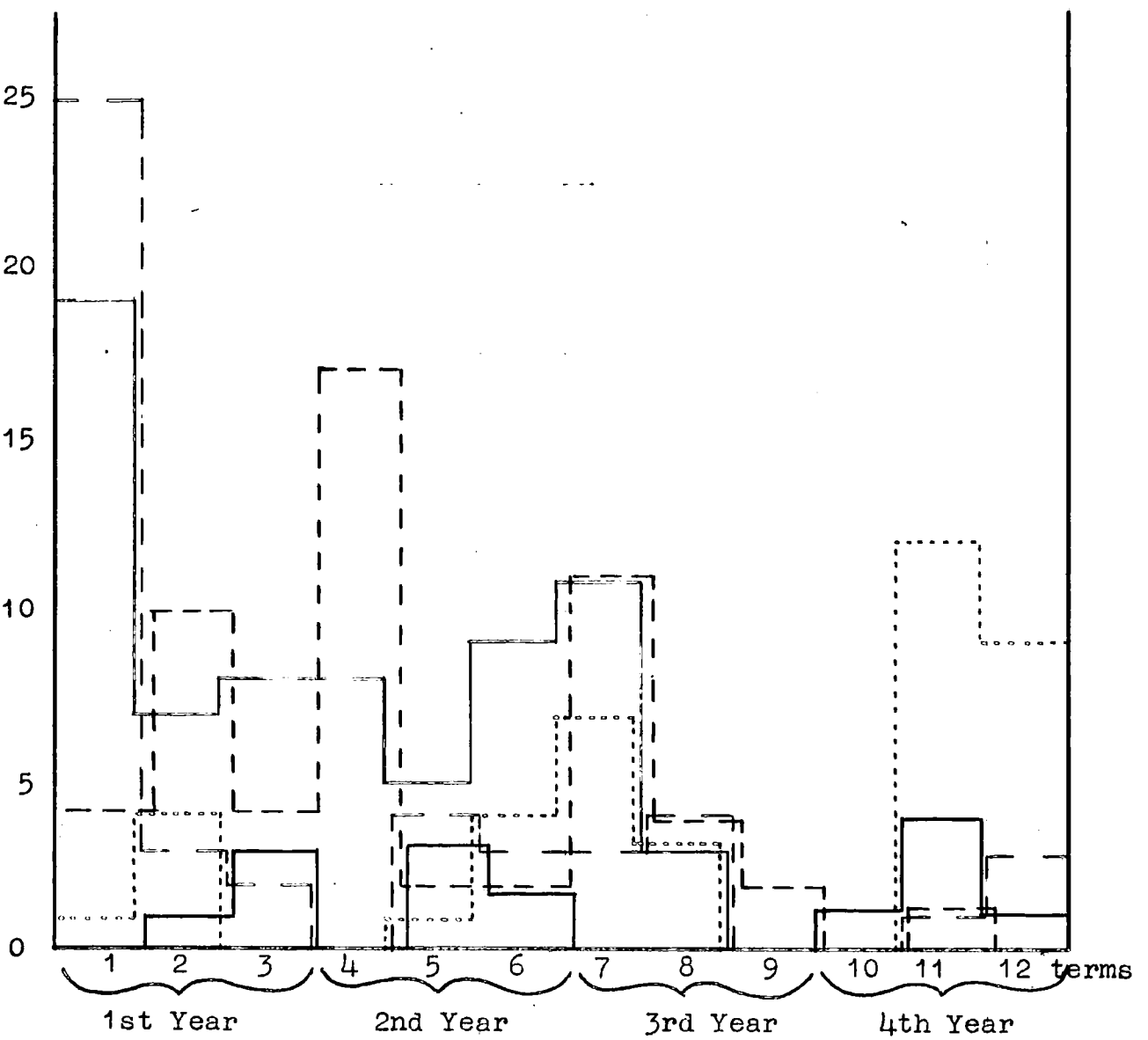
Offences against hygiene.

Offences against discipline.

Slackness in duties.

Offences against property.

Causing a nuisance.



Probably the greatest difficulty the Council had to face was the question of "owning up". On several occasions over a period of years, offences were committed which no boy would admit, either before or after collective punishment had been exacted. The first example quoted occurred during an autumn term; in it no one would admit having left a piece of bread in the urinals. After a long discussion it was decided that the whole school should be punished; various suggestions of punishment in the form of work were made but it was finally agreed that there should be a fine of 1/6 on each boy, the money being handed to the Headmaster for a purpose which was not to be made public. A week later, despite this levy, the General Meeting decided to make a contribution to a fund the purpose of which was to give slum children a summer day in the country. Some time later, when self-government had been in existence some few years, it was found that a number of golf balls used for putting had been lost during play, the loss not being reported. It was agreed that putting should be suspended until the boys responsible reported. Two days later no one had admitted losing balls, and it was decided that, in consequence, six boys, to be chosen by lot, should clean out the classrooms for the next three weeks. It was noticeable that when the lots had been drawn for this onerous duty, there were a number of volunteers prepared to take the place of those on whom the lot had fallen. Following this example, which occurred during the summer term, the third instance happened seven months later. A window had been broken at the end of the Christmas term and there was considerable eveidence that it had been done by a

member of the lowest form. Despite a week's grace no one owned up; communal punishment was discussed, and this in turn led to a vigorous discussion whether new boys, who were not in the school at the time the damage was caused, should be included in the punishment. It was decided that as they were members of the school community, it should include them. Two days later it was arranged that the communal punishment should take the form of an hour's silence on the following Sunday afternoon. Failures such as these raise two questions. The first is whether the appeal to the honour of young boys may not be best made by an adult, unless the boys have been used to self-government. The second emphasises an embarrassment met with in the adult world, the Council's difficulty in cases of cross-swearing.

13. The problem of elections.

Further criticism of self-government is made on the questions of elections; in particular it is suggested that pupils are not old enough or sufficiently mature in judgment to choose wisely; further, there will be a tendency for offices to be filled by a comparatively few people. Here again these criticisms are usually made by those who have no experience of this way of school life; though it must on the other hand be admitted that popularity sometimes pushes aside ability, that the popular boy is sometimes elected, found to be inefficient, and is thrown out. This in itself is in many ways a virtue, for by it many lessons are learned by personal experience. Further it may be urged that there are insufficient jobs to go round; here again the whole question depends on whether

self-government is alive, or whether it is a pretty piece of school mechanics. The best refutation is again experiment and experience. The following lists are quoted from the same school as those above and cover a period of three years; in each case the officers are those elected for the autumn term of the year. Each boy is indicated by a letter of the alphabet, where the same letter is used for more than one boy it has a number attached, for example, A2, B4, indicating that it is the second or fourth boy to whom that letter of the alphabet is allocated.

Office.	No of boys elected	Year 1.	Year 2.	Year 3.
Chairman	1	B	H	P
Secretary	1	A	P	U
Council	7	A,B,E,F,G,H, J.	M.R.C.(new members)	T.V.P.T2.U. (new members)
Games Committee	5	A,B,C,D,E.	C.G.J2.K.J.	E2.P.M2.N2. K2.
Outdoor Games Wardens	2	J. C.	W. E2.	T2. E2.
Football Captain	1	H.	A.	H.
Indoor Games Wardens	2	G. H.	F2. G2.	Y2. B3.
Finance Comm.	3	L. M. N.	V. L. K2.	Y2.Z2.J2.
Banker	1	O.	U.	C2.
Auditor	1	H.	dropped	K2.
Entertainments Committee	4	G.D.F.P.	N.G.B2.R. V.increased to 5	V.T.J2. A3.A2.
Wireless Committee	3	N.M.Q.	dropped	

Office.	No of boys elected	Year 1.	Year 2.	Year 3.
Pound(lost property)	1	E.	dropped	
House Comm	5	R.S.K.T.U.	A2.W.K2.E2.R.	O2.A2.P2.L.Q2.
Ink & Chalk Men	2	V. W.	Y. Z.	R2. S2.
Assistant Librarian	1	H.	L.L2.increased to 2.	L. L2.
Inspector of Nuisances	1	N.	M.	V.
Vote Tellers	2	X. N.	C2. D2.	Z.V2.X2.incr to 3
New Offices in Year 2.				
Librarian	1		P.	dropped
Library Wardens	3		K. M. C.	V. H2. N2.
Recorder of Punishments	1		K.	dropped
Gramophone Wardens	2		A2. B2.	L3. reduced to 1
Bootroom Warden	1		H2.	D3.
New office in Year 3.				
Shopkeepers	2			O2. V2.
Table Lists	1			K2.

These offices were filled in a school of 65 pupils; the larger the school the smaller the proportion likely to hold office, but it is always possible to have a very significant proportion of office holders, the greater the better. The tables adequately dispose of the contention that a few pupils will hold a large number; in year 1 the greatest number of

posts held by one boy was three; in year 2 the maximum was 3; in all 26 boys held 36 offices; in year 3 27 boys held 41 posts, the greatest number held by one person being 3. These figures do not give an absolutely accurate picture since they refer to one term in a year, while some officers, for example, membership of the Council, were for life, but the majority were elected each term. Consequently the table below is a furtheranalysis of the figures for year 2, it gives the office holders for each term of the year, the same letters of the alphabet are used to indicate the same boy as in term 1 of year 2 in the table above.

Office.	Year 2. No elected.	Term 1.	Term 2.	Term 3.
Chairman	1	H.	V.	P.
Secretary	1	P.	A2.	U.
Council	7	M.R.C.(new members:elected		for life)
Games Comm	5	C.G.J2.K.J.	C.A.G.H.J2.	A.H.E2.B2.K.
Outdoor Games Wardens	2	W. E2.	K. K2.	Y2. M2.
Football Captain	1	A.	A.	(not in summer term)
Indoor Games Wardens	2	F2. G2.	O2. T.	N2. Y2.
Finance Comm	3	V.L.K2.	C2.K2.D2.	C2.J2.B2.
Banker	1	U.	B2.	G2.
Entertainments Committee	5	N.G.B2.R.V.	A2.E2.J2. V. H3.	(not in summer term)
House Committee	5	A2.W.K2. E2.R.	A2.C3.U. V.N.	N2.D2.K2. O2. E2.

Office.	Year 2. No elect -ed	Term 1.	Term 2.	Term 3.
Ink & Chalk Men	2	Y. Z.	D3.E3.	R2.S2.
Asst.Librar-ians	2	L.L2.elected for the whole year		
Insp. of Nuisances	1	M.	U.	C2.
Vote Tellers	2	C2.D2.	Y2.Q2.	H3.G3.
Librarian	1	P.elected for the year		
Library Wardens	3	K.M.C.	dropped	dropped
Recorder	1	K.	E2.	E2.
Gramophone Wardens	2	A2.B2.	P2.F3.	P2.D3.
Bootroom Warden	1	H2.	G3.	J3.
Cricket Captain	1	Summer term only		A.

Excluding the Council, the members of which were elected for life, this table reveals that in the first term 41 posts were occupied by 27 boys; in the second 35 posts by 27 boys; and in the third 30 posts by 24 boys; in no case did any one boy hold more than three offices at the same time. In addition, there is much evidence of foresight in the training of younger boys in minor positions and in the fact that change of personnel, especially on a committee, rarely meant a complete change, one person with previous service on that committee was usually re-elected because of his experience - the Finance Committee, with boys indicated by

V.L.K2. (term 1) C2.K2.D2. (term 2) C2. J2. B2. (term 3) is an example. Experience proves there is no foundation for the suggestion that offices will be insufficiently spread, but will fall into the hands of a few willing people, in fact, the greater the spreading the more fruitful is pupil-participation.

14. The problem of dualism.

There is one further aspect of self-government which may be questioned. Does it not mean that a system of dualism will be created if the pupils are subject to the authority of the General Meeting and of the Headmaster? As one old boy put it to his master (1), "You know it was a bit rough teaching us to live a form of existence which does not exist in the real world, we had in turn to adjust ourselves to a new point of view and to a new system of ethics; you as our teacher should have trained us for the traditional and autocratic real world which does exist, whereas you trained us for a new self-governing, kindly world, which ought to exist but which does not." To this two replies may be made. If schools were to train people for a world as it is, it would mean that the world would remain "traditional and autocratic"; the work of the educator is to help to improve the world and raise its standards through the medium of his pupils. The second point in the reply is that the years 18-25 are the years of rebellion in which young men and women are rebels often

(1) Mackay. Op. cit. P.226.

without knowing why or for what purpose. The great advantage of self-government in this respect is that it enables pupils to be as revolutionary as they like while at the same time making them realise what is the constructive element in their rebellion which can then be built into existing structures. This gives a mastery of the mechanism of change, for the pupil having had experience of rebellion, knows its limitations. He can then become a responsible liberal innovator within the existing framework.

Further, the mixture of two kinds of discipline is unavoidable in a changing world; even in that historical age which may be considered most changeless, the individual found himself subject to at least two forms of discipline. Practice in adjusting one's self to alternative systems of discipline makes for mobility of the mind. It is part of education to prepare the child for life as he will find it. The boy must learn to face reality, he must learn to deal with each situation as it rises; the community places obligations on the adult, the school should enable the boy to answer these demands fully. Among these demands are acceptance of discipline of different kinds.

CHAPTER 9.

SCHOOL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN FUTURE EDUCATION.

Section 1.
Changing conditions and changing conceptions in education.

Section 2.
The use society makes of youth.

Section 3.
The absorption of youth in society.

Section 4.
Constraint to co-operation.

Section 5.
The influence of self-government in after school life.

Section 6.
Self-government conforms to three fundamental principles.

CHAPTER 9.

SCHOOL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN FUTURE EDUCATION.

1. Changing conditions and changing conceptions in education.

In many societies social pre-suppositions are taken for granted; this is true of English educational institutions which reveal sociological determination all the more convincing because it is taken for granted. This confidence was, perhaps, most true of the nineteenth century when it was founded on secure insularity; today it is blindness rather than confidence because it imposes a stout barrier to re-adjustment and understanding. In the Spens Report, for example, discussion centres round details of organisation and adjustment, not around the relationship between the secondary schools of the time and the schools in which the majority of the people are educated. The physical and economic security of nineteenth century Britain has meant thinking in terms of concrete precedents (and consequently continuity) not abstract principles; it has meant social extension and a preference for concrete liberty over abstract equality. But the circumstances of today, a Navy no longer supreme, an unstable economic system, aviation and wireless, by constituting a threat to these historic conditions, necessitates re-thinking.

The dominant conception in English education has been education for culture. Views as to what constituted culture differed, the eighteenth century Dissenters' Academies, for example, tried to think out a new curriculum and to apply it

in practice. This break off is important because it did successfully what needs to be done today - to re-interpret the content of culture in an age to which much of the traditional content has become irrelevant. Moreover, it has had considerable influence in the United States, for the American High School "is a Franklin-Priestley institution rather than a transplanted grammar school." (1) This is one reason for the wider acceptance and greater success of self-government, it has a closer relationship to adult life for, in America, it is not the classical tradition but a more modern conception of culture which has become dominant in education.

The English attitude, in general, is hesitant to accept any policy which isolates culture from practical effectiveness, - the classical humanist education was given as vocational training for rulers or professional classes. The problem now is to achieve a union between two conceptions of culture, the literary and scientific. Recent legislation may provide the opportunity, but it must be remembered that the bulk of the English people have never yet evolved real schools of their own. They have, rather, been provided from above, and their function was to produce obedience and usefulness, not culture. The new generation of secondary schools will have the chance to develop a real popular philosophy of education, and in that philosophy, and springing from the oldest traditions of the people, self-government should form

(1) Clarke. Education & Social Change. P.18.

a part. For the needs of youth cannot be formulated in the abstract, but must refer to the needs and purposes of a given society - the society in which youth lives. Therefore, the life of the child in school should not be made too comfortable, the child should not be provided with everything at all costs, for pampering, either mental or physical, reduces the child's potentialities of adjusting himself to adverse situations. It was one of the weaknesses of laissez faire that it focussed attention on the individual, and neglected the hard environment of society to which the individual is expected to make his contribution. Self-government in school encourages that contribution from the child to the society of which he is a member - his school.

2. The use society makes of youth.

Societies differ as to whether the young are fused into groups, or into a movement, with influence on the course of events. Totalitarian states generally have monopolistic organisations of youth, democratic states generally do not. Youth left to itself is neutral, it belongs to the latent resources in every country, and on the mobilisation of these resources a country's vitality depends. Static societies will mainly rely on experience of the old; the education of the young will be mainly focussed on the transfer of tradition, the teaching methods will be reproductive and repetitive as there will be no desire to break with existing practices. But dynamic societies, desiring a new start, will rely on youth, will organise its vital resources, and will use them

in overturning the established means and direction of social development. The particular function of youth is that it is a revitalising agent coming to the fore when wanted. The problem in a democracy is to mobilise the latent reserves of youth and integrate them into society, - and in this process self-government in schools has a part to play.

Youth has not only a greater spirit of adventure, but it has the further asset that it is not too deeply involved in the status quo of the social order. Adolescence is the age at which youth enters public life, and is, for the first time, faced with the jungle of differing valuations. To these problems youthcomes from without; it is this which makes it the crusader for any change in society. Youth is a potentiality, it is in the position of an outsider, and it depends very largely on a guiding influence whether this potentiality will be suppressed or mobilised.

In England the present educational system is an expression of tradition, and youth has been kept in the background as is typical in a static society. The democracy in which it lives was adapted to nineteenth century needs, it now needs to be inspired with the vision and the adventuring spirit of Youth. Under the impetus of war changes took place which may develop society into a new form combining the advantages of planning with the freedom essential to a democratic order, - for it is clear there can be no return to laissez-faire. In a changing world Great Britain has to adjust herself not only materially but spiritually. It is, however, in the spiritual field that

there is much frustration, partly because of British deprecation of theory. Moreover, the educational system, with its paraphernalia of marks, examinations, and concentration on facts, is killing the spirit of adventure and experiment. Here the Modern School, tied by no tradition and no examinations, is at an advantage in conducting experiments such as school self-government.

3. The absorption of youth in society.

Today our society depends largely on whether young age groups are free to identify their emotions and enthusiasms with the new problems of their community, and of the age in which they live. The community spirit and the emotional and intellectual attitudes which underlie it, are best acquired during adolescence, in the so-called gang age - it is here that youth learns to understand the self-controlling powers of group life and the spirit of community. According to Thrasher (1), it is impossible to change a young boy who is a member of a gang by teaching and admonition, - that is by means of an individual approach. But it is possible to achieve some success in re-adjustment by taking him as a member of his gang, and by giving the gang a new and socially useful task. Thus the youngster will be changed not as an individual but as a member of a gang, and as yet unexplored forces of group-interaction will become a powerful means of re-education. The repression of the need for community

(1) F.M. Thrasher. The Gang: a study of 1313 gangs in Chicago; 2nd. ed. 1936.

experience in adolescence, when it is strong, is likely at a later stage to lead to exaggerated competitiveness. Though boarding schools provide an opportunity for this gang experience, they also serve the idea of group seclusion and segregation. Schools should rather - and self-government in school provides one means, adopt the invigorating task of making use of the gang age and its potentialities as a source of a spiritual regeneration for a new era.

An important change in education has been, and still is, taking place, the change from the compartmental to the integral conception. The first thought of education in terms of classes which taught pupils specified subjects, both progress and capacity were tested and assessed by marks, and the object was to pass a written examination. This concept is changing, though too many, especially parents, still think in these terms. Today it is increasingly believed that education at school is good if it embodies the educational technique of life; the aim is less to impart ready-made knowledge than to enable us to learn more competently from life itself. This has led to an integral concept of the curriculum, especially so in moral education, which we now believe is likely to be ineffective unless it is related to the other parts of the curriculum. All we teach, and how we teach, affects character; the organisation of the school, the social roles one has the opportunity to play, whether competition or co-operation prevails, - all contribute to the type of man which will grow up in these surroundings.

For the educator begins with an insoluble mystery - the mind of the child, and with no evidence giving accurate information of its nature. Sociologically the educator's path lies between variety and uniformity, between the conception of society as a community of individuals who seek equilibrium through mutual interdependence, and a conception of society as a collection of people who conform as far as possible to an ideal. This latter aim involves a special view of the state and of its citizens' duties; the choice lies between democratic and totalitarian education, for in democratic systems each individual has his birthright and is not plastic material to be poured into a mould. The democratic state must also have some ideal of citizenship, but that ideal is not, and cannot be, an ideal of uniformity for the essence of democracy lies in lack of uniformity and in individual differentiation. The individual will inevitably be unique, but that, in isolation, has no value, for education must be a process of integration, a process of reconciling individual uniqueness with social cohesion. This democratic conception of education is not recent, for Plato, despite political limitations, assumes this freedom, but it was first established as a guiding rule by Rousseau. Later nineteenth century educators, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Montessori, contributed to freedom in education, but Dewey was the first to integrate a theory of education with a democratic conception of society.

Self-government in schools is valuable not only because

it represents a libertarian as opposed to an authoritarian conception of education, but because it has an important contribution to make to the problem of discipline. Cruder conceptions of discipline may be passing away from schools, but there is still much confusion between the implications of the term, - implications which may be called the educational, the moral, and the military. Military discipline is enforced obedience to external authority, it is control exercised from outside, and so is distinguished from moral, where authority proceeds from inside the individual himself, - a distinction clearer in theory than in practice.

The young child is amoral, it is possessed of instincts which may be good or bad according to the adult code. This code the child cannot understand, he learns it only from experience, and experience usually means he recognises the code by a system of rewards and punishments. In this disciplinary process what deformations are involved?

4. Constraint to co-operation.

There are two general theories of the origins of moral behaviour in children (1). The first suggests that we are given two fields of force, the individual and the world external to the individual mind. Mutual tension arises between the two, and the necessary adjustment is carried out by means of two mechanisms, the positive process of building up a moral sense in the individual mind, and the investing of other people with the moral attitudes and feelings which

(1) Read. Education through Art - early chapters.

actually operate in ourselves. The second view maintains that the germ of good is in the individual from the beginning. In consequence, the second view depends on substituting for the conception of discipline the relationship of love, and the technique of creative activity. The object of the educator should be to devise a method of education which, from the start, secures the mingling together of the mind within and the world without. In fact, the adult arbiter of the child really thinks of the child's conformity to him and his convenience; "it is this bogus morality which, by our unconscious social consent, the conscripted phantom called good and bad, is unanimously commissioned to represent." In general it appears true that the concepts of good and bad as applied to the child are arbitrary and not established by logical reasoning; and secondly that the concepts of good and bad are induced into the mind of the child during the course of its upbringing, either unconsciously by the process of introjection, or consciously by a system of rewards and punishments.

From this attitude of constraint to one of co-operation should be the educator's aim. Piaget's conclusions suggest that the morality presented for the individual by society is not homogeneous because society is not one thing. It is rather the sum of social relations among which we can determine two extreme types, on the one hand relations of constraint whose characteristic is to impose upon the individual from outside a system of rules with obligatory

content, on the other hand relations of co-operation, whose characteristic is to create within the minds of individuals the consciousness of ideal reasons at the back of all rules. At present constraint characterises most of the features of society as it exists - and especially the relations of the child to the adult community. On the other hand relations of co-operation, characterised by equality and mutual regard, constitute an equilibrial limit rather than a static system.

If this be true it has consequences for the educator. The first is that the social life developed by children among themselves gives rise to a discipline closer to that inner accord, which is the mark of adult morality, than does any imposed system of morality. This conclusion, experience of self-government in schools supports, for there is a clear distinction between a morality of obedience, and a morality of co-operation or attachment to a group, and this latter is the morality of harmonious societies. Secondly, it follows that the adult's relation to the child must be that of collaborator, not of master. Moreover, collaboration is essential to intellectual as well as moral development, and consequently the school must be a place where co-operative activities are possible. These, too, are more likely to be found in association with self-government in schools. Further, personal experience suggests that pupil courts are likely to neglect expiation in punishment, and to make any punishment an act of reparation. For pupil courts tend to affirm Plato's remark that in the moral, as in the intellectual

sphere, we really possess only what we have conquered ourselves. Homer Lane fervently believed this; another Headmaster, in writing to me on the same point, put the same idea inanother way, "children are very wise".

The essence of democracy lies in its regard of law as the product of the collective will; it is, therefore, the essence of democracy to replace the unilateral respect of authority by the mutual respect of autonomous wills. In consequence education must aim at the creation of a sense of mutuality; it is absurd that at a time when democratic ideals are proclaimed in every sphere of British life, they should have so little place as instruments of education. "Essential discipline is expressed in ability to rule oneself. Experience has shown that the best method of developing this quality in a community is to throw on that community the responsibility of governing itself. This does not mean that no ultimate authority is necessary. What is necessary is that this authority shall be so strong that it is enough to hold it in reserve. The weak leader will have recourse to many rules and penalties; the strong will pervade the school or club with his presence, and the community will do the work of government and in the process acquire the quality of discipline. This implies a large measure of freedom in the community, self-government and lack of liberty cannot exist side by side." (1)

A study of self-government in schools suggests that it helps to create the best form of discipline, discipline from

(1) A.E. Morgan. The Young Citizen. P.145.

within. Intellect, as a directive of conduct, is neutral, so a mere understanding of the advantages conferred by self-government on the citizens will not give it a hold upon their minds strong enough to influence their conduct. Feeling and desire must be called into play, the members must want to serve their community, and it is this desire to help which school self-government fosters. For the school will be teaching self control, control from within, whereas in the past control has generally been authoritarian. It is vital to give a full outlet to emotional and creative urges which are present in most boys and girls, and to which at present insufficient attention is given. A boy gains the fullest satisfaction when his skill can be used as part of a community activity, such as holding an office to which he has been elected, - a rare occurrence in schools. Education to be true must train a boy as a person and as a member of a community. To develop fully as an individual a boy must have the opportunity of discovering himself. This is too often restricted to Sixth Forms only. To a boy this self-discovery comes through his realisation of ability or skill in some activity; the curriculum provides some such opportunities but opportunities as a leader of communal activities, as an elected office-holder, as a servant of the community, are rare. Thoughtful and observant teachers can think of many cases in which self-discovery has made a great change in a child.

Believers in self-government in school can quote many cases of improved self-control as a result of self-government. Craddock (1) describes one such case in which discipline was put into the hands of a committee. The first trial of strength came when one boy refused to do work set by the committee. Found guilty, and ordered by the jury to do the work by the next day, he did it, and never again set himself up in opposition to the new authority. Punishments when given were promptly done, and after two years, dwindled to very few cases. "Punishments by the committee have become so rare that when they are necessary the necessity excites remark." In such cases a boy learns to obey his better self for he has generally elected to represent him the best type among his fellows, that is the best available combination of abilities which it is in him to admire. This fairly represents his own unconscious ideals, it is training in obedience to the self-formed ideal, while the boy elected to office is conscious that he represents in the mind of the authorities the best that his electors can conceive.

In the particular case of the rebel, the effect of self-government is to break down the anti-social attitude by eliminating the possibility of securing the approval of the group by a defiance of authority. The attitude to authority is vital to the schoolmaster, a sane and balanced attitude is essential, and it is here that traditional methods go astray. Psychology points out that a right or wrong

(1) Craddock. The Classroom Republic. P.26.

attitude in this matter often depends on factors which lie far back, maybe in infancy. Though these tendencies may exist in early years, they are often strengthened or repressed further by later treatment, and the final attitude is probably largely determined by school and adolescent life. The real answer is to foster in children an idea of authority as something not alien or outside them but as something with which they can identify themselves. They have to be led to see that government is not something forced on them, but something belonging to them. The feeling that government is something imposed accounts for the attitude that lauds a success against any law-making body and is due to failure to appreciate that the offences are committed against ourselves as citizens. The value of self-government is here obvious, it shows that authority is that of the children themselves.

Another quality closely associated is the ability to think of individual actions as helping or injuring the community, the ability to feel that obligations between himself and a body of people are as binding as those between one individual and other individuals. This frame of mind is opposite to that which sees no harm in defrauding the government, or travelling on the railway without a ticket. Social imagination includes the ability to think of a community personally, and to treat its possessions as scrupulously as those of a private individual. Group freedom can contribute greatly to the growth of individuality, it appeals to the gregarious in youth, each person wants to make his individual

contribution to the good of the group, each is released from fear of authority and each develops a sane attitude to authority. From experience of self-government in schools I believe the comparative absence of misdemeanours is because children trained to think for themselves are likely to have a sense of responsibility and of their necessary relationship to the community of which they form a part. This feeling of community membership, among other things, is expressed by one Headmaster as follows, "If Johnny hits Bobby, the latter is free to express his hate of Johnny, but if Bobby is hit by father he cannot possibly express his hate of father. So, when a jury in Summerhill fines Willie for puncturing Mabel's bike maliciously, Willie is free to hate the whole jury. But the strange thing is that he doesn't. When children make their own laws they do not resent the consequences if they break their own laws. Moreover, there is never any social stigma attached to a punishment by a jury, so that it often happens that Willie is tried and immediately afterwards he is selected to serve on a jury that is trying another offender." (1)

5. The influence of self-government in after school life.

All who have much to do with boys and girls know how anxious they are to make themselves useful, not to individuals only but to the community of which they are members. It is often true that this characteristic is allowed to diminish as a child gets older. If we would avoid the waste of useless

(1) Modern Schools Handbook. P.124.

lives - useless except in a selfish sense - we must, in these days when so much is done for children, make a deliberate effort to keep this characteristic alive by seeing that they do more for themselves. In this way we shall have a much better chance, when they leave school, of leading them to make a contribution to the life they enter. That contribution, in the form of a piece in a jig-saw puzzle, means first fitting in and living in harmony with the new environment.

Though there are differences of opinion on the question, the weight of evidence suggests that when children have experienced self-government in a school, there is a very considerable carry-over to after school life. "It is, I believe, doubtful whether community service to a school leads in itself towards habits of public service" said one Headmaster. But he continued "What we find leads chiefly to public service is rather the wakened imagination, the actively healthy attitude towards the community's affairs, a belief in tolerance and persuasion, and belief in the democratic method." The same point has been expressed in other words, "Political understanding, like political institutions, is surest and healthiest when it has developed by gradual stages from the lesser sphere to the greater. It is he who has proved his faithfulness and his power of judgment, in small things, who is fitted to employ them on the greater - - - Personality precedes co-operation. And individuals, a social group, a country, must have something to contribute, must in

fact be something or somebody, before it is fit to be accepted in a larger society formed for ideal ends." (1)

Further evidence along these lines is produced by the recent survey "Democracy in School Life". In considering the question of the extent to which self-government in school led to leadership in public life after school, the conclusion was, "As a check on this point, the question was often asked about positions held in after-life by old school counsellors. No statistical comparison was possible; but several heads shared the opinion which one expressed as "Our boys seem to step straight into leading positions in the organisations they join." (2) Yet another deprecated the idea that self-government might produce evidence of leadership which otherwise might not have shown itself in school life; "No, thank God. It only produces people who have some self-reliance, fewer complexes than most, and who know what they want from life." It is surely from such as these that after-school-life leaders are recruited. "No doubt at all that it does bring out qualities of leadership because the whole set-up encourages individuals to take responsibility." This was the reply of a Headmaster of a school of 200 boys, where considerable self-government had been practised for years. Another Headmaster made less general claims; "I see no evidence that that (i.e. democratic assembly training) has any effect after school beyond a readiness to tolerate. The executive capacity

(1) Zimmern. Learning & Leadership. O.U.P. 1928. P.43.

(2) Assoc. for Education in Citizenship. Democracy in School Life. O.U.P. 1948. P.123.

exercised in jobs does not show itself later in that part of the school which accepted these duties rather as thrust upon them by this system (i.e. self-government), but is markedly characteristic of the great bulk of old boys, largely through the technical knowledge and knowledge of what to look for, which they do acquire at school." Similar evidence from other schools could be quoted, "It is an undoubted fact that many children who have been presidents or vice-presidents, or secretaries of the School Council, have rapidly gained in confidence and in ability to express themselves in public - - - A boy or girl who can satisfactorily conduct a School Council Meeting when there are rather difficult matters under discussion, will later on be able to conduct a Public Meeting with poise and assurance." A last reply may be quoted; "The fact that we give responsibility in a large number of ways well outside the prefect system, - e.g. secretary of committees, librarians, bath committee, etc.-- gives opportunities for leadership different from, and in addition to those restricted to prefecture. We recognise that leadership is not only the capacity to manage others although it is an important one. There have been evidences that all these opportunities have been carried on into adult life. It is difficult to give exact examples except that during the war, for instance, both in the Friends Ambulance Unit and in the Forces, we have noted that our boys have taken responsible posts requiring initiative.

6. Self-government conforms to three fundamental principles.

In conclusion, self-government in school conforms to three fundamental principles of education. The first of these is that the real object of education, so far as the development of character is concerned, is to cultivate in the child a capacity for self-control or self-government, not as a habit of submission to an external power, but a habit of obeying the dictates of honour and duty as enforced by active will-power within the child. Secondly, in childhood and in youth, it is of the utmost importance to appeal steadily to motives which will be operative in after life. Too often educators appeal to motives which cannot last, to motives which may answer for young children but are inapplicable to older children. Fear is one of these transitory motives on which organised education has too often relied - yet fear of punishment is comparatively ineffective with adults. The third fundamental principle is Froebel's doctrine that children are best developed through productive activities, that is through positive, visible achievement in doing, making or producing something. School self-government enforces positive activity, it appeals steadily to motives in boys and girls which will serve them in adult years, and it is constantly trying to develop in the child community the capacity of self-government.

The qualities of self-government in school cannot all be reduced to paper, measured statistically, or assessed by

those who have not experienced such a system. For such methods tend to miss the essence and spirit of democracy which is man's attitude towards his fellow man. Around this simple concept the individual organises whatever he does, whether it be the government of a school or any other human activity. A democratic attitude means that the individual is not only important but that he has an inner dignity which demands the respect of every other person. It means that everyone is not only capable of receiving from others, but is also capable of making contributions to the good of the whole. In adult life we must believe that everyone is capable of governing himself. Young people, during the time they are young, must be learning to govern themselves. The way to do this is by practising self-government and experiencing the way of life it fosters. One Headmaster put the matter clearly and truly when he said in one letter he wrote to me about self-government in his school, "Don't ask me what I am aiming at. I always refuse to discuss it till people have been here to experience it --- This letter deals with the Self-Government point of view, but the Self-Government is only an appendage of the Democracy point of view, and Democracy is a Way of Life, not a form of Government."

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