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Running Head: THE CAREER ACADEMY IN THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL

The Career Academy in the American High School

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Abstract

The Career Academy in the comprehensive high school has had phenomenal growth in the United States since the first was established in 1969 as a drop out prevention program in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The movement spread to California where it flourished, indeed the only state to define career academies by legislation. Career academies now number more than 1,500 nationwide. The concept is not new, however, and traces its roots to colonial times and back to the German continuation model. Research shows that for high-risk students in career academies, drop out rates are lower, students are more engaged in the curriculum, and they continue on to postsecondary education at a higher rate than their peers in the non-academy. They also have improved job performance over their non-academy peers upon graduation. This article, based upon a doctoral dissertation, traces the evolution of the career academy to the present and presents recent literature regarding graduates' performance.

THE CAREER ACADEMY IN THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

Borrowing a metaphor from the field of optical physics, the discussion regarding American high school reform is analogous to light passing through a prism. The light of this discourse separates into three major fractions: school size, curriculum relevancy, and outcome assessment. The large urban and reorganized rural, comprehensive high schools are one fraction of the discourse. Accordingly, many districts have restructured these large institutions to create schools-within-a-school (SWS) where students become members of smaller learning communities. Usually the SWS, organized around a common career theme (hospitality, finance, law, health, agriculture, etc.), integrates academics with a theme-based career curriculum. Many federal agencies and programs require, and most states implement outcome assessments as a component of continued funding. This discussion focuses on a school design model that addresses many aspects of the current reform discussion, the career academy.

Research indicates that especially for the high-risk student population, students benefit from attending a career academy. The drop out rate in SWS academies is lower for the high-risk student compared to their peers in the general curriculum track. Furthermore, members of this special population continue on to postsecondary education at a higher rate than their peers do (Stern, Dayton and Raby, 1988; Maxwell and Rubin, 1997). Not only is there a positive impact on high school performance for academy students, increased high school attendance leads to improved job performance and work

attendance (Linnehan, 1996). Further research following academy graduates after high school reveals that postsecondary performance may be guardedly optimistic.

Although the career academy model has been successful in lowering high school dropout rates, and in increasing academic skills for all academy students, postsecondary performance is not consistent. A larger percentage of academy graduates apply to 4-year colleges than do non-academy graduates, but the proportion of students from both groups who graduate compared to those who drop out of college are nearly the same. Not all career academy graduates need remediation in English and math at the university level, but the effect of academy attendance does not reduce this number to zero (Maxwell, 1999; Maxwell and Rubin, 2000). In fact, for one California district studied by Maxwell (1999), over half of the academy applicants needed both math and English remediation before taking university-level course work, compared to 40 percent of non-academy graduates from the same high school. Conversely, university matriculation is only one of many possible outcome measurements, and is not the only measure of success for this type of special program.

Despite the fact that career academies cannot be "all things for all people," they continue to gain popularity across the country. This paper traces the evolution of the career academy from colonial America to the present. The discussion begins with the events leading to the creation of the career academy model, and concludes with a review of research findings.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The American career academy, a name first used by Stern, Raby, and Dayton (1992), began in Philadelphia in 1969 as a dropout prevention program featuring integrated academics with vocational training. The career academy experienced resurgence in popularity with the implementation of the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994, which specifically authorized their establishment (Kemple and Rock, 1996). Since the inception of the Philadelphia academy, the concept's scope has broadened to include all student levels and abilities, not just the high-risk student. Yet, despite a prominent role today, the concept that began with Philadelphia's Electrical Academy at Thomas Edison High School was not the first of its kind. The American academy model in its current iteration has roots in colonial times.

The Colonial Model

Schools in colonial America had simple goals: equip children with the basic skills, reading and arithmetic, so that they could contribute to building the new nation. Ironically, in a country founded on the ideals of personal freedom, students received an education based on class stratification. The numbers of children who attended school were small, and the numbers attending secondary school were smaller yet--coming from the ranks of the privileged. Many young children were home-schooled until they were of an age and size to contribute to the livelihood of the family, and for most of these children, home schooling marked the end of their formal education. Schools as separate buildings began as small locally controlled one-room town schools with a curriculum consisting of the "3-R's," the essential skills for an uneducated populace.

The sons of the privileged upper class attended Latin Grammar Schools, a form of secondary school that began in Boston in 1635. Boys entered the Latin school at age eight or nine, and graduated eight years later. The purpose of the Latin Grammar School curriculum was to prepare these young men for college. Graduates were prepared to enroll in the colonial colleges, among the first, Harvard, Yale and later, Princeton and, William and Mary, to follow professional career paths -- law, medicine, theology, and education (Ornstein and Hunkins, 1993).

Elective course selection for the masses did not appear for many years and specific work or vocational skills were taught at home or through apprenticeship programs.

The American Apprenticeship Model

Colonists brought the custom of apprenticeship to America, without the characteristics of the guild or craft organizations in Europe. Although apprenticeship became an important educational system in America during the years prior to the Industrial Revolution, one aspect of the system is arguably the most controversial. With a scarcity of trained laborers and craftsmen in America, many migrated from the overpopulated English cities to enter indentured servitude. As slave trading flourished in America, white servitude declined while at the same time, apprenticeship all but replaced indentured servitude. To set apprenticeship apart from servitude, the American system, modeled on the English Statute of Artifices passed in 1562, included educational aspects. In fact, for the poor this became the only route to an education in colonial times. Apprenticeship followed two forms. The voluntary form was similar to the classic

European model. By contrast, the involuntary form included a provision for a designated "master" who took care of the apprentice's personal and occupational needs, and provided the professional expertise in the trade (Gordon, 1999).

By comparison, in the Latin School a young boy entered at age eight or nine, and left eight years later. Young boys and girls entered apprenticeships at about the same age, and remained there for periods from five to ten years. The master and apprentice entered a formal written contract. This contract became a public document for the protection of both parties. When the apprenticeship ended, and the apprentice had duly learned his (generally) trade, they were allowed to practice. If the apprentice was found to be sub-standard, either they were banned from the trade, or continued by contract in the apprenticeship. As the nation became more industrialized and mass product manufacturing replaced the art of tradesman and craftsmanship, apprenticeships declined in the public sector and became the responsibility of business and industry (Gordon, 1999; Kleibard, 1999).

The Early Academy Model

Subsequently, in 1751 another form of secondary institution in America began to replace the Latin Schools--the academy. The purpose of the academy evolved from the classical curriculum of the Latin Schools, except the formal study of Latin was no longer a focus of the curriculum in the new model. Based on the educational precepts of Benjamin Franklin, the colonial academy's focus was not originally on the college-bound scholar. Instead, this alternative curriculum offered more practical and vocational

subjects, such as carpentry, engraving, and cabinet making, in addition to an academic curriculum (Best, 1962).

The early American academy originally offered a dual track, college preparatory, and a practical program. By 1855, more than two-thirds of all secondary students enrolled in academies. The curriculum included such diverse offerings as classical and modern languages, grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra, chemistry, logic, and astronomy (Ornstein and Hunkins, 1993). Vocational skills relegated to a secondary function, the academy played an important role in college preparation, especially in New England where they flourished, and throughout the Mid-Atlantic and South during in the college-founding nineteenth century.

Rudolph (1962) described the growth of colleges in America during the 1800s as an undertaking similar "in spirit as canal-building, cotton-ginning, farming, and gold-mining, and in none of these did rational procedures prevail" (pg. 48). Eventually many of the first academies became colleges themselves, or were absorbed into larger universities. Again Rudolph observed, "offer a young man the principalship of an academy and he will try to make a college of it" (p. 48). Academies flourished until the 1870s when the public high school became popular, then their numbers declined (Rudolph, 1962).

Vocational and Manual Training in America

As these models evolved, a series of historical events brought manual

training, or vocational education, into and out of vogue, reflecting America's ambivalence toward its place in the public school. The discourse surrounding vocational education rose to a crescendo by the turn of the twentieth century.

The economic panic of 1893 and resulting depression prompted the founding of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). Their purpose was to organize American manufacturers in an effort to reduce overproduction and stem the recession, and to examine and venture into foreign markets. NAM also lamented the lack of skilled labor in the United States and the resulting cost to industry, and placed significant blame on the educational system that neglected vocational programs (Gordon, 1999; Kleibard, 1999). In due course, NAM drafted a report in 1912 that endorsed changes for American education to address these concerns. Their recommendations included

- the creation of German-style continuation schools
- the development of courses centered on the needs of local industry
- the administration of the schools by coalition of business and labor to ensure that industrial education not be corrupted by educators the way manual training had been, and
- the use of federal funds to improve industrial education as the Morrill and Hatch Acts had improved Agricultural Education (Gordon, 1999, p. 52)

Additionally, NAM identified what they believed to be the three distinct classes of students in American schools, each with their own educational needs. The three classes were,

- the abstract-minded and imaginative children,

- the concrete or hand-minded children, and
- the great intermediate class (Kleibard, 1999).

The needs of the abstract-minded were met by the traditional curriculum. The needs of the intermediate class should be addressed by more practical coursework, typified by the curriculum offered in the German continuation schools (Crowson, Wong, and Aypay, 2000). NAM also believed that the German model would better serve the hand-minded, the group that they thought to be the most neglected and abandoned in the educational system. They left school "unmindful, uninformed, and inconsiderate" (Kleibard, 1999, p. 32) and they left school at an early age--indeed 80% dropped out before high school (Kleibard, 1999). NAM offered a solution; pre-vocational programs and manual training in elementary schools, a system of intermediate high schools, and an educational system modeled on the German continuation schools. NAM identified the age for training youth as the period between fourteen and sixteen since that is the time of "idleness and evil associations" (Kleibard, 1999, pg. 31).

The recommendation to convert the American educational system to the tenets of the bifurcated German model met with harsh opposition from unlikely allies, labor and education. The German system was observed by opponents to be deeply class biased, going against the precepts of an egalitarian American society. That business and industry could control vocational education, and ultimately the numbers of workers, concerned organized labor. This position in turn, infuriated NAM, who described organized labor's response as "a crime against the youth of the whole nation" (Kleibard, 1999, p. 30). One outspoken opponent of NAM's position was the educator and philosopher John Dewey, a staunch supporter of the value of vocationalism in public schools. Dewey argued that the

German nationalistic system was unworthy and not compatible with the democratic goals of the United States (Dewey, 1912). Introducing a class-based educational system at a time in American history when "equality and rugged individualism were important concepts" doomed the early movement (Ornstein and Hunkins, 1993, pg. 77; Crowson, et al, 2000).

NAM's zeal to institute their curriculum concept was also tempered by the realization that federal funding would be necessary to institute and maintain these programs, a problem that continues to vex America to the present. Although vocational and manual training became part of the American system, they have never occupied the same status in the United States as in Europe, particularly in Germany. Nonetheless, efforts to integrate academics and vocational training to respond to workplace demands continue into the present generation of career academies in American high schools.

The Comprehensive American High School

The United States' public secondary school enrollment (grades 9-12) for Fall 2009 is projected to be 14,699,000 students, compared to the mere 200,000 enrolled in all public schools in 1890 (NCES 2000-062; Ornstein and Hunkins, 1993). The academic and vocational offerings of the comprehensive American high school have expanded far beyond the Latin Grammar School and colonial academy, as has the high school mission.

When first established, the high school became the college preparatory curriculum that replaced earlier models. High schools allowed access to education for children from all socioeconomic groups. Part of its role was to provide vocational training for those students who were not going on, the so-called "terminal" student. The glorious egalitarian

comprehensive high school, with a wide array of course offerings was America's answer to the class biased German system. What early high school leaders could not have imagined would be the policy issues currently raging in America: national standards and assessments, the funding crisis, diversity and lingualism, desegregation, charter schools and vouchers, and a host of curriculum relevancy issues.

With the rapid and often chaotic early growth period of the high school, the need to unify and standardize the curriculum was recognized. The motivation for this effort came from a desire to enlarge the college preparatory role of the high school. The National Education Association (NEA) organized the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies in 1892 with the intent of creating a standard curriculum. Rejecting the vocational curriculum as inferior and counter to the goal of high school, a traditional curriculum was created consisting of four tracks, or compartments. Ornstein and Hunkins (1993) describe them as 1) classical; 2) Latin scientific; 3) modern languages; and 4) English (p. 85). This zeal to create a system of college preparation met with criticism, as is the fate of change in any aspect of American education.

The concerns expressed were by those closest to the issue--educators. High school, according to the teachers, was becoming overly focused on college entrance. Too much time was spent on drilling content, and cramming for entrance exams. Educators condemned the system for not focusing enough on the holistic development and interests of each individual child. Theorists of the likes of Dewey and Flexner railed against what the system had become, yet in this century, the legacy of the committee remains. Accountability equated with "seat time" and standardized test results.

Consequently, the NEA convened the 1918 Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools, which issued the "Seven Cardinal Principles" of education. Their aims of education should include: health, the command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character (Ornstein and Hunkins, 1993). The curricular offerings should be expanded to meet student needs in a growing society, and be responsive to current research. The first steps toward the comprehensive high school were undertaken.

Over time colleges and universities would make it mandatory for students to have proof of high school graduation in order to apply, thus securing the place of the high school in American society. James Conant described the comprehensive high school as an American invention (1967), and as continuing insurance for the preservation of the vitality of a society of free men (1959). Yet, teachers and students are compelled to continue making compromises to assure that the school keeps functioning (Sizer, 1984), somewhere between the egalitarian postsecondary ideal high school and Conant's vision of a comprehensive high school. In subsequent years, resulting from the tremendous population surge of the 20th century and its impact on the public schools, the pendulum of reform would swing back to a new focus.

THE CAREER ACADEMY AS A MODEL FOR REFORM

In 1983 a powerful critique, A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) thrust America into one of the more challenging and public reform periods in its history. A call to arms, the report recommended action that if taken immediately would set the wheels of repair for an ailing system in motion. One

recommendation was for a rigorous and relevant high school curriculum to provide students the opportunity to pursue subjects advancing their personal and educational goals. The recommendation also included an emphasis on vocational education complementing a curriculum that "returns to basics" (U.S. Department of Education, 1983).

Dale Parnell espoused a new model that could help achieve this goal. Holding the view that a high school college preparatory curriculum and the only other available option, a general education track, neglect the majority of students, Parnell proposed the Technical Preparation (Tech-Prep) and 2+2 plan. This curriculum alternative was idealized as a response to school systems that no longer prepare the majority of students for work or college (Parnell, 1993). Tech-Prep is a 4-year sequence of study beginning in the 11th grade (the first two years) through two years of postsecondary occupational education. The process culminates in a certificate or associate degree.

Adding to the school reform discussion, the reality of a global economy and the changing nature of employment opportunities contribute to the need for a high school diploma as the minimum entry-level prerequisite to work. In 1998 for age groups 25-34 (both genders), those who complete at least a bachelor's degree earned 56 - 100 % more than those with less education. The 25-34 year-olds who dropped out of high school earned 30 - 31% less than their peers who graduated (NCES 2000-062) did. Retaining students, providing a meaningful, relevant school curriculum, and measuring outcomes are priorities for the 21st century.

A growing reform movement, the career academy has become an integral part of the curriculum relevancy discussion, promising to bridge high school and the

postsecondary work world. This program embodies the concepts implied in the admonitions of A Nation at Risk, and the promises of the Tech-Prep initiative--and it is no longer offered exclusively to the at-risk student (Kemple, Poglinco, and Snipes, 1999). Theoretically, a career academy graduate is prepared to enter the world of work, or to enroll in postsecondary education linked to the theme of the program. A logical progression for many graduates is matriculation into a partner community college, fulfilling Parnell's vision of collaboration between secondary schools and community colleges.

The Career Academy

Several essential features distinguish the career academy from other SWS models and from early colonial academies. As described by Stern, Raby, and Dayton (1992), the career academy shares one or more of the following features.

- School-within-a-school. The program may be organized by grades 9-12, 10-12, or 11-12. A team of teachers runs the school, from a variety of academic and vocational disciplines.
- Recruits students who volunteer for the program and demonstrate their commitment through an application process.
- Focus or theme is a career field in which there is a demand and good employment opportunities in the local labor market. The curriculum combines technical and academic content. Students usually take one technical and at least three academic courses each semester. The academy prepares students for either vocational or academic postsecondary options.

- Students are employed over the summer between school years in the field of study. Part-time employment during the regular school year may occur in some schools.
- Employer representatives from the academy career field help plan and guide the program. This may involve representatives as guest speakers, field trip hosts, job supervisors, and mentors.
- Class size is usually smaller than the typical high school, and possibly smaller than the larger population in the host school. Motivational activities, rewards, and parental contacts contribute to the students' sense of membership in a smaller learning community.
- Funded by combinations of federal, state, and district money. Some programs receive funding from business and industry. Operating costs are often higher than non-academy programs. (Stern, et al, 1992, p. 14-15)

Although there is no one model for an academy, most of these features are common to each one. Many districts adopt both the school-based and work-based components of the model. School-based models incorporate theme-based academy courses within the academic programs. Work-based models include some form of internship, often in the summer after the junior year (Maxwell, 1999).

The first career academy, the Electrical Academy in Thomas Edison High School, was initiated by the Philadelphia Urban Coalition. The program addressed Edison's dubious distinction of having the highest dropout and lowest attendance rates in the city. The program targeted the at-risk drop out population. The success of the first school led to the establishment of eight different academy programs in sixteen Philadelphia high

schools by 1991. The first academies followed traditional high school vocational education curricula. The exception was the health careers academy, the first to integrate college preparatory courses into the curriculum, setting the tone for career academies across the nation (Stern, et al, 1992).

The movement spread to Northern California by the early 1980s. In 1984 California became the first, and only, state to define career academies by legislation. At the same time, businesses were forming partnerships with New York public schools with the purpose of establishing career academies. The first was the Academy of Finance established at John Dewey High School in Brooklyn, in partnership with American Express Company. Later, buoyed by the early success of the model, American Express helped to establish more academies in New York City, and Miami (Stern, et al, 1992). By the year 2000, more than 1,500 career academies are in operation in school districts across the country each with a variety of career-based themes, and school organizational methods (Kemple and Snipes, 2000).

Career Academy Student Performance

In today's global and technological economy, few employment opportunities are available to students who have only the high school diploma. A measure of how well academies fulfill their mission to prepare students for this new world is to examine how academy graduates compare to their non-academy peers. In fact, a number of studies published recently attempt to study this aspect of the academy. One national study that will likely make an important impact on career academy research is the 10-year Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation currently underway.

The U.S. Departments of Education and Labor, as well as seventeen private foundations and organizations, employed Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) in 1993 to undertake a 10-year study of students in nine career academies across the United States. In phase one, over 1700 students are being followed as they progress from the eighth or ninth grade through the end of their 12th grade year. The second phase will follow these students as they transition from high school to postsecondary continuing education (Kemple and Snipes, 2000). In February 2000, MDRC issued the report "Career academies: impacts on students' engagement and performance in high school". Among their findings:

- School-within-a-school (SWS) academies increase the likelihood of graduating on time for students least likely to drop out of high school. For both low-risk and high-risk students, there is an increased occurrence of academic course taking. SWS high-risk student dropout rates were reduced, and attendance increased.
- Medium risk students showed little or no change in outcomes from non-academy peers, but this result varied depending upon the academy.
- In academies where students received interpersonal support from teachers and peers, school engagement increased for both the high-risk and medium-risk students. Where this engagement was not present, drop out rates were higher. When the aggregate data from all risk groups is averaged, however, only modest improvements were noted.
- Academies had no effect on students' standardized reading comprehension and math tests.

Three years earlier, Maxwell and Rubin (1997) reported the following results from their study of "The relative impact of a career academy on post-secondary work and education skills in urban, public high schools." They found that students in career academies compared to students in general education or vocational tracks have,

- An increased rate of graduation from high school compared to students in the general education track,
- An increased rate in attending a two or four year postsecondary institution,
- Greater variety of skills
- A decreased need for English remediation in college
- Increased probability of college graduation

The findings also suggest that "there may be an interaction between curriculum and demographics" regarding the attainment of educational benchmarks -- graduation from high school, attending college, or attending a 4-year university (p. 15). Specifically, career academy programs increase attainment over general and vocational tracks for females, African Americans, and native English speakers. However, for males, Latinos, and non-native English speakers, there was no significant impact on attainment (Maxwell and Rubin, 1997).

Academic and Vocational Integrated Curriculum

The career academy model emphasizes the integration of academic and vocational curriculum as a method to improve students' postsecondary opportunities. Three U.S. Department of Education longitudinal studies report the findings of graduates with vocational coursework and academic preparation, compared to those with only vocational

or academic coursework. Although these studies do not specifically identify students enrolled in career academies, since the integrated curriculum is a feature of the academy model it is useful to examine these groups.

The Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:96/98), follows a cohort of high school graduates, class of 1995-1996 (NCES 2000:154 and 157). A longitudinal study of the postsecondary choices of high school vocational completors is embodied in Vocational education in the United States: toward the year 2000 (NCES: 2000-029). Together, these studies provide an understanding into what students tend to do following high school graduation.

Nearly three fourths of public high school graduates in 1992 enrolled in a postsecondary institution within two years of graduation, compared to about 50 percent in 1982. For all 1992 high school graduates, 36.7% enrolled in public two-year institutions (traditionally termed the community or junior college) within two years of graduation (NCES: 2000-029).

Of particular interest are the following groups identified in these two categories. A vocational completor is a student who takes at least three units of vocational courses. A vocational concentrator is a student who takes three units of vocational courses in addition to a college preparatory curriculum. Completors with just three units of vocational coursework and a general high school curriculum are less likely to enroll in a postsecondary institution than their college preparatory peers. Vocational concentrators had enrollment outcomes approximating the college preparatory students (NCES:2000-029)

The public two-year institution (community or junior college) received 58% of the students with only a vocational concentration (no college preparatory), compared to 22% of the students with a vocational concentration combined with college preparatory courses (NCES: 2000-029). For those students beginning at two-year institutions within three years of high school graduation, 18% attained either a certificate or an associate's degree. Thirty-five percent left postsecondary education entirely. Twenty-four percent of those still enrolled, left postsecondary education before their second year, and after three years nearly 40% of those still enrolled left without completing any degree program. Twenty percent of those still enrolled transferred to another institution (NCES:2000-154, 157).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This article began by comparing education reform to light passing through a prism. When the different wavelengths separate, one sees the many colors that comprise a light beam. When one looks at education reform, one sees the many fractions of discourse that comprise the whole of the discussion.

In The Neglected Majority (1993), Dale Parnell argued that American education produces a lost, or at the least, adrift generation. He attributed this to a meaningless and disconnected high school curriculum. This neglected group is the middle fifty percent of high school students who bide time in a useless general education curriculum-- coursework neither preparing them for work nor college. The upper 25% are directed into a college-preparatory (college prep) sequence, and the lower 25% follow the traditional vocational track (Parnell, 1993). The increasing number in the middle majority drift into college prep, then drift out when they find they are not suited for it

(Gray, et al, 1995). The majority is left with a non-directed and irrelevant education.

From this group comes the highest percentage of high school drop-outs while it produces the largest share of the American work force (Parnell, 1993). In the early 1900s, NAM identified a similar group as the hand-minded, the group that they thought to be the most neglected and abandoned in the educational system. In either case, the school curriculum was determined to be the culprit.

Throughout history, the American public school has been expected to morphologically alter to respond to the external press of society. In less than 150 years, the simple curriculum in the colonial period evolved into the comprehensive high school housing thousands of students of varying abilities and exceptionalities, and offering a vast array of curriculum options. In the latest iteration, the American school is expected to take students to the next level, that of being productive citizens in a global and technological society.

Crowson, et al (2000) describe these forces as coming together in a "quiet revolution" in the way America prepares children for the world of work. They caution that the revolution could come and go without being noticed, and without major impact. Yet, the revolution is still new and holds the potential for real reform.

The career academy is one school design model that retains features proven to produce engaged learners; a small school environment that connects the individual to a relevant curriculum. Research reveals that not all gains made by academy students are significantly higher than non-academy peers, however there are intangible benefits to academy attendance.

Successful theme-based career academies have a sense of purpose and mission. Students from low as well as high-risk groups achieve in a smaller learning community environment. The curriculum integrates academics situated in the context of career experiences. A team of committed faculty mentors engaged students. These intangible qualities are the embodiment of a "good high school" as described by Lightfoot (1983), and are difficult to measure as outcomes. However, empirical research indicates that the academy has measurable benefits for students both in high school and afterwards. It remains to be seen whether the career academy model will continue to build on its success as it enters a fourth decade. If it is to succeed the movement must practice the humility of self-examination as described by Sizer (1993). Career academies must admit their shortcomings, and build on their strengths if indeed is a part of a revolution that will not go away.

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