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CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION ISSUES

Secondary Schools

A Reference Handbook

Leila E. Villaverde

ABC CLIO

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

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To my parents, Jose Luis and Elba,
who teach by example, flawlessly merging history,
education, and wisdom

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Series Editor's Preface

The Contemporary Education Issues series is dedicated to providing readers with an up-to-date exploration of the central issues in education today. Books in the series will examine such controversial topics as home schooling, charter schools, privatization of public schools, Native American education, African American education, literacy, curriculum development, and many others. The series is national in scope and is intended to encourage research by anyone interested in the field.

Because education is undergoing radical if not revolutionary change, the series is particularly concerned with how contemporary controversies in education affect both the organization of schools and the content and delivery of curriculum. Authors will endeavor to provide a balanced understanding of the issues and their effects on teachers, students, parents, administrators, and policymakers. The aim of the Contemporary Education Issues series is to publish excellent research on today's educational concerns by some of the finest scholars and practitioners in the field while pointing to new directions. The series promises to offer important analyses of some of the most controversial issues facing society today.

Danny Weil
Series Editor

Preface

This books attempts to serve as a compendium and a chronology of secondary education in the United States. It maps some of the social and cultural movements as they relate to the construction of secondary schools and adolescence. This book extends from the historical foundations to the contemporary conceptualizations of secondary education, also focusing on the different types of secondary schools available and their purposes. Legislation and policy that pertains to the construction and improvement of secondary schools will be documented as well to further understand the direction and intent of secondary education. It is pertinent to look into and study the different types of schools, target audiences, goals, accessibility, admissions, assistance, and so on. Both the standardization and commercialization of secondary schools are crucial to include in this reference resource of secondary schools given the increasing use of standardized tests and corporate sponsors. Last, various resources and organizations are annotated for further research, reading, and information.

I want this book to chart and inform the conceptualization, construction, and execution of secondary schools in their various forms and intents. This book investigates the purpose of secondary schools throughout history and today. In addition it will serve as a resource in the understanding of policy, legislation, and reform. My hope is that this is a useful tool for all involved in and committed to secondary education.

Leila E. Villaverde

Chapter One

Introduction and History

As the United States developed as a nation, the desire and motivation to educate youth promptly evolved. In this chapter secondary education is defined and traced through the history of education in this country, as well as through references to global influences on the American curriculum.

ORIGINS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Institutions of secondary education in early America were influenced in some part by ancient Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, China, England and Rome (French 1967). Each country's educational system presented different models, some emphasizing the mind (development of the intellect), body (development of manual abilities and physical attributes), or both in the education of young males. It was common practice to provide greater educational opportunities for young men than for young women. Further distinctions were made based on class and location (where students came from in the country), which determined the type and quality of education male students would receive. During the Middle Ages secondary curriculum was divided into two parts: the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music). These curricular designs focused mainly on the liberal arts. The Renaissance also greatly influenced curriculum for secondary education as it shifted studies to the classical literature of Athens and Rome. Classical literature and languages such as Latin and Greek were regarded as a means to an end, a way to unlock vast knowledge. There was a significant reliance and dependency on curriculum content and slightly less emphasis on method in early America. This by no means implies method was unimportant; on the contrary, rigor and discipline were unconditionally expected as paths for success, actualization, and for some, salvation. Nonetheless there was an almost mystical belief in study itself. This curriculum was standardized over time and lost much of its passionate purposes and intents. (This cycle remains a rather common curricular practice, as new ideas lose some of their liberatory tendencies or are interpreted in formalized and static

ways.) As the study of science gained popularity so did its methodology, stressing the discipline of the mind and the development of reason. This chapter contextualizes what the United States inherited as the colonies developed and secondary education was established.

Next we move to the developing New World where we discuss the different types of schools created on the American shores after the English settled on the East Coast and moved westward.

FOUR TYPES OF SCHOOLS

The Latin Grammar School

The Latin Grammar School was the first type of secondary school to be established in Boston in 1635. These were modeled after the schools in England that aimed to prepare young men for college. Shortly after the schools were developed, Harvard College was established in 1642 and later renamed Harvard University. Harvard's course of study was largely theological: reading scriptures and understanding Christ as the foundation of knowledge. Students needed to exhibit a mastery of advanced study in Latin. By 1647, school was made compulsory by the "old deluder" law (legislation and policies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2). This law was not uniformly respected or upheld; it varied greatly by location and the priorities placed on formal education. Even though the Latin Grammar School was designated as "public," parents were asked to pay or contribute what they could for these services. The original plans for the colonies' first Latin Grammar School were made as early as 1621 in Virginia, but that never came to fruition as a result of a Native American uprising (also known as the Indian Massacre of 1622) (Koos 1927; French 1967; Douglass 1964). This revolt was evidence of the strained relationship between settlers and Native Americans and their resistance to convert to Christianity. History is riddled with tensions and the development of secondary education is not without them as ideas of schooling, curriculum, and student potential are debated.

Soon after 1647, with the establishment of the first grammar school other schools were opened in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Most of the larger towns had established this type of comprehensive system of secondary education. Other colonies instituted modifications to the grammar school. In 1689 William Penn ordered Philadelphia to open grammar schools. New York opened such schools after 1700. This is the earliest evidence of the institutionalization of secondary schooling in the colonies. A more expansive view of education and

learning would warrant documentation and discussion of informal learning that has occurred throughout history, not just with the European settlers. It would be important to understand what learning practices and schooling structures Native Americans, blacks, and Mexicans (since most of the Southwest was still part of Mexico at this point in history) had established prior to 1635. These practices and institutions may have focused on agricultural knowledge and social and cultural understanding that informed the way one survives as opposed to a dependency on text as the only source of developing one's intellect. In today's society describing learning as living is a commonly understood practice, yet not as commonly implemented in schools.

The curriculum of the Latin Grammar School consisted of anywhere from four to seven years of Latin and Greek taught by a schoolmaster who delivered the college-preparatory curriculum. Latin was studied first and Greek followed, always through scripture and literature, paying close attention to language (reading, writing, spelling), grammar, and rhetoric. As time passed, other subjects were incorporated into the curriculum, but never displaced the importance of Latin or Greek. In 1789, the curriculum was officially shortened to four years. This seems to be where the high school as we know it originated. Students were expected to have command of English grammar before entering the four-year cycle.

The South, according to French (1967), had few organized schools. Plantation owners instead hired tutors educated in New England's secondary and higher education systems. Inherent in this history is the foundational difference between the North and the South.

Most teachers were clergymen or sons of clergymen trained primarily for religious services. These practices and expectations transferred to the schools where the relationship of student to knowledge was rigidly constructed and not subject to negotiation or question. Other individuals employed as teachers taught without specific training in education. Some received training either emphasizing content at the expense of methodology or vice versa. In the grammar schools the methods implemented were based on rote memorization, translation, repetition, and examination. This methodology was one way to standardize or account for the varying degrees of teacher preparation. The focus was not necessarily on student learning, and the quality of student comprehension is uncertain. Students' reflections of their learning note a stress on memorization rather than understanding all of the grammatical structures and guidelines (Koos 1927). At that time the field of child psychology had not made its presence known and any modifications to the curriculum based on students' cognitive abilities were not

institutionalized. Many teachers, regardless of scientific studies or theories, modify instruction when they get to know their students better. These practices are largely individualized and informal (and this type of modification is more common now that cognitive psychology and child psychology have heavily influenced what is taught when and to whom).

The Latin grammar schools (some, not all) gave way to the "academy" as a structure for schooling. The need to make schooling and learning more practical was the impetus to change secondary education.

The Academy

As the political and social climate changed in what would soon become the United States, democracy took stronger hold and Latin grammar schools held stronger ties to England than was desired by new citizens. Businesses relying on increased trade also demanded different knowledge, such as accounting, surveying (for westward expansion), foreign languages (other than Latin and Greek), and science as crucial to understanding the world. Many young men were already learning these through apprenticeships and private venture schools that were established in local residences. Tuition was charged for this type of education. These schools were considered "public," as defined by their openness to whoever could pay the tuition. By the 1730s, students were being schooled to go to college, take part in government, become businessmen or teachers, or continue to further their studies. Much like private schools today, the academies were free to create and modify curriculum as they wished or for the needs of young men.

Benjamin Franklin saw these schools as great opportunities for the reformation of secondary education. Franklin proposed the first formal academy in 1749, and it was created in 1751 as the Philadelphia Academy and Charitable School. Franklin was very interested in practical studies and thought these were more fitting of the times. The curriculum involved three areas of study: classical, English, and mathematical-scientific. Students also had the opportunity to learn other foreign languages. The major difference in addition to orientation was that students had a choice of what they preferred to study or what they would find useful (most times these were the same). The curriculum had two intentions as the academy movement was popularized, training for life and preparation for college. These curricular orientations retain their popularity in secondary education throughout various decades, tracking youth for one or the other.

Franklin instituted a board of trustees to help in all school matters. The academy never truly embodied Franklin's proposal exactly, but

when he was asked to serve abroad as colonial agent the trustees made other curriculum decisions. The trustees reformed the curriculum, extracting the practical component that was at the heart of Franklin's vision. As the model for the academy spread and more schools all over the nation (including the South and Midwest) were established, other changes took place. Religion was more broadly defined, students of all classes attended, and, eventually, both male and female students were educated there. (It was not until 1784 that the first coeducational academy was founded.) All of the academies had their own board of trustees, and in organization and curriculum they mirrored the colleges of the time. Some of the academies were funded by tuition, endowments, or land grants. The labels for the academy changed from school to school; some were institutes, colleges, or seminaries. But this type of schooling was responsible for the quickest surge of secondary education throughout the nation, not just in the Northeast. Many Latin grammar schools added practical studies to their curriculum or revamped their mission entirely. Some of the academies acted as extended elementary schools due to the learning conditions the students had in common schools. The academies varied in scope, purpose, organization, and funding, yet their common theme was to educate one way or another in more accessible ways than the population of the United States had known before. By 1875 most academies streamlined their curriculum to more stringent college preparatory courses (French 1967; Koos 1927). During this time the study of character development and faculty psychology (a branch of psychology that regards the mind as a muscle best exercised through education, particularly drills, repetition, and memorization) were prevalent; consequently the curriculum sought to address ways in which academic content could positively transform an individual's character and increase his or her intelligence as well.

Similar methods to the grammar school were employed with greater emphasis in training the mind and developing good character, rectifying any lazy tendencies or moral deficiencies (the same with more fervor would motivate vocational education). Again it is important to understand the variances possible from headmaster to headmaster in the delivery of teaching and learning. Other types of academies were created for different sectors of the population, particularly Native Americans and African Americans. Before we turn to the discussion of these schools, one more pedagogical model common during the early 1800s needs to be included in this trajectory, the Lancasterian system.

Joseph Lancaster came to the United States in 1818 and developed a hierarchal system of schooling for poor white boys, usually referred to as "paupers." In this type of classroom "the teacher sat far

above his students and assistants on a raised platform or stage. The assistants or monitors, themselves older unpaid students, marched up and down the long rows of younger students conveying the instructions of the teacher and maintaining absolute order" (Nasaw 1979, 20). Every day, students' positions within the classroom changed according to their performance. The worse the student performed, the further from the teacher he was. Everybody was ranked and the main instructional strategy was dictation or lecture. This system insisted on using extreme means of control and discipline to reform these "deficient" students. The Lancasterian schooling system was considered highly successful in institutionalizing mandatory education for the poor. The public concern and attempt was to "save" poor youth, mainly boys, but in essence the presence of these "idle" young men presented a threat to safety in the public's consciousness. In the end these boys needed to be dealt with and turned into productive citizens before they became a greater burden to the developing society.

Academies and Schools for Others

In the creation of academies mainly for white boys and some for white girls, educational and societal leaders of various racial and ethnic backgrounds saw a need to also create academies and schools for Native American children. The academies for "other" children were created for very different reasons, such as assimilation, redemption, and civilization. These academies and schools, mostly boarding schools off the reservations, sought to convert students to Christianity, whiteness, and civilization. Students were removed from their families and given new names, religion, customs, language, and literacy. Some well-known schools were the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Chilocco Indian School, and Choctaw Academy. These boarding schools and day schools represent an unheard story in American education encompassing highly questionable ethical and racial practices in the name of education.

An interesting exception to these academies and schools was the Bloomfield Academy, later renamed the Carter Seminary (still in operation today as a boarding school for Native Americans), which was founded by the Chickasaw Nation in 1852, with the help of missionaries, for Chickasaw girls (boys were admitted after 1949). This school's purpose was twofold, assimilation and self-preservation. The missionaries who envisioned this school were the Reverend John Harpole Carr (who also built the school himself and grew all the food supply) and his wife, Angelina (who planned the school's curriculum and schedule), of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Cobb 2000). Missionaries, the Chickasaw

Nation, and the federal government, each reigning at different time periods, directed school administration. Each administration had a slightly different agenda, yet the curriculum was heavily based in academic literacy, social literacy, religious literacy, and domestic literacy (Cobb 2000). Each administration placed more emphasis on the type of literacy they privileged, which modified the purpose of the school and the type of student they sought or desired. "Literacy, for the Chickasaws, was a way to control their own transformation; it was not a practice of freedom but a practice of control—a way to create an acceptable place for themselves in a different world" (Cobb 2000, 37). As a result boarding schools and day schools were seen as an opportunity to increase the ways in which the Chickasaw could become agents of their own future. Assimilation was a means to an end, not an end to tribal culture and knowledge.

During the first administration of the academy, mission work was the entire focus of the curriculum. The Reverend Carr focused on religious literacy as the main objective of education. Learning scripture and Christian tenets was required of every student, as well as the mastery of the English language. Students were not allowed to speak their native language at all and they were expected to choose Bloomfield as a new way of life. The Civil War closed the academy for several years and also ended the missionary administration. This afforded the Chickasaw an opportunity to gain administrative control of the Bloomfield Academy. The new literacy agenda was in place from 1865 to 1907, and this era was called the Golden Age of the academy. In 1868 Mrs. Murray (a member of a prominent Chickasaw family) and her husband took over the administration of the school (Cobb 2000). In 1870 Professor Robert Cole became superintendent and established the high school grades, and it was not until five or six years later that a law was established by Governor Overton making Bloomfield Academy a female seminary (Cobb 2000). Shortly thereafter the superintendents were all Chickasaw. The main objective of the school was to provide equality for Native American children. The curriculum became more rigorous and provided more advanced-level courses. The majority of students at Bloomfield were biracial, "mixed-blood," which meant one of the parents was white and English was that parent's native language. These students usually were already English literate by the time they entered the seminary. According to Cobb Johnson, one of the Chickasaw superintendents, there was a concerted effort to enroll full-blood students. He also offered financial assistance for families who would relocate into the area and enroll their daughters in the seminary. Bloomfield was one of the only institutions allowed to issue diplomas for their graduating students. Their curricu-

lum was so advanced it compared to the junior college's curriculum. This opened many opportunities for Native American women during this period and this quickly became quite a prestigious institution. The young women who graduated from Bloomfield were seen as advocates and negotiators for their families in the ever-looming presence of white society. This institution, its administration, its students, and its philosophy could be considered feminist under today's discourse. The institution never used that terminology to my knowledge, but the focus on empowerment and seeing these young women as agents of social change certainly affected the political and social roles of Native American women in that arena.

The arts were considered central to the curriculum, so during the Golden Age, students had a wide variety of options in areas of study and excellence. It was a deliberate curricular reform that Bloomfield students did not study domestic literacy. The administration considered domestic literacy a counterproductive measure in securing equality. These young women became quite adept at code switching (the ability to use two languages, cultural values, or norms interchangeably) and negotiating both the white world and Chickasaw Nation. In present times these young women would be considered "border crossers" by cultural theorists. Unfortunately the Golden Age came to a close when the government took over the school in the early 1900s. Again the curriculum changed, but the school continued. Overall the Chickasaw Nation controlled thirteen day schools, four academies, and an orphan's home (Cobb 2000). There was no doubt of the immense influence Chickasaws had over defining their own identity. Such self-sufficiency and autonomy raised concern in the government and many attempts were made to recapture control and reinstitute subservience to the government. The government proceeded to break many treaties that were signed with Indian nations. Tremendous racial discrimination and inequity ensued.

As a direct consequence of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965 a new school was created, the Demonstration School, on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. This act reinstated Native American participation and control, thereby changing the direction in educational decisionmaking. The school was established on June 27, 1966, and was controlled by a five-member Navajo school board. This is an important shift in thinking toward members of a much suppressed group in the history of the United States and in secondary education.

Bishop Richard Allen also recognized the importance of education to the future of the African American community. In 1795 he opened a day school for sixty children and in 1804 founded the Society

of Free People of Colour for Promoting the Instruction and School Education of Children of African Descent. By 1811 there were approximately eleven black schools in the city of Philadelphia (http://earlyamerica.com). Some of the first black schools in the late 1770s were created from and affiliated with local churches.

Independent black churches in the South grew in the latter part of the nineteenth century. These churches were founded in the North and helped finance and build new churches and schools in the South, increasing literacy considerably. Literacy, again, was defined as being able to read and master scripture. This institutionalized religion relied mainly on text and not as much on oral traditions. Much like the missionary schools for Native Americans, the church-related schools for African Americans were regarded as quite successful in educating their students (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/introduction.html).

By 1867 Howard High School was founded in Delaware by the Society for the Improvement of Morals of the People of African Descent. Howard High School became a historic institution, given its central role in the education of African Americans in this country. Its principal was a woman, Edwina B. Kruse, who served from 1871 to 1922. In Delaware and nationally, Howard High School was a pillar of excellence in academics, athletics, and the arts. In 1975, the Howard Comprehensive High School became the Howard Career Center (www.whispersofangels.com).

As early as 1787, New York African Free Schools were created by different organizations whose sole purpose was to grant free black males and females the right to learn basic academic skills and industrial skills. Philadelphia; Providence, Rhode Island; Baltimore; and Pittsburgh soon followed, opening schools during the first half of the nineteenth century. Northern philanthropists contributed finances for black education throughout the North and South. Black educators were vocal about retaining curricular control and challenged some of the hidden agendas and conditions of the support. Many of their demands were the employment of black teachers and curriculum diversification. Their objective was to provide equal education to black children and youth, not an inferior curriculum motivated by discriminatory racial ideologies. Ohio was ahead of the times in regard to African American education and an advocate for African American suffrage. Two colleges—Oberlin, established in 1833, and Wilberforce, established in 1856—admitted both black and white students. Wilberforce University was considered an African American university. For years African Americans developed their own educational systems through churches and in private homes. At times these attempts at educating the young met much resistance. African Americans endured many racist practices to continue with quality education

for their children and youth. Mission schools, similar to the mission schools for Native Americans, were developed. Black and white educators were employed at these schools. By the 1870s, classrooms were designated for secondary education and more schools were needed for the increase in student population. A new school was built in 1886 in Oxford, Ohio, that created much controversy. Black residents objected to a law passed that prohibited the new school from allowing black students to attend; as a result black students walked over to the new school to be enrolled on September 14, 1887 (Rousmaniere 2003). Again students and family met great physical resistance. Parents filed suits against the Board of Education and the court ruled in their favor—not necessarily because they wanted to uphold equal rights for black Americans, but rather because school boards could not make any decisions that contradicted the state legislature. Oxford schools were obligated to admit students without distinct discrimination on the basis of race to any public school (Rousmaniere 2003). History repeated itself several decades later with the court ruling to desegregate schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.

Boarding schools also existed for African Americans. Among the most notable are the Piney Woods County Life School in Mississippi, Redemption Christian Academy of Troy in New York, Lauringburg Institute of Lauringburg in North Carolina, and Pine Forge Academy of Pine Forge in Pennsylvania. These schools were founded in the early part of the twentieth century. At one point in history there were over eighty such schools, yet as integration was implemented many closed. A few are still in existence today. The Piney Woods School was founded by Laurence C. Jones, who graduated from the University of Iowa in 1907. This school, similar to the Chickasaw-run Bloomfield Academy, is extremely important historically because it was founded and run by an African American. Jones started teaching local children informally. He then used a sheep shed to create a school where more students could get a well-rounded education. Shortly after he taught at the Utica Institute (an industrial school), he moved to Mississippi where he developed the Piney Woods School. Many of the above boarding schools are still run by African Americans and offer comprehensive curricula, some from K–12 and postgraduate, others 9–12, and offer the possibility of being a day student or a boarding student during the week or through the weekend. Despite segregation, unavailable funds, and incredible discrimination, persons of color persevered—believing in the transformative power of education. This was quite subversive, particularly in the South where several decades prior to that time fines and imprisonment were inflicted on those who tried to educate blacks.

Another wrinkle in unknown schooling history is the collaboration between African Americans in the South and Julius Rosenwald in Illinois, a self-made, early partner of Sears, Roebuck, and Company. He was one of the wealthiest men in the nation and helped finance construction for approximately 5,300 rural schools in fourteen southern states from 1912 to 1932, educating more than 25 percent of African American youth (Zeitz 2003). Rosenwald provided matching funds for the $4.7 million raised by African Americans. After reading Booker T. Washington's work, Rosenwald decided to join forces with Washington to start the rural-school construction project through the Rosenwald Fund. Other funds were pivotal in the construction of black schools, such as the Peabody Education Fund, John Slater Fund, Anna T. Jeans Foundation, and Phelps-Stokes Fund. Students would walk for miles sometimes to get to school and back. The desire for education and self-sufficiency was greater than any obstacles placed in the way by southern racial politics. The Rosenwald Fund provided much needed resources in the path to democratic access. Rosenwald insisted that African Americans be involved in the construction and design of their education. Critics construe Rosenwald's initiatives as part of white northern attempts to keep blacks as a subordinate working class (Zeitz 2003). Given the incredible positive impact his initiative had throughout the South, one has to carefully weigh the amount of lives that were bettered by his financial assistance and the support it provided for a growing community. There are only a few of the Rosenwald schools left. These are now considered national historic sites in need of preservation. The National Trust for Historic Preservation is trying to preserve the schools that are left in North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana.

Almost a century after the first African Free Schools opened, additional independent black schools were created. Some of the most often discussed are also Muslim schools. The first independent black Muslim school opened in Detroit in 1932, and another one opened in Chicago around 1934. Today these schools, in particular, have a rigorous academic curriculum and students often outscore other schools in standardized tests. Philosophically these schools differ tremendously from public or other religiously oriented schools. Many parents (from various socioeconomic classes) seek these schools when possible in order to give their children a better education, one that does not underestimate their children's ability because of race or class. In the 1960s and 1970s more parents and communities sought control over schools, and the modern independent black school movement gained strength again in New York and New Jersey, forming the Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI) in 1972, Black Independent Schools (BIS), and the Institute for

Independent Education (IIE) following closely thereafter (www.ascac.org/papers/whyourownschools.html). These schools have provided and can continue to provide an important alternative in education for students who are often poorly served by public schools. Independent black schools focus on dealing with African American culture as the basis for curriculum development and assessment. Parents, educators, and community members are often disheartened by the achievement gaps between races in the present educational system. Concerned individuals with educational visions for every student regardless of race, culture, or gender oftentimes become the greatest advocates for educational reform. These in particular intend to provide the type of education that works to diminish the socioeconomic differences in U.S. society.

Another type of institution developed and transformed many of the academies and existing schools; these were called public high schools.

Public High Schools

Parents were hesitant to pay extra for tuition if they were already being taxed for local schools. A lot of students switched to public high schools from the academies. The first public high school, known as the English Classical School, was instituted in Massachusetts in 1821 (Koos 1927). By 1824 it had moved and changed its name to the English High School. Other states followed Massachusetts's lead, with high schools opening as far south as South Carolina in 1839. The first female high school is documented in Worcester in 1824, and Boston is recognized as having one in 1826, which closed two years later and reopened approximately two decades later. Massachusetts was the first to establish a state system of public secondary education as a result of a state law in 1827 (Koos 1927). The struggle was to make secondary education free, much as had been done for "common schools," which served as elementary schools for "all," and the same was hoped for high schools, particularly in the early nineteenth century after the U.S. republic was created (French 1968).

It is important to note that the school movement was more popular in larger towns than in rural areas. Some families could not dispense with the labor that children supplied, so public high schools were for the middle classes, as the upper classes still sent their children to the academies or private institutions.

Based on several court cases, secondary education schools, particularly free public high schools, were now considered part of the common schools and were given the right to levy property taxes for the schools. This was an important achievement as it gave every child the

right to be educated in the basics or fundamentals and in the specialization of the secondary school. Yet, as with more contemporary decisions or institutions, the ideals or conceptualizations vary greatly from the actual practice. The high schools were free and public, but had admissions requirements, such as multiple entrance exams delineating literacy levels. The cost of books or supplies, transportation, lack of child labor laws, no attendance requirements beyond age fourteen, and theoretical inclinations (not appealing to some) seemed to pose problems as well. As they do today, high schools varied tremendously in resources and accessibility. The curriculum was subject-centered, emphasizing the acquisition and retainment of knowledge and not the application of it. Also, as more women had access to education and college preparation, the number of female teachers increased. Teaching was designated a respectable career for a woman but she was usually paid less than her male counterparts. All of these things, in addition to attempts at standardizing the curriculum, quickly transformed secondary education.

The course of study ranged from three to five years, with most schools preferring four years. The curriculum covered traditional and classical subject matter and more general/practical courses. Toward the end of the nineteenth century vocational education and commercial studies were also incorporated into the public high school curriculum. Also at this point, the Committee of Ten was assembled and their report was presented in 1893. The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education came more than two decades later (these two reports will be discussed in Chapter 2).

Extended Secondary School

The extended secondary school marks the changes made to high schools, elementary schools, and higher education. The last two years of elementary school were redesigned into the junior high school and the high school was extended by two more years. The high school extension became the junior college. These curricular and structural changes were instituted to provide transitional spaces in which to extend the knowledge acquired through schooling. These changes started quite informally as each school attempted to suit the needs of their students. By the early 1900s both the junior high school and junior college started in the West and Midwest, as follows: Berkeley, California, 1909; Los Angeles, California, 1910; and Joliet, Illinois, 1902. (Private junior colleges also existed during this time, yet these were not considered direct extensions from the high school.) During the first decade of the twentieth century, studies on child development, adolescence, and psychology

simultaneously encouraged and supported the need for this reconfiguration and particularly the establishment of the junior high school. The result was three institutions of learning before higher education: elementary school, junior high school, and high school.

REORGANIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

For the most part educational systems in the United States consisted of eight elementary school grades and four high school grades. Some schools in New England offered a nine/four arrangement and schools in the South offered a seven/four arrangement. The impetus to change the grade-level structure started in the colleges and universities (Anderson and Gruhn 1962). Suggestions were made to start college preparatory courses in the upper elementary grades. Restructuring became more serious after the Report of the Committee of Ten in conjunction with the child study movement: it was concluded that developmental milestones, which prepared youngsters for advanced study earlier, occurred in seventh grade, not ninth. What we see here is the concern for an appropriate transition from elementary school to high school. Another concern was the time male students spent with female teachers (largely as a response to Stanley Hall's studies on adolescence and child development, which are discussed further in the section on adolescence), so the initiative was made to transition male students into secondary education more quickly.

The proposal for reorganization attempted to allocate equal time between elementary and secondary education, creating a six/six structure (six years in elementary education, three of the following six years in junior high school, and three in high school). Schools in California and Ohio in 1910 were the first documented to reorganize and institute the junior high school starting with seventh grade (some accounts discuss junior high schools as early as the late 1890s [Koos 1927]). With more youth going to school, part of the need to build or create junior high schools was to alleviate the overcrowded elementary and secondary schools. The junior high school would also facilitate curriculum differentiation, allowing students to remediate and excel in different subjects without having to fail the entire grade. One purpose that is consistent with today's is to provide a place where curriculum, structure, teaching, and learning would suit the specific needs (psychological, cognitive, physical, emotional, and social) of the young adolescent.

The junior high school was called the little high school because its structure and curriculum replicated those of the high school. Educational leaders were dissatisfied with this classification given that many

by the first decade of the twentieth century started to see the potential of junior high schools as something very different. Some junior high schools were seventh and eighth grades only; others were from seventh to ninth. A list in the 1920s was compiled to express the purposes of middle-level schooling (Messick and Reynolds 1992). The list stressed meeting individual differences, prevocational exploration, guidance, developing good citizenship, profitable self-activity, retention of students, introduction of new subjects, college preparation, economy of time, providing completion for those not going to college, and stimulating educational advancement (16–17). These multiple purposes did not exactly provide a clear vision of the need and intent of junior highs. It seems as if with this institution U.S. education was trying to fix all ills in the span of two to three years. The impossibility of the task soon became reality.

As changes in society prioritized different educational purposes, junior high schools emphasized college prep courses less and became more creative about curriculum integration and scheduling. Several concepts were initiated that still are a part of today's schooling, such as homeroom, block scheduling, core classes, and electives. In 1957 with the launching of Sputnik, education became the subject of great debate. There was a concerted shift in curriculum to an attempt at rigor in mathematics and science. The feeling was the United States needed to compete and schools were the institution in which to train individuals for the future. The focus of schooling became the teaching and learning of math and science, and later the addition of reading and language arts. Disciplines were favored over integration or creativity. A decade and a half later, new studies and thinking emerged about adolescence and schooling.

Efforts to change the junior high came with much resistance. Teachers who taught at the junior high level were originally trained to be high school teachers; consequently it was evident teachers needed to be educated on early adolescence and the curriculum innovations for middle-level schooling. Yet educational leaders persisted in believing that the little high school was not an appropriate structure for eleven- to fourteen-year-olds. By 1973 the National Middle School Association (NMSA) was founded and insisted schools for this age group needed to have a different structure and curricular program. In 1977 the association issued a set of goals for middle-level education, which stressed that every student should be well-known by at least one adult who provides guidance, be helped to achieve skills and continued learning, have ample experiences to develop decisionmaking and problem-solving skills, acquire fundamental knowledge, and have opportunities to explore interests (Messick and Reynolds 1992). The school structure was

reorganized so that sixth through eighth grades were considered middle school and ninth grade would be freshman year in high school. The middle school is also characterized by the curricular structure known as curriculum integration or interdisciplinary curriculum. These two curriculum models are not the same but are often used interchangeably. Curriculum integration (less common) requires a complete infusion of separate disciplines as one studies, researches, and experiences concepts or themes. James Beane provides a clear philosophy and examples in his book *Curriculum Integration*. What is known as interdisciplinary, or multidisciplinary, curriculum integrates curriculum along any theme, big idea, concept, or skill but maintains each discipline. Students for the most part still move from class to class, yet they study a unit where knowledge is threaded and integrated for maximum comprehension. Usually a team of teachers work and plan together on the unit and provide sometimes a seamless learning experience for students. These teams sometimes are looped for the entire three years students are at the middle school so students have a consistent core of teachers with whom they can develop strong relationships. The NMSA later issued characteristics of excellence for middle schools. At the core of these characteristics was the concern for the physical, intellectual, social-emotional, and moral needs of the early adolescent, as well as including most of the purposes issued earlier. In addition the association expressed the need to educate teachers specifically for middle school instruction and the need to involve parents in the school.

The middle school then became a great site for educational reform. Several reports published during the 1980s had significant impact on schooling, especially secondary education (these will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2). One of particular significance was *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the Twenty-first Century* (1989) by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, which again showed that social and economic needs shape and influence schooling and learning, as well as collective assumptions about youth. Middle school in recent years has been a source of great initiatives and creativity. Some educators feel that given its position, literally in the middle, it has great potential and leeway for curriculum, teaching, and students.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

An important part of the development of secondary education in the United States is vocational education, with its inception in 1876 at the

Philadelphia Centennial exposition (Kliebard 1999). The different versions of secondary education above do not specifically address the incredible influence on both schooling and society vocational education had. The Industrial Revolution forced into view different conceptions of education and how members of this society were prepared to contribute economically and socially. Vocational education started as an alternative to apprenticeships, and it was first called mechanistic arts. John D. Runkle opened the School of Mechanic Arts adjacent to a preparatory school in Massachusetts. Runkle was concerned with the educative process as opposed to the product. At this point an academic curriculum still existed in conjunction with the mechanical arts curriculum. There was great motivation to incorporate this new curriculum into the public high schools and strong pride in the worth of "good work" as well as the need to reinsert value in labor. Given the emphasis on classical education and other modifications of academic schooling, there was a great divide in how society viewed learning and people's worth. Runkle's inclinations seemed to express a passion for craftsmanship and the art of being involved in this work, as opposed to a direct tracking and reproduction of the status quo. Quickly things changed—Calvin Woodward joined forces with Runkle and created an image for mechanical training as inherent to being an American and a good worker. He created a picture of strength and invincibility playing on the need to recapture the good values of hard work. The core objectives of manual training became evident and lasting: manual training as moral regeneration, as pedagogical reform, and as preparation for the workplace in the industrial society (Kliebard 1999).

Large cities created technical schools; others incorporated such training into the existing public schools. There was great debate in regard to when vocational education should be introduced into the curriculum and what should serve as a prerequisite. Yet the arguments in support of vocational education, given the times, prevailed. There were certain sections of the population that were targeted for this type of schooling; they were African Americans, Native Americans, and the poor. It was "believed to have curative powers for immigrants as well as for various ethnic and racial minorities" (Kliebard 1999, 13). It was seen in much the same ways as common schools, as a means to socialize and Americanize. Black intellectuals embraced this idea for different reasons, mainly as a way to solidify self-sustenance. Booker T. Washington was a student in the Hampton Institute (set up by Samuel Armstrong). He later developed the Tuskegee Institute where he employed African American teachers from Hampton and Fiske University and provided a

curriculum centered on skills training to foster and support an independent class of black artisans. Washington desired economic independence. W.E.B. Du Bois disagreed with Washington's approach and preferred a classical curriculum (to exercise the intellect) so as to not reify stereotypes of African Americans as inferior. He believed that the future leaders of his people, "the talented tenth," would be shortchanged if they received solely manual training. Both Washington and Du Bois contributed greatly to the education of African Americans during and after the Industrial Revolution. Both argued significant points. The important synthesis is that a holistic or comprehensive education needs both the intellectual and practical strand to be successfully integrated in curriculum. Unfortunately vocational education has not shed its stigma of somehow being an inferior type of education.

More modifications took place in the curriculum, moving from manual training to vocational training. National organizations rallied around vocational training to support its centrality in the curriculum and the workforce. The labor force was involved in evaluating the curriculum as they had a vested interest in producing competent workers.

Women were another group that in the long run fared well in vocational education as a result of commercial education. Initially women's education consisted of domestic skills. Here again there were distinct divisions in terms of race and ethnicity. Cooking was one of the first of the domestic arts to make its way into the Milwaukee public school curriculum. The emphasis was on making cooking and housekeeping as economical as possible with proper nutrition and hygiene. There were separate trade schools for boys and girls. In retrospect, through Selden C. Menefee's report in 1938, clerical education by far seemed most successful, as the young women trained in commercial programs remained in professions or jobs that were closely aligned with what they studied.

Continuation Schools

Under vocational education, continuation schools existed to afford youth, mainly fourteen to sixteen years old who were no longer in schools, a place to further their training. The Milwaukee Vocational School was set up as a continuation school. The school extended its audience to the working class in order to further their skills. A curriculum for part-time working students was implemented with teachers who were familiar with the particular industry taught. More details on the curriculum and influences on vocational education are discussed in Chapter 4.

Transformation of the High School

After the Great Depression and World War II, the labor market left few opportunities for youth. Schools saw increased enrollments and sought federal aid, yet were met with much political red tape from social scientists and New Deal (a campaign for federal aid for vocational education) leaders. The struggle remained that of making the secondary school central in youth's lives given the change in the economy and society. Schools needed to change. They had been strictly academic, strictly vocational, essentially about life adjustment, and unsatisfying to the bulk of American youth. This and the change in the labor market created what historians call "the youth problem," which included delinquency, promiscuity, political activism, and alienation. Schools, as a result of retrenchment, were unequipped to deal with increased enrollment. The schools were in crisis. The government created two agencies (Civilian Conservation Corps, CCC, and National Youth Administration, NYA) to help youth transition from adolescence to adulthood, mainly with securing employment. The controversy continued as the federal agencies used money otherwise allocated for schools, and older adolescents in particular were being "lured" from education. Both of these agencies employed youth to work in national parks, forests, and other social or ecological projects. They focused on providing both work-study programs and post–high school employment.

Education associations and professional educators criticized these programs extensively, largely due to the loss of funds. Not much was discussed on the merit of these social and public endeavors and the experiences youth might benefit from. Commissions were drafted to attack these programs and to reinstitute the public high school as the universal education for youth. Schools became sites for curriculum experiments in order to assess best practices for the diversity of the student body. The purpose of the high schools changed more or less to holding tanks for adolescents, a purposeful alienation from the adult world and in most respects society. Educators claimed the population was very different, less talented. And here I must alert you to the use of language: students were *more diverse,* meaning the numbers of minorities and women increased, and therefore the assumption by some educators of decreased talent and ability. As a result tracking surged, although it was not labeled as such; instead it was a concern "to provide different educational programs for students with varying abilities" (Angus and Mirel 1999). Vocational education was losing its popularity, not because of educational initiatives, but as a result of the labor market and the assurgency of semiskilled positions. Life education was perva-

sive in the general curriculum. Heavy criticism came from educators, parents, and communities that this trend was antidemocratic. Life-adjustment education was seen as another way to reify class structure and elitism in U.S. society.

As the 1960s and 1970s ignited great social, cultural, and political debates, the education of American youth came under scrutiny. National defense was of concern, youth were seen as the future, and little faith was placed on their abilities. Adolescence became this abstract vacuum of all sorts of possibilities, the majority with great negativity impending. Schools were not adequately engaging youth and providing hope for productive futures that felt fulfilling for students. Adult, family, and economic values were imposed on adolescents and education became a flimsy bridge from youth to adulthood. The curriculum once again was transformed with a desperate focus on math and science to compete on a global scale.

Much unrest lay at the center of these two decades: America was finding and solidifying its true identity as it wrestled with democratic ideals and unfulfilled practices. Schools were at the center of youth activism and political movements from all sectors of society. Educational reform was demanded and the social climate embraced it. As with all movements the possibility always exists for other groups to appropriate visions and goals for other means. Part of the objectives of the Civil Rights movement and the women's movement was to provide equal educational opportunities inclusive of curriculum that represented minorities and women in abundant and positive roles, opened rigorous academic classes to minorities and women, and revisited knowledge from multiple perspectives. Education was a much contested and struggled-over social space. Fortunately curriculum expanded and gave way to some of these demands. Unfortunately these same demands were used to rationalize tracking and differentiated curriculum. There was still a central, mainstream curriculum unencumbered by the marginal social strife. Status quo remains today even after significant curricular transformation.

As education was more and more complicated by governmental policy, business paradigms, bureaucracy, and standardization, alternatives surged all over the nation. The 1980s and 1990s were simultaneously parallel tunnel visions of economic reproduction and education alternatives. Charter schools, vouchers, and home schooling were seen as viable solutions to public schools. (Each requires a layered discussion that will be addressed in Chapter 4 and in other parts of the book.) It is crucial to understand both the sequence of change and the content of change in the American secondary school. The implications of these

changes are substantial to the growth and development of youth in our society in addition to the education of educators and educational activists.

General Educational Development (GED) Testing Service

The GED test is the equivalent of a high school diploma. Many individuals choose to take the GED test instead of continuing in high school for a variety of reasons. The tests were first created in 1942 for military personnel whose educational careers had been shortened by war. The tests initially were named the Veteran's Testing Service. During the following decades there was an increased demand to offer the test to nonmilitary personnel to obtain a document validating high school-level skills necessary for work. Since 1942 there have been three more editions (1978, 1988, and 2002) of the test. The academic content areas assessed on the test are English/language arts (literature/reading), social studies, science, and mathematics. These are based on the proficiencies high schools require for graduation around the nation (see Chapter 3). The different editions of the test have changed as secondary education has been reformed. Major changes concentrate on shifts from rote and recall knowledge to application and interpretation of knowledge. In the 2002 edition, individuals must write a timed essay. The test also includes calculator and noncalculator math sections and analytical problem-solving test items in science and social studies. The changes in the test also reflect a changing society and a changing use of the test. The test is no longer just used for employment requirements, but also as admissions criteria for colleges and universities. In the age of technology there are numerous virtual ways to complete not only the GED test but high school courses as well.

ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is at the heart of much educational debate. Throughout time adults have been concerned about the future of youth and the country. The two go hand in hand as educational institutions are charged with preparing youth for work and society. Particular focus also is necessary for the way children and adolescents develop and mature. The advances in adolescent psychology heavily influenced secondary education, its structure, content, and evaluation. The findings from researchers such as Hall, Jean Piaget, Erik Erikson, and Lawrence Kohlberg shaped how educators, parents, physicians, and communities

viewed and treated youth. Adolescent development was seen as something that was crucial to curriculum sequence and content, how schools were organized, how students were grouped and tracked, and ultimately what type of education was offered to whom. How adolescence is defined and constructed is then necessary to further investigate and discuss. Based on the literature, age markers were placed on where childhood and adolescence began and ended, which subsequently determined who was allowed to go to junior high or high school. Paths to adulthood were not similarly paved, with some having more access to longer schooling and others to work. These incongruencies and changes in developmental psychology and educational philosophy are pivotal markers in the construction of secondary education.

In understanding secondary education, it is of most import to also comprehend the construction and development of adolescence. During the inception of secondary education the concept of childhood and adolescence changed dramatically, from the lack of child labor laws, to creating schools and training, to the development of "adolescence" and the child study movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Stanley Hall is said to be the leader of the child study movement, "which aimed to utilize scientific findings on what children know and when they learn it to understand the history of human life" (Lesko 2001, 54). He was a proponent of recapitulation theory in which the stages of evolution are paralleled to the development of a child. Hall thought adolescence was the pinnacle of human development. Much as for Piaget, adolescence represented the height of cognitive ability. For Hall the study of adolescence would give him insight into the human race. Adolescence, mainly for Hall, became a time for extreme monitoring and caring for the essence of masculinity—particularly for white males, who were considered superior genetic specimens.

In adolescence one could become developed and superior or fixed in an inferior stage. Education, the process by which one was civilized, was extremely important. Hall was concerned with health and physical education, particularly in doing the right amount to release anger, but restraining excessive expressions, which would interfere with a young man's overall strength. Health was characterized by rationality; in fact civilization, the future of the race, rested on the ability to develop reason. Education, he believed, needed to take place in single-sex institutions for fear of feminization of the boys, and tracking was to differentiate boys with various future possibilities. He pushed for studies on pedagogy that promoted social efficiency perspectives and advocated for engagement in the world as young males were removed from it (Lesko 2001).

Hall's work was seminal in its influence on curriculum as the education of boys and girls was delineated drastically for over a century, and his psychology defined the differences between races and opportunities. Lesko also attributes the influence of Hall's psychology to the taxonomy of labels and the practice of naming to depict the superior as the norm, in contrast to the inferior, which was anything else. This culture of creating stages and rigid structures for being establishes a universal timeline through which all children are supposed to grow and develop. The dangers of such universalization are the strict guidelines for what is deemed normal and abnormal and how these conclusions affect the real lives of youth and the consequences they may produce.

In general, child psychology and developmental theories must be studied carefully and assessed for their appropriateness given the time and population. Theorists like Les Vygotsky offer developmental theories more accepting of the student's culture and personal development. The work of psychologists has influenced education greatly; therefore it is essential to understand the available theories as well as to question their appropriateness for the given era.

Adolescence is a time of potential change and transformation, great discovery, challenge, and risk. There is a constant struggle between intimacy and independence, particularly at this time. In addition to the physical, psychological, and cognitive growth that occurs, school structure changes. Students move from elementary school to middle school or junior high to high school. The transition between elementary school and middle school or junior high can be of great significance. Helping students cope with the transition so that they can maximize their learning opportunities needs to be a central concern of secondary educators. School reform can be motivated by the changing needs of adolescents as learning is offered in ways that capitalize on the challenges presented to students at this time of their lives. It is also a time to secure student curiosity and engagement instead of perpetuating alienation from learning and success. Cottle (2001) discusses the development of adolescent consciousness in a culture of distraction. He affirms that the culture that we live in fosters distraction and overstimulation, making it difficult for anyone to focus on one task. Yet he advocates for adolescents (as well as educators) to take advantage of these opportunities to engage in critical self-reflection in order to improve the meaning in one's life. Through this self-reflection students have the ability to develop awareness and consciousness. Learning then goes beyond school grounds while simultaneously being at the core where a student's uses of memory, thinking, intellect, and emotion are intertwined so learning makes sense and is made applicable to life, whether immediate

or not. Cottle's work is useful in secondary education because he stresses the exploration and improvement of self in a school system that provides skills and knowledge for sustenance in society. The two emphases provide a holistic education for secondary students and teachers. The larger point is that we cannot ignore the individual student in the collective sociopolitical, historical, cultural, and economic aspects of schooling and learning.

Adolescence is almost a mythical space where stories and theories are constructed about the ages from thirteen to nineteen, although for some adolescence begins as early as age ten. There is significant documentation of physical, emotional, psychological, cognitive, and social changes that affect the adolescent. How or when the changes occur or the consequences of these changes are more inconclusive. There may be patterns that adolescents similarly experience, but I want to caution any secondary educator to always challenge what is read by one's experience with adolescents. Some are not in great psychic turmoil or suffering from raging hormones. The growth process can be as collective as it is individual. It's crucial for educators, principals, parents, and the community at large to know well the literature on child psychology and human development and to allow for their students, sons, daughters, and young members of society to share with them their experiences. Most important, we need to validate students' perspectives on their learning and lives as they are challenged to take an active part and exercise their responsibilities.

PURPOSES OF SCHOOLING

Last but not least is the need to discuss the general purposes of schooling in the United States since the inception of its institutionalization. The larger purpose of schooling in the "new land" and throughout our history has been to assimilate and acculturate immigrants into a unified culture that was distinctly American. There was a concerted effort to standardize education, even though resources were unequal. As waves of immigrants settled in the United States, so did the myriad of customs, cultures, religions, and languages. Initially there was a strong effort to convert people to Christianity, and then other religions and beliefs entered the landscape. The important thing to understand is that the existence of plurality was never intended to displace the Eurocentric perspective. This is evident later in history when other languages are dropped from the curriculum and English is made central, often at the

expense of native languages. The process of assimilation oftentimes put tremendous faith in the educational system as the possible solution for society's ills. This sometimes blind faith is very much alive today. The point is that no educational system on its own will resolve anything, but the people willing to understand its history and potentials have the greater advantage in being able to truly suit the needs of students, schools, communities, and the nation.

Broudy, Smith, and Burnett (1964, 3) state, "In an older conception, education was regarded as a process whereby the individual became a 'true person' whose innate capacities for a life of virtue, justice, and wisdom were expressed and refined. . . . Salvation, too, was seen as contingent upon schooling." The process of schooling has always been seen and used as a mechanism for socialization and discipline. The intent is to use a social institution to shape the future generations, unify the population, and prepare for national needs. The total thirteen years or so spent in school not including trade school, college, or institute are a major force in a young person's life. Some may perceive secondary education as a crucial element in the future of youth; as young people grow and develop through school and other agencies (including family and peers) they formulate visions and possibilities for their future. More important, their academic and social experiences can solidify an adolescent's self-worth and self-efficacy. It seems that schooling in general is an important venue for human growth and development, given the different agendas in school formation; it is unfortunate that groups of students and individual students' potential are compromised for these agendas.

School as a designated means to culturally reproduce the capitalist economic system (Apple 1990) can also reproduce distinctive insights conducive to more human interaction, as well as empowering experiences. Schools may not only reproduce but also produce new hybrid ideas and possibilities. I give great credence and hope to actual experience in the classroom and the relationship developed with teachers and subject matter that could truly transform a student's life as well as a teacher's. Particularly in secondary education—where the propensity for dropping out may be high or the apathy already solidified from elementary school—junior highs, middle schools, and high schools have the opportunity to be the point of pivot toward a greater sense of meaning and direction for one's life.

In the next chapter, we will look at the policies, acts, reports, and legislation that have shaped secondary education and the lives of those involved with the schools.

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