Law and the Shaping of Public Education brings the state back in in two ways. First of all, it shares with much recent historical scholarship a desire to right the balance of the history it deals with, correcting the recent overemphasis on explanatory frameworks (primarily cultural) that ignore the power and significance of public institutions and public values. Second, it argues that the states, that is, state governments within the federal system of the United States, were central actors in the shaping of American education. The latter claim would have seemed obvious to the first generation of educational historians, who thought their job was to explain the evolution of American educational institutions. It is not at all so after the birth and development of a social history of American education.

The goal of Tyack, James, and Benavot is to show that the contours of American public education have been determined by usually unresolved legislative and judicial conflicts over the meanings of central but ambiguously phrased public values. The book has two parts. In the first part, the authors show how the desire to establish and maintain republican governments led to particular demands for free, public education, toward a conceptualization of education as a publicly financed public good, and to a continued but often unsuccessful desire by state officials to destroy local prerogatives. Yet notions of republican citizenship also watered the soil of local autonomy, fiscal austerity, and parental rights, all of which cut against the centralizers' vision of republican education.

In the second part of the book, the authors argue that an expanded conception of equal citizenship, which is the Civil War's primary contribution to our public life (through the Fourteenth Amendment), has become the most important source of modern educational conflict. For 125 years, equality has remained a contested and uncertain educational value, precisely because of a broad public consensus both that access to the public schools was a prerequisite to citizenship and that the schools served as producers of American citizens. Thus, exslaves knew that gaining publicly financed education was crucial to recognition of their citizenship, just as southern white leaders knew that excluding or, later, segregating them was important for reestablishing racial hegemony. Similarly, in the 1920s members of the Ku Klux Klan swore allegiance to "Free Public Schools" as the "cornerstone of good government," and in Oregon the Klan pressed successfully for legislation that required all children to attend public schools. They did so because they "knew" that the (primarily Catholic) products of private schools were, by definition, unworthy of citizenship.

Although *Law and the Shaping of Public Education* is enriched by an original analysis of appellate case law and by limited forays into the institutional histories of California, Michigan, Oregon, and the post–Civil War South, it is not for the most part based on original research. Rather, it is a creative example of scholarly boundary-crossing. It synthesizes work in educational history, legal history, and political history, building in particular on the work of such scholars as Willard Hurst, Karl Kaestle, and Morton Keller. It draws on a rich and diverse literature to suggest why education has been such a central concern in American public life.

At the same time, there is much in *Law and the Shaping of Public Education* to carp about. The narrative is often muddy. Crucial themes are raised but never fully developed. For example, much is said about the financing of public education, about the efforts of numbers of centralizing reformers to legislate education into a public good to be funded through general revenues (usually the property tax). The text describes the frequent frustrations of these reformers. The reader never learns, however, when or how it came to be that the public financing of public education did become, as it still is today, an accepted and generally unquestioned feature of American public life. Similar complaints could be made of the authors' treatment of struggles over compulsory education, school consolidation, and even racial segregation. These contests appear and disappear in the text. It is often difficult to know what claims the struggles are meant to exemplify or, indeed, whether they signify anything more than the continued status of schooling as contested terrain. Yet the authors also indicate at the outset that they "believe that there is much to be learned from examining how the legal system shaped public schools by giving them direction and permanence as institutions."

It is, of course, wrong for a reviewer to take authors to task for not having written a different book. It remains, nevertheless, a mystery to me how a book on the institutional history of education with only a footnote on the significance of gender could be written today. Gender may not have been a public feature of official school policy, yet it is important to recognize and explore the paradox that educational policy became a crucial articulation of (male) republican values at the same time that the teaching profession itself was feminized. It would be a pity if one consequence of bringing the state back into educational history were to take women out.

Carping has its place, but recognition is a more important duty. *Law and the Shaping of Public Education* is a significant study that exemplifies recent efforts to join institutional history to the history of social struggles. It deserves to be read in a wide variety of scholarly communities.

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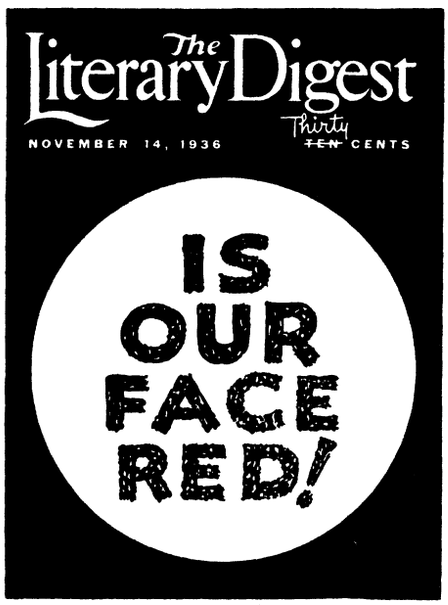
An Enterprise of Social Science

Survey Research in the United States. Roots and Emergence, 1890–1960. JEAN M. CONVERSE. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987. xvi, 564 pp., illus. $50.

Within some important self-imposed constraints Converse in this book presents an important historical perspective on the development and use of sample surveys in the United States.

Two major constraints are that she reviews the field almost solely with respect to surveys in social science and almost solely from the viewpoint of the academic investigator. Moreover, the kinds of surveys described here are primarily surveys of attitudes and opinions; surveys that gather "facts" get little attention. Not treated are the wide range of government surveys on employment and unemployment, housing, crime, health, income, and a host of other topics or the hundreds of business surveys that tell us about such matters as shipments of products, value of retail sales, inventory levels, money spent on government services, and the amount and value of crops raised. These surveys have important non-academic constituencies, such as government policymakers, business people, medical specialists, and consumer groups. Many of these groups are major funders of surveys as well as innovators in methodology, and such surveys also have interesting and important intellectual dimensions. The concepts involved are hard to define, and the data are often used to develop theories about market performance or the state of the economy and economic models.

Election forecasting is discussed mainly with reference to the tensions between commercial pollsters involved in these forecasts and academic surveyors, who have tended to



Top, cartoon accompanying a report on the *Literary Digest*'s presidential election poll of 1936. "On rolls the Poll," exclaimed the *Digest*, "and up goes the fever temperature of popular interest. Last week, a Kentuckian spent 16 cents to inform THE DIGEST by air-mail, special delivery, that he had switched from Roosevelt in '32 to Landon for '36." *Bottom*, three California readers' proposal for a cover for the *Digest* after its prediction that Landon would defeat Roosevelt was proved incorrect. [*Literary Digest*, vol. 122, nos. 13 and 20, 26 September and 14 November 1936; cartoon attributed to "Morris From George Matthew Adams Service"]

look down on them. But many people working in sample surveys must be glad that most of their work does not face the "moment of truth" faced by each election forecast. How well would some of the attitude and opinion surveys fare if they were subjected to the same intense, nationwide exposure—and the intense, nationwide horselaugh if the survey were wrong by a few critical points? Would there be salutary effects on survey design? sample size? calculation of variances? presentation of findings? Even, perhaps, on the healthy humility of the pollster? Alas, we cannot know.

Once the reader understands that this book is primarily a history of origins and the early years of three academic survey research organizations—the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, the National Opinion Research Center at Chicago, and the Institute for Social Research at Michigan—it emerges as an important historical record. Part of its charm, and it has much, is in its descriptions of some of the pioneers in survey research, their enthusiasm and idiosyncrasies, their successes, and their strategies. Paul Lazarsfeld, Rensis Likert, Angus Campbell, and Harry Field are all described in ways that make the reader envy those who worked among them, both in the enthusiasm of the World War II years and later, in the development of their survey research organizations. The establishment of these organizations at universities was difficult. Scarce money and low prestige were two major problems. Given the present success of the National Opinion Research Center and the Institute of Social Research it is hard to imagine the perils of those early days.

A recurring theme in the book is methodological research on problems that are still with us. The wording of questions, their placement and order, and the use of response categories were investigated in the 1920s and 1930s. The effects of interviewers on survey responses were tested then and are still being tested today. The gradual shift from the use of highly skilled professionals for interviewing to the present-day use of less skilled and less educated people with little or no interest in the outcome of the research required a reexamination of the role of interviewers. Though some researchers have found only small interviewer effects, others have found large ones; their work has motivated further shifts toward self-response to avoid large interviewer effects. Interviewer training techniques were developed. Curiously, though NORC is described as providing the first manual for interviewers, its role in developing face-to-face interview methods, for which it is now well known, is not mentioned.

Converse might have said more about the use of survey data in combination with other research methods. From the descriptions of early work in survey research, it is clear that a variety of materials and methods—diaries, historical accounts, participant observation, and administrative records—were used to build a body of knowledge on a topic, with surveys only one source. As survey research has matured, it has taken a dominant role, and other methods are used, if at all, more for validation than to round out information on a topic. From the descriptions of this synthesis of methods, it may be that a much richer interpretation was possible before we relied so heavily on surveys.

Questions about the need for probability sampling are treated gently. This is the only place in the book where the work of the Census Bureau is discussed. The battles over the role of probability samples and over the need to estimate sampling error still go on. Most large survey organizations use probability samples, at least in the initial selection of samples, though some large firms still use quota methods and some that select probability samples do not implement them correctly. It is still less expensive to ignore probability sampling methods. Though the fact that sampling errors can be computed only for probability samples is mentioned, the role of sampling errors in making inferences about survey data is omitted. This is curious, since the use of probability sampling in making inferences has been one of the tools for moving survey research from art toward science.

Many survey organizations do not report sampling errors (though I think they should, with appropriate caveats), but it is true, as some argue, that sampling error is often only a small part of the total error. Converse gives a good description of many of the kinds of errors survey researchers worry about. She does not deal with anything that happens after the collection of the data, however. Much of the work in putting survey research on a sounder footing has occurred in the development of standard classifications, imputation strategies for missing data, weighting of data, and standards for interpretation.

The confidentiality of survey data and the guarantees of privacy to respondents periodically become of interest to the public. When surveys contain sensitive questions—on such topics as drug use or cheating, and in some health areas—the survey records are of interest to law enforcers and governments. What has been the history of the protection of individual survey responses? There are interesting stories to tell, some with heroes, but they are not told here.

One strong feature of the book is the description of survey research during World War II and how it helped the war effort. The morale of the U.S. armed forces was studied carefully, and *The American Soldier*, based on this research, was a monumental work. Also of interest at that time and later were studies on the morale of the enemy. There are still debates on the effect of bombing; did it stiffen morale or diminish it?

Another strong feature is the clear and complete account of the *Literary Digest* poll in the 1936 presidential election. Though I

had often heard of the bias in the sample and problems of nonresponse in that poll, I had not heard of George Gallup's challenge to the *Digest* in predicting the *Digest*'s results as well as those of the election. One cannot read this history without admiring Gallup's daring.

The book also provides a good description of the founding of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, a professional association for those interested in the studies of public opinion. The topics discussed at its initial meeting are still of interest in AAPOR today—sampling, interviewing, question wording, and standards for research. AAPOR was one of the first professional associations to tackle the issue of professional standards. Though an agreement was reached not to try to enforce standards, there is consensus that having standards does make survey practitioners more aware of good survey practices. Those of us who thought that *Public Opinion Quarterly* was always an AAPOR publication find that *POQ* was founded at Princeton before AAPOR came into being.

I would have enjoyed the book much more without 125 or so pages of notes. Some are merely bibliographic, but I could not ignore the citations because others contain longer, more informative discussions of material in the text.

This book is a legacy to future generations. To read of the early struggles, the constant tension between commercial work and research, and the strong personalities of the leaders gives us all a better appreciation of the difficulties that had to be overcome. The histories of the individual organizations may be well known to those who work in them, but this book will inform people in other settings and in future times. Though it provides a narrow picture, it is one that is deeply interesting.

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Immigration from Mexico

Return to Aztlan. The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico. DOUGLAS S. MASSEY, RAFAEL ALARCÓN, JORGE DURAND, and HUMBERTO GONZÁLEZ. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1987. x, 335 pp., illus. $37.50. Studies in Demography, vol. 1.

Underlying much of the contemporary immigration controversy is an unarticulated hypothesis that Mexican immigration to the United States is unique. This hypothesis is difficult to refute because of its protean nature; the intrinsic "something" that is the difference varies from commentator to commentator. Historical analogies, such as comparisons of Mexican immigrants with Southern and Eastern European immigrants, are dismissed for disregard of developments in host and receiving countries. Comparisons with contemporary Latin American immigrants or Asian immigrants are dismissed on the grounds that they equate the economic and political realities elsewhere with those in Mexico. The argument has proceeded with relatively little attention paid to variation *within* the Mexican immigration stream by time and place.

This volume will go far toward clarifying the nature of Mexican immigration and how it has changed. The authors begin by synthesizing basic characteristics of international migration from the immigration literature. The result, already the stock-in-trade of undergraduate demography courses, is easily summarized: immigration is a dynamic, interactive, and relatively enduring social process that is embedded in social networks and activated by structural transformations of the sending and receiving countries. The point is not that these features are new but that they are general. Without having to debate the issue of Mexican uniqueness, the authors demonstrate how Mexican immigration exemplifies them. They trace the current migration to its roots early in this century and to the continuing social bonds and social networks that support the migration. Their demonstration suggests that Mexican immigration has much in common with the immigration of other nationalities, but their investigation into the differences within the Mexican migration stream will add important nuances that go far beyond arguments about "uniqueness."

The investigators are a binational team who collected data on both sides of the border using the methods of anthropology, demography, history, and sociology. They chose four communities in western Mexico for their study. One was a traditional agricultural community peopled by small landholders and sharecroppers. The second community, also agricultural, was dominated by large landholders and agribusiness, and most of its workers were landless agricultural workers. The other two communities were urban-industrial communities, one an old factory town whose workers were skilled and semiskilled operatives and the other a working-class neighborhood in Guadalajara that had been settled by recent internal migrants from rural Mexico. Each community was studied through what the authors call an "ethnosurvey," a combination of survey sampling methods and ethnographic field methods. A detailed local history was also completed. Among other sources, the interviewers contacted all returned migrants within the communities, including the very oldest, and sought to reconstruct the beginnings of the community's migration patterns. In the United States, the "daughter communities" of the original Mexican communities were studied.

The study contains rich and detailed data on the social ties that knit together immigration networks. Fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, brothers, and groups of cousins are key ties. Beyond those ties, *paisanaje*, or a sense of comradeship with those from one's hometown, provides migrants with social contacts. Paisanaje finds its expression in the United States in social clubs, especially soccer clubs, which help provide job contacts and news of home. Paisanaje also means that *los ausentes*, the absent ones, remain part of the life of the community through the "ausente hour" on the local radio station and through annual visits to the fiesta of the community's patron saint.

Information on the timing and number of trips becomes the basis for a typology of migration, and it is here that the great variation within the Mexican immigration stream becomes evident. Some migrants travel briefly to the United States to accumulate savings during a stressful economic period or a particular stage of the family life cycle. Others travel recurrently as their families come to rely on their remittances; in rural areas, remittances constitute over 80% of monthly cash income. Some few eventually settle in the United States and form the stable nexus of the daughter communities. By combining such data into life-table analogues, the authors conclude that by the end of the 1970s, up to 90% of rural Mexican males could expect at least one trip to *el Norte*.

The richness of this study warns us of the disadvantages of simplistic analysis. An interdisciplinary study, it demonstrates the poverty of analysis of immigration from only one disciplinary perspective. A multilevel study, it demonstrates the significance of several units of analysis—individual, household, and community. The authors do not hesitate to point out how agriculture becomes restricted in the migrant communities or how, contrary to the conventional wisdom, expatriated dollars are used to capitalize small businesses. The study is asymmetric in some respects, however: it is possible to chart the effects of immigration on small sending communities, but not on a massive host society.

One disappointment is that this book, though completed just as the long-debated Simpson-Rodino bill was becoming law, evinces no interest in the twin policy measures of employer sanctions and amnesty for