Selwyn K. Troen. *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920.* Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1975. pp. xi, 248. $11.50.

Selwyn Troen, who teaches history at the University of Missouri, is a University of Chicago Ph.D. and was a Fellow at the Davis Center for Historical Studies. In this study in the history of urban education, he explores the reasons why the St. Louis public schools attracted national interest from the mid-1800s to World War I and why is served as a model for other cities. One reason was William Torrey Harris, superintendent of schools (1868-1880), later U.S. Commissioner of education, an able administrator whose educational philosophy was Idealism. Another reason was Susan Blow, early leader of the kindergarten movement in North America and one who, under Harris, inaugurated the first publicly supported kindergarten as part of the municipal public schools. There was also Calvin Woodward who, at Washington University in St. Louis, became a national leader in forwarding the manual training movement.

St. Louis was a boom town in the nineteenth century, the center of more than 5,000 miles of navigable waters, an open door to the west and the settlement of the Mississippi Valley. In St. Louis mingled Virginians, Kentuckians, New Englanders, Irishmen, Germans, and black people moving up from the South. In serving these different constituents, the St. Louis public schools faced the challenge of reconciling contending class, ethnic, sectarian, and racial interests. After becoming the prime agency for mass instruction, the school system faced new problems of urban dropouts, bureaucracy, and political pressures. By 1920, when the study ends, the St. Louis schools were largely apolitical, highly organized and efficient, and broadly concerned with the welfare of urban youth.

Troen's sources included the *Annual Reports* of the St. Louis public schools (published in English and German editions) and newspapers of the period. He used the correspondence and other papers of W. T. Harris, Susan Blow, and Calvin Woodward. He also used available dissertations on education in that city.

Troen's work joins a growing library of recent histories of urban school systems, including: Carl F. Kaestle, *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850* (Harvard University Press, 1968); Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Harvard University Press, 1968) and *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* Praeger, 1972); Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860* (Oxford University Press, 1973); and Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870 - 1915* (Harvard University Press, 1971). Two larger views include Joel H. Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* (Beacon Press, 1972) and David B. Tyack, *The One Best System* (Harvard University Press, 1974).

The result of this new historiography on urban schools is a more realistic view of the political and economic forces operating in North America and a lessening of the hold on us of a romantic view of the public school movement. The book has two appendices, a bibliographical note, an index, and is footnoted.

While not a popularly written work, the book offers much to educational historians, urbanologists, and those interested in the origins of the kindergarten and manual training in North America. It is readable and a wortwhile addition for libraries.

FRANKLIN PARKER
West Virginia University, Morgantown

* * * * *

Hewitt, John P. *Self and Society, A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976. Pp. 248. $10.95 (Cloth), $5.95 (Paper).

Martin, Wilfred B. W. *The Negotiated Order of the School.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976. p.p. 191. $12.50

One can alternately conceptualize sociology as collection of social facts summarizing what our world is like or a way of seeing that world. These alternative ways of employing sociology are not, of course, mutually exclusive. Ways of seeing must be validated by the systematic collection of data, and social facts make little sense unless put into the perspectives of one of another of our ways of seeing. The two books under review here not only emphasize sociology as a way of seeing our world but also from the perspective of symbolic interactionism. Those who want to gain a basic insight into the nature of symbolic interaction as an attempt to understand social life in general and school life in particular will be well rewarded by studying these two books.

The symbolic interactionist perspective places man in society as an active, creative, never fully determined being. This view of man is in sharp contrast to both that of the social behaviorist who would reduce individual and collective action to conditioned responses and to that of the mainstream sociologist's picture of man as being controlled by a social structure (norms, values, institutions) over and above him. Rather than trying to describe and predict objective behavior, the symbolic interactionist is interested in subjective processes, what takes place in the mind of man between a stimulus to act and the act itself. Man's ability to interact symbolically (to take himself as an object, to reflect, and to choose freely one of a number of course's action) is what symbolic interactionists believe distinguishes man's behavior from that of animals. Social reality, then, exists in the minds of men, both individually and collectively; it has no objective reality apart from individual social actors.

In his book *Self and Society, A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology,* John Hewett undertakes a through-going exposition of symbolic interactionism. Professor Hewitt begins his analysis with a discussion of the biological and environmental bases of his subject and ends with a symbolic interactionist perspective on deviance. In between biology and deviance professor Hewitt treats such diverse topics as language development, self concept, motivation, role making, and role taking, and collective behavior. Throughout the image of man is consistent: a never fully determined being who seeks order and routine but often encounters the problematic.

One of the most interesting aspects of symbolic interactionism as outlined by Professor Hewitt is its point of view on the socialization process. Rather than see other's expectations as being necessarily repressive in the construction of the social-self, symbolic interactionism sees these expectations as giving direction to an essentially directionless entity. Man is never completely socialized, but at the same time he needs the order and routine others' expectations impose on him.

These expectations are social facts that each of us has to deal with. If our goals are to be realized we must confront the intentions and goals of othrs. This process of confrontation usually leads to series of compromises with social actors giving and taking within what the symbolic interactionists call a "negotiated" social order. In the other book under review,*The Negotiated Order of the School,* Wilfred B. W. Martin develops in detail the notion of social interaction as negotiation and illustrates his case with indepth studies from the classroom.

Social order does not always flow easily from perfect internalization of norms of values on the part of those who regularly interact with each other; nor is it always held together by the fear of some explicit punishment. From situation to situation we negotiate the order we live with, and there are few places that demand as much bargaining and negotiation skill as does the school classroom. Professor Martin makes a significant contribution to our understanding of classroom life with his indepth analysis of bargaining and negotiation in the school. He begins his study with careful definitions of social bargains and social negotiations and then systematically develops classifications and sub-classifications of the most common types. Professor Martin is not only concerned with student-teacher interaction, but with teacher-teacher communication as well. He generously includes the examples of both types of interactions, as drawn from his fieldwork, in his book. The following example ((p.p. 52-53) is typical of the kinds of negotiation episodes Professor Martin describes and analysis:

> Arnold had been working with paper and scissors making designs. When the bell went indicating that it was 3:30 and time for the class to be dismissed, the teacher told him he had to "clean up the mess" he had made on the floor. There were a number of small pieces of paper on the floor, but Arnold said he was not responsible for putting them all there. The teacher thought and expressed the feeling that Arnold was responsible, but Arnold insisted that he "did not put it all there". After all of the pupils except Arnold had left, the teacher compromised and said: "Okay, probably you are not responsible . . . Probably you did not put it there, but will you pick it all up? Arnold explicitly refused to pick up all of the paper. Despite the teacher's persistance, Arnold, according to the teacher, "vowed" that he would not change his original plan to clean up only part of the "mess" on the floor. Arnold also said that his mother was expecting him home shortly after 3:30. The teacher then phoned Arnold's mother and related his side of the situation to her. He told her that Arnold would not be home until "five o'clock, or whenever he gets all the paper picked up". The teacher let Arnold leave the classroom at 4:15, even though he had not complied with the teacher's original request. The teacher claimed that Arnold had picked up "most, but not all of the paper" before he was allowed to go. In an informal interview, Arnold claimed that he picked up only about half of the paper. His reason was: "That's all I put there."

One very definite contribution of Professor Martin's examples and theoretical framework is the understanding, for both the teacher and researcher, that what sometimes appears to be abnormal and initiating is nothing more than the routine flow of events. The inexperienced teacher is often afraid to negotiate with his students, fearing the loss of face; but the ex-

perienced teacher usually recognizes the necessity of negotiation, knowing that it is a taken-for-granted part of school life. The implication is simple: if we want order in our classrooms, we will have to bargain for it.

In summary, then, *Self and Society* and *The Negotiated Order of the School* are two fine books that present quite adequately the symbolic interactionist perspective in both general and particular applications. It is not always easy, however, to read these books. Dealing as they are with the taken-for-granted routine of our everyday lives, both authors often belabor the obvious. Professor Martin, for example, in distinguishing a one meeting negotiation from a two meeting negotiation, writes, "A two meeting negotiation is one that takes place within any two of the time blocks during regular class hours or in two meetings outside the regular class hours." (P. 107). Because of their frequent redundancy, both books could easily have been written in one-third less space. And so one is left to wonder why, with the high cost of paper and publishing in general, the editors did not insist on much tighter presentations. The case of Martin's book is especially puzzling. It is a relatively small book (191 pages with generous white-space) and yet is priced, even with a publishing grant from the Social Science Research Council, at $12.50. Hewitt's book at times reads like the first draft from his lecture notes, but it is at least available in paper. Redundancy and cost aside, though, the serious student of social life will have his understanding enriched in exchange for working his way through these two books.

JEFFREY C. JACOB
The University of Calgary