Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research

# Handbook of the SOCIOLOGY —OF— EDUCATION

Edited by MAUREEN T. HALLINAN



## Handbook of the Sociology of Education

Edited by

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Handbook of the sociology of education/edited by Maureen T. Hallinan.

p. cm.—(Handbooks of sociology and social research)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-306-46238-9

1. Educational sociology—Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Hallinan, Maureen T. II. Series.
LC191 .H254 2000
306.43—dc21
00-023579

ISBN-10: 0-387-32517-4 ISBN-13: 978-0387-32517-0

Printed on acid-free paper.

© 2000 Springer Science+Business Media, LLC. First hardcover printing. First softcover printing 2006.

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Printed in the United States of America. (IBT)

987654321

springer.com

In memory of James S. Coleman whose sociological insights profoundly influenced twentieth-century sociology of education

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#### **Preface**

The aim of the *Handbook of Sociology of Education* is to present the most theoretically grounded and empirically rigorous sociological analyses of schools to date. The authors are distinguished researchers in the field. Their contributions to the *Handbook* offer major theoretical perspectives on the schooling process and describe significant empirical studies of schools and their effects on individuals and society.

The research presented in the *Handbook* is built on three fundamental tenets of sociology. First, the authors adopt the perspective that schools are a central institution in society. An understanding of the function of schooling in social life is enhanced by viewing schools as interrelated with other societal institutions. The study of how the context of schooling influences education processes is critical to an understanding of school outcomes. Rather than being determined solely by ascribed and achieved characteristics, an individual's cognitive and social development are influenced heavily by the structures and networks in which the individual is embedded. Communities, families, schools, and social groups are critical elements in the educative process. By viewing the school as a societal institution and highlighting the interaction between context and individual behavior, the *Handbook* chapters provide a broader and deeper understanding of the determinants of learning in contemporary society.

The second sociological insight that guides the research in the *Handbook* is that the school is a social system. This focus appeared in the work of sociologists of education at the beginning of the twentieth century and continues to guide researchers today. A social system perspective was central to the theoretical and empirical work of James Coleman, whose contributions to the study of schools played a dominant role in the development of the field. The current availability of large longitudinal data sets permits researchers to analyze data from a systemic perspective, using the school as the unit of analysis. The *Handbook* chapters provide quintessential examples of systemic studies—analyses of system-level causes and consequences of schooling.

A third sociological insight on which the *Handbook* is built is that social events depend on the interaction of macrolevel and microlevel processes. Again, research in the sociology of education clearly depicts this phenomenon. Macrolevel processes link the structure and organization of schools to school-level outcomes such as communication patterns, governance structures, school climate, and social networks. Microlevel processes relate students' ascribed

x Preface

and achieved characteristics to their attitudes, motivation, performance, and social behavior. Linking macrolevel and microlevel processes to the transition between them is one of the most difficult conceptual challenges facing sociologists today. Several chapters in the *Handbook* make significant progress in this direction.

In the past, sociology of education was viewed by some as a narrow area, limited to the analysis of specific educational issues and problems or designed primarily to inform policy decisions about education. The *Handbook* demonstrates the fallacy of this view. Sociology of education is a field that applies the power of sociological analysis to a diverse set of important educational issues. The chapters highlight the unique and far-reaching benefits of the sociological analysis of educational issues.

The *Handbook* should serve as a valuable reference tool for social scientists and educators interested in an inclusive, scholarly analysis of schooling. The volume will be an invaluable aid to scholars interested in the field as a whole and researchers examining a particular aspect of the educational enterprise. The chapters may serve as a supplementary text or set of readings in graduate and advanced undergraduate courses in sociology or education. Finally, the breadth of perspectives and array of theoretical and conceptual linkages presented in the *Handbook* give it considerable cross-disciplinary appeal.

As *Handbook* editor, I am deeply grateful to the authors of the chapters for their seriousness of purpose, enthusiasm for the project, cooperation in the copyediting process, and gracious interactions throughout the long process of bringing this book to completion. I am also grateful to those generous colleagues who acted as anonymous reviewers of the chapters. Their insight, constructive criticisms, and attention to detail brought the work to a high level of distinction. Warren Kubitscheck acted as in-house copyediting manager and performed this tedious task with extraordinary diligence and patience. He was assisted by Valdimir Khmelkov, Elaine Li, Amy Orr, Kathryn Schiller, and Xiao-qing Wang. Sylvia Phillips provided secretarial assistance with her typical generosity and goodwill.

I am happy to acknowledge the encouragement and support of the series editor, Howard Kaplan, whose unwavering confidence in this project was a steady source of encouragement. I admit to the pleasure I experience whenever I work with Eliot Werner, Executive Editor of the Behavioral and Social Sciences Division of Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. His creative wit never ceases to energize as well as entertain me, and working with him on this project was no exception. The Institute for Educational Initiatives at the University of Notre Dame deserves recognition for the research support they provided for this project. I also am deeply grateful to my family whose love makes all my professional endeavors possible.

Finally, it is with considerable pride that I dedicate the *Handbook of the Sociology of Education* to James S. Coleman. Pride stems from the fact that sociologists of education have a special claim to the scholarship of this man who was one of the most outstanding sociologists of the twentieth century. Coleman directed much of this theoretical and empirical work to the study of schools. I consider it great good fortune that his involvement in educational issues provided sociologists of education with intellectual leadership and guidance in the identification and conceptualization of important educational issues. Coleman was one of those rare prescient people who could recognize critical social problems before the rest of us. His highly heuristic, theoretical, and empirical research on critical contemporary social events influenced the scholarship of most sociologists of education over the past several decades.

Acknowledging James Coleman's contributions to sociology of education also evokes feelings of sadness that this great scholar no longer provides us with his intellectual leadership. Nevertheless, the body of scholarship that he accumulated over his lifetime is sufficient to guide research in sociology of education for many years to come. Coleman urged sociolo-

Preface xi

gists to engage in the comparative study of social systems. Theoretical models and empirical data available today make this goal more attainable than previously. Coleman also encouraged sociologists to analyze the transitions between macrolevel and microlevels of analysis; data on schools and students are particularly amenable to this kind of research. In accepting Coleman's direction, sociologists of education are assured of making significant progress in developing a solid and valuable body of scholarship on schools.

MAUREEN T. HALLINAN

#### **Contents**

|     | of 1 | the Twenty-first Century  |
|-----|------|---|
| [.  | TH   | EORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS   |
|     | 1.   | School as Context and Construction: A Social Psychological Approach to the Study of Schooling |
|     | 2.   | The Organizational Context of Teaching and Learning: Changing Theoretical Perspectives        |
|     | 3.   | On the Linkages between Sociology of Race and Ethnicity and Sociology of Education            |
|     | 4.   | <b>Research and Theory on Equality and Education</b> 85 <i>Kathleen Lynch</i>                 |
|     | 5.   | Structural Effects in Education: A History of an Idea   |
|     | 6.   | School Effects: Theoretical and Methodological Issues   |
| II. | . DI | EVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF EDUCATION   |
|     | 7.   | <b>Development and Education</b>  |

|    |      | The Content of the Curriculum: An Institutionalist Perspective  Elizabeth H. McEneaney and John W. Meyer                  | 189 |
|----|------|---|-----|
|    | 9.   | Comparative and Historical Patterns of Education  | 213 |
|    | 10.  | The Limits of Growth: School Expansion and School Reform in Historical Perpective   | 241 |
| Ш  | . TI | HE STUDY OF ACCESS TO SCHOOLING   |     |
|    | 11.  | Equitable Classrooms in a Changing Society  | 265 |
|    | 12.  | Connecting Home, School, and Community:  New Directions for Social Research  Joyce L. Epstein and Mavis G. Sanders        | 285 |
|    | 13.  | The Variable Construction of Educational Risk   | 307 |
| IV | . TH | IE STUDY OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION   |     |
|    | 14.  | School Size and the Organization of Secondary Schools   | 327 |
|    | 15.  | Comparative Sociology of Classroom Processes, School Organization, and Achievement  David P. Baker and Gerald K. LeTendre | 345 |
|    | 16.  | Social Systems and Norms: A Coleman Approach  | 365 |
|    | 17.  | Values, Control, and Outcomes in Public and Private Schools   | 387 |
| V. | TH   | E STUDY OF SCHOOL OUTCOMES  |     |
|    | 18.  | Interactions between High Schools and Labor Markets   | 411 |
|    | 19.  | Vocational Secondary Education, Tracking, and Social Stratification Yossi Shavit and Walter Müller                        | 437 |
|    | 20.  | Transition from School to Work in Comparative Perspective   | 453 |

Contents xv

| 21. Pathways from School to Work in Germany and the United States Jeylan T. Mortimer and Helga Krüger | . 475 |
|---|-------|
| 22. The Effects of Schooling on Individual Lives  | . 499 |
| VI. POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH<br>IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION                                  |       |
| 23. Accountability in Education  Thomas B. Hoffer   | . 529 |
| Tribute to David Lee Stevenson  | . 545 |
| 24. The Fit and Misfit of Sociological Research and Educational Policy David Lee Stevenson†           | . 547 |
| Author Index  | . 565 |
| Subject Index   | . 579 |

#### Introduction

### Sociology of Education at the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century

MAUREEN T. HALLINAN

Remarkable progress has been made over the past half-century in the sociological analysis of education. At mid-century, little theoretical research on schooling was available, and few empirical studies of schools had been conducted. A large body of conceptually grounded and methodologically rigorous research has accumulated since then. Researchers have studied education from various theoretical perspectives and have analyzed complex data sets with sophisticated analytical techniques. As a result, the sociology of education has become a vital and expanding field within sociology and has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the social structures and processes that affect students' learning and social development. An overview of early theoretical and empirical contributions to the field and recent significant scholarship in the area should reveal the important role sociology of education plays in our understanding of education.

#### EARLY THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The early writings of Durkheim and Weber laid the conceptual foundation for the sociological analysis of schools. Durkheim was one of the first scholars to analyze education from a socio-

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Handbook of the Sociology of Education, edited by Maureen T. Hallinan. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, 2000.

2 Maureen T. Hallinan

logical perspective. He was concerned about the role of education in the preparation of children for their roles in adult society. In his many writings, and in particular in his important treatise *Moral Education* (1973), he discussed the importance of values in a stable society and the role of schools in teaching values to students. His work included analyses of the relationship between schools and other societal institutions, between education and social change, and between schools and the functions of a social system.

Weber's work was less directly related to education. Nevertheless, his writings on organizations, bureaucracies, leadership, and status increased understanding of the educational enterprise (see, for example, Weber, 1978). His ideal-type organization, with its division of labor, administrative hierarchy, procedural rules, formal relationships, and rational behavior, provided a model for school structure. His writings on status underscored the power of the dominant group and suggested how governing groups shape education and how power produces conflict across groups both inside and outside of schools. Weber's concept of a charismatic leader became a model for school administrators.

Other early sociologists also discussed issues directly relevant to the study of schools. Parsons (1959) analyzed the school as a social system and noted its role in the transmission of values and in the maintenance of social order and stability. Marx (1977; Marx & Engels, 1992) saw education as a system that perpetuates the existing class structure. Bowles and Gintis (1976) viewed schools as an instrument used by the dominant class to maintain the status quo, including its position of authority over the underprivileged. Waller (1932) conceptualized schools as unstable social systems in which the competing interests of administrators, teachers, parents, students, and community groups vie for power and authority. These and other sociologists contributed important insights into the nature and function of education in society.

Sociologists of education have relied on the theoretical orientations of these early writers to analyze schools as institutions and as social agents. Most of these theories describe macrolevel and microlevel mechanisms governing social behavior. The theoretical perspectives were formulated to explain social phenomena rather than to shed light on specific educational issues. Nevertheless, sociologists of education have employed tenets of these theories—including consensus theory and structural functionalism, conflict theory, and various interactionist conceptualizations—to explain schooling processes. These theoretical perspectives have provided a number of insights into schooling that have guided and enriched sociological analyses of education.

Although sociology of education has benefitted from reliance on general sociological theory to develop ideas about schooling processes, this approach is limited. One problem with depending solely on broad sociological theories to study education is that the theories are often applied to education issues without taking into account the unique environment and population of schools. As a result, the general theories have only weak explanatory and predictive power in the analyses of school processes.

A second problem associated with relying primarily on general sociological theory to study schools is that these perspectives offer little insight into the causes and consequences of interinstitutional and intrainstitutional variation in schooling processes. Although general sociological theories can explain institutional dynamics on a broad level, they cannot depict the unique interactions between schools and other societal institutions or within schools themselves. Whereas similarities exist between schools and other societal institutions, dramatic differences distinguish them from many other societal institutions. For example, schools function as partially closed institutions, have student populations that are in various stages of transition to adulthood, and include both publicly and privately owned and funded organiza-

Introduction 3

tions. Differences exist across school sectors and across schools within sectors; also apparent are within-school differences. General sociological theories are too abstract to depict the interinstitutional and intrainstitutional interactions that are unique to schools.

In addition to relying on general sociological theories, sociologists of education have utilized theoretical concepts within subdisciplines of sociology to inform their work. For example, research on social stratification and mobility processes and in social psychology has provided useful ideas about how schools operate in society. Stratification and mobility research provides a framework to analyze the role of educational achievement and attainment in the process of occupational attainment and intergenerational mobility. Social psychological perspectives inform the study of attitudes and behaviors in school, students' motivation, student subcultures, and the development of normative systems within schools.

Although reliance on subdisciplinary research has also been helpful in developing ideas about schooling processes, it is subject to the same limitations as general sociological theory. Although many aspects of schooling can be illuminated by subdisciplinary perspectives, particularly when they are theoretically rich, the distinctive social processes that characterize schooling cannot be fully explained by these nonschool conceptual analyses. Subdisciplinary research can be most helpful to the sociology of education as a expansion of or a supplement to its own conceptual frameworks.

The heavy reliance of sociologists of education on general social theory and on ideas and models from other sociological subdisciplines to study schooling demonstrates the greatest weakness of the area. Although the sociology of education has shown remarkable progress since the 1950s in the area of empirical research, it has lagged in the development of theories about schooling. As a result, the field in general—despite its empirical accomplishments—would benefit from greater breadth, integration, and focus. A stronger theoretical foundation would guide the selection of future research studies and would insure greater progress in our understanding of schooling. Theoretical explanations that explain the social processes that occur in schools would help sociologists distinguish education from other social institutions; this would contribute to the study of societal institutions in general as well as to the study of schools in particular. Similarly, theoretical formulations that would compare and contrast social and organizational processes across and within schools would increase our understanding of specific schooling processes and of institutional processes in general.

The chapters in this handbook present a number of recent efforts by sociologists of education to develop a theory of schooling and show the progress being made in the formulation of theories of schooling. One function of the *Handbook* is to encourage continued efforts to build on and expand this incomplete theoretical base so as to increase the conceptual strength and richness of the sociology of education.

#### EARLY EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Sociologists of education have made greater advances in the analysis of empirical data than in the formulation of theoretical models of schooling processes. Three reasons account for this empirical progress. First, since the 1960s, sociologists of education have had available the analytical techniques developed in econometrics and in other applied fields to estimate statistical models of schooling processes. In particular, the formulation of the general linear model, and its many extensions, facilitated empirical studies. School data are amenable to statistical

4 Maureen T. Hallinan

analysis because they are readily available and are conducive to categorical and continuous measurement. In the Coleman Report, arguably the most influential early empirical study in sociology of education, Coleman and associates (1966) used a production function model to examine how school and family resources (inputs) produced student outputs (achievement). Countless reanalyses of the Coleman Report were conducted and this body of work spawned related studies in the same tradition.

A second factor that promoted empirical work in sociology of education was the effort begun in the 1960s and the 1970s that has continued to the present; the collection of large, carefully designed, nationally representative surveys of schools, teachers, and students. Many of these data collection efforts were sponsored by the federal government, which overcame the obstacle of prohibitive costs. Federal agencies—such as the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Health, and the U.S. Department of Education—provided generous support for survey research. Initially the government funded national cross-sectional surveys, and later longitudinal surveys, collecting information from large numbers of students and schools at several points in time. These data permitted analyses that traced the trajectory of students' experiences and the influences of schools on student outcomes throughout a student's career in school. The nature of the data offered researchers a choice of unit of analysis, ranging from student-level to state-level educational entities. The high quality of the data in most of these national surveys encouraged empirical studies in the sociology of education.

A third reason for the strong emphasis on empirical work in the sociology of education was that sociologists of education were becoming increasingly more aware that their empirical research could play a role in informing and shaping educational practice and policy. The federal government and state and local agencies requested social science research findings to help them make decisions about school matters such as student organization, curriculum content, and school governance. In addition, judicial officers frequently asked social scientists to act as expert witnesses to provide empirical findings that could inform actors in cases that involved educational policy. The demand for research findings that addressed contemporary political issues (such as desegregation, affirmative action, bilingual education, and mainstreaming) has grown with calls for school reform. Sociologists of education have increased the number of policy-relevant empirical studies and have disseminated their findings more widely in response to this demand for education studies.

Given that the research atmosphere since the 1960s has been particularly amenable to empirical research, sociologists of education have accumulated an impressive body of empirical studies of schools. Today the sociology of education can boast a large body of scholarship on educational issues. The empirical studies presented in the *Handbook* illustrate recent analyses that shed new light on schools and their effects on students' outcomes.

#### OVERVIEW OF THE HANDBOOK

The *Handbook* is divided into six sections, each representing a major area in the sociology of education. The chapters in each section present significant recent conceptualizations of schooling and identify critical issues and practical concerns about schools. The organizational scheme is meant to help the reader realize the depth and breadth of the field, identify the important research questions that define the area, and locate the chapters in the wider field of sociology of education. The following overview provides background information for each section and indicates special features of each chapter.

Introduction 5

#### Part I: Theoretical and Methodological Orientations

The first section of the *Handbook* presents theoretical and methodological research that illustrates current work in these areas. Sociologists of education recognize that their research must be grounded in theory. Chapters 1 through 4 make significant advances in formulating theories of schooling. Rather than relying on general theories of society, the authors develop theoretical propositions about the social and organizational processes that unfold within schools. Chapters 5 and 6 caution the researcher that analytic models can constrain and limit the substantive issues studied in the sociology of education.

Chapters 1 and 2 present advances in the traditional conceptualizations of the school as a social system and as an organization. In Chapter 1, Bidwell presents a social psychological model of the school as an agent in socializing students for social participation in adult society. He stresses the normative dimension of schooling and its role in the development of students' social competence. His chapter offers explicit direction for researchers attempting to develop theoretical models of schooling based on social psychological orientations.

In Chapter 2, Gamoran, Secada, and Marrett provide an alternate conceptualization of the school as an organization. Anchoring their analysis in the concept of resources, the authors describe changes in the way sociologists of education have utilized organizational theory to explain the teaching/learning process. One of the major contributions of this chapter lies in the authors' insight that a school is a system of linked relationships. Their explanation of how the structure of these relationships affects teaching and learning offers a new perspective on the social organization of schools.

In Chapter 3, Hallinan attempts to relate the growing body of empirical research on race and ethnicity to work in the sociology of education. The study of race and ethnicity has been a preoccupation of sociologists for several decades. Moreover, schools have been at the center of efforts to integrate American society. Hence, it seems reasonable to expect that research on race and ethnicity would have influenced the way sociologists of education conceptualize the schooling process. However, Hallinan's analysis finds little to support this expectation. She concludes that research both on race and ethnicity and on schooling would benefit from greater theoretical and empirical connectedness. Moreover, research identifying political, social, economic, and cultural factors that affect the way schooling is conceptualized and studied would promote a better understanding of the role of schools in promoting racial and ethnic integration.

As background for her study of equity in education in Chapter 4, Lynch outlines egalitarian theory in general and critical and feminist theory in particular. She makes explicit many of the ideological and political assumptions underlying the analysis of educational equality and argues that sociology of education, as a discipline, has been more oriented to educational reform than to radical social change. Lynch calls for viewing equity from a broader perspective, taking both liberal and radical traditions into account, in order to better understand the dynamics that perpetuate social inequities in education.

In Chapter 5, Dreeben discusses the predilection of researchers for using structural effects models to analyze schools. The fact that schools are organizations makes it natural to study how the structure of a school can influence its members. Dreeben points out, however, that the strong bias of sociologists of education toward using a structural effects framework necessarily excludes the examination of other substantive issues about schools. Similarly, it constrains the use of different analytic methods that could broaden our understanding of schooling. Dreeben's analysis suggests that sociologists of education need to expand their conceptualizations of schooling and avoid the danger of allowing analytical methods to define and limit the substantive issues studied.