School-Family Cooperation, Social Closure,

Educational Equality and Excellence:

Evidences from China

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Abstract	Article Info
Excellence and equality is an essential goal of compulsory education in China. This goal, however, is difficult to achieve in practice because of the difficulties in balancing between excellence and equality and in sustaining equality as a result of resource redistribution. This article uses the data of the nationally representative China Education Panel Survey (CEPS) and discusses the possibility of advancing educational excellence and equality in compulsory education based on Coleman's theory of social closure. To be more specific, social capital can be increased by means of school-family cooperation so as to achieve excellence and equality in compulsory education. Our main findings include: first, school-family cooperation system is conducive to the growth of social capital for families; second, it adjusts the direct influence of family background on the social closure production; third, it helps achieve excellent development of compulsory education by increasing family social capital; finally, the school-family cooperation system facilitates even distribution of social capital among different classes and equal development of compulsory education. On such a basis, this paper further discusses the policy implications of these findings.	

Cite as:

Introduction

Excellence and equality is an essential goal of compulsory education for countries in the world. As early as in the 1990s, the USA has put forward the policy of "Excellence and Equality in Education", which aimed at maintaining the quality of American education as well as narrowing the education gap among different classes. The Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-Term Education Reform and Development (hereunder referred to as the "Outline") has expressed a similar vision. It demands that we should improve the level and quality of compulsory education in an all-round manner, to achieve balanced development among regions.

However, there are many predicaments confronting excellence and equality in compulsory education in China, among which two main ones are as follows: First, it is difficult to strike a balance between excellence and equality. To place too much weight on equality will impair efficiency in education and vice versa; second, the policy mainly focuses on the redistribution of material resources and the development of excellent and equal education lacks sustainability. In consequence, balancing excellence and equality and achieving sustainable development of compulsory education have become an important issue on the table of education policymakers.

Current policies on excellent and equal compulsory education mainly focus on resource redistribution, which perform poorly in boosting excellence and equality in education and sustainable development of education (Fan, 2016). It is imperative to seek a new growth point and solve the problems left in resource redistribution policies by institutional innovation.

Based on sociology of education, school-family cooperation is a potential way to achieve excellence and equality in compulsory education. Evidence from America and Hong Kong shows that school-family cooperation can encourage parents to participate in children's education, increase family social capital and improve children's educational achievements (Epstein & Elmore, 2013; Ho & Willms, 1996; Van Voorhis, et al., 2014). In China, the empirical study

based on Jiangxi province also shows that school-family cooperation plays an important part in encouraging parents to participate in children's education and improving children's academic achievements (Wu, et al., 2016; 2017).

On such a basis and relying on the latest CEPS data obtained by the latest Chinese Educational Panel Survey (hereafter referred to as CEPS), this paper discusses the role of schools in improving the quality and promoting balanced development of compulsory education and provides suggestions for promoting the adjustment of balanced development of compulsory education by empirical study. The main contents are organized as follows: Part 2 sorts out relevant references literature about social closure and puts forward assumptions for study; Part 3 introduces data, variables and analytical methods; Part 4 presents the result of study; Part 5 contains conclusions, discussions and suggestions for reforming China's current policies on balanced development of compulsory education by empirical study.

Literature Review and Assumptions for Study

Concept and Measurement of Social Closure

Social closure is an important concept of social capital, which was put forward by James Coleman, an authority in sociology. In education, it is used to describe a series of closed social networks centered on education. It can also be divided into two categories according to different interactions and scenes among social networks, i.e., the intergenerational relationship inside a family and the communication network between parents, and between parents and schools (Coleman, 1988). The former can be defined as parental involvement, and the latter intergenerational closure (Coleman, 1988). This is how the system works: When social communications between parents and children, parents and other adults in the community turn out to be high social closure, it means social capital, which will affect children's education gain, is increased. And we can improve children's educational achievements from the increase in social closure capital (Zhao & Hong, 2013).

Scholars like Ho further developed Coleman's ideas and specified the measurement of social closure capital in empirical study (Ho & Willms, 1996). In empirical study, parental involvement includes multiple indicators such as mentoring, supervision, parent-child discussion (Pong, et al., 2005). Intergenerational closure is embodied by the extent of communications between schools and parents, which involves the frequency of interactions between parents and schools. Through further analysis of relations between social capital and educational achievements, we can come to the conclusion that parental involvements, parent-child discussion about relevant school affairs in particular, will improve children's academic achievements dramatically (Epstein, 1984; Marjoribanks, 1979; Ho & Willms, 1996). Therefore, increasing families' social capital has become a viable way to improve children's academic and educational achievements.

School and Social Closure Capital

Ogbu (1974) was the first scholar who noticed the part that schools play in the production process of social closure capital. He found out that the discrimination from schools result in less involvements of parents from lower class in children's education and in communications with schools through his empirical study in America. In education, schools are never neutral institutions (Bernstein, 1975). In the process of education, schools strengthen the leading position in education of the upper class by means of languages, courses and educational organizations (Anyon, 1981; Apple, 1979). However, the majority of working class and lower class do not understand the rules of the game in schools and as a result of that, they do not know how to get involved in children's education and interact with schools to form a benign intergenerational closure (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lareau, 2015).

These studies discussed the negative part of schools in the production of social closure capital. However, as the Chinese saying goes, "either success or failure boils down to the same person". Since schools are an important medium in the production process of social

closure capital, if we start from schools, urge them to transform and increase the probability of schools interacting with parents, we may encourage parents from lower class to participate in children's education and form a stronger intergenerational closure environment. In other words, those practices can increase parents' social closure capital and thus improve children's academic achievements.

The theory of promoting social closure by efforts of schools to facilitate excellent and equal education has been put into practice quickly. In the 1970s, America first implemented family-school cooperation strategy. At that time, the Congress passed the amendment of primary and secondary educational law, which aims to set up Parent Committee to promote social closure between families and schools and improve the development of children from low-income families (Wu, et al., 2013, pp. 28-29). In the following decades, those strategies were completed by a series of acts and were clearly specified in the Goals 2000: Educate America Act signed by President Clinton. The Act stipulated that every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional and academic growth of children (Wu, et al.,2014, pp. 60). The effects of reforms have been testified in the following empirical studies: Support strategies from schools have received remarkable results. Once schools take positive measures, like setting up Parent Committee and inviting parents to sports meetings, the social closure capital of parental involvement and intergenerational closure will increase dramatically (Epstein & Becker, 1982; Becker & Epstein, 1982).

In Chinese community, Hong Kong has taken similar policy since the 1980s. Through acts stipulated by government, they focus on and make use of schools to establish family-school cooperation to increase social capital for families and boost excellent and equal education (Ho, 1999). Ho testified in a subsequent research report *Family-School Cooperation Research Plan: Success Indicators and Probe into Successful Practice*, that these policies enable parents to participate in children's education, at the same time create a closer intergenerational closure network between schools and parents (Ho, 2001).

It is necessary to point out that school-family cooperation can promote social closure, but the production process is also affected by family background. Lareau (1987) argues that class is the mediate factor which affects the production of social closure capital. Parents from different classes have different extent of compliance towards teachers' requirements. The material and cultural characteristics of families will interact with school-family relations. To put it another way, family background is the mediate factor of school-family education and will reduce the direct effect of school-family cooperation on the production of social closure.

Recently in China, some scholars have noticed the relation between schools and social capital during the process of education and focused on the subject to conduct empirical studies. Among the representatives are a series of researches of Zhao Yandong and Hong Yanbi (2012) and Wu Chonghan (2017). Based on the representative data from the national level, Zhao Yandong and Hong Yanbi (2012) found out that the more parental involvement in children's education, the better children's academic achievements, and the more communication between parents and schools, that is to say, the greater intergenerational closure, the better children's academic achievements.

The research of Wu Chonghan and his college (2014), leveraging the first-level data of Jiangxi province, reveals that school-family cooperation weakens the correlation between family capital and child development. Moreover, Wu advises disadvantaged families to promote children's success by strengthening cooperation with schools.

Research Review and Research Hypothesis

Despite enormous research achievements made by scholars on the school and social closure capital production, there are still inadequacies, mainly consisting of the following aspects. Firstly, the researches are not implemented in an overall regional perspective. Most of existing researches are carried out in developed capitalist

countries, while relevant discussion is still lacking in China and other developing countries and does not show the effects of these researches in boosting the education of developing countries. Secondly, there are some limitations on the research topics. Although existing researches fully expound the functions of schools in facilitating social closure capital and improving education achievement through the latter, however, they do not analyze the possibility that school strategies can favor the even distribution of capital and thereby be conducive to educational equality. Therefore, it is necessary to use China's representative national level data to analyze the effect of school-family cooperation system on social capital production at the micro-level. Based on the foregoing, this paper puts forward further research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: School-family cooperation system is positively correlated with social closure. In this way, according to the different types of social closure, we can divide hypothesis 1 into hypothesis 1a and hypothesis 1b. Hypothesis 1a: school-family cooperation system is positively correlated with parental involvement; hypothesis 1b: school-family cooperation system is positively correlated with intergenerational closure.

Hypothesis 2: Family background influences the effect of school-family cooperation system and family socioeconomic status weakens the direct effect of school-family cooperation system. Specifically, hypothesis 2 can be divided as follows: hypothesis 2a: family socioeconomic status can adjust the correlation between school-family cooperation system and parental involvement; hypothesis 2b: family socioeconomic status can adjust the correlation between school-family cooperation system and intergenerational closure.

Institutional discrimination theory holds that the lower class parents' less involvement in children's education does not result from their neglect of their children and indifference to children's education, but from the mismatch between the inherent rules of education institutions and the environment in which they live and inadequate knowledge that hold them back from acquiring social capital to get involved in their children's education (Lareau, 1987; Ho & Willms,

1996). Hence, once school attitude changes to set up more supportive strategies and plans for parents, the social capital of these families can be significantly increased, based on which, this paper further puts forward hypothesis 3: school-family cooperation system has different effects on different classes of parents and conduces to the even distribution of social closure capital of families of all classes.

Data, Variables and Analysis Method

Data

This research is conducted using baseline database of Chinese Educational Panel Survey (hereinafter referred to as CEPS). Designed and implemented by National Survey Research Center at Renmin University of China (NSRC), CEPS is a large scale tracking survey project that is nationally representative, aiming at revealing the impact of family, school, community and macro-social structure on individual education and further studying the process: how educational output plays a role in personal life course. The survey takes 2013-2014 academic year as the baseline and randomly draws 19,487 7th grade students and 9th grade students from 438 classes of 112 schools in 28 counties randomly drew around China (CEPS, 2015). This research focuses on the influence of family and school on social capital and discusses the effect of schools on promoting balanced development of education by social capital. Therefore, we deleted the information of 2,145 students who do not live with parents and 5,212 incomplete samples. So there are 12,121 final samples and sample loss rate is 30%.

Variables

This research follows closely the effect of school-family cooperation system on social closure capital which includes two types of social closure: parental involvement and intergenerational closure. The former refers to the process of parental involvement in children's education; the latter refers to the closed communication network

formed between parents and schools. School-family cooperation system means the institutional measures that schools periodically implement to foster parental involvement and intergenerational closure, including parent-teacher conference held by schools, invitation for parents to visit schools and so forth. What's more, the research makes further efforts to analyze the effect of family background on school-family cooperation system. On this basis, in the interest of weakening the influence of confounding variables on estimation results, this study introduces personal demographic background, educational expectation and Hukou (registered permanent residence) as control variables. These variables contain gender, ethnic group, grade, family structure, number of siblings, educational expectation and Hukou. The following are detailed descriptions of variables used in this research.

Social closure. Social closure is the dependent variable of this research and is divided into parental involvement and intergenerational closure based on Coleman's theory. The former refers to the participation of parents in children's education and the latter refers to the communication network established between parents and schools. We apply the method that existing researches used to measure parental involvement in children's education in families. In this research, we take discussion between parents and children, supervision of children and involvement in children's extracurricular activities to stand for parental involvement. Among them, data on supervision of children comes from Question 23 of a student questionnaire. It inquires whether your parents are strict with you on the following things, including homework and exams, performance at school, attendance, time you go home everyday, people you choose to make friends with, dressing, the amount of time spent online and TV viewing time. The three response options are as follows: no control, relaxed control and strict control. Data on discussion with children comes from Question 24 of the student questionnaire. It inquires whether your parents discusses the following questions frequently with you, including things that happen at your school, relationships with your friends, relationships with your teachers, your moods and your worries or troubles. Based

on a 3-point scale, response options are as follows: never, sometimes and often. Data on involvement in children's extracurricular activities comes from Question 28 of the student questionnaire. It inquires how often you and your parents do the following things together, including having dinner, reading, watching TV, exercising, visiting museums, zoos and science and technology museums and going out to movies, shows or for sports. Based on a 6-point scale, the response options range from never to more than once a week. Interactions between parents and schools reflexes intergenerational closure. The variable stem is from Questions 2 and 4 in Section B of the student questionnaire. Question 2 inquires whether children's parents have contacted teachers actively and Question 4 inquires whether teachers have contacted parents actively. Both questions have four response options: never, once, twice to four times and more than five times. By using the method of averaging for dimensionality reduction of the foregoing variables and standardizing them, standardized variables of supervision of children, discussions with children, involvement in children's extracurricular activities and intergenerational closure are generated.

Family-school cooperation system. Family-school cooperation system refers to the family-school cooperation measures established by schools actively, including the series of measures set up by schools in an active manner that aim at facilitating parental involvement. This variable of the research comes from Question 24 in Section E of a principal questionnaire. It inquires how often the schools hold parent-teacher conferences and life guidance lectures for students, report students' performance at school to parents in written form, and invite parents to attend lectures and parent-teacher conferences and to watch shows or participate in extracurricular activities. The four response options range from never to more than five times. The author applies factor analysis for dimensionality reduction of the foregoing variables and generates standardized variables of family-school cooperation system.

Family background. In general, physical capital, occupational status and level of education can represent family socioeconomic

status. CEPS provides categorical family background variables covering a 5-point scale family income status, nine categories of parents' highest level of education and 10 categories of parents' highest position. To meet the requirements of the research, the author divides the highest positions into four big categories, including white collar workers, blue collar workers, farmers and those who run their own businesses and others. On this basis, the author uses dimensionality reduction with factor analysis method to generate new and standardized family socioeconomic status variable.

Control variables. Control variables include individual-level variables, such as gender, ethnic group, grade, family structure, number of siblings, categories of Hukou, registered residence, concentration during study and educational expectation. Among these, CEPS directly provides variables including gender, grade, ethic group, family structure, and sibling numbers as well as school type variable. Data on the variable of concentration during learning comes from Question 9 of Section C of a parents questionnaire. It inquires that generally speaking, how do parents think of the attitude of their children towards learning. The five-point scale response options range from 1 = quite unserious to 5 = very serious. Data on the educational expectation comes from Question 31 of the student questionnaire. It inquires what your parents' educational expectation on you is. The author readjusted the categories of educational expectation into below junior high school, above junior high school but below senior high school and university and above in line with needs of the research. In China, both types of Hukou and registered residence can affect the participation of parents in children's education. CEPS data also provides information of children's Hukou types and registered residence and generates two variables related to Hukou, that are Hukou types (including both rural and urban types) and registered residence (including both local and nonlocal types). Table 1 shows the basic features of all variables.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Variable	Observed value	Mean value	Standard deviation	Minimum value	Maximum value
Dependent variable					
Parental involvement					
Supervise their children	12121	0.024	0.976	-3.395	1.659
Discuss with their children	12121	0.010	0.996	-2.044	1.909
Participate in children's activities	12121	0.034	0.983	-2.532	2.144
Intergenerational closure					
Communication between school and family	12121	0.007	0.999	-1.443	1.980
Independent variable					
School-family cooperation mechanism	12121	0.014	0.993	-1.811	2.575
Family socioeconomic status	12121	0.051	1	-2.896	3.370
Control variable					
Grade (9th grade = 1)	12121	0.489	0.500	0	1
Family structure (parents be around = 0)	12121	0.171	0.376	0	1
Learning attitude	12121	3.370	0.956	1	5
Sex (female = 1)	12121	0.503	0.500	0	1
Ethnic group (Han)	12121	0.077	0.267	0	1
Location of Hukou (Registered permanent residence) (local = 0)	12121	0.174	0.379	0	1
Type of Hukou (urban = 0)	12121	0.513	0.500	0	1

| Educational expectation | 12121 | 2.719 | 0.592 | 1 | 3 |
| Number of siblings | 12121 | 1.161 | 0.486 | 1 | 5 |

Method

A random effects model is usually used for analyzing panel data; however, it is also applicable to cross sectional data obtained from a cluster sample. The education data set from several schools is a typical cluster sample, where each school is a cluster and students in each cluster are correlated. In some cases, key explanatory variables change across groups rather than within one and samples in groups are imbalanced. Therefore, it is more proper to use a random effects model in this study, which is given in the following equation:

$$y_{ij} = + \sum \beta_{ij} x_{ij} + \mu_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij'}$$

Where y_{ij} is the dependent variable, that is, the two types of social closure: parental involvement and intergenerational closure, i indicates schools and j for individuals; x_{ij} is the independent variable, μ_{0j} is the interschool stochastic error term and e_{ij} the stochastic error term.

Results

School and Social Capital

Table 2 lists the influence of school-family cooperation system on the production of social closure capital based on the analysis involving two random effects models: Model 1 is the school-family cooperation system model that excludes the variable of family background; Model 2 is a complete model that includes the variable of family background. Model 1 shows that school-family cooperation system is significantly positively correlated with parental involvement and two types of social capital of intergenerational closure. Particularly, school-family cooperation system has great influence on parental involvement including discussions with children and involvement in children's activities and

intergenerational closure network for school-family communication. For everyone standard deviation increase in school-family cooperation system, parental involvement in discussions and activities with their children, and contact with schools will increase 0.092, 0.126 and 0.078 standard deviations ($p < 0.001$) in frequency, which proves Hypothesis 1: School-family cooperation system is positively correlated with social closure capital and can improve parental involvement and the two types of social capital of intergenerational closure.

Model 2 is a complete model that includes the family socioeconomic status. It indicates that after family socioeconomic status is taken into account, the influence of school-family cooperation system on social closure capital changes, with declining influence on parental involvement social capital like discussions with children and participation in children's activities. For every one standard deviation increase in school-family cooperation system, the frequency of parents-children discussions and activities will rise by 0.086 and 0.11 standard deviations ($p < 0.001$) respectively. After family socioeconomic status is controlled, school-family cooperation system will show increasingly positive effect on intergenerational closure capital, and for everyone standard deviation it increases, the frequency of school-family communication will rise by 0.070 non-standard deviations ($p < 0.001$). In addition, the result of Model 2 also indicates that family socioeconomic status is positively correlated with the two types of social closure. For every one standard deviation increase in family socioeconomic status, the frequency of parents-children discussions and activities and school-family communication will rise by 0.068, 0.152 and 0.103 standard deviations respectively ($p < 0.001$). Hypothesis 2 is roughly confirmed that the effect of school-family cooperation system is affected by family background. Family socioeconomic status will adjust the direct effect of school-family cooperation system, and negatively regulate the influence of school-family cooperation system on parental involvement capital and positively regulate the influence of school-family cooperation system on intergenerational closures capital.

Table 2

Influence of School-Family Cooperation System on Social Capital

Variable	Parental Involvement						Intergenerational Closure	
	Supervise Their Children		Discuss with Their Children		Participate in Children's Activities		Communication Between School and Family	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
School-family cooperation system	.026 (.017)	.028 (.017)	.096*** (.022)	.086*** (.021)	.126*** (.027)	.110*** (.024)	.078** (.029)	.070*** (0.031)
Family socioeconomic status		-.020 (.012)		.068*** (.010)		.152*** (.010)		.103*** (.012)
Control variable[2]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	12121	12121	12121	12121	12121	12121	12121	12121
Overall R-square	0.045	0.045	0.091	0.097	0.139	0.169	0.041	0.048
Between R-square	0.111	1.124	0.589	0.606	0.620	0.702	0.126	0.131
Within R-square	0.038	0.038	0.056	0.097	0.055	0.169	0.033	0.041

Notes: 1. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations; *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05 (two-sided test);

2. Control variables include sex, ethnic group, grade, family structure, number of siblings, type of Hukou, the effort students put into study in domicile residence, and educational expectation.

Heterogeneity on School-Family Cooperation

Samples can be divided into three groups by family socioeconomic status: the lower class, the middle class and the upper class. The number of samples in each group is 4802, 3169 and 4150 respectively. Table 3 reports the influence of stratified school-family cooperation system on the production of social closure. The result of multilevel linear regression analysis indicates that the school-family cooperation system has a heterogeneous influence on social closure capital. These measures can result in considerable increase of social closure capital in the lower class families. For everyone standard deviation increase in the frequency of school-family cooperation system, the frequency of parental involvement in children's education and activities and school-family communication of lower-class families will rise by 0.108, 0.131 and 0.078 standard deviations respectively. Schools can also affect the social capital production of upper class families although the influence is less than that on lower class families. For every one standard deviation increase in the frequency of school-family cooperation system, the frequency of parents-children discussions and activities of upper-class families will increase by 0.052 and 0.085 standard deviations respectively. In addition, these measures have no significant impact on parental monitoring of children's study and school-family communication. Moreover, the school-family cooperation system has weak influence on middle class families. For every one standard deviation increase in the frequency of school-family cooperation system, the frequency of parents-children discussions and activities of middle class families will increase by 0.049 and 0.093 standard deviations respectively. These measures have no significant impact on the frequency of parental monitoring of children's study and school-family communication. Hypothesis 3 is roughly confirmed that the school-family cooperation system has different influence on parents of different social classes and facilitates even distribution of social closure capital across various families.

Table 3

Impact of Stratified School Supportive Strategy on Social Capital

Variable	The Lower Class				The Middle Class				The Upper Class			
	Supervise Their Children	Discuss with Their Children	Participate in Children's Activities	Communication Between School and Family	Supervise Their Children	Discuss with Their Children	Participate in Children's Activities	Communication Between School and Family	Supervise Their Children	Discuss with Their Children	Participate in Children's Activities	Communication Between School and Family
School-Family Cooperation	.050	.108***	.131***	.078*	.019	.044*	.083**	.063	.022	.052**	.085***	.043
Mechanism	(.022)	(.028)	(.028)	(.036)	(.021)	(.025)	(.029)	(.035)	(.028)	(.026)	(.026)	(.036)
Control Variable	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	4802	4802	4802	4802	3169	3169	3169	3169	4150	4150	4150	4150
Overall R-square	0.056	0.089	0.141	0.044	0.051	0.010	0.103	0.034	0.035	0.051	0.082	0.040
Between R-square	0.129	0.343	0.539	0.055	0.067	0.484	0.546	0.091	0.039	0.431	0.296	0.000
Within R-square	0.043	0.055	0.048	0.036	0.041	0.074	0.047	0.029	0.037	0.036	0.068	0.045

Conclusion and Discussion

Based on the theory of social closure put forward by James Coleman, this paper analyzes the effect of schools in the process of the social closure capital production with nationally representative data. Its main research results and conclusions are as follows: firstly, family-school cooperation systems are able to enhance social closure significantly and have a great influence on the two types of social closure, namely parental involvement and intergenerational closure; secondly, family-school cooperation systems can be adjusted by family background factors, among which, family socioeconomic status will reduce the direct positive effect of family-school cooperation systems on parental involvement while increasing the direct positive effect of family-school cooperation systems on intergenerational closure of social closure; thirdly, the effects of family-school cooperation on social closure are heterogeneous as the systems have a greatest effect on the social closure production of lower-class families while having a little effect on the social closure production of other classes of families.

The above conclusions enrich the existing study of social closure from two aspects. On the one hand, the empirical study from China has shown the universality of social closure mechanisms. In the interactive structure established by schools, families and even communities, individual social capital, which can then be transformed into educational advantages, can be boosted by the close communication and relationship chain formed between parents and schools, parents and other parents, as well as parents and children. On the other hand, schools have initiative in the process of forming social closure and are able to improve the distribution of existing social-closure resources in our society with measures set up by schools to stimulate the lower class parents to get involved in their children's education and communicate with schools to promote education equality.

Family-school cooperation is not a merging concept. Since the 1970s, the developed areas like USA and Hong Kong have conducted different trials on family-school cooperation successively and formulated related laws and policies based on these trials' results. Following in the footsteps of developed countries, China also

established corresponding policies and regulations. However, in general, the establishment of Chinese family-school cooperation systems is still in an early stage (Wu Chonghan, 2014, P363), and effective systems have not been set up yet. Based on the conclusions of the foregoing empirical study, we come up with the following policy suggestions: first, in the family-school interaction relationship network, schools should do the best to drive family social capital production and the development of high-quality compulsory education. Second, we should work hard to weaken negative influence of family socioeconomic status (such as social classes and other factors) on schools' efforts, in order to exert schools' best efforts. Third, we should particularly develop the compulsory education equally through family-school cooperation method. The family-school cooperation measures set up by schools are not only good for boosting the social closure capital, but also conducive to the even distribution of such capital in different classes of families. Besides resource redistribution policies, these measures are new mechanisms for achieving the balanced development of compulsory education.

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