From Pedagogy to Ideology: Origins and Phases of Home Education in the United States, 1970–1990

J. GARY KNOWLES, STACEY E. MARLOW, and JAMES A. MUCHMORE
University of Michigan

The recent emergence of home education is linked to the influence of educational reformers who published in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. This article examines the evolving milieu of home education since 1970 by briefly surveying the home-school movement in the broader historical context. Developments within the home-school movement and changing perceptions of home schools are also presented. We interpret the dynamics of the home-education arena and trace home education's growth as a rational and legitimate educational choice by increasingly large numbers of families. There are five phases within the 20-year growth period that illustrate the fluid nature of home education as a social movement.

During the past 20 years, an increasing number of parents in the United States have chosen to remove their children from conventional schools and teach them at home. Although the origins of home schools can be traced to antiquity, the contemporary emergence of this alternative teaching mode represents a growing trend that can, in its modern inception, be viewed as an outcome of a direct reaction to the many shortcomings of public education that were commonly raised by educational reformers of the 1960s and early 1970s. Early home schools reflected the alternative views and practices of these reformers.

Estimates of the number of families involved in home education vary greatly. Based on a 1985–86 survey by Patricia Lines, Kohn (1988) suggested that between 200,000 and 300,000 families may currently be engaged in home education. A later and more refined estimate by Lines (1991) confirmed the figure, while others (J. Daubenmier,

0195-6744/92/0002-0003$01.00

"Home Schooling, State Standards Can Mesh," *Ann Arbor News* [February 8, 1990]; cf. Ray 1988*a*) have placed the number as high as one million. Clearly, however, the growth in home schools has increased at a geometrical rate since 1970, when few were known to exist.

Broadly speaking, there are two basic types of parents who engage in home education today, and we describe them in some detail in order to provide reference points for later arguments. One type is similar to those described by Van Galen (1986) as "ideologues." They view home schools as opportunities to create formal learning environments with externally imposed structures, progression through specific, predetermined curricula, extensive use of textbooks, artificial or vicarious learning, and rigid schedules. Consequently, to these parents, "home schooling" simply means a transference of the activities of the public school to the environment of the home with the removal of those elements of public school education that parents may find undesirable. For example, religiously motivated parents tend to regard secular humanism and apparent student immorality as characteristics of public schools that they wish to counteract by operating home schools for their children. In these particular home schools, the focal point is the curriculum, which is supposedly free from secular and humanistic values. Often, however, in these settings, the processes and functions of the public school are largely replicated. Although the parents may even use the same textbooks that are commonly found in public schools, their overall curricula tend to emphasize the values and beliefs that *they* consider to be important.

For other families the term "home schooling" may well be a misnomer; "home education" may more appropriately describe the learning activities that take place in their homes. These families tend to place the

---

J. GARY KNOWLES is assistant professor in the Program in Educational Studies, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Alternative education is a primary focus of his academic interest. Another interest centers on teacher education and development. STACEY E. MARLOW is a doctoral candidate in the Program in Educational Studies, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her dissertation research focuses on home education as it provides windows into broader political changes in education. JAMES A. MUCHMORE is a doctoral student in the Program in Educational Studies, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His primary research interest is the social context of literacy development.

learner central to everything else that transpires in the home with the belief that "schooling" does not automatically ensure an "education." A comparison between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation for learning highlights the differences we intend to convey between schooling and education. With systematic curricula, teacher-directed lessons, and external rewards and punishments, schooling provides a structure that requires extrinsic motivation of the student. Conversely, education implies the development of the learner and includes the notion that the learner is responsible for deciding what is learned. This perspective places a greater emphasis on intrinsic motivation as learning is less structured, more direct, and more experiential. Because the real world provides both a laboratory and a purpose for learning, these home schools are vastly different from public schools, both in content and operation. Parents with this educational orientation are similar to the "pedagogues" described by Van Galen (1986).

The estimates of the home-school student population do not consider the various educational orientations of home-educating families. Our general notions are that the extensive expansion of this population is largely a result of growth in the segment of the movement that has powerful religious and ideological underpinnings. Figure 1 illustrates the estimated proportional growth in the home-school population over time. It is a best guess at a set of circumstances and conditions that will be made more clear later in the article.

A contemporary journalist (Cushman 1986) has characterized the identifiable groups that constitute the home-education movement to be "strange bedfellows" and, further, stated that, "when home schooling families meet for mutual support, they are an odd mixture of ex-hippies and straight arrow conservatives" (p. 30). Figure 2 illustrates this point; the home has become the focus for instruction for both liberal and conservative parents.

The fact that large numbers of parents have chosen to take responsibility for providing environments—other than formal public or private institutional settings—to foster the intellectual and/or moral development of their children is the propelling force that has guided our analysis. The particular ways in which contemporary parents view their home schools are not central to the main arguments of this article, except that dichotomies are very apparent in the orientations and substance of home-school activities. Besides, the dichotomies do provide useful reference points. Moreover, in developing our arguments, we attempt to make it clear that the pedagogical orientation, which was dominant prior to the 1980s, most clearly had its origins in the educational reform writing of the previous two decades.

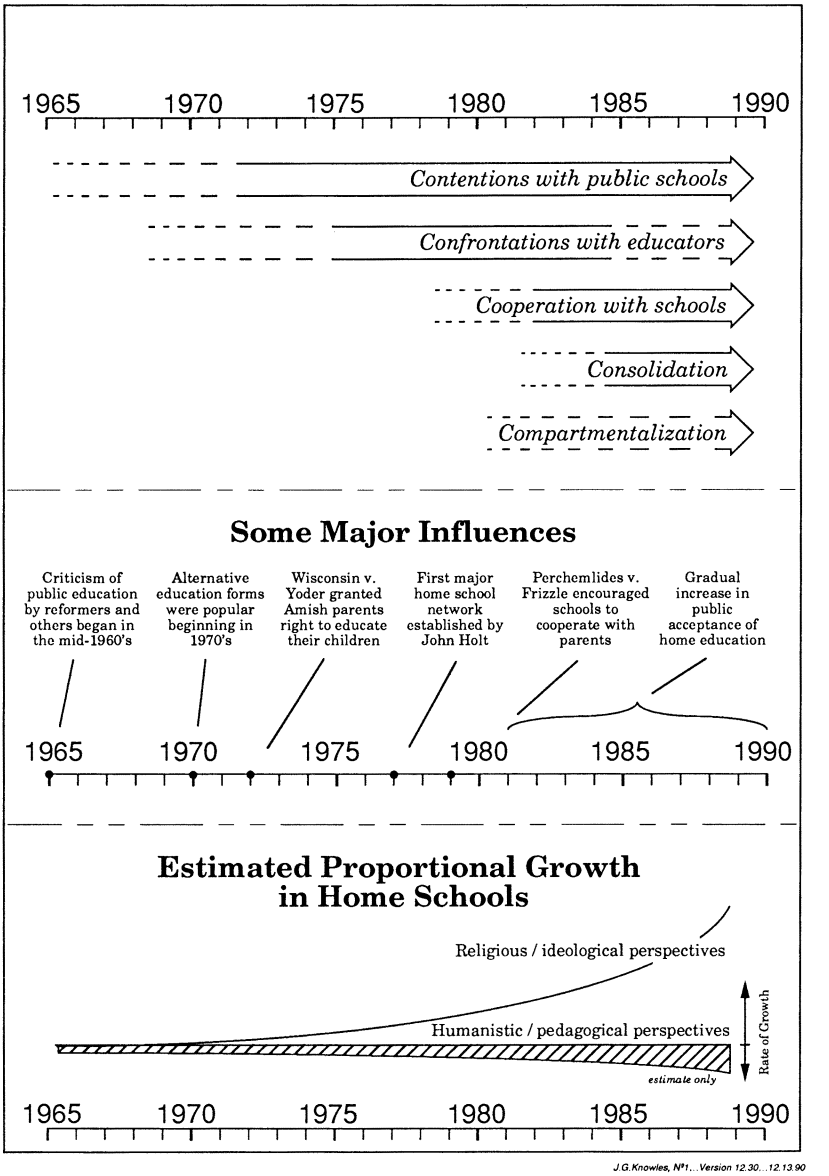

FIG. 1.—Origins and phases of home education, 1970–90

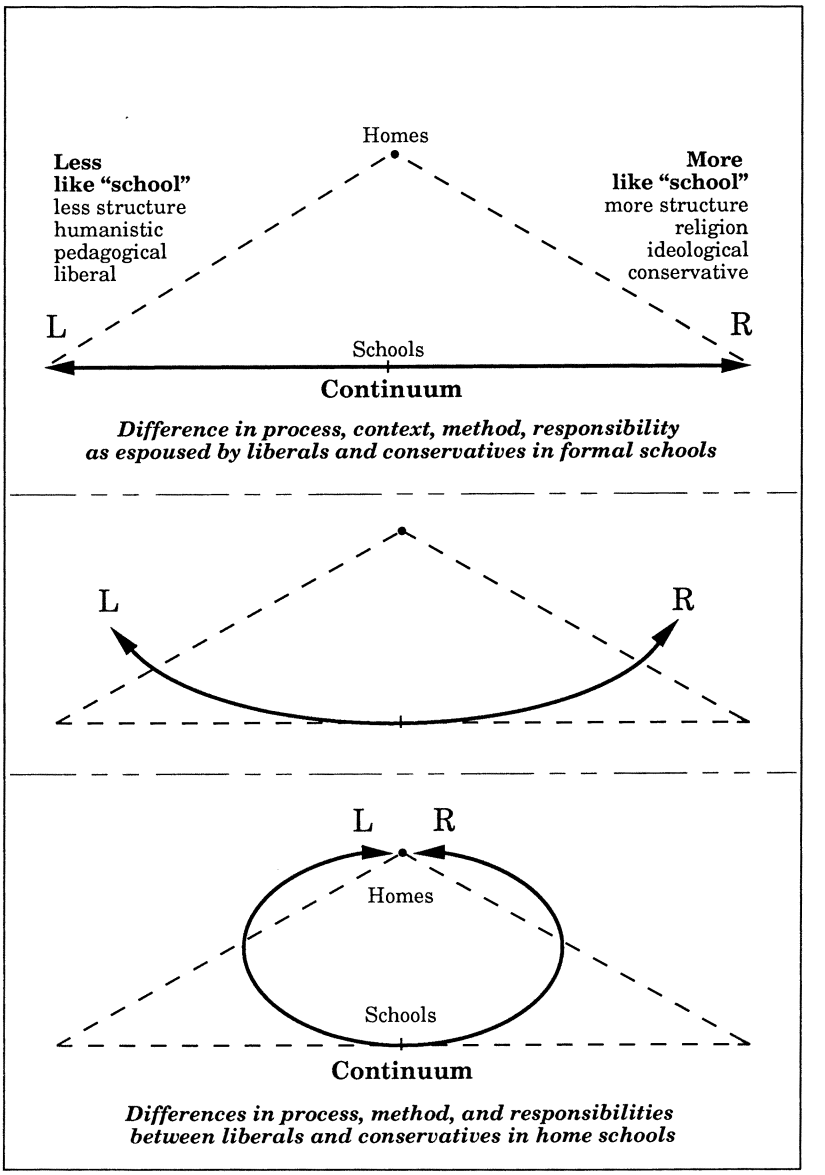

FIG. 2.—Home education: the home as basis for instruction for liberal and conservative parents.

Overview

One goal of this article is to link the emergence of home education to the influence of educational reformers who published in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, a turbulent period that initiated considerable questioning about the status, goals, educational practices, and achievements of public schools. A second goal is to provide a sense of the changing milieu of home education over the 20 years since 1970.

The article has five sections. In the first section, a brief survey of the home-school movement is presented to provide a sense of recent significant events viewed within the broader historical context. The second section focuses on the impact and agendas of a select group of educational reformers and the impact they have had on the contemporary context of home education. These reformers have been influential since the late 1960s but are decreasingly so. Several concepts are briefly addressed, including deschooling, the growth of free and alternative schools, community control of schools, and parental rights as they have influenced home schools. Developments within the home-school movement and changing perceptions of home schools are presented in the third section. We propose an explanation of the dynamics within the home-education arena and trace home education's growth as a rational and legitimate educational choice by increasingly large numbers of families. In the fourth section, the evolving milieu of the home-school movement provides the central theme. We have identified five phases within the 20-year growth period of home education. These phases illustrate the fluid nature of home education as a social movement. In the fifth section we conclude the article with a summary.

Historical Context of Home Schools: A Tradition of Independence from Formal Schools

Home-school advocates claim a long heritage. Judeo-Christian accounts of family life suggest that the home was the primary center of learning (see, e.g., Duggan 1948; Good 1947; Frost 1966; Nakosteen 1965; Power 1970).[1] Similarly, in Germanic and Latin cultures, which were largely influenced by Christianity, schooling at home was often the only schooling available to the common man (Parker 1912). Even for the upper classes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and North America, children were educated at home either by parents or by tutors (Cremin 1977; Illich 1970; C. W. Stevens, "Angry at

Schools, More Parents Try Teaching at Home," *Wall Street Journal* [September 13, 1979]).

Many contemporary home-school advocates focus exclusively on the Judeo-Christian heritage of home education and associated rationales (see, e.g., Fugate 1990; Harris 1988), but this narrow perspective denies the universal nature of family-based learning. Children's learning predominantly from parents is a cross-cultural phenomenon and a natural occurrence within family contexts. In many cultures regarded as primitive in today's world, learning at the feet of parents, extended family, or community members is perhaps the only significant learning environment to which children are exposed (see, e.g., Chagnon 1983; Shostak 1983). The traditional ways of learning for Native North Americans have been well documented. Learning from elders through example was typically the only way in which children were educated (see, e.g., Eastman 1971; Radin 1963).[2] In such environments, education was viewed as inseparable from life.

The onset of accessible public schooling in the mid-nineteenth century changed perceptions about informal and home-based education. Early compulsory and formal public schooling had a variety of objectives of which "Americanization" was central. It sought to remove the stamp of ethnic cultures and individuality that immigrant family-related learning environments propagated (Baker 1988; Curti 1959; Gutek 1972; Kaestle 1983). Another function of formal schooling was to counteract the undesirable characteristics that were seen to be particularly evident in the lower classes of society (Cremin 1977; Curti 1959; Kaestle 1983). In these ways, public schooling could be regarded as an action against the family unit; it was seen as a remedy for the multiple ills of lower-class family structure.

Home-school parent-advocates have drawn solace from the fact that many notable and eminent individuals have been home-educated in the past (see, e.g., Goertzel and Goertzel 1962; Whitehead and Bird 1984). For example, they claim that William Penn, John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Agatha Christie, Pearl Buck (Moore and Moore 1982), Margaret Mead, and Thomas Edison (Shapiro 1982) had significant portions of their education directed from within the family and home. For some of these individuals, formal schooling may not have been an option because of historical times and settings, but, for others, home education may well have been deemed more appropriate by their parents. However, despite such claims, subsequent to the 1850s, few children were educated at home by parent-teachers in the decades prior to 1970.[3]

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, there emerged another impetus for operating home schools. A group of educational reformers with

influential messages gained widespread recognition. Of these, John Holt (1969, 1976, 1981, 1982, 1983*a*) and Ivan Illich (1970, 1973) probably had the greatest impact at the time in matters relating to home schools, but there were others. Herbert Kohl (1970), Everette Reimer (1971), Allen Graubard (1972), Carl Bereiter (1972), and even Brazilian reform educator Paulo Freire (1970) all supported, to some extent, the broad pedagogical concepts and advantages associated with potentially intimate and flexible learning environments, such as those of home schools. Some of the issues raised by these reformers had important consequences for parents who were dissatisfied with public schools. Through popularized reform measures, substance was provided for the rationale "that parents can teach better than schools" (see Knowles 1991), and, with considerable acclaim, the concept of home education was announced as a viable alternative to public schools (Holt 1969; Moore and Moore 1975).

Contemporary Contexts of Home Schools: Outcomes of Issues Raised in the 1960s

One approach we took toward understanding the impact of educational reformers on home education was to make a cursory content and/or bibliographical analysis of the early published material on home education. These early articles generally consisted of journalistic pieces written by those who were either supportive of the notion of home schools or directly advocated them. John Holt, Ivan Illich, and Jonathon Kozol were frequently mentioned as "providing the ideological underpinnings for educational innovation" (Colfax 1983, p. 44).[4] However, some saw the roots as going even deeper. According to Cremin (1978), the educational questioning of the 1960s had its roots in the philosophy of progressive educators such as William James and John Dewey. We concur with Cremin's position but observe that the impetus for home education did not occur directly as a result of the philosophies of James and Dewey. Therefore, we focus on the more direct influences while acknowledging that the reformers themselves espoused ideals compatible with, indicative of, and emergent from the philosophies of James and Dewey. Of the many public issues raised in the 1960s, the concepts of alternative schools, community control, and deschooling all provide insights into the present circumstances and development of the home-school movement. We recognize that other issues and concepts have also been influential, but we omit them because of the restricted scope of this article.

The concept of alternative schools provides a framework for a discussion of educational reform pertaining to home education. Alternative schooling does not refer to one definable form of education but rather, at the most simplistic level, suggests a school that is different from formal, traditional public and private institutions. (Alternative schools were also often called free or open schools, although the terms are not necessarily synonymous.) The notion of alternative schools was popularized by a number of prominent educators and writers including A. S. Neill (1960), Paul Goodman (1964), George Dennison (1969), Allen Graubard (1970), and Jonathon Kozol (1972). Such schools were often characterized by voluntary attendance, informal curriculums, and learning events structured around real-life experiences, and their growth was considerable during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Graubard (1972) also identified direct links with the concept of parent and community control, since many alternative schools emphasized control by the local community.

Community control of public schools was a point of contention in the late 1960s and was an issue that was supported on a broad front by reformers (Gittel 1971; *The Fleishmann Report* 1973). Until the 1960s, many liberal reformers maintained that community control would inhibit reform measures in public schools. At the heart of the debate was the issue of universalism—the extent to which schools could reflect the total society and the local community (Fein 1970). Fein's observations represent views emerging from the conflict about community control, and home education provided the ultimate power to parents over the education process. The ineffectiveness of public schools under state and federal control was suggested as a justification for community control. This point was driven by the failure of public schools to meet the needs and requirements of diverse groups of people—especially African Americans. Consequently, for some, the issue of community control was seen in relation to the civil rights debate (Cohen 1969; Coleman 1966; Edmonds 1974–75).

While the rationale for community control was embedded in urban, racial, and intellectual inequalities, the debate about parents—as community—being the appropriate managers of schools was taken to the ultimate extreme when parents withdrew their children from formal, public schools and assumed the daily responsibility for their children's educational welfare. Fein noted that the history of schooling in America has always maintained an element of tension between the particular (e.g., those favoring community or local control) and the universal (e.g., those favoring state or national control). Emerging from the context of conflict about community control, Fein (1970) emphasized the need for caution when he stated that "the balance, most recently

heavily weighed toward the universalist norm now needs to be adjusted to favor the particularistic. This implies a greater openness to community control as long as certain universalist criteria are maintained" (pp. 97–98).

Although Fein made no direct connection between home education and the issue of community control, the link is obvious. Indeed, the statement by Fein could well have been directed toward home-school parents since it tends to describe the position that courts and public schools have subsequently taken toward home schools. Thus, home education can be viewed as an expression of religious liberty, intertwined with individual freedom and parental power.

Perhaps the most radical of all the reform ideas of the late 1960s and the early 1970s was that of "deschooling," or the total elimination of formal schools in society. Illich (1970) maintained that schooling (i.e., age-specific, compulsory attendance at institutions supporting teacher-related processes involving a prescribed curriculum) inevitably leads to "physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence" (p. 1). He proposed that real learning occurs in exchanges between children and things and between children and people (both adults and peers) and that these exchanges can best occur outside the context of institutionalized schooling. Illich (1970) wrote, "Most learning is not the result of instruction. It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting" (p. 39). This philosophy was very appealing to many early home educators.

That the early cadre of home-educating parents drew on the prominent reform concepts of the period is evident from the frequent mention of such concepts in the early home-education literature. For example, the early and highly influential issues of the networking publication *Growing without Schooling* made frequent reference to concepts popularized by the reformers. That John Holt founded the newsletter is further evidence of this link. Besides, many counterculture publications published material on home schools. Even at the end of the 1970s, reference to concepts clearly embedded in the earlier era were evident (e.g., Bumstead 1979; Holt 1980; Joudry 1975; Kerman 1981; King 1983; Priesnitz 1980; Rust and Reed 1979; Williamson 1979). In contrast to the language of most contemporary home-education manuals, popular journal articles, editorial correspondence, and debates about home schools, the early jargon of home education made use of the arguments of the prominent educational reformers.

The force and influence of the liberal, humanistic, and pedagogical orientations of the early home schools preceded, as more families took upon themselves the task of educating their children, more conservative, religious, and ideological bases for home schools. Indeed, the home

is one arena on which opposing educational orientations of the conservative right and the liberal left have focused. Figure 2 illustrates that phenomenon.

Changes in the Home-Education Movement and in Perspectives of Home Schools

The growth of home education as a social phenomenon since 1970 has been considerable in both its visibility and momentum. The question of whether or not it qualifies as a social movement in the technical or scholarly sense was explored by Sexson (1988), who used the definition of a social movement offered by Gerlach and Hine (1970): "[A social movement is] a group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated" (p. xvi).

Gerlach and Hine (1970) maintain that five key factors identified in the definition must be present and interacting before a true movement can be said to exist: organization, ideology, recruitment, commitment, and opposition. Sexson (1988) found strong evidence of all of the factors except recruitment, which, although present, was identified with isolated segments rather than the general home-school population. She did not believe this exception to be significant enough to dismiss the identification of home education as a movement, stating, "It seems, however, that because so many features of home schooling closely conform to the noted characteristics of social movement, it must be considered a movement" (p. 120). We concur with Sexson and believe that there is no question that home education is definitely a social movement. However, we argue that she has misinterpreted the matter of recruitment. Recruitment is an issue in home-education circles, despite the fact that there is generally no formal recruitment mechanism within networking organizations. Extended conversations with home-school parents will leave no doubt that they believe that every concerned parent should seriously consider home education. Thus, we see home-school parent-teachers as vigorous in the recruitment of parents who share similar views of public schools.

The organizational structure of the home-education movement matches an organizational form described by Gerlach and Hine (1970) as decentralized, segmentary, and reticulate. The form, which Gerlach (1986) labeled "SPIN," an acronym for segmented, polycentrical (ideologically), integrated network, describes an organizational arrangement

that is dynamic and fluid, spinning out into the mainstream of society. It stands in direct contrast to Western culture's traditional organizational form that has been influenced by the models of centralized bureaucracy that equate organizational form with clear-cut leadership, and hierarchical, pyramidical, centralized administration. Examination of the organizational form of the home-education movement reveals each of the components in Gerlach's model. These components have been present since the onset of the movement.

During the beginning of the period, in the early 1970s, home education was segmented and was seen primarily by the public and media as a subversive educational activity carried out by idealists, often surreptitiously or underground. It was viewed not only as an expression of dissatisfaction with the educational system, but as a statement about the condition of society—a statement that all was not well. The civil unrest during the 1960s and the Vietnam War era has been well documented. For the first time in decades, society at large questioned the mechanism, processes, and goals by which established institutions operated. Just as the communes reflected the counterculture life-style, some early home schools of the period often reflected that same questioning and "do-it-yourself" approach, an attitude that is still evident today in some contemporary home-school environments (see Naisbitt 1982) operated by pedagogues (see Van Galen 1986).

It is very difficult to characterize the contemporary parents and families that operate home schools (Ray 1988*b*); they range from the religiously conservative right to the moderate and liberal, humanistic left (see fig. 2). In this sense, they would be considered ideologically polycentric according to Gerlach's (1986) model. Although home education appears to cross class boundaries, Wynn (1988) suggested that typical home-school parent-teachers are middle-class mothers who have completed several years of college. However, it would be a mistake to assume that fathers do not operate the day-to-day affairs of home schools (see, e.g., Knowles and Hoefler 1988; Mayberry and Knowles 1989). Many home-school parents have removed their children from public schools because of real or perceived dangers to the moral integrity of their children, and a considerable number of home-school parents follow a curriculum committed to particular religious orientations (Gustavsen 1981; Gustafson 1986; Knowles 1988; Mayberry 1988; Williams et al. 1984). Currently, home education has taken on a new image that is approaching respectability. Parents with diverse motivations and orientations have formed organizations and support systems to facilitate their independent endeavors to home-educate their children. This component is what Gerlach (1986) characterized as an integrated network. Home schooling has gained momentum and credibility,

reaching an ever-widening audience. As one home-school parent explained in a recent conversation, "Last week at the beauty shop the woman, who has been cutting my hair for several years, remarked, 'When you first told me that you taught your kids at home, I'd never heard of anyone doing that, and thought it was really strange. But I'll bet there are four or five people who come into the shop now who teach their own kids. They belong to groups with other families who are teaching their kids at home, and they tell us about it—it's really pretty interesting, and it doesn't seem as strange any more'" (March 14, 1990).

The recollections of the parent illustrate the changing nature of public acceptance of home schools, yet the intervening period was not always easy. Many home-school parents have been jailed or fined over the last 20 years. For example, in 1987, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported the following incident in the state of Iowa: "A fundamentalist minister walked into jail Saturday to serve 30 days for educating his daughter without state approval" ("Pastor Jailed for Home Educating," *Salt Lake Tribune* [February 22, 1987]). Even in 1990, in Michigan, for example, potential government challenges are at the forefront of parents' minds. While perceptions toward home education have changed dramatically, and it can be considered to have characteristics of a full-fledged social movement, vestiges of previous attitudes remain.

The home-education movement may be chronicled in a series of developments, each of which shows evidence of one or more of the factors of a social movement as defined by Gerlach and Hine (1970). These developments can be described in terms of five phases: contention, confrontation, cooperation, consolidation, and compartmentalization.

Five Phases of Home Education since 1970

The five phases of the movement illustrate the evolving milieu of home schools. Fueled by the statements and practices of a specific group of educational reformers, dissatisfaction with the public school system first brought about about a period of *contention.* During the early 1970s, there emerged conflicts between home-school parents and public school administrators, which were characterized by extensive litigation. This *confrontation* peaked toward the end of that decade. The third phase, *cooperation,* which began to swell during the early to mid-1980s, has continued at increasing levels of intensity. It was accompanied by an easing of legal requirements, largely a result of litigation outcomes. As a result, public schools began to implement

policies—often legislated or court mandated—that allowed home-school students to benefit from public school facilities and programs. A present and prominent situation, evident in most parts of the country, is one of *consolidation.* In this phase, home-school activity is characterized by numerical growth, networking, legislative lobbying, and public acceptance. Currently, a fifth phase is emerging. As confrontations between home-school parents and public school administrators become less prevalent, and the need for a united front among home educators diminishes, significant and far-reaching changes are looming. Rising dissent among various competing home-school factions, especially those with religious orientations, is leading to ideological fracturing and the beginnings of a *compartmentalization* phase. The relationship and relative locations of these phases over time are represented in figure 1.

1. *Contention*

The work of the educational reformers during the late 1960s and early 1970s helped create and fuel an air of dissatisfaction with the status quo in education. But, more fundamentally, their concerns were driven by the despair with which they, and others, viewed the state of public schools. Throughout the two decades, there was much documentation and media publicity about the failings of public education. In addition to the reformers already mentioned, critics included social scientists, such as Marilyn Gittell, David Rogers, and Frank Riessman; writers and journalists like Charles Silberman, George Leonard, Nat Hentoff, and George Dennison; and practicing teachers such as Jonathan Kozol, Herbert Kohl, and James Herndon (Billings 1975; Bills 1979; Bruck 1979; Coons and Sugarman 1978; Dobson 1974; Mattil 1971; Postman and Weingartner 1973; Wellborn 1980).

Contention about public schools in the early 1970s was not merely a unique response to a specific set of circumstances. Recognition must also be given to the long and cyclical history of criticism leveled at the public schools in the United States (Cremin 1977). Postman and Weingartner (1973) trace the beginning of one strand of criticism back to the attacks that were launched for decades against John Dewey's progressive education for its alleged "gooey, precious, romantic philosophy which stressed permissiveness and life adjustment" (p. 7). These persistent attacks on the schools for their failure to emphasize intellectual growth and rigorous thinking peaked in the late 1950s and early 1960s after the Soviets launched *Sputnik 1.* Much of the criticism focused on

the need to eliminate "frills" from the curriculum and to produce disciplined scientists and highly skilled technicians to compete with the Soviet Union (Campbell et al. 1985; Smith 1990).

While germinating at the beginning of the period in the early 1970s, the contention phase of the home-education movement has continued in the minds and actions of the thousands of home-school families, even those who have most recently begun educating their children at home. Current fiscal problems in education are also an additional reason to withdraw children from public schools and initiate home education. For example, on the eve of the 1987 budget session by the Utah legislature, which allowed for no increases in educational funding despite a massive tax increase, one home-school parent-teacher commented: "Especially with all the problems public schools are having today, home schooling will become an option for more families" (February 25, 1987). Such attitudes are common among parents who home-educate. Witness a Michigan parent's reiteration of the same theme: "I assume the massive cuts in . . . [our] school district will drastically reduce the chances of my child obtaining a strong education. I have some friends who home school. I have decided to try it" (September 14, 1990). The parent proved to be correct. Budget cuts *did* reduce the services to students, especially in art, music, and special education, important factors in her determination.

2. *Confrontation*

After the initial emergence of the modern home-education movement several years lapsed before the confrontation phase became apparent. The lag in litigation proceedings was probably due to a combination of factors, including an overloaded justice system and school superintendents' initial reluctance to take legal action. The advent of this phase in the home-education movement did not occur in isolation. Rather, it occurred in tandem with a national pattern of litigious and legislative action concerning a variety of educational issues. Vergon (1986) noted that, between 1930 and 1970, there were few changes in laws governing the relationship between the rights and interests of parents and states relative to children's education. After 1970, however, there emerged a number of significant state and United States Supreme Court decisions dealing with issues surrounding the relationship between rights of parents, rights of states, and educational choice. It was in the era of burgeoning judicial activity that challenges to home education began to define the confrontation phase.

Criticisms of home schools came relatively quickly, as public awareness of their existence increased through mass-media coverage. And, although widespread litigious action followed, the matter of home schools was largely ignored in educational and academic journals.[5] The increase in litigation can be attributed, in part, to the distress administrators felt when suddenly confronted with multiple cases of parents who thought they could educate children *better* than public schools (Ritter 1979). In addition, judicial action was initiated in several states to resolve conflicts arising from the vagueness of statutes regarding the power of school administrators to monitor and regulate home education (Knight 1987; Lupu 1987; Smith and Klicka 1987). While home education did not pose a large-scale danger to the existence of public or private education, it represented a radical departure from the norm, an alternative perceived as highly threatening by many educators. In fact, this choice pulled at the very fabric of a democratic society. To think of public education as anything other than a symbol of all that America stood for—a bastion of society, as it were—was unacceptable to many public educators.

Prior to the emergence of this period in the educational history of the United States, alternatives to public schools consisted primarily of traditional private and parochial institutions. Other options were relegated to an obscure periphery. The limits of state regulation of private schools, as well as parents' rights to make educational choices for their children, had been acknowledged earlier in four United States Supreme Court cases (Baker 1988; Burgess 1986; Knight 1987; Stocklin-Enright 1982; Tobak and Zirkel 1982). Several early legal milestones are described in detail in order to make our later arguments more clear.

The first of these milestone cases, *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390 (1923)), stated, "The power of the State to compel attendance at some school and to make reasonable regulations for all schools . . . is not questioned." It also established that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed parents the right to "establish a home and bring up children." Two years later, in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (268 U.S. 510 (1925)), the Court struck down an Oregon law that required attendance at public schools *only* and further addressed the parental role in educating their children by stating that "the child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations."

The last of the cases, *Farrington v. Tokushige* (273 U.S. 284 (1927)), struck down a Hawaii statute granting the territory almost unlimited regulatory control over its private schools. The Court reserved the state's regulatory rights over private schools but limited them, stating

that they could not be so excessive as to effectively eliminate the alternatives offered by private schools.

Until 1972, these three cases formed the constitutional backdrop for home-education cases. While each case dealt with Fourteenth Amendment due-process rights regarding educational choice, none of the petitioners in the cases were parents. Instead, the suits had been filed by teachers and private school corporations claiming their rights to earn a living were being denied as a result of improper regulation by the state. In each case, the Supreme Court agreed with the plaintiffs, ruling that the state could not so deprive them of their livelihood. Because none of the cases addressed the Fourteenth Amendment due-process rights of parents, the decisions neither addressed nor set precedent regarding the issue.

This situation changed in 1972, however, when the Supreme Court heard the landmark case *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (406 U.S. 205 (1972)), which granted Amish parents the right to educate their children after the eighth grade. For the first time, the Supreme Court established parents' protection of educational choice under both the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the free-exercise clause of the First Amendment. The decision in the case was somewhat narrow, stating that, in order to obtain constitutional protection, "the parental interest must be religious in nature rather than philosophical or personal" (quoted in Tobak and Zirkel 1982, p. 17). The Court also noted the state's strong interest in universal compulsory education but said that "it is by no means absolute to the exclusion or subordination of all other interests." Although in its *Yoder* ruling the Court made a radical departure from the prevailing views regarding the relationship between exercise of religious beliefs and compulsory education, it did not offer a definitive statement about who ultimately determines the child's educational destiny. Instead, it chose to leave that question lurking unanswered amid vague and tenuous language about the balance between the fundamental religious freedom of the parents and the interest of the state.

Despite its limitations, the *Yoder* case proved a harbinger in litigation activity regarding parental rights to direct the education of their children. Nowhere is this better reflected than in the home-education movement. It touched off a flurry of court cases at the state level, a condition that has continued, although decreasingly so, for nearly 20 years. These cases dealt with a variety of issues: compulsory attendance, public school alternatives (and home schools as private schools), statutory exemption of home schools, and constitutional issues relating to home schools (Baker 1988; Burgess 1986; Smith and Klicka 1987). Typically, the courts have not extended the decision of *Yoder* to parents who do

not hold long-standing religious convictions, while the "lower courts have extended it only to persons with traditional theistic religious beliefs" (Lines 1983, p. 201). This pattern has continued.

Contentions concerning home education have not only been characterized by the number of court cases but also by the variety of ways in which legal proceedings have been implemented. Tobak and Zirkel's (1983) categorization of cases into three main groups continues to be relevant: (1) those in which the major issue is whether or not the home school qualifies as a private school, (2) those in which the question of educational equivalence has been central (by far the largest number of cases), and (3) those in which both of the above issues have been considered.

The issue of compulsory attendance has also highlighted the multitude of attendance laws throughout the nation (Baker 1988; Ball 1977; Knight 1987; Smith and Klicka 1987). Tobak and Zirkel (1982) observed that "increasingly parents who are prosecuted for instructing their children at home are attacking compulsory attendance statutes on constitutional grounds" (p. 17). These attacks have "generally been based on the First and Fourteenth Amendments" (1983, p. 19). Parents have also engaged the Ninth Amendment to argue that education of children at home is a parental activity protected by their constitutional right to privacy.

The Fourteenth Amendment cases attack the compulsory-attendance laws on the basis of parents' rights to educate their children as they see fit. Although most state courts have refused to accept this line of argument, one notable exception was a 1979 Massachusetts case, *Perchemlides v. Frizzle* (No. 16641 (Massachusetts Hampshire County Superior Court 1978)), in which the decision allowed the parents to choose from a full range of educational alternatives. The *Perchemlides* decision held that independent learning programs need not be "equivalent" to public schools (King 1983). In addition, the *Perchemlides* ruling supported Ninth Amendment claims, stating that "the right to choose alternative forms of education" was protected by the right to privacy. Probably more than any recent case, the *Perchemlides* ruling provided impetus and encouragement to home-school parents. The defense attorney on the case stated that it provided "the most explicit judicial direction so far given to a school superintendent and a school committee for dealing with requests for home schooling" (Bumstead 1979, p. 97; see also Ritter 1979). This case also prompted attention to be given to cooperation between parents and schools, which is the hallmark of the following cooperation phase.

Attempts to use the free-exercise-of-religion clause of the First Amendment to supersede state laws regarding issues such as compulsory

attendance and certification of parents home-educating their children have thus far proved largely unsuccessful.[6] One exception was a Michigan case, *People v. Nobel* (No. S 791-0114-A, S 791-0115-A (Michigan Allegan County District Court 1979)), which dealt with a mother who was home-educating her children without a state-required teaching certificate. The mother held a college degree in elementary education but refused to apply for certification on the grounds that it was in direct conflict with her religious beliefs. The judge ruled that obtaining a teaching certificate would not make the parent a better teacher nor would it facilitate her children's learning, and that it would interfere with her religious beliefs. Mrs. Nobel was exempted from acquiring a teaching certificate.

Today, in most states, private schools must be approved by the appropriate education authorities. Approval is typically based on several criteria such as safe physical conditions, "equivalent" curriculum and instruction, adequate time spent in schooling, and instruction by certified personnel (Campbell et al. 1985). In keeping with the *Farrington v. Tokushige* decision, however, state regulation is limited to basic issues concerning protection of students, and private schools retain a considerable amount of autonomy in planning their own educational programs.

A number of states have compulsory-attendance laws stipulating that children must attend either public or private schools, but they do not provide home education as an alternative (Burgess 1986). This has prompted many parents to initiate lawsuits arguing that their home schools were equivalent to public or private schools. Tobak and Zirkel (1983) recorded that, as of 1983, court decisions about this issue were about equally divided. In *People v. Levison* (90 N.E. 2d 213 (Illinois 1950)), the court ruled that the concept of school relates to the instructional activities, not the manner or place of instruction, or the numbers being instructed. The outcome—learning by the child—was the important criterion. In *Scoma v. Chicago Board of Education* (391 F.Supp. 452 (N.D. Illinois 1974)), home education was allowed as long as it was "commensurate with public school standards" (Tobak and Zirkel 1982, p. 34) in qualifying as a private school. On the other hand, the North Carolina Court of Appeals took a different view, ruling in *Delconte v. State* (329 S.E. 2d 636 (N.C. 1985)) that home education did not comply with the state's compulsory-attendance law and that " 'school' means an educational institution and does *not* include home instruction." The Supreme Court of Arkansas took a similar position in *Burrow v. State* (282 Ark. 479, 6695, W. 2d 441 (1984)), ruling that the common understanding of a school means only institutional learning (Knight 1987).

The question of educational equivalency has been important in many home-school cases. What standards are used to measure equivalent instruction? Who should determine equivalence? On which party does the burden of proof fall? As previously noted, the *Perchemlides* case addressed these questions to some degree, but it was tried in a lower court and has extremely limited procedential value. Until the United States Supreme Court rules on a home-education case, which does not appear imminent,[7] the answers will occur on a state-by-state basis and will continue to be vague and conflicting.

In response to what they often perceive as the heavy-handed and hostile use of power on the part of local school officials, many home-schooling parents have initiated court cases challenging statutes concerning compulsory attendance on the grounds that they violated the Fourteenth Amendment because of vagueness and unlawful delegation of legislative power to school administrators (Knight 1987; Lupu 1987; Smith and Klicka 1987). Courts in the states of Wisconsin, Georgia, and Ohio have agreed with the parents and ruled in their favor (Smith and Klicka 1987). The decision in a 1987 Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court case, *Care and Protection of Charles* (399 Mass. 324 (1987)), involved a compromise, ordering that the parents and the school district "resolve the matter by agreement" under judicial supervision, pursuant to procedural and substantive criteria that the court elaborated (Lupu 1987, p. 972).

Two main levels of objection to home schools by the public school community characterized this phase. The first related to legislative issues as Tobak and Zirkel (1982) defined, while the other related to educational method. Many teachers, teacher unions, and school officials maintained objections to home education despite the fact that many states increasingly introduced legislation permitting the operation of home schools (Lines 1983; Ranbom 1985). Despite the more liberal position taken at the state level, many local school officials opposed home education on the basis of academic and social issues, as well as on the grounds that lower attendance rates result in a reduction of state aid.

Confrontation issues—questions about the legality of home schools—began in the early 1970s, peaked in the late 1970s, and have now generally tapered off.[8] The turning point came at the time of the *Perchemlides* decision. But, in the meantime, defiance of the laws relating to compulsory education forced many home-school families underground. As a result, it is widely recognized that serious problems exist in the compilation of accurate records about home-school populations, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s. Although the severity of this situation has diminished as home schools have become more

widely accepted, home-educating parents have claimed that outmoded and outdated legislation has, at various times, forced concerned parents into hiding. In fact, in the 1970s and even later, many home-school parents were depicted as common criminals. The case of Utahan John Singer emerged as an example of the lengths to which both sides may go to prove a point. Singer was killed in a "gun battle" in 1979 by police who had come to arrest him on charges related to the home education of his children—and to matters embedded in his fundamentalist Mormon and polygamous religion (Williamson 1979; Fleisher and Freedman 1983).[9]

While most litigation proceedings were initiated by school officials, in most states a majority of legal cases in the 1970s were decided in favor of the parents (Ritter 1979). This outcome may indicate both the unsubstantive nature of many arguments that were brought against home-school parents and the ignorance or misinterpretation of the law on the part of administrators initiating the cases.

There are still home-school-related issues that have not been aired in the courts. Lines (1983) summed up the situation when she stated that "home instruction may be entitled to even more constitutional protection because the relation between the child and parent is a very private one," but, she noted, "this particular approach has not been taken to the court" (p. 217).[10] In an endeavor to provide an equitable perspective of home schools, Tobak and Zirkel (1982) urged a more balanced judicial and legislative approach that "takes account of both the state's interest in education and the parents' freedom to choose" (p. 59). Future cases are bound to more fully explore issues of parental rights and choice.

3. *Cooperation*

Cooperation between public school boards and home-school parents has not come easy. However, there are two factors that have helped to induce cooperation: court cases generally favored parents (Ritter 1979) and litigation is costly for school boards. The quoted misgivings of a county attorney who testified before the education committee of the Minnesota House of Representatives illustrate this point: "It costs us a lot of time and energy to take these cases through the courts; we get a lot of terrible publicity; we lose many more cases than we win; and even when we win we don't gain anything, for the family usually just moves to another school district, or perhaps out of state, and we or someone else has the whole thing to do all over again" (Merrill 1983, p. 18).

Particularly since the middle of the 1980s, home-school parents have been open to discussing their problems and have increasingly sought to cooperate with school boards, principals, and teachers (Knowles 1989; Holt 1983*b*). Obviously, cooperation is impossible when parents are forced into surreptitious home education. Changes wrought by state legislation, as opposed to those mandated by the court, are probably the most desirable because they are seen to be less contentious and coercive (Lines 1983; Burgess 1985). Such changes have occurred and have encouraged cooperation, often as a result of the considerable legislative lobbying efforts of parents (Lines 1985).

Courts have often advised school boards to explore avenues for cooperation or have provided specific directives as to the bounds of their actions (Bumstead 1979; Ritter 1979). Some school boards have voluntarily taken it upon themselves to make explicit policies of cooperation. The Granite School District in the greater Salt Lake City urban area is an example of one such district (M. Collin, "District Have Uneasy Alliance with Home Schools," *Salt Lake Tribune* [December 12, 1983]). The school district enables home schools to operate in conjunction with public schools; home-school students can use the library materials and books and enroll in special classes. Subject areas that home-educated children typically enroll in include science and music and arts enrichment programs. Cooperation between the two institutions—home and school—will undoubtedly increase as home education becomes more visible and accepted by the public (Knowles 1989). A more recently implemented program provides further evidence of cooperation.

The San Diego City School District, which offers extensive services to home-educating parents through its Community Home Education office, serves as a model of cooperation between the public schools and home-educating parents. Currently accommodating over 180 students and employing six full-time teachers, the program provides a full range of services to home-school families. Parents considering home education for their children are advised of the program and the district's expectations beforehand in order to help them understand the responsibility and commitment involved. Once in the program, they are provided with a complete set of textbooks for each child, as well as in-service training and curriculum guides for their use. The district expects these to be used as a core curriculum but allows parents to supplement with any materials they wish. Parents prepare weekly lesson plans, and monthly they submit copies of what they have accomplished, along with samples of their children's work. In addition, the Community Home Education office offers weekly hands-on science experiences for students; operates a computer laboratory staffed with

a full-time teacher and teacher's aide for the use of parents and children; organizes frequent field trips for families; conducts networking meetings for home-educating parents to meet and discuss their experience; meets with individual parents three times a year for evaluation of their progress; sends out a bimonthly newsletter with information about services, activities, and community events; and provides books and audiovisual materials for parents to use to supplement their own resources (San Diego County of Education 1988, 1990; D. Smollar, "County Helps Family Do Their Homework," *Los Angeles Times* [January 14, 1990]).

There are probably few limits to the ways in which cooperation between schools and home schools can occur.[11] Many private schools have long histories of parental involvement. Substantial research evidence suggests that parents are essential partners for optimum learning conditions (see, e.g., Barth 1979; Beecher 1984; Berger 1983; Dornbusch et al. 1987; Henderson 1987; Walberg 1984), and, in recent years, public schools have offered considerable encouragement to parents to participate in the educational process. The high level of parental involvement required to operate home schools has impressed some educators and has led to circumstances in which school districts offer program and facility sharing to children who attend home schools. On one level, cooperation has been forced upon some school districts. But, on another level, cooperation has occurred because forward-thinking educators recognize that home education is not a concept that can or should be defeated.[12] Instead, they work toward the educational welfare of all children.

4. *Consolidation*

During the 1970s, home-school parents frequently perceived themselves as being ideologically alienated from the larger educational community, which they were, and their quest for anonymity often meant they were also separated from those of like practice. In addition, the proliferation of court cases frequently isolated home-school families from friends, neighbors, and the public at large, while simultaneously aiding in forging bonds with other known sympathetic educating families. Home-school parents began to network; winning court battles and organizing self-help networks have gone hand in hand (King 1983). Networking is now widespread, particularly among religiously motivated home-school families who often attend the same church, and it is probably the single most important factor in the consolidation of the home-education movement.

The consolidation phase can be understood as being the result of a combination of the following circumstances: (1) changing and more liberal societal attitudes toward home education, especially as reflected in media coverage; (2) prolonged and perplexing public education-related problems and the general belief that schools are not fulfilling expectations; (3) the filtering down of academic studies that have dispelled or quieted outrageous myths about home schools; (4) networking at the national, state, and local levels through grass-roots publications and organizations of home-school parents; (5) the publication of a relatively extensive number of home-school "how-to" books and curricular materials, both commercially and by entrepreneurs who are themselves home-educating parents; and (6) the availability of correspondence programs and courses, some of which have specifically tried to capture the home-school market. As a result of these developments and their outcomes, home-school families are beginning to feel more secure about themselves when scrutinized by the public.

In addition, some aspects of consolidation, especially the latter three circumstances mentioned above, are also tied to the general and continued growth of the religious right during the past decade. In 1990, the growth of home education is no longer tied to the liberal educational reformers and proselytizers. Instead, it is the conservative, religious, protesting parents who make up a substantial proportion of the population—they have done so for nearly a decade—and who drive many of the networking efforts.

The continuing civil rights movement has brought about a number of changes in our society. The last two decades have wrought considerable influence on the way in which society at large views individuals of different cultures, races, religions, abilities (or disabilities), and values. While individuals may not be any more caring, the public is collectively more aware and at least superficially accepting of those contributing members of society who have different, alternative values and attitudes, and that has been the case with the public's treatment of home-educating parents.

Parallel to the movement toward a more equitable society has been an evolution in the media's response to home schools. By calumnizing home-educating families as "deviants" and "common criminals," the mass media, in conjunction with the attitudes of school administrators, was largely responsible for the harsh way in which many home-school families were treated during the early 1970s. However, home schools have increasingly been viewed in a more positive light. In recent years, there have been many supportive articles in weekly news magazines and national newspapers, in addition to articles in popular monthly magazines and professional journals (see, e.g., Avner 1989; Holt 1984;

V. Hull, "For Some, School's a Family Job," *Los Angeles Times* [April 15, 1987]; Kohn 1988; Roach 1989; Rowe 1987; Seligmann and Abramson 1988; W. J. Warren, "For Many Children, Home Is School," *New York Times* [August 10, 1988]).

A content analysis of over 60 mass-media articles about home schools reveals that, in the nine years from 1970 to 1979, the focus tended to be on court issues and outcomes, emphasizing the most negative and extreme cases. Home-school parents were often portrayed as being neglectful and even irresponsible (C. W. Stevens, "Angry at Schools, More Parents Try Teaching at Home," *Wall Street Journal* [September 13, 1979]).

Beginning at about the time of the *Perchemlides* decision in 1979, there was a noticeable change in the general tone of the articles. During the period of 1979 to 1983, authors more frequently noted the benefits and value of home education and concentrated on the more favorable cooperative efforts encouraged by new legislative action. The success of some home schools even received national attention.[13] Court cases still appeared, but they were generally presented in a less disparaging light than those cases reported during the early years of the movement.

The seven years or so prior to 1990 have also seen a broad spectrum of media coverage, as the growth and popularity of home schools have been emphasized with parent-teachers sometimes portrayed almost as folk heroes. For example, a recent article in the *New York Times* described 14-year-old Cara Tanstrom's struggle to participate in the North Dakota state spelling bee: "State education officials had tried to block Cara and other children who are taught in their homes from participation in the contest, but they backed down after national publicity and pressure from the Scripps-Howard National Spelling Bee, which said the contest should be open to any student" ("Victories for Home Schooling," *New York Times* [April 9, 1989]).

Prolonged and perplexing problems in education have been a major factor in the growth of home schools. The reform measures of the early 1980s, which were designed to improve test scores, have placated the public to some extent, but academic concerns remain and fiscal constraints continue to be paramount in many states, such as Utah and Michigan, where budgets are unable to extend substantial allocations to education.[14] Innovative fiscal manipulation for the purposes of maintaining the status quo in education is typical of state and local education authorities. Schools, too, are being questioned about their approaches and the outcomes that they achieve.

In the 1970s, when so much attention was drawn to the legality of home schooling, there was little support available in the way of legal

or educational advice. Early advocates such as John Holt and Raymond Moore played important roles in assisting home-educating families. Moore, in particular, freely offered his services to families involved in litigation, particularly those with religious perspectives. Moore's long-standing belief in the value of home schools for younger school-age children (see Moore and Moore 1975; Moore et al. 1979) meant that he was a credible champion, although much debate surrounded his stance.[15] Moore's position is more thoroughly discussed later in this article.

Further evidence of the consolidation phase has resulted from the filtering down of academic studies, which tended to dispel outrageous myths about home schools. Opponents have frequently voiced the concern that home-educated children suffer in their social development and socialization, arguing that interaction with other children is a vital part of schooling that cannot be addressed in the home. In the past, home-school parents have responded to this criticism by claiming that the nature of students' social lives in formal schools is actually a compelling argument for operating home schools. Of this, John Holt (1981) stated, "In all but a very few of the schools I have taught in, visited, or know anything about, the social life of the children is mean-spirited, competitive, exclusive, status-seeking, snobbish" (pp. 44–45). He argued that homes were more congenial for learning (Holt 1980, 1981, 1983*a*).

More recently, parents have quoted several academic studies that suggest that the social development of home-school children may not be impaired, as had often been claimed. On this topic, Taylor (1987) was influential. Using the Piers-Harris Scale to measure the self-concepts of 224 home-educated children in grades 4–12, Taylor (1987) found that, "insofar as self-concept is a reflector of socialization, it appears that few homeschoolers are socially deprived" (p. 2809A). Other studies, such as one conducted in Los Angeles (see Lines 1987), have also provided consolation and arguments for home-school parent-teachers. Home-educating parents have even entered the research arena with the express purpose of monitoring their children's progress. For example, Jon Wartes and a small group of home-school parents established the Washington Home School Research Project, which, since 1985, annually conducts a survey of home-school families. Recent results indicate that 52 percent of the children in 219 home-school families spent 20 to 30 hours in organized community activities, while 40 percent spent more than 30 hours per month with peers outside their families. On the basis of survey results, Wartes (1988) concluded that home-educated children are not being socially deprived.

Another myth that has been challenged by several formal studies is the belief that home-school children suffer academically. Children

taught at home frequently score as well as or slightly better than traditionally educated children on standardized achievement tests. For example, after examining the Stanford Achievement Test scores of 873 home-school students in the state of Washington, Wartes (1988) found that the median scores were in the 65–66 percentile range. In a smaller study that also addressed the socialization issue, Delahooke (1986) compared two fairly equivalent groups of 9-year-olds who were either home-educated or enrolled in private schools. In this case there were no significant differences in their academic achievement, and, although the home-school students seemed to be less peer oriented, both groups scored in the "well adjusted" range of the Roberts Apperception Test for Children. Finally, Ray (1988*b*) reported a study conducted by the Alaska Department of Education. From 1981 to 1985, fourth- and eighth-grade students enrolled in Alaska's Centralized Correspondence Study Program[16] averaged 10.6 percent higher in reading and math achievement than their traditionally educated peers. Ray (1988*b*) stated, "It appears that Alaska's home study program has allowed students to achieve at least as well as their Alaskan peers and better than national norms" (p. 24).[17]

Consolidation has also meant that the internal networking mechanisms available to home-school parents have been greatly enlarged. There are several hierarchical levels of networking—local, state, and national[18]—besides various modes for facilitating networking. Networking also occurs at the international level. At the local level, networking occurs in several ways. Home-school families interact with fellow home educators, providing mutual support and encouragement, and even the occasional or regular pooling of resources. In some state and regional networks, there may also be local levels of interaction and networking, and there may be strong religious, ideological, and pedagogical bonds that unite families. The most recent and overlying level of networking is that of ideologically bound organizations, a very recent phenomenon that we will address later.

At the state level, there are extensive opportunities for networking. For example, in Utah, there are at least two umbrella organizations for home-school parents. The Utah Home Education Association (UHEA) was formed in the early 1980s for the expressed purpose of providing support for home-school families. Some of the most obvious functions of the organization include yearly conventions and the publication of a regular monthly newsletter. The conventions typically involve presentations, workshops, seminars, curriculum and instructional displays, student presentations, and displays of schoolwork. Recent conventions have drawn in excess of 700 parents, about half of the Utah home-school families. In the mid-1980s the Utah Christian Home

School Association (UCHSA) splintered from UHEA as a result of ideological divisions.

The operation of the major Utah networking organization is an interesting case in point. The UHEA divides its membership into districts that are essentially clusters of member home-school families. A district leader is assigned to coordinate local members. In the greater Salt Lake City region, the multicluster membership districts are roughly analogous to the boundaries of school districts, except there may be up to four or five membership clusters within the boundaries of a district. The district-leadership concept facilitates the reception, retrieval, and dissemination of information. An important function of the district leaders is to provide public relations liaisons, especially with public schools.

The UCHSA was formed in response to what their president called "humanistic perspectives" (January 24, 1986). Essentially formed as a group of evangelical non-Mormon Christian parents, they network through regular meetings, workshops, and seminars and are more tightly unified as a group because of their coherence in religious perspectives and life-styles.

Family Centered Learning Alternatives (FCLA) is another example of the grass-roots kinds of networking that occur in home education. Originating in the state of Washington in response to state laws insisting that home schools be classified under the umbrella of private schools, groups of parents with similar pedagogical orientations bonded together and produced educational materials and facilitated other cooperative activities, workshops, and field trip–related activities under the guidance of certified teachers. In the mid 1980s, Family Centered Learning Alternatives was established in a number of states, including Utah.

Operating from a broader national perspective, for example, the National Homeschool Association provides information, networking, and support to families who are home-educating their children. It has formed linkages with individual families, as well as local and state home-school organizations, functioning as a clearinghouse on issues of policy, research, and business interests.

Consolidation has also been facilitated by the activities of other organizations at the national level, and there are several modes to this level of networking. Included are organizations that develop curricular materials, those that publish magazines and newsletters, and those that provide support and consultation for home schools. The evolution of home schools has also meant a growth of printed books ranging from quasi or lay forms of child-development texts with home-education orientations, to accounts of home-school-family experiences. Most books published as of 1990 have been "in-house" accounts and approaches[19]

with no substantial publications by educational or sociological researchers—apart from dissertations.

There are a number of organizations that produce curricular materials for home-school families (see Lines 1991). The majority of currently available materials tend to have Christian orientations and some address specific needs of home-school parents, since lack of curricular goals has been one of the major criticisms of home schools. Family Centered Learning Alternatives, in part, responds to the issue of inadequate curricular materials for home schools.

Raymond Moore and the late John Holt have had, and continue to have, a considerable impact on home schooling at the national level, and to a lesser degree at the international level. While the philosophy of Moore appeals to families with religious convictions, Holt drew a considerable following on the basis of his liberal, humanistic philosophy and reform-based publications. *Growing without Schooling* (*GWS*), a bimonthly newsletter/magazine was founded by Holt in 1977 to serve home schools. Subscription sales now exceed 4,500, and the magazine reflects the networking phenomenon of home education. A directory of consenting home-school families is regularly updated and published, and there are also other features of the magazine that reflect extensive networking. It provides a directory of "helpful schools," "friendly lawyers," "professors and other allies," "correspondence schools," "home schooling organizations," and legal and educational news of relevance, in addition to opportunities for readers to interact and select suitable educational resources. Bulk and discounted subscription rates provide dissemination through established home-school organizations.

In the early 1980s, Moore published *The Family Educator and Family Report,* later to be replaced by *The Moore Report.* These publications resemble *GWS* in intent; they provide a similar reference point for Christian family home schools—although not excessively Christian in flavor. They tend to have an underlying theme of holistic family participation in the education process. *Home Education Magazine* is a family-based periodical that serves as an example of the do-it-yourself efforts of home-educating families. Although it offers networking opportunities, it focuses mainly on providing examples of specific teaching and learning activities. A recent issue, however, focused on the usefulness of research for home-school families, a growing topic of debate. Other individuals and groups are also involved in networking activities. For example, Gregg Harris, director of Christian Life Workshops, has become increasingly active in the home-education movement in the past five years, conducting workshops around the country specifically to help churches or like-minded home-education groups set up support systems for those thinking about or electing to teach their children at home.

His organization provides an example of another level of need being addressed.

There are other nationwide organizations that provide networking opportunities and assistance to home-school parent-teachers. The National Coalition of Alternative Community Schools provides guidance for academic programs and legal matters. The National Association for Legal Support of Alternative Schools "provides assistance to law firms, individuals, and schools that are fighting restrictive or illegal practices of state regulatory bodies" (King 1983). Much of that association's support has been directed toward home schools. Correspondence schools such as the Clonlara Home Based Education program in Michigan, and others, assist home-educated children, providing curricular information and networking opportunities for like-educating families.[20]

International consolidation has occurred primarily because of the wide dissemination of publications such as *Growing without Schooling,* which has subscribers in all continents, especially Europe, Southeast Asia, and Australasia (Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania) and because of the prevalence of well-publicized national, regional, and state conferences. Book publications, such as those by Moore, Holt, and the in-house publications mentioned previously, have greatly assisted the process. Readers of Holt's and Moore's philosophies are found throughout the world—especially in Western countries. There is now a small body of popular home-school literature that is readily available through bookstores and other avenues, such as conferences, to practicing and potential home-educating parent-teachers. In this way, home schools continue to grow and consolidate their positions as bona fide educational institutions.

5. *Compartmentalization*

The consolidation phase has led directly to a settling and sifting period in the home-school movement. While consolidation fortified the lobbying clout of home-school parents, compartmentalization or fractioning has the potential to dilute the power of the larger community of like-minded parents.

In the late 1970s, there were few networking alternatives for home-school parents. When John Holt founded Holt Associates and began publishing *Growing without Schooling,*[21] the loose association of subscribers provided the first significant opportunity for networking. Since that time the number of networking organizations has geometrically multiplied.[22]

As networks became nationally focused, and later state and local specific, home-school families became more polarized in the expression of their association with other home-school families. Since networking practices made possible productive connections between home-school families across the nation, between and within states, and within local communities, home-school parents are beginning to fine-tune their educational philosophies and opinions and make known their allegiances to particular communities or networks of similar-minded families. Whereas Holt's network is liberal, pedagogical, secular, and humanistic in its orientation, the most recent additions to the networking arena tend to be conservative, ideological, and Christian. While mirroring the political and educational shift over the 20-year period (Hill and Owen 1982), this dichotomy set the stage for the compartmentalization phase that we now see emerging.

There are several indicators of the compartmentalization phase that, in part, parallel activities and circumstances evident in consolidation. For example, the growth of networking organizations, home-school book and serial publications, curricular materials, and correspondence courses and programs, all demonstrate the considerable commercial involvement and investments that have been made in home education. Large numbers of individuals have their livelihoods dependent on generating financial support, memberships, interest, and sales and purchases by home-school families living in particular locales and regions, with particularistic doctrines and educational philosophies.[23]

There are other planes of activity indicative of the compartmentalization phase. The gradual rise to a crescendo of the conservative, right, religious voice has been well documented over the decade beginning immediately before the Reagan era (Hill and Owen 1982; Blumenthal 1988). Now, after coming together with families of more liberal perspectives to respond to legislative issues and more generic matters during the 1980s, conservative home-school parents are more strongly and divisively making their differences known. That is not to say that earlier networking groups and memberships were not aligned or coalesced because of particularistic ideologies. In general, they were groups with unlike perspectives, tolerant of differences, who worked together for the "common good" of home education. Some compartmentalization occurred as a result of these loosely knit coalitions, but it was generally on broad planes—humanistic versus Christian. However, we need to make one caveat. There are ideologies represented other than those identified as Christian. These include New Age (Mayberry 1988; Mayberry and Knowles 1989; Pitman 1988), Jewish, and Islamic, and we estimate them to make up a small percentage of the total home-school population.

The compartmentalization phase is exemplified by events and circumstances that at first seem destructively divisive but may ultimately prove to have advantages for the movement. It may weed out those leaders who cannot sustain productive, focused perspectives and significantly important agendas. Some network leaders, particularly those with central or peripheral commercial or service functions, are forcing their membership and/or supporters not to be bipartisan in their allegiance and support for particular educational and religious points of view.

Some of the self-appointed leaders have taken on roles similar to those of denominational evangelists, highly particularistic roles but ones that are not uncommon throughout the short history of the home-education movement.[24] While these individuals have provided significant services, such as making available curricular materials and publications to the home-school community (sometimes at considerable personal sacrifice), they nevertheless do have their personal esteems and livelihoods attached to the movement. Whether the home-education market is becoming saturated—and we doubt that it is—or whether economies of scale or personal egos are the dominant forces, recent events in various parts of the country suggest there are "turf wars" underway.

The battle lines appear to be drawn, not only between those grounded in humanistic and religious orientations, but also between those taking differing religious ideological stances. Incrementally, over the last five years or so, Raymond Moore, initially and undoubtedly the most influential religious leader in home education, has been challenged by other self-styled leaders such as Gregg Harris of Christian Life Workshops, Michael Farris of the Home School Legal Defense Association, and J. Richard Fugate of Alpha Omega Publications, in the quest for domination and influence over the broader community of Christian home-school families. In response to the pressure of impending division, Moore recently made a plea for unity within the larger body of Christian home-school parents:

> Home schooling is coming of age. If we want it to be strong, it must be strong in truth lest it be caught by promoters who appear to have gentle concerns for the families, but in fact, pursue money, power, even fraud or false pretensions of senior pastorates. . . . Let's have unity . . . and peace . . . but not at any price. Exclusivism may sound attractive to some, but is it Christian or helpful to home education? Remember the Dark Ages when men judged your religion and killed you if yours didn't please! Our battle is for parent rights, not religious controversy. Why tell others to

> stay on their side of the fence, as one speaker does. Doesn't his Bible say to invite all (Matt. 24 and 28)? [Moore 1990, p. 10]

As we write, there are considerable discussions in the home-school community, especially in those of ideologically bound Christian affiliations, about these kinds of matters.

Summary

The modern emergence of home education has its roots in the philosophies of the educators who wrote on issues of reform during the late 1960s and early to mid 1970s. We made this argument on the basis of evidence that the concepts and positions put forward by the reformers can be traced directly to the philosophical positions expressed by parents who operated the early home schools of the period.

While early home schools reflected a liberal, humanistic, pedagogical orientation, which was compatible with the alternative views promulgated by the reformers, they did so as advocates of societal change almost as much as educational innovation. Some of the reforms advocated, such as deschooling by Illich (1970), alternative schools by Goodman (1964*b*), Neill (1960), Dennison (1969), Graubard (1970), and Kozol (1972), and community control by Cohen (1969), Coleman (1966), and Gittell (1971), were arguments made in support of home schools in the early popular and mass-media publications. Such references to educational reforms continued in the home-education "proverbs" and "folklore" through the 1970s and into the early 1980s. About that time, the shift from liberal to conservative positions regarding education in general, and home schools in particular, was clearly identifiable. No longer were most home-school advocates touting reformed-based concepts as being integral to the well-accepted notions of home education. They did not even embed their positions in the language of reform, as was done by the early ideologues. In their place, many new advocates found and espoused Biblical and religious rationales. However, to imply that this transformation was abrupt and simple would be naive and uninformed. Instead, it emerged gradually, first, parallel to the increased activity by Moore (whose ideology is to the right of center) and, second, as the conservative right became more vocal over the course of the 1980s. Home schools became grounds of and for ideological, conservative, religious expressions of educational matters, which symbolized the conservative right's push toward self-determinism.

When contemporary home schools are examined, it becomes clear that they are *not* closely tied to the liberal roots of home education.

Relatively few home schools seem to operate solely on the premise that homes are superior places for learning. Home schools that operate under the belief that the home has the potential to offer opportunities for pedagogical experimentation and alternatives, far different from that possible within the structure and confines of large public institutions, are rarely observed.

It should be understood that the five phases of home-school emergence are by no means definitive or complete. Contentions about public schools, confrontations with public school administrators, cooperation with public schools, and consolidation and compartmentalization of the home-school movement are all readily apparent today in the realm of home education. Parents continue to have problems with public schools; there are still legal issues being dealt with by the courts. Contention and confrontation parallel cooperation and consolidation, while compartmentalization will multiply as promoters and peddlers of particular ideologies seek the affirmation and allegiance of home-educating parents.

Notes

The authors wish to thank Larry Berlin, Paul G. Davis, and Harvey Kantor for critical reviews of much earlier drafts.

1. Many ideologues provide biblical evidence to explain the tradition of home education. They also use it to justify their involvement (see, e.g., Exod. 13:14; Deut. 6:1–2, 4–8, and 20–25; Prov. 22:6; Eph. 6:1–4). Biblical support and justification forms the powerful backdrop for many Christian home-school book publications, such as those of Harris (1988) and Fugate (1990).

2. This traditional approach and perceived difference in learning styles may partly account for the educational discontinuities and dilemmas currently facing Native American education in the United States.

3. A recent study has identified several older adults who were home-educated (Knowles and de Olivares 1991).

4. Reference is also often made to the writings of individuals such as Raymond Moore, George Dennison, James Herndon, and Joseph Pearce (Priesnitz 1980).

5. Many of our education colleagues have, over the last eight or so years, viewed home education as an aberrant educational activity, a fad, soon to move out of the educational arena. We doubt this to be the case.

6. A recent United States Supreme Court decision, *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith* (110 S. Ct. 1595 (1990)), prohibited the use of peyote for religious purposes and established a new standard in free-exercise-of-religion cases. Previously, the state had been required to justify its infringement on the free exercise of religion by providing a compelling justification of government interest. As a result of the *Smith* decision, however, the state is relieved of its burden to justify the denial of free exercise if the practice of religion involves a breach of criminal laws. This removal of this compelling-interest test makes it highly unlikely that parents who violate

state compulsory-attendance or certification laws could successfully argue their cases on the basis of First Amendment free-exercise protection.

7. Ronald Reagan, who disagreed with the substance of many of the modern Court's liberal decisions, appointed three justices during his presidency (O'Connor, Scalia, and Kennedy), all of whom shared his philosophy of "judicial restraint," a belief that the courts should leave the resolution of most major controversies to legislatures and elected officials (Witt 1989). Many of the Court's decisions in the late 1980s reflected a decrease in judicial activism, and President Bush's replacement in 1990 of the Court's liberal spokesman, Justice Brennan, with the more conservative David Souter, indicates that this trend is likely to continue.

8. While the frequency of court cases appears to be declining in general, there are regions and states that exhibit continued, even increased, litigation. Michigan and North Carolina are such examples.

9. Singer's widow was eventually given the right to educate her children at home through a court order issued in 1986, although, as late as 1989, there were various ongoing disputes with state and local officials, including an armed hold-off. On the tenth anniversary of John Singer's death there was an armed standoff between police and the now-adult children and Mrs. Singer over other illegal activities associated with their fundamentalist Mormon faith and their independence.

10. Chief Justice Rehnquist of the Supreme Court has stated that he has never located the right of privacy in the Constitution, however, which might affect the success of parents seeking to use that avenue as a means of securing the right to home-educate their children (Witt 1989).

11. John Holt (1983*b*) went to some effort to suggest how schools could cooperate. See also Knowles (1989) for an expansion of this topic.

12. See Knowles et al. (1991) for an examination of public school superintendents' perspective on home schools in Utah, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.

13. The case of Grant Colfax and his younger brothers, who attended and distinguished themselves at Harvard, is an example (see Colfax and Colfax 1988).

14. Utah ranks last in the nation in per-pupil spending, and Michigan has cut allocations to "wealthy" school districts in an attempt to mitigate inequities.

15. In an open letter to home-school families, Moore (1990) acknowledged the extensive challenges received from educational psychologists about his claims regarding early education.

16. The Centralized Correspondence Study Program (CCS) is a K–12 educational program administered to students at home through the mail. Students of the CCS are instructed by a "home teacher," usually a parent.

17. The results of these studies must be viewed cautiously. Because home-educated children do not generally come from severely underprivileged families, it is highly probable that the students would have performed above the national norms even if they had attended public schools. We can, therefore, only speculate about the relative success of home schools when standardized measures of achievement are used.

18. These were appearing as of the late 1980s.

19. These books include *Homeschooling for Excellence* by David Colfax and Micki Colfax (1988), *Putting the Joy Back into Egypt: An Experiment in Education* by Jean Hendy-Harris (1983), *And the Children Played* by Patricia Joudry (1975),

School at Home: Teach Your Own Child by Ingeborg Kendall (1982), *Home School Decisions* by Joyce Kinmont (1987), *The Complete Home Educator* by Mario Pagnoni (1984), *A Need to Be Free: An Experience in Home Education* by Frank Turano (1982), and *Better than School* by Nancy Wallace (1983).

20. Lines (1991) has compiled a list of publishers and organizations providing networking and curricular materials to home-schooling families that is current as of 1988. It includes Alpha Omega Publications, Tempe, Ariz.; Basic Education, Dallas–Fort Worth; Bob Jones University Press, Greensville, S.C.; Christian Light Publications, Harrisburg, Va.; Educators Publishing Service, Cambridge, Mass.; KONOS, Richardson, Tex.; Learning at Home, Honaunau, Hawaii; Lifeway Curriculum, Wheaton, Ill.; Mott Media, Milford, Mich.; Rod & Staff Publications, Crockett, Ky.; *Teaching at Home* magazine; Weaver Curriculum, Riverside, Calif.

21. John Holt's philosophy of education moved from the far left to the left-center over the period of home education's growth until his death in 1985.

22. There are home-school support groups in at least 45 states, with some states, such as Missouri, having more than 10 such groups.

23. Examples of individuals and organizations with considerable financial investments or livelihoods embedded in home education include Brian D. Ray of the National Home Education Research Institute, Seattle; Mark and Helen Hegener of Home Education Press, Tonasket, Wash.; Raymond and Dorothy Moore of the Moore Foundation, Camas, Wash.; National Association for the Legal Support of Alternative Schools, Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Pat Montgomery of Clonlara School Home Based Education Program, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Michael Farris of Home School Legal Defense Association, Paeonian Springs, Va.; Gregg Harris of Christian Life Workshops, Portland, Oreg.; and J. Richard Fugate of Alpha Omega Publications, Tempe, Ariz.

24. Until the early 1980s, Holt and Moore were the most prominent leaders, Holt speaking on behalf of pedagogical home schools, while Moore bridged the gap between pedagogical and ideological home schools.

References

Avner, J. A. "Home Schoolers: A Forgotten Clientele?" *School Library Journal* 35 (July 1989): 29–33.

Baker, J. S., Jr. "Parent-centered Education." *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics, and Public Policy* 3 (1988): 535–68.

Ball, W. B. *Litigation in Education: In Defense of Freedom.* Wichita, Kans.: Center for Independent Education, 1977.

Barth, R. "Home-based Reinforcement of School Behavior: A Review and Analysis." *Review of Educational Research* 49 (1979): 436–58.

Beecher, R. M. *Parent Involvement: A Review of Research and Principles of Successful Practice.* Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1984.

Bereiter, C. "Schools without Education." *Harvard Educational Review* 3 (1972): 390–413.

Berger, E. H. *Beyond the Classroom: Parents as Partners in Education.* St. Louis: Mosby, 1983.

Billings, H. K. *Are Schools Destroying our Children?* Washington, D.C.: Southeastern University Press, 1975.

Bills, R. E. *Self-Concept and Schooling.* West Lafayette, Ind.: Kappa Delta Pi, 1979.
Blumenthal, S. *Our Long National Daydream: A Political Pageant of the Reagan Era.* New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
Bruck, C. "Are Teachers Failing Our Children?" *McCall's,* May 1979.
Bumstead, R. A. "Educating Your Child at Home: The Perchemlides Case." *Phi Delta Kappan* 2 (1979): 97–100.
Burgess, K. T. "The Constitutionality of Home Education Statutes." *UMKC Law Review* 55 (1986): 69–84.
Burgess, S. F. *The Legal Aspects of Home Instruction.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1985.
Campbell, R., L. Cunningham, R. Nystrand, and M. Usdan. *The Organization and Control of American Schools.* Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1985.
Chagnon, N. A. *Yanomamo: The Fierce People,* 3d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983.
Cohen, D. K. "The Price of Community Control." *Commentary* 48 (1969): 23–32.
Coleman, J. S., ed. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.
Colfax, D. J. "Teaching Your Own." *Country Journal* 10 (1983): 44–47.
Colfax, D. J., and M. Colfax. *Homeschooling for Excellence.* New York: Warner, 1988.
Coons, J. E., and S. D. Sugarman. *Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
Cremin, L. A. *Traditions of American Education.* New York: Basic, 1977.
Cremin, L. A. "The Free School Maneuver: A Perspective." In *Alternative Schools: Ideologies, Realities, Guidelines,* edited by T. E. Deal and R. R. Nolan. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978.
Curti, M. *The Social Ideas of American Educators.* Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, 1959.
Cushman, K. "Living Room as Classroom." *Eastern Review,* November 1986, pp. 28–32.
Delahooke, M. "Home Educated Children's Social/Emotional Adjustment and Academic Achievement: A Comparative Study." *Dissertation Abstracts International* 47 (1986): 475A.
Dennison, G. *The Lives of Children: The Story of the First Street School.* New York: Vintage, 1969.
Dobson, J. *Hide or Seek.* Old Tappan, N.J.: Revell, 1974.
Dornbusch, S., P. Ritter, and P. Lieberman. "The Relation of Parenting Style to Adolescent School Performance." *Child Development* 58 (1987): 1244–57.
Duggan, S. *A Student's Textbook in the History of Education.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.
Eastman, C. A. *Indian Boyhood.* 1902. Reprint. New York: Dover, 1971.
Edmonds, R. "Desegregation and Equity: Community Perspectives." *Harvard Graduate School of Education Bulletin,* Winter 1974–75, pp. 7–11.
Fein, L. J. "Community Schools and Social Theory: The Limits of Universalism." In *Community Control of Schools,* edited by H. Levin. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1970.
Fleisher, D., and D. M. Freedman. *Death of an American: The Killing of John Singer.* New York: Continuum, 1983.
The Fleishmann Report on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State, vol. 4. New York: Viking, 1973.

Freire, P. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Translated by M. B. Ramos. New York: Herder & Herder, 1970.
Frost, S. E. *History and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education.* Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1966.
Fugate, J. R. *Will Early Education Ruin Your Child?* Tempe, Ariz.: Aletheia, 1990.
Gerlach, L. "Protest Movements and the Construction of Risk." Discussion paper, IIUG, Berlin, 1986.
Gerlach, L., and V. Hine. *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
Gittell, M. *Demonstration for Social Change: An Experiment in Local Control.* New York: Institute for Community Studies, Queens College, 1971.
Goertzel, V., and M. Goertzel. *Cradles of Eminence.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1962.
Good, H. *A History of Western Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1947.
Goodman, P. *Compulsory Mis-education.* New York: Horizon, 1964.
Graubard, A. *The Open Classroom: Radical Reform and Free School Movement.* New York: Pantheon, 1970.
Graubard, A. "The Free School Movement." *Harvard Educational Review* 42 (1972): 351–73.
Gustafson, S. K. *A Study of Home Schooling: Parental Motivations and Goals.* Senior thesis, Princeton University, School of Public and International Affairs, 1986.
Gustavsen, G. A. *Selected Characteristics of Home Schools and Parents Who Operate Them.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1981.
Gutek, G. L. *A History of the Western Educational Experience.* New York: Random House, 1972.
Harris, G. "Home School Education." In *Schooling Choices: An Examination of Private, Public and Home Education,* edited by W. House. Portland, Oreg.: Multnomah, 1988.
Henderson, A. *The Evidence Continues to Grow: Parent Involvement Improves Student Achievement.* Columbia, Md.: National Committee for Citizens in Education, 1987.
Hendy-Harris, J. *Putting the Joy Back into Egypt: An Experiment in Education.* Auckland, New Zealand: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983.
Hill, S., and D. Owen. *The New Religious Political Right in America.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982.
Holt, J. *The Underachieving School.* New York: Dell, 1969.
Holt, J. *Instead of Education: Ways to Help People Do Things Better.* New York: Dutton, 1976.
Holt, J. "Plowboy Interview: John Holt—Teach Your Children at Home . . . Yourself." *Mother Earth News,* July/August 1980, pp. 11–16.
Holt, J. *Teach Your Own: A Hopeful Path for Education.* New York: Delta/Seymour Lawrence, 1981.
Holt, J. *How Children Fail,* rev. ed. New York: Delta/Seymour Lawrence, 1982.
Holt, J. *How Children Learn,* rev. ed. New York: Delta/Seymour Lawrence, 1983. (*a*)
Holt, J. "How Schools Can Cooperate with Home Schoolers." *Education Digest* 49 (October 1983): 2–5. (*b*)
Holt, J. "So You Want to Home-School." *Mother Earth News,* January/February 1984, pp. 139–141.
Illich, I. *Deschooling Society.* New York: Harper Colophon, 1970.

Illich, I. "After Deschooling, What?" In *After Deschooling What?* edited by A. Gartner et al. New York: Hill & Wang, 1973.
Joudry, P. *And the Children Played.* Montreal: Tundra, 1975.
Kaestle, C. F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1983.
Kendall, I. U. V. *School at Home: Teach Your Own Child.* Laguna Beach, Calif.: ICER, 1982.
Kerman, K. "Our Experiment in Home Education." *Green Revolution* 38 (1981): 6–9.
King, G. M. "Home Schooling: Up from Underground." *Reason* (1983), pp. 21–29.
Kinmont, J. *Home School Decisions.* 2770 South 1000 West, Perry, Utah 84302: J. Kinmont, 1987.
Knight, M. "Parental Liberties versus the State's Interest in Education: The Case for Allowing Home Education." *Texas Tech Law Review* 18 (1987): 1261–89.
Knowles, J. G. "The Context of Homeschooling in the United States." *Education and Urban Society* 21 (1988): 5–15.
Knowles, J. G. "Cooperating with Home School Parents: A New Agenda for Public Schools?" *Urban Education* 23 (1989): 392–411.
Knowles, J. G. "Parents' Rationales for Home Education." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 20 (July 1991): 203–30.
Knowles, J. G., and K. de Olivares. "Now We Are Adults: Attitudes, Beliefs, and Status of Adults Who Were Home-educated as Children." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, April 1991.
Knowles, J. G., and V. Hoefler. "An Exploratory Case Study of How Parents Think about Parent-Child Relationships in Home School Settings: Bonding or Tying the Apron Strings?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 1988.
Knowles, J. G., M. Mayberry, B. Ray, and S. Marlow. "Public School Superintendents' Perspectives on Home Schools: Views from Utah, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington." Unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, School of Education, 1991.
Kohl, H. *The Open Classroom.* New York: Random House, 1970.
Kohn, A. "Home Schooling: Parents Who Educate Their Children at Home Face Little Official Opposition—but a Very Demanding Responsibility." *Atlantic,* April 1988, pp. 20–25.
Kozol, J. *Free Schools.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1972.
Lines, P. M. "Private Education and State Regulation." *Journal of Law and Education* 12 (1983): 189–234.
Lines, P. M. "States Should Help, Not Hinder, Parents' Home-Schooling Efforts." *Education Week,* May 15, 1985.
Lines, P. M. "An Overview of Home Instruction." *Phi Delta Kappan* 68 (1987): 510–17.
Lines, P. M. "Home Instruction: Characteristics, Size and Growth." In *Home Schooling: Political, Historical, and Pedagogical Perspectives,* edited by J. Van Galen and M. A. Pitman. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1991.
Lupu, I. C. "Home Education, Religious Liberty, and the Separation of Powers." *Boston University Law Review* 6 (1987): 971–90.
Mattil, E. L. *Meaning in Crafts.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

Mayberry, M. "Characteristics and Attitudes of Families Who Home School." *Education and Urban Society* 21 (1988): 32–41.
Mayberry, M., and J. G. Knowles. "Family Unity of Parents Who Teach Their Children: Ideological and Pedagogical Orientations to Home Schooling." *Urban Review* 21 (1989): 209–26.
Merrill, D. "Schooling at Mother's Knee: Can It Compete?" *Christianity Today*, September 2, 1983, pp. 16–21.
Moore, D. N., T. J. Wiley, D. R. Moore, and D. K. Kordenbrock. *School Can Wait.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979.
Moore, R. S. *White Paper—History on Homeschooling.* 1990. (Available from authors.)
Moore, R. S., and D. N. Moore. *Better Late than Early: A New Approach to Your Child's Education.* New York: Reader's Digest, 1975.
Moore, R., and D. Moore. *Home Spun Schools: Teaching Children at Home—What Parents Are Doing and How They Are Doing It.* Waco, Tex.: Word, 1982.
Naisbitt, J. *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives.* New York: Warner, 1982.
Nakosteen, M. *The History and Philosophy of Education.* New York: Ronald, 1965.
Neill, A. S. *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing.* New York: Hart, 1960.
Pagnoni, M. *The Complete Home Educator.* Burdett, N.Y.: Larson, 1984.
Parker, S. C. *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education.* New York: Ginn, 1912.
Pitman, M. A. "Home Based Learning in a New Intentional Community: Applying the Holistic Model of Cultural Acquisition." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 1988.
Postman, N., and C. Weingartner. *How to Recognize a Good School.* Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1973.
Power, E. *Main Currents in the History of Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.
Priesnitz, W. "Schooling at Home." *Orbit* 11 (1980): 3–5.
Radin, P. *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian.* New York: Dover, 1963.
Ranbom, S. "Four States, Feeling Pressure, Loosen Home-Schooling Rules." *Education Week,* May 1, 1985.
Ray, B. D. "The Kitchen Classroom: Is Home Schooling Making the Grade?" *Christianity Today,* August 12, 1988, 23–26. (*a*)
Ray, B. D. "Home Schools: A Synthesis of Research Characteristics and Learner Outcomes." *Education and Urban Society* 21 (1988): 16–31. (*b*)
Reimer, E. *School Is Dead: Alternatives in Education.* New York: Doubleday, 1971.
Ritter, M. "Read This Before You Veto Home-Education Requests." *American School Board Journal,* October 1979, pp. 38–40.
Roach, V. "Home Schooling in Times of Educational Reform." *Education Digest* 54 (February 1989): 58–61.
Rowe, J. "Alternative Education." *Christian Science Monitor,* April 24, 1987.
Rust, V. D., and F. M. Reed. "Home Teaching and Herbart." *Educational Horizons* 58 (Winter 1979): 75–81.
San Diego County Office of Education. *Home Education Parent Handbook.* San Diego, Calif.: San Diego County Office of Education, 1988.
San Diego County Office of Education. *School Accountability Report Card.* San Diego, Calif.: San Diego County Office of Education, 1990.

Seligmann, J., and P. Abramson. "From Homespun to Harvard: The California Colfaxes Teach Their Children Well." *Newsweek,* February 1, 1988, p. 49.
Sexson, B. *Home Schooling: A Socio-educational Analysis of an Emergent Cultural Shift in Consciousness.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Mircrofilms, 1988.
Shapiro, J. "Home Is Where the School Is." *Macleans,* July 6, 1982, pp. 45–46.
Shostak, M. *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman.* New York: Vintage, 1983.
Smith, B. *American Science Policy since World War II.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1990.
Smith, M., and C. Klicka. "Review of Ohio Law regarding Home School." *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 87 (1987): 301–28.
Stocklin-Enright, B. "The Constitution of Home Education: The Role of the Parent, the State and the Child." *Willamette Law Review* 18 (1982): 568–611.
Taylor, J. W. "Self-Concept in Home-Schooling Children." *Dissertation Abstracts International* 47 (1987): 2809A.
Tobak, J. W., and P. A. Zirkel. "Home Instruction: An Analysis of the Statutes and Case Law." *University of Dayton Law Review* 8 (1982): 1–59.
Turano, F. *A Need to Be Free: An Experience in Home Education.* Provo, Utah: Modern Media, 1982.
Van Galen, J. "Schooling in Private: A Study of Home Education." Doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, School of Education, 1986.
Vergon, C. B. *The Church, the State, and the Schools: Contemporary Issues in Law and Policy.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1986.
Walberg, H. J. "Families as Partners in Educational Productivity." *Phi Delta Kappan* 14 (1984): 397–400.
Wallace, N. *Better than School.* Burdett, N.Y.: Larson, 1983.
Wartes, J. "The Washington Home School Project: Quantitative Measures for Informing Policy Decisions." *Education and Urban Society* 21 (1988): 42–51.
Wellborn, S. "Drive to Rescue America's Battered High Schools." *U.S. News and World Report,* September 8, 1980, pp. 46–48.
Whitehead, J. W., and W. R. Bird. *Home Education and Constitutional Liberties.* Westchester, Ill.: Crossway, 1984.
Williams, D. D., L. Arnoldsen, and P. Reynolds. "Understanding Home Education: Case Studies of Home Schools." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 1984.
Williamson, D. *School at Home: An Alternative to Public Schooling.* Bend, Oreg.: Maverick, 1979.
Witt, E. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to the U.S. Supreme Court.* Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1989.
Wynn, D. E. "A Study of the Development of Home Schools as an Alternative to Public School Education." *Dissertation Abstracts International* 48 (1988): 2767A.