Reasons for Home Schooling in Canada

A. Bruce Arai

Why do parents in Canada choose to home school their children? This article presents the results of qualitative interviews with 23 home-schooling families in Ontario and British Columbia and compares these results with previous research in other jurisdictions, particularly the United States. The findings suggest that Canadian home-based educators have very different reasons for choosing home schooling than their U.S. counterparts. Possible explanations for these differences are discussed.

Dans cet article, l'auteur présente les résultats d'entrevues qualitatives auprès de 23 familles de l'Ontario et de la Colombie-Britannique qui ont opté pour l'enseignement à domicile et compare ces résultats avec ceux de recherches menées aux États-Unis. Il semble que les parents canadiens n'aient pas du tout les mêmes raisons d'opter pour l'enseignement à domicile que les parents américains. L'auteur propose des explications.

INTRODUCTION

In the last 30 years, there has been an explosion in the numbers of children not attending school because their parents have decided that it is better for their children to learn at home. Estimates suggest that between 400,000 and 1.5 million families in the United States (Holt, 1989) and close to 20,000 families in Canada(Luffman, 1997) are schooling at home.

Very little has been written on the topic of learning at home in the Canadian context. Common and MacMullen (1986) documented the rapid growth in home schooling in Canada before the mid-1980s but did not pursue motivations for the practice. More recently, Luffman (1997) has presented a statistical profile of individuals registered as learning at home in Canada, documenting the increase in the number of parents choosing home schooling over the last decade. These data undoubtedly underrepresent the true size of the population because many parents involved in home schooling do not register with school boards or provincial ministries of education. There is also a small but growing body of work on home schooling in the popular Canadian press that focusses on such issues as advocating particular forms of home schooling and debunking common criticisms about negative socialization and academic performance (Hern,

1996; Priesnitz, 1996). By contrast, in the United States there exists a relatively large body of literature about various aspects of home schooling, as well as numerous "how-to" manuals and an extensive array of support and teaching materials (Gatto, 1992; Holt, 1981, 1989; Sheffer, 1997). Some common criticisms of home schooling have also been explored extensively (Rudner, 1999; Webb, 1989; Welner & Welner, 1999).

More relevant to this article is the academic research on motivations for home schooling. Much of this comes from the U.S. context, and most importantly from Knowles (Knowles, 1991; Mayberry & Knowles, 1989). Mayberry and Knowles (1989) observed that, in general, parents who home school either do not accept the content of the school's curriculum or are unhappy with the institutionalized nature of schooling. Using Van Galen's (1988) theoretical framework, they identify parents opposed to the content of public school curricula as "ideologues." These are parents who embrace a different ideology than the one expressed in the curricula. Mayberry and Knowles refer to the second group of people opposed to the institution of schooling as "pedagogues" because these parents believe that the structure of public education is pedagogically unsound. Van Galen (1988), Knowles (1991), and Mayberry and Knowles (1989) all reported that categorizing people as either ideologues or pedagogues was useful in understanding parents' motivations for home schooling.

Mayberry and Knowles (1989) reported diversity in the precise sources of idealogues' dissatisfaction with the curricula. In part, these parents' discontent was based on religious grounds (see also Cibulka, 1996). Many reported that public schools did not provide either enough or the right kind of religious education. Several parents stated that the liberal humanism of public schools was incompatible with their religious faith. Home schooling for these people was a way to ensure that their children were educated in a manner consistent with their belief system.

But not only people with religious convictions objected to the public school curricula. Other parents, particularly those with gifted or bright children, felt that the regular school curricula were not demanding enough to challenge their daughters or sons. Mayberry and Knowles (1989) reported that these parents complained that the lack of challenge would be very damaging to their children if they came to dislike school because it was boring. Rather than risk jeopardizing their children's abilities, these parents decided to provide sufficient challenge at home. Pitman (1987) reached a similar conclusion in her earlier study of home schooling among gifted children.

Mayberry and Knowles (1989) reported that "negative socialization" concerned the majority of pedagogues (see also Marshall & Valle, 1996). These parents believed that the incessant teasing, pranks, and exclusionary

behaviour, especially during unsupervised times (e.g., recess, lunch hour, and after school) could be extremely damaging to their children's sense of self. They usually weighed this risk against the many positive aspects of class time. But in the end, they decided that the only way to preserve their children's self-concept and confidence was through home schooling.

For other parents with pedagogical objections to public schooling, the very idea that people can and in fact must learn in a highly structured environment is at odds with their belief about learning. Many of them reject the hierarchical learning situation in schools where the teacher is the possessor of knowledge and students are merely receptacles (Meighen, 1988). These people believe that institutionalized learning – which requires students to learn particular subjects in particular ways at particular stages in their educational career – stifles creativity and can actually quash the desire to learn (Holt, 1989; Jeub, 1994). Pitman (1987) has labelled these people "New Agers."[1]

Similarities in Reasons for Home Schooling

Despite their differences, the ideologues and the pedagogues also shared some reasons for not wanting to send their children to school. Four major similarities have been identified.

First, Mayberry and Knowles (1989), Knowles (1991), and Mayberry (1988, 1993) have all pointed to family unity or strengthening the bonds among family members as a very important reason for home schooling. By keeping their children at home, most parents felt they could produce a more closely knit, loving family. Nearly all of the parents interviewed by Mayberry and Knowles reported that this was an extremely important factor in their decision to teach their children at home.

Second, Mayberry and Knowles (1989) and Van Galen (1988) have suggested that many parents, regardless of whether they object to the ideological or the pedagogical dimensions of public schooling, view home schooling as a way to practise an alternative lifestyle, particularly by resisting the modernizing and urbanizing influences of contemporary societies. A common complaint of these parents is that materialist and consumerist values, so prevalent in the dominant society, have seeped into the classroom and they do not want their children to have to live up to those ideals.

A third major reason for home schooling among U.S. parents, regardless of whether they are ideologues or pedagogues, is unpleasant memories of school. Parents in Knowles' (1991) study said that school was a waste of time, or they felt different, singled out, or picked on at school. Many of these parents had also had positive experiences of learning outside of school, and they wanted to reproduce these experiences for their children.

Finally, along with the majority of researchers in the field, Marshall and Valle (1996) found that parents used home schooling to assert their responsibility for their children's education. Many of these parents claim that they have a right and a responsibility to protect their children from harmful influences. The parents believe that they are the ones who should determine what is harmful, whether that harm comes in the form of secular humanism, school violence, consumerism, or something else.

The similarity of findings across research sites in the United States suggests that these motivations may also be common in Canada. This expectation is further supported by the fact that some Canadian home schooling resource materials (Hern, 1996; Priesnitz, 1996) cite many of the classic U.S. treatises on home schooling (e.g., Holt, 1981; Illich, 1971) as valuable sources.

Changes in Reasons for Home Schooling

Despite these similarities, there are reasons to expect that parents in Canada will have different motivations for home schooling than parents in the United States. One reason is the very different legal contexts surrounding home schooling in the two countries. Rules that govern home schooling vary from state to state and province to province, which likely allows for differences in motivations for and approaches to home schooling.

A second reason is that much of the research is now 10 or more years old, and futhermore, with the rapid growth in home schooling recently peoples' reasons for teaching at home may have changed significantly. Important changes in the home school population over relatively short periods are not uncommon. For instance, Knowles, Marlow, and Muchmore (1992) have shown that motivations for home schooling changed between the 1970s and the 1980s. In the earlier era, home schooling was largely a hippie movement, based on the counter-cultural influences of the 1960s, but by the 1980s, most people teaching and learning at home were Christian fundamentalists.

In the 1990s, we may be witnessing yet another change. As home schooling becomes more accepted (Knowles, Muchmore, & Spaulding, 1994) and as debates about educational choice continue to rage (Callan, 1995; Marshall & Valle, 1996), we may see more families engage in the practice. The available research shows that parents who have home schooled in the past have usually held strong philosophical beliefs about it, whether those beliefs were about the content or pedagogy of contemporary schooling, or about their rights to determine their children's education. Because of legal difficulties and negative perceptions of home schooling in the past

(Knowles, 1998), parents likely needed these strong commitments to persist in an unconventional practice.

But more recently, parents who do not face the same legal and attitudinal barriers may view home schooling as one educational option among many. These parents may not have the strong philosophical commitments of earlier generations. Despite its current notoriety in the mass media, home schooling is certainly easier to arrange for now than in the past. Because many earlier battles about the legality of home schooling have been resolved, parents can at least try home schooling without the strong value commitments required in previous eras.

DATA COLLECTION

I collected data through semi-structured interviews with 18 families engaged in home schooling in Ontario and 5 in British Columbia. Each interview lasted approximately 2 hours, with the longest interview lasting 3.5 hours. All interviews but one were audio taped; transcriptions of the interviews constitute my main source of data. I also had discussions with key people in three provincial home schooling organizations in B.C. and Ontario and attended three home schooling conferences in Ontario.[2]

To select the respondents for this study, I randomly contacted two home schooling organizations in Ontario and one in B.C., seeking permission to talk with their members about participating in this research. Twenty-one families in Ontario and 6 in B.C. responded, but because of scheduling conflicts and other difficulties, only 23 families were interviewed.

Obviously, these sampling procedures are not rigorous enough to permit statistical generalizations about the practice home schooling in Canada. However, that is not my purpose in this article; rather, my goal is to provide an initial consideration of reasons for home schooling in Canada in the context of results from U.S. studies, most of which use similar sampling procedures (Knowles, 1991; Marshall & Valle, 1996; Mayberry, Knowles, Ray, & Marlow, 1995). In presenting the results, I have avoided using numbers so as not to imply precision.

The basic interview schedule included questions about parents' motives for home schooling, how they arrived at the decision to home school, and how they carry out home schooling on a daily basis. I also asked parents about their perceptions of various aspects of their province's education system and their thoughts about parental and governmental rights and responsibilities for education. I covered these basic issues with all families, but also pursued other topics as they arose. The exact wording and order of the questions changed from family to family, in keeping with the exploratory and open-ended nature of the research (Berg, 1998).

RESULTS

Parents engaged in home schooling are diverse, with differing educational and class backgrounds. Among the parents I interviewed, a few had not completed high school, most had a high school diploma or more, and some had postgraduate degrees. None of the parents in this study was currently employed as a teacher, although four of them did have a degree in education and all parents knew of at least one other family that was currently home schooling in which one or both parents were teachers. Virtually all families lived on one income, and although some appeared to be quite well off, others alluded during the interview to financial difficulties. The families also varied in the length of time that they had been home schooling. Thirteen families had started within the past 4 years, whereas the others had been doing it for longer – in one case as long as 17 years.

Almost all the participants expressed a strong spiritual or religious commitment, but only eight said this commitment was an important factor in their decision to teach at home. Some families were affiliated with fundamentalist Christian churches, but most were members of Catholic or other Protestant churches. A few did not belong to specific churches but had a personal spirituality. Of the eight families who said religion played an important role in their decision to teach at home, only five were fundamentalist Christians. In other words, although the participants in this research were often religious, religious beliefs were not a major motivation for home schooling. Therefore, there was no clear connection between religious fundamentalism and religious rationales for home schooling. Marshall and Valle (1996) report similar results for their research in Pennsylvania.

Deciding to Home School

For most participants in this study, the decision to educate their children at home was not precipitated by a specific incident; rather, the decision took months and sometimes years. Typically, the process began with a general dissatisfaction with some element of the public school, which led to an investigation of alternatives, usually private school. Most families reported that at this point they were not even aware of home schooling as an option. Characteristic comments from more experienced participants were, “I didn’t know it [home schooling] was out there. It wasn’t even something we had come across, even as an option” (interview #7) and “At first, we didn’t even consider home schooling. We didn’t even know it was legal” (interview #11).

However, in several cases parents opted for home schooling before their children even attended school. This pattern occurred almost exclusively among families who had begun home schooling within the past four years. The following comment from one parent who had made the decision early was typical:

> When my oldest was about six months [old], I knew someone who was home schooling. So we just started to do some research on it, read some books, talked to other people and when we made the final decision [about 1 year later] we just knew we were going to home school our children. It wasn't like they were in school and we had problems and we pulled them out. (interview #22)

Motivations for Home Schooling

Knowles (1991) found that many people chose to home school because of bad school experiences. In my research, only two parents specifically connected their bad personal experiences at school with their decision to home school. Several people reported being bored at school, or finding school socially difficult at times, but they did not see these experiences as bearing on their choice to keep their children at home. Negative memories of school, then, do not appear to be a major motivation for home schooling among parents in this study.

Canadian home schoolers also do not seem to differentiate as clearly between ideological and pedagogical objections to schooling as do their U.S. counterparts. Most families felt that the overall environment of schools was detrimental to their children's well-being. When pressed about specific aspects of this harmful environment, many parents listed a mixture of ideological and pedagogical problems. For example, several families mentioned over-crowded classrooms and a lack of individual attention as well as concerns about problems outside the classroom. The following responses about motivations for home schooling were typical:

> There's lots of problems in school. It's a really negative environment for lots of kids, especially outside of class. Also, though, you're locked into one teacher for an entire year, which is very inflexible. If your kid has a problem with her teacher, she's stuck with her for the whole year. As for the curriculum, some of it is fabulous, but a lot of it is unnecessary. (interview #6)

> There are two main problems with school. The environment isn't positive. Kids are into drugs so early now, and smoking. Also, they got rid of phonics. Students need systematic phonics. That's the damage of "whole language." (interview #4)

Another parent, who described herself as a "strong Christian," said,

> I'm not pleased with the curriculums in public schools. They don't teach grammar but they teach sexuality. How's that for a mismatch!? Also, the kids are only learning exactly what they have to and no more. They're just given stuff to memorize. That's not learning. (interview #15)

It is not clear that these parents would fit easily into either the ideologue or the pedagogue category. In all three cases, the parents are expressing a mixture of ideological concerns (whole language, unnecessary curriculum, sexuality) and pedagogical problems (poor environment, structured learning).

Concerns about a poor school environment, low academic standards, or moral and religious conflicts prompted some parents to take their children out of school initially, but many parents found that the positive changes in their children and the strengthening of the family unit that resulted from home schooling would prevent them from sending their children back to public school even if problems were resolved to their satisfaction. One parent noticed a massive change in her 8-year-old daughter after a few months of home schooling:

> Before, I was scared of my own daughter. Do you know how awful that feels, to be scared of your own daughter? But now, with home schooling, we've grown so much closer. It's amazing. (interview #3)

Another parent talked about the change she saw in her teenage son as a result of home schooling him for over two years:

> Before we started [home schooling] I didn't like [him] very much. He was rude, he was hostile, and I really didn't like to be around him. But now he's a completely changed person, and now I prefer his company to almost anyone else's. (interview #23)

Most parents mentioned that home schooling had helped strengthen the bonds among family members. I heard comments such as "we're much stronger as a family now" (interview #13) and "home schooling has really brought all of us together as a family" (interview #21) from many parents. This finding partially replicates that of Mayberry and Knowles (1989) and other researchers about the importance of family unity, but for many families in this study, family unity was an unexpected benefit of the practice, not an initial motivation for it.

When asked whether the government or parents should have the right to determine a child's education, some parents who had started home schooling recently were confused. They seemed to think that education was a joint responsibility. Parents had the right and responsibility to look out for their children and the government had the right and responsibility to protect the well-being of everyone. A typical response to this question was, "Hmm, I don't know. I guess both. I don't really know who has responsibility" (interview # 9).

Other parents, particularly those who had been home schooling for longer than four years, believed that they had the right to determine their children's education, and that home schooling was the most visible manifestation of this right. As one parent who had been home schooling for about 10 years said, "It's my right. Absolutely. It's as much my right and duty as it is to feed him. That's why we're home schooling. I'd not be living up to my duty if I sent him to school" (interview #10). Clearly then, some parents did use home schooling to assert their right to control their children's education; others did not think this was a major component of their home education program.

Finally, some parents felt quite strongly that home schooling was part of living an alternative lifestyle. These parents, some of whom were recent home schoolers whereas others were home schooling veterans, thought that home schooling meshed nicely with their other values, including a belief in the benefits of herbal medicines and vegetarianism, and concern for the environment and social justice. This finding is consistent with those of Mayberry (1988) and Knowles (1991).

HOME SCHOOLING AND PUBLIC SCHOOLING

It would seem obvious that home schoolers would have negative perceptions of public education. However, my research shows that parents do not object to public education as a whole but rather to specific parts of the system. It is also not the case that all home schooling parents believe home schooling is a better option than public school, even for their own family. Two mothers explicitly said that public schooling is preferable to home schooling, if it is done properly. For instance, a recent home schooler said, "School is the best place for my children, for all children, when it's working properly. But it isn't working properly now and that's because of the teachers and their unions" (interview #4). So even among those who practise home schooling there is a diversity of opinion about whether public education is in principle a better or worse choice. Moreover, many parents who teach at home actually have quite favourable opinions about certain aspects of public education.

Teachers

Although some parents in this study withdrew their children from school because of a conflict with a specific teacher, most parents had favourable impressions of teachers as a group. They recognized a distinction between good and bad teachers and tended to believe that there were more good ones than bad. Many parents expressed a great respect for teachers and felt that they were often well-meaning and caring and did their best under the circumstances. As one parent said, "I have a lot of respect for most teachers, I really do. They do a good job under impossible conditions, and this government has only made it worse for them. I don't know how they do it" (interview #12). Another said, "Teachers are wonderful people and they've got to have an awful lot of patience and skill in order to teach all the children that they do" (interview #16).

Of course, not all parents spoke positively about teachers, and some were quite negative, particularly about their unions. One said:

I think the teachers have to stop complaining . . . They get high pay and two months off a year; who feels sorry for that? It's their unions, though. I know they pushed for that strike even though most teachers didn't want to. (interview #2)

Local School Officials

Local school officials such as principals and school board trustees received a more mixed review than teachers from parents in this study. Some spoke quite positively about principals at their local schools. Other recounted examples of being badly treated. Some principals were supportive of parents' decision to home school and provided access to gym facilities, musical instruments, and textbooks; others tried to block parents' attempts to teach at home. One parent who was quite positive about her local officials said,

We decided to take our kids out of school on the way back from vacation. I'd read *School Free* and I knew there might be problems and I went looking for a fight, but I didn't get it. The principal was really good. He gave us all kinds of curricular stuff, most of which I ended up throwing out, but he never gave us a problem. I was kind of disappointed [chuckle]. (interview #5)

A parent with the opposite experience recounted her local superintendent's repeated attempts to reverse her decision to home school by

forcing her to write a detailed report about her home schooling activities. She concluded the discussion by saying,

> I very much felt that we were harassed, number one, very much that they lied because they didn't really say much about it being legal or not legal to have to write that report. And I very much got the feeling that it doesn't matter what I put on paper, they're not going to be happy. (interview #3)

DISCUSSION

Contrary to findings from previous research, the families in this study expressed a mixture of both ideological and pedagogical reasons for practising home schooling, and family unity was more a consequence of home schooling than a reason to start it in the first place. Several families also had quite positive views about teachers and other school officials, and two even thought that public school is, in theory at least, better suited to teaching children than is the home. Although some parents in this study did have negative memories of their own time in school, only two of them said that these memories were important in their decisions to pursue home schooling.

A plausible explanation for why my findings differ from those of previous researchers is that an important shift has occurred in the home schooling movement. In particular, home schooling may be appealing to a larger segment of the population than in the past. Most major battles over the legality of home schooling have been fought so the level of ideological and / or philosophical commitment required to home school has decreased substantially. More and more parents may view home schooling as one educational option among many, rather than as a radical alternative to contemporary public schooling.

As Luffman (1997) showed, the number of parents engaged in home schooling in Canada increased substantially in the 1980s and 1990s. As more parents choose home schooling, the more legitimate it becomes as an educational option, and this growth may encourage still more parents to take it up. However, home schooling is usually possible only when an adult stays at home with the children. Since the proportion of dual-income families is increasing (Statistics Canada, 1998), the number of families able to consider home schooling is probably shrinking. Given these competing pressures, the growth or decline in the number of families engaged in home schooling becomes an interesting empirical question.

A second useful direction for further study is the evolution of cooperation between home and school. Knowles, Marlow, and Muchmore (1992)

show that cooperation has increased in the United States, and that parents engaged in home schooling are beginning to demand more support from their local schools. The development of virtual schools in some jurisdictions in Canada may indicate that cooperation will increase here as well. Some parents in this study expressed positive views of teachers, school officials, and even the institution of public schooling. Further study of the types and level of cooperation between schools and parents teaching at home could provide insight into some ways in which parents and schools can work together to improve the schooling experiences for all children.

CONCLUSION

Previous studies have found two distinct groups of home schoolers: ideologues and pedagogues. These studies also showed that many home schoolers are motivated by their own negative experiences in school or by their desire to strengthen or preserve the unity of the nuclear family, to live an alternative lifestyle, and/or to assert their right to determine their children's education.

However, only two of the parents I interviewed had begun home schooling because of their own bad experiences in school, and only a few said they were attempting to live an alternative lifestyle through schooling at home. In addition, the ideologue-pedagogue dichotomy does not capture very well the different reasons that people gave for starting home schooling. These parents chose to teach their children at home for a variety of reasons, and many had both pedagogical *and* ideological objections to public schooling. This may be an indication of the broad appeal of home schooling among Canadian parents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge that this research was supported by an internal grant from Wilfrid Laurier University (partially funded by SSHRCC) and by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

NOTES

1. Mayberry (1988) used this term in her earlier work to refer to people who kept their children out of school because the curriculum did not pay enough attention to social justice issues such as feminism, environmental awareness, non-Christian spirituality, or anti-commercialism.
2. In keeping with standard ethical practice, the names of these organizations and conferences are not identified here for reasons of confidentiality.

REFERENCES

Berg, B. L. (1998). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Callan, E. (1995). Common schools for common education. *Canadian Journal of Education, 20,* 251–271.

Cibulka, J. (1996). Interpreting the religious impulse in American schooling. *Education and Urban Society, 28,* 378–387.

Common, R., & MacMullen, M. (1986). Home schooling: A growing movement. *Education Canada, 26*(2), 4–7.

Gatto, J. T. (1992). *Dumbing us down: The hidden curriculum of compulsory schooling.* Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Hern, M. (Ed.). (1996). *Deschooling our lives.* Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Holt, J. (1981). *Teach your own: A hopeful path for education.* New York: Delta / Seymour Lawrence.

Holt, J. (1989). *Learning all the time.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society.* New York: Harper & Row.

Jeub, C. (1994). Why parents choose home schooling. *Educational Leadership, 52*(1), 50–52.

Knowles, J. G. (1991). Parents' rationales for operating home schools. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 20,* 203–230.

Knowles, J. G. (1998). Home education: Personal histories. In M. L. Fuller & G. Olsen (Eds.), *Home-school relations: Working successfully with parents and families* (pp. 302–331). Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.

Knowles, J. G., Marlow, S., & Muchmore, J. A. (1992). From pedagogy to ideology: Origins and phases of home education in the United States, 1970–1990. *American Journal of Education, 100,* 195–235.

Knowles, J. G., Muchmore, J. A., & Spaulding, H. (1994). Home education as an alternative to institutionalized education. *Educational Forum, 28,* 238–243.

Luffman, J. (1997). A profile of home schooling in Canada. *Education Quarterly Review, 4*(4), 30–47.

Marshall, J. D., & Valle, J. P. (1996). Public school reform: Potential lessons from the truly departed. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 4*(12). Retrieved September 6, 2001, from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v4n12.html

Mayberry, M. (1988). Characteristics and attitudes of families who home school. *Education and Urban Society, 21,* 32–41.

Mayberry, M. (1993). Effective learning environments in action: The case of home schools. *School Community Journal, 3,* 61–68.

Mayberry, M., & Knowles, J. G. (1989). Family unity objectives of parents who teach their children: Ideological and pedagogical orientations to home schooling. *Urban Review, 21,* 209–225.

Mayberry, M., Knowles, J. G., Ray, B., & Marlow, S. (1995). *Home schooling: Parents as educators.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Meighen, R. (1988). *Flexischooling: Education for tomorrow, starting yesterday.* Nottingham, Eng.: Education New Publishing Cooperative.

Pitman, M. (1987). Compulsory education and home schooling: Truancy or prophecy? *Education and Urban Society*, *19,* 280–289.

Priesnitz, W. (1996). *School free: The homeschooling handbook.* St. George, ON: Alternate Press Books.

Rudner, L. M. (1999). Scholastic achievement and demographic characteristics of home school students in 1998. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 7*(8). Retrieved September 6, 2001, from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v7n8/

Sheffer, S. (1997). *A sense of self: Listening to homeschooled adolescent girls.* New York: Heinemann.

Statistics Canada. (1998, May 12). *The Daily* (Catalogue no. 11-001E). Ottawa: Statistics Canada Communications Division.

Van Galen, J. A. (1988). Ideology, curriculum, and pedagogy in home education. *Education and Urban Society, 21,* 52–68.

Webb, J. (1989). The outcomes of home-based education: Employment and other issues. *Educational Review, 41,* 121–133.

Welner, K. M., & Welner, K. G. (1999). Contextualizing homeschooling data: A response to Rudner. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 7*(13). Retrieved September 6, 2001, from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v7n13.html