

“Reassessing the Role of Education in Social Reproduction: The Impact of School Type on the Cultural and Social Capital of High School Students in the U.S.”

Jeffery I. Butler (York University, Canada) and Karen L. Robson (Geary Institute, University College Dublin, Ireland)

Introduction

Schools are central in the production and maintenance of social inequality. Extant research on the relationship between education and social stratification has underscored a host of organizational, institutional, and psychosocial mechanisms through which contemporary pedagogy perpetuates an inequitable distribution of educational credentials, and the economic and social rewards that accompany them. Social class is *the* crucial axis along which such disadvantage, or privilege, is continually reinforced. Students from divergent class backgrounds encounter very different educational opportunities and experiences, follow distinct academic and professional trajectories, and are accordingly channeled into dissimilar positions within the social hierarchy.

This paper adds to the empirical literature on the links between education and social stratification by examining the effects of school type on students' accumulation of symbolic capital. Taking Bourdieu's work on social and cultural reproduction as our theoretical under-girding, data from the 2003 U.S. National Household Education Survey are analyzed using logistic regression in order to explore the production of social and cultural capital in three distinct educational milieus: public schools, private schools and homeschools. The results, we argue, bring into question the validity of Bourdieu's conceptual framework for non-traditional forms of education, and point to the need for more nuanced theories of social reproduction that better account for the evolving role of social class in an increasingly diverse educational landscape.

The following pages are organized into five main sections. First, the extant literature on home schooling is briefly surveyed, and Bourdieu's theoretical frame broadly outlined. Second, the overarching research question and deductive hypotheses guiding this research are summarized. Third, the quantitative methods employed are described in detail. Fourth, the main findings of this study and its implications for Bourdieu's theory, and stratification studies more generally, are discussed. Finally, fruitful avenues for future research are delineated.

Literature Review

Homeschooling:

Rooted in writings by educational reformers from the late 1960's and early 1970's, the contemporary re-emergence of home schooling¹ is manifest in the steadily increasing number of North American parents choosing to teach their children at home. The most dramatic increase has occurred over the last two decades; in the mid 1980's, 200,000 students in the U.S. were educated at home, and 15,000 in Canada (Lines, 1999). By 2005, however, 1.7 million students in the U.S. were homeschooled (representing 3.4% of the school aged population), and 90,000 in Canada, (representing 1.2%) (Kranzow, 2005). Moreover, since, 2000, there has been a 17% and 12% percent increase in the U.S. and Canada, respectively (Nemer, 2005). Overall, historical analyses have underscored the increasing legitimacy of home education and assert that, as it continue to becomes more normalized and accepted, it is likely to become progressively more popular in years to come (Apple, 2001; Aurini, 2005).

¹ Bashman notes that "homeschooling was widespread throughout North America until the 1870's, when compulsory school and training of professional educators coalesced to institutionalize education in the physical environment that today we know as school" (Basham: 2001, p. 4).

From a regulatory perspective, too, homeschooling has undergone a large-scale transition over the last two decades. In 1980, home education was still illegal in thirty states in the U.S., but by 1993 it had become legalized in all fifty (Mitchell, 2003). State laws are highly variable, as some states have a great deal of regulation surrounding homeschooling while others have very little, with a more moderate contingent falling in between (Basham, 2001). In high regulation states, parents are required to inform educational authorities of their homeschooling practices, disclose their intended curriculum for government approval, administer standardized tests, submit to periodic visits by officials to their homes and, in some cases, homeschool parents must undergo certification procedures (Scott, 2002; Schumm, 1998). On the other end of the spectrum, low regulation states require little, if any, contact by homeschoolers with government representatives (Scott, 2002). Moderate states fall somewhere in the middle, and are characterized by modest regulations such as requiring parents to provide test scores and professional evaluations of students' progress (Scott, 2002).

Parents' motivations for schooling their children at home are highly heterogeneous (Knowles, 2002). While home educators are fundamentally united by a dissatisfaction with the shortcomings of public education (and the fact that they are overwhelmingly two-parent families), their rationales for extricating their children from formal schooling have been described by Knowles (using van Galen's theoretical framework) as falling into two distinct camps: "ideologues" and "pedagogues" (Arai, 2000). Ideologues, such as the neo-conservative religious (mainly Christian) right, are opposed to the ideological content of public curricula (Arai, 2000). In contrast, pedagogues, representing the libertarian left, are opposed to institutionalized public

schooling because they believe the structure of education to be “pedagogically unsound” (Arai, 2000). Clearly, however, homeschoolers constitute a diverse group who interpret and activate diverse resources in order to organize their teaching. The recent proliferation of ‘new’ variants of homeschooling, such as cooperative home education and “un-schooling”, speak to the wide range of teaching approaches employed by homeschool families, and the ever-evolving nature of home education in the North American context.

Writings on home schooling in the U.S. are extremely widespread (see Apple 2001; Andrew, 2000; Collom, 2000; Lines 2000, 2002; and Stevens, 2003 for recent examples) but the majority are non-academic “how-to guides” (e.g. Holt, 1964; Gutterson, 1993; and Whechel, 2003) developed with specific normative agendas in mind. In Canada, academic papers concentrating on homeschooling remain fairly sparse, but a flurry of interest in the topic over the last ten years by researchers such as Arai (2000) and Callan (1995, 1997) has catalyzed a burgeoning literature. Within specialized publications devoted to the sociology of education, two distinct strains of research on homeschooling have developed. One has focused on the analysis of home education as a social movement, framing alternative education as an articulation of identity, autonomy, and self-determination (see Riegal, 2001; Mayberry, 1988; Callan, 1997; Demaine, 1996; Bullman, 2004; and Stevens, 2003). This includes, for instance, work related to the ongoing, heated debate in Sociology and Education surrounding the role of the school in creating “good” citizens. The debate involves competing visions of citizenship in relation to pedagogy, and is couched in terms of educational choice versus civic responsibility (Apple 2001; Arai 2000; Stevens, 2003; Reich 2002). Other examples

include works on the role of home education in promoting community solidarity, and its impact on political action such as voting (McDowell, 2000; Lines, 1999).

The second strain of research, in which this study can be included, has been devoted to the effects of home education on the social, cognitive and economic development of students. This includes work on homeschooled students' achievement motivation (Apostoleris, 2000), academic success (Collom, 2000; Holder 2001; Rudner, 1999), and levels of educational attainment (Winchers, 2004). A particular focal point has been transitions by homeschoolers to formal schooling (Kranzow, 2005; Lines, 2000), especially at key points such as the shift from elementary to junior high and from high school to university (Brown, 2004). A great deal of attention has also been paid to the psychological and social adjustment of homeschool students (Alvord, 2003; Andrew, 2000; Wagenaar, 1997; Luffman, 1998). Taken together the results of these studies points to educational experiences that are more diverse than those who are conventionally schooled (Basham, 2001; Lines, 2002). The US department of education notes that “virtually all the available data show that the group of home schooled children that re tested is above average” (Lines: 2002, 15). Across the U.S., homeschooled students surpass the average in national, standardized ACT and SAT tests (Basham, 2001). With regard to social development, the wide array of extracurricular activities typically engaged in by homeschool families (98% of which report involvement in social activities outside the home at least once per week), in conjunction with the growing membership and accessibility of homeschool association at both the national and state level, counteract the stereotype of the poorly adjusted homeschool student, and do not point to

any cumulative social disadvantage as a consequence of home education (Hoeflinger, 2001).

Overall, the existing literature on homeschooling is characterized by a dearth of research employing class analysis. Although there is unquestionably a distinct class basis for homeschooling (as it requires both the time and financial resources necessary to allow at least one parent to stay at home), little research has been conducted regarding the role of social class in homeschooling processes, and there is a complete absence of work focusing on whether and how homeschooling varies according to social location within the stratification system. We suggest that Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural and social symbolic capital as forms of stratification is a particularly apt starting point in filling this lacuna. Before moving on to a discussion of how Bourdieu's theory has been operationalized in this study, however, Bourdieu's basic framework needs to be outlined.

Bourdieu and Social/Cultural Reproduction through Education:

The seminal works of Pierre Bourdieu (1973, 1977, 1984) emphasize the way in which schools reproduce social divisions based on wealth, privilege and power. His contributions to the sociology of education, framed in terms of his oft-cited concepts of "*habitus*", "field", and "symbolic capital", center on uncovering the relations between social and cultural reproduction. According to Bourdieu, the inculcated dispositions students bring with them to school are of vital importance in their interactions with educational institutions, as schools value and reward the cultural capital of the dominant culture and devalue that of students from subordinate cultures. Accordingly, for

Bourdieu, determining “the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing the reproduction of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes” is essential in understanding the role of education in buttressing class divisions (Bourdieu: 1977, 487).

In *Distinction* (1984), *Reproduction Through Education, Society and Culture* (1977a), and *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* (1977b), Bourdieu argues that knowledge of “high culture” activities and social networks (especially those based on kinship) are important determinants of individual academic success. This occurs, he maintains, because the inequitable distribution of symbolic goods and the instruments of appropriation needed to acquire them ensures that students with high levels of cultural wealth (reflected in activities such as “reading and theater, concert, art-cinema and museum attendance”) receive preferential treatment when interfacing with educational institutions. Similarly, connections to extensive and influential social networks also result in differential treatment of students within schools. Thus, on the whole, schools tend to reinforce and consecrate initial inequalities through the cumulative fortification of privilege or deprivation.

Despite the widespread influence of Bourdieu’s framework (and work in the same vein, such as Bernstein’s 1971 *Class, Codes and Control*), a class-driven approach has yet to be applied, much less empirically tested, in analyses of non-formal approaches to pedagogy such as homeschooling. According to the thrust of Bourdieu’s writings, the

structure of education intrinsically reifies inequitable relations grounded in an uneven distribution of symbolic capital, yet the very nature of homeschooling brings into question how social and cultural capital influence the process of education outside of traditional, formalized schooling locales. Logically, it appears very likely that cultural and social capital will not have the same impact on academic achievement (and associated occupational trajectories) for students who are educated at home. Given the growing popularity of home-education in both the United States and Canada, it is imperative that this relationship be examined. The remainder of this paper is devoted to this task.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

In order to explore the effects of symbolic capital on alternative education, this study's central research question is "what is the relationship between the type of school (public, private, homeschool) attended by students in the U.S. and their "cultural capital" and "social capital"?" Based on the literature surveyed in the previous section, three deductive hypotheses were generated in order to investigate this problematic:

Hypothesis 1: Students enrolled in private schools will have higher rates of participation in "high culture" activities than students enrolled in public schools and students schooled at home.

Hypothesis 2: Students enrolled in homeschools will have higher rates of participation in activities likely to expand social networks and generate "social capital" than students

enrolled in private or public schools.

Hypothesis 3: Overall, regardless of type of school attended, higher household income will show a positive relationship with both cultural capital and social capital.

Methods

Data and Sampling:

The data utilized for this study was the 2003 wave of the U.S. National Household Education Surveys. The total sample size of the survey was 12,672. This included 12,426 students in formal schooling (both public and private), and 246 students being taught partially or entirely at home.

Variables:

The design of this study centered on an examination of three key, categorical variables. First, “*School Type*” was used to differentiate three categories of students, “Public”, “Private”, and “Homeschool”, in order to facilitate comparison between them. All students in the survey were placed into one of these categories, based on responses to the question “what type of school does your child attend?”. Students being schooled partially and entirely at home were both included in the “Homeschool” category. Second, two dichotomous variables, “*Community Event Attendance*” and “*Museum Attendance*” were used as indicators of social and cultural capital, respectively. Each was measured in the survey as either a “yes” or “no” answers to the question “has your child visited an art

gallery, museum, or historical site in the last month?” and “ has your child attended an event sponsored by a community group in the last month?”.

In addition, three other variables, “*Race/Ethnicity*”, “*Household Income*”, and “*Gender*” were used to control for the effects of ascribed characteristics. First, “*Household Income*” was a measure of total household income based on fourteen mutually exclusive categories. The question posed to respondents was: “in studies like this, households are sometimes grouped according to income. What was the total income of all persons in your household over the past year, including salaries or other earnings, interest, retirement, and so on for all household members? Was it...

\$5,000 or less.....	1
\$5,001 to \$10,000.....	2
\$10,001 to \$15,000.....	3
\$15,001 to \$20,000, or.....	4
\$20,001 to \$25,000?.....	5
\$25,001 to \$30,000.....	6
\$30,001 to \$35,000.....	7
\$35,001 to \$40,000.....	8
\$40,001 to \$45,000, or.....	9
\$45,001 to \$50,000.....	10
\$50,001 to \$60,000,	11
\$60,001 to \$75,000,	12
\$75,001 to \$100,000, or.....	13
Over \$100,000?.....	14”

Second, “*Race/Ethnicity*” was originally a twelve-category variable based on responses to the question “what is the race/ethnicity of your child?” Responses were recoded into four categories to facilitate statistical analysis. The four condensed categories included “White”, Black/Non-Hispanic”, “Hispanic” and “All Other Races”.

Finally, “*Gender*” was a categorical variable with two categories, used to indicate whether students in the survey were male or female.

Techniques:

Statistical analysis consisted of two logistic regressions. In each case, one of the two outcome variables (“*Community Event Attendance*” and “*Museum Attendance*”) was regressed on “*School Type*” and the control variables. Logistic regression produces coefficients for all the categories of a given variable, which can be interpreted as odds ratios (a measure of probability) in relation to a reference category (See Fox, 1997, for a detailed account of the conceptual underpinnings of logistic regression and Robson and Pevalin, 2006, for an in-depth treatment of conducting such analyses using STATA). For the purposes of this research, “Homeschooled” was used as the reference category for “*School Type*”, “Female” was used as the reference category for “*Gender*”, and “Whites” was used as the reference category for “*Race/Ethnicity*”.

Findings:

Hypothesis 1:

According to the results of the logistic regressions described above, Hypothesis 1 (that students enrolled in private schools will have higher rates of participation in “high culture” activities such as museum attendance than students enrolled in public schools and students schooled at home) was not confirmed. Rather, according to the logistic regression results, students schooled at home were more likely to visit a museum than public school students (See Table 1). Specifically, public school students are 61% less

likely than homeschool students to have visited a museum in the past month. In contrast, private school students were not significantly less likely than homeschool students to have visited a museum in the past month. Moreover, when household income is taken into account (See chart 1), it is clear that financial means have a significant impact on engagement in cultural capital activities, regardless of the school type in question. Thus, the relationship remains stable, as an increase in household income leads to an equivalent increase in the probability of private, public, and homeschool students having attended a museum exhibit in the last month.

--Table 1 about here--

--Figure 1 about here--

Hypothesis 2:

Results from the testing of hypothesis two (that students enrolled in homeschools will have higher rates of participation in community events than students enrolled in private or public schools) mirrors the findings for hypothesis one. A similar relationship with household income was also identifiable. Thus, according to the logistic regression results, students schooled at home were also more likely to have attended a community event in the past month than public school students (See Table 2) Specifically, public school students are 71% less likely than homeschool students to have attended a community event in the past month. As with museum visits, private school students were not significantly less likely than homeschool students to have visited a community event in the past month. Again, in all three cases, the likelihood of attending a community event

increased fairly evenly for all three types of students as household income increased (See Figure 2).

--Table 2 about here--

--Figure 2 about here--

Hypothesis 3:

Finally, hypothesis three (that, overall, regardless of type of school attended, higher household income will show a positive relationship with both cultural capital and civic engagement) was also confirmed. According to the logistic regression results, as household income increases, the probability of having attend a community event and visiting a museum in the past month increases in all three types of schooling by 103% and 104% respectively.

Discussion

Taken together, the results of this analysis go against the predictions of Bourdieu's theory. Rather than confirming a reduced role of symbolic capital in homeschool settings, it appears that symbolic capital is acquired by homeschool students to a greater extent than both private and public school students. This section will concentrate on the theoretical implication of these results on four levels: social capital, cultural capital, household income, and race/ethnicity. Let us now examine each in turn.

First, with regard to cultural capital, in opposition to Bourdieu's theory the likelihood of a homeschool student engaging in high culture activities was greater than that of both public and private school students. On the one hand, this emphasizes that the

chances of acquiring cultural capital were not greatest amongst private school students, as anticipated. Rather, cultural capital accumulation was highest amongst homeschoolers, where cultural capital should be least influential due to the absence of inequitable and differential treatment and assessment by teachers and administrators. On the other hand, this finding also points to homeschoolers as being especially likely to acquire elevated cultural capital that will be of benefit when entering formal educational institutions later on (a transition that is most likely to occur during the shift into secondary and postsecondary levels) (Collom, 2000). As such, in relation to Bourdieu's theory, homeschool settings may sidestep the compounding and reproduction of the existing distribution of social and cultural assets, thereby minimizing the role of social class in mediating educational experience and success.

Second, social capital is traditionally transmitted to individuals through various mechanisms in which state and social structures interface; schools and the family have been underscored as especially salient loci (Delanty, 1997; Demiane, 1996). This is closely related to the ongoing surrounding citizenship and pedagogy touched on in the literate review of this paper. For Bourdieu, civic engagement is understood as social capital, as social networks that act as assets to be activated. Consequently, the results of this analysis suggest that, like cultural capital, the likelihood of participating in community activities that generate social capital is highest amongst homeschool students, not amongst students attending more traditional public or private institutions.

Third, where household income is concerned, as expected, financial resources are highly connected to engagement in activities that generate cultural and social capital. For all three groups of students, as household income increases, so does the probability of having attended community events *and* of having visited a museum during the past month. In both cases, the likelihood of engaging in cultural and social capital activities is greatest for homeschool students, followed by private and finally public school students. Clearly, this indicates that the mobility inducing potential of homeschools should not be exaggerated because this option requires substantial financial means. Higher levels of financial resources increases the probability of engaging in activities that cultivate symbolic capital regardless of the type of school a student attends.

Finally, with respect to race and ethnicity, the results of this study also point to the importance of race/ethnicity in student's acquisition of social and cultural capital. Compared to whites, Blacks and non-Hispanics were 76% less likely to engage in such activities, while Hispanics and all other races were 141% and 103% more likely, respectively.

Conclusions

Home schooling implicates the sociology of education, stratification, and the state, as well as the sociology of identity formation, particularly in regards to the genesis of citizenship and class. This paper represents an initial, exploratory, foray into the integration of homeschooling research with studies of social stratification and inequality. Above all, it brings into question how stratification processes related to social class work

within homeschools, and how they help to shape and organize the practice of home education. Until now little academic attention has been devoted to the issue

Future work in the area should focus on elucidating not only *how* forms of symbolic capital is produced in different educational settings (a much needed task for future researchers seeking to employ qualitative methods), but also on the mediating effects this may have on the relationship between social origins and destinations, particularly intergenerational social mobility. More broadly, any move towards educational equality must involve the nullification of class-based disparities both within and between schools, and exploring the effects of the expanding influence of home schooling curricula may become a decisive factor in such analyses.

REFERENCES

- Andrew, Cynthia. 2000. A Learning Lifestyle: The Rewards and Pitfalls Of The Home-schooling option. *Education Today*. Toronto: Vol. 12, Issue. 1, p.6-24
- Arai, B. 2000. Reasons For Home Schooling In Canada. *Canadian Journal of Education*. Toronto: Vol. 25, Issue. 2, 204-234.
- Alvord, Scott T. (2003). "Comparison of perceived social self-efficacy and self-esteem between home and traditionally educated college students". *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Available on-line at: <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=766064721&sid=3&Fmt=2&clientId=5220&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
- Apple, Michael W. (2001). *Educating The "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God, And Inequality*. New York: Routledge/Falmer.
- Apostoleris, Nicholas-Harry. (2000). "Children's love of Learning: Homeschooling and Intrinsic Motivation for Learning". *Dissertation Abstracts International*, Sep 2000; Vol 61 (3-A): 875.
- Aurini, Janice and Scott Davies. 2005. "Choice Without Markets: Homeschooling In The Context Of Private Education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Vol. 9, 190-215.
- Basham, Patrick. (2001). "Homeschooling: From the Extreme to the Mainstream". Public Policy Sources, no. 51. Published by the Fraser Insititute.
- Bernstein, B. 1971. *Class, Codes and Control (Vol I)*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Passeron, Jean-Claude. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1977. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction". In *Power and Ideology in Education*, Karabel and Jalsey (eds.), OUP, 487-511.
- Brown, Lori A. "Unlearning School: Comparing Homeschoolers Who Have Left School to Those Who Never Attended". *Southern Sociological Society* (SSS).

- Bulman, Robert C.(2004). "School-Choice Stories: The Role of Culture". *Sociological Inquiry*, 2004, 74, 4, Nov, 492-519
- Callan, E. *Creating Citizens: Political Education & Liberal Democracy and Autonomy & Schooling*. Clarendon Press. 1997.
- Callan, E. 1995. Common Schools for Common Education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 20(3): 251-71.
- Collom, Ed. 2000. The Ins and Outs of Homeschooling: The Determinants Of Parental Motivations And Student Achievement. *Education*, vol. 37, no.3, 307-332.
- Demaine, Jack, and Harold Entwistle, (eds.). (1996). *Beyond Communitarianism: Citizenship, Politics, and Education*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Finn, Chester E , and Gau, Rebecca L. (1998). "New Ways of Education". *The Public Interest*, 1998, 130, winter, 79-92.
- Fox, John. 1997. *Applied Regression Analyses, Linear Models, and Related Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gutterson, David. 1993. *Family Matters: Why Homeschooling Makes Sense*. New York: Harvest Books.
- Harding, Terry and Farrel, Anna. "Homeschooling and Legislated Education'.
- Holder, Melvin A. 2001). "Academic achievement and socialization of college students who were home schooled". *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Available on-line at: <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=726026371&sid=3&Fmt=2&clientId=5220&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
- Hoeflinger, Marilyn Sue Morris. (2001). "An Ethnographic case study of Christian home schooling". *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Available on-line at: <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=729048331&sid=3&Fmt=2&clientId=5220&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
- Holt, John. 1964. *How Children Fail*. New York: Pitman Press.
- Knowles, J. Gary. Parents' Rationales for Operating Home Schools. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 203-230, 1991.
- Kranzow, Jeannine M. (2005). "Taking a different path: The college experiences of homeschooled students". *Disertation Abstracts international*. Available on-line at: <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=828450941&sid=3&Fmt=2&clientId=5220&RQT=309&VName=PQD>

Lines, Patricia. (2000). "When Home Schoolers Go to School: A Partnership Between Families and Schools". *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 75, no. 1-2, pp 159-186.

----- (1999). *Homeschoolers: Estimating Numbers and Growth*. Washington DC: US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

----- (1993). *Homeschooling: Private Choices and Public Obligations*. Washington DC: US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

----- (2002). Homeschooling Comes of Age. *The Public Interest* no140 Summer 2000. p. 74-85

Luffman, Jacqueline. (1998). "When Parents Replace Teachers: The Home Schooling Option". *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1998.

Lyman,-Isabel. (2002). "Generation Two". *The American Enterprise* v 13 no7 Oct/Nov 2002. p. 48-9

Mayberry, Maralee. (1988). "Characteristics and Attitudes of Families Who Home School". *Education and Urban Society*, 1988, 21, 1, Nov, 32-41.

McDowell, Susan and Ray, Brian. (2000). "The Home Education Movement in Context, Practice and Theory". *Peabody Journal of Education* (June).

Nemer, Kariane Mari. (2005). "Schooling Alone: Homeschoolers, Individualism, and the Public Schools". *Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2005, 65, 8, Feb, 2946-A

Reich, Rob. *Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Riegel, Sarah.(2001). "The Home Schooling Movement and the Struggle for Democratic Education". *Studies in Political Economy*, 2001, 65, summer, 91-116.

Robson, Karen and Pevalin, David. → GET CITATION FOR STATA TEXT

Rudner, Lawrence M. (1999). "Scholastic Achievement and Demographic Characteristics of Home School Students in 1998". *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*, Vol. 7, No. 8

Stevens, Mitchell. 2003. *Kingdom of Children: Culture and Controversy in the Homeschooling Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schumm, Walter. (1998). Trends in Homeschooling in a Midwestern Community. *Psychological-Reports*. April 1998; Vol 82 (2): 364-366.

Scott, Lois Angela.(2002). One Day at a Time: Factors That Help and/or Hinder Homeschooling Families' Daily Routines". Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences, 2002, 63, 1, July, 138-A

Wagenaar, Theodore C. (1997). "What Characterizes Home Schoolers? A National Study". Education, 1997, 117, 3, spring, 440-444.

Whelchel, Lisa. 2003. *So You're Thinking About Homeschooling*. Oregon: Multnomah Publishers.

Winchers, Michelle. "Homeschooling: Adventitious or Detrimental for Proficiency in Higher Education. *Education*, Vol 122, No. 1, 144-150.

Table 1: Logistic Regression Coefficients using “*Museum Attendance*” as Dependent Variable

	Coefficients
School Type (Reference Category: Homeschooled)	
Public School	-0.48**
Private School	-0.11
Gender (Reference Category: Female)	
Male	0.005
Race/Ethnicity (Reference Category: Whites)	
Blacks/Non-Hispanic	0.35***
Hispanic	0.09
All Other Races	0.44***
Household Income	0.048***
Constant	-1.48***

= p < 0.05, **= p < 0.01, *= p < 0.001 (two tailed)*

Figure 1:

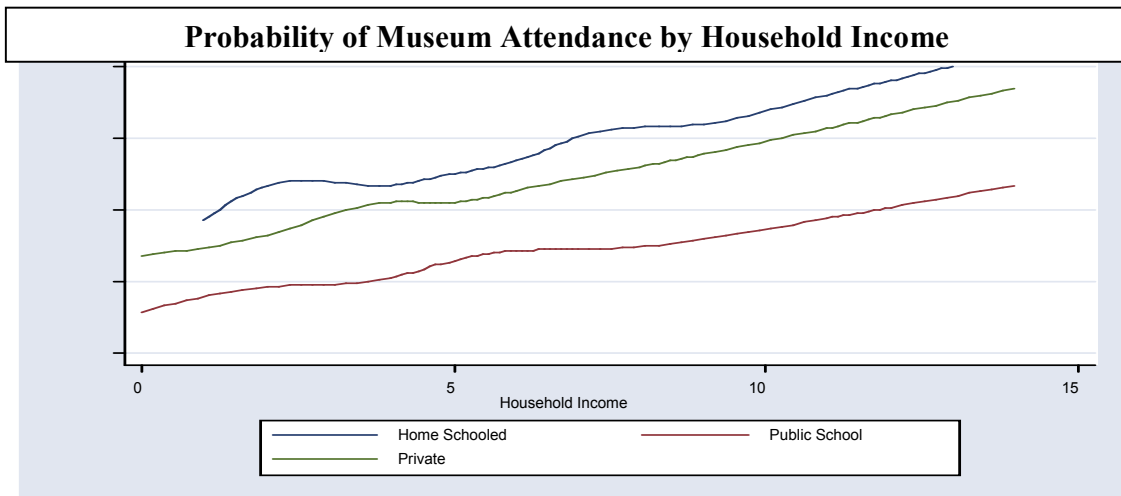


Table 2: Logistic Regression Using “Community Event Attendance” as Dependent Variable

	Coefficients
<u>School Type</u> (Reference Category: Homeschooled)	
Public School	-0.33*
Private School	-0.19
<u>Gender</u> (Reference Category: Female)	
Male	0.06
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u> (Reference Category: Whites)	0.46***
Blacks/Non-Hispanic	-0.27***
Hispanic	0.34***
All Other Races	0.03***
Household Income	0.03***
Constant	-1.20***

= $p < 0.05$, **= $p < 0.01$, *= $p < 0.001$ (two tailed)*

Figure 2:

