

Education Policy Brief

Homeschooling In Indiana: A Closer Look

Robert Kunzman

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 7, SUMMER 2005

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Homeschooling is quickly becoming a significant educational phenomenon. According to the Indiana Department of Education, the number of Indiana homeschooled children has increased by 400 percent over the past eight years, with a current enrollment total of 22,403. Furthermore, this number likely understates the true number of Indiana homeschooled students, and reflects a constant refrain in research on homeschooling: very little comprehensive data exist on homeschooling demographics, practices, and outcomes. This Education Policy Brief will describe the current homeschooling landscape and its legal status in Indiana, as well as explore the issues underlying ongoing debate about whether homeschooling merits additional state regulation or oversight.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT HOMESCHOOLING ACROSS THE UNITED STATES?

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) estimates that 1.1 million students were being homeschooled in the United States in the spring of 2003 (NCES, 2004). This represents a 29 percent increase from the NCES survey just four years earlier. Some researchers assert that more than 2 million students are being homeschooled in the United States today — double the number in all of Indiana's public schools (Ray, 2003). Although the total number of homeschooled students is a matter of some dispute, what seems clear is the rapid relative increase of homeschooling. Even

using the more conservative NCES figures, the number of homeschooled students nationally has increased at a rate ten times that of public school students over the past four years.²

The NCES survey also queried parents about their primary motivation for homeschooling. Nearly two-thirds pointed to concerns about the environment of other schools (31%) or the parents' desire to provide religious or moral instruction to their child (30%). Other factors parents mentioned frequently included dissatisfaction with academic instruction at other schools and special needs of their children.

Beyond these data, the homeschooling research picture becomes a bit murkier and certainly more contested. The empirical uncertainty can be traced in part to the widely varying practices of data collection among states; one recent study revealed that only 18 states have readily available data on homeschooling ("Homeschool numbers," 2005). Homeschoolers have generally been reluctant to provide any more information than is required by law, and national homeschool advocacy groups regularly resist legislation that would increase governmental oversight. Because of this, the most frequently cited research studies have used nonrepresentative samples without controlling for variables such as household income; in addition, many of them have been sponsored by homeschool advocacy groups.

Although the demographics of homeschoolers appear to be increasingly diverse (Nemer, 2002), most observers acknowledge that conservative Christians constitute the largest subset of homeschoolers. The most prominent and politically active national homeschool advocacy group, the Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA), describes itself as a Christian organization and estimates that conservative Christians comprise as much as 70 percent of the nationwide homeschool population. Other homeschool organizations such as the National Home Education Network (NHEN), however, believe this number is considerably lower. It appears that the majority of homeschooling occurs in the elementary years (Rudner, 1999), while estimates vary widely concerning how many students continue homeschooling through high school. Regardless of the percentages, homeschooling is becoming big business. The HSLDA estimates the current homeschool curriculum market at \$750 million.

The inconsistency of homeschool data collection across states is mirrored by the variety of regulatory oversight each state exercises as well. The HSLDA identifies four levels of state regulation (Figure 1). According to its framework, ten states are categorized as having "no" homeschool regulation at all. Thirteen states are described as having "low" regulation, requiring only parental notification of intent to homeschool. In the "moderate" group, sixteen states require test scores or professional evaluation as evidence of academic achievement. Finally, eleven states are described as having "high" regulation, requiring not only parental notification and evidence of academic achievement, but also imposing various additional requirements (such as state approval of curriculum or teaching qualifications for parents).

WHAT ARE THE LAWS AND PRACTICES REGARDING HOMESCHOOLING IN INDIANA?

Under the HSLDA regulation framework, Indiana is categorized as having no homeschool regulation at all. Technically, perhaps, this is true: Indiana has no statute exclusively for homeschooling. Instead, home schools are treated as nonpublic, nonaccredited schools; state permission is not required for them to legally operate. Schools in this category must provide a minimum of 180 days of instruction, the same as public schools, and attendance records must be kept (no particular format is necessary, but they should be kept up to date and available should the local superintendent request them).

Figure 1. Level of State Regulation of Home Schools



LEGEND

- States requiring no notice: No state requirement for parents to initiate any contact.
- States with low regulation: State requires parental notification only.
- States with moderate regulation: State requires parents to send notification, test scores, and/or professional evaluation of student progress.
- State with high regulation: State requires parents to send notification or achievement test scores and/or professional evaluation, plus other requirements (e.g., curriculum approval by the state, teacher qualification of parents, or home visits by state officials).

Source: Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA) web site: http://www.hslda.org/laws/default.asp

If parents contact local districts to indicate they intend to homeschool their child(ren), they are referred to the Indiana Department of Education (IDOE) web site for information on the homeschool enrollment process. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction also issues a blanket request on the IDOE web site for homeschoolers to enroll, which simply means informing the IDOE of their intention to homeschool, after which parents will receive a homeschool number. If parents are withdrawing a child from a public school, this enrollment will prevent the student from being considered truant. Based on anecdotal observations and a review of the homeschool advocacy groups' literature on Indiana regulations, however, it appears that many other homeschool families — especially those whose children never enrolled in public school at all — never formally "enroll" with the state.

All nonpublic, nonaccredited schools in Indiana — home schools included — are required to provide "instruction equivalent to that given in the public schools" (IC 20-8.1-3-34). The state, however, does not define what "equivalent" means, and state law exempts home schools (and all other nonpublic, nonaccredited schools) from the curricular and programmatic requirements of public schools. Homeschool students do not receive a diploma from the state, and ISTEP+ testing is not required (or even permitted under most circumstances).

Indiana homeschooled children with disabilities retain the same rights as students in private schools to participate in programs and services funded under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and services. (In keeping with their emphasis on full parental control over their child's education, HSLDA has lobbied successfully for language in the new IDEA draft that would allow homeschool parents to veto any attempt by Local Education Authorities to evaluate their children for possible special education services.) Even though no comprehensive research exists on the subject, homeschool advocates contend that the customized, individual attention inherent in homeschooling can be of particular benefit to students with special needs (Ensign, 2000).

The recent passage of Public Law 105-2005 requires students to complete a series of courses known as Core 40 (that places an emphasis on mathematics, English/language arts, science, and social studies) in order to receive a high school diploma, as well as to be admitted to a four-year degree program in a state educational institution. Although the diploma requirement is not applicable to homeschoolers, the college entrance stipulation includes a provision allowing home schools and other nonpublic, nonaccredited schools to provide students with "the documented equivalent" to the Core 40 curriculum.³ Each Indiana public university welcomes homeschooler applications, and applies similar criteria as for public and private school applicants: evaluation of academic course work, transcripts, and testing (ACT or SAT scores).

Based on conversations with Indiana Department of Education officials as well as observation of state homeschooling web sites and discussion boards, it appears the current relationship between homeschoolers, their organizations, and the Indiana Department of Education is a cordial one, with the Department serving as a consultant regarding the minimal legal requirements of which homeschool parents must be aware.

Not surprisingly, Indiana homeschool families and organizations seem relatively satisfied with the current level of regulations under which they must operate. The degree of communication between homeschoolers and local school corporations varies widely; some districts make their facilities available for homeschoolers to use, and others actively recruit homeschoolers to enroll part time in district programs (such as vocational training) or individual school classes. Homeschoolers also avail themselves of other public education options, such as completing distance education coursework through Indiana University High School (IUHS), a fully accredited, on-line program offering its own diploma. According to IUHS, approximately 40 percent of their students are homeschoolers.

One particular issue involving the relationship between public and home schools that is beginning to emerge nationally involves access to extracurricular activities. Several states have seen lawsuits filed and/or legislation introduced which would provide more opportunities for homeschoolers to participate in sports, music groups, debate teams, and so on. In Indiana, homeschooler participation in extracurricular activities is at the discretion of the public school. The only exception is high school athletics, where participation also falls under the purview of the Indiana High School Athletic Association (IHSAA); in this case, homeschool students must be enrolled in (and earn passing grades from) at least three public school classes per day plus two additional school-approved classes (distance education, community college, etc.).

WHAT DOES RESEARCH TELL US ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HOMESCHOOLING?

Advocates point to homeschooling as the ultimate in educational flexibility, efficiency, and customization to meet the individual needs of learners. Although occasional reports do appear in the media about instances of severe educational (and physical) neglect of children being homeschooled, it seems reasonable to conclude that, on the whole, educating children at home involves greater parental commitment and involvement than sending them off to school daily. As a recent survey (see page 4) of Indiana superintendents revealed, however, some public school officials are skeptical that substantial learning is occurring in many homeschool settings. Echoing these misgivings, two common areas of concern voiced by homeschool critics involve academic achievement and socialization.

Academic Achievement of Homeschoolers

The question of how homeschool students compare academically with their public school peers remains a matter of dispute. Homeschool advocates can point to high-achieving individuals who win national spelling and geography bees, debate competitions, art contests, and so on. Even stalwart critics of homeschooling acknowledge that the "high end" of academic homeschooling performance compares favorably with other forms of schooling; certainly the nation's elite colleges and universities have come to think so, with admissions departments welcoming homeschooler applications, and some assigning a liaison specifically for homeschool applicants.

In terms of empirical research, the most frequently cited study by homeschool advocates confirms that at least a segment of homeschool students score two to four grade levels and 20 percentage points higher on a nationally recognized achievement test (either the Iowa Test of Basic Skills or Tests of Achievement and Proficiency) (Rudner, 1999). But the study's author himself acknowledges that participants were an unrepresentative sample of homeschoolers and the study was not a controlled experiment: therefore, it prevents us from making reliable extrapolations to the general homeschooling population or comparing homeschoolers' performance with the broader student population (Welner & Welner, 1999). Similar limitations occur in a separate study of SAT scores (Belfield, 2004).

Socialization of Homeschoolers

It appears that the "home" in homeschooling is rapidly becoming a misnomer. Homeschool community groups abound, mixing educational activities (such as student presentations on research topics, theatre productions, and study groups) and more informal, socialrecreational activities. Local colleges and universities frequently welcome advanced homeschool students into their classrooms. Museums, libraries, and other educational organizations are increasingly oriented toward providing programming for homeschool families. Extracurricular opportunities for homeschoolers continue to grow as well. Formal homeschool athletic leagues offer competition from the local level up through national championships in basketball, soccer, volleyball, and softball.

Again, however, comprehensive empirical evidence is lacking. Homeschool advocates routinely cite one particular study (Ray, 2003), commissioned by HSLDA, as evidence that homeschool graduates are engaged citizens, involved in their communities, and leading fulfilling lives. But this study examined a small, homogeneous group of homeschoolers without controlling for parent income, education, or other variables, so neither definitive statements about homeschoolers nor reliable comparisons with the general U.S. population can be made.

The basic question of what constitutes healthy socialization is also at issue here. Advocates point out that homeschoolers likely have greater opportunity to interact with the full range of ages — rather than almost exclusively with their peers - in a greater variety of learning settings throughout the community. Medlin (2000) sought to bring greater precision to the question in his review of dozens of studies focused on homeschooler socialization. He concluded that the evidence. while still preliminary, suggests that homeschooled children are engaged in their community, acquire necessary rules of behavior, and demonstrate social maturity and leadership skills. Medlin emphasized, however, that more and better research is needed before definitive conclusions about homeschooler socialization can be drawn.

SHOULD THERE BE ADDITIONAL REGULATION/OVERSIGHT OF INDIANA HOMESCHOOLING?

The Indiana State Teachers Association (ISTA) has approved a resolution (A-15) on homeschooling that advocates the adoption of a range of additional regulatory standards. Among these, ISTA urges that homeschool teachers meet the state requirements for licensing; annual permission be required for homeschooling based on professional evaluation of planned curriculum; homeschool programs be monitored by local school administrative personnel; and that students should participate in state or locally mandated testing (ISTA, 2005).

A recent survey of Indiana superintendents also revealed a desire for additional regulation of homeschooling in the state.⁴ Although most superintendents acknowledged that, when done well, homeschooling can provide a good education, every respondent expressed concern about inadequate homeschool environments as well. The majority of specific criticisms focused on inferior academic preparation, as well as the complaint that parents often begin homeschooling to skirt disciplinary or attendance problems their children are facing. Several superintendents also expressed concern that homeschool students were not developing important social skills.

When superintendents were asked whether homeschooling was sufficiently regulated in Indiana, 96% of respondents answered negatively. Although many superintendents advocated increased accountability in general terms, several specific recommendations also appeared repeatedly in their comments: 54 percent of those surveyed advocated regular testing of homeschoolers (with ISTEP+ the most frequently mentioned assessment tool); 48 percent asserted that homeschool curricula should either conform to state standards or be externally evaluated and approved; and 12 percent stated that homeschool teachers should meet minimum educational requirements (some felt a bachelor's degree was sufficient, others argued for full teacher licensure). A few superintendents (6 percent) even advocated regular home visits by public officials, but with this criterion as well as others involving external evaluation, most superintendents were quick to point out that their local districts did not have the funds for such oversight, and that the IDOE should be responsible.

Beyond Indiana specifically, arguments for increased regulation of homeschooling typically address at least one of three areas of concern: (1) child abuse; (2) academic accountability; and (3) civic development and children's autonomy.

Child Abuse

Some educators and policymakers worry that homeschooling provides additional cover for instances of child abuse (as well as child abduction, often resulting from custody disputes). Although it is true that horrific cases of child abuse have occurred in families claiming to be homeschooling, we do not have data revealing whether the frequency is greater than in families whose children are educated in institutional settings.

Some argue that when children attend traditional school settings (whether public or private), adults have regular opportunities to observe signs of abuse. The level of homeschool oversight necessary to similarly detect abuse, however, would be substantial. Most typical homeschool oversight mechanisms — registration/enrollment, curriculum approval, instructor certification, and testing — would provide little or no indication; only regular, face-to-face interaction with government representatives would likely make a difference in this regard.

Many law-abiding homeschoolers remain leery of child protection services, fearful that some state authorities are unfairly critical of homeschooling in the first place. The HSLDA web page for Indiana currently includes descriptions of three cases within the past year in which they assert that social workers or truancy officers overstepped their legal

authority. Although likely isolated incidents, it is understandable that stories (whether wholly accurate or not) of state agencies misusing their power to take children into custody would raise great concern among homeschooling families who often feel misjudged by educational and governmental authorities. Defenders of minimal homeschool oversight contend that social service agencies already have ample latitude for protecting children, and if these child protection laws and procedures were enforced more effectively, abuse would be curtailed.

Academic Accountability

As mentioned previously, some homeschooled students certainly excel academically. Those who urge greater homeschooling accountability focus their attention on the remainder of learners, expressing concern that the state often has no way of knowing whether all homeschoolers are receiving an adequate education.

A related oversight issue here is the concern by some education officials that parents are using the privacy and flexibility of homeschooling to withdraw their child from public schools, perhaps to avoid truancy charges or avoid disciplinary issues. Although anecdotal reporting suggests that such a strategy is sometimes used to terminate communications with the public school, a decision to homeschool does not end the jurisdiction of all state agencies. As stated on the Indiana Department of Education web site, "Prosecutors may pursue charges brought prior to withdrawal if they believe it is in a child's best interest."

In addition, although state law does not allow public education authorities to supervise or evaluate nonpublic schooling, homeschool parents are under legal obligation to meet minimum requirements regarding attendance (IC 20-8.1-3-33). Furthermore, if a person has specific reason to believe that a homeschool parent is unwilling or unable to educate his or her school-aged child, a report can be filed with county child protective services (IC 31-33-5-2).

Proposals to increase academic oversight of homeschooling generally take the form of curriculum approval, instructor credentials, academic progress review, and/or standardized testing. The first two of these involve what might be called educational "inputs": they attempt to control the quality of the educational experience of students. The latter two address "outputs," which seek to evaluate whether appropriate learning has occurred.

Although monitoring educational inputs is arguably an easier and more clear-cut task, there is no assurance that they will lead to student learning. Parents — just like classroom teachers — can prepare rich and challenging lists of curriculum and even lesson plans, but evaluators have no way of knowing whether students learned the material or even whether the curriculum was actually implemented. In the same way, although few would dispute the value of a teacher with strong academic and pedagogical skills, having a high school or college diploma doesn't ensure that someone is an effective teacher.

Evaluating educational outputs, although clearly more time- and resource-intensive, would provide a better estimation of actual student learning. The more comprehensive assessment approach that is desired, however, the more time and expense that is required. Many homeschool families are virulently opposed to testing, and not necessarily out of fear of poor performance on these standardized assessments. They point to the rebellion by many in the "education establishment" against high-stakes testing and wonder why homeschooling should be subjected to something that so many professional educators oppose on philosophical and pedagogical grounds. The other common option of an academic progress review appears to lack much support even by superintendents in states where it is required. Anecdotal reports abound of lax and incomplete portfolio reviews; few districts have the resources necessary to provide comprehensive evaluations of an entire year of student learning for hundreds of homeschool students.

Civic Development and Children's Autonomy

Perhaps the most prominent advocate for increased regulation of homeschooling, Reich (2002) takes issue with the common homeschooler argument that parents should have sole authority over the education of their children. Instead, he argues that a triad of interests exists: parent, state, and child. The state has a primary interest in developing citizens who can interact respectfully with diverse people and ideas and who can participate meaningfully in the democratic process. Reich expresses concern that homeschoolers are less likely to have meaningful interactions with such diversity and thus be more limited in their capacity for respectful civic engagement.

Reich also contends that the child has separate educational interests as well. Beyond becoming independently functioning adults, Reich argues, children have an interest in becoming autonomous—that is, to become their own person, think for themselves, and lead the lives they wish. Unless its educational content is somewhat regulated, Reich claims, homeschooling gives too much control to the parents to develop their children entirely in their own image and without the capacity to think for themselves.

Here again the question of educational inputs versus outputs arises. Few would argue that a reliable, cost-efficient, standardized test exists that is capable of measuring civic virtue and respect for pluralism (a complicated and contested notion in and of itself). Nor would anyone likely claim to have developed an "autonomy exam." Instead, it seems the only route here would be to emphasize educational inputs, as Reich does: in addition to mandatory homeschool enrollment/registration, he calls for parents to demonstrate that their curriculum exposes children to a variety of beliefs, perspectives, and ideas different from their own. But as noted earlier, educational inputs offer little assurance that students are actually learning what is intended, at least what is intended by state regulations. In this case, for example, one could easily imagine resistant parents offering "exposure" to different beliefs but strongly emphasizing how deeply wrong they are.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON HOMESCHOOL REGULATION AND OVERSIGHT

Most homeschoolers are resistant to further governmental regulation or oversight, and many believe that there should be none at all. They point out that they save taxpayers money and receive no governmental assistance for their homeschooling efforts. Furthermore, they argue, public school advocates should hardly be pointing the finger at them — "Let them get their own house in order," wrote one homeschool parent on an online discussion board, "and then come talk to us about educational quality."

Homeschool advocacy groups, and in particular HSLDA, are seen by friend and foe alike as powerful and effective lobbyists. Any attempt to increase state regulation or oversight has met with determined homeschooler opposition. According to a recent homeschooling series by the Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal, 12 states considered legislation during 2002 and 2003 calling for more homeschool oversight, usually in response to child abuse tragedies involving homeschool families. None of those 12 states ultimately passed those proposed laws (Willard & Oplinger, 2004).5 The spring 2005 legislative session saw five bills (in New Mexico, South Dakota, New Jersey, Montana, and Oregon) highlighted and targeted for defeat by HSLDA; none have managed to win legislative approval. HSLDA also urged its membership to oppose two bills that were considered during the 2005 session of the Indiana General Assembly which sought to expand the compulsory attendance age (Senate 257 and House 1530); neither bill was passed. HSLDA supported an Indiana bill to provide a \$500 tax credit for homeschoolers; it passed the Senate but died in committee in the

In spite of these challenges, however, this analysis is not intended as a recommendation that Indiana avoid exercising any additional oversight. For instance, ascertaining that all homeschoolers are developing *very basic* levels of literacy and numeracy seems a reasonable expectation and an important safeguard for children and their futures. (This would

also necessitate a policy that both clarifies that all Indiana homeschoolers are required to enroll/register and provides a mechanism by which compliance could be verified by state officials.)⁶ But we must also be mindful that adding layers of oversight to homeschooling can become very intrusive, and good intentions mixed with poor execution will undoubtedly result in greater suspicion and resistance on the part of homeschoolers, rather than a willingness to find common ground that will continue to protect the interests of parents and their children.

Even more important from a legal standpoint, however, is the recognition that homeschooling is not recognized as a separate educational category in Indiana; policy cannot compartmentalize homeschooling apart from all nonpublic, nonaccredited schooling. Any efforts to impose greater regulation would need to apply that same oversight to that broader realm as well — raising the degree of complexity and expense significantly.

One area in which homeschool advocates and critics might find agreement, and where homeschoolers and local districts might cultivate stronger relationships and more regular communication, is in encouraging greater participation by homeschoolers in extracurricular activities and specialized coursework. A few Indiana superintendents surveyed mentioned their efforts to foster such communication with homeschoolers and provide opportunities for partnership. If this can be accomplished without creating onerous financial or logistical burdens on local schools, it offers an opportunity for collaborative interactions between homeschool and public school students, something that would hopefully broaden the perspectives of both groups and ultimately strengthen our vital civic fabric.

In conclusion, it is worth returning to the underlying refrain throughout much of this analysis — we simply do not have enough comprehensive, reliable data on homeschoolers' demographics, philosophies, or practices. Without this insight, it will be difficult to craft policies that respect the interests of parents, children, and our democracy.

END NOTES

- 1. Ray reasonably contends that many home-school parents are reluctant to identify themselves because of their resistance to any form of governmental regulation (see also Welner, 2002). Although some researchers have questioned Ray's objectivity he homeschooled his own children and has been funded by the Home School Legal Defense Association other analysts (e.g., Belfield, 2004) have questioned the NCES sampling methodology and small sample size (11,994 surveyed, revealing 239 homeschoolers) and similarly suggest that actual numbers are likely higher.
- 2. It is certainly worth acknowledging that the growth in public school population in absolute terms (1.3 million students over the past four years) remains significantly higher than absolute homeschool increases, even when using the higher homeschool population estimates. Both supporters and critics of homeschooling, however, recognize its growing significance as an educational trend and policy question. Sociologist Kurt J. Bauman (2005) opined recently in the Teachers College Record, "Homeschooling exists at the flashpoint of current educational policy. As it continues to grow, it will press against other trends and reshape them... There is no other policy variable that comes close to its potential importance.' Although this final assertion may be overstated, homeschooling's influence will likely prove critical in the broader, evolving realm of school choice.
- 3. The equivalency language was added largely as a result of HSLDA advocacy.
- 4. This survey was conducted on-line July 1-14, 2005, with 85 superintendents participating (29% response rate). It may be significant to note that superintendents mostly referred to homeschoolers who had withdrawn from local schools, since they would have little insight into (or contact with) families who had been homeschooling since first grade and never enrolled in public schools in the first place.
- 5. On a national level, HSLDA led a massive mobilization as far back as 1994 over concerns that a federal education bill would require parents to be certified teachers. Thousands of homeschoolers' calls and faxes overwhelmed and ultimately disabled the House of Representatives phone lines; an amendment to the bill was added which specifically exempted homeschooling from all teacher certification provisions.
- 6. IC 20-8.1-3-24 includes the following stipulation: "Each principal or school administrator in every private school that is attended by any children who are subject to the compulsory school attendance laws under section 17 of this chapter shall furnish, on request of the state superintendent of public instruction, the number of children by grade level attending the school."

IDOE makes the following statement on their webpage addressing private schooling and homeschooling (http:// www.doe.state.in.us/sservices/hse.htm): "Dr. Reed requests that, if you decide to home educate, you report your enrollment via the online enrollment report form." HSLDA, however, currently interprets the statute to mean that "this request must be to the individual private school, not merely a blanket announcement to the public at large" (Home School Legal Defense Association, 2004). Accordingly, they contend that "there is no requirement for a homeschooling family to register with the state" (see http://www.hslda.org/hs/state/in/2005 06210.asp).

AUTHOR

Robert Kunzman (rkunzman@indiana. edu) is an assistant professor in Curriculum and Instruction at the Indiana University School of Education. His research focuses on moral and civic education, and the intersection of religion, education, and democracy in the United States. He is the author of the forthcoming book, Grappling with the Good: Talking about Religion and Morality in Public Schools (SUNY Press), and is in the midst of a multi-year research project exploring homeschooling practices and philosophies across the United States.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the following people for their assistance: Khadija Zaman, a Graduate Assistant at the Center for Evaluation and Education Policy, for her valuable help with background research; Gaylon Nettles, Director of the Office of Student Services, Indiana Department of Education, for sharing time and information about the regulatory environment of homeschooling in Indiana and the role and function of the Indiana Department of Education in working with homeschoolers; and John Ellis, Executive Director of the Indiana Association of Public School Superintendents (IAPSS), for his help in electronically distributing the homeschool survey to the local superintendents throughout the state.

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WEB RESOURCES

Indiana Department of Education: Resources on Private Education/Homeschooling http://www.doe.state.in.us/sservices/hse.htm

Indiana Association of Home Educators http://www.inhomeeducators.org/

Indiana Home Educators Network http://www.ihen.org/

Home School Legal Defense Association http://www.hslda.org/

National Home Education Network http://www.nhen.org/

Education Commission of the States http://www.ecs.org/ecsmain.asp?page=/html/issues.asp

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