

Home Is Where the School Is: The Logic of Homeschooling and the Emotional Labor of Mothering. By Jennifer Lois. New York: New York University Press, 2013. Pp. x+229. \$23.00 (paper).

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The growth of homeschooling in the United States raises important questions about a variety of issues including child well-being, gender roles, parental rights, and educational policy, yet much of the research to date has been conceptually and methodologically inadequate. While demographic profiles of homeschooling families have, for example, documented the dominant role mothers play in this practice, until the publication of *Home Is Where the School Is* by Jennifer Lois, the plight of homeschooling mothers has been largely ignored. Relying on field research conducted over an eight-year period, Lois used snowball sampling techniques to identify 24 homeschooling mothers living in the northwestern United States who agreed to be interviewed. Despite ongoing challenges in building trust and rapport with these women, most of whom were conservative Christians deeply suspicious of researchers, Lois was able to conduct in-depth interviews with all 24 women as her research got under way and with sixteen of them when it concluded years later. Her efforts have produced one of the most significant analyses of homeschooling and the role homeschooling mothers play in this practice to date. Most notably Lois provides novel insights into these mother's motives for homeschooling and the lives they lead with issues related to identity, emotion, and time management emerging as key themes throughout the book.

First to clarify, this book is about cultural notions of good mothering as much as it is about the practice of homeschooling. Homeschooling is, as Lois correctly describes, women's work because the labor-intensive workload associated with it is shouldered almost entirely by mothers; this on top of the other domestic chores they routinely do. She further frames homeschooling as a manifestation of what sociologist Sharon Hays calls "the ideology of intensive mothering," an approach to motherhood that requires mothers to acknowledge the predominance of the mother-child bond, put their children first in their lives, and strive for excellence in all aspects of mothering (*The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood* [Yale University Press, 1996]). Consequently, in her book, Lois focuses exclusively on the lives homeschooling mothers live and on the strategies they employ to (1) maintain their identities as good mothers in the face of criticism from outsiders about homeschooling, (2) manage a host of emotions related to the increased workload they face, and (3) deal with overwhelming time-management issues.

Lois offers a novel approach to classifying homeschooling mothers as either first- or second-choice homeschoolers. First-choice mothers view homeschooling as a natural extension of good mothering and as the pre-

ferred educational experience for their children. These women, she notes, always framed their decision to homeschool in terms of their mother identities. Many of them reported experiencing emotional epiphanies of one kind or another where they realized that homeschooling was something they needed to do, often viewing the decision to homeschool as a “calling” from God. Second-choice mothers, on the other hand, viewed homeschooling as the best available alternative, one that often came in second to a more desirable but unattainable alternative like private schooling. They often decided to homeschool when they realized that their children had special needs that were not being met in public school or when they were pressured by their husbands to do so. Throughout the book, Lois notes significant differences between these two kinds of women in their orientations toward both mothering and homeschooling. A weakness, however, is that there are only five second-choice mothers in her study, making generalizations about them precarious and suggesting the need to include larger numbers of these women in future research.

Lois notes that their decision to homeschool, defending their good mother identities, adjusting to the increased workload homeschooling commands, dealing with role strain, minimizing burnout, adjusting to the loss of “me time,” and defining homeschooling outcomes as successes, all happened in true sociological form as these mothers developed relationships with each other and participated in homeschool support groups. Social interaction and social relationships emerged as being critically important for homeschooling mothers as they manage their emotional lives.

I offer three comments about this book. First, Lois describes difficulty in relating to the religiously devout women who populated her study, and while her candor in acknowledging this problem is commendable, one wonders about the extent to which it may have colored her analysis. Second, homeschooling is presented as a distinct manifestation of intensive mothering. Is homeschooling the only manifestation of this phenomenon or are there others? If so, mentioning some of them in the book and perhaps drawing some comparisons to homeschooling would have been beneficial. Finally, future research needs to build on the first- and second-choice distinction Lois identifies with special efforts being made to include comparable numbers of second-choice mothers. This addition will, as Lois readily acknowledges, render the distinctions she finds between these two kinds of mothers more credible.

In summary this book is excellent; it is necessary reading for scholars interested in understanding both homeschooling and the sociology of mothering. If there is a problem with the book, it is that it wasn't written sooner. Over the years, homeschool researchers, many of whom are associated with advocacy groups, have conducted numerous studies of questionable quality measuring the academic performance of homeschooled children and the socialization these children experience. In fact, the focus on the academic performance of homeschooled children as measured by their reported scores on standardized tests has approached that of an obsession as researchers

motivated to validate homeschooling have published study after study on this topic. It took an admitted “outsider” like Lois who could see the proverbial forest through the trees to spot a glaring and inexcusable omission in the homeschool literature. She is to be commended for addressing that omission so well.

Not My Kid: What Parents Believe about the Sex Lives of Their Teenagers. By Sinikka Elliott. New York: New York University Press, 2012. Pp. viii+216. \$70.00. (cloth); \$22.00 (paper).

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Not My Kid depicts the manner in which a select group of parents tries to make sense of teenage sexuality in general and as it specifically applies to their own teenagers’ current and future well-being. Nested within a hypersexual American teenage culture, Sinikka Elliott demonstrates a paradox in parents’ inability to recognize their children as sexual subjects. In almost all cases, parents insist that their child is not sexual, irrespective of sex, age, or behavior, although acknowledging that their peers and teens in general are likely sexual.

Elliott considers the numerous overlapping and intersecting processes that occur at individual, family, local, and state, and national levels that influence how parents think and talk about sex with their children. She locates parental understandings within greater cultural discourses about teenage sexuality, including the intense debates on topics of sexuality, the broader moral panic, and the framing of teenage sexuality as a social problem. Elliott finds that parents communicate an array of belief systems and approaches, many of which seem to directly contradict or oppose one another. For example, they may draw on more conservative stances to promote abstinence until marriage yet employ more liberal stances related to delaying marriage and recognizing that it is unlikely that their teen will wait until marriage. She further highlights parental ideals for their teenagers versus what parents think is realistic. In these ways, they can express both liberal and conservative views related to their teenager’s sexuality. Reflexively, *Not My Kid* also details how parents contribute to supporting and legitimating the current status quo related to sexual hierarchies and social inequalities through their concerns, parental lessons, and conversations with their teenagers. Parents reproduce sexual stereotypes and inequalities related to race, class, gender, and sexual orientation.

By focusing on the meanings and underlying processes that are revealed in parental narratives, Elliott broadens the typically simplistic and dualistic portrayals of previous research. Parents are not polarized in their beliefs; rather they are uncertain, hesitant, and anxious about teenage sexuality. This book calls into question the way we have been studying teenage