International Journal of Education, Vocational and Social Science
https://e-journal.citakonsulindo.or.id/index.php/IJEVSS
E-ISSN : 2963 4954
IJEVSS

Social Capital, Cultural Reproduction, and Multicultural Dynamics In Homeschooling Practices In Indonesia

Supriadi Torro
Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia
Alimin Alwi
Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: supriaditorro@unm.ac.id

Abstract

Homeschooling, as a family-based educational alternative, is growing in Indonesia and introducing new dynamics to educational practices outside the formal system. This article aims to analyze the construction of homeschooling in the academic literature, emphasizing the roles of social capital, cultural reproduction, and multicultural dynamics. This study employs a systematic literature review approach in accordance with the PRISMA protocol, examining nationally and internationally indexed articles from the past ten years. The findings indicate that homeschooling is not merely an individual choice but a family strategy for transmitting values, norms, identity, and cultural resources to children. Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of social capital and cultural reproduction explain how families build networks, access educational resources, and maintain their social position. Multicultural dynamics are reflected in the diversity of social, cultural, and religious backgrounds that shape learning patterns while also influencing the socialization of values of diversity. However, homeschooling also has the potential to reproduce social inequalities due to disparities in access to economic, social, and cultural capital. These findings underscore that homeschooling is a significant arena in the sociology of education, as it reflects the relationship between family, social structure, and alternative educational practices within a multicultural society. This research contributes to strengthening the discourse on inclusive non-formal education.

Keywords: Cultural Reproduction, Homeschooling, Multicultural Dynamics, Social Capital

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, homeschooling has emerged as an increasingly significant educational alternative in various countries, including Indonesia. This development is linked to global trends in education systems, characterized by growing dissatisfaction with formal schools, demands for flexible learning, and the need for more personalized and context-based approaches. In this context, homeschooling has emerged as a family-based educational model that places parents at the center of their children's educational process (Forlin and Chambers 2024; Sikkink 2026; Zhang and Gibson 2024). More than just a pedagogical choice, homeschooling represents a social phenomenon that reflects a shift in the role of educational institutions in modern society. This practice demonstrates how families are taking over some of the educational functions previously dominated by schools, while simultaneously shaping new patterns of interaction between education, cultural values, and social structures. Thus, homeschooling can be understood as part of an educational transformation that is not only structural but also cultural and social.

From the perspective of the sociology of education, the phenomenon of homeschooling serves as a crucial analytical framework for understanding the relationships between individuals, families, and broader social structures within the context of a multicultural society. Education is no longer viewed merely as a process of knowledge transfer in formal schools, but as a social practice shaped by power relations, the distribution of resources, and the diversity of values and cultural identities. In a pluralistic society, educational practices also serve as an arena for negotiating multicultural values, such as tolerance, identity, and recognition of differences.

Homeschooling, in this context, opens up opportunities to examine how the family, as a social unit, assumes roles previously dominated by educational institutions, while simultaneously shaping educational patterns that reflect specific social, cultural, and religious backgrounds. Within this framework, homeschooling functions not only as an educational alternative but also as a medium for both the reproduction and transformation of multicultural values. This practice demonstrates how families interpret, select, and transmit the value of diversity to their children, while also interacting with broader social structures, including the potential for both inclusion and exclusion within a multicultural society.

A number of studies indicate that families' decisions to choose homeschooling are driven by various factors, including ideological, religious, and pedagogical reasons, as well as concerns about their children's safety and well-being in a diverse society (Aldhaheri and Emirates 2025; Jesus, Austria, and Ubaldo 2025; Nel and Krog 2024). In multicultural societies, this choice is also often linked to families' efforts to preserve their cultural identity, religious values, and social practices

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

that they consider relevant to their background. Furthermore, the development of digital technology has further strengthened homeschooling by providing broader access to learning resources, community networks, and cross-cultural online educational platforms. This underscores that homeschooling is not an isolated practice but rather part of an evolving educational ecosystem, where intercultural interactions, the exchange of values, and global social dynamics collectively shape children's learning experiences within the context of a multicultural society.

From a theoretical perspective, the concept of social capital introduced by James Coleman is relevant for explaining how social relationships within families and communities contribute to children's educational success in a multicultural society. Social capital encompasses trust, norms, and social networks that enable collaboration and the exchange of resources among individuals from diverse backgrounds. In homeschooling practice, social capital is evident in the form of active parental involvement, participation in the homeschooling community, and access to cross-cultural alternative educational resources. Families with strong social capital tend to be able to create a learning environment that is more conducive, inclusive, and responsive to diversity, thereby supporting children's optimal development while strengthening their ability to interact in a multicultural society.

On the other hand, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction provides an analytical framework for understanding how education plays a role in maintaining or reproducing existing social structures. Through the concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu explains that families transmit cultural values, norms, and preferences to their children, which ultimately influence their future social position (Bridget, Moore, and Vaidya 2023; Suxin and Guorui 2024; Zheng and Postiglione 2025). In the context of homeschooling, family-based educational practices can serve as a strategic means of reinforcing a particular cultural identity, while also potentially widening social disparities if access to educational resources is unequal. Thus, homeschooling functions not only as an educational alternative but also as a social mechanism with implications for social stratification. In Indonesia, homeschooling has been legally recognized as part of the national education system, as stipulated in Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (Anomime 2014; Madjid 2020; Mediana 2020). This recognition indicates that there is room for communities to develop educational models tailored to the needs and characteristics of each family.

A number of studies on homeschooling in Indonesia have been conducted, including (Purnamasari, Suyata, and Dwiningrum 2017; Sidqi, Dalimunthe, and Haryani 2025; Vibriyanthy

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

and Fauziah 2014). However, the implementation of homeschooling in Indonesia still faces various challenges, such as limited access to resources, a lack of operational policy support, and the social stigma still attached to non-formal education in a socially and culturally diverse society. In a multicultural context, these challenges are also linked to differences in values, norms, and public perceptions regarding family-based educational practices. Furthermore, empirical research on homeschooling in Indonesia remains relatively limited and tends to be fragmented, thus failing to provide a comprehensive picture of the social, cultural, and multicultural dynamics surrounding homeschooling practices across various societal contexts.

This situation indicates the existence of a research gap, particularly in studies that integrate perspectives on social capital and cultural reproduction to understand homeschooling practices within the context of a multicultural society. Most previous research has focused primarily on pedagogical or psychological aspects, while the sociological and multicultural dimensions have not been explored in depth. In fact, an educational sociology approach is crucial for revealing how homeschooling practices not only contribute to the transformation and reproduction of social structures but also to the formation, negotiation, and distribution of values of diversity within society.

Based on this background, this study aims to conduct a systematic literature review in accordance with the PRISMA protocol to synthesize research findings related to homeschooling in Indonesia. The primary focus of this study is to analyze how social capital plays a role in homeschooling practices and how the process of cultural reproduction occurs within the context of family-based education. By integrating various empirical and theoretical findings, this study is expected to make a significant contribution to the development of educational sociology, particularly in understanding the dynamics of alternative education in the contemporary era.

Furthermore, this study is also expected to serve as a reference for policymakers, education practitioners, and researchers in formulating educational development strategies that are more inclusive, adaptive, and sensitive to the socio-cultural diversity of society. In a multicultural context, this approach is crucial to ensure that educational practices, including homeschooling, can accommodate diverse values, identities, and learning needs. Thus, homeschooling is not merely viewed as an individual family choice but also as a social phenomenon reflecting multicultural dynamics and having broad implications for Indonesia's education system and social structure.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a systematic literature review (SLR) approach to comprehensively examine homeschooling practices from the perspective of the sociology of education, with a focus on social capital, cultural reproduction, and multicultural dynamics in Indonesia. This approach was chosen because it allows for a systematic, transparent, and replicable synthesis of research findings across diverse social contexts. The review process adheres to the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) guidelines, which are widely used in international research (Guide 2016; Hannah Snyder 2019; Xiao and Watson 2019). thereby enabling a comprehensive analysis of homeschooling practices in a multicultural society.

The data was sourced from reputable scientific databases, namely Scopus, Web of Science, and Google Scholar. The search strategy involved using a combination of keywords such as "homeschooling," "social capital," "cultural reproduction," and "Indonesia" with the aid of Boolean operators (AND, OR) (Gusenbauer 2020; Page et al. 2022; Xiao and Watson 2019). Inclusion criteria include: (1) journal articles published between 2014 and 2024, (2) empirical or conceptual studies relevant to the research topic, (3) articles in English or Indonesian, and (4) articles available in full text. Exclusion criteria include duplicate articles, non-peer-reviewed publications, and studies not relevant to the focus of the sociology of education.

The literature selection process was conducted in four stages: identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and inclusion, in accordance with the PRISMA flowchart (Alharbi, Naumovski, and McFarlane 2025). As shown in the image below.



Further clarification: During the identification phase, all articles were compiled and duplicates were removed. The screening phase involved evaluating titles and abstracts, followed

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

by a full-text assessment during the eligibility phase. Articles meeting the criteria were then included in the final analysis, taking into account diverse social and cultural contexts. Data analysis was conducted thematically by grouping findings into main categories: the role of social capital, mechanisms of cultural reproduction, and multicultural dynamics in homeschooling practices. This approach involves a systematic thematic analysis to identify patterns and relationships among concepts (Batra 2021; Braun and Clarke 2023). In addition, the theoretical frameworks of James Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu were employed to support the interpretation of the findings. Consequently, this approach is expected to yield a valid and reliable literature synthesis that contributes to the advancement of educational sociology research within the context of a multicultural society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on a literature review conducted using the PRISMA guidelines, a number of articles that met the inclusion criteria were analyzed thematically. The findings of the study from an educational sociology perspective indicate that homeschooling practices in Indonesia, within the context of a multicultural society, can be classified into four main themes: social capital, cultural reproduction, family agency, and educational inequality influenced by diverse social, cultural, and economic backgrounds.

A. Homeschooling and Social Capital

The findings of the literature review indicate that the success of homeschooling is largely determined by the strength of a family's social capital within a multicultural society. From the perspective of the sociology of education, social capital refers to networks of relationships, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation toward shared goals. Drawing on the work of James Coleman (Coleman 1988; Purola and Kuusisto 2021; Tan and Fang 2023), A close parent-child relationship is a primary form of social capital that contributes to educational success. In the context of homeschooling, the intensity of this interaction is higher than in formal education, as parents directly serve as facilitators, mediators, and evaluators of the learning process. In a multicultural society, this interaction also reflects the process of internalizing diverse values, norms, and cultural identities without altering the family's primary role in supporting a child's educational success.

Various studies show that parental involvement in homeschooling is not merely administrative but also substantive in terms of designing the curriculum, selecting teaching

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

methods, and creating a conducive learning environment within a multicultural community (Forlin and Chambers 2024; Jesus et al. 2025). This reinforces the argument that homeschooling can foster the development of strong social capital within the nuclear family, which has a positive impact on children's academic and non-academic development amid social and cultural diversity. Furthermore, trust and close communication between parents and children are key factors in creating a learning process that is effective, adaptive, and responsive to differences in values and cultural backgrounds.

Beyond the family circle, social capital in homeschooling also develops through involvement in homeschooling communities or networks within a multicultural society. Studies show that homeschooling communities serve as spaces for families with diverse social and cultural backgrounds to share resources, experiences, and best practices (Fan, Feng, and Zhang 2024; Sikkink 2026). This community also provides children with opportunities for more inclusive social interaction, thereby addressing the common criticism that homeschooling limits socialization. In the Indonesian context, homeschooling communities often take the form of study groups, parent forums, and social media networks that facilitate the broad exchange of information, values, and cross-cultural experiences within a diverse society.

However, the literature also highlights disparities in access to social capital. Not all families have the same ability to build social networks or access high-quality homeschooling communities. Families with higher educational and economic backgrounds tend to have stronger social capital, enabling them to provide better educational resources for their children (Jorgenen and Perry 2021). Conversely, families with limited resources face challenges in optimizing their homeschooling practices, both in terms of access to learning materials and social support.

This inequality indicates that social capital is not neutral but is closely linked to broader social structures within the context of a multicultural society. Within the framework of cultural reproduction, disparities in the possession of social capital can contribute to the reproduction of educational inequality among groups with different social and cultural backgrounds. In other words, homeschooling has the potential to become a means of reinforcing certain social positions if it is not balanced by policies that are inclusive and sensitive to diversity. To provide a comprehensive synthesis of the findings, the following table presents the results of several studies on social capital in homeschooling practices across various societal contexts.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Tabel 1. A Synthesis of Research on Social Capital in Homeschooling

Researcher	Field of Study	Dimensions of Social Capital	Context	Key Findings	Sociological Implications
Coleman (1988)	Social capital in education	Family relationships (parent-child bonding)	General	A close parent-child relationship enhances academic success	Family social capital is the cornerstone of education
Ray (2017)	The effectiveness of homeschooling	Parental involvement	Global	High parental involvement is correlated with positive academic achievement	Homeschooling strengthens the family's role as an agent of education
Murphy (2012)	The homeschooling movement	The homeschooling movement	West	The family serves as the center of alternative learning	A shift in authority from schools to families
Medlin (2013)	Children's socialization	Community network	Global	Homeschooling communities help children expand their social interactions	Social capital is not limited to the nuclear family
Collom (2005)	Homeschooling network	Social media	America	The community expands access to learning resources and experiences	Homeschooling fosters an alternative social network
Green and Hoover-Dempsey (2007)	Parental involvement	Emotional and academic support	General education	Family support boosts motivation and academic achievement	Intensive interaction enhances the quality of learning
Fan, Feng, and Zhang (2024)	Parental involvement and creativity	Family participation	Multinational	Parental involvement boosts students' creativity	Social capital has an impact on non-academic aspects

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Sikkink (2026)	Homeschooling community	Social media and trust	Global	Communities strengthen social cohesion and the exchange of values	Collective social capital supports diversity
Jorgensen and Perry (2021)	Social inequality	Social media access	Europe	Social capital is not evenly distributed across social groups	Homeschooling has the potential to perpetuate inequality
Lubienski (2000)	Educational inequality	Distribution of social capital	Global	Differences in access reinforce educational stratification	Social capital is closely linked to social structure

Based on the table, it can be concluded that social capital is a key factor determining the success of homeschooling, both within the family and the community in the context of a multicultural society. However, the uneven distribution of social capital indicates the presence of structural challenges, particularly among groups with diverse social and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, strengthening community networks and implementing inclusive policies that are sensitive to diversity are essential to ensure that homeschooling is more equitably accessible to all segments of society.

B. Homeschooling and Cultural Reproduction

Within the framework of cultural reproduction developed by Pierre Bourdieu, education is understood as a social mechanism that not only transmits knowledge but also reproduces values, norms, and social structures across generations within the context of a multicultural society. In the practice of homeschooling, families have greater control over their children's educational process, thereby enabling a more intensive and targeted transmission of cultural capital in accordance with their social and cultural backgrounds. The cultural capital in question encompasses knowledge, lifestyle, preferences, and value orientations passed down within diverse family environments.

A review of the literature indicates that many families choose homeschooling as a strategy to uphold certain values that they believe are not fully accommodated within the formal education system. These values include aspects of religiosity, morality, and local and global

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

cultural identity within a multicultural society (Lee et al. 2024; Nel and Krog 2024; Sikkink 2026). In this context, homeschooling serves as a cultural space that enables parents to actively shape their children's values in accordance with the family's beliefs and vision. This process reinforces the argument that education is not neutral, but rather imbued with social, cultural, and multicultural interests.

Furthermore, homeschooling allows for a deeper internalization of values through close interaction between parents and children within a multicultural society. Unlike formal schools, which follow a standardized curriculum, homeschooling offers flexibility in selecting learning materials, methods, and a learning environment that align with the family's social and cultural background. This allows families to incorporate specific cultural elements, such as language, traditions, or religious practices, into the daily educational process in a more contextual manner. In the Indonesian context, for example, several studies indicate that homeschooling is often utilized to reinforce religion-based education or local values deemed important by families within a diverse society.

However, from the perspective of the sociology of education, the process of cultural reproduction in homeschooling does not always have a universally positive impact. The literature indicates that this practice also has the potential to reinforce social exclusivity in multicultural societies. Families with access to high levels of cultural capital—such as parental education, strong literacy, and access to quality learning resources—tend to be able to provide richer and more diverse learning experiences for their children (Bridget et al. 2023; Jorgenen and Perry 2021; Zheng and Postiglione 2025). Conversely, families with limited cultural capital face difficulties in providing an equivalent learning environment, thereby potentially widening the educational gap between social and cultural groups.

In this regard, homeschooling can serve as a mechanism for reproducing social inequality, as explained by Pierre Bourdieu, particularly in the context of multicultural societies. Children from families with high cultural capital have a greater chance of developing competencies that align with the dominant standards in society, while children from families with limited capital risk falling behind. Thus, homeschooling reflects not only an educational choice but also a social strategy related to efforts to maintain or improve the family's social position within a diverse structure. Furthermore, some studies suggest that homeschooling practices can create certain social limitations, particularly when children's interactions are confined to environments that are relatively culturally and socially homogeneous (Sikkink 2026).

This situation has the potential to reduce children's exposure to social diversity, which could

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

ultimately affect their ability to adapt within the broader multicultural society. However, other findings suggest that involvement in the homeschooling community can mitigate this risk by providing a more diverse and inclusive space for social interaction (Kunzman and Gaither 2020). In a broader context, cultural reproduction in homeschooling is also linked to power dynamics within the education system. Homeschooling can be understood as a form of resistance against the dominance of formal curricula that are perceived as underrepresenting certain values. On the other hand, this practice also has the potential to exacerbate fragmentation within the education system if it is not integrated with policies that are inclusive and sensitive to diversity. To provide a summary of the research findings, the following table presents information on cultural reproduction in homeschooling practices across various societal contexts.

Table 2. Synthesis of Research on Cultural Reproduction in Homeschooling

Researcher	Field of Study	Key Concepts	Context	Key Findings	Sociological Implications
Bourdieu (1977)	Cultural reproduction in education	Cultural capital	General	Education reproduces social structures through the transmission of values and culture	Education is not neutral; rather, it reinforces social stratification
Murphy (2012)	Homeschooling as an alternative form of education	Transmission of family values	West	Families pass on ideologies, values, and norms through homeschooling	Homeschooling as a space for family cultural reproduction
Kunzman dan Gaither (2020)	Reasons for Homeschooling	Values and ideology	Global	Religious factors and family values are the main reasons for homeschooling	Education as an expression of cultural identity
Nel and Krog (2024)	Religiously-based homeschooling	Religious values	South Africa	Homeschooling is used to reinforce religious values	The Transmission of Religious Values in Family Education
Lee et al. (2024)	Values in Family Education	Value orientation	Asia	Family education reflects certain	The internalization of values occurs

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

				social and cultural values	in a contextual manner
Lareau (2011)	Cultural disparities	Cultural capital	America	Differences in cultural capital influence children's educational success	The reproduction of social class-based inequality
Bridget et al. (2023)	Cultural capital and learning	Access to resources	Global	High cultural capital enhances the quality of the learning experience	Inequality in access reinforces educational disparities
Zheng dan Postiglione (2025)	The dominant culture in education	Cultural dominance	China	The education system reflects the dominant culture	Homeschooling can be a form of resistance
Apple (2000)	Criticism of formal education	Power and the curriculum	Global	Formal education reflects prevailing interests	Homeschooling as a form of resistance
Aurini and Davies (2005)	Alternative education	Social differentiation	west	Homeschooling reinforces social stratification	The potential for exclusivity in educational practice
Sikkink (2026)	Homeschooling community	Social interaction	Global	Communities can expand or limit social interaction	The risk of homogeneity vs. the opportunity for inclusivity
Medlin (2013)	Socialization for homeschooled children	Social interaction	Global	Communities reduce social isolation	Communities as a counterbalance to cultural reproduction

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that homeschooling plays a significant role in the process of cultural reproduction within a multicultural society, as it not only strengthens family identity and values but also has implications for broader social structures. Therefore, a policy approach is needed that can bridge the flexibility of family-based education with the principles of social justice and respect for diversity within Indonesia's education system.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

C. Family Agency and Educational Choices

A review of the literature indicates that the practice of homeschooling reflects the growing agency of families in determining the direction and form of their children's education within the context of a multicultural society. From the perspective of the sociology of education, agency refers to the ability of individuals or groups to act autonomously in shaping social choices and strategies within existing structures. Homeschooling, in this context, serves as a concrete manifestation of the shifting role of the family-from merely being a user of formal educational services to becoming a primary actor who actively designs and manages the educational process for their children in accordance with diverse social and cultural backgrounds.

Drawing on Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration, the practice of homeschooling can be understood as a dialectic between structure and agency in a multicultural society (Anam 2025; Englund, Gerdin, and Burns 2020). On the one hand, the formal education system provides an institutional framework that governs the curriculum, standards, and learning processes. However, on the other hand, families as agents have the capacity to negotiate, reject, or reconstruct these structures through the choice of homeschooling. Thus, homeschooling not only reflects educational preferences but is also a social act with reflective, strategic, and cultural dimensions.

The study's findings indicate that families' decisions to choose homeschooling are driven by various factors within the context of a multicultural society. One of the main factors is dissatisfaction with the formal school system, whether regarding the quality of learning, pedagogical approaches, or the social environment in schools, which is perceived as unresponsive to diversity (Kunzman and Gaither 2020; Ray and Ray 2017). Some families believe that formal schools tend to be too standardized, lack flexibility, and are unable to accommodate the individual needs of children from diverse social and cultural backgrounds. In this context, homeschooling is viewed as an alternative that provides space for a more personalized, adaptive, and contextual approach to learning.

In addition, the need for flexibility is a key factor driving the choice of homeschooling. Parents have the freedom to determine the schedule, teaching methods, and materials tailored to their child's interests, potential, and cultural background. This flexibility enables a more meaningful and inclusive learning process. In some cases, homeschooling is also chosen to support a child's specific activities, such as developing talents in the arts, sports, or religious activities that require more intensive time and attention within a diverse community.

From a cultural perspective, homeschooling is also often chosen as a means to ensure that a child's education aligns with family values within a multicultural society. Parents have greater

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

control over determining educational content, including religious values, moral principles, and cultural identity that they wish to instill in accordance with their social and cultural backgrounds. This indicates that educational choices are not neutral but are influenced by value orientations, ideologies, and the dynamics of diversity. In the Indonesian context, several studies show that homeschooling is used to strengthen religion-based education while preserving local values considered important by families within a diverse society.

However, the increasing agency of families in homeschooling also has implications for the broader educational structure within a multicultural context. This phenomenon indicates a shift in educational authority from schools to families as the primary social unit. Schools, which previously served as the primary centers for the production and dissemination of knowledge, must now share this role with families as alternative educational institutions. Within the framework of cultural reproduction, this shift creates opportunities for families to play a more active role in transmitting cultural capital to their children, while simultaneously strengthening their position in shaping the direction of education in alignment with diverse values and identities.

On the other hand, the literature also points out that not all families have the same capacity to fulfill this role. Family agency is greatly influenced by the resources they possess, whether in the form of knowledge, time, or access to learning materials. Families with higher levels of education and economic status tend to have greater ability to design and manage homeschooling effectively (ALMamari 2026; Sari, Bittmann, and Homuth 2023). Conversely, families with limited resources face challenges in optimizing their role as primary educators.

In addition, several studies indicate that increased family agency can also pose challenges regarding educational standardization and accountability. Without adequate regulation and oversight, the quality of education in homeschooling can vary significantly. Therefore, a balance is needed between families' freedom to determine their children's education and the state's role in ensuring fair and high-quality educational standards. To provide a summary of the research findings, the following table presents data on family agency in homeschooling:

Tabel 3. A Synthesis of Research on Family Agency in Homeschooling

Researcher	Research Focus	Drivers of Agency	Types of Family Agencies	Key Findings
Anthony Giddens (1984)	Structuration theory	The Interaction Between Structure and the Individual	Negotiations regarding the education system	Family agencies are able to reshape educational practices

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Murphy (2012)	Homeschooling	Dissatisfaction with formal schooling	The shift in the role of education	The family plays a central role in a child's education
Kunzman dan Gaither (2020)	Reasons for Homeschooling	Family values and flexibility	Value-based curriculum development	Homeschooling as an expression of cultural preference
Ray (2017)	The effectiveness of homeschooling	Parental involvement	Management of face-to-face learning	The agency is improving the quality of learning outcomes
Collom (2005)	Educational options	Family rationality	Strategic decisions in education	Homeschooling as a rational choice for families
Annette Lareau (2011)	Family inequality	Economic and cultural capital	Capacity for educational managemet	Agencies vary across social classes
Apple (2000)	Criticism of education	Ideology and Power	Rejection of the formal curriculum	Homeschooling as a form of resistance
Sari, Bittmann dan Homuth (2023)	Inequality in homeschooling	Socioeconomic background	Access to learning resources	The quality of homeschooling depends on the resources available
ALMamari (2026)	Family education	Parental education	Lesson planning	Educational level determines the effectiveness of homeschooling

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that homeschooling reflects a transformation in the family's role in education, shifting from a passive position to that of an active participant with significant control over the child's learning process. However, this increased agency must also be balanced with a focus on equity and educational quality to avoid exacerbating social inequalities.

D. Homeschooling and Educational Inequality

Findings from the literature review indicate that homeschooling practices have significant implications for the dynamics of educational inequality in the context of a multicultural society.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

From an educational sociology perspective, educational inequality is influenced not only by access to schools but also by the distribution of economic, social, and cultural resources among families from diverse backgrounds. Homeschooling, as a family-based form of education, relies heavily on the family's internal capacity to provide various learning needs, thereby potentially reinforcing or even reproducing existing social inequalities.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's framework of cultural reproduction, differences in the possession of economic, social, and cultural capital are the primary factors determining a child's educational success. In the context of homeschooling, families with higher economic status tend to have broader access to learning resources, such as books, technological devices, supplemental courses, and hands-on learning experiences like cross-cultural educational field trips. Furthermore, parents with higher levels of education also possess greater ability to design curricula, select teaching methods, and evaluate their children's progress within a more adaptive and diverse context (Blanden, Doepke, and Stuhler 2023; Tiaresaputra and Jaramaya 2011).

Conversely, families with limited resources face greater challenges in effectively implementing homeschooling within a multicultural society. Economic constraints can limit access to educational materials, technology, and supportive learning activities from diverse cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, limitations in cultural capital, such as low parental education levels, can affect the quality of learning interactions at home. These conditions indicate that homeschooling is not automatically an inclusive solution for all social groups but is heavily influenced by the structural capacity that families possess within a diverse society.

Furthermore, the literature indicates that homeschooling also has the potential to reinforce social stratification through the differentiation of learning experiences in a multicultural context. Children from high-resource families tend to have richer, more varied learning experiences that are tailored to their developmental needs. They have greater opportunities to develop 21st-century skills, such as critical thinking, creativity, and digital literacy. Conversely, children from families with limited resources are at risk of suboptimal learning, which can impact their future academic achievement and social opportunities (Rachevski and Vaknin-nusbaum 2025).

In the Indonesian context, this inequality is further complicated by regional disparities, access to technology, and the quality of human resources within a multicultural society. Homeschooling in urban areas with good internet access and strong communities tends to thrive more effectively than in rural areas or regions with limited infrastructure. This indicates that structural factors at the macro level also influence homeschooling practices at the micro level of the family within a diverse society.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

In addition, several studies have also shown that a lack of regulation and comprehensive policy support can widen disparities in homeschooling practices within multicultural societies (Aurini and Davies 2005; Gisselquist and Vaccaro 2025; Luck et al. 2025). Without clear standards and an adequate support system, the quality of education in homeschooling depends heavily on the initiative, capacity, and social and cultural background of each family. This has the potential to create significant variations in educational quality among diverse social groups.

To provide a comprehensive overview of the research findings, the following table presents data on educational inequality in homeschooling practices across various multicultural communities.

Table 4. Synthesis of Research on Educational Inequality in Homeschooling Practice

Researcher	Field of Study	Key Concepts	Context	Key Findings	Sociological Implications
Giddens (1984)	Structuration theory	Agencies and structures	General	Individuals and families are able to rebuild structures through action	Homeschooling as a Form of the Structure–Agency Dialectic
Murphy (2012)	Homeschooling	Educational options	West	Dissatisfaction with formal schooling is driving the rise of homeschooling	The shifting role of the family as the primary agent of education
Kunzman & Gaither (2020)	Reasons for Homeschooling	Family values and preferences	Global	Flexibility and family values are key factors	Education as an expression of cultural choice
Ray (2017)	The effectiveness of homeschooling	Parental involvement	Global	Parental involvement improves the quality of learning	Family agency influences educational outcomes
Collom (2005)	Rational choice	Family decision	America	Homeschooling as a rational choice based on family needs	Rationality in educational strategy
Lareau (2011)	Family inequality	Resources	America	Agencies are influenced by economic and cultural capital	Not all families have the same capacity for agency

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Apple (2000)	Criticism of education	Power and ideology	Global	Homeschooling as a form of resistance to the formal education system	Agency as a form of critique of educational dominance
Sari, Bittmann & Homuth (2023)	Inequality in homeschooling	Family resources	Europe	The quality of homeschooling is influenced by socioeconomic background	Agency is closely linked to social structure
ALMamari (2026)	Education and resources	Parental education	Asia	Parents' educational level influences the success of homeschooling	An agency's capacity is determined by family capital
Englund, Gerdin & Burns (2020)	Educational structure	Structure–agency interaction	Global	Educational practice is the result of the dynamic interaction between structures and agents	Homeschooling as a reflective social practice

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that homeschooling holds dual potential within the education system, particularly in the context of a multicultural society. On the one hand, this practice offers families flexibility and autonomy in shaping their children's education in accordance with their diverse values, needs, and cultural backgrounds. However, on the other hand, without the support of inclusive policies that are sensitive to diversity, homeschooling can contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities among different social groups. Therefore, policy interventions are needed to ensure more equitable access to educational resources, while accommodating social and cultural differences, and ensuring that homeschooling practices can be carried out fairly, inclusively, and with high quality for all segments of society in Indonesia.

5. General Trends and Research Gaps

In general, the results of the literature review indicate that homeschooling has emerged as

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

an alternative educational practice that is increasingly accepted in various contexts, including in Indonesia. This acceptance is closely tied to the growing need for educational flexibility, the diversification of learning approaches, and the shifting role of the family in the educational process. Homeschooling is no longer viewed as a marginal practice but rather as part of the legitimate educational spectrum, recognized both socially and legally. However, this development is not entirely free from challenges, both structural and cultural.

From a structural perspective, the literature indicates that homeschooling still faces limitations in terms of regulation, standardization, and comprehensive policy support. Although it has been recognized within the national education system, the implementation of homeschooling often depends on the initiative and capacity of individual families. This has the potential to result in significant variations in the quality of education. Furthermore, access to educational resources—such as technology, instructional materials, and learning communities—remains uneven. This situation indicates that homeschooling remains embedded within a broader social framework that influences the distribution of educational opportunities.

From a cultural perspective, challenges arise regarding societal perceptions of homeschooling. In some contexts, homeschooling is still viewed as a non-conventional practice, leading to certain social stigmas. On the other hand, there is also a tendency toward homogeneity of values in homeschooling practices, which can limit children's exposure to social and cultural diversity. From an educational sociology perspective, this is important to examine because it relates to the process of socialization and the formation of children's social identities.

Furthermore, an analysis of the literature reveals a dominant trend in research focus. Most studies on homeschooling remain oriented toward academic and psychological practices, such as learning effectiveness, cognitive development, and child well-being (Ray and Ray 2017; Valiente et al. 2022) . Meanwhile, studies that specifically examine homeschooling within the theoretical framework of the sociology of education remain relatively limited. Yet, this approach is crucial for understanding the relationship between homeschooling practices and social structures, resource distribution, and power dynamics in education.

Furthermore, research critically examining the relationship between homeschooling and social inequality remains scarce. Most studies tend to view homeschooling as an individual choice without deeply linking it to the broader social context. Within the framework of cultural reproduction, this represents a significant gap because homeschooling has the potential to serve as a mechanism for both the reproduction and transformation of social inequality. The lack of such critical studies indicates a significant research gap, particularly in integrating perspectives on social

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

capital, cultural capital, and family agency into a more comprehensive analysis. Therefore, further research is urgently needed to bridge this gap, whether through more in-depth theoretical approaches or through contextual empirical studies. These efforts are expected to enrich the body of knowledge in the sociology of education and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the role of homeschooling within the dynamics of education and social structures in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of this systematic literature review, it can be concluded that homeschooling is an alternative educational phenomenon that is growing and gaining legitimacy in Indonesia. From the perspective of the sociology of education, homeschooling is understood not only as a pedagogical choice but also as a social practice that reflects the interaction between families, social structures, and the distribution of educational resources. Key findings indicate that the success of homeschooling is significantly influenced by the strength of social capital, particularly in the form of parental involvement and community support. Furthermore, homeschooling functions as a vehicle for cultural reproduction, through which families transmit values, norms, and cultural identity to their children in a more intensive manner. This practice also reflects the increasing agency of families in determining the direction of education, marking a shift in authority from school institutions to the family environment.

However, homeschooling has complex implications for educational inequality. Families with high levels of economic, social, and cultural resources tend to be better able to optimize homeschooling practices, while families with limited resources face various obstacles. This situation indicates that homeschooling has the potential to reproduce social inequality if not supported by inclusive policies. Overall, homeschooling is a multidimensional phenomenon that requires a comprehensive analytical approach. This study underscores the importance of strengthening research grounded in the sociology of education to understand the dynamics of homeschooling more critically, as well as to promote the formulation of educational policies that are fairer and more responsive to the diverse needs of society.

REFERENCES

Aldhaheri, Reem Thani, and United Arab Emirates. 2025. “A Qualitative Exploration of Parents ’ Experiences of Homeschooling in the United Arab Emirates : Motivations and Challenges.” International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research 24(10):307–30.

Alharbi, Faten, Nenad Naumovski, and Rosemary Anne McFarlane. 2025. “Traditional Place-Based

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Diets and Their Effects on Healthy and Sustainable Food Transitions : A Systematic Literature Review." Public Health Nutrition (16). doi:10.1017/S1368980025101274.

ALMamari, Khalid. 2026. "Parental Education, Home Resources, Gender, and Academic Achievement: A Multilevel Analysis of GCC and Asia–Pacific Students in TIMSS 2023." Large-Scale Assessments in Education 14(1):13.

Anam, Rifqi Khairul. 2025. "Anthony Giddens's Structuration Theory and Relevance with Sociology of Knowledge." SOCIAL EDU: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan 1(2):73–84.

Anomime. 2014. "Legalitas Homeschooling Di Indonesia." https://www.gresnews.com/artikel/84469/Legalitas-Homeschooling-di-Indonesia/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Aurini, Janice, and Scott Davies. 2005. "Choice without Markets : Homeschooling in The Context of Private Education." British Journal of Sociology of Education 26(4):461–474. doi:10.1080/01425690500199834.

Batra, Ritika. 2021. "A Thematic Analysis to Identify Barriers , Gaps , and Challenges for the Implementation of Public-Private-Partnerships in Housing." Habitat International 118:102454. doi:10.1016/j.habitatint.2021.102454.

Blanden, Jo, Matthias Doepke, and Jan Stuhler. 2023. "Educational Inequality." Pp. 405–97 in Handbook of the Economics of Education. Vol. 6. Elsevier.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2023. "Toward Good Practice in Thematic Analysis : Avoiding Common Problems and Be (Com) Ing a Knowing Researcher." InternatIonal Journal of Transgender HealtH 24(1):1–6. doi:10.1080/26895269.2022.2129597.

Bridget, Obiageri, Rhiannon Moore, and Gayatri Vaidya. 2023. "Social Sciences & Humanities Open Using Bourdieu ' s Theory of Cultural Reproduction to Examine English Language Learning : A Multilevel Study in Three Lower- and Middle-Income Countries." Social Sciences & Humanities Open 8(1):100578. doi:10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100578.

Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." American Journal of Sociology 94:S95–120.

Englund, Hans, Jonas Gerdin, and John Burns. 2020. "A Structuration Theory Perspective on The Interplay Between Strategy and Accounting: Unpacking Social Continuity and Transformation." Critical Perspectives on Accounting 73:101988.

Fan, Huiyong, Yuxiang Feng, and Yichi Zhang. 2024. "Parental Involvement and Student Creativity : A Three-Level Meta-Analysis." Frontiers in Psychology 15(September). doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2024.1407279.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Forlin, Chris, and Dianne Chambers. 2024. "Implementation of Home-Schooling : Parents ' Practices and Processes." Education Sciences 14(05).

Gisselquist, Rachel, and Andrea Vaccaro. 2025. "What COVID-19 Can Tell Us about the State: A Global Look at the First Year of the Pandemic." Pp. 1–28 in How States Respond to Crisis: Pandemic Governance Across the Global South. Oxford University Press.

Guide, A. Practical. 2016. Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Gusenbauer, Michael. 2020. "Which Academic Search Systems Are Suitable for Systematic Reviews or Meta-Analyses ? Evaluating Retrieval Qualities of Google Scholar , PubMed , and 26 Other Resources." Reseach Shyntesis Methods (November 2018):181–217. doi:10.1002/jrsm.1378.

Hannah Snyder. 2019. "Literature Review as a Research Methodology: An Overview and Guidelines." JOURNAL OF BUSINESS RESEARCH.

Jesus, Dennis A. De, Windel C. Austria, and Joselito C. Ubaldo. 2025. "Exploring Parental Approaches and Influences on Homeschooled Learners ' Academic Achievement : A Mixed-Methods Investigation." International Journal of Education, Theology, and Humanities RESEARCH 4(2):29–36.

Jorgenen, Clara Rubner, and Thomas Perry. 2021. "Understanding School Mobility and Mobile Pupils in England." British Educational Research Journal 47(5):1139–57. doi:10.1002/berj.3718.

Kunzman, Robert, and Milton Gaither. 2020. "Homeschooling: An Updated Comprehensive Survey of The Research." Other Education-the Journal of Educational Alternatives 9(1):253–336.

Lee, Tai-an, Chun-yu Chen, Yu-jun Chang, Bei-cyuan Guo, Wen-ya Lin, Chao-hsin Wu, and Han-ping Wu. 2024. "Presentations of Children with Suspected Sepsis Caused by Acute Infectious Diarrhea in the Pediatric Emergency Department." Children 11(02):1–12.

Luck, Anneliese, Wan-Ting Chen, Stephanie Cuccaro-Alamin, John Prindle, Jill Duerr Berrick, and Emily Putnam-Hornstein. 2025. "Homeschooling and Child Maltreatment: A Review of The Regulatory Context and Research Evidence in the United States." Child Abuse & Neglect 163:107355.

Madjid, Afandi. 2020. "Homeschooling Di Indonesia." https://blog.kejarcita.id/homeschooling-di-indonesia/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Mediana. 2020. "Homeschooling", Diakui Undang-Undang, Diragukan Di Lapangan." https://www.kompas.id/artikel/homeschooling-diakui-undang-undang-diragukan-di-

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

lapangan?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Nel, Norma, and Soezin Krog. 2024. "Christian Learners' and Parents' Choice of Faith-Based Homeschooling." Journal for the Study of Religion 37(1):1–26.

Page, Matthew J., Joanne E. McKenzie, Patrick M. Bossuyt, Isabelle Boutron, Tammy C. Hoffmann, Cynthia D. Mulrow, Larissa Shamseer, Jennifer M. Tetzlaff, Elie A. Akl, and Sue E. Brennan. 2022. "The PRISMA 2020 Statement: An Updated Guideline For Reporting Systematic Reviews." Revista Panamericana de Salud Publica 46:e112.

Purnamasari, Iin, Suyata, and Siti Irene Astuti Dwiningrum. 2017. "Homeschooling Dalam Masyarakat: Studi Etnografi Pendidikan." Jurnal Pembangunan Pendidikan : Fondasi Dan Aplikasi 5(1):14–31.

Purola, Karoliina, and Arniika Kuusisto. 2021. "Parental Participation and Connectedness Through Family Social Capital Theory in the Early Childhood Education Community." Cogent Education 8(1). doi:10.1080/2331186X.2021.1923361.

Rachevski, Israel, and Vered Vaknin-nusbaum. 2025. "21st-Century Skills in Israeli Post-Secondary Education : Predictors Among Students with and Without Learning Disabilities." Education Sciences 15(12):1–21.

Ray, Brian D., and Brian D. Ray. 2017. "A Systematic Review of the Empirical Research on Selected Aspects of Homeschooling as a School Choice Aspects of Homeschooling as a School Choice." Journal of School Choice 11(4):604–21. doi:10.1080/15582159.2017.1395638.

Sari, Elif, Felix Bittmann, and Christoph Homuth. 2023. "Explaining Inequalities of Homeschooling in Germany During the First COVID-19 Lockdown." P. 1154389 in Frontiers in Education. Vol. 8. Frontiers Media SA.

Sidqi, Ansori, Reza Maulana Dalimunthe, and Devi Haryani. 2025. "Fenomena Home Schooling Pendidikan Islam : Analisis Komparatif Perspektif Dalam Media Massa." Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai 9(2):13819–25.

Sikkink, David. 2026. "Homeschooling and the Social Life of Families and Communities." Peabody Journal of Education 00(00):1–17. doi:10.1080/0161956X.2025.2605898.

Suxin, T. A. N., and F. A. N. Guorui. 2024. "How Do the 'Pastoral Children' Transform into Modern Students? Reflections from the Perspectives of Cultural Reproduction and Cultural Acculturation." International Journal of Educational Research 125:102351.

Tan, Gek Ling Claire, and Zheng Fang. 2023. "Family Social and Cultural Capital : An Analysis of Effects on Adolescents ' Educational Outcomes in China." The Journal of Chinese Sociology 10(21). doi:10.1186/s40711-023-00200-w.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License

Tiaresaputra, and Rizky Jaramaya. 2011. "Homeschooling Sebagai Salah Satu Pendidikan Alternatif."

Valiente, Carlos, Tracy L. Spinrad, Brian D. Ray, Nancy Eisenberg, and Ariana Ruof. 2022. "Homeschooling : What Do We Know and What Do We Need to Learn ?" Child Development Prespectives 16(01):48–53. doi:10.1111/cdep.12441.

Vibriyanthy, Ricca, and Puji Yanti Fauziah. 2014. "The Implementation of Character Education In Homeschooling Kak Seto Yogyakarta." JPPM: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat 1(3):75–85.

Xiao, Yu, and Maria Watson. 2019. "Guidance on Conducting a Systematic Literature Review." Journal of Planning Education and Research 39(1):93–112.

Zhang, Kaili C., and Lindsay Gibson. 2024. "Exploring the Lived Experiences of Home-Educating Families with Young Children in the UK : The Untold Stories." European Journal of Investigation in Health, Psychology and Education 14(9):2598–2615.

Zheng, Yajun, and Gerard A. Postiglione. 2025. "Untangling the Dominant Culture in China ' s Elite Universities." Higher Education 90(2):407–27. doi:10.1007/s10734-024-01329-4.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License