

OPEN EDUCATION HIGH SCHOOL IN TURKEY
AN OPPORTUNITY, OR A TRACK IN PURGATORY?

ZEYNEP ÖZDOĞAN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2019

OPEN EDUCATION HIGH SCHOOL IN TURKEY
AN OPPORTUNITY, OR A TRACK IN PURGATORY?

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Educational Sciences

by
Zeynep Özdoğan

Boğaziçi University

2019

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Zeynep Özdoğan, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date 28.06.2019.....

ABSTRACT

Open Education High School in Turkey: An Opportunity, or a Track in Purgatory?

Open Education High School is one of the secondary education tracks in Turkey that provides teaching by using distance education technologies. This study explores the background characteristics and prior school experiences of students attending OEHS in Turkey that lead them to attend this school and how their experiences within OEHS influenced their engagement to education and their future aspirations. The main goal is to unravel the role of OEHS in reproducing inequalities through distance educational tracking and on the engagement level of students attending. In line with the purposes of the study in depth interviews were conducted with 33 students in the public education centers which were also responsible as OEHS contact bureaus in the four districts of İstanbul which were chosen accordingly to provide maximum variation. The findings indicated that the background characteristics of the students included a low socio-economic background, the existence of chaos within the family, low level of education of the family members and migration. The factors that lead the students to attend OEHS were negative experiences they had in the previous schools they attended, lack of motivation in school, high levels of absenteeism, resistance to schooling and the determinant influence of high school exam. The experiences they had in OEHS included their decision processes, their feelings of loneliness, several administrative problems that pointed to an unsettled system that was stuck in a purgatory between formal and non-formal education, limited or no space to socialize and a wide open door for working at an early age. It was seen that the students' educational path led to either uncertainty or hope in despair.

ÖZET

Türkiye’de Açık Öğretim Lisesi:

Bir Fırsat, veya Arafta Bir Eğitim?

Açık Öğretim Lisesi, Türkiye’de uzaktan eğitim teknolojilerini kullanarak öğretim veren orta öğretim birimlerinden biridir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’deki AÖL’ye devam eden öğrencilerin bu okulu seçmelerine yol açan geçmişlerini ve önceki okul deneyimlerini irdelemekte ve AÖL’de yaşadıkları deneyimlerinin eğitim ile kurdukları ilişkiyi ve gelecek beklentilerini nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktadır. Temel amaç, AÖL’nin öğrencilerin eğitim ile kurdukları ilişkiye ve uzaktan eğitim yoluyla eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretilmesine hangi şekillerde katkıda bulunduğuna ışık tutmaktır. İstanbul’un dört ilçesinden AÖL irtibat bürosu olarak çalışan Halk Eğitim Merkezleri maksimum değişkenlik sağlamak üzere seçilip, 33 öğrenci ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bulgular, öğrencilerin geçmiş özelliklerinin; düşük sosyo-ekonomik bir arka planı, ailedeki çalkantıları, aile üyelerinin düşük eğitim seviyesini ve göç olgusunu içerdiğini göstermiştir. Öğrencileri AÖL’ye katılmaya yönlendiren faktörler, daha önce gittikleri okullarda yaşadıkları olumsuz deneyimler, okulda motivasyon eksikliği, yüksek düzeyde devamsızlık, okula direnç gösterme ve liseye giriş sınavının belirleyici etkisi olarak belirlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin AÖL’de yaşadıkları deneyimler, karar verme süreçleri, yalnızlık duyguları, örgün ve yaygın eğitim arasında sıkışmış bir eğitim olarak AÖL’de yaşanan idari sorunlar, öğrencilerin sosyalleşme olanaklarının azlığı ve erken yaşta çalışmak için ardına kadar açık bir kapı sunması olarak ortaya konmuştur. Öğrencilerin eğitimsel olarak izledikleri yolun sonuç olarak ya belirsizliğe ya da belirsizlik içinde bir umuda çıktığı görülmüştür.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Zeynep Özdoğan

DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in Educational Sciences, 2019, Boğaziçi University

MA in Educational Sciences, 2013, Boğaziçi University

BA in Guidance and Psychological Counseling, 2011, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Sociology of Education, critical education, cultural reproduction, education policy, adult education, comparative and international education.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Department of Educational Sciences, Boğaziçi University, 2015-present

AWARDS AND HONORS

TÜBİTAK PhD Scholarship, 2015-2017

Highest Honors List, Boğaziçi University, 2011

PUBLICATIONS

Conference Proceedings

Özdoğan, Z. Marginalized of the marginalized: Educational experiences of open education high school students in Turkey, In *16th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, 22-26 August 2016, Beijing – China.*

Özdoğan, Z. A Comparative Study of Public Expenditures on Education, Defense and Religious Affairs in Turkey in the Post-1980 Period (1981-2014), In *6th International Conference on Critical Education, 15-18 June 2015, Wrocław – Poland.*

Other Publications

Özdoğan, Z. (2018). Türkiye’de Açık Öğretim Lisesi. *Eleştirel Pedagoji*, 55, 23-30.

Özdoğan, Z. & Günaydın, A. (2014). We are an Extended Family: Public Service Advertisements of Ministry of Family and Social Policies. (Biz Büyük bir Aileyiz: Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kamu Spotları in Turkish). *Feminist Yaklaşımlar*, 22. <http://www.feministyaklasimlar.org/ozet/?postid=2176>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those who contributed to this thesis and who shared their love and support while I was too busy writing.

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Ayşe Caner who was with me with her support, understanding and encouragement. Without her genuine suggestions, this thesis would be complex and less understandable than it is now. I would also like to express my gratitude to my thesis co-advisor Fatma Gök who shared her critical views and insights and encouraged me in all the phases of writing this thesis. She was there whenever I needed with her emotional and academic support. I would also like to thank Lynne Rogers who provided her valuable recommendations during my exchange semester in University College London, Institute of Education. I am grateful to my committee members Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı for her constructive and valuable contributions not just in committee meetings but in every step of the thesis and Cem Kirazoğlu for his support and valuable contributions throughout this study. I would also like to thank Fatma Nevra Seggie and Melike Acar for their kind review and valuable recommendations.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the faculty members of the Department of Educational Sciences in Boğaziçi University for supporting me not just in my thesis but in all my academic studies. Besides, I owe special thanks to Deniz Albayrak Kaymak for her sincere and genuine support. I would also like to thank my colleagues Ömer Anlatan and Sedanur Hızır for supporting me in this process by doing all the departmental work themselves for the last couple of weeks. In addition I would like to thank TÜBİTAK for honoring me with the National Scholarship Programme for PhD students.

I feel particularly thankful to Maltepe, Ümraniye, Eyüp and Esenyurt Public Education Centers for their kindness and hospitality during data collection process and especially to Özlem Önder, Mine Orhan and Bayram Sönmez for their precious time and effort.

Many thanks to Dilek Çankaya for her valuable contribution during the preparation of the interview questions and Canan Aratemur Çimen for the inspiration and useful recommendations. I also thank Ayça Günaydın, Birgül Sarıoğlu, Güneş Ertaş, Işık Sabırlı, Merve Dökmeci, Ceyda Çavuşoğlu and Sezen Bektaş for their support and solidarity in this process. Now it is their turn.

This thesis would not be possible without the support, motivation, patience and understanding of my excellent and exceptional friends Alican Karakaya, Hatice Bümen, Elif Gültekin and Nurdan Toper. They have treated me with utmost care and patience while studying, arranging all the activities according to my schedule. I feel so lucky to have Hüseyin Yüksel beside me during this process. Feeling that he believed in me in every step made me believe in myself and continue writing. Besides, I am more than grateful to Nursel Akhan who provided full support, humor, encouragement, stress management techniques, meals, fruits, green tea and coffee whenever I needed during this process.

Finally I feel so lucky to have my parents beside me with their unconditional love, incredible support and encouragement and I am grateful to my sister Ayşe Özdoğan Konu, my brother Batuhan Konu and my nephew Çiçek Konu for all the cheerfulness and charm they brought to my life during this process.

I dedicated this study
to all who are struggling for
equality and justice,
especially to students of this study
who are hoping that
this thesis
will have an effect.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Aim of the study	5
1.2 Research questions	5
1.3 Definition of terms	6
1.4 Significance of the study	7
1.5 Evolution of the focus of the thesis	8
1.6 Organization of the research.....	9
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND ON THE OPEN EDUCATION HIGH SCHOOL IN TURKEY	11
2.1 History of distance education in Turkey	11
2.2 Open education high school in Turkey: historical background.....	12
2.3. Administration structure of OEHS	17
2.4 The current state of OEHS in Turkey.....	20
2.5 OEHS in neoliberal times	25
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW	29
3.1 Distance education	29
3.2 Social class and education	41
3.3 Disengagement from education.....	53
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	67
4.1 Research design of the study	67
4.2 Research sites	72
4.3 Data collection.....	82

4.4 Data analysis.....	83
4.5 Ethical assurances.....	88
CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS	90
5.1 Background factors influencing the educational experiences of the participants.....	91
5.2 Reflections of the participants on their prior school experiences	123
5.3 Reflections of students on the experience of OEHS: getting there and being there	158
5.4 Hope vs. uncertainty: future aspirations.....	187
5.5 The path and experiences of being an “OEHS” student.....	192
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	205
6.1 Summary of the findings	205
6.2 Reproduction of inequalities	208
6.3 Disengagement of students from education	210
6.4 Open education high School: an opportunity, or a track in purgatory?	214
6.5 Policy Recommendations	215
6.6 Limitations.....	216
6.7 Suggestions for further Research.....	217
APPENDIX A.....	218
APPENDIX B	223
APPENDIX C	228
APPENDIX D	229
APPENDIX E	231
APPENDIX F.....	235
APPENDIX G	237

APPENDIX H.....	239
REFERENCES.....	277

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Number of Students Attending OEHS (2017-2018).....	21
Table 2. The Number of Registered OEHS Students According to Years	22
Table 3. The Number of Applicants to the University Entrance Exam According to the School Type and the Percentage of Students Who Enrolled into a 4-year Program (2017)	24
Table 4. The Number of Students Attending OEHS by Districts of İstanbul and İstanbul Quality of Life Index Rankings of Districts.....	26
Table 5. Timeline of K-12 Distance Education and Instructional Technologies.....	39
Table 6. Collective Summary of the Studies on Reasons of Disengagement	60
Table 7. Research Sites	73
Table 8. Demographic Characteristics of Participants.....	74
Table 9. Demographic Characteristics of the Household.....	75
Table 10. Economic Conditions of the Household	76
Table 11. Level of Education of the Members of the Family	76
Table 12. Level of Education of the Siblings of the Participants.....	115
Table 13. The National Exam Types Participants Attended.....	145
Table 14. Dropping-Out Status of the Participants	153
Table 15. Work Experience of the Participants	177

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education system of a country provides a useful arena to examine many aspects of a country. It is possible to read the reflections of the social, political, cultural and economic changes that are going on in a country on the walls, desks and boards of the schools. Moreover, the conversations in the teachers' room and among students during the breaks, the amount of increase on teachers' salaries, the level of resources allocated per student, the technology that is decided to be brought in the classrooms all reveal many things on not only how the education system is organized but also how the society, economy and politics of that country are structured.

The relationship of education with the society has been studied by many scholars who have different perspectives. Lauder, Brown, Dillabough and Halsey (2006) compare 'consensus' and 'conflict' approaches to education. In this respect consensus approaches to education focus on 'socialization' and 'selection' of young individuals for their adult life as a citizen and worker. One of the most prominent theories within the consensus approach was developed by Durkheim (2006). In his theory, Durkheim (2006) tries to unpack the existing definitions of education and critically examines the nature and the role of education in order to create a comprehensive definition of education taking the specific impacts of society and the state into account. In the process of constituting the definition of education, he looks at the characteristics common to all education systems past and present and tries to form the objectives of education. He further defines the function of education as to provide the physical and mental competences required by the society to children. In addition to Durkheim (2006), the issue of human capital is also at the center of some

of the consensus theories. According to Becker (2006), human capital has taken over the primacy of machines and physical labor. That's why, success is achieved through individual achievement which requires intelligence and effort rather than inherited privilege.

Conflict approaches on the other hand, argue that the differences in the chances of children from different social class backgrounds, which are created by the system, build systematic barriers for moving socially upward positions. Lauder, Brown, Dillabough and Halsey (2006) group those theories under Neo-Marxist approaches flowed by Post-Structuralist and Post-modernist theories and Weberian approach. According to Neo-Marxist approaches, education has a critical standpoint in the realization of the state ideology that aims at reproducing privilege in order to serve the dominant capitalist ruling class. As a result, they argue that educational failure of working classes is inevitable since this ideology of the state perpetuates the existing class pattern by sacrificing the capabilities and the creativity of the majority over the interests of the dominant classes. What is more striking, this state ideology creates a basis for the inequalities to be regarded as legitimate and makes students believe that their failure is their fault and thus they deserve it (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough & Halsey, 2006). These structuralist theories are confronted by a 'cultural' turn within conflict approaches which was manifested by Post-Structuralist and Post-modernist approaches. These theories generally focus on differences and the primacy of the 'subject' expressed as 'identity' and examine the cultural impact of power relations in the making of the person (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough & Halsey, 2006, p.14).

From a cultural perspective, the focal point of reproduction theorists is on 'power' and how this power at the hands of the dominant culture assures the consent

of the subordinate groups. While the former group has a leading role in the creation of the dominant culture, the latter group takes part in both self-production and socioeconomic reproduction. Schools are one of the institutions that enable the capitalist classes to create specific borders that will in turn render the exclusion of the subordinate cultures possible. However, the criteria for creating those borders varies from school to school (Giroux, 1983). In this respect, it is critical to examine the process of reproduction in an open education high school which operates without a classroom environment, or a teacher figure.

Willis (1983) states that “Education was not about equality, but inequality... Education’s main purpose of the social integration of a class society could be achieved only by preparing most kids for an unequal future, and by insuring their personal underdevelopment.” This explains the stubbornly consistent failure of the state education to provide right to equal and quality education for the working-class children.

The roots of distance education go back to 1800s starting with correspondence education in England. After that, distance education started to be organized in many other countries like Germany, Canada, Australia and the Soviet Union. The time of World War II has also witnessed the blossoming of distance education since the soldiers coming back from the war wanted to finish their education. Furthermore, the foundation of the Open University in England was the peak in terms of the history of distance education (Matthews, 1999).

The start of distance education through correspondence education was argued to be similar to that of adult education in terms of the contributing factors to their beginning such as adult literacy, the printing press and last but foremost the need for

an educated workforce after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (Sumner, 2000).

The history of distance education in Turkey goes back to the foundation of the Republic. Although distance education discussed in a meeting in 1927 as a solution to increase literacy, it was found inapplicable and abandoned and never been discussed again until the 60s which has followed by the foundation of distance education facility under Anadolu University (Demiray, 2000).

Distance education at the high school level was established in 1992 and then it included all middle school graduates rather than just drop outs in 2012. Thus, with the amendment in the law, secondary education is redefined to include both formal and non-formal education institutions which in turn paved the way for more and more students to prefer or more precisely have to prefer open education high school. The changes occurring in the stratification of formal education system with the Law No. 6287, which is known as 4+4+4, created certain inequalities in the education system of the country. Furthermore, the changes in school types that caused a sharp discrimination between general schools and vocational and technical schools - including open high schools and religious middle and high schools- also added certain inequalities to the education system.

A school system that is similar to the purposes of OEHS when it was first initiated was Second Chance Schools which is a recovery program for the dropped out of school students in EU countries. They aim that the students would have the required qualifications they have missed because of dropping out of school and thus reintegrate them to the education system. Related to that Dale (2011) points to the fact that Second Chance Schools do not pretend to be alternatives to regular schools but rather they are alternative schools. However, in Turkey OEHS is initiated as

alternative schools for those who have dropped out of their secondary education but then turned into an alternative to regular mainstream schools.

Dale (2011) further argues that for alternative schools to be provided as part of the formal education system, it is required for them to be accredited and provided students with the necessary skills to pass the national exams.

Whether adolescents can benefit from OEHS depends very much on the facts that underlie why students have to leave the regular schools at the first place. There are many students who may have difficulty in schools, who may experience hard times in their families, yet they still continue their education in regular schools. Even with a lower socioeconomic background or difficulties at home and in school, why some young people continue their secondary school education at a distance is a question to be answered in this study.

1.1 Aim of the study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the background characteristics and prior school experiences of students attending Open Education High School in Turkey that lead them to continue secondary school education at a distance, how their experiences influenced their engagement to school and their future life plans and aspirations. Through the narratives of the students, the study further aims to understand the role of OEHS in the reproduction of inequalities and engagement/disengagement level of students attending.

1.2 Research questions

The following questions guided this study:

- How did the background characteristics influence the students to continue their education in OEHS?
- How did prior school experiences lead the students to continue their education in OEHS?
- How did the experience in OEHS influence the engagement of students to school/education?
- How did the experience in OEHS influence students' aspirations and future life plans?

1.3 Definition of terms

The following terms were frequently used in the study and it was found useful to provide a definition for each in line with the aims of the research.

Distance education: Distance education is defined as including all the arrangements for providing instruction through print or electronic communications media to persons engaged in planned learning in a place or time different from that of the instructor or instructors (Moore, 1990).

Open Education High School (OEHS): In this study Open Education High School is defined as an institution that provides teaching by using distance learning technologies and conducts this service through centralized system. Education is provided with a pass or fail and a credit system. There are not any classes and teachers as the system does not require them.

Cultural Reproduction: For the purposes of this study, Willis's definition of cultural reproduction will be used. According to him, "cultural reproduction designates how, from here, through complex ideological and cultural processes, we may perceive certain essential features to be continuous with, and tend to reproduce, limiting forms

(racism, sexism, manualism, the private, authority) which predated them but which are now so subjectively inhabited as to provide a sufficient basis for actual decisions and attitudes which allow the maintenance of capitalist production” (Willis, 1977, p.49)

Disengagement from education: For the purposes of this study disengagement from education is described as a continuum which starts from the point of students who may attend lessons but appear disinterested to the classes and school or truant on occasional days, to the end point where truancy is more extreme and where young people have dropped out of education entirely (Rogers, 2016).

1.4 Significance of the study

This study is significant in terms of shedding a light upon the history of open education high school in Turkey and investigating the current structure after 2012. There is a scarcity of studies in the field of adult education considering the former structure of open education high school as being entirely non-formal let alone the situation after 2012. Even though there are few studies on the new intermittent education system, on its structure and its effects on all the stakeholders of the education system from schools to families and students, most of them do not specifically focus on the subjective, real life experiences of students attending those high schools.

Considering the current changes in the examination system, students are placed to general high schools first. If they fail to get admission to enter any of the general high schools the next “preference” would be vocational or technical high schools. After 2012, another “choice” is also added to the formal education system which is “open education high school”. Students who could attend neither general high

schools nor vocational and technical high schools are coerced to register into the Open Education High School. Bearing in mind the stratified system which is created by examinations and the process of privatization in education, it requires more attention to study the issue of open education high school.

When the sudden and rapid ratification of the law number 6287, its application and the growing number of students attending those schools as part of their formal secondary education process is considered, it is critical to provide a closer look at open education high school to analyze how these schools operate within the education system and within the broader capitalist neoliberal society. Even though there are many studies examining the reproductive aspects of formal schooling within the framework of reproduction and resistance theories, there is no study examining how the capitalist reproduction through education functions and what those reproductive practices are without a classroom encounter.

On the other hand, there are many students who have difficulty in school, who also experience hard times in their families, yet they still continue their education in regular schools. Even with a lower socioeconomic background or difficulties at home and in school, why some young people continue their secondary school education at a distance is a question to be addressed in this study.

Therefore, I believe that investigating the educational experiences of students attending in open education high school in Turkey will contribute to the fields of educational sciences and sociology of education.

1.5 Evolution of the focus of the thesis

Distance education at high school level which I called as Open Education High School throughout the study was presented as part of the compulsory education

system in 2012 in Turkey. This come as one of the changes in the law reorganizing the elementary, middle and secondary (lycée) education. This law caused a lot of dispute around the issues of school starting age, vocational and technical middle schools and also open education high school in the education community. After the implementation of this law, the number of students who have attended OEHS increased to be around 1.5 million. Moreover, it was tragically observed that the online placement system placed the students who didn't get a sufficient score to get into their preferred high schools directly into OEHS. That was the time the topic of my research inquiry started. I began to wonder about those students who were left "open" in a competitive education system, who were disengaged from their right to schooling and disrupted their path to education.

1.6 Organization of the research

This study includes six chapters. In chapter one, a short background to problematize the study, the aims of the research and research questions along with the definition of frequently used words, the significance of the study and the evolution of the study are presented. Chapter two serves to provide a contextual background in order to increase the clarity of the study and includes a historical background on OEHS in Turkey, the administration structure of OEHS, the current state of OEHS and a theoretical lens to draw attention to the relation between the OEHS and neoliberalism. In the third chapter, the review of literature focuses mainly on the historical and theoretical background of distance education, the theoretical and empirical background on the relationship of reproduction and education focusing specifically on cultural reproduction and finally the literature on disengagement from education. In the fourth chapter, the methodological underpinnings of the research

are presented consisting of the research design, data collection procedure and instruments and data analysis. In chapter five, the findings are presented and discussed in relation to relevant literature. Finally, discussion and final remarks are provided in chapter six.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND ON THE OPEN EDUCATION HIGH SCHOOL IN TURKEY

This study attempts to examine the sociocultural and economic background and educational experiences of students who are attending Open Education High School in Turkey. By this way, the study further aims to examine how their prior educational experiences influenced their decision to continue their secondary school education at a distance. Since the structure and the meaning attached to OEHS in Turkey is pretty much different from that of other distance education experiences at the high school level in other countries, it was found necessary and useful to add a background chapter to the thesis. The first part of the background chapter provides a framework on the foundation and historical development of the OEHS in Turkey. The second part concerns the administration structure of the OEHS. The third part is on statistics which is currently available on secondary school education and the OEHS. The last part of this chapter deals with the OEHS within the neoliberal transformation of education.

2.1 History of distance education in Turkey

The history of distance education within Turkey's educational history goes back to 1927 which is 4 years after the foundation of the Republic. Although the concept is argued in a meeting where they discussed the problems encountered in the educational system of the newly founded Republic, the dominant idea that came out of the meeting was that society would not be able to read and write without the help of an educator. Therefore, the idea was put aside until 1955. After this year, distance education has started to be discussed at the higher education level which gave its

fruits in 1956 with the start of correspondence education in Ankara University's Research Institute of Bank and Trade Law. In 1958, another important step for distance education in Turkey is taken by the foundation of the Center of Correspondence Education under the Ministry of National Education. Eventually in 1982, Anadolu University Open Education was founded which provided distance higher education at the national scale. However, open education at the secondary education level is a rather new application (Demiray, 2000).

2.2 Open education high school in Turkey: historical background

Open Education High School was founded in 1992 under the Ministry of National Education Directorate Education via Film, Radio and Television (FRTED) which has become General Directorate of Educational Technology by uniting with General Directorate of Computer Education and Services in 1998. Eventually, in September 14th, 2011 the OEHS was taken under the body of General Directorate of Life Long Learning through the decree law number 652.

This whole improvement of distance education process has not been developed out of nowhere. It is really important to understand and draw attention to the historical and political changes that provided a ground for open education to blossom. One of the important determinants of education agenda in Turkey is the Education Councils that have gathered in every three years. The aim of the 13th Education Council gathered in 1990 was basically about non-formal education. It was far from coincidental that after two years of a meeting gathered with an agenda of non-formal education, open education at high school level have entered the scene of non-formal education. The agenda of the council meeting can be summarized under four categories: first is concept, scope and dispositions in non-formal

education, second is organization and cooperation in non-formal education, third is investment and finance of non-formal education and fourth is staffing in non-formal education. Furthermore, the minister of National Education of the time Avni Akyol, described one of the aims of the meeting as follows:

“The scope, aims and tasks of non-formal education is to educate, near or out of formal education, the citizens who have never attended formal education or are attending formal education or drop out of formal education, provide them necessary information and skills and make them gain new behaviors that will change their understanding and values in accordance with the general aims and basic principles of National Education” (Deniz, 2001) (p.75).

The striking point in the words of the minister of the time is the news heralding the changes and improvements in the structure of non-formal education which will be the precursor of the foundation of open education high school in 1992.

When the structure of the OEHS in Turkey is considered, it can be said that the basic processes of distance education are applied. The pass-fail status of the students is determined with a credit system. Therefore, students try to complete their credits instead of trying to pass on to upper grade. As for other types of secondary schools since 2006, OEHS also provide 4 years of high school education. The courses are determined in a parallel design with formal education curriculum by the Board of Education and Discipline. Official documents state that the materials are provided by radio, TV, telephone, fax, audio conference, video conference and computer and also printed publications are distributed to 81 cities of Turkey through 548 Adult Education Centers as free of charge or as e-books by the Internet. Another aspect concerning the structure of the OEHS in Turkey is the necessity of students to register for the school two times a year. In other words, students have to be registered in every semester by the Internet during their 4 years of education. However, the number of registration periods is different for the students who are over 17.

They have a right to register three times a year to be able to complete their credits in two and a half years but the students who are in the age of formal education don't have the same right and can take their exams only twice a year which makes it obligatory for them to finish high school in four years (General Directorate of Life Long Learning, 2019).¹

The criteria determining who can apply the OEHS are specified in Ministry of National Education Open Education High School Regulation as follows:

- individuals who are graduated from primary school/middle school and who completed middle school or religious middle school.
- Individuals who left or graduated from secondary schools which are adhesive to the Ministry of Education or other ministries.
- individuals who left or graduated from any higher education institutions,
- individuals who studies abroad if only they had certificate of equivalence of any of the requirements mentioned above (MoNE OEHS Regulation, Article No.15, 27/7/2012).

The registration process of the OEHS is explained in the recent OEHS 2018-2019 academic year second semester first registration guide in three steps. First of all, the students who meet the required conditions stated above pay their first registration exam fee (which is 30 TL by 2019) to the specified banks. Secondly, they take the documentation of their payment and the other necessary documents and go to one of the open education contact bureaus which are based within adult education centers in Turkey. Besides, for the students to complete their registration, it is also required to pay 10 TL for the Adult Education Center Directorate's Parent Teacher Association.

Finally, when the student status is activated, the students enter the online system and choose their courses and can take their exams according to the academic

¹ The information is gathered from the website of Open Education High School.
<http://aol.meb.gov.tr/www/okulumuz/icerik/1>

calendar announced in the website (OEHS 2018-2019 Academic Year Second Semester First Registration Guide, 2019).

Instruction system in OEHS is based on course credit system. Whether the student gets a credit or not is determined by his or her pass-fail notes from the courses. This system is applied in OEHS since the foundation in 1992. The credit of a course is determined by its hours in a week. The student continues his or her education by adding credits from courses. The courses are interdependent and can be taken in a mixed pattern. There are two kinds of courses in the curriculum. The first is must courses that the students have to take for graduation and the other is elective courses which are being taken for completing the necessary credit requirement. The must courses consist of language and expression, Turkish literature, culture of religion and knowledge of ethics, history, revolution history and Kemalism, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, hygiene, biology, philosophy, foreign language and traffic and first aid. What is interesting and critical here is that the students who couldn't succeed to pass any of the must courses in three times are excused from their must courses (MoNE OEHS Regulation, Article No.25, 17/3/2009).

The infamous mathematical formula of 4+4+4 in Turkey refers to the Law No. 6287 which was issued on the 30th of March 2012 and called the "Law on Amendment of Elementary Education and Training Law and Along with Some Other Laws". The law started to be implemented by the 2012-2013 academic year. The law and the new education system proposed were highly discussed in the media in the sense that it opened a gate for the revival of Prayer and Preacher Schools.

However, that was just one aspect of the issue. The gradual structure of the proposed education system paved the way for the students to attend open education high school in the last 4 years of the arithmetic formula of 4+4+4.

When the formal education system of Turkey is considered, students who are graduated from primary school must be registered into general or vocational technical secondary education institutions. According to the article 26 of the Basic Law of National Education numbered 1739 issued on 24 June 1973, “Secondary education includes all of the general, vocational and technical education institutions which followed primary education and offer at least 3 years of education” (Basic Law of National Education of 1973). However, together with the new law numbered 6287, article 26 has changed as follows: “Secondary education includes all of the general, vocational and technical education institutions which are based upon primary education and offer 4-years formal or non-formal compulsory education. The graduates of these institutions are awarded secondary education diploma” (Basic Law of National Education, Article no. 26, 2/12/2016).

After the current changes, students try to be placed to “General High Schools”² according to their final success score in the first place. Students who could not be placed to any general high school or even vocational or technical high school are compulsorily placed to open education high school.

When the bill number 6287 was introduced one of the most striking points that brought uproar was the presentation of distance education and vocational education as an opportunity for students starting from 10 years of age. What is highly discussed about this is the fact that these high schools create a substantial amount of low wage labor and causes the unemployment rate to increase. The problems of

² “Genel Lise” or “Akademik Lise” in Turkish.

making students de-schooled by open education are made invisible by non-formal education while in fact it is nothing more than sending poor children to be trained for unqualified jobs (Aksoy, 2012).

One study recently examined the issue of girls' dropping out of school after the new law known as 4+4+4 in Bayburt which is one of the cities of Turkey in the east side of Black Sea region. The researchers' aim was to examine the reasons of girls' preferring OEHSs and the views of female university students who give tutoring to those OEHS students. They have interviewed 43 girls who were currently enrolled in the OEHS in Bayburt and 55 female university students who attended the Faculty of Education in Bayburt University. According to the findings of the study, there was a considerable increase on the number of female students who have just graduated from middle school. To put it differently, the percentage of female students who have graduated from the 8th grade and enrolled to OEHS have risen sharply together with the change in the law that comprised open education as part of the 12-year compulsory formal education period. The reasons for this situation were manifold for the case of Bayburt city including "faith, culture, oppression and poverty". What was also more striking was that more than half of the interviewed female students wanted to continue their education in a formal school instead of OEHS if such an opportunity was provided (Tosun & Bayram, 2015).

2.3. Administration structure of OEHS

Currently, OEHS is directed under the Directorate General for Life Long Learning. Even though OEHS is accounted as one of the formal high school types in Turkey, there is a critical dilemma in terms of the institutions they are attached to. All of the other formal secondary school types are directed under the Directorate of Secondary

School Education except OEHS which is directed under the Directorate General for Life Long Learning that is responsible from non-formal education institutions which is also presented in Figure 1. This situation puts OEHS into a hybrid position which makes it neither is a formal nor an informal education track and creates a basic contradiction for the system of OEHS since the school is presented as an equal choice to the other high school types which are existent in Turkey.

On April 8th, 2016, a headmaster is assigned to directorate of OEHS. The current headmaster of OEHS is Mustafa Sağır who was a former headmaster in Vocational and Technical Open Education High School. There is also a head vice-principal to the headmaster of the school and eight vice-principals.

The assignment, authorization and responsibilities of the headmaster is defined in article 8 of the OEHS Regulation as carrying out educational and administrative duties according to the official and legal documents such as regulations and laws, organizing the division of labor among the personnel, providing resources about instructional programs, approves and puts into practice the decisions taken in the meetings and informs his/her superiors. In addition, the principal is also responsible for ensuring that the resources are used effectively and efficiently, ensuring the development, production and distribution of publishing, software and documents about education and instruction, performing actions to carry out the services, taking precautions for discipline, making the work schedule done, putting it into use and checking occasionally, ensuring the use and protection of the building and the materials, ensuring that the exams are conducted according to the law, approving the documents the students require, following the academic success of students by year of education, preparing justified budget plans, ensuring coordination with OE Bureaus and other duties assigned by his/her superiors.

The Ministry of Education accepts OEHS as one of the high school types and assigns a headmaster to ensure the operation of the school. As of today, the headmaster is responsible from nearly 1.4 million students.

The duties and responsibilities of teachers and other personnel also exist in the regulation of OEHS, however there is no teacher assigned to OEHS except the ones who work in the weekend practice courses of Open Vocational and Technical High School. Open Vocational and Technical High School students have to attend face to face applied courses at the weekends.

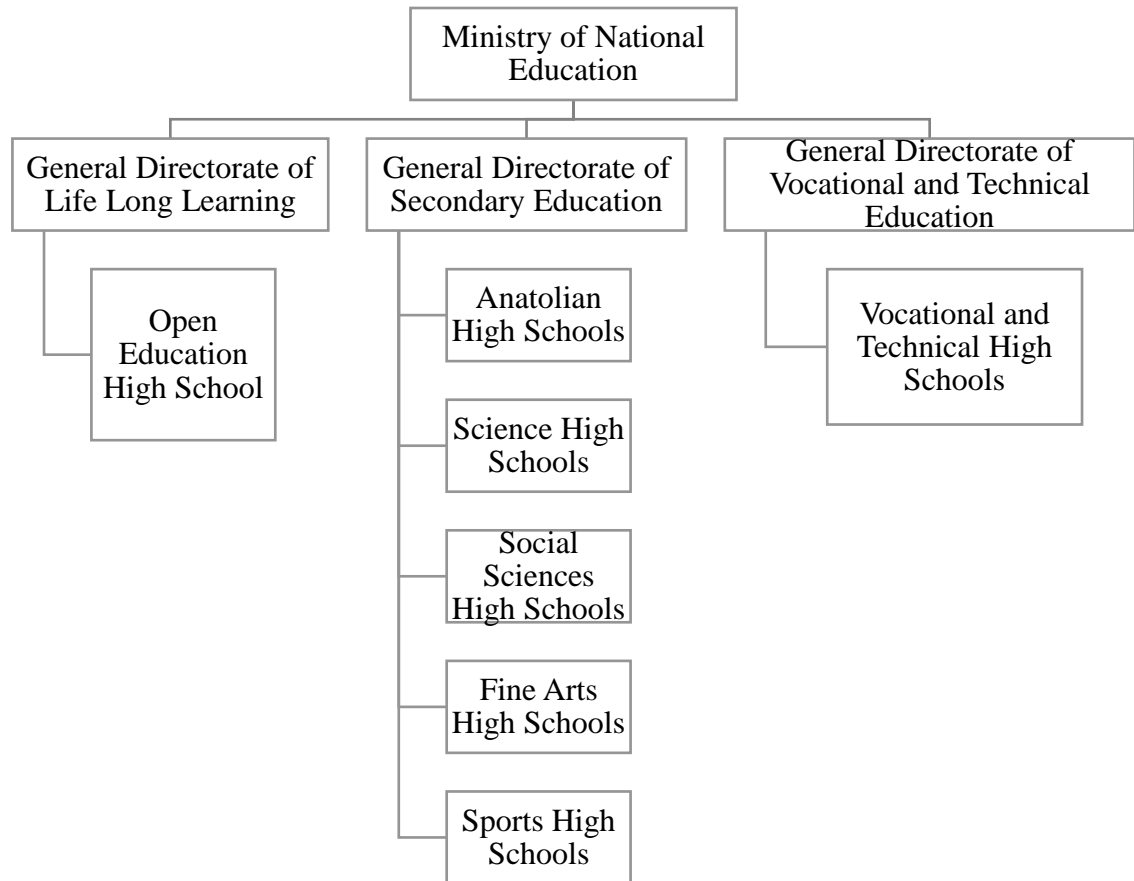


Figure 1. General directorates under Ministry of Education according to school types attached

2.4 The current state of OEHS in Turkey

OEHS incorporates three high schools which are Open Education High School, Open Upper Vocational Secondary School and Open Education Religious High School.

Open Education High School has the highest student population of 1.090.830 followed by Open Upper Vocational Secondary School and Open Education Religious High School.³

The number of students attending in OEHS in Turkey is very critical when compared to the overall number of students in secondary education. The situation gets more striking with the issue of directly assigning students to the OEHS when they couldn't be placed any of the eligible schools after the optional national exam or any high school in their neighborhood.

According to the MoNE 2017-2018 Statistics, the number of students attending OEHS in Turkey is 1.395.621 of which 813.072 are male and 582.548 are female students. Unfortunately, the only statistics shared on OEHS is the numbers of male and female attending all of the three secondary education institutes providing distance education which is adapted from MoNE 2017-2018 statistics and provided in the Table 1 below.

According to the Table 1 the total number of students in OEHS is approximately 24.53% of the total number of students within secondary education which means that one quarter of the secondary education population in Turkey attend to OEHS. It can be inferred from the table that the number of male students attending OEHS is higher than the females in OEHS and Open Upper Vocational Secondary School.

³ There is also Open Lower Secondary School. However it was found beyond the scope of this study and wasn't included.

However, it is lower than the females in Open Education Religious High School. This can be related to the present conservative structure of Turkey that makes parents take their daughters from regular schools and send them to the religious OEHS.

Table 1. The Number of Students Attending OEHS (2017-2018)

Type of Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Open Education High School	1	642,483	448,347	1,090,830
Open Upper Vocational Secondary School	1	128,079	64,015	192,094
Open Education Religious High School	1	42,510	70,187	112,697
Total Number of Students in OEHS	3	813,072	582,549	1,395,621
Total Number of Students in Secondary Education		2,985,179	2,704,248	5,689,427

Accordingly, the number of registered females OEHS students is also less than males when considered according to the years. Even though, OEHS was stated to be founded in 1992 in formal documents, the statistics of MoNE started to include OEHS statistics in 1997. The number of students attending OEHS showed significant increases over the years except 1999, 2003 and 2016. Further, the number of registered students attending OEHS increased and reached fifteen times more than the number in 1997 in twenty years (see Table 2).

Accordingly, the number of females was also less than males in most of the years as it can be seen in the below table. Especially in the year when the intermittent 4+4+4 education system started to be implemented and the OEHS was presented as a choice, the number of males attending OEHS was approximately doubled the number in the previous year while the number of females stayed unchanged.

Table 2. The Number of Registered OEHS Students According to Years

Years	Registered Students		
	Male	Female	Total
1997-1998	57,170	35,731	92,901
1998-1999	119,543	64,806	184,351
1999-2000	15,229	15,336	30,565
2000-2001	107,842	56,224	164,066
2001-2002	117,543	61,480	179,023
2002-2003	301,179	152,936	454,115
2003-2004	150,192	102,233	252,425
2004-2005	149,873	102,157	252,030
2005-2006	155,755	102,690	258,445
2006-2007	167,348	114,079	281,427
2007-2008	191,140	143,006	334,146
2008-2009	288,529	219,513	508,042
2009-2010	332,349	268,689	601,038
2010-2011	423,901	354,312	778,213
2011-2012	507,163	433,105	940,268
2012-2013	461,895	552,514	1,014,409
2013-2014	721,737	585,257	1,306,994
2014-2015	823,856	646,578	1,470,434
2015-2016	870,397	665,738	1,536,135
2016-2017	745,841	541,408	1,287,249
2017-2018	813,072	582,549	1,395,621

Note: The table is adapted from MoNE Statistics.

In order to make some clarification on the status of OEHS the researcher prepared Table 3. This table presents statistics concerning OEHS existed in MoNE 2017-2018 education statistics which provides data on the number of applicants to the university entrance exam according to the school type and the percentage of students who got into a 4-year-program. According to the table, there are two critical points to make. The first one is the place of OEHS. Even though according to bylaw, founding OEHS determines them as an equivalent alternative to regular high schools, it is still presented under the category of vocational high school graduates (MoNE OEHS Regulation, 27/7/2012). This is another point illustrating the ambivalent structure of OEHS which has also been presented in Figure 1.

The second critical point is about the number of OEHS graduate applicants. The number of OEHS graduate applicants comes fifthly among all other high school graduate applicants. Contrary to the large number of graduate applicants, the percentage of students who got into a 4-year program is just 7.27%. This percentage puts OEHS in the eighteenth place among other high schools where social sciences high schools got the first place with 66.25% and sports high schools with the lowest rate of 1.19%. Moving from here, it can be inferred that despite the large number of students attending and applying to the university exam from OEHS, the percentage of students who got into a 4-year university program is less than the other high schools which draws attention to the quality of education provided in OEHS. Even though the percentage of being got into a 4-year program doesn't necessarily determines the quality of the school being graduated, the scarcity of statistics about OEHS makes it harder to reach a conclusion. To summarize, because of the rareness of statistics on OEHS in Turkey, the data provided in Table 3 is the only available data that can point to the quality of OEHS. Since there is not much statistics provided by MoNE about the demographics of students attending OEHS, it was found important to gather data from different sources. Moving from here, Table 4 presented data gathered and adapted from 2016-2017 OEHS statistics and the study of Quality of Life Index: A Case Study of İstanbul (Şeker, 2015).

This table is significant in terms of demonstrating the relationship between socio-economic status and the chances of attending OEHS. Even though there was not a clear pattern in the numbers of students attending OEHS and the socio-economic quality of the districts of İstanbul, it can be clearly seen that the districts in the first rows with high quality of life index had the lowest rates of attending OEHS.

Table 3. The Number of Applicants to the University Entrance Exam According to the School Type and the Percentage of Students Who Enrolled into a 4-year Program (2017)

Type of School	Applicants	4-year University Programs (%)
High School (Formal and Daytime Education)	429,715	11.06
Anatolian High School	396,681	34.94
Private High School	3,607	15.5
High School, Private High School (Foreign language intensive high school)	9,744	12.56
Foreign Language Private High Schools	62,179	48.01
Science High School	22,619	53.71
Private Science High School	6,619	59
Military High School	1,291	38.65
Evening High School	53	3.77
Private Evening High School	4,857	3.19
Social Sciences High School	2,344	66.25
Sports High School	3,939	1.19
Private Basic High School	144,292	45.29
Police College	360	25.56
Fine Arts and Sports High School	279	2.15
Total number of High School Graduate Applicants	1,088,579	27.7
Teacher High School	48,315	45.84
Open Education High School	184,405	7.27
Multi-Program High School	33,721	3.4
Fine Arts High School	5,677	3.08
Religious High School	199,382	19.7
Trade Vocational High School	122,308	6.99
Technical High Schools	91,772	9.84
Industrial Vocational High School	186,147	3.37
Girls' Vocational High School	159,157	7.27
Medical Vocational High School	112,640	5.74
Hotel Management and Tourism Vocational High School	16,331	8.11
Secretarial Vocational High School	33	3.03
Sergeant Preparatory High School	607	9.72
Other Vocational High Schools	16,578	12.13
Other	192	4.69
Total number of Vocational High School Graduate Applicants	1,128,950	8.79
General Total	2,265,844	18.67

However, districts like Bağcılar, Esenyurt, Esenler, Sultangazi ranking 28, 29, 35, and 36 respectively had some of the highest numbers of attending OEHS. This proves the fact that students living in low socio-economic neighborhoods have a likelihood of attending OEHS more than the students living in higher socio-economic backgrounds.

In the frame of the tables and statistics provided in this part, there are five important points to stress. First, there is an increase in the number of students attending OEHS over the years. Second, the number of students attending general OEHS is higher than its vocational and religious counterparts. Third, the number of female students in OEHS is lower than male except in Open Education Religious High Schools. Fourth, the likelihood of getting into a 4-year university program is low for the graduates of OEHS, which also indirectly indicates the quality of education provided in these schools. Last, there seems to be an indirect link between the socio-economic status of students and attending OEHS.

2.5 OEHS in neoliberal times

Education in the post-1980 neoliberal era has been delegated from formal education institutions to much more flexible organizational structures. Accordingly, nation states started to withdraw from providing basic social services one by one. Education is also among these services and neoliberalism caused the nation states to search for ways to get rid of their social welfare burden, make budget cuts to realize this aim and at the end allocate decreased resources for education. Global capitalism does not mean a strong nation state in the global arena but rather the withdrawal of nation states from their social welfare functions and replace those functions with more repressive apparatuses (Hill & Kumar, 2009).

Table 4. The Number of Students Attending OEHS by Districts of İstanbul and İstanbul Quality of Life Index Rankings of Districts⁴

Districts of İstanbul	Registered	Not Renewed Registration One Time	Total	Male	Female	Total	Quality of Life Index Rankings
BEŞİKTAŞ	575	268	843	389	301	690	1
KADIKÖY	990	812	1,802	964	705	1,669	2
BAKIRKÖY	304	399	703	504	440	944	3
ŞİŞLİ	1,957	1,046	3,003	1,240	999	2,239	4
FATİH	1,225	2,340	3,565	3,173	1,948	5,121	5
ÜSKÜDAR	2,056	1,752	3,808	2,131	1,825	3,956	7
SARIYER	1,668	1,292	2,960	1,453	1,194	2,647	8
EYÜP	3,195	1,932	5,127	2,346	1,962	4,308	9
MALTEPE	1,686	1,776	3,462	2,427	1,776	4,203	10
KARTAL	2,720	1,798	4,518	2,092	1,979	4,071	11
KÜÇÜKÇEKMECE	5,488	4,061	9,549	5,228	3,704	8,932	12
BAYRAMPAŞA	3,417	1,689	5,106	2,419	1,510	3,929	13
BÜYÜKÇEKMECE	1,646	1,106	2,752	1,182	1,001	2,183	14
BAHÇELİEVLER	4,771	3,291	8,062	4,324	3,024	7,348	15
ATAŞEHİR	2,260	1,616	3,876	1,928	1,567	3,495	16
PENDİK	2,539	3,108	5,647	4,022	3,261	7,283	17
ZEYTİNBURNU	1,324	2,055	3,379	2,740	1,999	4,739	18
BEYLİKDÜZÜ	2,257	1,428	3,685	1,442	1,289	2,731	19
BEYKOZ	1,745	998	2,743	1,451	1,160	2,611	20
TUZLA	2,522	1,266	3,788	1,723	1,410	3,133	21
KAĞITHANE	3,109	2,363	5,472	3,163	2,242	5,405	22
ÜMRANİYE	5,049	3,389	8,438	4,583	3,778	8,361	23
GÜNGÖREN	1,089	1,770	2,859	2,043	1,607	3,650	24
ADALAR	13	38	51	39	17	56	25
BAŞAKŞEHİR	2,155	1,581	3,736	1,950	1,767	3,717	26
AVCILAR	2,662	2,242	4,904	2,620	2,020	4,640	27
BAĞCILAR	6,254	5,660	11,914	7,524	4,929	12,453	28
ESENYURT	5,906	4,524	10,430	5,166	3,396	8,562	29
ÇATALCA	591	255	846	262	231	493	30
ÇEKMEKÖY	2,604	1,108	3,712	1,476	1,116	2,592	31
SİLİVRİ	1,200	978	2,178	2,100	706	2,806	32
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	5,305	3,293	8,598	4,112	3,051	7,163	33
SANCAKTEPE	1,621	1,809	3,430	2,729	1,832	4,561	34
ESENLER	1,271	3,819	5,090	5,093	3,412	8,505	35
SULTANGAZİ	5,441	3,997	9,438	5,320	3,592	8,912	36
ŞİLE	198	142	340	190	113	303	37
SULTANBEYLİ	4,426	2,458	6,884	3,391	2,066	5,457	38
ARNAVUTKÖY	1,935	1,721	3,656	2,067	1,339	3,406	39

⁴ The table is adapted from OEHS statistics and the study of Quality of Life Index: A Case Study of İstanbul (Şeker, 2015).

Further, neoliberal stress on market has resulted in the minimization of the nation states in terms of basic social services but with the additional influence of neo-conservatism the nation states protected their place in determining what the “correct knowledge” is. One of the most used justifications for the minimization of the social welfare services was reform ideas to strengthen the link between education and the necessity of meeting the needs of the economy (Apple, 2006). OEHS in the case of Turkey serves a similar yet critical purpose. In his article, Aksoy (2012) tries to uncover how the intermittent education system of Turkey serves meeting the needs of the capitalist market. In this respect, he also draws attention to the unemployment levels of young generation. The highest unemployment rate belongs to the high school graduates between the years 2004-2010 in Turkey. Therefore, Aksoy (2012) asserted that the applications that came along with the intermittent education system can only be explained by the state’s endeavors to satisfy the market. In addition, Gök (2014) argued that the decrease in quality of public education and privatization in education in Turkey is closely related. In spite of the increase in the number of students enrolled in public schools, it is a major contradiction that, in parallel with this increase, the lack of adequate number of teachers and other education personnel to be appointed and the necessary physical resources and educational materials are not provided (Gök, 2004).

In addition to the withdrawal of states from their social functions, neoliberalism also created the idea of opening up new types of schools which in turn invented “parental choice” and resulted in the formation of school hierarchies. OEHS in Turkey was in effect regarded as at the bottom of the school hierarchy in Turkey where the students who could not succeed to get into one of their preferences after the optional national exam were directly “sent” to this distance education institution.

According to Hill and Kumar (2009), the idea of selection and “school choice” has resulted in the rejection of “the others”. To clarify, while some students are being selected, the system inherently requires that less privileged students are opted out or rejected. Furthermore, where there is selection, the schools at the bottom go further down and the schools at the top goes further up. Together with this, students from underprivileged backgrounds are deprived of their right to good quality education. In essence the systematic withdrawal of states from providing the right to free, quality education for all caused the deprivation of some from their right to education (Hill & Kumar, 2009). MoNE stated that the education system of OEHS proposed as equal with other regular high schools. Nevertheless, there are critical characteristics that negate this situation. Some of them can be listed as the following: the books taught at OEHS are being the summary of general high school books, the absence of teachers or guidance, the absence of any extracurricular activities. All points to a less quality of schooling than other school types. In reality, this system of schooling creates an easier path for the students to graduate from high school and also an easier path for the State to increase the number of high school graduates by allocating less resources than other schools. Even though it seems like a win-win situation for both parties, it is not more than the realization of neoliberal ideas and leave the underprivileged children an unequal path that will never be reinstated.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

The main purpose of the present study is to explore the background characteristics and prior school experiences of students attending Open Education High School in Turkey that lead them to continue secondary school education at a distance, how their experiences influenced their engagement to school and their future life plans and aspirations. The study further aims to understand how these schools arose in Turkey. In this chapter, there are two main concepts that constituted the theoretical framework for the research: social and cultural reproduction in education and disengagement from education. In conclusion, this chapter includes the relevant literature on definitions of distance education, history of distance education, the applications of distance education in the high schools, social class and education, reproduction theories and education, cultural reproduction and education, disengagement from education, the reasons of disengagement, the policies that are developed to overcome disengagement and the relation between disengagement and neoliberalism.

3.1 Distance education

This part consisted of the relevant literature on the definitions of distance education, history of distance education, and the applications of distance education in the high schools.

3.1.1 Definitions of distance education

Researchers and theoreticians working in the field of distance education frequently mention that there is a need to clarify the terminology in this field. Even though there exists numerous terminology in the field such as correspondence education, correspondence study, home study, independent study, external studies, distance teaching, teaching at a distance, distance learning, learning at a distance, schools without walls, off-campus education, open learning, and virtual learning; for the purposes of the present study, ‘distance education’ as a generic term will be used throughout the study (Keegan, 1996).

First of all, Keegan (1996) defines distance education as:

“a generic term that includes the range of teaching/learning strategies used by correspondence colleges, open universities and distance training units of corporate providers. It is a term for the education of those who choose not to attend the schools, colleges and universities of the world but study at their home, or sometimes their workplace” (pp.34).

Keegan (1996) asserts that it is critical to clarify and choose one general term for a study in the field of distance education in order to overcome the complexity resulted from the existence of various terminology referring to similar concepts. He further claims that, all the definitions of distance education consist of the common feature of the material separation of teacher and learner which puts distance education apart from regular education systems. This common point within the definitions of distance education also manifests itself in the definition of Holmberg (1977):

“The term ‘distance education’ covers the various forms of study at all levels which are not under the continuous, immediate supervision of tutors present with their students in lecture rooms or on the same premises, but which, nevertheless, benefit from the planning, guidance and tuition of a tutorial organization”

In the above definition Holmberg (1977) focuses on the aspects of distance education such as the absence of immediate guidance and supervision of the teachers and also the absence of classrooms.

On the other hand, recent definitions of distance education continue focusing mainly on the separation of the teacher and the learner but are more generic and comprehensive when compared to the early definitions:

“Distance education is all arrangements for providing instruction through print or electronic communications media to persons engaged in planned learning in a place or time different from that of the instructor or instructors” (Moore, 1990, pp.15).

All in all, Keagan (1996) summarizes and lists the common features of distance education as the separation of teacher/teachers and students, the existence of an organization which is one of the discriminative features of distance education from a simple private study, the usage of various instructional media that continues to be developed through time, the provision of communication in a two-way process, the provision of an opportunity to meet both for instructional purposes and also socialization. Correspondingly, for Simonson, Swaldina and Zvacek (2015), there are four critical components of distance education. These are the necessity of distance education to be institutionally based, the separation of teacher and students, the existence of interactive telecommunications and establishment of a learning community which will ease the learning experiences of the students.

3.1.2 History of distance education

Distance education has its philosophical roots in the promise of an open and accessible education for all. The variety and flexibility of the resources available for distance education is also thought to be important in terms of the education process and the individuality of that process provides for the students. Furthermore, two

ideas that often come into arguments for the justification of its existence since distance education has shown up in the history of education. The first one refers to the overcoming of the criticisms of scarcity and exclusivity of the traditional brick and mortar universities, the second refers to their inability to grow their structure larger (Matthews, 1999).

As far as the history of distance education concerned, it is possible to go back in time series until the late 1800s. Demiray and İşman (2014) also summarizes the history of distance education under five historical terms. The first period of the history of distance education corresponds to the times before the providence of correspondence education. Demiray and İşman (2014) argues that there existed educational activities that were being carried out in order to forestall illiteracy before the beginning of correspondence education. The second period starts with correspondence education which utilized postal service to provide educational materials for students. In this period, students' home works and reports were sent to the teachers by mail and the teachers were also sending the grades back to the students through the postal service. The third period with the advents in educational technology includes instructional materials such as radio and television. The start of two-way communication through video and audio systems between the learners and the teacher in distance education corresponds to the fourth period of the historicizing. Finally, computer and satellite technologies are started to be used as distance education instruction materials in the fifth period. In effect, the first three period of the history of distance education can be grouped as utilizing one-way communication whereas the last two periods use two-way communication technology in the provision of distance education (Demiray & İşman, 2014).

The start of one of today's modern education forms is correspondence course study where students reach their materials via mail delivery. Before this historical incident, distance education history is also known to be advertised in a newspaper in Sweden that advertises and invites individuals to "Composition Through the Medium of Post". Sir Isaac Pitman has been the first person in history to find a Correspondence college in England in 1840s and also made use of the back then free delivery to rural sites (Matthews, 1999). After Sir Isaac Pitman's foundation of the first correspondence education, in 1836, University of London started to provide external examination (Demiray & İşman, 2014).

Correspondence education has spread out to other countries like Germany, Canada, Australia, the Soviet Union, Japan and the United States in a few years. In 1856, language education by correspondence has started in Berlin, Germany (Matthews, 1999). Correspondingly, between the years 1883 and 1891, the State of New York started to authorize academic degrees for the students in Chautauqua School of Liberal Arts. It was not only by correspondence education but also included a face to face summer school program (Demiray & İşman, 2014). By 1891, a newspaper called Mining Herald which was owned by Thomas J. Foster started to offer courses about mining. This historical incident was critical in terms of the history of distance education is concerned, because Foster's business has developed in a couple of years that he founded International Correspondence Schools and the number of students reached to approximately two million by the 1900s. Around this time, Skerry's College in Edinburgh, Correspondence College in London, University Extension Department of the University of Chicago and University of Wisconsin also started to offer distance education programs through correspondence (Simonson, Swaldina & Zvacek, 2015).

The enrichment of distance education into the secondary school curriculum has been possible around 1920s. By 1923, students in high schools were first started to be offered vocational courses and this was followed with the distance high school course experimentation of University of Nebraska. The act of the University of Nebraska was also duplicated by the Ministry of Education in France and they started to offer correspondence high school courses for the returnees of World War II. Even though distance education has been started to be experimented at the high school level by the governments, the target audience of distance education provision were mainly adult learners who had occupational and familial commitments (Simonson, Swaldina & Zvacek, 2015).

The advances in distance education have continued to be developed and radio as an instructional medium started to be used in the provision of education around 1920s which was followed with the employment of television in 1930s. Even though some universities such as Purdue and Kansas made the usage of television possible to provide instruction, it has only been realized by the time of 1950s to fully utilize television as a medium of instruction. In 1960s, satellite technology has developed which clinched the spread of television as an instructional technology. The advances in distance education technology and materials came to the point of using fiber-optic communication systems by the 1980s and also the beginning of 1990s which made high quality, two-way audio and video communication possible for the teachers and students in distance education programs. After this time the improvements in distance education has developed at an unprecedented level through computer assisted information technologies.

The provision of online distance education courses continues since the mid-1980s. At this point, distance education has evolved into a system where teachers assign online home works for students and students come to the online classroom where they simultaneously discuss the subjects with the teacher and the other online students (Simonson, Swaldina & Zvacek, 2015).

Matthews (1999) also grouped the materials used throughout the history of distance education under four generations to present a historical flow. The first generation corresponds to the years between 1850 and 1960 where the media used was mostly print, radio and television. In the second generation (1960-1985) however, audiocassettes, videocassettes and fax were added to them. In this generation, British Open University (1969) has appeared on the stage which was significant in terms of distance education history. Therefore, this period witnessed a mixed media approach where materials are delivered to students and also supported by broadcasts. Moreover, what also made British Open University distinct is the method of tutoring it provided for students. In this method, it was assured that each student had a tutor who gave tutoring via phone or in group sessions in the evenings. The third generation is marked up with the incorporation of computers and networks into the instructional materials of distance education whereas the fourth generation brought the innovation of real time audio and video conferencing. What makes the last generation critical is the advantage it offers for the contact of students with students and also teachers or faculty. Over years the terms that are used to describe distance education have changed plenty of times starting from correspondence courses in the eighties to cyber, virtual or hybrid education in today's world (Matthews, 1999). The terms used to describe today's interpretation of distance education draw attention to the structure of the process of education being both face-

to-face and at a distance. This structure is what makes this process hybrid.

Additionally, the multitude of the educational options and also delivery methods offered are things that differentiate the fourth generation of distance education from the other generations (Hurst, 2001). By 1995, 57 per cent of the courses were transferred to students by two-way interactive while 52 per cent of the courses were delivered by one-way prerecorded video (Matthews, 1999).

The foundation of distance teaching universities was also critical in the historical development of distance education. The first distance teaching university was the University of South Africa which was founded in 1962 and followed by the foundation of the Open University in England in 1971. Together with the foundation of distance teaching universities, the history of distance education has developed a lot. Distance teaching universities, especially the Open University United Kingdom which was also known as ‘the university of the air’ have improved the advances in distance education at an unprecedented level through large scale and sophisticated courses provided (Shale, 2010). With the advances brought by the distance higher education provision, the history of distance education has witnessed the arising of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). These massive open online courses were mainly described as ‘college level courses, delivered using the Internet to anyone who wishes to enroll’ (Simonson, Swaldina & Zvacek, 2015, pp. 39).

Another issue to be discussed when the history of distance education is concerned is the advantages and disadvantages of distance education. Even though the purpose of the present study is not to discuss the necessity or theoretical grounding of distance education, it is also critical to briefly look at the pros and cons of distance education. The advantages pertaining to distance education so far are related to access, flexible scheduling, private attention by the instructors, less

transportation which creates extra time to study, increase in the enrollment rate, money savings coming from not building a university campus and following and being easily integrated to new technology. On the other hand, the disadvantages of distance education are that it is too expensive to enter because of the investments in all that technological materials, it consumes so much time and energy of the instructors, the staff needs to be trained in the use of all this new technology that changes every single day, the inadequate technological infrastructure, problems of authentication, difficulties in maintaining all that face-to-face student contact and the limitations pertaining to reflection, conversation and intellectual dialogue (Matthews, 1999).

3.1.3 The present state of distance education at the high school level emerged as virtual schools

The beginning of distance education at the high school level corresponds to 1920s. Students were offered vocational courses at the high school level first in history in 1923. Another experimental distance high school course was started to be offered in the University of Nebraska. The Ministry of Education in France also initiated correspondence high school courses for the returnees of World War II around this time. (Simonson, Swaldina & Zvacek, 2015).

Modern applications of distance education at the K-12 level have evolved to be described as virtual schools. Virtual schools are defined as ‘educational organizations that offer K-12 courses through Internet- or Web-based methods’ (Clark, 2013). The foundations of the current structure of virtual schools were based on the ‘independent study’ movement of 1920s which was known to be started in the University of Nebraska. Starting in 1929 and being accredited by the state in 1969,

Nebraska's Independent Study High School developed a supervised study model and founded the first virtual high school model in 1990s. This model included a local high school in order to ensure the lessons, provide study periods and supervise the work of the students and ensure that the lessons returns to the correspondence center to be evaluated and graded. Furthermore, after the Nebraska experiment, more universities started to offer independent study programs for high school students (Clark, 2013).

The instructional media used for the K-12 distance education models has been mostly print based throughout the 20th century, the domination of computer-based media over other materials used only become possible in the 21st century. Clark (2013) provided a historicizing of K-12 distance education and instructional technologies in Table 5 below.

As can be observed from the Table 5, audio-based media have continued to be used dominantly in K-12 distance education until 1970s and still some programs continue using. However, by 1980 various networking technologies have begun using a combination of audio and video conferencing and also podcasting. The usage of video-based materials in K-12 distance education, on the other hand, has started around 1933 as television broadcasting in the evenings. There were also telecourse opportunities for high school students offered by community colleges in the United States around this time. Recent advances in the technology of fiber optics provided state networks with the opportunity to provide students high technology computer networking and video-based K-12 distance education (Clark, 2013).

Table 5. Timeline of K-12 Distance Education and Instructional Technologies

Date	First Documented Use in K-12 Education
1910	Instructional film
1923	Supervised correspondence study
1930	Educational radio
1933	Educational television
1956	Telecourse study
1961	Airborne instruction
1965	Computer based learning
1967	Audio conferencing
1973	Educational satellite instruction
1984	Computer mediated communication
1985	Satellite network instruction
1989	Microwave/ITFS network instruction
1993	Web based instruction

The development of computer-based K-12 distance education has started with local school experimentation in Stanford and around 1990s, the number of schools using computer laboratories to provide students with individualized learning opportunities have increased. With the improvements in computer-based technology and additional improvements in multimedia tools, the number of students attending at least one online course in high school has increased to 300.000 and even K-12 blended learning practices also started to be flourished. However, at this time, those K-12 distance education practices at the high school level was conducted as blended rather than full online instruction.

The historical development of K-12 distance education which has started with independent study movement has arrived at the point of ‘virtual schools’ only after 1990s. Even though the foundations of distance education go back to 1800s in the United States, it took hundred years to pass for the first fully online public school to be founded which was Utah Electronic High School. It opened its virtual doors in 1994-1995 and offered courses for the students who at the time enrolled in traditional schools. Starting from that year distance learning, online education and now virtual

schools started to grow in the U.S. in all 50 states. For example, the state of Michigan necessitates that all students should attend at least one form of online course before their graduation. Today, fully online “public” schools operate within the scope of charter schools which are defined as “legally independent, innovative, outcome-based, public schools”. The virtual schools that are opened under the charter school legislation are allowed in 25 states presently (Tonks, Weston, Wiley & Barbour, 2013).

When virtual schools are considered, Clark (2013) argues that, computer conferencing should be the only technological tool to be used in K-12 schools due to the fact that it is the only tool that provides an opportunity for students to handle the necessary didactic, administrative and professional tasks.

Even though, the practicing of virtual schools is relatively new, there are various types of virtual schools operating in the US education system. These are namely postsecondary programs, state-level virtual schools, virtual charter school full-time programs, school district-led programs, virtual private schools, online learning consortia and educational management organizations. All those schools are differentiated in terms of their methods of organizational control (Clark, 2013). Postsecondary programs refer to the fully online high school curriculum programs offered by some universities such as the University Of Nebraska, the University of Missouri and the University of Oklahoma. State-level virtual schools refer to the state led online initiatives at the K-12 level distance education. However, only 14 states had virtual school practices by 2002 in the US (Clark, 2013). On the other hand, most of the virtual schools in the US are virtual charter school full-time programs. By 2002, 30 states had these virtual charter schools. However, Clark (2013) argues that those full-time online learning charter schools mostly appeal

families who prefer homeschooling and the percentage of homeschooled students in the US education system is 2.7 percent in 2007. School district-led programs refer to the learning programs led by local education providers whereas virtual private schools refer to accredited distance education providers. On the other hand, online learning consortia refer to virtual schools founded by private consortiums and there are also educational management organizations that help virtual schools to obtain learning management systems and web-based course content (Clark 2013).

The economic side of the open education is also worth mentioning here. Hubbard and Mitchell (2011) cite from Congress candidate Shaffer that the U.S. spends \$100 million a year on online schools whereas cuts \$200 to \$270 million a year from public brick-and-mortar schools. On the other hand, considering virtual schools under charter school legislation also creates one of the biggest markets of the economy by making teaching something to purchase. The political economy of open education is also critical in terms of the market of materials incorporated for the instruction process. Computers and all the other web supported materials are high technology products that are changing nearly every day create a market for open education. Their nature requires to be renewed in approximately every five years.

3.2 Social class and education

The current structure of open education high school in Turkey proposes a new mode of reproduction through the education system. Even though the new system of distance education at the high school level was proposed by the politicians as a new possibility for the students, a new choice among the many, the rapid ratification of the law no. 6287 without any pilot study brought many problems in the structure and

application of the open education high school along with the inevitable damage it brought to the right to equal access to basic education.

According to radical educators, schools are not such innocent spheres that only work towards the development of the individuals for their social roles as the liberal theories suggest but rather schools have a reproductive nature which can only be understood through an analysis that uncover their relations with the state and the economy.

Before discussing the theories looking at the relation between social class and education, it would be necessary and worthwhile to share a brief history of the place of education in the modern capitalist society. Before capitalism, the key productive unit was known to be the family. In most pre-capitalist societies, the individual owned his own means of production and autonomy at least on the decisions such as the working hours or how and what to produce. Transmission of the fundamental skills of this work to the next generation was also important, yet a simple task due to the unchanging nature of the substantial skills. Through this process, the child was provided with the necessary skills and was also adjusted to the social relations of production. This has differentiated with the expansion of capitalist modes of production changing the processes of socialization and production and destroying the role of family in these processes. The workers abandoned their control over their own labor in exchange of wages and this in turn created the social division of labor and a huge impact on the place and role of schooling in the society. Skill training were no longer provided along the boundaries of the family and the skills of one generation were no longer enough for the 'modern times'. This wasn't enough for the capitalist class, they also wanted to guarantee social control and political stability and 'mass education' appeared as the solution to this fear of institutional crisis of control

and stability. Education has started to be seen as the mirror image of the factory work and schools were relied on to prepare the students for their future place in the social division of labor. This place even has started to be related with credentials which can be obtained through education and graded by the years of schooling and the quality of education. Together with the 'progressive education movement', educational tracks and achievement testing were added to the already existing class stratification system. Around this time the counselling profession also became the last straw and added an element of choice to the process (Bowles, 1971).

Inequalities in schooling and education in general causes the reproduction of the social division of labor. This can be illustrated with different examples and statistics. Bowles (1971) asserted that a child from the top percentile of the class distribution had a chance to get four and a half more years of education than a child in the bottom percentile of the stratification.

This in part related to the drop-out rates of children from poorer families who cannot complete high school. The number of years completed is just one face of the coin. Facilities inside the school, social relations, the attitudes of teachers, and the existence of extracurricular activities add something to the already unequal order of schooling. This at the end helped the children gain certain traits, personalities and expectations in line with their class and determine their future success, and income.

On the basis of this historicization, Giroux (1983) argues that the reproductive nature of schools can be revealed from three senses. Firstly, the ability and knowledge necessary for individuals for their respective workplaces which inherently reserves inequalities pertaining to class, gender and race were provided in schools. From the perspective of radical educators, schools found to be reproductive in the sense that they assign and legitimize certain forms of knowledge and values

that in turn created and established the dominant culture. Finally, schools argued to be one of the means of the state that produced and justified the ideological and economic essentials necessary for the political power of the states. Nevertheless, domination has become the most used element of analysis in reproduction theories and the element of agency along with how they participated the process of the reproduction of their conditions of existence have often been neglected. This neglect has inspired resistance theorists and human agency in terms of the reproduction of social order has gained attention. Together with their contribution, the oppositional behavior of students has been realized as a hidden element that makes them participate in their own class reproduction process and leads them to their subordinated class position (Giroux, 1983).

3.2.1 Reproduction theories and education

On the basis of the above-mentioned brief history of the capitalist social relations and the place of education as one of the ideological apparatuses of state (Althusser, 1971), certain theories of reproduction came to existence to analyze education from different perspectives. Giroux (1983), groups those theories under three categories. First one is the economic-reproductive model, second one is the cultural-reproductive model and finally the last group is the hegemonic-state reproductive model. He further argues that the first group of reproduction theories mainly focus on how the relation is founded between school and society, and the impact of school on the students as subjects of this impact within the society. 'Power' and 'domination' are the two building blocks of the economic-reproductive theories. One of the most prominent and pioneer of these theories belongs to Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. They proposed important criticisms for modern capitalist societies to face

with in terms of the deeply-rooted inequalities inside the free market economy. According to Bowles, the justification of market societies for their ideological position in terms of the inequalities they have created is that education will act as an equalizer against those inequalities. He further argues that the capitalist need for skilled and controlled labor force was the reason behind schools' evolution in the United States rather than equality and as the need for this kind of skilled labor has increased, so has the need for the inequalities embedded in the system to reproduce the existing class system (Bowles, 1971).

However, the theories within the economic-reproductive category that Giroux (1983) combines focuses on hidden curriculum and student subjectivities basically from inside the schools, inside the classroom. However, in the case of OEHS or distance education in Turkey in general, there is no classroom and teacher encounter. Therefore, these theories fail to explain how reproduction occurred without classroom, social relations, without specific architectures the schools used to be built, without the offices of the administrator. To clarify, there is no school 'space' in OEHS even as an online platform that critical researchers could search for the material existence of 'ideology'.

The other group of reproduction theories Giroux (1983) proposes is the cultural-reproductive model. These group of theories basically tries to uncover the ongoing relations between class, culture and domination. One of the most important theories of cultural-reproductive model is developed by Pierre Bourdieu. What Bourdieu added to the reproduction equation developed by the economic reproductive model is the fact that there is no single tool that can be counted as the sole impact of domination and that the individuals who are suppressed by the dominant classes are also subjects that actively take place in their own suppression

(Giroux, 1983). Bourdieu (1986) argues that economic capital is not the only means for the reproduction of inequality but also cultural and social capital through education. He further argues that the distribution of capital in the form of labor determines and says a lot about the structure of the social world. Thus, this social world cannot be explained only in economic terms aiming to increase the monetary profit, but also cultural capital institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications and social capital institutionalized in the form of a title or nobility.

The first ally of economic capital that Bourdieu (1986) talks about is cultural capital which can be explained in three levels namely embodied state, objectified state and institutionalized state. According to him, even the ability or the talent is products of cultural capital invested by the family. In effect, the educational system reproduces the structuring of the society by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capital. This brings us to the level of embodied state in Bourdieu's terms. Transmission of cultural capital in this state is established through one of the best hidden forms of transmission which is heredity. The link between economic and cultural capital thus realized through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition. The second state is called objectified state and has links to the embodied state and is transmissible in its materiality, in other words in the form of cultural goods such as books or paintings. For the acquisition of objectified state, both economic capital and cultural capital in the form of embodied state is necessary in order to acquire the goods materially and symbolically use them. The last level of cultural capital is institutionalized state of cultural capital which refers to the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications which leads us to education.

The second ally of the economic capital is social capital which can be summarized as the membership in a network. That membership in turn provides the individual with “collectivity-owned” capital and credentials, objective relations of proximity in physical space in the form of social capital. The volume of social capital is also dependent on the size of the network of connections and requires an ongoing effort of sociability together with a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed. This type of capital is also very much linked to the cultural and also economic capital since the owners of this kind of capital have a chance to transform their relationships into lasting connections. There is also a hierarchical structure inside of the social group that gives one person or group to speak on behalf of the whole group (Bourdieu, 1986).

The issue of conversions of these types of capital also deserves mentioning here. It is a known fact that, economic capital as Marx put it a century ago is at the heart of all other kinds of capital. The transformation of economic capital into cultural capital needs a certain amount of time that is also made possible by possession of economic capital. The transformation of social capital also necessitates a specific labor in the form of time, concern or attention. In the last instance, all these types of capital whether economic, cultural or social reproduces the existing inequalities in the society and also guarantees this reproduction with certain conversions in between (Bourdieu, 1986).

In addition to the forms of capital, Bourdieu (1981) proposes a theory that is built on domination and learning. He further talks about two histories which is called ‘objectified history’ and ‘embodied history’. The former refers to a history which includes a process of accumulation of things over time such as ‘things, machines, buildings, monuments, books, theories, customs, law, etc.’ whereas the latter refers

to a history which includes certain disposition an individual have in the form of perceptions or actions. Furthermore, the former is called the ‘habitat’ while the latter is called ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1981, p.305).

In that sense, the dispositions the working-class students have, with the undeniable support of their childhood socialization process and the historical conditions they have, creates an inclination towards an acceptance and even desire for manual labor (Bourdieu, 1981).

The last category of reproduction theories Giroux (1983) grouped was hegemonic-state reproductive model which dealt with understanding the influence and intervention of the State in the educational system. This category of reproduction theories focusses on the knowledge and power relationship in the educational system and argues that the main function of the schools from this perspective is to glorify the importance of mental labor while decreasing the value of and by this way marginalizing the manual labor. This can well be illustrated by the experiences of tracking, social relations in the schools that centers on the disqualification and exclusion of working-class culture which in turn prepares the working-class kids for their future roles in the manual labor force (Giroux, 1983).

Related to the reproduction theories explained here, there are many definitions of social class since it is a contested realm in the field of sociology. For the purposes of this study, the definition Weis (2009) proposed will be used for the conceptualization of social class. According to Weis (2009), social class rests

“fundamentally in the “lived” realm in that it organizes the social, cultural, and material world in exceptionally powerful ways. The books we read, or if we read at all,; our travel destinations and mode of travel; the clothes we wear; the foods we eat; whether we have orthodontically straightened teeth; where (and if) our children go to school, with whom, and under what staff expectations and treatment: the “look” and “feel” of home- and school- based interventions if our children “fail”; where we feel most comfortable and with whom; where we live and the nature of housing; and specifically in the

United States, whether we have health insurance and, if so, what kind and with what coverage, are all profoundly classed experiences, rooted not only in material realities but in culturally based expectations and practices”.

The examples that are used to define social class can of course be expanded, however for the purposes of the present study, this exemplary definition of social class can provide a framework to understand how social class also acts inside open education high school in Turkey.

Moving from the reproduction theories and the definition of social class, the reproduction of inequalities is also critical when the reproduction processes in education were concerned. Weis (2009) focuses on three main areas which actively contributes to the reproduction of inequalities of social class. These are official knowledge and its distribution, values parental capital and production of youth social identities. According to her, there is a huge inequality in the distribution of knowledge across different groups. For example, knowledge distributed to working-class students is comprised of rote memorization in contrast to students who are from upper socio-economic backgrounds are offered a more complex, sophisticated and challenging academic culture (Weis, 2009; Anyon, 1980). The second area that Weis (2009) focuses on while trying to explain social class inequalities in education is valued parental capital which points at the fact that the relationship of the family to the school produces outcomes of interest for the upper classes since they have positive bonds with the school and also better and stronger connections with other parents. In the last section the focus is on the subjectivities of the students while they participate in their own identity construction and cultural reproduction as Willis (1977) put fifty years ago.

In her article Reay (2009) also tried to uncover an ongoing conundrum between schools being an advantageous place for the lower classes to be emancipated or schools providing a mechanism of controlling the lower classes and protecting the interests of the upper classes. She further grouped educational inequalities under three categories. The first one is about internal school factors which started with a consecration of the idea that schooling and improving schools can be a solution to social class inequalities however resulted in the recognition of schools being inadequate in compensating economic and social class inequalities by itself.

3.2.2 Cultural reproduction: Willis' learning to labor

When we look at the reproduction of labor power through education, one of the most prominent figures is Paul Willis, who studied on how schools reproduce the existing relations of production. Willis' well-known ethnographic study *Learning to Labor* questioned how social reproduction is achieved and sustained in the individual level and how can we explain working class children's agreement with their own conditions. He looks at how working-class lads preferred working class jobs and did not interrogate their own positions because it is seen and actually presented as their own "choice". However, Willis also talks about a process of differentiation that causes those kids (lads) to create a "counter culture" of their own inside the walls of the schools. Moreover, the creation of such a counter culture that stresses the importance of practical knowledge and street wisdom over theoretical school knowledge points to a kind of resistance. According to Willis (1977), this is because the lads are very much aware of the fact that what is important in real life is not the theoretical knowledge, they get in the school but the requirements of the labor.

Related to this I argue that, what is needed also in today's world is not the theoretical knowledge schools provided but just paper certificate that specifies someone as a high school graduate.

Willis (1977) also looks at the responses to the post-industrial society. According to him, this phase destroyed the traditional forms of transition from school to work and changed the regular working-class cultural forms. Moreover, the young lads are also excluded from sociability and leisure activities which necessitate commercial power. In this phase, training programs and special market measure are presented as an alternative to the old transition between school and work. However, this has caused the young workers to become a reserve army of flexible and obedient labor.

In his well-known book "Learning to Labor" he asserted that it is harder to explain why working-class kids let themselves into working class jobs than the question of why others let them. In order to answer this question, he further suggested that the hierarchy of success between the students belonging different classes does not proceed in a continuous manner but rather the interface of different cultural forms produces radical breaks which in turn a different working-class pattern of 'failure'. He further explained this cultural pattern as

"a mental category, a set of variables impinging on the school from the outside. It comprises experiences, relationships, and ensembles of systematic types of relationship which not only set particular 'choices' and 'decisions' at particular times, but also structure, really and experientially, how these 'choices' come about and are defined in the first place" (Willis, 1977, p.1).

According to Willis (1977), the cultural pattern of failure when working class kids are considered, is different from other types of cultural patterns. The experiences and relationships of working classes defines and sets specific choices at specific times for those kids which are different from those who are in line with their

classes registered as more successful. He further argues that in order for the class identity to be formed and reproduced, it requires a process of recreation in the contexts of personal and collective desire. Moving from here, one of these contexts is the counter school culture in which manual labor power is subjectively reproduced and working-class kids are directed to certain kinds of work by transforming and reproducing certain aspects of the larger culture in their own daily praxis. Moreover, he argues that the very context that makes the working-class kids to give their labor power is the culture that the working-class kids grow up. What makes them to take subordinate roles in the society is the feelings of self-damnation which according to Willis (1977) has an objective basis that comes with a process like “learning, affirmation, appropriation and resistance” (p.3).

One of the most critical concepts of Willis (1977) was the resistance to school the working class ‘lads’ had. The ‘counterculture’ they have created in a working-class high school in England lead them to reject the supremacy of mental labor over manual labor. Together with this resistance process, they also lost their beliefs that when they obey and respect they will be rewarded with success. This situation combined with everyday antagonistic practices they had was from convincing students to success. Thus, resistance theorists including Willis (1977) suggested that economic constraints were not the only determining factors that lead students to their respective material conditions of existence but within the working-classes there also exists a process of self-formation (Giroux, 1983).

Yet, Nolan and Anyon (2004) asserted that reproduction theorists of the 1970s succeeded to expose the role of schools in the reproduction of the social class stratification but they remained inadequate in terms of explaining the role of human agency and a possibility of a ground for resistance. They further argued that the

cultural reproduction theory of Willis provided a chance for political action by creating a dialectic zone between opposition and reproduction and that the working-class youth did not just receive the dominant ideology, but rather took an active role in their own reproduction (p.139).

Even though Willis's cultural reproduction theory was criticized by some as romanticizing the representation of the working class "lads", it nevertheless had a big impact on uncovering the process of preparing working class youth for the rationale of work under capitalism (Arnot, 2004, p.21).

Another criticism for Willis is because of not paying sufficient attention to the inequalities added by race and gender. Arnot (2004) asserted that even though Willis succeeded to expose the atrocity in capitalist relations of production, the dominance of male power over women and White people over Black people inside the working-class youth culture were nearly absent in his theory.

3.3 Disengagement from education

Disengagement from education is not a new term in the international arena. Even though different terms are used to define the situation, the fluid and continuous structure of the term remains as a common trait for any definition. When considered as a spectrum, the term NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) falls into the extreme negative end in which youngsters drop totally out of education, however disengagement refers to young people who show no interest in school but continue to come to classes, who continue to attend other educational activities outside the school, who are excluded or suspended, who find school boring, who think that school doesn't meet their needs falls into somewhere alongside the spectrum (Rogers, 2016).

Ross (2009) in his quantitative study followed 15.000 teenagers who were between 14-25 years old in order to find out when and why these young people become disengaged from school or education. The researcher listed four different groups of young people according to their engagement or disengagement status:

- 1) 'Engaged' young people, who were highly engaged with school and aspired to continue with fulltime education and to degree level. This group of students represented 40 percent in Year 9, 33 percent in Year 10 and 34 percent in Year 11.
- 2) Young people who were 'disengaged from school not education'. They disliked school and were more likely to skip classes, but otherwise aspired to continue with fulltime education to degree level. This group of students represented 23 percent in Year 9, 26 percent in Year 10 and 25 percent in Year 11.
- 3) Young people who were 'engaged with school not higher education'. They were generally positive about school and aspired to continue with education or training in Year 12, but not higher education. This group of students represented 25 percent in Year 9, 22 percent in Year 10 and 22 percent in Year 11 as well.
- 4) 'Disengaged' young people who had much lower aspirations, disliked school and were far more likely to play truant. This group of students represented 12 percent in Year 9, 19 percent in Year 10 and 20 percent in Year 11.

Moving from this basic categorization of Ross (2009), it can be deduced that it is possible for young people to experience disengagement from school but not from education. Even though this is a very important contribution to the literature, the above categorization puts disengagement as a rather static entity. However, there are other approaches which take disengagement as a process rather than as static (Rogers, 2016; Duffy & Elwood, 2013).

Rogers (2016) defines disengagement from education as "a multi-dimensional process that falls along a continuum beginning with students who may attend lessons but appear disinterested or truant on occasional days, to the more extreme end where young people have dropped out of education entirely". This definition attributes disengagement from education a fluid and dynamic structure that lies along a

spectrum. She further argues that since there is no attempt to consist of students who are “at risk” of disengagement, the drop-out statistics doesn’t exactly reflect the truth.

Related to this definition of Rogers (2016) is another definition that was provided in the study of Baird, Elwood, Duffy, Feiler, O’Boyle, Rose and Stobart (2011). They defined the student population who are “disengaged” as including:

“those excluded permanently from school, those who have left school at leaving age, those still in school who cause disruption, experience a sense of failure or feel that the curriculum is pointless as well as those who despite succeeding in school lack interest in deep learning. Thus, disengagement would refer to lack of involvement in academic, social or extracurricular activity or poor conduct in these contexts” (Baird et al. 2011, p.140).

When coming up with this definition Baird et. al. (2011) tried to explore a number of issues that surrounds engagement such as what are the motivations of students when learning and vice versa, how is the relationship and interaction of students with their teachers and peers, how they perceive the quality of teaching they are getting and aspirations and future plans of students (Baird et. al., 2011). By this way, their definition is important in terms of being shaped in part with the subjective views of students whom are the real actors experiencing the level of engagement/disengagement.

According to the literature there is no single and agreed definition of disengagement from education. In addition, most of the definitions overlap. Nevertheless, the definition of Baird et. al. (2011) is more inclusive in terms of involving the students who are ‘drifting’ and who have a ‘lack of attentiveness’.

There are also theories in the literature which take disengagement as a process and try to explore the concept in terms of different levels of the phenomenon.

Callanan et. al. (2009) examined disengagement under three levels ranging from underachieving but not disengaged, moderate disengagement and severe or complete disengagement. The students in the first level who were characterized as underachieving but not disengaged still had a belief in their educational process but had long periods of absence which made them more difficult to follow the curriculum thus came along underachievement. Young students in the second level had some positive views about the school in terms of peer relations, or support from specific teachers but were exposed to multiple factors causing their disengagement from the school environment. However, these students were also the ones who had protective factors around them which separated the students in this group from the severe or complete disengaged students. The latter group of students had severe drop in their attainment and were exposed to multiple factors of disengagement without the support of protective factors which separated them from the former level of disengaged students (Callanan, Kinsella, Graham, Turczuk & Finch, 2009).

3.3.1 Disengagement and reproduction in education

The importance of secondary education comes forward in disengagement studies since graduating from high school is recognized as the least possible requirement for entry into the labor market which increasingly needs knowledge-based skills in order for laborers to survive in the global market economy. However, adolescents who drop out of school at upper secondary level have difficulty in entering into the labor force let alone adapting to it, are paid lower wages and thus face with poverty (Rogers, 2016). This also takes us to the ongoing trouble of the reproduction of inequalities through education. Dale (2011) in his report on early school leaving draws attention to the risk of producing a form of class and ethnic “ghettoization” by

clustering of young people who came from poor families who are working for similar kinds of jobs notwithstanding their employment status with low levels of educational attainment and achievement and having a minority or migrant status. He further argues that since the conditions of social and economic inequalities endure and are reproduced through time, the patterns reflected through early school leaving mirror the patterns in the reproduction of social and economic inequalities among generations. Besides, the family characteristics of early school leavers included but not limited to being a single-parent family, both parents having low level of education, the existence of other people who dropped out of school, increased level of household stress and mobility, decreased social support for the student to hold on to the dynamics of formal education, the existence of conflict between the cultural environments of home and school. In addition to these family characteristic factors, early school leaving also serves the reproduction of inequalities in terms of the motivation it brings out in students to gain employment. In addition, the probability of unemployment or working in blue collar jobs with less security measure and less payment are higher for the students who dropped out of school (Dale, 2011).

It is critical to find out some measure for disengagement in order for detecting “at risk” students and creating effective ways for intervention. On the other hand it is hard to uncover the levels of disengagement because it is not an uncomplicated response to basic education but rather related to a set of complex interactions between the sociocultural background of the student, and his or her family, his or her prior experiences with the ecological system and the environment of the school in addition to the demographic and economic factors (Lawson & Lawson, 2013).

3.3.2 Reasons of disengagement

The reasons for disengagement are manifold and very much similar to those of early school leaving. However, as the issues of drop out and early school leaving, disengagement also is the result of multiple reasons coming together. The most common reasons can be grouped within underachievement, absence and exclusion categories. A summary of the collective literature on the reasons of disengagement can be found in Table 6 below. To clarify, factors related to the socio-economic and educational background of the family, demographic factors such as gender, ethnic background and birth place of the student, prior experiences such as trauma or abuse, special education needs and the schools attended, the size of the classes, the context and location of the school, teachers and curricula are all important elements in the explanation of disengagement (Dale, 2010; Rogers, 2016).

In their study Rumberger and Lim (2008) reviewed 203 studies that have been published on dropping out of school for the last 25 years. According to the studies they analyzed, they developed two broad factors that predicted high school drop-out. The first one is individual characteristics which had to do with educational performance of students, their behaviors, attitudes and background. The second one is institutional characteristics consisting of families, schools and communities. Based on their review, the probability of students for dropping out of high school was found to be lower in a number of studies when they are known to have more family resources in their homes. Hereby, family resources refer to parental education, parent's occupational status and family income. Another indication of leaving school early in high school is having a sibling who dropped out of school before. Likewise, poor disciplinary climate at school was also found to be related to an increase in the probability of dropping out of students (Rumberger & Lim, 2008). The literature

review of the researchers pointed to a very important thing that no single factor was responsible for the students dropping out, it is a process and during that process many factors affect a student's decision to leave the school early.

In a qualitative study about students' disengagement from learning Lloyd-Jones et. al. (2010) asked 47 students what they disliked about school. The most common responses were the behavior of the teachers, experiences of bullying, low attendance because of poor health, heavy workload, learning difficulties, boring subjects, school fights, dislike of noise and crowd and class size (Lloyd-Jones, Bowen, Holtom, Griffin, & Sims, 2010; Callanan et. al, 2009). Other important indications of school drop outs, according to the study were attending multiple schools in the first stages of their school experience and being seen by their teachers as having the similar attitudes and characteristics of the other family members. Apart from their personal reasons, one of the most important points the students stressed was their description of their own experiences in terms of 'the school disengaging from them rather than them disengaging from the school'.

Table 6. Collective Summary of the Studies on Reasons of Disengagement

Reasons related to family	References	Reasons related to school	References	Reasons related to personal experiences	References
-socio-economic background of the family	(Dale, 2011) (Rogers, 2016) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008)	-educational performance of students/ underachievement	(Dale, 2011) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008) (Callanan et. al., 2009) (Lessard et. al., 2008)	- prior experiences such as trauma or abuse	(Rogers, 2016)
-educational background of the family	(Dale, 2011) (Rogers, 2016) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008)	-absence/ low attendance	(Dale, 2011) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008)	- special education needs	(Rogers, 2016)
-the existence of other people who dropped out of school	(Dale, 2011) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008)	-exclusion/ being excluded by the teachers or peers	(Dale, 2011) (Baird et. al. 2011) (Callanan et. al., 2009)	-experiences of bullying	(Rumberger and Lim, 2008)
- increased level of household stress and mobility	(Dale, 2011)	-the size of the classes	(Rogers, 2016) (Lloyd-Jones et al., 2010)	- learning difficulties	(Lloyd et al., 2010) (Lessard et. al., 2008)
- decreased social support for the student to hold on to the dynamics of formal education	(Dale, 2011)	- the context and location of the school	(Rogers, 2016)	-lack of guidance	(Callanan et. al., 2009)
- conflict between the cultural environments of home and school /family turmoil	(Dale, 2011) (Lessard et. al. 2008)	-poor disciplinary school climate	(Rumberger and Lim, 2008)		
-gender	(Rogers, 2016)	-the behavior of the teachers	(Lloyd-Jones et al., 2010) (Duffy & Elwood, 2013) (Lessard et. al., 2008)		
-being a single-parent family	(Dale, 2011)	- attending multiple schools in the first stages of their school experience	(Lloyd-Jones et al., 2010)		
-ethnic background and the birthplace of the student	(Rogers, 2016)	- having a reduced sense of belonging to the school culture	(Baird et. al. 2011) (Callanan et. al., 2009)		
		-teachers being preferential to smart students	(Baird et. al. 2011)		
		-tensions between peers/ school fights	(Baird et. al. 2011) (Callanan et. al., 2009)		
		-Relationship with peers	(Lessard et. al., 2008) (Rogers, 2016)		

On the other hand, when they were asked what they liked about school, most of the participants in the study answered positive relationships with the school staff and with their peers (Lloyd-Jones et. al., 2010). Likewise, relationship with teachers, feeling excluded by the teachers and also by their peers who are smarter and ‘know it all’, feeling labeled as ‘trouble makers’ and having a reduced sense of belonging to the school culture, teachers’ preferences to smart students, tensions between peers, the quality of teaching being not more than copying what the teacher wrote on the board were reported when the disengaged students between 14-19 years old were asked what they think their barriers to learn are (Baird et. al. 2011; Callanan et. al., 2009).

In another study, Duffy and Elwood (2013) conducted 15 focus groups with adolescents who were reported as disengaged by the institutions who have participated in Centre Research Study (CReSt study) which was a longitudinal study involving 52 educational institutions across England. The researchers aimed to reflect the perspectives of students who were identified as ‘disengaged’. The perspectives of students pointed to two main categories which were ‘barriers to learning’ and ‘motivation for learning’. According to the study, the students reported negative and inattentive relations with their teachers, a decrease in their sense of belonging caused by the feelings of being labeled as ‘trouble makers’, problem relations with their peers and the quality of teaching as barriers to learning. On the other hand, positive relations with their teachers, moments of being active in class and their own educational aspirations appeared to be the motivational factors in the study. The researchers then concluded that the relationship with teachers had vital importance on students’ engagement or disengagement status and that there is a need to enhance the curriculum, develop new teaching methods and provide the students

with guidance on additional qualifications pathways. Besides, they also referred to the problematic nature of the definitions of ‘disengagement’ because of the complexity of student experiences and the structure of the engagement/disengagement status which points to the fact that the level of engagement doesn’t stay static but rather the students go between in and out of the levels of engagement (Duffy & Elwood, 2013; Baird et. al., 2011).

Together with this, disengagement often ends up with a failure to complete the school, low levels of literacy and numeracy, increased risk of unemployment, lower income and poverty. Besides these negative experiences within or outside the school pushes the young people to search for employment (Rogers, 2016). Related to that, Henry, Knight and Thornberry (2012) used the data coming from a longitudinal panel study called Rochester Youth Development study to examine whether school disengagement is related to dropout and problem behaviors during adolescence and early adulthood. It was identified that dropout acts as a mediator between school disengagement and problem behaviors during young adulthood. In other words, if adolescents show indications of disengagement from school or education, they become more likely to drop out and if they drop out, it is more likely for them to develop problem behaviors in young adulthood (Henry, Knight, & Thornberry, 2012; Lessard, Butler-Kisber, Fortin, Marcotte, Potvin, & Royer, 2008).

In another study Lessard et.al. (2008) tries to constitute a map of educational journey for the high school drop outs. According to the data they gathered from the students they concluded that the students provided their answers from a contextualized perspective that can be divided into two as school related factors and family turmoil. In terms of school related factors, low grades and low overall school performance, learning difficulties and relations with peers, student-teacher

relationship came forward. Especially student-teacher relationship has found to be important from two dimensions. First, some students had a positive student-teacher interaction and found to be staying longer through their educational journey and still some others had negative relations with their teachers in terms of feelings of being pushed aside and alienated by their teachers and finally feeling excluded from the classroom (Lessard et. al., 2008; Baird et. al., 2011). In the other context, which was family, students reported that family turmoil coming together either a parental divorce or low socio-economic status caused their educational journey to end (Lessard et. al. 2008). In addition to family turmoil, if the students had any of their parent or their older siblings who dropped out of school, it increases the risk for those students to be disengaged from school. Likewise, if enough support and guidance about their education were not available, students are reported to be more likely to disengage and even unclear about what qualifications they needed to reach their specific aims (Callanan et. al., 2009).

According to the literature in terms of future aspirations and their plans for the future, some disengaged students had no clear plans for the future, some had clear plans for the future but they didn't think academic achievement was necessary or relevant with their plans, some had clear plans but thought that they wouldn't be able to succeed reaching them, some had clear plans for the future but didn't know how to reach those goals and some had clear plans for the future (Callanan et. al., 2009). As can be seen from the literature, the factors resulted from educational disengagement and causing negative effects on young students' future aspirations are complicated and multi-dimensional.

2.3.3 Policies to overcome disengagement

There are different approaches to overcome disengagement of young people from school and overall education. Rogers (2016) lists some of those policy responses as increasing the financial incentives, interventions such as mentoring, counseling and other support systems, re-engagement with alternative educational opportunities and increasing the quality of teaching and learning by promoting different pedagogical approaches in order to increase student motivation. Moreover, the protective factors can be listed as the provision of an effective and meaningful curricula to increase student motivation, counseling services to mentor and support young people with their experiences and to develop clear future aspirations, positive teacher-student relationship and peer support. According to Ross (2009), continuous positive relations between the school and parents, sharing of detailed information about the paths that the students could prefer after graduation, teacher-led study support and homework supervision, fair treatment and appropriate praise from teachers, varied program opportunities and the existence of extracurricular activities within the school can all be listed as factors that has the possibility of increasing student engagement. Lloyd-Jones et al. (2010) also suggested that good teaching, positive school-family links and disciplinary school precautions to decrease negative educational impact (Lloyd-Jones et.al, 2010). In addition to that, if the curriculum is engaging, teachers used more diverse teaching styles and try to teach in different settings, students reported to be motivated and engaged. Especially active participation opportunities in the class, positive classroom environment, smaller class sizes and practical, hands-on exercises all motivates learners (Baird et. al. 2011).

There are also studies that look at the issue of student engagement in distance education settings. However, they try to examine the engagement of students in online learning classes. These studies mainly address the vital need to engage students with their peers, with their instructors and with the content in general in online learning environments (Dixson, 2010; Everett, 2015).

According to Everett (2015), the lack of face-to-face interaction in distance education settings is a barrier in front of student engagement and it requires the strong social presence of a teacher figure for the students to be effectively engaged with the intended content. Besides, it is both necessary and effective for the students trying to learn at a distance to build a strong connection between their teachers and peers in order to empower their learning experience (Everett, 2015). There are, on the other hand, many ways and tools to improve and enhance the engagement of students in distance learning environments through information technologies. Everett (2015) divides these tools into two: asynchronous and synchronous tools. The first group of tools includes but not limited to podcasts, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube and Teachertube and Google apps whereas the second group of tools requires live interaction of person/s to person/s and includes Skype, online chat rooms, Blackboard and Webex. What is common in all these tools is the fact that they make instruction content appealing and by this way enhance online student engagement. Admittedly no single tool is going to magically help distance learners to be more engaged however, the results in Dixson (2010)'s study show that in addition to the usage of multiple interaction channels, the existence and quality of teacher-to-student and student-to-student interaction enhances the engagement of distance learning students to the content they are learning. On the other hand, from the perspective of the students, most engaging of the activities were

found to be as application activities like case studies, discussion forums, labs and group projects, research papers and current events assignments (Dixson, 2010).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Throughout the study, qualitative methodologies were used to reach a thorough understanding of the processes of distance education at the high school level in Turkey, believing that using various interpretive forms would help a better understanding of the subject by making the world clear in several different ways (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative exploratory design was used to understand the phenomenon through the subjective experiences and perspectives of students.

The chapter is organized to provide information about the research design, data collection procedure and instruments, sites of the research, research participants, data analysis and the reasons justifying the chosen theories and research techniques over others.

4.1 Research design of the study

From the outset of the study what was genuinely interested the researcher was who the students attending open education high school were in Turkey and how they subjectively apprehended their experiences of distance education.

Based on the aim of the research and the research questions, qualitative methodologies were believed to be more appropriate to study this subject (Nelson, Treichler & Grossberg, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). After deciding to study OEHS, the first consideration was to study the phenomenon from the viewpoint of students and through their experiences since there were various studies about distance education in Turkey but few on the experiences of students attending these specific schools. According to Demiray and Sağlık (2003), 30 percent of the studies

on OEHS were about the functioning of the system whereas only 15.4 percent of the studies were related to the profile and learning of the students. According to a recent content analysis of methodological trends of thesis on distance education in Turkey between the years 2005 and 2014, it was found that only nine per cent of the thesis were designed with qualitative methods (Gökmen, Uysal, Yaşar & Horzum, 2017). Moreover, the scarcity of qualitative studies in the field of distance education in Turkey also increased the significance of employing qualitative methodologies.

Thus, the researcher started with enquiring qualitative research designs. At the beginning Willis' research on how working-class kids get working class job was found to be helpful to guide the exploration and analysis of the subjective experiences of OEHS students and a qualitative ethnographic design was thought to be useful (Willis, 1977). However, since the structure of OEHS in Turkey was taken into account, it was realized that there is no single place that was possible for the researcher to observe the students in their school setting. The very nature of distance education made it impossible for the study to be conducted as an ethnographic study. Without a classroom encounter, a teacher to transmit the hidden curriculum, there was nothing except the students themselves to reveal the unequal reproductive aspects of their schooling process. After abandoning the idea of using ethnographic design in the study, phenomenological design was taken into consideration. However, the pathways and experiences of students until coming up to the point where they attended OEHS was the main interest of the researcher rather than the students' feelings and psychological status. Since there are no studies looking at the pathways of students specifically and the pilot interviews have given the insight that there was a systematic course of events in their narratives, qualitative exploratory

design with the guidance of Willis's cultural reproduction paradigm was thought to be the most suitable design for the research questions of the present study.

4.1.1. Qualitative research design

The history of qualitative research can be traced back to the 17th century (Vidich & Lyman, 1994). Even though there exists certain paradigm shifts along the road and divergence within and between approaches to interpretation, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) divided the history of qualitative research into eight meaningful, historical points.

The first phase of the eight moments is the Traditional Period which extends from the beginning of the 20th century to the start of World War II. In this phase, researchers focused on objective interpretations with the undeniable impact of the positivist paradigm. In the studies, 'the other' is romanticized and represented as a foreign object. In this context, ethnographic writings were formed under four assumptions. These can be summarized as objectivism, collusion with colonialism, believing in the creation of a monument from the culture being studied and that this creation of ethnographic text would never change. The second phase started at the end of WW II and continued till the 1970s and is called the Modernist Phase. This period is marked both with scholarly and political creativity and new interpretive forms. Two other outstanding features of this phase is rigorous analysis and new practices that would support the researchers to give a voice to those classes of the society who were not heard. The third moment of Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) historical periodization is called the Blurred Genre and comprised the years between 1970 and 1986. Various ways of collecting data and analysis were introduced in this phase. Cultural representations and their meanings started to be more critical and

‘interpretations of interpretations’ started to be argued. Besides, the privileged position of the researcher opened to discussion and was highly challenged. This period has witnessed the blurring of the line between social sciences and humanities.

By the time of 1980s, there came the Crisis of Representation moment and qualitative studies began to be more reflexive and a focus on class, gender and race was flourished. The norms of the first moment of qualitative history started to be abandoned and new forms of method to increase reflexivity were looked for. The fifth phase fall between the years 1990 and 1995 and named as The Postmodern moment.

Three critical crises of qualitative history mounted in this period since the impossibility of gathering lived experience and the difficulty of evaluating qualitative research were realized. For that matter, participatory studies and new ways of doing ethnography were adopted. The sixth phase, named as the Postexperimental Inquiry, was marked with challenges to find new forms of representation whereas the seventh Methodologically Contested Present moment witnessed “...conflict, great tension, and, in some quarters, retrenchment” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 20). The last moment is the Fractured Future and seeks whether the social sciences and humanities became grounds to discuss democracy, gender, class and freedom (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Even though Denzin and Lincoln (2005) tried to read the complex history of the qualitative research through these eight moments, they did not necessarily propose that one moment started where the other left. Researchers continue to assign several of their works to any of those moments today. However different and new ways of exploring and writing are continued to be argued.

Considering the historical periodization and certain changes along the way, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) broadly defines qualitative research as follows:

“Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3).

Moving from this definition, how people make sense of their experiences and how the researchers interpret these meaning making process and data with their own reflexivity constitutes the basis of qualitative research. It involves an endeavor to explore the meanings people attach to their lives and experiences through their own words in a significant context and process which in turn is thought to provide insights about the ongoing relation between social life and the subjectivities of people (Luttrell, 2010).

4.1.2 Qualitative exploratory design

Exploratory research design in qualitative research refers to “broad-ranging, intentional, systematic data collection designed to maximize discovery of generalizations based on description and direct understanding of an area of social psychological life” (Given, 2008). The very meaning of exploration refers to the situations where the researchers have little or no knowledge about the population being studied. Notwithstanding the fact that exploring a previously not studied phenomenon, there is also a need for the researcher to justify that the elements he/she wants to explore worth discovering.

The research orientation in qualitative exploratory design is framed with two important standpoints. These are flexibility while exploring the data and open-mindedness about where to find the group to be studied. This type of design proposes an intimate conception of the group being studied. Furthermore, the main aim of this design is to produce generalizations about the group or phenomenon studied which are derived inductively (Given, 2008).

The very reason that the OEHS students have not been studied very much directed the researcher towards utilizing qualitative exploratory design which was also found appropriate for the purposes of the study.

4.2 Research sites

The researcher conducted the study in four adult education centers in four districts of İstanbul. Since there was no study that explored the relationship of attending OEHS and reproduction of social class, the districts were chosen according to two criteria. Two of the districts happened to be situated in the European side of İstanbul and two of the districts were chosen from the Anatolian side. The second criterion was the registered OEHS student numbers of these districts and their place in the quality of life index which can be seen in Table 7. According to the registered numbers and their place in the life index used, Maltepe and Eyüp reflected a much more middle-class sample, whereas Ümraniye and Esenyurt reflected a working-class sample for the study. The districts were also chosen to have similar numbers of registered OEHS students. Detailed contextual information about OEHS in Turkey can be found in Chapter 2.

Table 7. Research Sites

	The place of the districts in the Quality Life Index	Total Number of Registered OEHS students			Total Number of Students Interviewed		
		M	F	T	M	F	T
Maltepe	10	2,427	1,776	4,203	2	1	3
Eyüp	9	3,346	1,962	4,308	5	3	8
Ümraniye	23	4,583	3,778	8,361	4	3	7
Esenyurt	29	5,166	3,396	8,562	8	7	15

Note: The Quality of Life Index was retrieved from Şeker (2015) and the total number of registered OEHS students retrieved from the website of OEHS.

4.2.1 Participants

The participants of the study were selected with purposive sampling consisting of OEHS students who were between 15 and 25 years old. Four adult education centers were selected to reach the students for the study. The primary data collection technique was in depth interviews. In line with this purpose, interview forms for students attending OEHS were prepared by the researcher.

According to Giroux (1983), reproduction theories undermine the importance of human agency in challenging the oppressive practices of schooling. It is important to examine the experiences of teachers and students in order not only find out the repressive school practices but also track down the possibilities of resistance. Therefore, this study was mainly conducted within the frame of in-depth interviews with students attending to open education high school as part of their formal education which covers the ages between 16 and 25.

Initially the age of students for this study was decided to be under 18, however after sending messages to fifteen OEHS social media groups some of which consisted of approximately 50.000 members and getting no return for the request of participation, the age was decided to be increased to 25 and to conduct the research in adult education centers in İstanbul. In addition to the age limitation the second

criterion was the selection of students who are in their second year of OEHS in order to have a sense and experience of distance education and vocational and technical and religious OEHS students be excluded since they have face to face classes at the weekends.

At beginning of the study, purposive sampling technique was used to reach the sample of the study. This type of non-random sampling strategy was used first because of the scarcity of the studies in the field to guide the research. Second, the students, according to the system of OEHS, were not settled in a specific area and time in contrast to a brick-and-mortar school and it was difficult to reach to students every time. Third, in line with the aims of the research, the researcher sought to collect the interview data from contexts that had a rather various and different socio-economic structures. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants their names and identifying features have been coded with letters. The demographic characteristics of the participants can be observed in Table 8.

Table 8. Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Age	Gender		Age Total	Work Status	Number of participants
	Female	Male			
16 years	1	1	2	Works in a paid job	26
17 years	2	3	4	Currently Unemployed	4
18 years	4	4	8	Did not work at all	3
19 years	0	2	2		
20 years	0	3	3		
21 years	2	0	2		
23 years	2	2	4		
24 years	0	2	2		
25 years	4	1	5		
Gender Total	15	18	33		

As can be observed in Table 8, 14 of the participants are at the age of 18 or under the age of 18 while 19 of the participants are older than 18. As far as the gender of the students is concerned, 15 of the participants are female while 18 of them are male. Since the number of males are higher than female within the total number of students attending OEHS in Turkey, the distribution of the gender of the participants represents the total OEHS population. While 26 of the participants work in a full-time paid job, 7 of them either currently unemployed or did not work at all.

When the demographic characteristics of the household is observed in Table 9, it is seen that majority of the students have three or more siblings and grow up in crowded households.

Table 9. Demographic Characteristics of the Household

Number of people living in the household	Number of participants	Number of Siblings	Number of participants
3	5	No sibling	1
4	5	1	5
5	8	2	8
6	4	3	8
7	4	4	5
8	3	5	1
10	1	6	1
11	1	7	4
12	1		

Table 10 below presents the economic conditions of the household. As can be seen in the table, households' average income changes between zero and more than 6000 Turkish Liras. Moreover, 11 of the participants live in a rental house while 22 of them live in their own houses and within this number two of the families still make payments for housing loans.

Table 10. Economic Conditions of the Household

Average Income of the Household	Number of participants	Housing Status	Number of participants
0-1000 TL	3	Own house	22
1000-2000 TL	4	Rental house	11
2000-3000 TL	8	Public housing	-
3000-4000 TL	5	Other	-
4000-5000 TL	7		
6000+ TL	6		

Table 11 presents the level of education of the parents of the participants. Majority of the parents are either primary school graduate or did not attend school at all. For the purposes of the study the number of siblings were asked to the participants and information was gathered about 95 siblings at the end. Even though there are higher education students and graduates among them, most of the siblings are students or graduates of middle school. Within the middle school students, one sibling attends open middle school and seven siblings attend OEHS.

Table 11. Level of Education of the Members of the Family

Level of Education	Mother	Father
Did not attend school	9	2
Dropped out of primary school	1	1
Primary school student/ graduate	14	17
Dropped out of middle school	0	1
Middle school student/ graduate	6	7
Dropped out of high school	1	1
High school student/ graduate	1	2
Higher education student/ graduate	1	2

In addition to the above-mentioned tables, the students were also asked if they know any foreign language. 12 of the participants stated that they know just a little English whereas 12 of the participants stated that they didn't know any foreign language. The native language of eight participants were Kurdish. In addition to that, five of the participants stated that they are interested in and familiar to Arabic, Laz language, Russian, Georgian and Korean languages.

4.2.2 Development of the interview form for students

The interview form for students included two sections. The first section served for the purpose of gathering the educational stories of students through open-ended questions whereas the second section included demographic information. Turkish and English versions of the forms are provided in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively.

In the first section of the student interview form, open-ended questions together with some probing questions were included to explore the perspectives of students attending open education high school. This section of the interview form consisted of three sub-sections which intended to gather information concerning the retrospective education experiences of students, their experiences in the open education high school and their future expectations. The interview form was designed in a past-present-future format to collect data on the perspectives of the students. The questions in the past education experiences section included whether the students attended school, whether they liked school or not, what they liked and what they did not like about school, whether they found themselves successful at school, how was their relationship with their teachers, school administration and with their friends and whether they have experienced any negative cases in school. Moreover, these questions were repeated for kindergarten, primary, lower secondary and high school if any students attended before coming to open education high school. Asking students their retrospective experiences related to education is thought to help the understanding of participants' relationship to education over time and how this is related to their present conditions. However, this part was changed to a life grid data collection tool to increase the participation of the students in the interview process after the pilot interviews but then dropped. The second section

included questions concerning data on the open education high school experiences of the students. The probing questions were about their courses, materials, exams, the difficulties they face within the system, the positive and negative sides of open education, how they study their exams and whether they need extra help with their courses. The last part included questions on students' future aspirations, whether it has changed over time and where they would see themselves five years from now.

The second section of the interview form covered the demographic information form asking the students their age, gender, the number of people living in their home, education and work related information concerning the father, mother and any other siblings of the student, the district they live in, their knowledge of foreign language and the house they live in their childhood and their employment history if there were any. The demographic information section was first presented at the beginning of the interview however then moved to the last section to focus the concentration of the students on the OEHS related interview questions.

The interview form was reviewed and revised by supervisors and other members in the thesis committee. The interview form was also discussed with Dr. Lynne Rogers from University College London, Institute of Education who was the supervisor during the researcher's one semester exchange scheme.

After the revisions with the thesis committee, the interview form was sent to the SBB Ethics Sub-Committee in June 2016 in order to get their approval. (See Appendix C for Committee's approval) Once the research proposal and the interview form for students are approved, necessary applications were made for İstanbul Directorate of National Education. (See Appendix D for MoNE's approval) Since the research sample also included students going to high school who were under the age of eighteen, the approval of the Directorate was also required.

After all the permits obtained, pilot interviews were conducted on August 2016. After the researcher returned from the UK, the interviews were conducted between May 2018 and September 2018.

4.2.3 Pilot interviews

The pilot interviews were planned to be conducted with six students attending open education high school who were between the ages fourteen and seventeen in İstanbul in order to test the applicability and comprehensiveness of the interview questions. The participants were reached through purposive snowball sampling. After a month of search only one pilot interview could be conducted. Therefore, the search was extended for participants living in other cities in Turkey and five other participants were found in İzmir. However, three out of five students were suitable for the criteria of the study. Finally, four pilot interviews were conducted to determine the appropriateness of the interview questions to the research questions of the study. Detailed biographical information about the participants of the pilot interviews can be found in Appendix E.

The major findings acquired through the pilot interviews were the discriminative attitudes of the teachers during the primary and lower secondary school, the critical influence of the national examination system, the importance of getting to know the life at an early age before their peers, the difficulty of studying on their own and uncertain future aspirations when their higher education and job opportunities were taken into account.

The pilot interviews took approximately 20 to 45 minutes. The students were observed to understand the questions asked and feel comfortable answering the questions. All in all, the pilot interviews provided critical insights about the experiences of students and guided the researcher in a couple issues.

After the pilot interviews, two main components were decided to be changed in the interview form. The first change was to add a life grid tool in the first section of the interview form where students' educational experiences were asked. The students were realized to have difficulty recalling their retrospective educational stories during the pilot interviews which in turn caused them to pass over the questions with phrases like "it was the same", "it was good", "I don't remember, I was too young", "It has been a long time". For example, one of the students in the pilot interviews didn't go to school regularly and usually missed classes but made to pass his grades through teacher councils. This situation paved the way for seeking more participatory tools to collect data from adolescents. To overcome these difficulties, the data in the first section was decided to be collected through a life grid prepared by the researcher which was designed to help students to recall their retrospective memories related to their schooling and to support their narrative stories. Designing a life grid tool for the retrospective part of the interview form was decided in order to ease this process for the students since the literature suggests that the tools to collect data is critical in the process of recalling information about past experiences (Perry, Thomson & Fowkes, 1999).

For the purposes of this study the life grid was planned to be filled together with the students in a participative manner to create an interactive and trustworthy environment for the adolescents to reflect on her experiences and provide their perspectives.

However, after another pilot interview in addition to the previous four pilot interviews, the students were observed to prefer answering questions rather than drawing their experiences into the life-grid with reasons such as “I am not good at drawing”, “I don’t have time” and “I prefer answering questions rather than drawing”. Therefore life-grid was found inappropriate for Turkish OEHS students and dropped.

The second change was to revise the questions in the future aspirations section of the interview form. The questions which ask the student whether they would consider attending university were found unrelated to the social reality of the students and all the answers given to these questions in the pilot interviews were unclear. That’s why, the questions were revised to include a more general inquiry of what they would think they might or would become in the future rather than merely asking the students their concrete plans. Adopting from Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory of Possible Selves, this section was broadened to inquire how the students consider their potential and future. The concept of possible selves poses three main questions to the subject pertaining to what they might become, what they would like to become and what they are afraid of becoming. The answers to these questions are found to be very much affected by the sociocultural and historical background of the individual and his/her social experiences. Moreover, these retrospective experiences were found to have an impact on the expectations of the individual and create schemas about themselves. On the other hand, one of the important subjects studied in relation to possible selves is whether it would influence the individual’s current behavior. In this respect, Markus and Nurius (1986) concluded that “Attributes, abilities, and actions of the self are not evaluated in isolation. Their interpretation depends on the surrounding context of possibility.” (pp. 955). Besides, if there is

something negative, individuals accept to have as part of their past self, there is a strong belief that the same feature will also determine their self in the future (pp. 959). These prepositions were related to the present study to understand and make sense of whether the future aspirations of the students would be shaped by the past education experiences of them. That is why, the questions in the last section of the interview form were revised to provide the student with a broader realm to think and reflect upon his/her possible self rather than merely asking which university she is considering attending.

4.3 Data collection

Semi-structured interviews in line with the purpose of the study was conducted with the students. In line with this purpose public education centers which were open education high school contact bureaus were selected and regular field visits were conducted for semi-structured interviews with the students during the registration dates specified on the website of the Open Education High School. In this process observations during the registration period in the public education center, field notes and semi-structured interviews with the officers in the center were also conducted to grasp the nature of the operation of the school and support the data collected from the students.

4.3.1 Interviews with participants

The students who were agreed to participate in the research were asked if they give permission for the recording the interview with a voice recorder. The time range for the interviews was between 15 to 98 minutes with an average of 30 minutes.

While four out of 35 interviews did not give permission, 31 participants gave their verbal consent for the recording of the interview with a voice recorder. Two of the not recorder interviews were excluded because of inadequate data whereas two of the other interviews were handwritten by the researcher.

4.3.2 Conversations with registration officers in the adult education center

During the time of the interviews the researcher had a chance to conduct informal conversations with the personnel working at the registration unit. Since the interviews were conducted in an unplanned schedule during the registration week of students, there were plenty of time between each interview since the researcher stayed all day long from 9:00 to 17:00 waiting for students to come for registration. These informal conversations the researcher had with the registration officers was found to be useful in terms of the willingness of the officers to share their opinions about the problems the students had, and they also had as officers working for resolving those problems.

4.3.3 Observations during the registration period in the adult education centers

The data collection period was in the spring and fall semesters registration period of the OEHS. This provided the researcher with an experience of observing the adult education center and even though the researcher didn't plan this part, it was found to be useful to include the notes the researcher took during her personal observations.

4.4 Data analysis

After the interviews, the researcher transcribed the recorded data by listening the voice recorder on a slow mode and took notes after the transcription process in

order to provide guide for the data analysis process. All in all, the data was recorded, transcribed and then imported into a qualitative data analysis package called MAXQDA.

The analysis of this section of the study included a thematic analysis of the students' experiences in the OEHS and their attitudes towards education and the narrative analysis of some of the chosen interviews. By this way it was expected to increase the trustworthiness and rigor of the study utilizing methodological triangulation (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Methodological triangulation in this sense refers to the fact that the data of the study is evaluated by at least two perspectives. Furthermore, the methods that are selected according to their theoretical relevance are needed to be considered within a complex process of play and be complementary to each other in order to increase the validity and lead a thorough picture of the problem of study at hand (Flick, 2017, p. 780).

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

The data coming from interviews with students, observations and informal conversations with the staff of the researcher before, during and after the interviews in the public education centers chosen as research sites was analyzed using thematic analysis framework of qualitative research. Thematic analysis was found as the most appropriate form of analysis for the research questions the researcher sought to answer. Thematic analysis, as one of the foundational methods of data analysis in qualitative research field, is "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data". (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). The aim of a good thematic analysis is to identify themes in a way that will interpret and make sense of the data at hand (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Among a number of thematic analysis, the framework of constructionist paradigm was chosen to guide the analysis since this method tries to approach the realities, meanings and lived experiences not just as data coming from the participants but as the effects of a number of discourses operating in the larger society. Furthermore, constructionist epistemology of qualitative data analysis attempts to explore the structure of the broader social and cultural contexts and conditions that made it possible for the individuals to provide their specific accounts but not the others. Constructionist paradigm is interested in the issue of how individual beings are constituted by the social world around them, how they are enclosed by the language and symbols in this social world and how those individuals utilized them to create their own selves and the way they make meaning of their selves and the world around them (Taylor & Ussher, 2001).

In line with the constructionist method of framework, latent level of thematic analysis was chosen for the analysis of the data instead of the semantic level of analysis which tries to create themes with the surface meanings coming from the data. On the other hand, latent level of analysis, also sometimes called as ‘thematic discourse analysis’ would uncover broader meanings underlying the surface of the data gathered (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Discourses act as conversations with the dominant agenda that manage the possibilities of thinking and serve for the production of knowledge which help preserving specified power relations in the society. In this sense discourses influences the perception of individuals of their own lived experiences (Singer & Hunter, 1999). Through discourses human experience and their internal reality constructions are constituted and this type of analysis in turn intends to uncover the discourses that act in the construction of the individuals’ internal world and experiences (Taylor & Ussher, 2001). This kind of

epistemological background of analysis is also consistent with broader aims of qualitative research which mainly concerns unraveling the insights of the problems that participants experienced and the meaning they attached to those experiences (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007).

Building on this theoretical background of thematic discourse analysis, repeated patterns of meaning were tried to be explored across the data that involved a repeated searching process to find common themes and inconsistencies embedded in the individual narratives of the students. In this respect themes served as a 'patterned response' capturing the essence of data in relation to research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The entire process of analysis developed and proceeded with the principle to move back and forth across the data set, codes and the whole analysis. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step thematic analysis framework guided this process. This framework can be seen below in Figure 2. The before mentioned moving back and forth process is also tried to be presented in the Figure 2.

According to the steps shared in Figure 2, repeated reading of the data which was transcribed verbatim before starting coding was realized in search of meaning in relation to the research questions. The researcher also took notes while reading that served as a guide in the later computer assisted coding process. After the familiarization with the data process by repeated reading of the transcripts, the researcher uploaded the transcribed interviews into the MAXQDA 11 qualitative data analysis program and started generating initial codes from the data. According to Kelle (1997), there are three important benefits of using computer assisted software programs for qualitative data analysis. First, these programs increase efficiency by releasing the researcher from the burdensome tasks of organizing data

and make it easier to compare and contrast between different aspects of the whole data. Second, they provide a much more systematic and explicit process of analyzing even large samples of qualitative data. This in turn creates a more rigorous research process and increase the trustworthiness of the study. Finally, the qualitative software programs direct the researcher to more creative thinking processes of the analysis by freeing up his or her time from the cumbersome tasks (Kelle, 1997). By using the software program, the coding process started and proceeded with giving names and tags for each text retrieved.

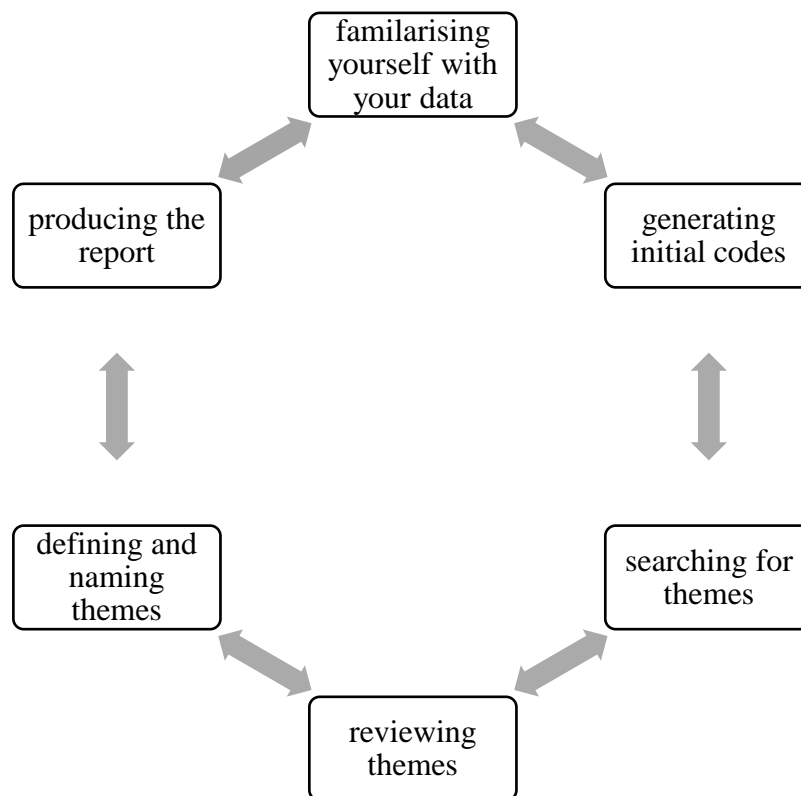


Figure 2. Braun & Clarke's six-phase framework for thematic analysis

An open coding process was used that did not have any pre-existing codes however developed and changed through the constant coding phase (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). After the coding of the whole data set, the researcher sorted the

codes in order to generate potential themes while observing the relations between codes, themes and research questions in every step. These themes were then reviewed and re-reviewed by the researcher to ensure that the themes were internally coherent and named by using the tags generated during the coding process. The main aim of the researcher in this process was identifying the meaning of the themes and exploring themes and subthemes and how they relate to each other and to the main theme (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

4.4.2 Rationale for narrative accounts

After the researcher started to the process of thematic analysis, a certain blueprint for the pathway students attending OEHS had to follow started to emerge. For this reason, it was decided to provide some of the chosen narrative accounts of students to give a thorough idea about the experiences of students attending OEHS and the educational paths they have chosen to follow. Conducting a narrative analysis for some of the chosen interviews was found relevant in two aspects. The first reason was to present a thorough picture of students' lived education experiences to give a sense of relation to where they've arrived today whereas the second reason had to do with the meaningful presentation of the similarities students had in their prior educational experiences which influenced their decision to continue their education at a distance.

4.5 Ethical assurances

The following ethical considerations were paid attention before, during and after the study.

First of all, the interview questions along with the demographic form and informed consent form that were planned to be used in the study were prepared, revised and sent for the approval of the Boğaziçi University Human Research Institutional Evaluation Committee's approval. After the evaluation of the Committee, the only revision that was requested was that the gift that was planned to be given to the students be specified. Before it was only stated as a small present, then revised to be stated as a Boğaziçi University coffee mug.

The second consideration was using different informed consent forms for participants who were under the age of 18 and for the students who were over the age of 18. The informed consent form for the students who were younger than 18 included a signature part for the parents. (See Appendix F for the Turkish and Appendix G for the English version of the informed consent form for participants)

Third, the interviews were planned to be conducted individually with participants in a quiet room. In order to realize this, the public education centers chosen in four districts were requested to reserve a room for the interviews.

Fourth, the names of the students along with districts were coded within the study and all the data was protected and prepared to be eliminated after the thesis defense.

The rigor and trustworthiness of a qualitative study can be increased in three ways. These are using more than one type of analysis, integrating interrater reliability and member checking (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2006). To do that, the researcher used two types of analysis along with the background chapter including the descriptive analysis about the context and the interrater reliability. For overcoming the latter one of the transcribed interviews was coded by an independent researcher in order to reach a more reliable code list.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

*“Young people are unconscious foot soldiers
in the long front of modernity,
in- voluntary and disoriented conscripts
in battles never explained”
(Willis, 2003)*

Sociocultural background and prior school experiences along with their OEHS experience are examined in this study in order to explore whether there exists a certain pattern throughout the experiences of OEHS students that influenced them to continue their secondary school education in the OEHS. The meanings they attached to attending high school at distance, their engagement or disengagement to education and their future aspirations are also examined to reach a thorough picture in the analysis of their educational experiences and the related educational policies.

The findings are presented under five headings that also consisted subheadings dealing with the themes which are gathered from the codes in the thematic analysis. The ultimate list of themes can be found in Figure 3. Besides a number of categories were identified and organized into the main themes. In the first section, background factors are presented that influenced the educational experiences of the students along with their brief self-histories. The second section consists of the reflections of students on their prior school experiences which are also explored in terms their ultimate arrival to the OEHS. The third section involves a thorough analysis of the OEHS consisting of both the reasons of students while continuing their schooling in OEHS and their experience of distance education. The fourth section includes an analysis of the meaning students attached to OEHS with an endeavor to analyze the discursive elements in their engagement vs. disengagement

to education. Finally, the third section involves the future aspirations of the OEHS students.

5.1 Background factors influencing the educational experiences of the participants

The common background factors the participants stated when they were asked their prior school experiences were mainly about family dynamics along with social class, migration, gender discrimination and individual challenges they had to face while growing up. At the same time, family members' level of education is considered as one of the factors. Before presenting the commonalities in the background of the students, brief self-histories of the students were provided to build a basis to the common repertoires of the participants.

5.1.1 Brief self-histories of the participants

In this section, the self-histories of the participants are presented in alphabetical order. These brief self-accounts are found worthwhile to draw a thin line in order to have a sense of the general patterns with respect to the common background factors they referred.

1- ARES (19)

ARES was 19 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. He was from Esenyurt. He did not attend any preschool. He attended a public primary school for eight years and after he took the national exam for entering high school, which was called SBS at his time, he was placed into a public Anatolian high school.

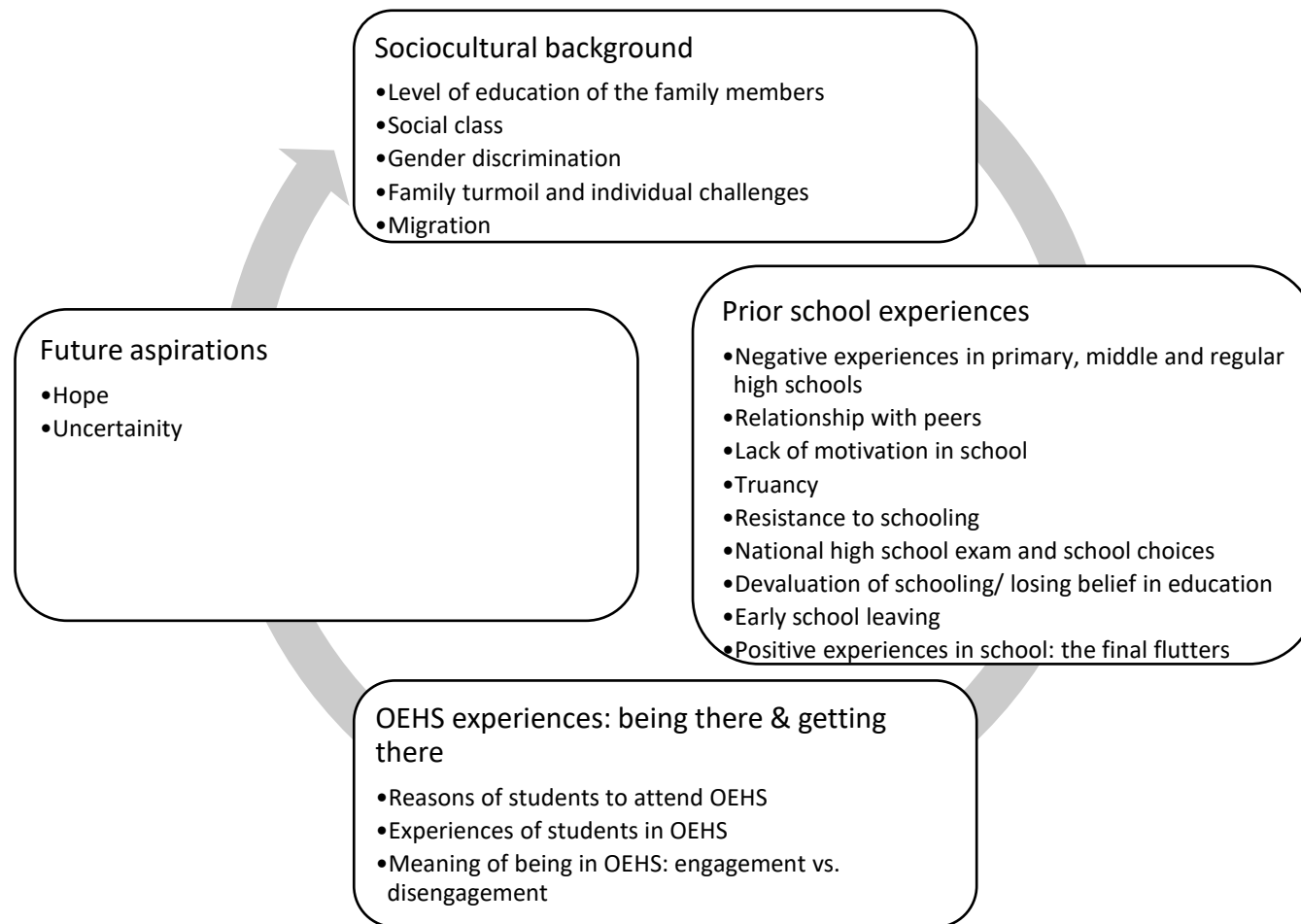


Figure 3. The ultimate list of themes

However, he stayed one year in that high school and then he changed his school because he failed the classes. He registered to a public religious high school and stayed there for three years until he was expelled because of his attendance problem. There are five people living in his household. He has three siblings including a 26 years old older brother, 23 years old older sister and 18 years old younger brother. His mother did not attend any education and is a housewife and his father is a primary school graduate and has a textile atelier. His older brother is also a primary school graduate and works in his family's atelier, his older sister is a university graduate and works as a contractual teacher and his younger brother is a high school graduate and studies for the university entrance exam currently. He has always had his own room and there is a big library in their house. His mother tongue is Kurdish, and he also knows just a little bit English, Arabic and Laz language. He started working when he was 12 for the first time in his father's atelier. Moreover, he started to do paddler's trade when he was 14 and he continues working in his family's textile atelier since he was 15.

2- BEÜM (16)

BEÜM was 16 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was from Ümraniye. He did not have any preschool education. He attended a public primary school for five years and registered to another public school during middle school. After he took the national exam for entering high school, which was called TEOG at his time, he was placed into a public medical vocational high school. He continued his education for one year there and changed to a private Anatolian high school to which he also continued for one year. He then left school and started OEHS. There are four people living in his household. He has one brother who is 11 years old and

attends middle school. His mother is a middle school graduate and is a housewife and his father is a primary school graduate and works for the private sector. They live in their own house. He has not his own room but shares with his brother. He does not like reading books, at all. He knows intermediate level English. He started working after he left the private high school when he was 15. Since then, he worked as a waiter, mechanic in the auto industry and a delivery person.

3- BMEY (23)

BMEY was 23 years old on May 2018 when the interview was held. He was from Eyüp. He was originally from Adıyaman city of Turkey and migrated to İstanbul when he was 11 years old. He did not have any preschool experience. He attended a public primary school in Adıyaman until fourth grade and started fifth grade in another public primary school in İstanbul. The national exam for entering high school was SBS at his time and he was placed into a public Anatolian high school which he continued for one year and dropped. There are 12 people living in his household including his parents, his older brother with his wife and two kids and five other siblings. He has six siblings. They live in their own house but continue paying housing loan. He does not have his own room but shares with two other siblings. Even though he likes reading, he could not have access to books when he was living in the village. His native language is Kurdish, and he also knows just a little bit Arabic. He started working when he was 16 in a textile factory and continues working there five days a week, ten hours a day for minimum wage.

4- CTES (17)

The interview with CTES was held on September 2018. He is 17 years old and from Esenyurt. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school in a village in Erzurum city of Turkey. In his school all grades from one to five was getting their education in the same classroom. He attended middle school in another village for three years. The national exam for entering high school was called TEOG at his time, however he was late for the exam because of the heavy snow in their village. Therefore, he could not be placed to any high school. He and his family migrated to İstanbul three years ago when he was 14. He then applied for a regular high school but could not be placed anywhere because of quota problems. His family requested him to work for a year in İstanbul, that's why he could not registered to OEHS when he first came to İstanbul. There are six people living in his household including his parents and three siblings. He has four siblings including a 32 years old brother who dropped out of high school and works in a textile factory, 21 years old sister who also attends OEHS, 19 years old older brother who also dropped out of high school and works in a pastry shop and a younger brother who is 9 and attends primary school. His mother did not attend any school and is a housewife and his father is a high school graduate and works as a construction worker. They live in their own house, but he has not his private room but shares with his older brothers. He liked reading books when he was in village shepherding, but it was hard to reach books in the village. His mother tongue is Kurdish. He started working when he was in primary school. He was a shepherd at the time. After he and his family migrated to İstanbul when he was 14, he first started working in a bakery and changed to different works all of which in the service sector in two years-time. He currently works as a waiter in a restaurant for one and a half years now for 12-13 hours a day.

5- DNES (17)

DNES was 17 years old on September 2018 when the interview was held. He was from Esenyurt. He did not attend any preschool education before he started primary school. He attended primary school in two different public schools because they moved their houses. He took the TEOG in order to be placed to a high school. After the exam he attended to a vocational and technical high school for one year and then dropped. There are five people living in his household. He has two siblings including a 13 years old brother and 3 years old sister. His mother is a primary school graduate and is a housewife. His father is also a primary school graduate and has his own driving school. They live in their own house and he has his own room. He likes reading action books. He does not know any foreign language. He started working when he was 15 for the first time as an apprentice for a hairdresser for 100 TL weekly. He works in a Mercedes service currently as a car mechanic from 8.30 am to 6 pm and earns minimum wage.

6- EAEY (23)

EAEY was 23 years old on September 2018 when the interview was held. She was from Eyüp. She did not attend preschool, attended a public primary school for eight years. After she took the national exam for entering high school, which was called SBS at her time, she was placed into the accounting department of a public trade vocational high school. However, she stayed there for two years and then dropped because she did not like accounting and was harassed in school. There are five people living in her household including her parents and siblings. She has two siblings. Her older sister is 29 and graduated from high school and works as a salesperson. Her younger sister is 13 and attends middle school. Her mother is a high

school drop-out and is a housewife and her father is a middle school graduate and works as a shovel operator. They live in their own house and she has her own room. She does not like reading even though they have a bookshelf consisting of books which are mostly encyclopedias. She knows just a little bit English and Georgian. She worked as an officer in a post office and as a salesperson and cashier in several shops. She currently works as a beauty specialist in a shop eight hours a day for six days in a week. She earns 2200 TL.

7- EHEY (20)

EHEY was 20 years old on May 2018 when the interview was held. He was from Eyüp. He was born in Van. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended primary school in two different schools in two different villages in Van. After he took the national exam for entering high school, which was called OKS at his time, he was placed into a public Anatolian high school and dropped out of high school in his second year. He lives with six other people in the household. He has seven siblings including a 30-years old older brother, 28-years old older sister and 24 years old older sister, 19, 18, 12 years old three sisters and a 16 years old brother. His oldest brother is a middle school graduate working as a construction worker whereas his oldest sister is a primary school graduate, married and a housewife. His 24-years-old sister is also married, dropped out of high school and is a housewife. His 19-years-old sister is also a high school drop-out, his 18-years-old sister is a senior high school student, 16-years-old brother is a freshman high school student and 12-years-old sister attends middle school. His mother and father did not attend school. His mother is a housewife and his father is a driver. They live in a rental house and he does not have a private room and does not like reading. His native language is Kurdish. He

has started working since he dropped out of high school. He first started working in a pastry shop for one year and transferred to another pastry shop which he has been working for four years now. He works 11.5 hours a day for seven days a week and earns 2150 TL.

8- ENES (24)

ENES was 20 years old on September 2018 when the interview was held. He was from Esenyurt. He was born in Kars. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended primary school in Kars. After the SBS exam, he was placed to a public Anatolian high school in Kars and stayed there for two years. There are four people in the household. He has three siblings including a 32 years old older sister who is a middle school graduate, married and does not work, 31 years old older brother who is a high school graduate and a 12 years old sister attending middle school. They live in a rental house. He had his own room back in Kars but does not have a private room currently. He likes reading and knows just a little bit English. His native language is Kurdish. He started working when he was 17 as an operator in a textile factory. He then worked as a delivery man but currently is responsible for software programs in a private company. He works ten hours a day for five days a week.

9- ENMA (19)

ENMA was 19 years old on May 2018 when the interview was held. He was from Maltepe. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended to a public primary school for eight years. After taking the SBS, he was placed to a multi-program high school. He stayed there for one and a half year before transferring to a trade vocational high school in which he stayed for one year before dropping out. Currently he lives with

his mother. His parents are divorced, and his brother is a 20 years old high school drop-out who is currently in military duty. His mother did not attend school and is a housewife and his father is a primary school graduate and is a plumber. He lives in their own house and shares a room with his brother. He knows a little English. He first started working as a waiter when he was 16 and did different service works on and off since that time. He currently works in a telecommunication firm.

10- ERES (25)

ERES was 25 years old on September 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Esenyurt. He is originally from Amasya city of Turkey. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended primary school in two different public schools in Amasya and did not have any high school experience before OEHS. He took the OKS exam but could not have a sufficient score to be placed to any high school. He is married, and his household includes him and his wife. However, in his childhood home he lived with five people including his parents and three siblings. He has four siblings including a 30-years old older brother, 28-years old older sister and 26 years old older brother. All of his siblings are middle school graduates and working. His mother and father are primary school graduates. His mother is a housewife, his father is a farmer. Their house is rental. Even though their house in Amasya was a big village house he never had a private room because of heating problem. He started working when he was 15. Since then, he worked as a welder, mechanic, textile worker, automobile factory worker. He is currently unemployed.

11- FTMA (20)

FTMA was 20 years old on May 2018 when the interview was held. He was located in Maltepe. He is originally from Mardin city of Turkey. He did not attend kindergarten. After he graduated from a public elementary school in Mardin, he went to Hatay to attend a private Koran course. He took the SBS exam but did not make any high school preferences because of his decision to go to Hatay. After he finished the course, he migrated to İstanbul to live with his brother. There were eleven people in his household back in Mardin, but he lives with his two older brothers in İstanbul. He has seven siblings. His oldest brother is a 25 years old high school graduate who works in a Doner restaurant. His two other older brothers are 23 and 22 years old and they both are middle school graduates and work in a hookah café. His 21-years-old brother is a primary school drop-out and unemployed. His three younger siblings are 18, 14 and 8 years old respectively. The 18-years old brother attends religious high school, 14-years-old sister attends middle school and the youngest one attends primary school. His mother did not attend school and is a housewife whereas his father is a middle school graduate but does not have a job. They had their own house back in Mardin and he shared a room with his seven siblings, but he stays in a rental home in İstanbul. His native language is Kurdish, and he can also speak Arabic. He started working when he was 18 as a joker worker in a supermarket who does everything requested in the workplace for two years now.

12- HEES (25)

HEES was 25 years old on September 2018 at the interview time. She was from Esenyurt. She was born in a village of Erzurum and because of gender discrimination she was never allowed to go to school and never took the national high school exam.

After they migrated to İstanbul nine years ago, she first attended a literacy course then open middle school and now ended up in OEHS. She lives with her parents, her brother with his wife and child, and her two other siblings. She has four siblings. Her older brother is 32 years old, primary school graduate who is a construction worker, her older sister is 26 who also attends OEHS and her younger brother is 23 years old high school drop-out who also works as a construction worker. Her mother did not attend school and is a housewife whereas her father is a primary school graduate. Her father was a farmer back in Mardin but does not work in İstanbul. They live in their own house. She never had a private room but had to share with her sister. Even though there are not any books at home, she likes reading romance and tries go to the public libraries to reach books. Her native language is Kurdish. She tries working in textile atelier for some time however her family did not allow her to work.

13- HMÜM (23)

HMÜM was 23 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. She was from Ümraniye. She did not attend kindergarten, attended a public elementary school. After she graduated, she took the OKS exam and placed to a public Anatolian high school in which she stayed one year before dropping out. She is an only child. Her mother and father are both primary school graduates working as a housewife and construction worker respectively. They live in their own house and she has her private room. She does not like reading. She cannot speak any foreign language. She did baby-sit for about two months but quit when she started OEHS.

14- İMEY (18)

İMEY was 18 years old on May 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Eyüp. She did not attend kindergarten. She graduated from a public elementary school and after she took the TEOG exam she continued to a girls' vocational technical high school. She lives with her parents and her three siblings including 15 years old twin brothers attending middle school and a three years old baby brother. Her mother and her father are both middle school graduates working as a housewife and driver respectively. They live in a rental house. She has a private room and a bookshelf that she created out of a closet together with her siblings. She likes reading self-help books and knows a little bit English. She looks after her baby brother and has been doing tutoring for five months now.

15- KMÜM (20)

KMÜM was 20 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Ümraniye. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended primary school in two different public schools in İstanbul. After he graduated and took the SBS exam, he was placed and attended to an industrial vocational high school for two years. After that, he transferred to another industrial vocational high school and attended for one year before dropping out. His parents are divorced, and he lives with his mother and sister. His sister is 22 years old high school graduate working as a salesperson. Her mother is also attending OEHS and works as an assistant anesthesiologist whereas his father is a primary school graduate working as a hairdresser. They live in a rental house. He has his own room and he likes reading like his sister. He knows a little bit Laz language and Russian out of curiosity. He started working when he was 14 and

did paddler's trade for two years. After that he has been working in various jobs ranging from working as a cashier, waiter and barista.

16- KNEY (18)

KNEY was 18 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Ümraniye. He is one of the three participants who attended preschool among 33. After preschool he continued the same primary school that the preschool was attached. When he graduated, he took the TEOG exam and was placed to a trade vocational high school but was expelled because of truancy. He lives with his mother and brother. His mother is a high school graduate and works as a security guard and his brother is 19 years old, OEHS graduate who also works as a security guard. They live in their own house and he shares a room with his brother. There are plenty of books at home, but he does not like reading. He knows a little bit English. He started working when he was 12-13 years old in a printing shop. He currently works as a security guard like his mother and brother, eight hours a day in shift.

17- KRES (25)

KRES was 25 years old on September 2018 when the interview was held. She was from Esenyurt. She is one of the eight children of a gypsy family. She did not attend preschool. She started primary school when she was 11 because her father decided to let his children to go to school altogether. She attended a public primary school for eight years however since she was over 18 when she was graduated, she was not allowed to attend a regular high school. She was then sent to orphanage in which she stayed until she was 18 years of age. She then got married, had a son and divorced. She currently lives with her son. Her mother is a primary school graduate and a

housewife. Her father is a primary school graduate and works as a driver. She has seven siblings. Her three older sisters are 29, 27 and 26 years old. The oldest one did not attend to school whereas the other two are middle school graduates. Her younger sister who is 23 attends to university. Her 22 years old brother is a middle school graduate and does not work whereas her 21 years old sister and 20 years of brother are high school dropouts. She lives in a rental house. She never had a private room back in her childhood. There were no books in their house and she never likes reading. After she left the orphanage, she took the civil service examination and was stationed to a public education center.

18- MAES (17)

MAES was 17 years old on September 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Esenyurt. He did not attend preschool. He attended a public primary school and after the TEOG exam he was placed to a public Anatolian high school in which he stayed for 2 years before dropping out. He lives with his parents and two siblings. His mother is a primary school graduate and is a housewife. His father is also a primary school graduate and has his own printing atelier. His older brother is 20 years old, who also attends OEHS but currently in military duty. His sister is four years old. They live in their own house and he has his private room, he likes reading when he is bored. He knows a little bit English. He started working when he was 16 years old as a plumber, but he currently works in his father's printing shop eight hours a day, for five days in a week.

19- MDÜM (23)

MDÜM was 23 years old in May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Ümraniye. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school and after graduation he took the SBS exam. After being placed to a religious high school, he dropped out in his second year. There are ten people in his household including his parents and seven siblings. His mother is a primary school graduate housewife and his father is a high school graduate who works as an advertiser and graphic designer in his own printing shop. He has seven siblings including a 25 years old older sister who also attends open education middle school, 22 years old brother who is also a OEHS student, 20 years old brother attending regular high school, 18 years old sister attending a private Koran course and a 15 years old brother who graduated from middle school but took a leave for one year before starting to high school. They live in their own house but pay for housing loan. He does not have a private room, never had one. He knows a little bit English. He started working when he was 17 years old and did various jobs until now. He worked as a driver, grill chef in a meatball restaurant, worker in a textile factory and office boy in his father's printing shop. He currently works as a salesperson in a motor factory.

20- NAEY (21)

NAEY was 21 years old on May 2018 at the interview time. She was from Eyüp. She was born in Tokat and attended a public primary school in there. She did not go preschool. After she took the SBS exam she was placed to a religious high school. However, because of the difficulty of the courses she dropped out in the second semester of the freshman year. After dropping out of high school she got married and moved to İstanbul. She lives with her husband now. She has four siblings. Her older

sister is 27 years old, middle school graduate who is also married and is a housewife. Her 25 years old other sister is a high school graduate and is getting prepared for the civil service examinations and is also married. Her 23 years old sister attends to university whereas her 15 years old younger sister attends to medical vocational high school. Her mother is a primary school graduate housewife whereas her father is a middle school graduate who does stock farming. She lives in a rental house with her husband. She never had a private room back in Tokat. She had a working experience in a textile factory but is unemployed at the moment.

21- OREY (18)

OREY was 18 years old in May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Eyüp. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school and after graduation he took the TEOG exam. After being placed to a religious high school, he dropped out in his second year. There are eight people in his household including his parents, his grandfather and four siblings. His mother is a middle school graduate housewife and his father is a middle school graduate who owns a production company that does balcony window. He has four siblings including his 22 and 20 years old older brothers who are high school graduates working in their own company, 16 years old sister attending a regular high school and a 10 years old brother attending middle school. They live in their own house, but he shares his room with two of his brothers. He likes reading thriller and religious books. He does not know any other language but wants to learn Arabic language. He has currently been working in their own company since last year with his father and brothers.

22- ÖMÜM (25)

ÖMÜM was 25 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. She was from Ümraniye. She was born in Giresun city of Turkey and attended a public primary school in there. She did not attend preschool. She took the OKS exam but did not make her high school preferences because of poverty. She is now married and lives with her husband and daughter. She has four siblings. Her older sister is 29 years old, middle school graduate who is also married and is a housewife. Her 22 years old sister is a fine arts high school drop-out who works as a cashier in a supermarket, her 21 years old brother is a high school drop-out and unemployed, her 13 years old sister is an eighth grader in a public middle school. She lives in a rental house with her husband and daughter. They shared a room with her three sisters back in her childhood and only had test books. She had a working experience as a salesperson for 700 TL a month but quit after her daughter was born.

23- RAES (21)

RAES was 21 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Esenyurt. She did not attend kindergarten. She attended a public primary school for four years and transferred to another public primary school for four years. After she graduated and took the SBS exam and she continued to a vocational technical high school and studied fashion design for one year there and then dropped out. She lives with her parents and her two siblings including 24 years old middle school graduate who works as a men's' hairdresser and a 19 years old younger brother who is getting prepared for the college examinations. Her mother and her father are both primary school graduates working as a housewife and presser respectively. They live in their own house. She does not have a private room but

shares with her siblings. She likes reading. She worked in a packaging factory for a month but then quit because of the persistence of her family.

24- SAMA (17)

SAMA was 17 years old on May 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Maltepe. She attended kindergarten and continued to the public primary school to which the kindergarten was also attached. She stayed there for six years and transferred to another school for the last two years. After she graduated and took the TEOG exam, she was placed to an industry vocational high school to which she attended for one year and then transferred to a private high school. She lives with her mother and older brother. She has two brothers who are 24 and 23. Her oldest brother is a high school graduate, married and lives abroad whereas her younger brother is a university student. Her mother is a university graduate and works as a nurse whereas her father is a primary school graduate and works as a driver. Her parents are divorced. They live in a rental house. She has a private room and a bookshelf full of encyclopedias. She knows a little bit English and has never worked in a paid job.

25- SMES (16)

SMES was 16 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Esenyurt. She did not attend kindergarten. She attended two public primary schools. After she graduated and took the TEOG exam she continued to an Anatolian high school for one year and then dropped out. She lives with her mother, older brother and his family. Both of her parents did not attend school. Her mother works a house worker. Her father passed away, but he did not have job when he was alive. She has five siblings including a 33 years old sister who did not attend school, a 32

years old brother who is a primary school graduate, a 29 years old sister who did not attend school either, 28 years old brother who dropped out of middle school and a 26 years old sister who dropped out of primary school. They live in a rental house. She never had a private room. She likes reading thriller books. Her native language is Kurdish. She has never worked in a paid job, but she does babysitting for her brother's baby.

26- SNES (18)

SNES was 18 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Esenyurt. She was originally from Muş city of Turkey. She did not attend kindergarten however she attended a public primary school in Muş until third grade and then her family migrated to İstanbul. She continued primary school in İstanbul until seventh grade and dropped out. She graduated from open education middle school and registered to OEHS. Her mother did not attend school and is a housewife where as her father is a middle school graduate and works as a construction worker. She has three siblings including a 16 years old brother who is a middle school student, a 14 years old sister who is also a middle school student and a 9 years old sister who is a primary school student. Even though they live in their own house now, they had to move their house for many times since they came to İstanbul. She has her private room for eight years now. She likes reading books, especially self-help books. Her native language is Kurdish. She first started working when she was 12 with her siblings as an apprentice to a man who was doing paddler's trade. After they migrated to İstanbul she worked in a plug-socket factory and in a textile factory. Currently she works in daily jobs.

27- SNEY (24)

SNEY was 24 years old on May 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Eyüp. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school and after graduation he took the OKS exam. After being placed to an Anatolian high school, he dropped out at the end of his first year. There are three people in his household including his parents and himself. His mother is a primary school graduate housewife and his father is a higher education graduate who is retired. He has three siblings including a 36 years old sister who is a middle school graduate and married, a 33 years old middle school graduate sister who is also married and does not work and a 34 years old older brother who is a university graduate and works as a civil servant and is also married. They live in their own house. He never had a private room but there are plenty of books in their house because both him and his father likes reading. He does not know any other language. He first started working when he was 15 in a textile factory, 11 hours a day for four years. He then works in paddler's trade for three years and works as a part time taxi driver. He currently works as a security guard.

28- ŞKES (18)

ŞKES was 18 years old on September 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Esenyurt. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school for seven years and transferred to another public primary school for one year and graduated from there. After graduation he took the TEOG exam but was not placed to any regular high school. There are five people in his household including his parents, himself and his two siblings. His mother is a middle school graduate housewife and his father is a middle school graduate who is a worker. He has two

siblings including a 13 years old brother who is a middle school student and a 7 years old sister who is a primary school student. They live in their own house. He shares a room with his brother, and they have books at home. He likes reading poetry. He knows a little English. He first started working when he was 11-12 years old. Since then he worked as an apprentice to a tailor, hairdresser and butcher. Currently works as a mechanic for three years.

29- ŞLES (25)

ŞLES was 25 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Esenyurt. She was originally from Kastamonu city of Turkey. She did not attend kindergarten. However, she attended a public primary school in a village in Kastamonu. She attended a public middle boarding school in the center of Kastamonu. After middle school, her father decided that they do not have enough money to allow her to continue her education through high school. Then she got married soon and migrated to İstanbul with her husband. Her mother is a primary school graduate and is a housewife. Her father is a primary school drop-out and working as a farmer. She has two siblings including a 31-years-old sister and a 28-years-old brother who are both middle school graduates. They live in their own house with her husband. However back in Kastamonu she lived with her parents and two siblings. She did not have a private room but had to share it with her two siblings. She and her sister like reading books and together own a bookshelf back in Kastamonu. She first started working when she came to İstanbul in a textile factory at the age of 19. After two years, she quit and for three years now, she has currently been working in a bakery for six days a week, eight hours a day and earns minimum wage.

30- VNES (18)

VNES was 18 years old on September 2018 at the time of the interview. He was located in Esenyurt. He did not attend kindergarten. He attended a public primary school in his district and graduated from there. After graduation he took the TEOG exam and was placed to a vocational and technical high school. After attending there for one year, he dropped out. There are five people in his household including his parents, himself and his two siblings. His mother is a primary school graduate housewife. His father is also a primary school graduate who is self-employed. He has two siblings including a 15 years old brother who also is an OEHS student and a 4 years old baby brother. They live in their own house. Before they shared a room with his brother, but now after they moved their house, he has his private room. There are no books at home, and he does not have time for reading. He does not know any foreign language. He first started working when he was 15 years old. He is working in the same job of natural gas laying for three years now. He works 10 hours a day for minimum wage.

31- YRES (18)

YRES was 18 years old on September 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Esenyurt. She did not attend kindergarten. She attended a public primary school in there. After graduation, she took the TEOG exam and was placed to a vocational and technical high school in which she continued for one year and transferred to another high school. After one semester in the transferred high school she dropped out. She lives with her parents and her sister. Her mother is a primary school graduate and is a housewife. Her father is a primary school graduate and works as a textile worker. She has a 14 years old sister who is in eight-grade. She had

her own room and they share a bookshelf with her sister. She knows a little bit English. She first started working when she was 17. She worked in a textile factory for four months without insurance because she was underage. She is currently unemployed.

32- ZAÜM (17)

ZAÜM was 17 years old on May 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Ümraniye. She did not attend kindergarten. She attended a public primary school for five years and transferred to another public school when she was attending middle school. After graduation, she took TEOG exam but did not choose any high school because her mother did not allow her to go to school to look after her baby sister. She lives with her parents, her grandmother and her three sisters. Her mother is a primary school drop-out housewife and she also works as a Koran preacher. Her father is a middle school drop-out and works as a furniture dealer. She is the oldest child and has three sisters who are 15, 8 and five and all attending school. They live in their own house. She had her own room and a bookshelf. She does not know any foreign language. She worked in a textile factory and a restaurant for two months each. She is currently not working but looks after her sisters.

33- ZPÜM (18)

ZPÜM was 18 years old on May 2018 when the interview was conducted. She was from Ümraniye. She did not attend kindergarten but attended a religious course that was for preschool kids. She attended a public primary school in there. After graduation, she took the TEOG exam but did not make any preference to go to high school because her father did not trust the environment of the high school for a girl.

She lives with her parents and her sister. Her mother is a middle school graduate and is a housewife. Her father is a college graduate and works as a tax professional. She has four siblings including a 28 years old sister who is a university student, married, 25- and 23-years old sisters who are also university students and a 17 years old sister who attends to a regular high school. She and all of her sisters have their private rooms and bookshelves. She knows a little bit Korean out of curiosity. She has never worked in a paid job.

5.1.2. Sociocultural background of the students

The general patterns with respect to the common background factors of the students attending OEHS were the followings: education level of the members of their family, social class, gender discrimination, family turmoil and individual challenges, and migration.

5.1.2.1 The education level of the members of the family

The education level of the parents was presented in Table 10 in the Participants section of Chapter 4. There are 33 mothers and 33 fathers. Nine of the mothers and 2 of the fathers did not attend to any kind of school. One mother and one father dropped out of primary school. 14 of the mothers and 17 of the fathers are primary school graduates whereas the number of middle school graduates are 6 for mothers and 7 for fathers. One of the fathers was a middle school drop-out. One of the mothers and two of the fathers are high school graduates while one mother and one father are high school drop-outs. Finally, one mother and two fathers are university graduates. Thus, most of the parents had a middle school or lower level of education in this study. This situation is also existed in the literature that educational

background of the family is an important determinant and explanatory factor of future student disengagement that as the education level of the family members decreases, the disengagement level of the children from school increases (Dale, 2011; Rogers, 2016; Rumberger & Lim, 2008).

When the education level of the siblings is concerned, information was gathered about 95 siblings of the 33 OEHS students who participated in the study.

Table 12 below presents the summary of the education level and student status of the siblings.

Table 12. Level of Education of the Siblings of the Participants

Level of Education	Number of Siblings
Younger than school age	4
Did not attend school	3
Primary school student	7
Dropped out of primary school	2
Primary school graduate	4
Middle school student	13+1*
Dropped out of middle school	1
Middle school graduate	17
High school student	8+6*
Dropped out of high school	11
High school graduate	10+1*
Higher education student	5+1*
Higher education graduate	2

Note: The numbers specified with a star represents the number of siblings attending distance education.

When Table 12 is observed, it can be inferred that majority of the siblings had high school or lower level of education. Only two out of 95 siblings have been graduated from university and six of the 95 students are higher education students who are continuing their education. Six of the siblings are registered to the Open Education Faculty. Besides, 14 of the siblings had a history of drop-out. Such a conclusion is also consistent with the literature that the existence of other people who

dropped out of school can predict the future drop-outs or disengagement in the family (Dale, 2011; Rumberger & Lim, 2008).

5.1.2.2 Social class

One of the common background factors participants stated was social class. Among the participants there were ones who could not attend school just because family resources were extremely scarce. Ones who cannot buy their school books necessary for the course let alone novels to read moreover had to work to earn money for their family even though they were school age children. CTES (17) is one of those children who grew up in a small village of Erzurum and attended to a small village school in which all five grades are taught together in the same class, he reflected on the challenges he experienced in the school (See Appendix H for Turkish Narratives):

I didn't go to kindergarten. I grew up in a village. I have been in Istanbul for 3 years. You know I went to elementary school in the village. We had so much troubles. We barely could afford school books. You know teachers gave us the whole stuff. We were of course very pleased for their support. We received such an education that we had good success. We passed to secondary school. There were so much problems in secondary school.

...

I went to a typical high school in 2017, I enrolled. We had many family issues. We had credit debt, because we bought a house, we were unable to pay it. I dropped out of school again. This time I studied at the open high school. I deleted my record. Then, I quitted the school again. I worked and froze my registration. After that, "You had better work this year" my family said. They said, "We will further support your education next year". "Work this year, we will give advantages to you". So, I accepted it because of the trouble.

...

I went to open high school for 1 year. I wanted to transfer to formal education anyway. But my family didn't let me. 'You have to work. We have a trouble like that' they said. (CTES, 17)

As a result of the economic difficulties the participants had in their household, they unintentionally step into a process of self-sacrifice to help their

families. Moreover, in this process going to school did not create a fast solution but in contrast working in a paid job did create a quick fix for the problem. That is why, most of the time what poverty did to the educational path of the students caused them to drop out of school and start working. The feelings of self-sacrifice were also apparent in the words of İMEY (18) who maybe did not drop-out to work but had to do housework and look after her baby brother so that her mother could work and earn money:

I didn't go to kindergarten. I went directly to 1st grade. It was alright, nice. I didn't have any problem. I went to high school, grade 1 and 2. I had to drop out of the school in grade 3, I had a new sibling. We were three siblings, the fourth one arrived. I had to quit the school because there was no one who could take care of my siblings and my mother had to work. My mother asked me for my opinion and of course she didn't force me. So, I quitted the school to make sacrifice.

...

I had only my family by my side. Everyone was already quiet. Everyone remained silent. In fact, they were not willing to remove but they had to. Because we are four siblings. I mean because of hard living conditions, they had to. I'm the eldest one, and I'm the only girl. Just my grandmother said, 'remove her'. No one else said anything (İMEY, 18)

Even though İMEY (18) liked school and had good grades and his family did not actually want to prevent her from going to school, the very reason of her drop out of high school was the obligation of her mother to work and earn money for the future of her children. The feelings of self-sacrifice were also very much clear in her account.

ERES (25) was also like CTES (17) and İMEY (18) had a low socioeconomic status family background that caused him to drop out of school:

Laziness you know. I mean we usually tried to do something. Well, most of us had a profession. Some of us became teacher, some of us well. I wasn't able to study because we didn't have money, because of our financial situation. I became weldor something. Still I have (the same) profession. So. I wanted to study and be a cop, but it didn't happen.

...

Zeynep: So, you didn't change any school after you did in your first year?

ERES: No, I only changed in my first year you know, we went to somewhere else when I was in Grade 1, to another district. We had to move, poverty you know. We went to somewhere else.

...

Our decision to drop out of school is like: We had a wood house, it burnt down. We run out of money. We were planning to build a house. Because we were not able to build the house, I became a weldor, chose the profession. Since then, I've been working you know.

...

Zeynep: Well, what was your family's average monthly income when you were studying?

ERES: Nothing. Zero. Nothing at all I mean. They make money in farm or field by any chance. Otherwise, nothing. (ERES, 25).

ERES (25) felt obliged to work and help his family after their house was burned. He mentioned his friends who could get a proper education and had a good job and he saw poverty as the utmost reason of his drop-out and not having to do his dream job but rather be obliged to be a welder. What is more striking was the answer he gave to the question of the average income of his family, which was 'none'. However, no matter how clear the level of poverty and its influence on the drop-out of the student was, ERES (25) is of two minds of self-blaming himself for misbehavior and blaming poverty (Willis, 1977).

The level of poverty even caused some of the students not to be able to buy the books they desired. HEES (25) shared her experience:

At first, I said I love reading but I don't have any book about my area of interest or my favorite books. I was intending to buy but I was not able to because of my financial status. Now, when I go to public library, the books that drew my attention, I mean my favorite books are not available there. I read sometimes, that's it. (HEES, 25)

All in all, as it was stated in the literature, the socioeconomic status of the family and the scarcity of the resources the families provided for their children were important determinants in early school leaving and disengagement of the students from education (Rumberger & Lim, 2008).

Even though the participants in this study sought for ways to continue their education in a way, the socio-economic background of their families was similar to that of early school leavers (Rogers, 2016).

5.1.2.3 Gender discrimination

In terms of the sociocultural background of the families, there were also repeated accounts about gender discrimination of the families which was also consistent with disengagement from education literature (Rogers, 2016). Especially when combined with poverty, girls' education seemed to be the first that families have given up since boys are still thought to be the breadwinners which will help the family. The issue of allowing boys to go to school but not girls caused the girls to feel missing and incomplete when compared to their brothers. HEES (25) was one of those females and she shared her experiences and feelings in those words:

Well, the school was like I was born in a small village in Erzurum. There was no school there. My brothers were schooled but we weren't. I didn't go to school at all. I always felt incompetent and I still feel incompetent. We moved here, Istanbul in 2010. It was like an opportunity for us. Well, I entered open high school. Actually, I applied to a school, I attended reading and writing training. I wanted to get my elementary school diploma there. When we applied there, the teachers cared us. There was Teacher Refika, she cared me very much.

...

No, our village was an arable field. There is another village down there and it is called a village. There was a school in there. The distance from there to our village was quite a lot, many kilometers to go. There was something between us, a river, and a brook. There was no bridge until the year we came. It was built after we came. That's why. They sent male, they prioritized male of course. They even were carrying them at the back, but it wasn't the same for us... I don't know, I think they didn't want to. We weren't schooled. I believe this is a shortcoming for the state; because I wonder if the state has ever considered that there was a village out there in which the girls were not schooled! You know, there are still troubles like that today. (HEES, 25)

One of the repeated accounts of the girls when gender discrimination was concerned was the reasoning of their families for not allowing them to go to school

on the basis of their fear of the dangerous environment of the school. One of those girls was ZPÜM (18) and she shared her experience:

Yes. I went to the kindergarten of my secondary school. Just like that. I went toElementary school in Umraniye district. My secondary school was there too. As for high school...Actually I wanted. Then my father distrusted the environment which I understood him when he explained it to me. (ZPÜM, 18)

According to ZPÜM (18), her father knew that the school she attended had a really undisciplined environment and those kinds of environments are undesirable for girls. Her father then, made ZPÜM (18) also believe that. That is why according to her, her father knew and did what was best for her and that there was no discrimination in her father's action.

Likewise, as HEES (25) and ZPÜM (18), ZAÜM (17) was also one of the girls who was not allowed to continue her education with the combined influence of having low socioeconomic status background and conservative and discriminative attitudes of her family:

ZAÜM: O! Besides, before I took TEOG exam... well, my mom came in and she said 'I am not going to allow you to attend high school, take the exam knowing that', before the first TEOG, when was it I cannot remember exactly, was it January?

Zeynep: Has she ever said why she did not allow you to continue your education?

ZAÜM: She, herself, thinks that in an environment where there are male, it is difficult for a girl to give her mind to the lessons and then she takes the wrong road. She was thinking like that. Thus, she did not want to allow me to go to high school. Besides she is a Muslim preacher. For that reason... (ZAÜM, 17)

5.1.2.4 Family turmoil and individual challenges

Another background factor that was repeatedly stated by the participants was the existence of disruptions in their upbringing, family turmoil and other challenges that they had to face with while they were growing up and trying to attend school. These

kinds of situations also brought about a lack of support from the family. Less engagement of the families with their children's education and schooling is also related with higher levels of drop-out or early school leaving (Dale, 2011). ENES (24) shared his experience of dropping out of school when his family had an economic turmoil:

Well, here is how I dropped out of the school: Because of my family issues, my family's property had all been confiscated. That's why I had to move here for work. That's why we started such a life and my school was quite good you know. When I quitted high school in 3rd grade, then I lost my interest anyway. And I never wanted to study after that (ENES, 24)
In the words of ENES (24), his feelings of estrangement to schooling was

also apparent. After dropping out of school and started working, he also lost interest in schooling and did not want to continue.

SAMA (17), even though had a higher socioeconomic upbringing when compared to other participants in the study, had difficulties in school because of the divorce of her parents. She shared her experience of constantly going the counseling service when she was at school.

I had so much trouble and I often went to school counselor. I mean because my mother and father got separated, we had so much problems. Well, after that... I usually spent my days at school counselor. Except this, I had kept good relations with school administration you know. (SAMA, 17)

Similar to SAMA (17), another account also reflected the influence of a combination of divorce, family turmoil and economic difficulties. Like SAMA (17), KMÜM (20) also shares his experience of self-sacrifice in a situation where the family had resources for only one child in the family. Since he had worse grades than her sister, he chose dropping out to create a chance for her sister to continue her education.

(During) the process, I wasn't able to prepare for exams because my parents got separated, only my mother was working. And because I was little, they didn't allow me to work you know. Either my elder sister would have gone to the school and lived a beautiful life or me. There were two choices. I preferred not to work. (KMÜM, 20)

5.1.2.5 Migration

Migration was also a critical standpoint in the lives of some participants. 10 of the participants had a background of migration. Students who participated in the study especially from Esenyurt had a background of migration either together with their families or by themselves. This factor was also very much related to the economic situation and the social class of their families because migrating to İstanbul was most of the time related to the desire to earn money. However, migration often led to other difficulties:

Wherever we went, students were a trouble for us. I mean they were not getting along with teachers. Well, this affected us too. I mean I even went to three different secondary schools. Here and there. Just like that. Then I said; I thought to come Istanbul, study here and receive a better education. My family sent me here. Well here we both bought a house and fell into trouble and I could not be placed any school here either.

...

I entered the TEOG exam. I participated half part of the TEOG because I wasn't able to go to the exam due to winter. Thus, I had a low score, I wasn't able to get into the school here. There were high-scoring schools here. So, I transferred to open high school. At least, this resulted in a bit of progress in education for me rather than delaying. (CTES, 17)

Even though the effects of changing schools and adaptation problems were also mentioned in the reflections of the students on their prior school experiences part, migration as a background factor was also influential in the lives of students. CTES (17), for example had difficulty in continuing his education when he migrated to İstanbul together with his family. He took the TEOG exam to be placed to a regular high school but in the first phase of the exam which was in winter, he was

late for the exam because of heavy snow in his village and thus he got a lower score and he could not be placed to anywhere in his city Erzurum. After he came to İstanbul he also had to face with the reality of quota problems. It was too late for him to find a space available in a regular high school in Istanbul.

CTES (17) was also one of the students who had to struggle with the problems of migration. The adaptation problems caused by migration will be addressed in the prior school experiences part in detail.

5.2 Reflections of the participants on their prior school experiences

When the students were asked to reflect upon their prior school experiences before registering into OEHS, one of the most commonly stated themes were the negative experiences they had when they were attending primary and middle school or high school if they have attended before transferring to OEHS. In addition to their negative experiences, relationship with peers, lack of motivation in school, truancy, resistance to schooling, the national high school exam and the choices they had after the exam, devaluation of schooling and finally the end result of all this as early school leaving constituted the commonly stated themes in the repertoires of the participants.

5.2.1 Negative experiences in primary, middle and high school

More than half of the students shared their negative experiences while they were attending school, when their prior school experiences were asked. The common responses referred were a bad start to school, bullying, negative experiences with teachers along with discriminative practices and attitudes, adaptation problems that were derived from moving houses and changing schools, insufficient resources in

school, getting low grades and failing classes, attending long distance schools and staying in a dormitory and last but not least difficulties resulting from lack of education in mother tongue.

5.2.1.1 Bad start to school

In some of the student narratives, a negative or late start to school stand-out. When their prior school experiences were asked, those students who happened to make a troubled start to school were observed to start from that exact moment to tell their stories and could not develop a more positive attitude to school. VNES (18), told his story about how the school environment and the existence of school fight and bullying affected his start to and feelings towards school:

Zeynep: Can you tell me about your educational experiences?

VNES: My school life was very crappy.

Zeynep: Can you please speak a little bit louder.

VNES: Well, I didn't want to study, teacher, that's all.

Zeynep: Did you attend kindergarten?

VNES: No.

Zeynep: So, you first started to primary school, right? How was primary school?

VNES: I went to school in Esenyurt again. A school called ... The school environment was bad. There were fighting, stabbing nearly every day. The school made me bored then.

Zeynep: In primary school?

VNES: Whether in primary school or middle school. Well, my brothers...there was a fight every day after school.

Zeynep: So, you started primary school. How did you feel?

VNES: I was so ashamed in school; I was crying all the time. I constantly wanted my mom. There were times when my mom sat with me in classroom. It was like that. (VNES, 18)

He told how he felt ashamed until he came second grade in primary school and that his mother continued to come with him until the end of freshman year to protect and make him feel safe. KRES (25), on the other hand, had a different story of starting school. Her story, unlike VNES (18) was not resulted from school

environment but rather stemmed from family dynamics. As she told her story below, her father did not send his eight children to school until the youngest child comes to school age. However, when that time came, KRES (25) was already 11 years old and she was four years late for school. In her prior school experiences narrative, she told how she felt different than the other kids, how this situation influenced her psychology of starting to school and being there and how she did not want to attend classes because of that.

Well, let me tell you interesting ones. I started primary school when I was 11 years old. I finished secondary school when I was 18 years old. Because of age, I was actually feeling myself different. Being an elder among small ones.

...

Zeynep: Why did you start going to primary school at the age of 11?

KRES: Because we are eight siblings, my father sent all of us to school, young and old without any distinction. I mean a single parental mistake can affect education status

Zeynep: How did it influence you?

KRES: We didn't have any problem with registration but during lessons I felt different. It completely makes you mentally depressed. I almost never used to attend the class. They were mocking. (KRES, 25)

5.2.1.2 Negative school environment

Another commonly mentioned prior experience regarding school was when the school had a negative environment like VNES (18) in his start to school. Some of the students shared their stories of how there was no discipline in school but rather there were drug dealers outside the school and school fights every day. Poor disciplinary school climate was also one of the reasons in the literature that cause students to be disengaged from school (Rumberger & Lim, 2008). ZPÜM (18) was one of those students. Even though she liked school and her teachers, which was not enough for her not to drop-out of school.

Zeynep: Well, teachers, I mean apart from the other thing, how do you generally remember teachers, school administration and so on?

ZPÜM: Bad, Primary school was totally bad. Teachers, school administration, principal and etc. The school administration was problematic during the secondary school as well, but the teachers was really good. I still see, talk and ask how my teachers are doing.

Zeynep: What kind of problems were in the administration?

ZPÜM: Too nonchalant, Nothing else for the name of discipline. There were drug dealers in front of the school, and nothing was done. The policemen always used to come to school, and they couldn't do anything. The administration of the same school was changed, so the school is proper now. (ZPÜM, 18)

ARES (19) and CTES (17) also shared their stories of crowded classrooms.

The size of the classes was also mentioned as a disengaging factor in the literature

(Rogers, 2016; Lloyd et al., 2010). According to their narratives, it was really hard to breathe in the classroom let alone listen to the teacher.

In the same class. I mean there were no space to breathe. Some were standing. 3-4 people were sitting you know. Well, in such a crowded class, they did silly things you know. The class capacity cannot be acceptable, do you think it is possible? (ARES, 19)

CTES (17) attended primary school in a village in Erzurum. In his school there was only one classroom and all the first, second, third and fifth graders were getting their education in that one classroom by only one teacher. That actually was not an unusual school experience for the village kids of Turkey, however it was one of the other prior school experiences of the students to develop a negative sense of school and be disengaged from school.

Our school was quite big but now as far as I know it is very crowded. I mean almost 70 people were taught in the same class. In primary school, there was one class anyway. No more else. We used to go other villages... (CTES, 17)

5.2.1.3 Bullying

Students also mentioned their experiences of bullying in school. In addition to the lack of discipline in schools, there were stories of bullying in the narratives of students regarding their prior school experiences. SAMA (17), even though she was coming from a relatively middle-class family, shared her experience of how she was bullied because she had an introverted personality, listened to rock and heavy metal music, had purple hair and wore black:

I mean I had terrible memories; I can say that. Because I used to go to school by shuttle, from Umraniye to Kartal. I mean I always used to arrive late to the school because of the shuttle. Then, we used to argue with the driver of the school bus. I used to argue with both my girlfriends at work or school bus and boyfriends too much. They used to make fun of me all the time. Over my appearance, my manner of speaking, you know, they used to make fun of me too much. Then, I told it to my mother. Just like that... (SAMA, 17)

Since SAMA (17)'s friends teased with her, she even did not want to go to school. That is why, the response she gave to the question of how the school was is "awful"!

ZAÜM (17), on the other hand, had a lower socioeconomic status family background than SAMA (17) but her experiences of bullying and how it caused her not want to go to school resembles each other. Living in a shanty house and having almost no money caused her to be bullied in school.

Zeynep: How was your relationship with your peers?

ZAÜM: Well, in middle school, my grades were really good in 5.,6.,7.,8. Grades. But before that, people always treated me badly. Like 'you are infested with lice', 'you're like this'. They were constantly making bad accusations and insulting me. I was going home beaten.

Zeynep: In primary school?

I_ZAÜM: Yes. Well, people used to talk to me like that all the time. We had our own house at the time, a slum. People was always saying like, 'you are the gypsy, you are poor, you are this, and you are that.' (ZAÜM, 17)

These memories about the school, influenced the meaning the students attached to school and also observed to affect their level of disengagement from education.

5.2.1.4 Negative experiences with teachers

Apart from, a bad start to school, negative school environment and bullying, one of the most commonly stated themes in the interview narratives of the students when they were asked to narrate their prior school experiences were negative experiences they had with their teachers. One of the barriers to learning in disengagement studies was the negative relationship between the teachers and students and how this poor interaction made the students disengaged from their learning experience and how they felt disrespected and ignored and finally had feelings of being excluded from the classroom. Still another concern was the teachers' preferential attitudes towards smart students (Baird et. al., 2011). Unfortunately, teacher violence in schools was one of those experiences the students shared:

The teacher came. Well' I' he said. 'I absolutely don't like violence I mean and against you, you are a 6th grade student, I never use violence against you.' He said. 2-3 months passed by, the guy used to come to the class by iron stick, I swear it. But not, he wasn't able to do anything to us, because we... (ARES, 19)

We were in math course in Grade 2 of primary school. In those days, we had Haydar teacher. Well, he was bald and fat guy. I was studying in Incirtepe. In Grade 2 Math, there was some part we did not be taught I mean in the math book. I studied there. It is a small part that you can cut by scissors. Then, you know teachers want us to follow the book, just my luck, he took my nook. Anyway, he looked again and again. Then he saw the part that I studied. Then he shouted, did something. Then I looked, he smacked me. But what a smack! Left a mark on my cheek and so on. Anyway, then we went to with my dad you know to complain him to principle. He was teaching when we went. Then, I told my mother "Mom, I fell down, my cheek hurts so much". Then she understood that it was the mark of five finger. After that, we complaint to the principle. He was detained, the teacher. Then I don't know whether he was released, I have no idea, but it is really bad, I was beaten for the first time there I male by teachers. (SMES, 16)

ARES (19) and SMES (16) were exposed to teacher violence when they were attending primary school and felt really bad. SMES (16) even experienced this as a trauma and started doing nothing in order to avoid doing the wrong part of the book again. He shared his thoughts when he was a child that if he does the wrong part again, he will be beaten by the teacher. The teacher violence BMEY (23) was exposed on the other hand resulted from not because of misbehavior but because of not knowing Turkish. He was born in Adıyaman and his native language was Kurdish. When he started to school, he has not known Turkish very well yet. He shared his experience of how the teacher was slapping just because he did not know:

Zeynep: How was the procedure when passing from first grade to second grade? Because failing in the first year of the school...

BMEY: I mean you feel like a stranger; I mean you can't learn anything too for one year. It is a village environment. What you can learn from the teacher, you learn from the teacher. The teacher was very supportive, thankfully.

Zeynep: What do you mean by that?

BMEY: (Laughing) He was beating you know. Beating saying repeatedly 'Why don't you know? 'How can I know; I don't go anywhere except than the village eventually. So, we failed. (BMEY, 23)

Apart from violence one of the students also shared her memory of harassment by a teacher and how that specific trauma made her drop-out of the regular high school she was attending.

EAEY: I was harassed by a teacher, he came to. I was so disinclined, and I quitted. Then, I regretted very much. I continue studying at open high school, and I'm pleased now, no problem.

...

EAEY: I mean after that incident, I decided to quit the school. Immediately after, I enrolled at open high school. (EAEY, 23)

ENES (24) also shared his memories with his teacher's indifference and neglect to them. The teacher he shared his experiences with was gambling on horse race all the time and telling his interest in horses and his gambling stories to the

students in the classroom. As a result of this neglect, ENES (24) felt that he was studying all alone even though he was going to school.

Well, when I remember primary school period, there was an X teacher. In those days, one teacher used to work in village schools. For example, one teacher used to teach grade one, two and three; another teacher used to teacher grade four and five. There was one teacher for us. The guy used to always interest in horses. I mean when I'm saying horses, he used to love betting. He used not to pay attention to us. We always used to manage on our own. We studied by ourselves. We educated by ourselves. So, to speak. I mean computers just arrived at village schools. More precisely, we had computers thanks to the local people there. Especially, they were brought with the help of my father. After the computers came, the guy used to always busy with Internet, he stuck in betting. Always, horse races, betting. I mean I don't know, because of such things. We made progress by ourselves. I always recall it. I mean there was not any teacher beside me. We passed grade four and five on our own. (ENES, 24)

FTMA (20), on the other hand mentioned one of his memories of how the intolerance and lack of understanding of the teacher almost caused him to be sent to the disciplinary committee and made him feel mistreated and aggrieved:

I was about to be referred to the student discipline because of a misunderstanding. (Laughing) We had an H... teacher. He gave us a poem in the lesson and said, 'The one who does not memorize the poem until the break will be punished.' He saw us laughing, I don't remember exactly. He instructed us to stand up you know; we will refer you to discipline he said. 'What for, teacher' and blab la... I cried a lot because I was afraid that he would refer us to the discipline. I was talking with him tearfully. He said, 'You neither memorized the poem nor interested in the lesson.' He said a few words. I said, 'No teacher, I memorized my poem'. 'Read' he said. I read crying. I can't forget that day. That teacher always makes me remember. He is from our neighborhood. I always remember that day... (FTMA, 20)

Therefore, the mistreatment of the teacher also caused FTMA (20) to lose his enthusiasm for school. RAES (21) also had a similar teacher experiences to FTMA (20) regarding the misunderstanding and mistreatment of one of her teachers.

Exactly, 1st year, the second semester. I said I would transfer to another high school. Then one day, we entered the literature exam. The exam was like; I'm RAES, behind me, another RAES too, both of us have the same name. I never had throughout my education life, I studied eight years, I mean I know these records will be erased, I mean there is no need to lie which I don't have such a personality, many years passed by... For me, the past is the past. But I wasn't the type of student cheating or asking someone to cheat. I mean what can you achieve when you come to somewhere by cheating? Suppose that I'm a teacher but I became a teacher by cheating, I became a teacher thanks to cheating; what will I tell my students? How can I teach something that I don't know? How can I be a teacher? It doesn't make any sense to me. That day, our friends prepared a cheat sheet, I didn't have any idea. If I had wanted to cheat, I would have always thought as follows: My friend behind me said to me, the one who has the same name with me, she poked me 'Rabia' she said 'tell her to give the paper from front. I mean you ask for eraser from your friend during the exam, I was literally used as a tool for the girl. I said 'she wants the paper' said to my friend at the front, I forgot her name in the meantime. 'Rabia wants the paper' I said. I took the paper from that girl and gave to the other girl behind. Then teacher saw me of course. He said, 'you are cheating'. I said, 'No teacher I'm not'. 'You are cheating in front of me' he said. 'Teacher, no, I'm not cheating. My friend asked the paper, I gave it.' How you can I explain, how you can make him believe, he is a teacher anyway. He is doing his job, his duty. 'You are right, teacher' I said. 'I mean I didn't cheat but I.....' I said. 'This was a big lesson for me' I said. When he interrupted me, I said I'm intending to quit the school psychologically. I put it to my mind, and I was involved in cheating. The teacher told me 'I will fail you in class, I will not let you pass' he said. I said 'I cannot fail'. 'I will either pass the class or I will leave the school, I don't fail in classes. I said. My biggest fear in life was to fail. I wasn't a student standing disciplinary ever. I never wasn't scolded by any of my teachers. So, I feel offended a little bit. Then I said, 'I want to quit the school' with such a psychology. I don't know what happened, it happened then. That's how I dropped out of the school.

(RAES, 21)

HMÜM: In fact, I preferred the open high school partly because of teachers' attitudes towards us as well.

Zeynep: How did they behave?

HMÜM: I mean we had a teacher; we were punished you know; I mean we were punished all together and when we come back to home, we were literally unable to stand up our legs. So, I partly chose this method to get away from him.

Zeynep: Why did the teacher punish you then?

HMÜM: Even if you don't do anything, I mean if someone talks, they were all punished. Saying 'You don't listen to me'. Our families came quite a lot of times, they complained but nothing else happened, the teacher didn't get better. After he didn't get better, then I chose this method. (HMÜM, 23)

The experience of RAES (21) made her feel ashamed and more importantly aggrieved. Besides she felt that this was an unjust environment and did not want to be a part of such an unjust system anymore and this affected her decision to drop out. Likewise, the experience of constant penalties HMÜM (23) was exposed was effective in his decision to continue his education in OEHS without teachers. These kinds of penalties in school was argued to be left behind, the narratives of the students showed that they are not.

There were also exceptional cases told by the participants on the teachers who had bad psychological conditions. ZPÜM (18) was one of them. She told her stories pertaining to a teacher in public primary school she attended the teacher constantly shared her memories of a trauma she had and how that kind of a trauma telling caused ZPÜM (18) to have fears at night and wanted to sleep with her parents even though she was a school age child.

ZPÜM: Because of the teacher, I was a diffident child. The teacher had psychological problems. So, actually I wasn't willing to go. Crying session every night you know. I couldn't tell my parents. Well, back then, I was just a child, we didn't know how to complain. Well, also, you know those monkeys three monkeys, pretending like: 'I didn't see, hear and don't know'. Zeynep: Yes.

ZPÜM: We were played that game. They pretended like that saying 'You will not say anything to your parents'. So, I can say we were raised as scaredy-cat. When I made it public later, he was appointed, sent. My class was changed. Well, to be honest, primary school was a little bit adventurous.

...

Her brother –in-law died in a car accident when he was overtaking a car- I still remember the story- when she was overtaking a car, her elder sister died. Her brother-in-law still lives. She used to hold a grudge against him. She always used to talk about him, she used to draw a sketch of the accident scene on the board you know. Then, she lost her baby when she was doing cleaning, she fell over you know. So

...

Because of her, I slept with my parents till the fifth grade. I used to always stay with my mother, I mean I used to stay on alert like 'something will happen, he/she will do something'. (ZPÜM, 18)

There were also discriminative and prejudiced attitudes of the teachers towards some students but not others throughout the stories that the students have shared. These kinds of practices also caused the students to feel worthless and insignificant.

Some teachers have favorite students, for example gym teacher or deputy head teacher. Let's say those students miss the class. They note down as 'activity' so that the child won't be regarded as absent. (ARES, 19)

There was a girl in our class when we were in the 3rd grade. For example, our teacher in those day, that man really still piss me off; I mean our 3rd grade teacher was extremely keen on one student, he used to always lap the student. I mean how can I say; I am a fierce feminist. I care about women's right to the last. I've been like this since my childhood. I mean you should treat everyone equally you know. Back then, in the 3rd grade, our teacher was too much, I mean during the SBS (The Level Determination Exam), I call it briefly SBS, I mean that thing administrated to the class...

Zeynep: Practice tests?

SNES: Practice tests. I used to always rank first, second. That girl used to rank third you know. But that girl used to always rank first in the class exams. So, I was so disturbed. Because I trusted myself. I knew that the teacher made that happen. So, I was always reluctant to go to school assuming that 'That girl will get the first place eventually'. Then our teacher was changed. Our teacher Sevgi, I never forget. Well, she has Alzheimer's now. (SNES, 18)

The treatments students have been subjected to by their teachers were

disappointing and unjust according to the narratives of the students. Moreover, these unequal, unjust and uncomfortable experiences worked towards influencing the feelings and attitudes of the students towards school and increased their disengagement from education.

5.2.1.5 Adaptation problems

One of the most commonly reported prior education experiences by the students was changing schools frequently. 13 out of 33 participants interviewed, attended two or more schools in primary and middle schools. Attending multiple schools in the first stages of their prior educational experiences was also discussed to be one of the reasons of disengagement from school in the literature (Lloyd-Jones et.al, 2010).

I went to primary school in E..... I went to secondary school in Ş..... Maybe you know thatSecondary School. And as for high school, I went to Medical Vocational School. I failed in the class for 1 year there. Then College, I enrolled there, I studied there. I passed the class there but this time I didn't want to continue studying. Then, I told my parents that I intended to enroll in an open education high school. They said "Alright" (BEÜM, 16)

Wherever we went, students were a trouble for us. I mean they were not get along with teachers. Well, this affected us too. I mean I even went to three different secondary schools. Here and there. Just like that. Then I said; I thought to come Istanbul, study here and receive a better education. (CTES, 17)

I changed three school. I went to A..... Primary School in my Grade 1. Then, when I went to E..... Dormitory, then I attended the school there but I don't remember its name. I was there in my Grade 2 and 3. As for my grade 4 and 5, I studied in B..... I went to A.....Primary School again in. (KRES, 25)

BEÜM (16), CTES (17) and KRES (25) shared multiple schools they attended when they were in primary school and how this multiple school experience and adaptation problems they had caused them to search for other ways to continue their education. It was clearer in the narrative of KRES (25) that such multiple practices created nothing more than a chaotic experience.

On the other hand KMÜM (20) also shared his experience of how attending multiple schools had an accumulative effect on his grades when combined with the difficulties coming from his family background.

Clearly, I didn't go to preschool, to be honest. Because we had a tough childhood in terms of family matters. I studied primary school and secondary school at Atatürk Primary School in the neighborhood, eeew, of I was there until 7th grade of my first secondary school. Then we moved from there to A...., A....in After that, I completed secondary school at Primary School. So, high school life began. First, I went toIndustrial Vocational High School. Given these industrial vocational school last for 4 years, it worked for me. Because we had the opportunity to study the first year in a regular high school, increase grade and then transfer to another school. I had a good score in the first year, plus, I ranked 50 at the school you know, ranked among the first 50. So, because I had a nice environment...

because I wanted to go after my lessons during the high school, well, at the U....Industry, and stop lounging around and go to a nice place , I tried hard for my lessons and I improved my grade.

...

My average was 86 if I don't misremember when I was at primary school but because my literature and language and expression course scores was low, I could neither have certificate of merit not certificate of appreciation. They negatively affected me. So, I couldn't change my school. I continued studying there. I first studied electric-electronic, then I transferred to mechanical department. When I was studying at mechanical department, I found out that there was a vacancy at in I wanted to be transferred to there. I was supposed to change my place of residence. I took my place of residence from, then I passed from to Until I was registered, well, I was at mechanical department, I enrolled in metallurgy. Then, I continued my education life there. Then, my school was in, I had a big circle of friends. Then, we started to neglect the school. When our schools were changed, the distance from home was far away; because even if it passes by the school...

...

I transferred toSecondary School. We moved and my circle of friends changes, my environment completely changed, my school changed. I was a stranger to school, I didn't know anyone. I didn't know teachers. Everyone was already united together, I was feeling like a complete stranger. I was feeling down, a lot. (KMÜM, 20)

5.2.1.6 Insufficient resources in school

Having insufficient resources in school was also stated by ÖMÜM (25) as one of the reasons she had difficulty in school. In this respect, she told about the absence of teachers or the teachers' staying short-term in the east part of Turkey. In addition to the lack of teachers and the practice of one teacher being responsible for all the lessons even though he or she was not the specialist of that particular lesson, she also told about lack of educational resources including books or computers which caused her to feel inadequate.

Well, we were in village. I mean there was no teacher in the village, it wasn't possible you know. I mean they were taking care of us a lot but there were no progress so much because everything is limited. There were no teacher for every course. One teacher teaches four-five courses. Turkish teacher was teaching English, the Literature teacher was teaching bla bla, he/she was teaching every course for example. Even if there is no literature course in the primary school, I said it as you know. (ÖMÜM, 25)

5.2.1.7 Low grades and failing classes

Low grades and failing classes as one of the things that low grades brought upon was one of other negative experiences that the interviewees reflected. Even though there were also participants who had good, higher grades, those students who had lower grades described their reasons as having other interests like in the case of MDÜM (23) had an interest towards football and how this made his grades lower. SNEY (24), on the other hand, mentioned how the problems in the family along with their lack of support caused him to have gradually lower grades. Moreover, as in the case of DNES (17), when a student failed two years in a row, they are expelled from school.

All of my lessons were bad. It was bad even in primary school. In fact, it is a personal thing. I say it because I know myself. Why my lessons were bad, I wasn't able to focus well. Because my mind was somewhere else. (MDÜM, 23)

...

It was good at primary school. It was a little bit bad at secondary school. It was such a mess at high school.

...

Rather than teachers, I think families should support their children. I mean they should follow. I mean Deputy Head Mr. Mahmut says in the movie, *Hababam Sınıfı* (The Chaos Class), it is not about paying the school but taking a close interest. You need to be around. That's it. (SNEY, 24)

DNES: High school... (Laughing) The high school was nice for me. We were at the same school with those outside. Well, I was so energetic in those times.

Zeynep: Which school was it?

DNES:I was studying there. Then, I failed in the class one time...

Zeynep: The 9th grade?

DNES: Exactly, in the 9th grade. My friend told me I mean we are relatives you know, 'Study, don't be so much I mean' I didn't listen, I failed again in the 10th grade. So, I failed two times

Zeynep: You can't repeat the same grade twice?

DNES: Yes, they dismiss when you fail two times. (DNES, 17)

Two of the students attending to religious high schools before they failed their classes and dropped out of school also mentioned the difficulty of the lessons in

religious high schools that was too hard for them to understand the lessons in Arabic which in turn made them to have low grades, fail their classes and eventually drop-out of high school and transferred to OEHS.

Tough. Well, there are lots of lessons. In addition to that, there is an Arabic lesson, plus Koran and so on. Because there are too much extra, it makes you confused. When I'm saying Arabic lesson, it is very tough lesson you now, nobody can easily understand it (MDÜM, 23)

I went to Imam Hatip High School, I had to drop out of lessons in the second term because it is tough. Then, I decided to continue studying at open high school. Since then, I've been trying to continue school.

...

Yes, I also used to love the school when I was at primary school, but I was, difficult after the 9th grade at high school...I mean it is always said the 9th grade, the high school is tough. I passed the difficult one. When it comes to 10th grade, because it is Imam-Hatip, Arabic lessons was a little bit tough. Well, our teacher were not able to teach Arabic as well. So, because of them, it went wrong. Math, geometry, physics and so on, they went wrong because of teachers. They were not able to teach well you know. For example, the English teacher was passing by, sitting and teaching nothing at all. (NAEY, 21)

5.2.1.8 Attending long distance schools and staying in the dormitory

One of the other negative experiences that the students referred to was attending long distance schools through mobile education and the difficulties came along with attending boarding schools when they were just children.

Back in secondary school... As for high school, the school was in center of Kars because it was a vocational high school. I was there I mean, at my uncle, I was in my own house. The high school was good but our secondary school was terrible. It was snowing, I wasn't coming or the teachers were not coming when it was snowing back in primary school. It was like five, six, seven days, a week. Then, we didn't have a class. Going to school and coming back over and over or we couldn't go to the center of the district, you have to wait the shuttle or if there was a blizzard on that day, the weather was bad, we couldn't go to you know. We couldn't go like three, five times. Well, of course it means we were recorded as absent during roll call but there was nothing else to do which everyone even family elders knew it. So, we had experienced bad conditions like this back in the days. (ENES, 24)

ENES (24) was attending a long-distance primary school through mobile education because there were not any primary school in his village. He mentioned his experience of not being able to go to school when it was snowy, let alone his truancy, even when he succeeded to go to school, he and his friends was learning that there would not be any classes that day because of the snow. That meant going back all the way back to home on that weather.

ŞLES (25)'s experience on the other hand was the result of having a low socioeconomic status background. It was hard for her family to send her through mobile education to middle school. Because of that reason, she had to stay in the dormitory. She also mentioned that she even had no money to go and see her family at the weekends which was really hard for her emotionally to be away from her family at that age.

I preferred a boarding school because our financial situation wasn't good, commuting was a problem. We used to be stuck there, I couldn't come back. I mean, everyone sometimes used to go at weekends, but I couldn't go to school because I wasn't able to pay the shuttle fee. Well, in the last year, in the 8th grade, it was made free because of the party change and I started commuting a bit more. Before that, there were times which I stayed at school like one month, I couldn't go to home. It was like 10 km away. I mean I couldn't go. It was difficult you know, distressful...

...

I wasn't at the same school. I went to the district. I studied....It is hard to study... It is such a difficult that I cannot tell you. Those people there make you progress I mean psychological as a phase of growing up. I mean my friends... can see everything more reasonable, responsible....

...

My teachers, friends were good but the thing was not good I mean you have to do everything by yourself, if meals are not good, you are hungry... I mean it is tough, very tough. I mean you start your life there. Everything depends on you. And I'm an epilepsy..... Then it is much more trouble. Sometimes I used to have..... Now it happens almost one time in a year Thanks God...
(ŞLES, 25)

5.2.1.9 Difficulties resulting from lack of education in mother tongue

When students were asked to tell their stories pertaining to primary and middle school, one of the difficulties they prefer telling was the difficulty they had in school just because their native language was Kurdish. The native language of eight out of 33 students participating in the study were Kurdish. BMEY (23) told his story of failing in the first grade, just he started school:

BMEY: I failed in the class in Grade 1

Zeynep: Grade 1. Why did you fail?

BMEY: I didn't know how to speak Turkish.

Zeynep: Is your mother tongue Kurdish?

BMEY: Kurdish (BMEY, 23)

CTES (17) also shared his experience of trying to study his courses in a language which he did not know until he came to İstanbul.

My verbal lessons were not good because I wasn't reading book. So, I learnt speaking Turkish almost when I came to Istanbul. Because my department is quantitative, because I always have quantitative signs in my mind, I wasn't reading a lot. So, as I always was reading silently, I was unable to pronounce correctly (CTES, 17).

5.2.2 Relationship with peers

Relationship with peers was generally shared as good memories that were experienced in school. Most of the students stated that playing and chatting with friends were the only things that they enjoyed when attending to school. BMEY (23) and ŞLES (25) remembered those memories that they shared with yearning:

My relations with my friends was very good. The trouble was not about the school, it is (was) with studying. (BMEY, 23)

It was also very good in there. Anyway, I had my best friend there since the first grade. She was the same girl I always sat next to. She became a philosophy teacher. Their economic condition was very good, and she could attend school. I'm still seeing her, and she is still my best friend. It was perfect, it was perfect. (Laughing) (ŞLES, 25)

Only one of the students shared negative opinions in terms of friendship at school and stated that peer relations were one of the things that made her disengage from school:

So I wanted to get away from school because friendships were for the benefit (İMEY, 18)

5.2.3 Lack of motivation in school

Whatever the reasons they had for lack of motivation the students interviewed had a low interest in school. Almost half of the students stated that they had low interest for the school since the day they have started, and that low interest and lack of motivation increased gradually. BEÜM (16) said that school was meant nothing to him because he did not like school so much so that he mentioned there was no desire in him.

Zeynep: Could you tell us a bit about your education life? Which schools did you go, how did it go?

BMEY: Well, the elementary school was typical. When I passed to the secondary school, it was much more typical.

Zeynep: (Laughing) Could you please explain more about typical?

BMEY: When I say typical... I wasn't paying attention to courses

Zeynep: For example, how was your study going?

BMEY: I paid no attention. I wasn't able to study. I had the chance to study but I couldn't study.

Zeynep: Why not?

BMEY: Let's say, when there was mischief, there was no way to work. (BMEY, 23)

Some of the students shared their motivation to school was lost because the lessons started to be boring and this in turn caused them not to enjoy school. For some of the students like SAMA (17) not being able to enjoy the school had reached such a level that she mentioned how she was sleeping in class. Likewise SNEY (24) shared that he felt suffocated in class:

Zeynep: Well, did you use to like the school?

SNEY: No, I didn't used to like

Zeynep: Why?

SNEY: I mean... I didn't use to like you know. Like every child. I don't know. I don't know some children like it. I used to like when I was in high school but I couldn't like the school when I was in secondary, elementary schools you know.

...

When I was in primary school, I used to feel suffocated. I never really wanted to go to school, I wanted to work.

...

Well, as I got older, I completely disliked school. We used to spend more time with our friends. We used to lie to parents too much you know. Just like that. (SNEY, 24)

On the other hand, for some of the students lack of motivation to school was resulted from having an interest to something else other than school and the fact that most of the schools in Turkey do not have resources to support different abilities and interests that students have. ENMA (19) and MDÜM (23) were two of those students:

All of my lessons were bad. It was bad even in primary school. In fact, it is a personal thing. I say it because I know myself. Why my lessons were bad, I wasn't able to focus well. Because my mind was somewhere else. I didn't study willingly anyway. But because of that, I used to want to make music in those days. Well, I couldn't have thought to go to university and make music. In those days, I quitted. The lessons were bad, the circle of friends also involved in, so I didn't care at all. I directly focused on music. Well, because apparently YouTube is the job of future, I can say I'm more focused. I'm still engage in music. Music and street interview. (MDÜM, 23)

No. School teams was good. Football, it was nice. I used to go to. That was good you know.

Zeynep: How was it nice?

OREY: Getting out of class was nicer I mean. Playing outside. Beside, your academic average was thus good accordingly. It was like that. (OREY, 18)

At the end of all these reasons, combined with a curriculum which is insufficient in all aspects caused some of the students even could not help themselves but think 'why should I go to school?'

Let me put it this way: When I started primary school, in Grade 1, my older brother taught me something, he taught me to read and write. That's why my first sentence was as follows: 'I learnt to read and write. Why should I go to school??' My mother pushed me to go to school. (Laughing) At such a young age. And she did something; she took me to school, then she came back to home but by the time she arrived home, I was already at home. Yes. Then she took me to school again. (Laughing) (ENMA, 19)

5.2.4 Truancy

Skipping school was one of recurrent themes during the interviews. Truancy was also brought about failing in class and expulsion. According to the law, students have a right not to come to class 10 days without excuse and this can only be increased to 45 days with excuse. If students fail to comply with this rule and fail their classes out of absenteeism for two consecutive years, they are expelled. Six of the students in the interviews shared their experiences of absenteeism and their reasons:

Whatever, well, my absence rate increased a lot. Moreover, they got my absence erased two times. I mean I was about to fail due to absence. One time my mother came another time my father came. Now, I can no way call them both; because my family has a strict structure. I cannot either call my uncles.

...

My dropout process...; well absence was always a problem for me.
(ARES, 19)

After I quitted the school there, failed because of absence and didn't want to study, because I didn't want to retake the class at all. I studied the same departments, the year was over. By the end of the year, I learnt I failed because of 2-day absence and my nerves were pretty shot, because two days. My mark was high, 92, my graduation mark. I rebuked, saying "You just couldn't erase two days!" (KMÜM, 20)

In addition to ARES (19) and KMÜM (20), MAES (17) also shared his experience of skipping school. He told how he had difficulty waking up in the morning when he was attending the morning session of the double shift schooling so much so that he had stomachache and nausea when he woke up in the mornings. As a result of this, he started not to go to school.

5.2.5 Resistance to schooling

In the narratives of the students, the discursive attitudes that were observed to indicate resistance to schooling were in the form of frequent referrals to the school disciplinary board, cheating in exams, getting involved in acts which are known to be forbidden in school, escaping from school, getting involved in school fights and even attacking teachers. Resistance to school can best be understood in a 'Willissian' sense in the words of OREY (18). He responded the question of what he meant by misbehavior or naughtiness as 'well, how can I say, it's not something I can explain'. By this way, the students who were resisting the regular system of the schooling, also unknowingly took part in their own reproduction process.

Three of the students shared their experiences of being referred to the school disciplinary board during the interviews. EHEY (20) was one of them who escaped from school because of an unjust practice of the school:

We met friends at study room when we were at dormitory. We sat together and played dirty seven, the teacher referred to us for discipline. We were about to be referred to discipline, the whole dorm came to support us. So, we didn't be referred to discipline. But, in the next, we were suspended from school. We skipped the school. We normally were supposed to be off for the whole weekend, they used to give permission only on Saturday for just 1 hour. Religious holiday was approaching, so we run away. We were suspended for a week, so we had additional one week holiday. (EHEY, 20)

ARES (19) was one of the exceptional students who strongly believed that there is no point in school. He believed in the importance of education but not schooling. According to him, an individual can best be educated again by himself or herself. That is why, during his school years, before dropping out of the regular high school he attended, he tried anything possible to be graduated except attending school and listen to the teachers:

Because we that year- Look, not me. I mean I definitely never disrespected my teacher, you know. For example, we had friends, they beat teachers. They beat five teachers, deputy heads and so on. They came to the school with

panzer to take us. This was like I mean they take it to special operation, it is armed, big like public bus, and they took us by it. I mean it was such a troublesome...

...

When I was at the school, I committed many offences. I mean my father and Teacher Ö...were talking on WhatsApp you know, they stayed in close touch...

...

I mean there was so much fighting. No offence, plus, I used to smoke. But it was a few, not many. And I don't know I used to intervene in lesson too much. They always used to refer me to discipline. I used to play football and then they used to refer me to discipline. For example, I make some noise, but this is ridiculous. Disturbing the lesson. I mean there were all kinds of things you know. (Laughing)

...

I was on the take. I mean, I was forcing them to pay money, ransom. For example, each of them was giving me 50 TL in a week. They were paying just one time. Then, they said 'Dude, delete', then they were giving 50 TL. I said, ok. I was deleting for 2-3 days. 'Buddy, I will spill the works, I have financial problem' I used to say. It doesn't work like this, ok? 50 TL was not enough for me. Then, you go to doctor, for example, they pay 1000-2000 TL for the previous reports. Well, I said, Dude, it doesn't work like this, bring me 50-100 TL more. I used to come to school by taxi. I used to smoke Parliament cigarette, the most expensive one. And also, what else, it was very good. Wealth. I normally used to go to school on foot, not by shuttle. It didn't matter how far it was, I used to walk or go by dolmush (shared taxi). Because my family didn't reflect me at all They didn't want me to get spoiled because of money. (ARES, 19)

One of the recurrent themes students referred to that indicated resistance to

schooling was participating in school fights. Five of the students stated that they got involved into school fights when they were attending primary, middle or any regular high school, and ENMA (19) was one of them.

When I was at high school, in 10th grade, I had a big fight. Then they were about to dismiss me. Afterwards, the principal said 'You' 'You are good' he said. 'Don't make yourself dismiss from school'. 'Change your school so that I can't dismiss you'. I transferred to Kurtköy. It was just on my second day, I fought again at Kurtköy. Then I said 'If I fail in class this year again, well!' 'My father won't send me to school again, I can directly enroll in open education'. My father was forcing me to go to school 'Study my son, study, study, study, study...' Whatever. I said. I can only get rid of like this, failing in class. Failing in class and so on. Then, I quitted in the middle of the second year. This is how I directly get out of school. I had a friend. I said 'Come, let's find a job'. He quitted the school. He quitted after the secondary school - No, he also quitted at high school, but after studying five or six months. I said come, let's find a job. I went. I immediately found a job on

that day. I said, I called my father, it was eleven o'clock in the evening. 'Father' I said, 'I quitted the school, I'm going to begin to work'. 'Come to home' he said. I went. 'What is going on?' he said. (ENMA, 19)

5.2.6 National high school exam and school choices

One of the most important standpoints in the prior educational experiences of the students was the determinant influence of the National High School Exam and the school choices the students made after the exam according to their scores. One of the most criticized practices in Turkish education system was the existence of such an exam which oblige students to different educational tracks. The participants attended different types of national high school exams since between the years 2004 and 2018, the format and the name of the exam have been changed three times. Table 13 below presented the status of taking the general high school exam and names of the exams the participants attended according to the years.

One of the common categories that students referred to when they were telling their stories pertaining to the high school exam was how they felt stressed and suppressed because of the exam. YRES (18) was telling her story of taking practice tests every day and how that affected her psychological well-being. Similar to her account MAES (17) shared his story:

No, I worked alone. That's why I was stressed out so much, at the exam. I forgot everything. So, that's why I scored a little bit low mark. Well, also, I saw everyone going out. I got bored on the exam, so I left the exam directly. So, it was low. (MAES, 17)

Table 13. The National Exam Types Participants Attended

Name of the exam	Number of Participants
Did not take the national high school exam	4
OKS (2004-2008)	5
SBS (2009-2013)	10
TEOG (2014-2018)	14

KNEY (18), on the other hand shared how he felt that the process of the exam was an unjust system. When the above mentioned negative experiences of the students regarding the schools they attended before the exam were concerned, he was not wrong:

KNEY: Yes. The system was not fair enough you know. They used to make discrimination based on person, class. It was just like that.

Zeynep: How so?

KNEY: They used to made discrimination based on class. I mean let's say one student is hardworking, the other one is lazy; one goes to good school, while the other one goes to a bad school. Nobody has the right to do it. I mean this is my opinion. (KNEY, 18)

When talking about their experiences of the exam, students also referred to the influence of their families in school choices that they experienced family pressure on their high school preferences after the exam. MDÜM (23), for instance told his process of choosing a religious high school just because his father wanted so:

No, unfortunately. That happened in the charge of father. I wanted in fact. At least I wanted to go to one high school but just because my father wanted Imam Hatip, I had to go there, I failed there too. I believe there were very tough lessons there anyway.

...

We always aspired to, let me say so. Well, we didn't study but we regretted you know. Then we couldn't go to school. Well I mean because of, because of family. We didn't study back then, we quitted but we could have gone again. They could have pushed us. Because they pushed us for something else, we couldn't. There is nothing to do. Let's say we bowed to fate. I mean everything has a return yet. Good days will always come, in any case. (MDÜM, 23)

Another factor in the students' high school choices was their forced choice according to their exam score. SNEY (24), shared his process of not getting a sufficient minimum score to even make a choice let alone be placed to a successful high school. NAEY (21) was also suffering from the same situation of forced choice according to her exam score:

It was according to point scoring system. I did it with the teacher, in company with teacher. I made preferences guessing which school it can be according to my score. I wrote girl's vocational school's department of computer, other departments as well. I wrote vocational school of health, Zile. Then, Imam Hatip followed by Cumhuriyet Anatolian High School. After I enrolled in Imam Hatip, well, I was in the waiting list for the computer department of girl's vocational high school. Then, a message was texted to me. 'You were removed from the waiting list' it says. So, I already enrolled in Imam Hatip, then I didn't want to go there. Just like that. (NAEY, 21)

CTES (17) had to experience and exceptional situation of not being taken the exam because of the inadequate resources. TEOG exam had a two-staged system in which the students had to take one stage of the exam at the end of the first semester and the second stage at the end of the second semester. CTES (17) had a lower score because he could not attend the first stage of the exam due to heavy snow in his village:

I prepared for TEOG exam but, it was winter, in our neighborhood, I couldn't go by car. We barely arrived, when we arrived, the exams were already over, TEOG exam. They couldn't take us once again too; although we begged, they didn't take us.

...

Zeynep: Did you enter the exam at the centre of Erzurum?

CTES: No, I used to go to other school. Teacher used to come from another school. Well, when I arrived, I experienced many problems until the car arrived anyway. Well, we even were unable to hold the pencil when we were there. We couldn't enter the exam. Then, I entered the exam one time in summer, I scored 290 points. It wasn't good. In winter, I just entered two exams. So, my total score was 222. (CTES, 17)

Negative school environments while making school choices were also influential in students' narratives regarding the high school exam process. Seven of the students referred to the indisciplinary school climates the regular schools in their districts had. SNEY (24) and ZPÜM (18) were the two of them:

I mean circle of friends are a bit different at vocational high schools. A bit more quarrel, fighting. And we are more or less... I mean we were inclined to that side. So, I didn't personally want to go there thinking that I could get out of hand if I went to a vocational high school. (SNEY, 24)

Yes. I really wanted the high school. But we couldn't trust the environment. And I honestly didn't, I didn't trust. So, studying open high school...

...

I had a circle of friends when I was at the secondary school. My teachers were very good. Then when I started to love the school, I wanted to go to high school. I want to go to high school, continue, well I love now you know. But, unfortunately because of the environment. That's why I quit. I thought I mean my goal was to go to high school. From open high school, I somehow complete the high school through open high school, and aim to study my favorite department at a formal university. Just like that.

Completely...

(ZPÜM, 18)

One of the recurring themes that stood out in the students' stories was that they had limited or almost no preparation for the exam. ZPÜM (18) said that even though she was one of the students who took the TEOG exam first and that the exam was easy, she could not succeed to get a high score because she did not study for the exam. Her account was similar to KMÜM (20):

(During) the process, I wasn't able to prepare for exams because my parents got separated, only my mother was working. And because I was little, they didn't allow me to work you know. Either my elder sister would have gone to the school and lived a beautiful life or me. There were two choices. I preferred not to work. I mean I chose to study on my own. I didn't want to go to a private teaching institution. I asked them to send my elder sister to a private teaching institution. My elder sister went to a private teaching institution, then Çengelköy High School and so on; her education life progressed like this. I tried to study on my own in a circle of friends or in private teaching institution. I don't have such a long studying times; to be honest, there is nothing, like private teaching institution. (KMÜM, 20)

On the other hand, while talking about their exam sores some of the students told that they could not get a high score even though they studied. VNES (18) for example mentioned that he was prepared for the exam, but it was not enough for him to get a high score to go to a good high school and that the result made him feel disappointed.

One of the most striking problems in students' choice process was the lack of support from the school and the family when making their choices. EHEY (20) shared his experience of making school choices with the school administrator and how he influenced his decisions:

I spoke with my teacher, the school principle. I wanted to exchange ideas but it was not helpful enough. He had discriminative treatment for some of my friends. The principal made it slipshod. If I had known, I wouldn't have written high-scoring schools but because the teacher didn't give me an idea, we couldn't do. One month passed by. Then I said what can't be cured must be endured and I went there. (EHEY, 20)

With the lack of academic guidance at such a young age, the students' high school preference stories also reflected their regret in the high schools they have chosen.

I wish, I bitterly regret, if I had gone to vocational rather than regular high school, I would have had a profession by now, I could have worked. But you don' have any chance in the regular high school. (HMÜM, 23)

I mean as I said because my mother wasn't beside me, I mean I was staying with my grandmother and father, I didn't have much choice during that period. As I said, since I had a low score, I was supposed to prefer low-scoring schools. So, I preferredI preferred Anatolian High Schools but because it wasn't enough.

...

The number of preferences I made was 20, and, just my luck, Imam Hatip came up

...

My choice was not my choice. I didn't choose on my own as well. My aunt-in-law's aunt-in-law I can say. I mean she knows something about open high school, my elder brother directed me to her. She made a list and put İmam Hatip in it as well you know. Well, it wasn't my choice, I even didn't know the existence of that school. But it was close to my mother, I had to go there. Also, because it ended up Imam Hatip, I studied at Imam Hatip for one year. (SMES, 16)

Some of the students like KNEY (18) had still hopes until their results were shared. Even though they knew that their exam went bad, they had a thought like 'what if it happens' which also made their hopes to be faded after the results were made public.

How was my preference process after TEOG? Well, actually, I didn't have much hope for a nice school but I still listed, I mean maybe I can have a nice school. Well, we ended up with trade vocational high school. Just like that. I didn't have much hope on this. Well, I knew that my exam went bad you know. It was like that. (KNEY, 18)

Students also shared their experience with the examination system referring constantly to the ever-changing education practices in Turkey. As it was mentioned before, there has been changes in the format of the exam three times within 14 years which was also apparent in the interviews with students. When talking about these changes, the students often referred to themselves as the first victims of the changing format and tried to explain their experiences by using sentences like 'the test first hit us':

BMEY: When I was passing secondary school, I passed through SBS exam (Level Determination Exam).

Zeynep: How was the exam, how did the process go?

BMEY: I think SBS first hit us after all. We entered the SBS exam. It went well. But the questions I didn't know...I think three false answers eliminate one true answer in the meantime. I didn't know that. I randomly answered the questions I didn't know, then this took my points off too much (BMEY, 23) Normally, SBS exams used to be organized every year. OKS came when we were in the eighth grade. I was about to enter, I prepared. I participated the exam. While I was expecting 350 score, I scored 298.

...

I studied one year. It was general questions of the sixth and eighth grades. SBS used to be conducted every year. But OKS was not like that, it involved questions of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, so it was compelling. Because we told to the teachers that we were expecting 350 scores. Some failed, entered into the lowest-scoring schools... (EHEY, 20)

There was TEOG. TEOG was new. I prepared for it but I eventually started my profession. Well, I mean TEOG was not a fair system for me. I think now it was removed. (KNEY, 18)

5.2.7 Devaluation of schooling/ losing belief in education

After all these negative experiences in primary, middle and if they had attended any regular high school and the determinant effect of an examination process which they

thought was unjust some of the students were shared their ideas regarding education and tried to explain how they lost their belief in school and education in general. To illustrate the vantage point of those students, ARES (19) considered going to his long-distance school which he spent almost half an hour going, a waste of time. Much of his ideas was because he thought he didn't learn much at school but thought it is the individual who should do something to improve himself or herself:

Half an hour by minibus. I mean you go from ... to Well, those neighborhoods...It takes half an hour by minibus. Then I said never mind, I mean I started to think about it, I said enough, there might be a forest... Whatever. It was an industrial vocational high school. There were an industrial vocational high school, an Anatolian technical high school. I said pardon me I am a handsome guy, no girls around the school I thought going to Anatolian high school is the best.

...

Do you know what education means? If you improve yourself, you say 'I'm educated'. For example, attending a university does not necessarily mean an education for me. If you improved yourself, if you are an expert on any subject and love your job, it means you are educated. You know that's why I didn't want to do something. I mean finishing the high school...You will finish, you have to but unless you improve yourself, it does not matter whether you have a diploma or not. Right? I mean As long as you don't learn a foreign language, join conferences, symposiums, speak at a conference, going to college is a waste of time, isn't it? Well, it is for me. I think so. Then, of course, I didn't go to, continue schooling. (ARES, 19) Particularly, the students who had friends or relatives who left the school but

came to a place and improved themselves, believed that the school was useless. In addition, they thought that it would be more useful to the student to learn a particular job by working and doing apprenticeship, especially in a money-making job. They believed that what was taught at school was too much and unnecessary. These beliefs of the students increased even more if there were people around them who dropped-out of school but still improved themselves. Then the point that students arrived was why they should go to school as in the case of ENMA (19) and MDÜM (23):

Let me put it this way: When I started primary school, in Grade 1, my older brother taught me something, he taught me to read and write. That's why my first sentence was as follows: 'I learnt to read and write. Why should I go to school??' My mother pushed me to go to school. (Laughing) At such a young age. And she did something; she took me to school, then she came back to home but by the time she arrived home, I was already at home. Yes. Then she took me to school again. (Laughing)

...

My; well, for example, he met many people, so he quitted in Grade 5. How old is he? I wonder where he is now, whereabouts. He was like the principal you know. When you enter the principle's room, you button up your jacket, he was such a man. But why; because of his experiences. Just like that. He doesn't fill his brain in vain. He concentrate on one job, he becomes the best one. I mean, let's say if you would begin to work in motor repair service in the industry at the age of one or two... Then you would go to school until Grade 5. Then you would go to work in the industry. You would become a motor expert. When you would turn 18 years old, you could make good money. You really make good money. You would have a car. You would directly get your driver's license. This would be more profitable. Because four plus four makes eight in total. Add another four, it makes twelve. Add four years again, it make sixteen years in total. Why would you spend your sixteen years for studying? They teach unnecessarily and it really last long. It is unnecessary to study. Well, it should be only, primary school and university. (ENMA, 19)

It is a piece of paper. Nothing more really. Because I met so many friends who were university graduates and were piddling around. As I said, he studied machine in Marmara University, but the guy still works at a restaurant. He works at Ramiz Köfte. Can you believe it, I even mentioned the restaurant. I mean it is bad. You study machine at such a university like Marmara University, which most of us here wanted to go there but couldn't, we all know that. I mean it is bad to work at a restaurant after studying such a university. What you get is only a piece of paper, but when it comes to show off, you only can show off you know. I mean nothing else. So, I show off, you cannot do anything else. Where did you study, at Marmara University, well, I swagger a couple of minutes, that's it. (MDÜM, 23)

5.2.8 Early school leaving

After all the prior school experiences they told, the point the students arrived in their educational paths was observed to be early school leaving. While some of the students did not attend to any regular high school after graduating from middle school, some of them were placed to a regular high school after the exam but were unable to attend school for various reasons which were explained above in detail.

Table 14 below presented the drop-out status of the participants.

Table 14. Dropping-Out Status of the Participants

Age of Dropping out of School	Number of Participants	Years attended to a regular high school before dropping-out	Number of Participants
15	11	1	12
16	8	2	8
17	3	3	1
No regular high school experience	11	4	1

‘I am a high school drop-out’ was, for instance, the first sentence BMEY (23) and EHEY (20) used when they were asked their prior school experiences. The reasons students stated when they were sharing their drop-out experiences were negative school environment, the necessity to work and to earn money, the pressure of their families and their class positions in addition to some individual challenges they had such as loss of a loved one. RAES (21) shared her experience of dropping out because of the undisciplined climate of the school:

I went fashion design, clothing production. I started my school enjoying it very much. I was always excited to graduate. Then there was nothing hard for me. Well, I said I would. I didn't consider leaving school. I don't know what happened then. I think I've got a lot of going on. One day I'm in the school canteen. School environment is like this... I left for the school environment. But I think I did it wrong. So I had the chance at the time to leave that school and transfer to another school. It was the school environment, it was the friend environment. It was the dirtiest one a school could be. I am not talking about the school, the teachers, the trainers; it was the students. So I said if I start here; and, you know, a place you don't know, you know it's hard to get used to the friends. I said that if I continue here like this, I will have to get used to that environment, I will get used to the environment of friends. How can you not, you are going to be here for four years! I said no, RAES, I said this place is not for you. I see myself, I don't know why, I always see things from them, and I see them separately. Their thoughts seemed different to me, my thoughts seemed different. My friends, that friend atmosphere. Then one day I saw that filthy environment in that canteen, really that friend environment... I saw things I wouldn't want to tell. I've seen people hanging out very unbuttoned. I've seen things that contradict me. I said I want to leave this school. Then one day, after I said 'I want to leave', my family certainly didn't let me. 'No,' he said, 'you will go.' When you say 'You will read', 'You will go', they will all finish; I mean, they all think of my goodness, but it sounds like 'I don't want it, why do you want it'. And then I said, "I'll do it." I said, 'Let me finish the second semester there', '1. My period is already over, one week or so. I finish the 2nd term to another high school. (RAES, 21)

SNES (18) also shared her experience of how she liked working and earning her own money and dropped out of school in order to reach that goal she believed:

So, I was working after the school, I was working at bazaar so, and I used to work in sixth grade, after the school, I used to work in bazaar. I used to like working you know, making your own money, getting a return for your efforts... Then, I decided to quit the school. After that in the second semester -I took Certificate of Achievement in the first semester- I dropped out of the school in the second semester. I went to there directly. I passed to Grade 7 but it was a regular school

...

I used to love the school. Math was the lesson that I was successful most anyway; my math teacher tried very hard saying 'Don't quit the school'. But I had the passion for working, earning my own money... I mean child's mind you know. I made a childish decision. I'm deeply regret from dropping out of school. I mean I used to like the school, my friends. You can take a breath in the school. How can I say, I have my friend all day long, then my teachers, then. I mean everything is about life. School is so important you know. If I get married in the future, I will definitely send my kids to school to the end so that they never make a mistake by quitting the school like me. I always support my siblings as well saying 'study'. Maybe now you don't understand but in the last year of the high school, in Grade 3 you now, then you will understand of the value of high school (Saying on my own). Just like that. (SNES, 18)

Family pressure was also another recurrent theme in the narratives of the students especially gender discrimination was taken into account. SMES (16) shared her experience of dropping out because of the pressure of her older brother in order to look after his baby:

Thank you. Well, I couldn't go to school you know. So, now is open... Actually, I had another thing to say- But you will keep it confidential, won't you?

Zeynep: Absolutely yes. Everything is confidential

SMES: Thank you. My older brother didn't send me to school. Well, I mean 'Look after my child' he said for one year, 'In the meantime, you study at an open high school' he said. So, I couldn't study because I had not an identity card, my two years were wasted. Now, my other brother takes the turn. So, I continue from here. After finishing the first four grades, I'm planning to study in Ankara. Far away from here. Because I'm bored. (SMES, 16)

On the other hand, in the dropping-out stories of the students, their social class status was one of the stand out reasons for dropping out. For example, ŞLES (25) had to go to middle school in a boarding school which was away from home because of poverty, and even though her grades were high and she was an honored student and even his father wanted her to attend school, only because of poor financial status she could not continue her high school education until she migrated to İstanbul and registered to OEHS with the support of her sister-in-law:

I went to a boarding secondary school. In all, I received certificate of merit and certificate of honor. It was very well, my courses were very well. I used to undoubtedly rank among the top 3 in the class. My father wanted me to get education, I mean he was the kind of man, who could send me to school but our financial situation was not good you know. So, he couldn't send me to school. I mean he wasn't the kind of person who said 'No, I don't send' you know. Financially, he wasn't able to it. Then I got married at 20 years old.

...

I preferred a boarding school because our financial situation wasn't good, commuting was a problem. We used to be stuck there, I couldn't come back. I mean, everyone sometimes used to go at weekends, but I couldn't go to school because I wasn't able to pay the shuttle fee. Well, in the last year, in the 8th grade, it was made free because of the party change and I started commuting a bit more. Before that, there were times which I stayed at school like one month, I couldn't go to home. It was like 10 km away. I mean I couldn't go. It was difficult you know, distressful.

...

It was apparent that I couldn't study, because my father's situation was obvious. I mean he can the kind of man who can send me to school but he can't because of lack of money. Some has money, but still they don't send you know; my father wasn't like that.

...

Besides, a few more teacher came you know, well 'Let her study' and bla bla but my father said 'I give you this girl, you teach her but you go after her one year but who will go after then? I mean I don't have any finance' 'But if you say I can teach her' he told to the teacher. 'Take and teach her' he said. 'Don't bring her four years, take and teach her. 'But the guy didn't accept it, 'I mean he said I can't stay with her' he said. I ended up like this. They visited us I mean they came to talk with us. My six teacher came. The deputy head came (ŞLES, 25)

All in all, Dale (2011) suggested that there is no single reason that accounts for early school leaving or disengagement but rather it is a combination of home,

community and family factors that cause young people to leave school in an early age. One of these reasons is about the school organization. According to him, low SES schools have more discipline problems, less peer interaction and limited teacher support and guidance. When these reasons are taken into consideration and the structure of the OEHS are observed, it wouldn't be wrong to infer that the existence of little or no interaction with peers and little or no guidance from the teachers due to the absence of any student interaction or the absence of teachers or counselors at school may have an influence on the disengagement of students from high school let alone engaging them.

5.2.9 Positive school experiences: the final flutters

Despite the negative school experiences, it was also clear in students' narratives that they had positive experiences in school and enjoyed school especially when they had higher grades, when they had support from their teachers and when they had strong relations with their peers. CTES (17), for instance, shared how the support of the teachers was important for him to continue his education:

Teachers were very good at the east. I mean all support used to come from them. We didn't used to do anything, buy a book or notebook. We tool all support from them

...

I learn a lot in secondary school. At least I understood the life better this time when I started secondary school. I understood how important studying is and how useful it is for a human. I continued, I improved my grades, enhanced my success. There were some days which I again didn't go to and so on. I remember the secondary school very well. Teachers used to help us. I mean when teachers were lecturing, we were like fighting in a war, I remember such moments. (CTES, 17)

ENES (24), on the other hand referred to the good grades he had when he was sharing his positive experiences regarding school and how these high grades increased his motivation in school:

Well, if you can believe it, let me make you speak with my mother. My mother had a hope chest. Open it, many school report are either certificate of merit or appreciation. I mean nothing is wasted. Until I quitted in 11th grade. Well, always... I mean there is no failure. The worst was certificate of appreciation. Even so, we used to miss certificate of merit. By two, three points which I couldn't go back to home even by certificate of appreciation. I used to go crying. I used to sit on the doorstep. I really mean it. I used to sit on the doorstep, enter inside crying. (ENES, 24)

When she was talking about the memories she had regarding prior school experiences RAES (21) told how much she had fun at school, how well she had relations with her friends, how much support the teachers provided her with, how she wanted to be a teacher in the future and how she missed those beautiful days:

No, I didn't go to kindergarten. When I started primary school, I mean everyone had a goal you know, back then, from childhood, saying 'I want to be this and that'. Back then, I used to want to be a teacher so much. Like 'I will be a teacher, I will be a teacher'... Well, my elder brother was studying high school. My uncle's son was here, studying high school, then university and etc. I said I would be like him. I mean he was the first one in the building, in the family who studied. He was the first one who aimed for improving. I used to say 'I'm going to be like him, I will be good, hardworking'. I was really hardworking during my primary school life, my teachers used to love me so much. Likewise, even if moderately, I was a lovable person at the secondary school and this made me very happy. I mean a student liked by teachers... I mean I want to be respectful. Being a lowlife student never occurred to me. Except than high school, I studied eight years you know. Within the eight years, I never intended to disrespect my teachers. Well, of course, you are a student, I mean school psychology, back then, child's mind, we often used to get bored in class but back then, and I never was the kind of student who tried to skip the school.

...

We were a little bit naughty. I think, we made many teachers attending the class cry and leave

...

I mean, in my previous education life, I think it was very nice, I had very good friends. I had a nice middle school experience. I mean, it is. It was very nice. I wish I could go back to those times. (RAES, 21)

Even though those positive memories pertaining to school played an important role in helping students to hold on to school up to a point, they were not enough to keep these students in school.

5.3 Reflections of students on the experience of OEHS: getting there and being there

When the students were asked to reflect upon their OEHS experiences, the way they made sense of their OEHS experience reflected a two-faceted frame. One was about getting there in the path and the other was about the experiences they were having while being there. In this two-faceted frame; reasons of students to attend OEHS was a part of getting there phase while experiences of students in OEHS and the meaning they attached to OEHS belong to the part of being there.

The commonly stated categories regarding the reasons of students attending OEHS led to four broad themes within the study. Those were social class and family pressures, getting a high school diploma and a profession, obligation in the form of not being placed to any regular high schools and reasons related to the necessity of education in the society.

In terms of being in OEHS, the commonly stated experiences were themed to present five experiences students had. Those were the deciding process of the students when coming to OEHS, their feelings resulted from their experiences of lack of sufficient informing in OEHS, the administrative problems within the system, having limited or no socialization in OEHS and finally the leaving of OEHS also an open door for working in a paid job at an early age.

Finally, the recurring themes when the meaning students attached to OEHS while making sense of their experience were the feelings of having a second chance, OEHS as being the easiest way to finish high school, OEHS as a place for the marginalized students and an obligation in the form of absence of any other way possible.

5.3.1 Reasons of students to attend OEHS

Four broad themes were generated by the narratives of the students in terms of the reasons they stated while they were making sense of their experience of how their path arrived there. The reasons they referred to were themed as social class and family pressures, graduating from high school and getting a diploma and thus a profession, obligation in the form of not being placed to any regular high schools and reasons related to the necessity of education in the society.

5.3.1.1 Social class and family pressure

Social class and family pressure were two of the reasons students stated while they were trying to make sense of their reasons to get into OEHS. Social class was also a recurring theme in the background factors of the students. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that the social class students have an important place among the reasons for attending to OEHS. The 'conditions' EHEY (20) was mentioning reflected his social class status:

Life is going average nowadays. I both study and work. I'm trying to have a profession while I'm building my future ahead. I wish I could study in a regular high school but I have to study at open high school due to poor circumstances. (EHEY, 20)

Apart from the background conditions and social class status, one of the recurring themes when the reasons of the students attending OEHS were asked was the oppression of the family. ARES (19) was telling that the sole reason of him to decide to attend to OEHS was the pressures coming from his family for him to be graduated at least from high school. If he had the chance to decide, he stated he stated that he would not go to high school even it did not require to attend classes like OEHS since he did not believe the necessity of getting a good education to arrive a better place than he was now. Likewise he ZPÜM (18) also shared her experience of family pressure

I wanted so much. I constantly insisted my father until 10th grade. I mean 'let me go to high school, let me go to high school'. Then, I thought to myself; currently I can easily take credit at the open high school you know, I study very well on my own. After all, I stayed away from school for a couple of years; I can feel like a stranger. So, I quit. I completely focused on university. (ZPÜM, 18)

5.3.1.2 High school diploma and getting a profession

Another reason that students commonly shared was to be graduated from high school and have a high school diploma no matter because the high school diploma was regarded in the society as the only way to a good or bad profession. ENES (24) shared his story of how his friend recommended him to get a high school diploma:

Well, I had a friend; he/she had to drop out of the school as well. I mean he is from Ardahan. He/she decided to register, start. He/she told me so much you know. I said no. When the time comes for military service... In military, there is something like this: as long as you aren't a high-school graduate, you can't serve in the TAF (Turkish Armed Forces). So, because I love the TAF you know, I love the Turkish Armed Forces, it is a nice profession, it is the most ideal for the country, I mean I personally think that it is an ideal profession for me. Why? You ask. Well, we grew up rebelliously, only that place can handle us. I have to be high school graduate to join the military. So, I'm pretty determined and I have to finish. (ENES, 24)

HMÜM (23), also mentioned that it was impossible to find a job if she did not attend high school. With this in mind, she struggles to complete her credits and to get her high school diploma:

Open high school...(For) me, it is more like: I'm planning to finish high school, then study two-year degrees at a university. Because, open high school, now, no high school, no bread. They don't employ even a high school graduate. With this in mind, I'm trying to finish high school. (HMÜM, 23)

5.3.1.3 Obligation: not being placed into any regular high school

One of the most critical points regarding OEHS in Turkey was the direct assignment of students who cannot be placed to any of their preference by the system to OEHS. During the interviews breaks, the officers of the public education center said that more students apply to be registered in OEHS especially during the first registration periods in September. In the examination system of transition to secondary school education in September, those who were not been placed to any of the regular high schools ran to the public education centers to be registered to OEHS. The deputy principals and officers stated that there would not be too many students in the summer however continued: "If you come to the registration period in September to do your research, there will be thousands of students at the door". YRES (18) was one of those students who was left 'open' by the system and he shared his experiences:

YRES: Well, open high school...I was about to be in Grade 11 of high school. I was about to be promoted to eleventh grade, I was out of. The school laid off me when the school' grade increased. It had to lay off me when its grade increased. I transferred to open high school.

Zeynep: How come is that possible? You enrolled in the school?

YRES: Yes.

Zeynep: How the school lay off you?
YRES: The school principle said 'You are out'
Zeynep: But you studied for one year?
YRES: I studied there. But he says 'When the school's grade increases, you are out. We have to. We can't transfer you to somewhere else'. So, I was out.
...

I had to choose with my family; because I have to study high school, finish the school. Because of that. I decided to study externally rather than laying off. So, I entered for external examinations. (YRES, 18)

5.3.1.4 Reasons related to the necessity of education

The students also mentioned their reasons for going to Open Education High School as the place of education in the society as a necessity. HEES (25) stated that there existed prejudices against illiteracy in the society which caused her to seek for ways to continue her education in any way possible:

It is quite different. For instance, if you didn't go to a regular school, even if you are well-equipped, it is something in the eyes of society, there is a bias like: 'Uneducated' when we used to come first, they first used to ask 'Do you speak Turkish?' But, back then, I used to know how to read beyond speaking Turkish. I mean we learnt how to write and read by our own efforts. Well, I mean I still not quite sure about my reading and writing but we can you know. Back then, when we came first, there were a lot of bias. Such as 'Do you know reading?' Forget about reading, what's more, they used to ask 'Do you speak Turkish?' Then, I used to say 'I already can speak Turkish, I also know reading. I mean, don't be so much prejudiced to me, you know, don't look like that.' So, this was the biggest reason why I applied for open education. We were there to prove ourselves actually. To obtain information, to get rid of people. When we applied, they said this time 'Will you go to school at this age, learn something?' It happened. It still happens. Well, is it really something for us, I mean no, in terms of mentality. It didn't affect us so much but of course you feel like something is lacking. It isn't like a regular high school. In fact, I mean, if the state completely, considering the state started this system, studying open education; the government wholly should have handled this system or behaved in this manner you know. There are people, they apply but it isn't enough for society. They want something else from you. They don't know how difficult your living conditions are. They look at you differently. This was supposed to be same with a regular school, the opportunities. I wish the conditions would be a bit more flexible, a bit easier you know. (HEES, 25)

5.3.2 Experiences of students in OEHS

After the 'getting there' phase, the students' narratives were themed to reflect upon their experiences of being in OEHS. This phase included their decision process for getting into distance education, their experiences of not being able to get sufficient information from the public education center and having no place to consult other than this, the administrative problems occurring since the system was not settled yet and last but not least how OEHS intentionally or not created an "open" door also for working in a paid job at an early age.

5.3.2.1 Deciding to register into OEHS process

Most of the students stated that they themselves decided to attend OEHS. They shared that their parents were against their decisions most of the time on the basis of how they are going to attend distance education while they could not succeed in a regular high school or that they are going to regret:

Some of my family members objected. You couldn't study a regular high school, how you would manage to study it. If you are self-aware, you follow your own path. Well, of course it is not always a true path. But, you have to do the right thing as well. My uncle and elder brother opposed to me but my father supported me. I had no further problem at all. (EHEY, 20)

Well, nothing happened. It was eventually good. This is it. I said look, I found a job, and I will work. My lessons are bad anyway, I said. But my lessons are good in fact. I told my father that I was about to fail in class, I didn't go to school, I had a large number of absences. 'Nice going!' he said and added 'You will learn in time'. 'You will regret later', he said you know. Then I was like pretty depressed. 'Ok, fine' I said, I didn't listen. Well, back then, at that age, you were like, puberty. Because of that. After that, I landed a job, So many things I witnessed, so many things that I've never seen, , I mean, until that age (ENMA, 19)

MDÜM (23) had an exceptional experience than the other students participating in the study. After graduating from middle school, he attended a private

course for learning the Koran and the officers in this private course made all the students in the course to be registered into OEHS:

MDÜM: Let me put it this way: I worked as a muezzin for two years. I attended Quran course. It happened after that thing anyway. I quitted high school, when I attended to Quran course, because it is formal, they automatically arranged. They didn't ask our opinion.

Zeynep: How so?

MDÜM: I mean we attended, registered in Quran course. Everyone, imagine a group, a group of 50 people. Everyone in public education institution were enrolled in open high school. Just like that. I mean nobody asked like 'Will you study Imam Hatip or do something else?' Directly equal.

Zeynep: Well, why did they do that? Is it because you can continue your high school education?

MDÜM: Yes. 'Both study your high school externally and take your diploma' they said. They also thought like 'you can finish the course to become 'muezzin''

Zeynep: So, that is not actually your decision at all?

MDÜM: No, it's not mine you know. Going to there was also not my decision anyway. We were forced to go there. Back then, we were younger, so, we were not obeying you know. Well, we are still the same. We obeyed and went. I have no regrets but it was good. At least I wish I could finish high school then. Back then, it wasn't possible to manage everything at the same time. But we are only human after all. You can't understand everything. We didn't used to study hard. Well, hopefully, we will finish this time. I'm determined you know. (MDÜM, 23)

I preferred here partly because of my father's insistence. 'At least finish the high school' he said you know. So, I enrolled. Then, after my first year exams went well, I thought to myself that if so easy, I could do it you know. So, honestly, I continued. (NAEY, 21)

The participants were also asked whether they consider attending open vocational and technical high school. However the students constantly continued answering this interview question as it was in OREY (18)'s words: 'which one is the most distant is the best'. He was referring to the existence of weekend classes in open vocational and technical high school. In this respect, the work status of the participants was determinant in their decision as it was in the cases of EAEY (23) and EHEY (20):

Zeynep: Have you ever considered going to open vocational and technical high school?

EAEY: At first, I also considered it, but I thought that I can't attend to the classes all the time, because I work; that's why I didn't want it. I preferred this one. (EAEY, 23)

EHEY (20) was at first attending open vocational and technical high school but because of his work status, he decided to be transferred to the OEHS:

Zeynep: Why did you decide to be transferred to OEHS from open vocational and technical high school?

EHEY: It was far away. From G... to B..., I already have to work. I was getting very tired when I spent the only one free day I had from work in a week. Everything was cluttered, so I thought OEHS was better and was transferred to here (EHEY, 20).

5.3.2.2 All alone...: lack of guidance in OEHS

The common interpretive repertoires of the students reflected how they felt alone while they were attending OEHS. One of the most common challenges students referred as part of their OEHS journey was their feelings of being alone and not having the necessary information and guidance at the right time:

I mean it has no easy part but it has a difficult part. Because there is no teacher, you try to learn on your own. Then you go to exam. No one guides you. ...

I: Well, do you have any difficulty? I mean, in terms of accessing information regarding open high school? Like Well, what is next, when do I register, what date do courses start, when do exams start?' Is it difficult to access these information?

I_BEÜM: It is difficult, it happens. Further, the registration, for example, I even didn't know that I was supposed to re-register in January. (BEÜM, 16)

DNES (17) and EAEY (23) also shared their experiences of how they had difficulty within distance education without attending lessons contrary to the regular schools:

DNES: Studying distance... I mean you don't study, you don't check you know. I mean it is bad. You don't know anything when you sit an exam. You don't study the books given. I mean...

...

DNES: I think open education is more difficult for me. You don't know anything. Because, at that place, they lecture in the school after all. You don't remember but it is not like that here. (DNES, 17)

But well, I don't make preparation for exam at all, let me be honest with you. I directly enter for exam. Because, how can I make preparation? For example, just think, you attend the class every day throughout high school, there is a weekly syllabus per day, and they even can't finish course topics. How can I finish for just one exam? It is impossible for me. (EAEY, 23)

The students were also commonly referring to the absence of a teacher figure which they were used to from the regular schools they have attended and thinking that 'if only there was a teacher, everything would be much better' when they were asked their experiences pertaining to the part of their journey in OEHS. What one of the officers in Esenyurt also shared, helped me to make a better sense of the issue: "In fact, these are not places for children under the age of 18. A child under the age of 18 must be at school. The kid who can't succeed in regular schools, can never do it here. What can he do by himself alone?"

ENES (24), HEES (25) and ZAÜM (17) also shared their need to and wish for a teacher to explain the topics. They stated that even though they tried hard to study their lessons, it was too difficult to succeed without the existence of a teacher. They referred to the necessity of the discipline the teacher had on the students or if there were no teachers they wished that the lessons even be easier that they were now:

Well, let me explain: If the teacher supported, it could be nicer. Because, when you go to high school, it is compulsory to take these courses. I mean it is obligatory to pass these courses. To do it, you need to study or you need to pass these courses. But there is nothing like this at the open education, at the open high school. You can both study open education and you have the opportunity to work to help your family. In this respect, it is nice. But, the only bad part of open high school, as I mentioned, no pressure in terms of obligation. I mean let's say if there is pressure from teacher, personally...I've been studying for one year, I have like three or four credit to complete. Believe me, I complete it within two years. We need to take 190 credits. If we had a teacher beside us and place pressure on us, I could

probably have passed all of my exams within one year or one-and-a-half year or two years you know (ENES, 24).

For example, when you study at home remotely, you can't learn at home you know. Someone has to give a lecture. You can't learn. I mean you can read these verbal books but you can't figure out math, English. At open education, for example, math has 6 credits, take geography lesson, it has two credits. It shouldn't be like this, math should be the same and equal. Is it possible for a person at home to learn math? Moreover, it is an advanced math. The questions, courses that university students fail. I wish their credit were equal too. I also wish they were a lot easier. Or I wish there were no math and English at all you know.

...

I usually study my lessons in the evening. Because everyone goes to their rooms only at that time. I try to study. I study one hour or two hours. Apart from this, you don't understand because there is no one who teaches you know. You read over and over and understand nothing. Then you feel drowsy. I mean when you solve something, your mind becomes brighter, it makes you fresh. But when you don't understand, you feel lazy and stop studying. I study a maximum of two hours, because when I started reading, I ended up falling asleep on the book. (HEES, 25)

Going to high school remotely. Why is it difficult; because there isn't a teacher beside you who can lecture. I mean well, because you are occupied with other things, you want to register for open high school. I mean because you are busy with these things, you can't allocate your time for lessons, maybe you stay up all night. Maybe you sacrifice from work, yourself. I mean to be honest, I have great difficulty. Because nobody helps me you know, because I'm the eldest child. I don't use Internet for help as well. I don't know, it compel me very much indeed. The credits of the five months that I studied came, I received 58 credits. Then, I didn't understand the lessons you know. I mean I quitted in primary school, 9th grade. So, I don't have any idea. It was really so much challenging for me. It is still tough. (ZAÜM, 17)

OREY (18), on the other hand shared his experience that without the guidance of a teacher, what he studied was completely different from what was asked in the exams.

I mean some things, for example, physic and so on. Such things can make trouble. You have to study them a little bit. Eventually, you feel stranger to the matter. It makes trouble too much. You have to study a little bit. This is the (only) problem you know. (OREY, 18)

While struggling with being left alone in such an unsettled system, some students mentioned that they were receiving support from their acquaintances or that they were attending the courses at the Public Education Center if there were any courses for supporting the OEHS students:

For lessons, only a few of university students, I have friends from Marmara University, they come and help me. If they weren't, it would be very difficult you know. They come to home, they make me solve test. With process. Then they cover a topic, thankfully. I give my books to them. Like once in a week. Sometimes none, I mean bi-weekly. But never mind, it is even enough (MDÜM, 23)

In addition to the support, some students considered registering the courses in the public education center. ŞKES (18) shared his experiences of planning which courses he will consider attending, while MDÜM (23) called attention to the lack of information about the support courses being opened in every semester:

I don't use them this year so much, they drew my attention down there when I was coming, there are any type of certificate regarding the profession, certificate of mastership. I mean I'm planning to get certificate related to my profession. Currently, I have a certificate of heating and cooling, I will get another one. It is much more different. So, I can re-register here or if it is supposed to change the department, I will do whatever it takes (ŞKES, 18)

Mayor texts every type of messages. Such as the execution for debt, tax debt, they send these but when it comes to education... Well, no lie, I mean. I say that because our life merely consists of debts. It consists of debt. We are student but we pay debt. We are student but we go to work; because we are student, we earn small amount of money. I saw them all. Students are always neglected, for sure. At least information can be given through SMS, then we come. If we have information, why don't we go? Right over there, here is like my doorstep. But no. (MDÜM, 23)

One of the practices that showed how lonely the students attending Open Education High School was in such an unsettled system was that the students had to track themselves most of time. OEHS as a distance education system in Turkey claimed that the students were being tracked. However, the experience of the

students reflected that this tracking was much more like students tracking themselves than the school tracking the students:

I mean it depends on following. I mean as long as you don't go, click the open high school's page, you can't learn. I sometimes click and check the page. There is a button called 'Messages from students' in our webpage. I check there if there is a message, O get news but I'm constantly following. You need to follow on your own you know. (ZPÜM, 18)

Only aol.com was made available. I get news only from there. Recently, I came and told. Because I couldn't get from there. There was an error in the business calendar. I came here, asked personally. If we didn't ask that, we would not be able to re-register. I already missed two times. Let me say exam places: we are not informed, we check by ourselves. I mean we work after all, if we only focus on lesson, it will be our mistake, all right, I mean we both work and study, so this is like a burden for us. If we can take text message notification, it will be much effective at least. For example, I missed two exams. When I was working. I used to work hard, shift and so on. I wasn't informed, I couldn't find any chance. At least, text message can be delivered, if you didn't go on purpose, it would be your own mistake but because you didn't go without intentionally, you can't do anything too. (MDÜM, 23)

Last but not least, in terms of lack of guidance, the students also stated that they had little or no information or any guidance where to find or who to ask that information pertaining to the transition to OEHS. In their words, they even do not know that there was such a system in Turkey:

Well, I wasn't willing to. Then, I decided to enroll in open education. Plus, I love cars so much. I thought to myself that I could more easily get driver's license if I looked like studying at open education. But I'm planning to enroll in evening school when I turn 18 years old.

...
'If you don't want to study, then you enroll in an open high school' said my friends at the school. (BEÜM, 16)

DNES: I didn't know that open education first. Then my father said, 'You were dismissed from school, go and enroll in open education.' So, I came here, I already know Teacher Bayram more or less, he registered me. That's how I started open education. (DNES, 17)

5.3.2.3 Administrative problems: a purgatory between formal and non-formal education

While the common repertoires of the students of OEHS were being interpreted, one of the recurring themes concerning the OEHS experiences of the students were the challenges they had in the administrative process of OEHS. Even though OEHS was required to have an administrative process pertaining to formal education, some of the practices in this process reflected aspects of the administrative processes of non-formal education.

The challenges students referred to in the administrative processes of OEHS were manifold. The categories regarding the administrative challenges students had were the challenges during registration, the challenges in providing books, the challenges in the process of transferring credits and the challenges with the age limitation to transfer back to regular high schools.

SNES (18) shared her experience in the trouble she had with her registration in the public education center:

For example, something happened recently during the exam. Moreover, we came the other day, they didn't register us. Well, the Ministry of National Education you know. It instructed, saying, 'Don't register'. I mean we had to go back home. We came today again to re-register. I deposited money in a bank account on that day.

...

Yes. For example, so many problems came up this year. Our exam papers' dates were found to wrong, then they made our exam dates, they backdated. For example, this year many things. I mean people complained about that. I mean sometimes the efforts are wasted. You work hard, focus. Then, something happens, your concentration is broken. How can I say, you lose your interest. I mean if they hear me about this topic... (SNES, 18)

During the observations made in the public education center in Eyüp, the officers shared that they requested 24,500 books according to the registered number of students they had but only 500-1000 books were received by the Ministry of

National Education. Besides, they also shared that this problem resulted from the fact that the books were canceled. He further explained that they sent three truckload books for recycling because the books were changed.

The public education center in Maltepe also had a problem with books. After the students being registered, they go to a place downstairs to pick up their books themselves. They can only get the books of the classes that they have been registered. However, students were observed to come back upstairs and stated that they did not have the books of the courses they were being registered. It was also apparent that the books in the public education in Maltepe were also quite insufficient. The challenges with the books were also clear in the narratives of the students. ERES (25) shared that if he had 10 courses in one semester he felt lucky if he could find the books of only five of those lessons. HEES (25) also shared a similar story of her own:

There is something up at open high school, inconveniences. We come, there is no book. We register, then we can't make course selection. Because we find high school courses difficult, we can't do them at home, we never can't do especially at home... You know the home environment; I mean it rises difficulties in terms of learning. Just like that. I'm still at open high school and it doesn't end. (Laughing). I don't think that it will end.

...

Yes, for example, when we register in secondary school every time, I mean we register, then make course selection, secondary school officers used to do it. For example, that system in secondary school was very good. They used to have it made. Our books were available there, we took them and went, we studied at home; it was such easy. But, the high school is not like this. We come, register but we can't make course selection. Then some time passes by, then we can make course selection. Then we come to take books, books were changed, many books are not available. This time you already made your course choice but when the books are not available, it is challenging. For example, I was going to register for this semester. I came and asked just a moment ago, well she / he says, for example, we register now, we make course selection after the registration is over, then the books will come in November. Well, if the books come in November, the exam will be held in December. (HEES, 25)

Another challenge students referred to when they were talking about the problems they in the administrative processes was about the credit transfer in transition to OEHS:

Accepted but because it is an Imam-Hatip school, maybe you know, some were to be deleted. I finished regular school. Some were to be deleted. After they were deleted, it turned out like; my credits dropped so much. Because my vocational courses were 100 points, 902. For example, I was great at Arabic. Even now, I can fluently speak Arabic. For example, I can speak Hebrew (Speaking in Hebrew) (ARES, 19).

MDÜM (23) shared on the other hand, the age limitation as a hidden obstacle that closes the road back to the regular high schools:

I intended to register. Then postponement you know, something came up. I learnt from inside that I could study. Then, there had been an age limit, so I couldn't go because of that, nothing was made.

...

Exactly. I could have got into, I was late like six months. Well, I was late like one semester you know. We were at the military service. If I hadn't been late, I could got into for studying again and finished, but...

...

No, it was completely over. Because of age. I am overage. Back then, for example, I was 21 years old you know, they accept you at the age of 21 for the previous semester but they didn't accept because we were late one semester. Now, I am 23 years old, they don't accept me anymore. (MDÜM, 23)

5.3.2.4 Limited or no socialization in OEHS

In the narratives of the students, they commonly referred to the impossibility of socialization in OEHS. BMEY (23), for example, shared that OEHS was only about taking exams and going back to work such that it made it impossible to do get friends or do something other than this.

ENES (24)'s account supported BMEY (23) that even in the exams nobody looks at anyone, everybody crashes on the chair when they come to the exam and nobody talks.

SNES (18) and ÖMÜM (25) told that there were no friends they had from OEHS but only the ones from the courses they attended within the public education center:

Yes, there is. But well, they came to attend the course. Yet already, I always put pressure on my friends ever since I discovered open education saying 'Study Open Education'. Constantly. Many of my friends enrolled in open education thanks to me. Then they enrolled on courses. For example, after finishing high school, one of my friend here at child development course, so he/she did. Now she/he was graduated. After finishing high school, he/she is a child development teacher. (SNES, 18)

I mean I met them recently. I used to go to computer training, then I met there. I mean when they find out a different test, they immediately text to me like 'It is here and there, check that page' you know, so we exchange ideas. (ÖMÜM, 25)

Even though the usage of social media was not common among the students CTES (17) mentioned that he was using the pages in the social media to be informed about the development and changing practices of OEHS:

Zeynep: Well, how do you access to information regarding open high school system when you need help? Well, for re-registration, exams you know?

CTES: I have Facebook. I don't generally use Facebook but there are open education groups on Facebook. There are lots of student there. Sometimes I read comments, if there is a problem, a system error, I get news through Facebook. Well, many things happened this year, I followed and stayed informed. I took action accordingly. There is an open education group on Facebook, many students are available. I have a couple of friends, I already add them to group. I get all news from there. If something comes up, there is Teacher Bayram. So, we always stay in touch with him too much. (CTES, 17)

5.3.2.5 An open door for working at an early age

The last but not the least one of the pluses that students said when talking about open high school experiences was how the open education high school opened a door to work. Two of the things that were observed during the interviews was also a proof of that. During the interviews almost three times of the participants, students did not want to participate, especially because they were working and had to go to work after registration. Another proof obtained during the interviews was in the words of the

vice principal in the public education center in Ümraniye. She said: 'if you go to the textile ateliers, you can reach to participants much easier than here'.

Family pressure along with the influence of social class background was again one of the reasons students had to work:

My family didn't interfere me at all when I was studying, but they didn't help me neither. When it comes to choosing the profession, they didn't let me choose, they were superior...Well, and those days of course, when I was 14-15 years old, they pushed me saying "you will have a profession". (SNEY, 24)

Work has been commonly referred by the students to help the individual to make a living. This in fact divided the students into two. While one group of students had struggles to resist the challenges of working which can be exemplified by MDÜM (23) below, the other group was seemed to enjoy the profits of making a living:

Excuse me, life is going like a shit. You will ask why; I mean how can I say, we're trying to be student, we're working at the same time, Home. I mean we live with family because of age. We both try to take of home folks struggle and struggle for life outside. I mean it is like let me say I work in an eight-hour period. Besides, we try to be socialize. I mean, from street interviews to performing as a musician, making music. Apart from that, I have such a hard time taking time for myself anyway. I 'm also trying to study. How can I say, neither can we sleep nor work hard. No one is normally pleased now about our behaviors. Life is not beautiful because we cannot take time for ourselves you know. Don't take my smile for granted, because nothing is like what it seems. Because we human smile, they suppose we are happy. No one is actually happy because of smiling. (MDÜM, 23)

That's why I enrolled in an open high school. I said, even if I study, there is nothing after the high school, I said at least I can have my own job. Well, more precisely, I used to love reparation. Let me put it this way: When I was in school, in grade 7, grade 8, I was a type of person who loved to disassemble my own household goods and make changes. I had a small tool kit I mean before I started this job. I was occupied with those thing. Then when I was working in summer and like every student does- I mean not every student but like different students or I how can I say, I used to like buying something with my own money. So, when I was in the last term of secondary school, I started the job. I thought, at least I can buy whatever I want, I can make my allowance around high school. I landed the job, then I stayed you know. After that, I attended the open high school. (ŞKES, 18)

On the other hand, when the students enjoyed working and earning a living, they were observed to find the experience of schooling ordinary and thought that even if they attended school, they would also have been doing something like they were doing now:

I myself, I mean I fell into habit of (living) without burdening since my childhood. I used to be someone who could buy whatever I wanted. At the same time, I used to like reparation, modification works. I landed a job like this. I like my profession as well. I mean some person loves drawing, some loves writing, some loves engaging in something, and I love such kind of things. This is how I started the job. If I was educated, I would be do something like this anyway. I would draw projects, this is the only difference. I would have authorization. It is ultimately same again. It doesn't matter for me. (ŞKES, 18)

The ideas that were exemplified in the story of ŞKES (18) above brought about the feelings of glorifying the experiences of working in contrast to schooling:

Well, it happens like that. But for me it wasn't. I run one time. I looked my mother would take me again, I never tried again. Then, my school was good but I didn't want to study. So, because I felt better working you know.

...

It is typically working. Well, I mean I quitted the school just for working when I was at the high school. Because as a person, you learn much more by working rather than studying. Because I say myself that I was an idiot until 10 the grade of high school. Until that time. Because I thought I was learning something in those times. But I wasn't learning anything actually. I mean when I start working in real life, live by myself, pay my rent and so on; then I realized everything. When I was working. Those people teach you so many thing that. (ENMA, 19)

In fact, the students' ideas that referred the school as '*ordinary*' and their glorification of working in a paid job stemmed from the practices they defined as '*experiencing the realities of life*':

I mean it has good sides. They ask easy exam questions. Sometimes they ask difficult questions but it has good sides in fact. So, you have to study for both. It was an experience for me. I got started in business. I began to work at an early age and this made (me) feel more matured now. It is good for me.

...

You both learn and teach something. I mean you see real life. As I said, you don't seen anything when you sit at home. It makes you impulsive you know. So, it has good sides. I think the bad side is waking up early. But now I have no such problem. But in summer, it will be like that, I will have to get up early.(İMEY, 18)

But it was pretty good. I met people. At first glance, you can detect a thief, can you imagine that? Stallholders know it and they taught me as well you know. With human experiences, well I could make a thief, you also need four-eyes, and you had to look everything. What I'm most proud of is, you know what, people whom I don't know...trusts me with the apron. The apron with full of money. I was so happy that. They didn't give that apron to any staff, only me. He had a sister, and I was there. For example, his sister sometimes used to be sick, she didn't use to come, and we used to look after the stall. I mean when my dear brother, Kadir, used to go and pray in the mosque and etc., he used to give me his apron. I was so proud of it. He didn't use to take his apron back. 'Keep it' he used to say. He used to say like 'Ok, keep it'. Just like that. (SNES, 18)

At the end of all these experiences and the feeling developed by those experiences the place where students unintentionally found themselves was the precarious work environment and child labor. The work experiences and the sectors of the participants were presented in Table 15 below. As can be seen in the table, 28 of the participants were 18 or under when they first started working. The jobs they referred to during the interviews included but not limited to salesperson or cashier, worker in a factory, confectioner, waiter, bellboy, barista, repairman/mechanic, delivery person/ courier, driver, baby-sitter and tutor, joker worker, worker in paddler's trade, plumber, shepherd, security guard, printer/ presser, self-employed in father's shop, civil servant, apprentice in tailor, hairdresser and butcher.

Table 15. Work Experience of the Participants

Work Sector	Frequency	Starting age of employment	Number of Participants
Service sector	40	10	2
Worker	13	12	2
Self-employment	2	14	2
Trade	4	15	4
Apprenticeship	3	16	6
Civil servant	1	17	4
Didn't work anywhere	3	18	8
		19	2

CTES (17), MDÜM (23) and SNEY (24) shared their experiences of child labor:

I was 14 years old. As a matter of fact, I was 13 years old but in my identity card it was 14 years old. Well, my age now is even 16 years old, it is 17 in the identity card. I came, I worked at bakery. WE couldn't get along well. I worked three days, I quit then. Afterwards, I changed eight-nine jobs or more within two months. I said to my parents 'I want to study'. They said 'No' 'Help us this year' they asked. 'All right' I said. I worked at somewhere one year, at a restaurant. Then, I couldn't study open high school this time. So, I worked again for 1.5 years. Then I enrolled in open high school. I landed a new job later. Currently, I've been working on another job for 1,5 years, it is a restaurant too. Then I planned to go to high school. I couldn't. So, I'm working this year like this. Well, all being well, I'm going to high school (CTES, 17)

Throughout my education life, I did all professions after quitting. (Laughing) I mean I used to work as a driver. I drove two years, then I quit. Then I worked with that friend in Ramiz Köfte. I was a barbecue chef. I quit there too.

...

I worked there like six months as well. Because the working time was so opposite for me. Tough work. I couldn't stand there too and I quit. What did I do? There was a textile firm called Belde, I mean when I'm saying textile, they are manufacturing summer swing, cushion, sunbed, I worked at somewhere like this. Heavy industry is places where I always work. Currently. My father has also his own shop, ads-signboard-press. I stayed there for a while, like 2,5-3 years. Then I've been working here for 7 months. (19.53) There is a motorcycle factory. I'm working as a salesclerk, we are hanging out there. Heavy industry.

...

Let me put it this way: We didn't study well ok but we worked. It didn't yield return so much because we didn't work at somewhere constantly. If we had worked in somewhere permanently, we could have something nice at our age by now but because we didn't work somewhere on a fixed-term, we don't have anything a lot. I mean neither have we a profession. (MDÜM, 23)

SNEY: Because they left me at the mill when I was 15 years old. It was in the basement and was not getting sunlight. We used to go there and enter 8.30 am and stay there until 07:00 pm. You don't even see what people do outside. It wasn't so much suitable for a 15 years old child you know. Children should study I mean. 15-year-old children should see the world, people. I worked for 4 years like until 19 years old and always it was in the same way; come (at) 8:30 am...At the same time there is a think about textile: They don't pay your salary fully, they don't make full pay, they despise , repulse you.

I: How many hours a day did you use to work?

SNEY: Like eleven hours. I mean normally it is not like that, legal limit is not like that but it is like eleven hours in mills.

Zeynep: Well, how many days a week?

SNEY: On Saturday, it is normally working time until 1:00 pm. During weekday, it is five days working time anyway. On Saturdays, we normally work until 1:00 p.m. but in those times it was 5:00, 6:00, 7:00 pm I mean we were called. Sundays were also the same. If you don't come to work, you are dismissed then. We had to go. (SNEY, 24)

5.3.3 Meaning of being in OEHS: Engagement vs. disengagement

The narratives of the students indicated four broad themes in terms the meaning they attached to OEHS when they were making sense of their experiences. The first one was their meaning regarding OEHS as a place for providing them a '*second chance*' or '*a last exit before the bridge*'. The second theme that was commonly referred by the students was OEHS as the easiest way to graduate from high school. The third one was OEHS as a place for the marginalized/ excluded students. The last one was OEHS as obligation as in the form of absence of any other way possible.

5.3.3.1 OEHS as a second chance

When students were talking about their experiences in OEHS, one of the most common themes they referred was OEHS as a second chance that was provided to

them. In fact the meaning of OEHS as a second chance theme seemed similar at first to the meaning attached to OEHS as places for the excluded students, it was then realized that the former was stated mostly by the students who were over the age of 18 while the latter was stated mostly by the students who were under the age of 18. This reflected in a sense that the students who were older than 18 had higher level of engagement to education while the students who were 18 or younger had a tendency to feel more disengaged from education. While EAEY (23) thinks that OEHS means '*a compensation for a past regret*', ENES (23) refers to OEHS as the '*crossroads before the last regret*', NAEY (21) refers to it as a '*second advantage*':

For me, open high school seems like making up for past regrets. I mean you dropped out of school, you are given a second chance again and I think it is a much better chance. It is necessary to make the best of it. (EAEY, 23)

Open high school... regret... That is the way before the last regret. (ENES, 24)

Open High School is like a second advantage. You know, I see it as an advantage for those who can't do it at school and want to get an advantage again. Nice education system. It is a nice educational system for those who want to read again. Good, you know. (NAEY, 21)

One of the recurring codes in the students' narratives that were encoded to reflect the theme of 'second chance' was their views of OEHS as a solution as in the case of ÖMÜM (25):

In the general sense, how can I say? I mean it is a kind of solution. I mean like achieving a goal, like a step you now. I mean we don't have to add something else, because as I said, you need to start from somewhere. This is one of the beginning. (ÖMÜM, 25)

Another critical point concerning the meaning of OEHS as a second chance was the feelings of proud the students revealed. After various challenges the students had, some of them were proud of themselves and see OEHS as a '*turning point*' in their lives:

Personally, I'm proud of it. I mean as I said, I wanted to study so much but I was not able to study because of financial matters. I wish we would have, I would study maybe now I would be a teacher, something else, but it didn't happen you know... (ERES, 25)

It was a turning point for us, I can say that. It is a change, it is something you know. Breaking down the prejudices. It happened like this. Within the family, society, I mean, when we broach the subject, it is not but honestly it caused some change within the family. Luckily, there is something like this. (Laughing) (HEES, 25)

During the informal conversations with people coming to public education centers in the registration period, students who were over the age of 18 were observed to be much more enthusiastic. They frequently referred to OEHS as a second chance that was provided for them.

One of the recurring themes concerning the meaning of OEHS as a second chance was also the importance of lifelong learning. The students frequently referred to the importance of getting education whatever their age and condition was and also the importance of OEHS as place that provide education for all:

So I think it's the perfect way to attend school. You know, well, you don't have such a chance to say I couldn't go to school, there was no school at that time. Previously, everyone could take shelter behind these excuses... Well, I think that there should not be anyone who's not a high school graduate right now. Look how such wonderful opportunities are provided for free. There is also a learning thing and courses for illiterate people. I've seen it here, female come and go. (ŞLES, 25)

Open Education High School. .Now it covers all segments of society, all segments; from 7 to 70. At the same time - Look, now you can learn things only yourself at Open Education High School. Nobody teaches you. If you say 'I will', if you have a purpose, if you believe in something, you must register and graduate. But there's no point in doing it to get a diploma. Open Education High School from 7 to 70, is not lifelong learning? You learn all your life, but you can learn if you want to learn. Allahu Teala says in life; 'I will provide sustenance to whomever I wish, to those who want knowledge, for that you have to ask him (ARES, 19)

In five years' time, I see myself again in the school environment. I like knowing, learning. You know, for example, I'm going to study a university in a regular university. I'm also thinking about attending a university from Distance Education Faculty, I'm thinking about another department. After I finished another section from the Open Education Faculty, another section from the formal again. A continuous learning effort. (ZPÜM, 18)

5.3.3.2 OEHS as the easiest way to finish high school

When the students were sharing their experiences, their common interpretive repertoires also reflected a tendency to describe OEHS as the easiest path to be graduated from high school. The advantage of going to school and working in a paid job was often expressed in the students' narratives:

Well, it is good. It is like; you both study and work. You both do your job and finish your school. If I finish the high school, I'm planning to go to university of course. I'm also thinking about finishing the school externally. I hope it happens you know. (ERES, 25)

ENMA (19), on the other hand, even though he said that OEHS was way better than going to a regular high school, at the end of the below narrative he also referred to it as '*Crazy Classroom*' referring to a Turkish movie which was about high school students who were mischieving around and not studying. That, in fact, reflected his unintentional view of OEHS as a crazy classroom to which students attend not to get a proper education but rather for its comfort and leisureliness:

What does it mean? It means there is something nice for people, because as I said just before, it works for people (Laughing). It works for me too. So, I both work and study. I mean it makes human, how can I say, it helps for your future actually. So, it means beauty. Then you let people be free. When you teach, you let them be free in fact. I mean... imagine that you don't the lesson at the school, I mean not at the school, you lecture, just like that. Student have both fun and well, study. The crazy class. (ENMA, 19)

The narrative of KMÜM (20) on the other hand, reflected why students needed a much easier way of attending high school:

Well, open high school, let me put it this way, it is a kind of opportunity for people, who live in a bit difficult living conditions like me, to maintain themselves studying and working at the same time. Because you go to school when you study at a regular high school. You go to school you know; you go in the morning, your school finishes at 12:00 am. You go, listen the lesson, you feel tired, and you already woke up so early. At one point, your body became exhausted. Hop, then you go to work. Then your body is tired this time. You are already exhausted mentally in the morning, then your body is tried in the evening. When you go back home, it is ten-eleven o'clock at night. No one fall into sleep immediately. Even if he/she is tired, he/she doesn't sleep right away. If you haven't slept for a few days, only then. You hang out one hour, then it is 12:00 pm. You have a lesson at 6:30 in the morning. You need to get up at 4:30 am; you will sleep 4.5 hours. Thus and so, you burn yourself out. It is not like this at open high school. You go to work, come back. You have a time to study your lesson in the morning. You go to bed. Then approaching exam dates, you enter exams, you pass your lessons and it is over. It finishes at the same period in normal schools in fact. But it finishes if you work. But let me say; if you quit 9th grade in high school, in other words, you directly enroll in open high school, then it finishes at the same period in normal schools. But let's say you started high school, if you quit in 11th grade or 10th grade, then you complete the school two years later compared to normal school. This is not a disadvantage for you. You don't necessarily have to get into university aged 18, 22 or 23, well if you study vocational school, no hard rules for finishing aged 26 you know. Nobody says, 'Come, at this age, you will, you will finish, complete at this age.' You are free to enroll in whenever you want, study your school and pass your lessons and complete. Open high school is like this you know. It gives you another chance which you can maintain yourself by studying and working, overcome life challenges alone, grow earlier. So, you get used to working conditions earlier, because there are internships during university years. You study high school in Anatolia. You finish it and go to university. You don't have any idea. When you come, internships begin. Then you have no idea again. Well, you face difficulties during internship. I study externally, I know business life, its challenges. After that, let's say I went to university. I will do internships. I know work pace; because I know challenges and hard work, I believe this will provide me an advantage at the university. Because I will easily overcome internships. It is tough to be/do intern (ship). They oppress you too much. So, I believe I will not have any difficulty. Open high school gives me an advantage. It is an opportunity for me. (KMÜM, 20)

In their accounts regarding their experiences of OEHS students also referred to the necessity of a high school diploma. DNES (17) for example stated that there 'OEHS does not make any sense to me' and when further questioned he responded as 'diploma is a must'. MDÜM (23) also referred to the diploma as a '*piece of paper*'. Correspondingly SNEY (24) also shared her views on the necessity of getting a

diploma and OEHS as place that granted a high school diploma through the easiest way possible but it was nothing more than that:

I mean an open high school is good if you just finish the high school and get a diploma, if you want to take a high school diploma. But except that, there is no education in open high school. I mean no child can be able to pass the university exam with the education in open high school. Well, because there is no education

...

Open high school means a diploma to me. Nothing else... a diploma called 'I finished I school'. That's all. (SNEY, 24)

The interpretive narratives of the students reflected their views on the OEHS as the easiest way possible to get a high school diploma but they were also conscious about the uselessness of that very diploma in the eye of the capitalist society. After all, OEHS was also a place that also made it easiest for the government to increase the number of high school graduates in the society and also easiest for the dominant classes to 1.5 million cheaper workforce.

The easiness of OEHS was also prevailing in terms of the lessons which are taken on the basis of credits, the possibility of students to be exempted from the exams that they failed two times in a row and the summary books the government provided. However this influenced the students to not to feel that they are getting a proper education in contrast to the ones that they used to in regular high schools:

I mean, I don't feel like I am studying a lot right now. Because I'm only taking exams, that's all. (Laughs) I'm marking whatever came to my mind in the exams, things I know. Obviously I don't feel like I am going to school.

...

I never study at all. I pass the exams even though I'm not studying, I say to myself what it I study. (Laughing)

...

So of course it's easier. So I think that's what it should be. I think there are so much unnecessary lessons and unnecessary topics in regular schools. (EAEY, 23)

FTMA (20) also reflected how he did not feel that he was attending school at all by stating that "if somebody wanted to get a proper education he or she would get

it from the *'inside'*. Studying from the *'outside'* was for the ones who wanted to finish. Nothing more nothing less... KNEY (18) also mentioned a similar point that if you go to a regular high school you are improved hundred percent but if you attend to OEHS you are improved only 25 per cent.

KMÜM (23) also shared about how easy the exams were in OEHS so much so that anyone can do it without studying at all while ZPÜM (18) also shared that the exams were very easy but it was kind of for the lazy people:

Like I said, it's not hard to attend OEHS. They give us the books. In this book, they ask the questions in the exams from those subjects that are mentioned in the book. Even if you open the book and just gazed and read it as if you were reading a normal book like this, when you see it in the exam, you say, 'Oh, it was in this book, that's the answer.' Because they ask so simple. You know, it is like they say to you, like you make fun of it, 'finish the school now.' It is obviously not so hard to finish high school here. You know, finish, get ready for college, go and study at your university, not just high school. So there are 20 questions. Ten easy, ten hard. You can make 10. You can do it even if you never read the book. But some say that OEHS is hard, because they just make a numerical lotto in the exam. If open education was difficult, I wouldn't get up from Rize today and run to register here. I came far away from Rize. (KMÜM, 23)

Comfortable. So even if you prepare for the exams the last week, you can pass the course very easily. (Laughing) You know, this is a bit of a thing, a lazy thing, but... What do I say, if your life is running all the time, I prefer. I would prefer. (ZPÜM, 18)

SAMA (17) also shared the right of the students to be exempted from the exams that they were failed in a row. Even though they had to complete the credit of the failed course, they did not have to pass that specific course at all.

No, I don't think so. Because exam dates are specific exam dates. You go to and you take your exams. So, for example, you're exempted when you've been to classes that you can't do three times. For example, I can't do math. Right now, this is the 2nd exemption process, so I'm going to be exempt 2. If I can't do that, I would be counted as passing that lesson. (SAMA, 17)

ZAÜM (17) and RAES (21) on the other hand expressed the ease they felt with studying only the summary parts of the books and being able to pass their exams by this way:

How do I study? You know the vast majority of the books had summary sections at the back. Apart from that I memorize formulas in mathematics and physics. And I'm practicing tests. So. (ZAÜM, 17)

I'm just looking at the books where I think I'm going to come across in the exams. Then I solve the previous exam questions, because almost 50 percent, 60 percent of the questions were asked from the previous questions asked in the previous exams. Then we're solving the test from past exams by ourselves or with the teachers in the public education center support course. You know, the questions are also uploaded to the internet, I am downloading from there and test and check my answers. From there I am testing. I'm trying to focus on things I'm not good at. (RAES, 21)

5.3.3.3 OEHS as a place for the marginalized/excluded students

One of the broader themes that were reflected in the narratives of the students was OEHS as a place for the marginalized and excluded students including but not limited to those who were expelled from the school, those dropped out of school, those who could not have a chance to attend school at all, and those who regretted for dropping out. In addition OREY (18) also shared OEHS as a '*wonderful*' place for those who did not want to attend school at all. SAMA (17) also shared her ideas:

For me, I think... I mean it is sometimes, how I can say... Some don't have a good financial situation, they go to open high school, some have a good financial situation, and they go to open high school. Some as I said I mean because of financial situation or it is place where such kind of people can go... Frankly speaking I'm expressing like this. I went to open high school because of financial situation as well or my circle of friends. That's why I preferred to go open high school. (SAMA, 17)

SNES (18) also pointed out OEHS as a place for students who had a low socio-economic background:

But the open education high school is an opportunity for those who regret or want to study. It is so good. I mean luckily, something like this came up. Otherwise, I mean maybe those people who quitted the school, was not able to study because their parents did not allow, people who cannot afford use this opportunity. Because it is better. They both don't give up their dreams and families. Like that. (SNES, 18)

Nevertheless, the categories the students shared, during the interviews in Ümraniye, I had a chance to meet a police officer working in a juvenile prison. He came for collectively registering the juveniles in the prison. Therefore, it would not be wrong to infer that OEHS was also a place for the juvenile prisoners.

5.3.3.4 OEHS as obligation: absence of any other way possible

The last one of the main categories pertaining to the meaning the students attached to OEHS was obligation in the form of the absence of any other way possible.

While sharing their stories, some of the students stated that distance education was not education at all SNEY (24) was one of them:

It is not like distance education at all. I mean an open high school is good if you just finish the high school and get a diploma, if you want to take a high school diploma. But except that, there is no education in open high school. I mean no child can be able to pass the university exam with the education in open high school. Well, because there is no education. You study on your own from books and Internet you know... And only a determined people can do it. A person who is not determined cannot do it anyway. (SNEY, 24)

While ŞKES (18) referred to it as '*emptiness*':

You asked a nice question, what does it mean for you? For me, it mean ... You know...the emptiness...You cannot describe it. Let's skip this question (ŞKES, 18)

VNES (18) referred to it as '*it does not mean anything*':

I mean... (Laughing) It means nothing. If I studied, I would not prefer to go to open high school anyway. (VNES, 18)

ZAÜM (17) expressed how she felt unsuccessful and referred to OEHS as ‘*a failure picture*’:

A failure picture. Because if I had studied within five years, the university would be over, maybe I was internship as a nurse. You know, maybe I was in a nice hospital, and I had nice colleagues. But that's not the case, obviously. (ZAÜM, 17)

5.4 Hope vs. uncertainty: future aspirations

The last broad theme of the study based on the narratives of the students was about their future aspirations. In the part of the interview where they were asked about their future, their ideas about what they dream and what they are afraid of, the answers they provided reflected two broad themes which were hope and uncertainty.

Furthermore, the students who were over the age of 18 were realized to respond recurrently for hope even though desperately, the students who were under the age of 18 were realized to respond more commonly as uncertain. The sentences starting with ‘my dream’ continued with ‘*is*’ for the former ones while they continued with ‘*was*’ for the latter group of students.

5.4.1 Hope in despair

The students who were asked to make sense of their future aspirations and responded hopefully even though it was hope in the form of despair commonly referred to their dreams to start their own business. Coming from a working-class background and having a lot of work experience, it was not surprising to hear their stories and plans to start a business:

I become experienced in textile, this is where I see myself. At the same time, I continue studying. I mean this is it, when I close my eyes all the time, go to bed in the evening, I think about it. You have both school because I also earn money in a good way. That bring me happiness, I mean managing both. . Because it was like this through all my life dear Zeynep. I both studied and worked through all my life, I somehow tried to manage both. (ARES, 19)

ŞLES (18), like ARES (19) shared his plans to open a shop of his own based on the experience he had after so many years of work experience despite his young age:

Where do you see yourself in five years? Very nice question. Every, I mean everyone has a dream. I made a calculation, it is a bit beyond my dream for me. When I look from my point of view, I see myself in as a wholesaler, running a few stores, business rather than doing just my own profession. As a boss you know. (ŞKES, 18)

One of the recurring themes in the dreams of the students were also to get a profession:

I see myself in practicing my profession, I hope so. My only goal is to have a profession. I want to buy a car as well. Just these two dreams. I didn't dream anything else (İMEY, 18)

About future... Well I want to take my diploma you know. But I can't do it without studying. In the future, I want to have a profession you know, so that I have a profession. Because I will get married in the future, I will have children. To do it, I need to have a profession. Otherwise, nothing happens (BEÜM, 16)

Only two students reflected their aims of attending higher education in the study, others felt that it was enough to graduate from OEHS:

In five years, I see myself in finishing high school. I would be very happy if I could really finish. Then, it is like this... I would be in a rush for completing university given that I am in a rush for completing high school now. If I really want to go to university, I want to study a formal high school. I mean if I have a chance like this, I want to go and return for studying. I don't want to study open education. I mean I don't know. Even if it is in another city, in a small town, I want to study university, I mean a university of that place. I already have no dream for studying university in Istanbul you know. I don't know, Going to university at Istanbul is not my choice. I mean I want to go to university at more quiet, calm cities or like Trabzon I mean at the black sea. Studying there in those green spaces. (RAES, 21)

ŞLES (25)'s narrative below reflected a clear picture for desperately hoping. She knew that she desired attending higher education but she could not be sure if it was going to be possible for her:

In five years? It was a nice question. Where did I see myself? Well, I think it depends on me. I think if I can study, I will be in a better place, if I can't study I will be at the same job, home, place. It depends on that moment. So, I can't say now 'I will be a doctor'. I don't know what the circumstances will be. But I really want to study university. I will talk with the teacher, I will enroll for university exam. (ŞLES, 25)

5.4.2 Uncertainty

Uncertainty was the second broad theme when the students' narratives about their future lives were concerned. The students who made sense of the questions regarding their future frequently responded to those questions regarding their future as *'I do not know'*.

Well, that is so problematical. I don't know that. I mean my only goal was to get high school diploma now. I foresaw that it would be going well but I didn't guess that it would going so much well. I mean I thought that I could success but I really studied well. I don't know now. I mean I didn't make any preference like 'I do it and that'. (ŞLES, 25)

Together with the feelings of uncertainty about their future, the students were also observed to be afraid of what the future will bring about. The commonly stated fears they had was being unsuccessful in life, everything to be got worse and for the girls being a housewife:

I absolutely don't want to be a housewife in the future. I mean it seems that life is some, because I witnessed from my mother I think, the female around me, I don't like it at all but now I do it you know. It is my current situation

...

I don't want to stay at home. Our female was confined to home. The home was found suitable for them as a living space but I know it isn't like this. This is our reality. I mean everyone needs to know his/her truth. But when it can't be helped, when there is no space, you have to live that. (HEES,23)

I don't want to have a common life which woman waits her husband until the evening, then when her husband arrives, she expects food from him. I mean I don't want to that; because I believe our country is so beautiful; our country's people are great, but female are superior to male, in terms of mentally as well. Female are so far- I mean I'm not saying. Especially a mother. There is nothing that they can't do. I'm sure about that. Because I don't want to a woman in the future who sits all day long, when her husband comes, then feed him, then typically look after your child, don't go out. Because my mother is like this. Because I witnessed that from my mother, I didn't want to. (SNES, 18)

Fear of having nowhere to go at the end of all the challenges they had and all the difficulties they endured was also stated by ZAÜM (17)

What am I afraid to be of? I mean I can say I'm afraid of being in a fix. Because if I study, my family will stop supporting me at one point. I mean I will be in a fix, materially and morally, I mean I will somehow be in a fix. I mean my relatives want me study so much of course. I mean, my mother's relatives who went to university, high school always say 'Study, study. You have to be study. Study, life is waiting for you.' I mean they say like this you know but how long can they support me which I mean except than my parents? I mean it is like that. (ZAÜM, 17)

Related to the fear of having nowhere to go MDÜM (23) reflected that he did not want to run out of money in the future and in the worst case scenario he was also afraid of being a bad person as a result of having no money to live:

I really don't like walking around, being broke. I'm dreaming about future you know. Our current situation is getting worse already. I'm saying it as a person who earns 1600 TL. I mean I pay 1000 TL for renting... I mean I live with my family today, when I leave in the future, I will live in a separate house. If I rent a house, I will pay 1000 TL. Obviously, I can't make a living with 600 TL... I'm estimating it. I mean I don't want to be such a person. When someone come to that point, he /she can be a bad person. I don't want to be such a person. I think a lot you know. But I want to be something else different Human always wants to be something but doesn't work hard. I work hard. Well, let's see, as much as possible, what can we do? (Laughing). (MDÜM, 23)

The narratives of the students in this section reflected their dreams which they had in the past even though they were asked to reflect upon their futures. If they had to give up their dreams due to the challenges they had and the conditions that caused them to drop out of school and start working, they referred to their dreams as *'it was not in my destiny'* or *'life proved the opposite'*. ÖMÜM (25), for instance stated that she always wanted to be painter or a journalist and mentioned how she was always telling everybody how much she wanted her dreams to come true but she concluded that it was not in her destiny, after all it was too late for her. ERES (25) and KMÜM (20) had similar stories:

I wanted to study and be a cop but it didn't happen.

...

When I was little, live in a village you know, I used to engage in mending, I mean I could be able to understand you know. I mean because I don't have, well, because of financial situation, we involved in such works. Then I forgot I mean to be a cop. But, it still on my mind, being a cop I mean. This is what I want most. (ERES, 25)

Being in the sky, it was always my childhood dream. I used to want to become a pilot. This was my biggest dream, I used to want to be a pilot. Then when I got older, I started to research into conditions about this profession. My dream was to be a masked pilot, F-16 pilot. They both fly high and fast, plus, they were so much, how I can say, they were pretty cool to me. Because I knew so many people when my mother used to work at military, I had the chance to know them better and as I knew them better, I aspired to the profession. Because you see them. How can I say, they were like hero in my eyes. Aviation was always a goal rather than desire. Since my childhood. I always struggled for aviation. Then, when my family life change, I was inclined to best-paying jobs then. So, my goal became a bit smaller. Because it was hard to reach that and it would take a long time. (KMÜM, 20)

The narratives of the students also reflected even a lack of motivation to hope in other words a fear of hoping. The number of university graduates who were unemployed, the fact that nothing had changed so far in their lives and the conservative attitudes of the families in the form of gender discrimination were some of the reasons of students for their lack of hope:

Open education faculty is available but there are so many university graduates who studied teaching but are still unemployed and out of work in my social network, how will it come to my turn... I mean, how it is said, my motivation is decreased, my hopes are broken.

...

Well, since I came from village seven or eight years ago, nothing has changed, so nothing will also change materially and morally in the following five years. I don't know, I think, I will just get older. I feel so despair. (Laughing). I made you feel hopeless. (HEES, 25)

I want to be a nurse in the future. I mean I don't know, if all being well, I mean I want to study at Marmara University. I know that it is not possible with this study but I hope this will be possible. I mean I don't know my family are not the kind of people who send me to university. After all, they didn't let me study high school, they won't let me get education for university. Just like that. To be honest, I don't have much hope

...

In five years, I see myself in getting married and having children. I mean..., I honestly don't think that I will study (ZAÜM, 17)

5.5 The path and experiences of being an "OEHS" student

Having concluded the thematic analysis of the narratives of the students, a certain path that they had to follow emerged and was presented in Figure 4 below.

Starting their educational journeys with a low socio-economic background, the students carried the burden of their social classes within. For overwhelming number of participant students, the existence of family turmoil, having family members with low level of education and having experiences of internal migration are realities of life. The path they followed in their education continued with negative experiences in the school including making a bad start to school, having to attend school in a negative school climate, experiencing bullying, negative teacher experiences, adaptation problems, lack of sufficient resources in school, having difficulty at school which resulted in low grades and failing classes, having to go to school by mobile education or having to stay in boarding school and last but not least difficulties resulting from lack of education in mother tongue.

In addition to the negative experiences they had in school, lack of motivation in school, truancy, resistance to schooling, the determinant influence of high school exam was found to influence the students' belief in education along with their level of engagement to education. On the other hand, students also pointed out to have strong peer relationships and positive school experiences. However, these relations and experiences were neither effective nor sufficient to keep the students at school and overall resulted in the early detachment of students from regular schools.

When the students arrived to OEHS in their educational journeys, the factors that affected them to choose to attend OEHS, their specific experiences in OEHS and the meaning they attached to OEHS while making sense of their experience were the main themes in the study.

Within the time of the interviews and the limits of the present study, the story of the participants ended when the students were still attending OEHS. Under these conditions, two of the main themes that became visible were hope in despair and uncertainty.

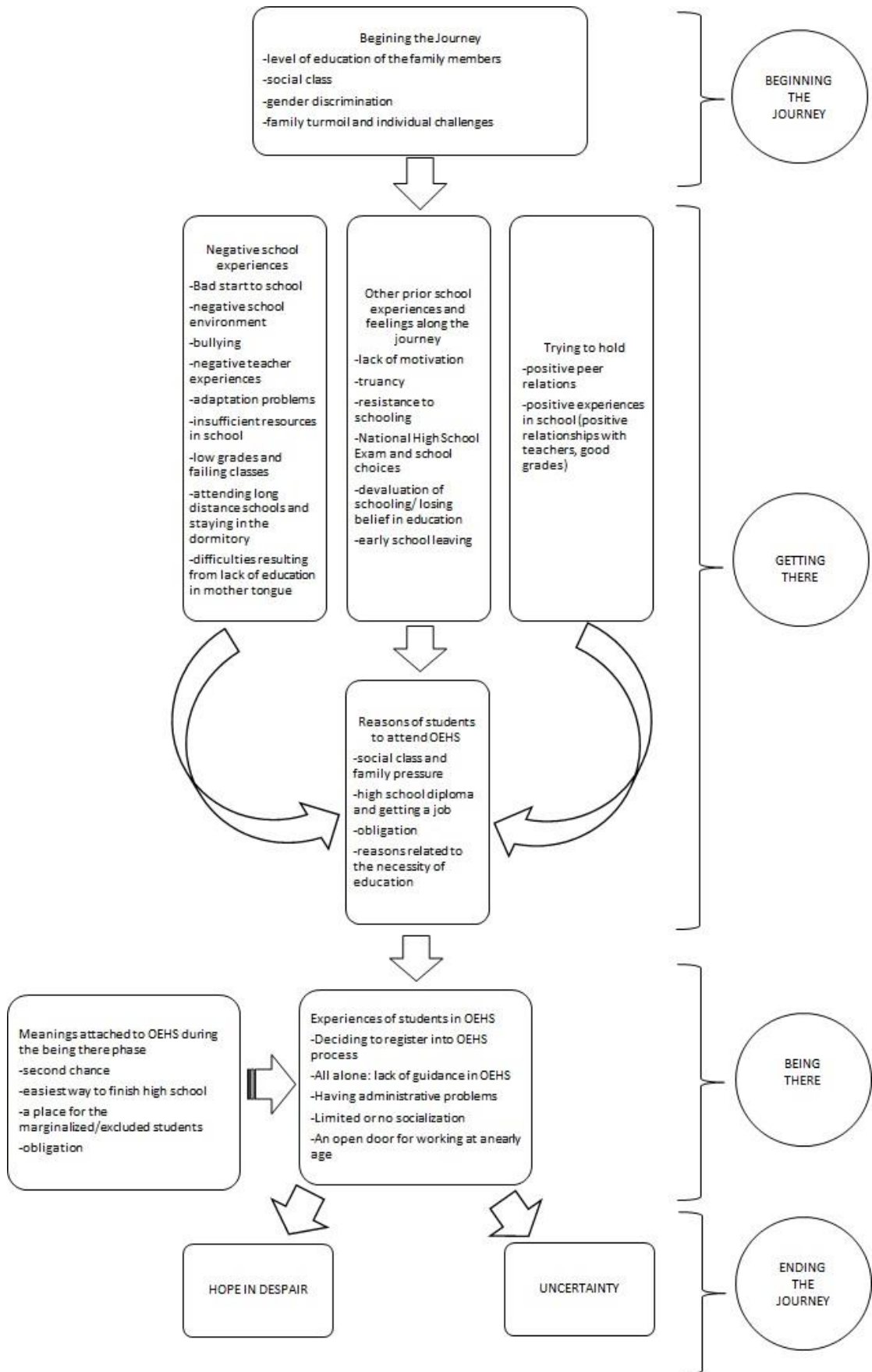


Figure 4. The path and experiences of being an "OEHS" student

As can be seen in Figure 4, the first part of the path which is called “beginning the journey” included the reasons of the students why they had to be a part of OEHS, “getting there” part included their reasons for their decision to attend OEHS, “being there” part consisted of their challenges of being a OEHS student and finally “ending the journey” included the consequences they referred about being a graduate of OEHS.

5.5.1 Narrative accounts of some of the chosen participants

As it was provided in the methodology section of the study, some of the chosen narrative accounts of students are presented below to give a comprehensive idea about the experiences of students attending OEHS in relation to the path emerged in the study which was presented in Figure 4 above. In that sense, four of the participants were chosen consisting of two male and two female participants. While one of the male and female participants were chosen to be under the age of 18, the two other male and female participants were chosen to be over the age of 18.

5.5.1.1 KRES (25)

KRES’s father decided to let his children to go to school altogether. She was 11 years old then. Being one of the eight children of a gypsy family, she had a very strong personality. She did not attend preschool but went to a public primary school for eight years. Because of her being older than her peers, she felt very much excluded and could not integrate well because of the constant teasing of her younger peers. Because of her old age she did not like school and she even did not pass along the door of the school. However she found a way not to attend to classes. She came to the school, made the teacher not to write her absent and went out of the class and

wandered in the garden until the end of the school hours. Coming from a Roman ethnic background family which was infamous with their conflicts, the school administration and the teacher let her actions. Even though she found a way to survive at school at the time, her feelings of exclusion and discrimination were still alive in her memories today. At the time she was graduated from primary school she was already 18 and was not allowed to attend a regular high school because of the age limitation. Her thoughts continually reflected to the fact that how just a single mistake of the parents caused her not to be able to continue her education.

Since her family had a very low socio-economic background, she grew up in an orphanage until the age of 18. Her mother is a primary school graduate and a housewife. Her father is a primary school graduate too and works as a driver. She has seven siblings. Her three older sisters are 29, 27 and 26 years old. The oldest one did not attend to school whereas the other two are middle school graduates. Her younger sister who is 23 attends to a university. Her 22 years old brother is a middle school graduate and does not work whereas her 21 years old sister and 20 years of brother are high school dropouts. She lives in a rental house. She never had a private room back in her childhood. There were no books in their house and she never likes reading. After she left the orphanage, she took the civil service examination and is stationed to a public education center. Growing up in an orphanage provided her the experience to attend the exam and assigned as a civil servant. Before she took the exam and started working as a civil servant she worked in a shop selling bridal gowns for three months and earned 900 TL for a month, five months in a textile factory for 1600 TL a month, one month in a plastic factory and one month in a printing shop and was paid daily.

She got married at the age of 18 and moved to Adana city of Turkey. She had a son but divorced when her son was a year old. She currently lives with her son. She was registered to OEHS to continue her education and get a high school diploma but it is difficult for her to attend the exams let alone any support courses in the public education center she was working because she did not have anybody to leave her son.

Her biggest dream was to be an attorney but her family had high criminal record which made her think that it was impossible for her to be an attorney. She cannot see herself anywhere but a civil servant in the same way in the future. Besides a mother devoted to her son since she thought that his future was more important than hers which her family did not consider in the past.

5.5.1.2 ZAÜM (17)

Family pressure in the form of gender discrimination started early in ZAÜM's life. Being an honored student in the past, she felt bitterly resent and ashamed for coming to register for the new semester of OEHS. She wanted to be a nurse back then, but her mother as an oppressive character sent her to trade vocational high school just because she was a girl and the school was close to the home.

A day in the life of ZAÜM was like getting up early in the morning, looking after two little sisters, cleaning up the house and cooking. She was doing what a 'normal housewife' does in an entire day as in her own words.

She did not attend kindergarten. She attended a public primary school for five years and transferred to another public school when she was attending middle school. Coming from a low socio-economic family and growing up in a slum, she also had difficulty in school, being bullied and discriminated even beaten on the basis of her

class. On the other hand she also remembers her wonderful memories in school.

When she was in eighth grade, one day it was summer and the weather was very hot. They had a water fight with her friends in school and her best friend took a bucket full of water from the school and poured it over ZAÜM's head. Although her hair was very bad after that she enjoyed that memory even telling it. Her grades were also so good that she never came home without an enclosed honors document to her school report card.

After graduation, she took the TEOG exam but did not choose any high school because her mother did not allow her to go to school but to look after her baby sister. However, even though she attended the exam knowing that in mind she got 334 point enough to be placed into a health vocational high school as she desired but her mother was dominant in her life. She was enrolled to a vocational and technical high school at first but her family took her out of school both out of financial difficulties and gender discrimination.

She lives with her parents, her grandmother and her three sisters. Her mother is a primary school drop-out housewife and she also works as a Koran preacher. Her father is a middle school drop-out and works as a furniture dealer. She is the oldest child and has three sisters who are 15, 8 and five and all attending school. They live in their own house. She had her own room and a bookshelf. She does not know any foreign language. She worked in a textile factory and a restaurant for two months each. She is currently not working but looks after her sisters.

Her mother thought that in the school there were males and in such an environment it was difficult for a girl to focus on her lessons and she did not let ZAÜM to continue her education through high school.

She enrolled to OEHS but thought that it was really hard because there were no teachers to teach. She also thought that people were enrolling to OEHS because they were busy with other things. Since she was busy with other things, it was also hard to attend distance education. There was a delusion created by the reality of not having to go to school like it was easy but on the contrary, if you took teachers out of the equation of OEHS students' education experience, this made it harder for them when added to other burdens of life they were carrying. If studied, the classes were going to be easy but it was also difficult to study lessons with the other works she had to do. Therefore she studied the abstracts at the back of the books but had difficulty understanding the subjects.

She thought that OEHS was the last exit before the bridge and registered to OEHS with the hope that one day she would be a nurse. Her hope was in despair however with the thoughts in mind that a family that did not let her to attend high school would never let her attend university.

5.5.1.3 CTES (17)

Growing up in a village in Erzurum and experiencing financial difficulties, CTES started his narrative by stating how much he wants to graduate from high school. He did not attend kindergarten but attended primary school in the village. He and his family had so many financial difficulties that he could not even have enough money to buy books. However the teachers he had were good and helped him a lot in this process. Back then he was working as a shepherd in the village since his family needed money. However he enjoyed both working and going to school. His sole goal was to attend school and get a good job. They only had one class in the primary school that is first graders in a row, second graders in a row; that was how they

taught. When he graduated from primary school, he went to another village with mobile education to attend middle school but had difficulty in the school environment. He liked mathematics and physics courses most.

He attended the TEOG exam at the end of eight grade to be placed to a good high school. However he had an extraordinary experience. TEOG exam was conducted in two phases, one at the end of first semester and one at the end of second semester. He was all prepared for the first phase of the exam but there was heavy snow in the village. His family took him to the exam by car, but he was still late. No matter how much he begged, the authorities in the school did not let him attend the exam. Having got no score in the first phase of the exam, his motivation decreased for the second phase and got a low score at the end, which he did not expect.

CTES and his family migrated to İstanbul three years ago when he was 14. After their migration he applied to be placed and enroll high school but when they came İstanbul, the placements were over and he could not be placed anywhere because of quota problems. His family explained and requested him to work for a year in İstanbul because they needed money. That's why he did not enroll to OEHS when he first came to İstanbul.

He was living with his parents and three siblings. He had actually four siblings including a 32 years old older brother who dropped out of high school and works in a textile factory, 21 years old older sister who also attends OEHS, 19 years old older brother who also dropped out of high school and works in a pastry shop and a younger brother who is 9 and attends primary school. His mother did not attend school and is a housewife and his father is a high school graduate and works as a construction worker. They were living in their own house but he did not have a private room but was sharing his room with his older brothers. He liked reading

books when he was in village shepherding, but it was hard to reach books in the village. His native language is Kurdish.

After he and his family migrated to İstanbul when he was 14, he first started working in a bakery and changed to different works all of which in the service sector in two years-time. He currently works as a waiter in a restaurant for one and a half years now for 12-13 hours a day.

He wanted to be a doctor when he was a little child but unfortunately he could not. However since he was 17, his goal is to be transferred to a regular high school when he got over 48 credits in OEHS. When he decided to attend to OEHS, he thought he would get at least some degree of education after dropping-out. Even though CTES thought OEHS as an advantage up to a point, he still desired going to a brick-and-mortar high school next year. Even though there were people including his family telling him that ‘for what are you going to school, nobody becomes anything by going to school anyway’, he thought he would at least get information even though he could not find a job in the future instead of being ignorant. He had a very high level of individual motivation and carried his books to work along with him and while his co-workers spent their breaks smoking, he constantly read the books given by the public education center.

On the other hand, even though he had such a high level of motivation in education, his aspirations for the future still dependent on the conditions he will have to face in the future. That’s why he did know where to see himself in five years’ time.

5.5.1.4 MDÜM (23)

MDÜM started his narrative by saying how shitty his life was going. He was having a lot of difficulty while trying to be a student and working at the same time and having to live with his family at this age. Working eight hours a day and trying to have a social life, trying to do what he liked all at the same time was very difficult for him. In such a hard time, he thought that life was not beautiful and explained it ‘don’t take my smile for granted, because nothing is like what it seems. Because we humans smile, they suppose we are happy. No one is actually happy because of smiling’.

With those difficulties he was still having, he did not attend kindergarten either in his childhood. He attended a public primary school and continued to middle school at the same building. After graduation he took the SBS exam and being placed to a religious high school, he dropped out in his second year.

He was living with his parents and seven siblings. His mother is a primary school graduate housewife and his father is a high school graduate who works as an advertiser and graphic designer in his own printing shop. He had seven siblings including a 25 years old older sister who also attended open education middle school, 22 years old brother who also is a OEHS student, 20 years old brother attending regular high school, 18 years old sister attending a private Koran course and a 15 years old brother who graduated from middle school but took a leave for one year before starting to high school. They lived in their own house but pay for housing loan. He did not have a private room, never had.

Remembering his educational experiences, he thought he did not have much experience. He compared primary school and high school and thought that in primary

school, there was sincerity but in the religious high school he attended he thought that teachers were like 'let's finish and go'.

All his grades were bad in school because he did not want to go to school but study music all the time. However the school did not have enough resources to support his talent in music. He could not think about his grades when his mind was fully occupied with music.

With music in mind, he took the SBS exam after he finished middle school. He thought he prepared for the exam but could not get high score to be placed to a good high school. Besides, his school choices were under the patronage of his father. Because his father wanted him to enroll religious high school, he had to go there. However, the program in the religious high school was heavy and the courses were difficult. Therefore he dropped out. Then he registered to a Koran course in the public education center and the authorities in the public education center also made them register into OEHS at the end of the course. Through this way they thought the students could both finish their Koran course and be high school graduate at the same time and can work as 'imam'. Therefore without asking to the students they enrolled them to the OEHS.

After he finished his military duty, CTES thought that he was not going to be able to graduate from high school from the 'outside' without attending classes, he needed to enroll the high school from the 'inside'. However, since there was an 18 years old age limit to attend a regular high school, he was too late to register.

Anxiety was the main feeling he told when he was sharing his experiences in OEHS. This process created a constant question mark in his head. He thought, high school should not be finished only by solving tests, it should be much more than that.

Having been not care the school much, after his OEHS experience he called it a regret. Correspondingly he thought high school diploma was a piece of paper.

During his prior school experiences and also after dropping out, there was no other job left that he did not work. Maybe he did not attend school but he worked. He thought there were nothing to do and that it was in his destiny to not to attend school but work. He started working when he was 17 years old and did various jobs until now. He worked as a driver, grill chef in a meatball restaurant, worker in a textile factory and office boy in his father's printing shop. He currently works as a salesperson in a motor factory.

In the future, he wants to leave everything behind and settle in Antalya with one of his friends. He had a high self-confidence and believed in himself that he will do his best in music and become a good musician in YouTube.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study explores the sociocultural background and prior school experiences of students attending the Open Education High School in Turkey which lead them to pursue their education at a distance and how their prior school experiences and the OEHS experiences influenced their engagement to school along with their future life plans and aspirations. By analyzing students' narratives, the study further aims to understand the role of the OEHS in the reproduction of inequalities through different educational tracks and engagement/ disengagement level of students attending.

In this chapter, the researcher deals with the experiences of students attending the OEHS as well as the meaning, the role and function of OEHS for the educational system. The chapter consists of seven sub-headings: summary of the findings, reproduction of inequalities, disengagement of students from education, open education high school as a purgatory between formal or non-formal education, policy implications, limitations and suggestions for further research.

6.1 Summary of the findings

This study was conducted to explore the background characteristics and prior school experiences of students attending the OEHS in Turkey. While examining that, the study further aimed to investigate what lead students to attend to the OEHS and how their experiences influenced their engagement to school and their future life plans and aspirations. Through thematic discourse analysis of the interviews with students, the study further analyzed the role of OEHS in the reproduction of inequalities and the students' engagement to school.

First, the background characteristics of the students revealed that students attending OEHS come from families who have a low level of education and a low socio-economic background. In addition to that female participants reported to experience gender discrimination in their families in terms of their schooling. Finally some of the participants shared that they had conflicts in their families such as divorce and economic difficulties like bankruptcy that had a negative experience in their school lives.

Second, interviews with the participant students revealed that negative school experiences, lack of motivation, truancy, resistance to schooling in the form of deviant behavior, the National High School Exam and the process of generating school choices, the devaluation of schooling and losing belief in education and early school leaving are factors that lead students to attend the OEHS instead of continuing their education in other regular high schools. It should be noted here that these factors influenced students' decision to drop out of school in a continuity in which one leading to the other. To illustrate, when a student has negative experiences at school, this causes him or her to have a lack of motivation, when he or she has a lack of motivation, he or she starts not to go to school and develops resistance to school and also loses faith in schooling which ends up early school leaving.

In addition to the negative prior school experiences of students, the following circumstances are explained to contribute to their decision to continue to the OEHS: a bad start to school, negative school environment, experiences of bullying, adaptation problems because of school change, insufficient resources in school, having low grades and failing classes, attending long distance schools and staying in the dormitory and last but not least difficulties resulting from lack of education in mother tongue.

Third, the reflections of students on what they have experienced in this specific distance education high school track have three main themes. These are reasons to attend the OEHS, their subjective experiences while they are attending and the meanings they attached to the OEHS. The reasons of students for attending to the OEHS are similar to that of their background characteristics and consist of the socio-economic conditions that their family have and in some cases family pressure, obtaining a high school diploma in order to have a better job, obligation in the form of having no other option to go and reasons related to the necessity of education in their specific words “today’s modern world”.

The experiences of students in the OEHS can be categorized under five broad themes. First, their decision making process to attend the OEHS, second their feelings of loneliness, third lack of administrative and educational guidance in OEHS, fourth having limited or no socialization in OEHS and last but not least the system of OEHS leaving an open door for working at an early age.

One of the categories investigating the experiences of students was revealed to be the meaning they attached to the OEHS. The category referring to the meaning participant attached to the OEHS consisted of four subcategories: OEHS as a second chance, OEHS as the easiest way to finish high school, OEHS as a place for the marginalized or excluded students and OEHS as obligation. The detailed version of the subcategories can be observed in Figure 4.

Lastly, the interview findings demonstrated that students either have hopes in despair or do not have any hopes for the future which was recurrently referred in the form of uncertainty.

To conclude, students in the study who choose to continue to the OEHS have various and all valid reasons that push them to attend high school in a distance

education track. Although students did not think that they would continue to high school through distance education when they started their education, both their socio-economic conditions and their negative educational experiences until they came to the OEHS influenced their decisions and convinced them that the OEHS was the best option for them especially as it is providing them of free time for working in a paid job.

6.2 Reproduction of inequalities

Even though OEHS is being proposed as one of the secondary school education tracks using the same curriculum as the regular high schools, the findings of this study demonstrated that the books used and the examination taken were not the same or at least not equal to the books and examinations in the other tracks. The participant students told that the books just include the summaries of the subjects to be studied. This situation is related to the ‘hegemonic curriculum’ that the reproduction theories claim. According to them, the bodies of subjects taught in schools are actually a result of the values that are put forward by the dominant classes. In that sense, not only the subjects taught in the OEHS are not same or equal to or in other words just different than the other tracks, but seen as inferior which in turn leads to the ghettoization of this specific high school in Turkish education system (Giroux, 1983).

Throughout the in-depth interviews, the researcher observed that the participants are having difficulty in expressing themselves and sharing their prior education experiences. Students' inability to express themselves also stems from the linguistic and cultural competences they might have inherited which may also very much bounded to their social classes. Giroux (1983) asserted that there exists a

tendency of students coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds to have difficulty in expressing themselves due to the lack of inherited linguistic and cultural competences.

Another finding of this study was related to the delinquent acts of students in the form of resistance to schooling. Participant students were observed to experience cheating in exams, attending school fights, smoking, escaping from school and beating the teacher. In addition, the participant students were supporting the idea of working in a paid job instead of studying in school because of the fact that they felt gaining nothing at school but they earned money when they preferred to work. This comparison of school as providing nothing with work earning money, at all times led students to prefer working. Correspondingly, Donald (1983) refers to a certain kind of resistance similar to the resistance of Willis (1977)'s lads. Donald (1983) further argues that working-class kids glorify manual labor in favor of literacy. While they glorify the superiority of manual labor on school knowledge, at the same time they practice subversive behavior at school. Even though students' subversive behavior is characterized as a form of resistance, Donald (1983) further puts it that there exists a contradiction in students' acts. Because students' resistant acts to school in favor of school knowledge is in a sense at the cost of losing the possibility of learning literacy which will be critical in the future for their own liberation.

In terms of the future aspirations of the OEHS students, the findings demonstrated that the OEHS students either have hopes that are bound to certain levels of despair or frequently refer to uncertainty when their future aspirations were asked. This can be related to the fact that dominant classes in the society are known to have a certain kind of luxury to make future plans however dispossessed classes and their children often have to make their plans in the captivity of their economic

conditions (Bisseret, 1979). That's why, the students referring to uncertainty in their narratives were observed to be locked into their present conditions of existence and could not make any future plans before they graduate from high school.

In addition to the influence of the internalized dominant ideology, the material conditions of the students were also observed to have an effect on their failures in their prior educational experiences and their choices for their future aspirations.

6.3 Disengagement of students from education

Distance education historically has the aim and potential to engage people in the educational process. However, the students interviewed in this study were more likely disengaging than engaging to education. They explained that education is just a 'means to an end', 'a waste of time they had to lose', 'a bridge they need to pass before they jump into the safe waters of gaining their own money'. This situation is also noted by Rumberger and Lim (2008). They explained that there is a great deal of research showing the likelihood of dropping out of high school is significantly higher when students work for a paid job more than 20 hours a week. In that sense this is related to the present study that most of the participant students were also working in a paid job in their regular school experiences long before they started to attend the OEHS. Correspondingly, according to Dale (2011), when students decide to leave the school early, it is not always a bad, regretted or forced decision for them. Even though studies suggest a relation between early-school leaving and unemployment, in some cases, leaving school early is a motivational factor to find a job and gain income. This is also consistent with the responses of the students attending the OEHS. The students were really proud of working and gaining their own money. The

jobs that students worked in were often low-paid and precarious as they were underage; such as salesperson or cashier, worker in a factory, confectioner, waiter, bellboy, barista, repairman/mechanic, delivery person/ courier, driver, baby-sitter and tutor, joker worker, worker in paddler's trade, plumber, shepherd, security guard, printer/ presser.

The feelings of loneliness throughout the 'being there phase' were clear in the narratives of the OEHS students. The school disengagement warning index included five risk indicators of disengagement from school as standardized test scores, attendance rates, failing one or more subjects, one or more suspensions from school and grade retention (Henry, Knight & Thornberry, 2012). The OEHS students in Turkey are all alone in their secondary school education pathway. Since it is provided as distance education, students do not have attendance rates, suspension or grade retention records or they are not followed or supervised in order to realize that they are failing one or more subjects. Therefore, it would not be wrong to infer that the system in a way masks whether the students attending OEHS in Turkey are at risk of disengaging or drop-out at the worst-case scenario since there is no risk indicators to measure the level of disengagement in this school type.

In addition to above explained situation, young people, who participated in a study, who had a chance to participate in support groups or get supervision for their homework became more engaged with education (Ross, 2016). This finding is very much in line with the situation in the Public Education center in Esenyurt. There was an apparent difference between the engagement level of students in public education center in Esenyurt where the students were provided with some level of academic assistance such as mathematics courses for the university entrance exam and the other PECs where the interviews were conducted.

OEHS students were observed to be engaged to school for the documented reasons however they were disengaged from education since they have lost their beliefs into the returns they were going to get if they get a proper education. The students were able to compare and contrast their prior learning experiences in a regular school with their OEHS educational experiences.

When they do this comparison, most of the time the alternative distance education experience outweighs the previous regular educational experiences in terms of time and returns. They didn't find regular education as worthy as the alternative distance education when time spent and little returns gained were taken into account. This finding is also consisted with Lloyd-Jones, Bowen, Holtom, Griffin and Sims (2010)'s study.

Even though the students were engaged to school up to a point during their regular school years, the National High School Exam was a determinant factor in the early school leaving and attending OEHS according to the narratives of the students. According to the literature, students who dropped out of school eventually, began what is called "teetering" in high school while they had their primary school years rather smoothly (Lessard et. al., 2008, pp.38). However, what is not apparent in the literature is the fact that 'the final failure' or what may be called as 'the point of giving up' for the students of OEHS was their perceived failure in the high school entrance exam. That's why, even though the students in OEHS didn't drop out of school but they lost their beliefs in the regular education system, they sought for "easier" ways to complete their secondary education.

There was also a clear difference between the engagement levels of students who are under 18 and over 18. For the students who are over the age of 18, the OEHS is a structure that provides them with a second chance to continue their

education. That's why, they are pleased to continue their education at a distance even though they stated that they found it very hard to go through the education process all alone.

According to Dale (2011), it is critical to find out why the students left the school early in the regular education system in the first place in order to make them fully utilize the second chance they are provided with. Raymond (2008) explains that the probability of returning to second chance education options for the students whose act of dropping out was a consequence of short term personal or life course reasons are higher than the other reasons.

Student engagement scales generally focus on the engagement level of students in online learning classes by measuring the engagement of students with their peers, with their instructors and with the content in general in online learning environments (Dixson, 2015; Everett, 2015). There is no online face to face learning provision in the OEHS in Turkey. This makes the measurement of student engagement even harder for young people attending OEHS in Turkey. Finally, the OEHS students were not found to be aspirational in terms of their future plans. They either stated that they are going to decide after they got their high school diploma, or they thought their plans were uncertain for now. This contrasts in part with the findings in the research literature (Baird et. al., 2011). According to the literature, the students who are known to be disengaged from education also thought that education was valuable and necessary for continuing higher education and getting a job. However, the OEHS students found regular education meaningless and waste of time. On the other hand the idea of education as a 'necessary evil' which takes students to somewhere better than now, which is a means to an end and some

kind of education was required to get the qualifications they need corroborates with the existing research literature (Baird et al., 2011, pp.149).

6.4 Open education high School: an opportunity, or a track in purgatory?

As it was explained at the background chapter of this thesis, OEHS is a form of distance education and distance education has the promise of providing equal chances for every individual. Starting from the early correspondence education to the virtual learning environments of today's, the main aim of distance education has been the ensuring of equal opportunities for a quality education for all (Demiray & İşman, 2014). Correspondingly, distance education mainly works for the reengagement of the drop-out students into the educational system. However, the findings of the present study suggested that the practice of OEHS in Turkey is far from providing equal and quality education for all. Let alone providing equal and quality education for all, the students participated in the study explained that they lost their beliefs in education and became disengaged from school.

Another critical point is that all the definitions of distance education refer to a common point of the separation of teacher and learner. The separation of teacher and students from each other is one of the common basic features of distance education (Keegan, 1996). As far as the OEHS is concerned, the findings indicated that this specific process of distance education tracking consists of the absence of teachers rather than a material separation. This in turn influences the learning process of students. Since the students were used to learn with the guidance of a teacher figure during their prior regular school experiences, they had difficulty in getting used to the process of distance education. Moreover, even though some of the students told that

they could pass their exams by studying alone, they stated that they prefer the presence of a teacher that they can consult when they need it.

Even the early definitions of distance education refer to the existence and necessity of occasional meetings with the teachers within the distance education process. This is not realized in the OEHS, since it does not have such a provision for more than 1 million registered students.

Even though virtual schools movement in the USA had a long historical development process until the foundation of fully online K-12 distance education programs, Clark (2013) points out that states should be cautioned to avoid ‘making online learning a new form of tracking’. Online learning can be utilized by the schools to help students whose performance is low and need a catch-up. Even in such a case, a comprehensive support and supervision system is required for those learners which can only be succeeded by blended learning opportunities with the local schools. However, when the OEHS in Turkey is concerned, the lack of supervision for students both in their courses and about their schooling processes makes it impossible for them to get a proper education.

6.5 Policy Recommendations

The findings of the study demonstrated that there is a vital need for a more complex policy arena in which the governments must consider the issue of disengagement/engagement issue beyond the formal contexts of schools and classrooms since student engagement is not resolved by creating a choice of distance education high school track as part of the formal education system and pushing young people attending to those schools alone in their pathways. The governments should address

the issue of disengagement by also taking into account the young people who attend OEHS as well as those who are not in education, training or employment.

It is critical not to miss out the students who are unmotivated or at risk of disengaging by providing a better quality of education for all. In this respect, both the formal and distance learning provisions must identify and provide motivational supervision periodically (Sundar & Kumar, 2015).

6.6 Limitations

The limitations of the study are specified as follows:

1. One of the limitations was the sample selection process. Because of the fact that the students not being settled in a specific time and place it was very difficult to reach to students. In addition to that, the data had to be collected in the registration period of the OEHS, since it was the only time to reach the students. However, this process also was observed to decrease the motivation of some students to participate in the research and acted as a limitation for the research.
2. The present study was conducted through the interviews with students attending only the OEHS. However, there are also thousands of students attending open vocational and technical high schools, religious high schools and also open middle schools.
3. Even though eight participants who migrated to İstanbul from different cities of Turkey were also included in the study, participants were selected only from İstanbul.

6.7 Suggestions for further Research

Throughout the study, lack of statistical data in the field of distance education in general and about the OEHS in particular made it difficult to reach the participants and also make a thorough analysis about the structuring of OEHS. Further studies to increase the statistical data in the field of OEHS have utmost importance in order to increase the engagement of students to education and improve the conditions of the students attending those schools.

In addition to that further studies can be conducted to include students attending open vocational and technical high schools, open religious high schools and also open middle schools for making sense of their experiences and comparing those experiences with the students attending OEHS. Furthermore, studies can be conducted to explore gender-based, district-based and class-based differences in the experiences of OEHS students.

The findings of the study were built in a way that presented a common path that students attending OEHS were almost had no choice but to follow. In this respect further longitudinal and follow-up studies would be both necessary and effective to explore whether those students who still had hope about their future had a chance to realize their plans and dreams.

Similar studies in the other cities of Turkey, even with larger sample sizes and utilizing both quantitative and qualitative research methods would also be meaningful and valuable.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT INTERVIEW FORM (TURKISH VERSION)

Türkiye’de Açık Öğretim Lisesi Öğrenci Görüşme Formu

A. Başlama Soruları

- 1- Nasılsın? Hayat nasıl gidiyor?
- 2- Neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsın?

B. Görüşme Soruları

I.Öğrencinin Geçmiş Eğitim Deneyimleri

1- Eğitim hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz?

a. Anaokulu

- i. Anaokuluna gittiniz mi?
- ii. Gitmediyseniz neden?
- iii. Evet ise anaokulu sizin için nasıl bir yerdi? Okulu seviyor muydunuz? Evet ise sevdiğiniz yanları nelerdi? Hayır ise neden?
- iv. Öğretmenlerinizle ilişkiniz nasıldı?
- v. Arkadaşlarınızla ilişkiniz nasıldı?
- vi. Bu eğitim dönemi ile ilgili anlatmak istediğiniz başka deneyimleriniz var mı?

b. İlkokul

- i. İlkokul sizin için nasıl bir yerdi? Okulu seviyor muydunuz? Evet ise sevdiğiniz yanları nelerdi? Hayır ise neden?
- ii. Kendinizi derslerinizde başarılı buluyor muydunuz? Hayır ise neden? Şube öğretmenler kurulu kararı ile sınıf geçtiğiniz oldu mu?
- iii. Öğretmenlerinizle ilişkiniz nasıldı? Hiç bir öğretmeninizle olumlu/ olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?
- iv. Arkadaşlarınızla ilişkiniz nasıldı? Birlikte yapmayı en sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdi? Arkadaşlarınızla olumlu/olumsuz deneyimleriniz oldu mu?
- v. Okul idaresinin genel olarak tutumu nasıldı? Okul idaresi ile olumlu/olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?

vi. Bu eğitim dönemi ile ilgili anlatmak istediğiniz başka deneyimleriniz var mı?

c. Ortaokul

- i. Ortaokul sizin için nasıl bir yerdi? Okulu seviyor muydunuz? Evet ise sevdiğiniz yanları nelerdi? Hayır ise neden?
- ii. Kendinizi derslerinizde başarılı buluyor muydunuz? Hayır ise neden? Şube öğretmenler kurulu kararı ile sınıf geçtiğiniz oldu mu?
- iii. Öğretmenlerinizle ilişkiniz nasıldı? Hiç bir öğretmeninizle olumlu/olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?
- iv. Arkadaşlarınızla ilişkiniz nasıldı? Birlikte yapmayı en sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdi? Arkadaşlarınızla olumlu/olumsuz deneyimleriniz oldu mu?
- v. Okul idaresinin genel olarak tutumu nasıldı? Okul idaresi ile olumlu/olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?
- vi. Bu eğitim dönemi ile ilgili anlatmak istediğiniz başka deneyimleriniz var mı?

d. Lise (Açık lise öncesinde başka bir liseye başlayıp bıraktıysa)

- i. Lise sizin için nasıl bir yerdi? Okulu seviyor muydunuz? Evet ise sevdiğiniz yanları nelerdi? Hayır ise neden?
- ii. Kendinizi derslerinizde başarılı buluyor muydunuz? Hayır ise neden? Şube öğretmenler kurulu kararı ile sınıf geçtiğiniz oldu mu?
- iii. Öğretmenlerinizle ilişkiniz nasıldı? Hiç bir öğretmeninizle olumlu/olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?
- iv. Arkadaşlarınızla ilişkiniz nasıldı? Birlikte yapmayı en sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdi? Arkadaşlarınızla olumlu/olumsuz deneyimleriniz oldu mu?
- v. Okul idaresinin genel olarak tutumu nasıldı? Okul idaresi ile olumlu/olumsuz bir deneyim yaşadınız mı?
- vi. Bu eğitim dönemi ile ilgili anlatmak istediğiniz başka deneyimleriniz var mı?

- 2- Lise için sınavlara hazırlandınız mı? Ortaöğretime geçiş sınavı sizce nasıl bir sınavdı?
- (Evet ise) Nasıl hazırlandınız? Neler yaptınız? Dershaneye gittiniz mi? Bir öğretmeniz, aile veya akrabanızdan yardım aldınız mı?
 - (Hayır ise) Neden?
- 3- Lise tercihleriniz nelerdi?
- Tercihlerinizi neye göre yaptınız?
 - Seçiminizi etkileyen faktörler nelerdir?
 - (Kendi isteği ile seçmediyse) hangi tür liseyi seçmek isterdiniz?
- 4- Diğer lise türleri (açık olmayan) yerine açık liseyi tercih etme nedenleriniz nelerdi ve bu kararı alma sürecinizde neler yaşadınız?
- Kararsız kaldığınız oldu mu?
 - Ailenizin bu konudaki tavrı ve tutumu nasıldı?
 - Bu kararına karşı çıkanlar oldu mu? Olduysa neden?
 - Sonuçta kim karar verdi? (Kendisi, anne, baba, abi, abla, öğretmen, müdür vs.)
 - Açık meslek lisesini tercih etmeyi de düşündünüz mü? Açık meslek liseleri ile ilgili düşünceleriniz neler? Giden arkadaşlarınız var mı?

II. Öğrencilerin Açık Lise Deneyimleri

- 5- Açık lise eğitimini bana anlatır mısınız? Nasıl bir eğitim olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- Açık lisenin diğer liselerden (açık olmayan) farkı var mı? Varsa olumlu tarafları neler, olumsuz tarafları neler?
 - Derslerinize nasıl çalışıyorsunuz? Sınavlara nasıl hazırlanıyorsunuz? Sınav dönemleriniz nasıl geçiyor?
 - Ücretli veya ücretsiz özel ders alıyor musunuz? Dersleriniz ve sınavlarınız ile ilgili size destek olan birileri var mı?
 - Diğer liseler (açık olmayan) ile kıyasladığınızda daha kolay veya daha zor bulduğunuz yanları neler?
 - Açık lisedeki sisteme (kayıt yenileme, internet erişimi, bilgi alma, ders materyali edinme ve bunun gibi konulara) ilişkin yardıma ihtiyacınız olduğunda neler yaparsınız? Bunlar gibi aklınıza gelen zorluk

çektığınız başka konular var mı? İstedığınız bilgiye zamanında ve istediğiniz şekilde yanıt alabiliyor musunuz? Zorluk çektığınız oldu mu?

- f. Eğitim süreci ile ilgili güncel bilgileri nasıl ediniyorsunuz? AOL websitesi, sosyal medya hesapları ya da farklı sosyal medya grupları eğitim süreçleri ile ilgili bilgi veriyor mu?
- g. Açık lisede edindiğiniz arkadaşlarınız var mı? Onlarla paylaşımda bulunuyor musunuz?

6- Açık lise size ne ifade ediyor?

- a. Açık lise kendinizi geliştirebileceğiniz bir yer mi?
- b. Lise diploması alıyor olmak bu okulu seçiminizde önemli bir faktör müydü?

7- Günlük hayatta neler yapıyorsunuz?

- a. Ders çalışıyor musunuz?
- b. Maddi gelir getiren bir işte çalışıyor musunuz? Tam zamanlı bir iş mi? Yarı zamanlı bir iş mi? Bu işte çalışmak size ne ifade ediyor? Çalışmanızın altında yatan motivasyon nedir?
- c. Geriye kalan zamanlarınızda neler yapıyorsunuz?

II. Öğrencinin Geleceğe Dair Beklentileri

8- Gelecekte ne olmak istiyorsun? Ne olmak istemiyorsun?

- a. Bu düşüncelerin zamanla değişti mi? Değiştiyse nasıl?

9- Beş yıl içerisinde kendini nerede görüyorsun?

C. Kişisel Bilgiler

1- Cinsiyetiniz:

- Kadın Erkek Diğer

2- Yaşınız:

- 3- Hanenizde kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz? Bu kişiler kimler?
- a. Anne: Eğitim düzeyi: Meslek:
- b. Baba: Eğitim düzeyi: Meslek:
- c. Kaç kardeşsiniz? (Eğer varsa)Kardeşlerinizin:
- i. Cinsiyet: Yaş: Eğitim durumu:
- d. Siz kaçınıcı kardeşsiniz?
- 4- Nerede oturuyorsunuz (ilçe/sem)?
- 5- Oturduğunuz ev;
- Kendimizin: Kira: Lojman: Diğer:
- 6- Ailenizin aylık geliri:
- 7- Çocukluğunuzu düşündüğünüzde yaşadığınız evi nasıl tanımlardınız?
- a. Kendi odanız var mıydı?
- b. Sizin okul kitaplarınız hariç kitaplar var mıydı?
- 8- Türkçe dışında başka bir dil biliyor musunuz? Cevabınız evet ise hangi diller olduğunu belirtiniz?
- 9- Okul dışında bir maddi gelir elde etmek için çalışıyor musunuz?
- a. (Evet ise) ne iş yapıyorsunuz? Haftada kaç gün ve kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz? Bu işten ne kadar gelir elde ediyorsunuz?
- b. Daha önce çalıştığınız birden fazla yer var ise tarihleri ve çalışma süreleri ile belirtiniz.
- İşin adı: Çalışma tarihi: Çalışma süresi
(gün/saat):

APPENDIX B

STUDENT INTERVIEW FORM (ENGLISH VERSION)

A. General Warm-up Questions

- 1- How are you? How is life going?
- 2- What do you like doing?

B. Interview Questions

I. Prior Educational Experiences of the Student

- 1- Can you tell me about your prior educational experiences?

a. Kindergarten

- i. Did you attend kindergarten?
- ii. If not, why?
- iii. If yes, how was your kindergarten experience? Did you like it?
- iv. How was your relationship with your teachers?
- v. How was your relationship with your friends?
- vi. Is there anything else you want to add?

b. Primary School

- i. How was your primary school experience? Did you like it? If yes, what did you like? If no, why?
- ii. Did you find yourself successful in your classes? If no, why? Have you ever pass with teachers' council?
- iii. How was your relationship with your teachers? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your teachers?
- iv. How was your relationship with your friends? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your friends?
- v. How was the attitude of the school administration? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with the school administration?
- vi. Is there anything else you want to add?

c. Middle School

- i. How was your middle school experience? Did you like it? If yes, what did you like? If no, why?

- ii. Did you find yourself successful in your classes? If no, why?
Have you ever pass with teachers' council?
 - iii. How was your relationship with your teachers? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your teachers?
 - iv. How was your relationship with your friends? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your friends?
 - v. How was the attitude of the school administration? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with the school administration?
 - vi. Is there anything else you want to add?
 - d. High School (If he/she attended any other high school before OEHS)
 - i. How was your high school experience? Did you like it? If yes, what did you like? If no, why?
 - ii. Did you find yourself successful in your classes? If no, why?
Have you ever pass with teachers' council?
 - iii. How was your relationship with your teachers? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your teachers?
 - iv. How was your relationship with your friends? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with your friends?
 - v. How was the attitude of the school administration? Have you ever had a positive/negative experience with the school administration?
 - vi. Is there anything else you want to add?
- 2- How was your preparation for the high school entrance exam? How was the national exam?
 - a. How did you study? (Any experience with tutors, older sisters/brothers or relatives, private courses)
 - b. If no, why?
- 3- How was your preferences after the exam?
 - a. How did you do your preferences?
 - b. Are there any factors affecting your preferences?
 - c. If had any chance, what kind of high school would you want to go?
- 4- What were the reasons of choosing OEHS over the other kinds of high schools? How was this decision making process?

- a. Have you ever hesitate?
- b. How was the attitudes of your parents about your decision?
- c. Were there anybody opposing your decision? If so, why?
- d. Whose decision was applied at the end? (Himself/herself, mother, father, brother/sister, teachers, the administrator etc.)
- e. Have you ever thought of choosing open vocational and technical high school? What do you think of them? Do you have any friends who are attending those schools?

II. The OEHS Experiences of the Student

- 5- Could you please tell me about your experiences in OEHS? What do you think about the education here?
- a. How do you think it is different from other types of high schools? (Positive or negative aspects? Or Easy or difficult aspects?)
 - b. How do you study your courses/modules? How do you get prepared for the exams? How is the exam process?
 - c. Do you get paid or voluntary tutoring from anyone? Is there anybody supporting you while studying your courses?
 - d. Compared to regular high schools what do you find easy or difficult in OEHS?
 - e. What do you do when you need information about the system/structure of OEHS? (registration, renewal of records, getting information, getting course materials, online access) Is there anything else you have difficulty that you want to tell? Do you get in time assistance when you need? Have you ever had difficulty in getting help?
 - f. How do you get updated information about your education process? Does the website of OEHS or any social media groups provide sufficient information?
 - g. How is friendship with your peers in OEHS?
- 6- What does OEHS mean for you?
- a. Is it a place to improve yourself?

- b. Was getting a high school diploma an important factor in your high school decision

- 7- What do you do in your daily life?
 - a. Do you study your courses?
 - b. Do you work in a paid job? Is it full time or part-time? What does it mean for you to be employed? What is your motivation to work?
 - c. What do you do in your spare time?

II. Future aspirations of the student

- 8- What would you like to become in the future? / What would you not like to become?
 - a. Did it change over time? If so why?
- 9- Where would you see yourself in five years' time?

C. Demographic Information

1- Sex:

Female Male Other/Not Specified

2- Age:

3- How many people lives in your house? Who are those people?

a. Mother: Education level: Occupation:

b. Father: Education level: Occupation:

c. Do you have any sisters/brothers? (if applicable) Sisters/Brothers:

i. Sex: Age: Education level:

d. What is your rank among your siblings?

4- Where do you live? (County/Town)

5- Your house;

Own: Rental: Public Housing: Other:

6- Monthly income of the family:

7- How do you describe your house when you think of your childhood?

a. Do you have a private room?

b. Were there any books or bookshelves in your house?

8- What is your primary spoken language? Do you know any other languages?

9- Do you work out of school hours?

a. (If yes) Where do you work? How many hours do you work in a week?

How much do you earn from that work?

b. If you work in any other work places before, can you please specify those employment experiences?

	Occupation:	Date:	How many hours
(day/hour):			

APPENDIX C

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTIONAL
EVALUATION COMMITTEE APPROVAL

T.C.
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu

Sayı: 2016/16

14 Haziran 2016

Zeynep Özdoğan
Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü,
Eğitim Fakültesi

Sayın Araştırmacı,

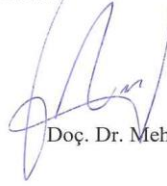
“Open Educational High Schools in Turkey: An Educational Track in Purgatory” başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2016/18 sayılı başvuruya ilişkin 12 Haziran 2016 tarihinde teslim ettiğiniz revize edilmiş başvuru ve formlar İNAREK/SBB Etik Alt Kurulu tarafından 14 Haziran 2016 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Saygılarımızla,

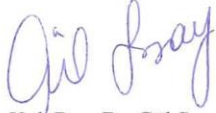
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu



Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya



Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal



Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gül Sosay

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet Nafi Artemel



Dr. Nur Yeniçeri



APPENDIX D

APPROVAL ATTAINED BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



T.C.
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 59090411-44-E.8789400
Konu: Anket Araştırma İzni

17.08.2016

BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ
(Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümüne)

- İlgi: a) 10.08.2016 tarih ve 182 sayılı yazınız.
b) Valilik Makamının 16.08.2016 tarih ve 8736566 sayılı oluru.

Üniversiteniz Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü doktora programı öğrencisi Zeynep ÖZDOĞAN'ın "Türkiye'de Açık Öğretim Liseleri ve Bu Liselere kayıtlı Öğrencilerin Deneyimleri" konulu tezi hakkındaki ilgi (a) yazınız ilgi (b) valilik onayı ile uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinizi ve araştırmacının söz konusu talebi; bilimsel amaç dışında kullanmaması, uygulama sırasında bir örneği müdürlüğümüzde muhafaza edilen mühürlü ve imzalı veri toplama araçlarının uygulanması, katılımcıların gönüllülük esasına göre seçilmesi, araştırma sonuç raporunun müdürlüğümüzden izin alınmadan kamuoyuyla paylaşılmaması koşuluyla, gerekli duyurunun araştırmacı tarafından yapılması, okul idarecilerinin denetim, gözetim ve sorumluluğunda, eğitim -öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde ilgi (b) Valilik Onayı doğrultusunda uygulanması ve işlem bittikten sonra 2 (iki) hafta içinde sonuçtan Müdürlüğümüz Strateji Geliştirme Bölümüne rapor halinde bilgi verilmesini arz ederim.

Harun TÜYSÜZ
Müdür a.
Müdür Yardımcısı

EK:1- Valilik Onayı
2- Ölçekler ve Liste

Elektronik İmzalı Aşıl Sisteminde Mühürlü	
Adı Soyadı:	Harun TÜYSÜZ
Ünvanı:	
Tarih:	18.08.2016
İmza:	

İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü Binbirdirek M. İmran Öktem Cad.
No:1 Eski Adliye Binası Sultanahmet Fatih/İstanbul
E-Posta: sgb34@meb.gov.tr

A. BALTA VHKİ
Tel: (0 212) 455 04 00-239
Faks: (0 212)455 06 52

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. <http://evraksorgu.meb.gov.tr> adresinden f3d6-171b-347e-878f-1c1f kodu ile teyit edilebilir.



T.C.
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 59090411-20-E.8736566

16/08/2016

Konu: Anket ve Araştırma İzin Talebi

VALİLİK MAKAMINA

- İlgi: a) Boğaziçi Üniversitesinin 10.08.2016 tarih ve 182 sayılı yazısı.
b) MEB. Yen. ve Eğ. Tek. Gn Md. 07.03.2012 tarih ve 3616 sayılı 2012/13 nolu gen.
c) Millî Eğitim Araştırma ve Anket Komisyonunun 15.08.2016 tarihli tutanağı.

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü doktora programı öğrencisi Zeynep ÖZDOĞAN'ın "Türkiye'de Açık Öğretim Liseleri ve Bu Liselere kayıtlı Öğrencilerin Deneyimleri" konulu tezi kapsamında, ilimiz genelinde bulunan Halk Eğitimi Merkezlerinde öğrenim gören açık öğretim liseleri öğrencilerine; görüşme soru formu ve anket formunu uygulama istemi hakkındaki ilgi (a) yazı ve ekleri Müdürlüğümüzce incelenmiştir.

Araştırmacının söz konusu talebi bilimsel amaç dışında kullanmaması, uygulama sırasında bir örneği müdürlüğümüzde muhafaza edilen mühürlü ve imzalı veri toplama araçlarının uygulanması, katılımcıların gönüllülük esasına göre seçilmesi, araştırma sonuç raporunun müdürlüğümüzden izin alınmadan kamuoyuyla paylaşılmaması koşuluyla, okul idarecilerinin denetim, gözetim ve sorumluluğunda, eğitim -öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde ilgi (b) Bakanlık emri esasları dâhilinde uygulanması, sonuçtan Müdürlüğümüze rapor halinde (CD formatında) bilgi verilmesi kaydıyla Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmektedir.

Makamlarınızca da uygun görülmesi halinde olurlarınıza arz ederim.

Ömer Faruk YELKENCİ
Millî Eğitim Müdürü

OLUR
16/08/2016

Ahmet Hamdi USTA
Vali a.
Vali Yardımcısı

- Ek:1- Genelge
2- Komisyon Tutanağı

İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü Binbirdirek M. İmran Öktem Cad.
No:1 Eski Adliye Binası Sultanahmet Fatih/İstanbul
E-Posta: sgb34@meb.gov.tr

A. BALTA VHKİ
Tel: (0 212) 455 04 00-239
Faks: (0 212)455 06 52

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. <http://evraksorgu.meb.gov.tr> adresinden c15f-826f-3ca5-b0bf-4d2f kodu ile teyit edilebilir.

APPENDIX E

DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE PILOT INTERVIEWS

Pilot Interview 1

The first participant was a seventeen years old female student living in İzmir. In terms of her educational background, she didn't attend kindergarten but attended a public primary school in 2006 and graduated in 2014. Her school was close to her house. She didn't register any type of high school before the Open Education High School but directly registered to open education high school after graduating lower secondary school. She lives together with her father, mother and older brother in their own house. Her father graduated from lower secondary school and works as a driver, her mother is a primary school graduate and she is a housewife and her older brother has dropped out of high school and will also plan to be registered in the open education high school in the next semester. Their monthly family income is around 2000 TL. She never had her own room in their house but shared it with her older brother. There was no library or even a bookshelf in their house. She only had her school books and a few test books to study for the high school entrance exam. She didn't know any foreign language, but just a little English from the lower secondary school but that's it as she stated. She didn't work now because she attended a hairdressing course in the public education center. However, she worked in so many hairdressers as an apprentice since she was 12 which were mostly in summer holidays. She worked 6 days a week and get 1 day off and earned 80 TL for a week at most.

Pilot Interview 2

The second participant for the pilot study was also a female student from İzmir who was seventeen years old. She didn't attend kindergarten either. However, she attended a public primary school in 2005 and graduated in 2013. Her school was close to her house. She first registered into a regular high school and attended there for three years before leaving this school and attending OEHS. She lived together with her father, mother and younger brother in their own house. Her father graduated from primary school and worked as a driver, her mother was a primary school graduate and she was a housewife and her younger brother attended the first grade of his lower secondary education. Their monthly family income was around 2000 TL. She had her own room but there was no library or even a bookshelf in their house. She didn't know any foreign language but just a little English. She didn't work and her only working experience was one week in a meatball shop. She worked 7 days of the week and earned 40 TL for a week.

Pilot Interview 3

The third pilot interview was with a seventeen years old male student from İzmir. He didn't attend kindergarten either but attended a public primary school in 2005 and graduated in 2013. His school was close to his house. He first registered into an Industrial and Vocational High School and attended there for one year but couldn't pass to the second grade because of absenteeism. He then registered to OEHS. He lived together with his father, mother and older brother and his wife in their own house. Her father graduated from primary school and works as a worker in aluminum joinery, her mother was a primary school graduate and a housewife and her older brother dropped out of high school and worked in jalousie making and was married.

They lived altogether in the same house. Their monthly family income was around 2000 TL. He never had his own room in their house but shared it with his older brother. There was a bookshelf in their house however, he didn't like reading. He didn't know any foreign language. After dropping out of formal education he worked in so many places while attending OEHS at the same time. He worked as a salesperson in a shop which sold bridal gowns, as an apprentice with an electrician and as a worker in the automobile industry. He worked 6 days a week and get 1 day off between 8 am and 6 pm and earned 200TL for a week at most. He was about to enter a new job at the time of the interview.

Pilot Interview 4

The last pilot interview was with a male student from İstanbul. He was seventeen as well. He attended kindergarten and registered to a public primary school in 2005 and graduated in 2010. This primary school was close to his home. He changed his school in this year and attended lower secondary school in another district far from his home. He was taking her mother's work shuttle bus to go to school. He first registered into a Vocational and Technical High School after the high school entrance exam and attended this school for one and a half year. It was 2 hours far from his house. Then he left this school to attend to OEHS. He lived together with his mother. Her father graduated from tourism high school and works in his own catering business, his mother was a health high school graduate and she worked as a nurse. Their monthly family income was around 4000 TL. He had his own room in their house but there was no bookshelf in their house however he talked about a wooden bookshelf that he constructed for himself. He didn't know any foreign language but just a little English from the lower secondary school. After dropping

out of formal education he started to work as a waiter in his father's catering business. He was working 5 days a week between 9 am and 5 pm and getting the weekend off at the time of the interview. Moreover, he was earning the minimum wage in Turkey which was 1300 TL monthly.

APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM (IN TURKISH)

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Türkiye’de Açık Öğretim Lisesi: Arafta Bir Eğitim Sistemi

Proje Yürütücüsü: Zeynep Özdoğan, Yrd. Doç Dr. Ayşe Caner, Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök

E-mail adresi: caner@boun.edu.tr , gokf@boun.edu.tr

Telefonu: 0212 359 4615, 0212 359 4469

Araştırmacının adı: Zeynep Özdoğan

E-mail adresi: zeynepozdogan88@gmail.com

Telefonu: 0212 359 6474

Proje konusu: Bu araştırma Türkiye’de açık lisede okuyan öğrencilerin eğitim deneyimlerini anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

Bu araştırma, Türkiye’de açık lisede okuyan öğrencilerin eğitim deneyimlerini incelemek amaçlı yapılmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında bir okul olarak açık lisenin işleyişine ve açık liseye devam eden öğrencilerin kendi okulları hakkındaki düşüncelerine ulaşmak hedeflenmektedir. Araştırma, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Zeynep Özdoğan tarafından, Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök ve Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ayşe Caner’in eşdanişmanlığında yürütülmektedir.

Çalışmaya katılım gönüllülük esasına dayalı olup, görüşme sırasında istediğiniz zaman araştırmayı sonlandırma hakkına sahipsiniz. Görüşmeyi sonlandırdığımızda verdiğiniz tüm bilgiler imha edilecektir. Veriler anonim olarak toplanmaktadır ve vermiş olduğunuz bilgiler tamamen gizli tutulacaktır.

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde araştırmacı tarafından size yöneltilen demografik bilgi ve görüşme sorularını cevaplamanız beklenmektedir.

Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Sizden ücret talep etmiyoruz. Çalışma sonucunda sizlere herhangi bir ücret ödenmeyecek yalnızca çalışmaya katıldığımız için Boğaziçi Üniversitesi fincanı hediye edilecektir.

Yapmak istediğimiz araştırmanın size risk getirmesi beklenmemektedir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışma ile ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Araştırma sırasında bir sorunuz olursa Zeynep Özdoğan’a danışabilirsiniz. Daha sonra araştırmaya dair bir sorunuz olduğunda Zeynep Özdoğan’a (Ofis Telefon: 0212 359 68 33) telefon ile ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda

“Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu’na”
(İNAREK- 0212 359 75 62) danışabilirsiniz.

Adres ve telefon numaranız değişirse, bize haber vermenizi rica ederiz.

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir örneğini aldım.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Telefon No:

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Katılımcının VELİSİNİN Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Telefon No:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

APPENDIX G

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM (IN ENGLISH)

Supporting Institution of the Study: Boğaziçi University

Name of the Study: Open Educational High School in Turkey: An Educational Track in Purgatory

Project Coordinator: Zeynep Özdoğan, Asst. Prof. Ayşe Caner, Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök

E-mail address: caner@boun.edu.tr, gokf@boun.edu.tr

Phone: 0212 359 4615, 0212 359 4469

Name of the researcher: Zeynep Özdoğan

E-mail address: zeynepozdogan88@gmail.com

Phone: 0212 359 6474

Subject of the study: This study examines the educational experience of students studying in Open Education High School in Turkey.

This study will be conducted to explore the educational experience of students attending Open Education High School in Turkey. In this study, the aim is to explore the functioning of open high schools as a school, and the opinions of students attending open education high school about their experiences of schooling. The study will be conducted by Zeynep Özdoğan, Doctoral student of Educational Sciences Department in Boğaziçi University, under the co-advising of Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök and Asst. Prof. Ayşe Caner.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any point. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all information you provide will be destroyed. Data will be collected anonymously and the information you provide will be kept completely confidential.

If you agree to participate in the study, you are expected to answer the demographic information and interview questions you will be asked by the researcher.

Your participation in the study is entirely optional. We do not charge you. As a result of the study, you will not be paid any fee, but you will be given a Boğaziçi University cup for participating in the study.

The study we want to conduct is not expected to bring you any risk.

Before signing this form, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to ask. You can also consult to Zeynep Özdoğan during the study. If you have any questions regarding the study after the interview you can reach to and contact Zeynep Özdoğan with the phone number 0212 359 68 33. If you have any questions about the research. You may consult “Boğaziçi University Human Research Institutional Evaluation Board” (İNAREK- 0212 359 75 62) for your rights regarding the research.

If you change your address or phone number, please let us know.

I understood what I was told and what was written above. I took a sample of this form.

I agree to participate in the study.

Participant Name-Surname:

Signature:

Phone number:

Date (day / month / year): / /

Name and Surname of the PARENT of the Participant:

Signature:

Phone number:

Date (day / month / year): / /

APPENDIX H

NARRATIVES IN TURKISH

5.1 Background factors influencing the educational journey of the students

1. Anaokuluna gitmedim. Köyde büyüdüm ben. 3 yıldır İstanbul'a gelmişim. İşte ilkokulu köyde okudum. Baya bir sıkıntılar çektik çok. Yani kitap alamayacak durumdaydık. İşte bütün her şey hocalar tarafından veriliyordu bize. Biz tabii bu destekten çok memnun oluyorduk. Öyle bir eğitim aldık, güzel bir başarımız oldu. Ortaokula geçtik. Ortaokulda birçok sıkıntılar oldu.

...

Ben 2017 yılında herhangi bir liseye gittim, kayıt oldum. Aile tarafından çok sıkıntılar yaşadık. Kredi borcumuz vardı; ev almıştık, onu ödeyemiyorduk. Yeniden okulu bıraktım. Bu sefer Açıköğretim'den yine okuyordum. O kaydımı sildim. Bu sefer okulu yeniden bıraktım. Gittim yine çalışmaya ve kaydımı dondurdum. Ondan sonra ailem dedi ki, 'Bu yıl da çalış' dedi. 'Seneye senin eğitime daha bir destek vereceğiz' dedi. 'Bu yıl çalış, sana gelecek sene daha bir avantajlar vereceğiz.' Ben de sıkıntıdan dolayı kabul ettim.

...

Ben Açıköğretim'i 1 yıl okudum, örgüne geçmek istedim yine. Örgüne geçerken ailem bırakmadı. Dedi ki, 'Çalışman gerekiyor. Böyle bir sıkıntı var.' dedi. (CTES, 17)

2. Anaokuluna gitmedim. 1. sınıftan başladım direkt. İyi, güzeldi. Hiç sorunlu geçmedi zaten. Lise 1, lise 2'yi normal okudum. Lise 3'te bırakmak zorunda kaldım, kardeşim oldu. Üç kardeşiz, dördüncü daha kardeşim oldu. Ona bakacak kimse olmadığı için ben okulu bırakmak zorunda kaldım, annem çalışmak zorunda kaldı. Annem bana sordu, kendi fikrimi aldı, zorlamadı tabii ki. Ben de fedakarlık yapmak için bıraktım.

...

Bir tek ailem vardı. Zaten herkes çekilmişti yani. Herkes kenara çekildi. Aslında onlar da almak istemiyordu ama mecbur kaldılar. Çünkü 4 kardeşiz. Yani geçim zor olduğu için mecbur kaldılar. En büyükleri de benim, bir de tek kızım ben. Bir tek babaannem 'alın' dedi. 'Alın' dedi. Başka kimse demedi. (İMEY, 18)

3. Haylazlık işte. Yani bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorduk genelde. İşte çoğumuz meslek sahibi oldu. Kimimiz öğretmen kimimiz şey. Ben de okuyamadım para, maddi durumumuz olmadığı için. Kaynakçı falan oldum. Hala (aynı) meslek üzerine çalışıyorum. Öyle. Okumak isteyip polis olmak istedim ama olmadı.

...

Zeynep: 1. sene değiştirdikten sonra bir daha okul değiştirmediniz?
ERES: Yok. İl 1. sene işte, 1. sınıfa giderken başka bir şeye gittik, ilçeye. Mecbur kaldık, parasızlık yani. Bir yere gittik.

...

Bırakma kararımız şöyle: Köyde bir ahşap evimiz vardı, o yandı. Parasız kaldık. Ev yapacaktık. Evi yapamadık diye ben kaynakçı oldum işte, mesleği seçtik. O günden bugüne kadar çalışıyorum işte.

...

Zeynep: Peki ailenizin ortalama aylık geliri neydi siz okurken?

ERES: Yok. Sıfır. Hiç yok yani. Çiftçilikten yahut da tarladan çıkartırsa çıkarıyordu. Yoksa yok yani. (ERES, 25).

4. İlk önce dedim zaten, kitap okumayı seviyorum ama böyle ilgi alanımda olan, sevdiğim kitapların okumak için kitap yok. Almak istiyorum, bu sefer maddi durumum olmadığı için alamıyorum. Şimdi halk kütüphanesine falan gittiğim zaman orada ilgimi çeken kitap, hani istediğim kitaplar yok. Okuyorum ara sıra, o kadar. (HEES, 25)

5. Mesela okul şöyle: Ben bir köyde doğdum, Erzurum'un bir köyünde. Orada okul yoktu. Erkek kardeşlerim okutuldu ama biz okutulmadık. Hiç okula gitmedim. Okula gitmediğim için kendimi hep eksik gördüm, hala da eksik görüyorum. 2010'da buraya, İstanbul'a taşındık. Bu bizim için bir fırsat oldu. Şey, Açıköğretim'e girdim. Aslında bir okula başvurduğum, okuma yazma kursuna gittim. Oradan ilkokul diplomamı almak istedim. Oraya başvurduğumuzda oradaki hocalar ilgilendiler. Bizim bir tane Refika hoca vardı orada, o baya bir ilgilendi.

...

Hayır. Bizim köy mezralıktı. Aşağı köy var, o köy olarak geçiyor. Orada okul vardı. Orayla da mesela bizim aramızda baya bir mesafe vardı, kaç kilometreyle gidiliyordu. Arada bir de şey var, ırmak var, dere var. Bizim geldiğimiz yıla kadar bir de köprüsü yoktu. Biz geldikten sonra yapılmış. O yüzden. Erkekleri gönderiyorlardı, erkeklere öncelik veriliyordu tabii. Sırtlarında bile taşıyorlardı ama bizim için öyle bir.. Bilmiyorum, istemediler galiba. Okutulmadık. Bunun devletin eksikliği olduğunu düşünüyorum; çünkü devlet, orada hani mezra olarak haritada var ama mesela orada kızların da dünyaya geldiğini hiç düşünmüyor mu acaba! Hala da, günümüzde hala böyle sorunlar var mesela. (HEES, 25)

6. Evet. Okuduğum ortaokulun anaokuluna gitmiştim. Öyle. İlkokulu Zübeyde Hanım'da okudum, Ümraniye'de. Ortaokul da orada. Lise olarak.. istedim aslında. Daha sonra babam hani ortama güvenmediği için ki bunu bana izah ettiğinde hak verdim. (ZPÜM, 18)

7. ZAÜM: O! besides, before I took TEOG exam... well, my mom came in and she said 'I am not going to allow you to attend high school, take the exam knowing that', before the first TEOG, when was it I cannot remember exactly, was it January?

Zeynep: Has she ever said why she did not allow you to continue your education?

ZAÜM: She, herself, thinks that in an environment where there are male, it is difficult for a girl to give her mind to the lessons and then she takes the wrong road. She was thinking like that. Thus, she did not want to allow me to go to high school. Besides she is a Muslim preacher. For that reason... (ZAÜM, 17)

8. İşte şöyle oldu bırakmamızın sebebi: Bizim ailevi durumlardan dolayı bütün mal varlığına el konuldu. O yüzden de buralara gelip çalışmak zorunluluğumuz oldu. O yüzden böyle bir hayata başladık ve hani okulum gayet iyiydi. Lise üçte bırakınca, zaten ondan sonra hevesim kaçtı. Bir daha da okumak istemedim. (ENES, 24)

9. Ya genelde rehberliğe gittiğim için çok sorunlar yaşadım. Mesela hani o gün annemle babam yine ayrı olduğu için çok sorunlar yaşadık. İşte ondan sonra.. Genelde hep rehberlikte geçirdi günlerim yani. Onun dışında idareyle aram iyiydi yani. (SAMA, 17)

10. O süreç(te) ben sınavlara hazırlanamadım; çünkü benim annemle babam ayrı olduğu için annem çalışıyordu sadece. Ben de o zamanlar küçük olduğum için çalışmama izin vermiyorlar yani. Ya ablam güzel bir liseye gidecekti, güzel bir yaşam sürecekti ya da ben. İki seçim vardı. Ben çalışmamayı seçtim. (KMÜM, 20)

11. Gittiğimiz yerlerde öğrenciler bize birçok sıkıntılar yaşıyordu. Yani hocalarla falan filan anlaşamıyorlardı. E tabii bu bizi de etkiliyordu. Yani ben ortaokulu iki-üç yerde okudum hatta. Bir orada, bir orada. Öylece. Ondan sonra dedim; İstanbul'a geleyim, okuyayım, daha iyi bir eğitim alayım. Ailem tarafından gönderildim. İşte burada hem ev aldık hem sıkıntıya düştük hem de ben buradaki okula yerleşemedim.

...

TEOG'a girmiştım. TEOG'un yarısına girmiştım; çünkü kış olduğu için ben de sınava gidememiştım. Böylece puanım düşük geldi, buradaki okula yerleşemedim. Buradaki okullar da yüksekti. O yüzden Açıköğretim'e geçtim. En azından bu da benim için bir geciktirmeye değil de biraz daha ilerlememe sebep oldu eğitimde. (CTES, 17)

5.2 Reflections of the students on their prior school experiences

12. Zeynep: Peki siz birazcık bana eğitim hayatınızdan bahsedebilir misiniz?

VNES: Benim eğitim hayatım çok dandik geçti.

Zeynep: Biraz sesli alabilir miyim?

VNES: Yani okumak istemedim hocam. Bu kadar.

Zeynep: Anaokuluna gitmiş miydiniz?

VNES: Yok.

Zeynep: Gitmediniz, 1. sınıfa başladınız. Hangi okula gittiniz?

VNES: Esenyurt'ta okudum yine. Rifat Ilgaz diye bir okulda. Okul ortamı kötüydü. Her gün kavga dövüş, bıçaklanma, olaylar. Okul sıkı.

Zeynep: İlkokulda mı?

VNES: İlkokulda da olsun, ortaokulda da olsun. Abilerim, işte okul çıkışı kavga her gün.

Zeynep: Peki ilkokula başladınız. Okulu sever miydiniz, okul nasıl gelmişti size ilk başladığınızda?

VNES: İlkokulda çok utanıyordum, ağlıyordum sürekli. Annemi istiyordum sürekli. Annemle okuduğum bile oldu okulda. Öyleydi. (VNES, 18)

13. Şöyle ben sana ilginç olanları anlatayım. 11 yaşında birinci sınıfa başladım. 18 yaşında ortaokulu bitirdim. Yaştan dolayı aslında kendimi çok farklı hissediyordum. Küçüklerin arasında büyük olmak..

...

Zeynep: Neden 11 yaşında ilkokula başladınız?

KRES: Çünkü 8 kardeşiz, babam hepimizi birden okula yolladı büyük küçük demeden. Yani anne babanın bir hatası öğrenim durumunu etkiliyor.

Zeynep: Peki durum ne gibi durumlara sebep oldu senin için?

KRES: Kayıtta sorun yaşamadık ama derslerde farklı hissediyordum. Psikolojiyi tamamen bozuyordu. Derse neredeyse hiç katılmıyordum. Dalga geçme halindelerdi. (KRES, 25)

14. Zeynep: Peki öğretmenler, yani diğerini bir kenara koyarsak, genel olarak öğretmenleri, okul idaresini falan nasıl hatırlıyorsunuz?

ZPÜM: Kötü. İlkokul tamamen kötü. Öğretmenleri, idaresi, müdürü vesaire. Ortaokulda da idarede sıkıntı vardı ama öğretmenlerim çok iyiydi gerçekten. Hala böyle görüştüğüm, konuştuğum, hala hatrını sorduğum öğretmenlerim duruyor.

Zeynep: İdaredeki sıkıntılar nelerdi?

ZPÜM: Çok boşvermişlik. Disiplin denen bir şey yoktu. Okulun önünde uyuşturucu satıcıları vardı ve herhangi bir şey yapılmıyordu. Sürekli okula polis gidip geliyor ve hiçbir şey yapılmıyor. Şu anki aynı okulun idaresi değişti, adamakıllı bir okul olmuş mesela. (ZPÜM, 18)

15. Bir sınıfta. Yani nefes alacak yer yok. Ayakta bekleyen var. Yani 3-4 kişi oturuyorlardı. Tabii böyle bir kalabalık olunca da yani çok saçmasapan bir şey yaptılar yani. Böyle kontenjan olmaz ki ya, böyle bir şey olabilir mi sizce? (ARES, 19)

16. Okulumuz baya büyüktü ama şimdi durumu bildiğim hale baya bir kalabalık. Yani neredeyse 70 kişi bir sınıfa yetişiyordu. Sadece zaten ilkokulda bizde bir sınıf vardı. Başka yoktu. Diğer köylere gidiliyordu. (CTES, 17)

17. Yani çok berbat anılarım oldu, onu söyleyebilirim. Çünkü ben servisle okula gidip geliyordum, Ümraniye'den Kartal'a gidiyordum. Yani sürekli okula geç kalıyordum serviste. Ondan sonra servisçiyle kavga ediyorduk. İşte veya servisteki kız arkadaşlarım olsun, erkek arkadaşlarım olsun, onlarla çok kavga ediyordum. Sürekli benle dalga geçiyorlardı. Dış

görünüşüm olsun, hani konuşma tarzım olsun, ne bileyim, çok dalga geçerlerdi benimle. Ben de bunu anneme söyledim. Öyle yani. (SAMA, 17)

18.Zeynep: Mesela arkadaşlarıyla ilişkilerin nelerdi, nasıldı?

ZAÜM: Yani hani ortaokulda; 5,6,7 ve 8. sınıflarda çok iyiydi. Ama ondan önce hani insanlar bana hep kötü muamele yapardı. İşte 'sen bitlisin', 'sen işte şöylesin'. İşte sürekli kötü ithamlarda (bulunurlardı), sürekli bir hakaret. Hani dayak yiyip eve gidiyordum.

Zeynep: İlkokulda mı?

ZAÜM: Evet. İşte insanlar sürekli bana laf ediyorlardı. Bizim hani o zamanlar müstakil bir evimiz vardı, bir gecekondtu. İnsanlar diyordu, 'İşte sen çingenesin, sen işte fakirsin, şöylesin, böylesin'.

19.Hoca geldi. İşte 'Ben' diyor, 'şiddetten kesinlikle haz eden bir insan değilim yani ve size, siz 6. sınıf öğrencisisiniz, size kesinlikle şiddet uygulamam.' dedi. İyi, hoş dedik. Aradan 2-3 ay geçti, adam derse demir sopayla gelmeye başladı, yemin ediyorum. Ama yok, bize bir şey yapamıyordu; çünkü biz... (ARES, 19)

20.İlkokul 2. sınıfta matematik dersindeydik. O zaman bizim H... hocamız vardı. Böyle kel, şişko adam falan. İncirtepe'de okuyordum o zamanlar. 2. sınıfta matematik dersinde bir tane işlemediğimiz yer vardı, yani matematik kitabında. Ben de orayı işledim. Yani makasla kesimlik bir yerdi. Sonra öğretmenler istiyor ya kitabı hani takip edelim falan diye, şansına benim kitabımı aldı. Neyse, baktı baktı baktı. Ondan sonra benim işlediğim yeri gördü. Sonra bağırdı çağırdı, bir şeyler yaptı. Ondan sonra bir baktım, bana bir tane vurdu. Ama nasıl vurdu var ya, yanağımda iz vardı falan. Neyse işte, sonra babamla gittik onu şikayet etmeye, müdüre falan gittik işte. O zaman da ders işliyordu gittiğimizde. Sonra anneme falan demiştim, "'Anne ben yere düştüm, yanağım çok acıyor' falan diye. Sonra anladı beş parmak izi olduğunu. Ondan sonra işte müdüre falan şikayet ettik. Adam gözaltına alındı, öğretmen. Ondan sonra çıktı mı artık, bilmiyorum, haberim yok ama çok kötü, ilk dayağımı orada yemiştim yani öğretmenlerden. (SMES, 16)

21.Zeynep: O nasıl bir süreçti birinci sınıftan ikinci sınıfa geçerken? Çünkü okulun ilk senesi kalmak...

BMEY: Yani çok yabancı kalıyorsun, zaten bir sene boyunca bir şey de öğrenemiyorsun. Köy ortamı zaten. Hocadan ne öğrenirsen, hocadan öğreniyorsun. Hoca da baya, sağolsun, yardımcı oluyordu.

Zeynep: Nasıl yani?

BMEY: (Gülüyor) Vuruyordu yani. Vuruyordu. 'Niye bilmiyorsun, niye bilmiyorsun!' Nereden bileceğim, köyden dışarı çıktığım bir yer yok sonuçta. O yüzden kaldık yani. (BMEY, 23)

22.EAEY: Bir hoca tarafından tacize falan uğramıştım, o da gelmişti. Çok soğumuştum ve bıraktım. Sonra pişman oldum. Açıköğretimden devam ediyorum. Ondan da memnunum şu anda, bir sıkıntı yok.

...

EAEY: Yani ben işte o olay da gelişince liseyi bırakmaya karar verdim. Hemen sonrasında da zaten açıköğretime yazıldım. (EAEY, 23)

23. Valla ilkokul dönemimi hatırladığımda X bir öğretmen vardı. O zaman köy okullarında bir tane öğretmen olurdu. Mesela Bir, iki, üçü bir öğretmen okuturdu; dört beşi bir öğretmen okuturdu. Bizde bir tane öğretmen vardı. Adam hep atlarla ilgilenirdi. Hani atlarla ilgilenirdi derken şöyle: İddaa oynamasını çok severdi. Bizle ilgilenmezdi pek. Hep kendi kendimizi yönettik biz orada. Kendi kendimize ders çalıştık. Kendi kendimizi yetiştirdik. Öyle de diyebilirim. Yani köy okullarına bilgisayarlar yeni gelmişti. Daha doğrusu bizim orada köy halkı sayesinde geldi. Özellikle babamın yardımıyla getirildi oraya. Getirildikten sonra adam internet üzerinden hiç şeyden çıkmıyor, İddaa üzerinden çıkmıyor. Hep at yarışı, ganyan. İşte ne bileyim, hep öyle olaylar yüzünden. Biz kendimizi geliştirdik. Benim aklımda hep o var. Yani benim başımda o zamanlar öğretmen yoktu. Biz dördü, beşi kendi kendimizi geliştirerek geçtik. (ENES, 24)

24. Bir ara disipline gidecektim yanlış anlaşılma yüzünden. (Gülüyor) Hasan hoca diye bir hocamız vardı. Bir derste bir şiir verdi, dedi; 'Teneffüse kadar bu şiiri ezberlemeyen ceza yiyecek.' Bizim güldüğümüzü görmüştü, hatırlamıyorum tam olarak. Kaldırdı bizi masaya, işte disipline falan vereceğiz dedi. 'Ne için hocam' falan.. Ben ağladım disipline verir diye, çok ağladım. Ağlaya ağlaya konuşuyordum hocayla. Dedi, 'Ne şiiri ezberledin ne de dersi takıyorsun.' Böyle birkaç laf attı. Dedim, 'Yok hocam, ben şiirimi ezberledim.' 'Oku' dedi. Ağlaya ağlaya okudum. O günü hiç unutmam. Hep o hoca da hatırlatıyor. Bizim oralıdır. O günü hiç unutmam. (FTMA, 20)

25. Aynen, 1. sene 2. dönem. Başka bir liseye geçiş yaparım dedim. Sonra işte bir gün edebiyat sınavına girdik. Sınavda şöyle benim önümde; ben Rabia'yım, arkamda bir Rabia daha var, ikimizin de adı aynı; hiç hayatımda eğitim hayatım boyunca, 8 sene okudum, yani zaten bu kayıtların silineceğini biliyorum, hani yalan söylememe de gerek yok ki öyle bir kişiliğe de sahip değilim, aradan geçmiş kaç sene yani.. Eski eskide kaldı benim için. Ama yani hiç ben kopya çeken bir öğrenci değildim, hiç kopya çekmesini isteyen bir öğrenci değildim. Zaten kopya çekmek istesem hep şunu düşünürdüm; yani kopyayla bir yere geldiğin zaman ne kazanacaksın ki? Mesela ben öğretmen oldum ama kopyayla öğretmen oldum, kopya çekerek öğretmen oldum; ileride öğrencilerime ne anlatacağım? Bilmediğim bir şeyi nasıl anlatabilirim? Yani nasıl bit eğitici olabilirim? Çok saçma geliyor bana. O gün kopya hazırlamış arkadaşlarımız, benim haberim yok. Arkadaki arkadaşım bana dedi ki, benimle aynı isimde olan, şöyle bir dürttü, 'Rabia' dedi, 'söylesene, kağıdı versin önden' dedi. Hani böyle silgi istersin ya sınavda arkadaşından, maşalık yaptım resmen kıza. Dedim ki, 'Kağıdı istiyor' dedim öndeki

arkadaşa, ismini de unuttum. 'Rabia kağıdı istiyor' dedim. O kızdan kağıdı aldım, arkadaki kıza verdim. Öğretmen beni gördü tabii. 'Kopya çekiyorsun' dedi. 'Hocam hayır, kopya çekmiyorum' dedim. 'Kopya çekiyorsun gözümün önünde' dedi. 'Hocam hayır, kopya çekmiyorum, arkadaşım kağıdı istedi, onu verdim.' Ne kadar anlatabilirsin, ne kadar inandırabilirsin; öğretmen yani bu sonuçta, o da görevini yapıyor ve vazifesi olan şey. 'Haklısınız hocam, tamam' dedim. 'Ben hani kopya çekmedim ama arada maşalık yaptım' dedim. 'Bu bana çok iyi bir şekilde bana çok büyük bir ders oldu' dedim. O da girince araya dedim ki zaten okuldan ayrılma psikolojisi içimde var, onu aklıma koymuşum, bir de o kopya şeyine girdim. Hoca bana dedi ki, 'Seni sınıfta bırakacağım, seni geçitirmeyeceğim' dedi. Dedim, 'Ben sınıfta kalamam' dedim. 'Ya bu sınıfı geçerim ya da okulda ayrılırım, ben sınıfta kalmam' dedim. Benim hayatta en büyük korkum sınıfta kalmaktı. Ben hiç disipline gitmiş bir öğrenci değilim. Hiç bir öğretmenimden fırça yemiş bir öğrenci değilim yani ki bu zoruma gitti biraz. Sonra dedim ki, 'Ben bu okuldan ayrılmak istiyorum.' O psikolojiyle. Ne olduysa bilmiyorum, o zaman oldu. İşte öyle ayrıldım okuldan. (RAES, 21)

26.HMÜM: Aslında o süreçte biraz da hocalarımızın bize davranış şekllinden kaçmak için de bu Açık Öğretim'i seçtim ben.

Zeynep: Nasıl davranıyorlardı?

HMÜM: Yani bir hocamız vardı, bildiğimiz ceza yerdik, yani hepimiz ceza yiyorduk ve eve gittiğimiz zaman bacaklarımız tutmuyordu bizim. Artık ondan kaçmak için de biraz bu yöntemi seçtim.

Zeynep: Neden peki ceza veriyor hoca?

HMÜM: Yani bir şey yapmasan da, yani biri konuşsun, hepsi ceza yiyordu. 'Dinlemiyorsunuz siz beni' diye. Kaç kere ailemiz de geldi, şikayet etti ama olmadı, düzelmedi hoca. Düzelmeyince de bu yöntemi seçtim ben de. (HMÜM, 23)

27.ZPÜM: Öğretmenden kaynaklı pısrık bir çocuktum. Öğretmenin psikolojik sorunları vardı. Bu yüzden açıkçası gitmek istemiyordum. Her gece bir ağlama seansı falan. Aileme de söyleyemiyordum. O zaman çocuğum tabii, şikayet etmek nedir, bilmiyoruz. Bir de şey: 'Görmedim, duymadım, bilmiyorum' maymunlarını biliyorsunuzdur, üç maymun.

Zeynep:Evet.

ZPÜM: Bize o oynatıldı. 'Aileye hiçbir şey söylenmeyecek' diye. Bu yüzden tırsak yetiştirildiğimizi diyebilirim. Daha sonradan bunu açıkladığımda da tayini çıkarıldı, gönderildi. Benim sınıfım değişti. Ya ilkokul da biraz maceralı geçti açıkçası.

...

Eniştesi trafik kazasında aracı sollayayım derken - hala hikaye aklımda- aracı sollayayım derken ablası ölmüş. Eniştesi hala yaşıyor. Ona kin tutan birisiydi. Sürekli onu bize anlatırdı, tahtada işte resmini falan çizirdi kaza mahallinin. Ondandır bebeği ölmüş temizlik yaparken, düşmüş falan. O yüzden...

...

Beşinci sınıfa kadar onun yüzünden ben ailemle yattım mesela. Annemden ayrılamazdım, sürekli hani 'bir şey olacak, bir şey yapacak' falan. (ZPÜM, 18)

28.Şimdi sevdiği öğrenciler vardır bazı hocaların, bedencilerin veya müdür yardımcılarının falan. Mesela derse girmez o öğrenciler. Ona 'faaliyet' yazarlar ki yok yazılmasın çocuk. (ARES, 19)

29.3. sınıfta bizim sınıfta bir tane kız vardı. Mesela hocamız o zaman, gerçekten çok böyle sinir oluyorum o adama hala; 3. sınıf öğretmenimiz mesela çok fazla bir tane öğrenciye düşküdü, sürekli onu kucağına alıyordu. Mesela, nasıl desem, ben çok feminist bir insanım. Böyle kadınların haklarına sonuna kadar değer veririm. Küçüklüğümden beri böyleyim. Hani mesela herkese eşit olacaksınız. O zaman işte 3. sınıfta öğretmenimiz çok fazla; ben mesela SBS'lerde falan, SBS diyorum, hani şu vardır ya, yaparlar sınıflarda..

Zeynep: Deneme sınavları.

SNES: Deneme sınavları. Ben onlarda hep 1. çıkıyordum, 2. çıkıyordum. Kız mesela 3. çıkıyordu. Hep o kız ama normal sınıf sınavlarında 1. çıkıyordu. Ben de çok rahatsız oluyordum. Çünkü kendime güveniyordum. Biliyordum hocanın yaptığını. O yüzden böyle okula gitmeme isteği vardı 'Nasıl olsa o kız 1. yapacak' diye. Sonra öğretmenimiz değişti. Bizim Sevgi hocamız, hiç unutmam. Zaten şu an Alzheimer hastası. (SNES, 18)

30.İlkokulu E...'da okumuştum. Ortaokulu Ş.... tarafında okudum. Ortaokulu var, belki biliyorsunuzdur, orada okudum. Liseyi de İ....Sağlık Meslek Lisesi var, orada okumuştum. Orda kaldım bir sene. Sonra Ç.... var, oraya yazıldım, orada okudum. Ondan sonra orada geçtim ama bu sefer ben okumak istemedim. Sonra 'açıköğretime yazılayım' dedim annemlere. 'Tamam' dedi onlar da. (BEÜM, 16)

31.Gittiğimiz yerlerde öğrenciler bize birçok sıkıntılar yaşatıyordu. Yani hocalarla falan filan anlaşamıyordular. E tabii bu bizi de etkiliyordu. Yani ben ortaokulu iki-üç yerde okudum hatta. Bir orada, bir orada. Öylece. Ondan sonra dedim; İstanbul'a geleyim, okuyayım, daha iyi bir eğitim alayım. (CTES, 17)

32.Üç okul değiştirdim. İlk 1. Sınıfı Alparslan İlköğretim okulunda okudum.Ondan sonra Emrullah Turanlı yurduna gittiğimde oradaki bir okula gittim ama adını hatırlamıyorum. Orda gittim 2-3'e. 4 ve 5'i ise Bahçelievler'de okudum. Son 6-7-8'i de yine Alparslan İlköğretim okulunda okudum. Karmakarışık! Bir de benden okula alışmamı bekliyordular. (KRES, 25)

33.Ana sınıfına gitmedim açık, net olursa. Çünkü zor bir çocukluğumuz vardı bizim ailesel olarak. İlköğretime ve ortaokulu ben şeyde okudum, Üsküdar Öztürk Mahallesi'nde, Atatürk İlköğretim Okulu'nda okudum. İlk

ortaokulumun yedinci sınıfına kadar oradaydım. Sonra oradan taşındık Atakent'e, Ümraniye Atakent'e. Oradan Genç Osman İlköğretim Okulu'nda ortaokulu bitirdim. Oradan lise hayatı başladı. İlk önce Ümraniye Endüstri Meslek'te başladım liseye. Bu endüstri mesleklerin dört senelik olması benim işime geldi; çünkü ilk seneyi normal düz lise olarak okuyup, puanı yükseltip başka okula geçebiliyorduk. Ben ilk senede güzel bir puan yakaladım, artı okulda 50. sıraya falan girdim, ilk 50'ye girdim. Onun için, güzel bir ortalama yakaladığım için... Lise hayatımda işte o Ümraniye Endüstri'de derslerime asılıp, serseriliği bırakıp güzel bir yer istediğim için derslerime biraz daha asıldım, puanımı yükselttim. Ortalamam 86 falandı yanlış hatırlamıyorsam birinci sınıftayken ama edebiyat ve dil anlatım düşük olduğu için ne takdir alabildim ne teşekkür alabildim. Onlar beni kötü etkiledi. Ondan dolayı okulumu değiştiremedim. Orada devam ettim okumaya. İlk önce elektrik-elektronik bölümünde okudum orada, ondan sonra makina bölümüne geçtim. Makina bölümünde okurken Haydarpaşa'da açık olduğunu öğrendim, Kadıköy'deki. Oraya kaydımı aldırarak istedim. Orada ikametgah değiştirmek gerekiyordu. Kaydımı Üsküdar'a aldırarak, Üsküdar'dan Haydarpaşa'ya geçtim. Orada ben kaydımı aldırana kadar, işte makina bölümündeydim, metalurji bölümüne kaydoldum. Sonra orada eğitim hayatım devam etti. Ondan sonra okulum Kadıköy'deydi, arkadaş ortamı genişti. Derken orada bir savaştırmaya başladık böyle. Okullarımız değişince okula gitme mesafesi iyice uzaklaştı; çünkü gittiğimiz o okulun önünden geçse de..

...

Genç Osman Ortaokulu'na geçmişim, Atakent'e. Hem taşındık, arkadaş ortamım değişti, ortamım komple değişti, okul değişti. Okulda yabancıyım, kimseyi tanımıyorum. Hocaları tanımıyorum. Herkes zaten bir birlik oluşmuş, bir yabancılık çekiyorum orada. Orada bir düşünüş yaşadım, baya bir düşünüş yaşadım. (KMÜM, 20)

34.Ya biz köydeydik. Hani köyde öğretmen olmuyordu, hani olamıyordu. Hani bizimle çok ilgileniyorlardı ama hani her şey yetersiz olduğu için pek ilerleme olmuyordu tabi hani. Her dersin öğretmeni olmuyordu. Bir öğretmen dört-beş derse giriyordu. Türkçe öğretmeni İngilizce, edebiyat bilmem ne; hepsine giriyordu mesela. İlkokulda edebiyat olmasa da hani şey olarak söyledim. (ÖMÜM, 25)

35.Derslerimin hepsi kötüydü. İlkokulda bile kötüydü. Aslında kişisel bir şey. Ben kendimi bildiğim için söylüyorum. Derslerim neden kötüydü; ben çok yoğunlaşmıyordu. Benim aklım çok başka yerlerde olduğu için. (MDÜM, 23)

36. İlkokulda iyiydi. Ortaokulda biraz kötüydü. Lisede tamamen çöktü.

...

Öğretmenlerden ziyade aileler bence çocuklarının arkalarında olmalı. Yani takip etmeli. Hani Hababam Sınıfı'nda şey diyor ya Mahmut Hoca; cebine para verip göndermek değil de ilgilenmek gerekiyor gerçekten. Çevresinde durmak gerekiyor. Bu yani. (SNEY, 24)

37.DNES: Lise.. (Gülüyor) Lise benim için güzeldi. Hatta bu dışarıdaki arkadaşlarımla aynı okuldaydık. Tabii ben yine çok hareketliydim o zaman.

Zeynep: Hangi okuldu?

DNES: Kemal Atay. Orada okuyordum. Sonra sınıfta kaldım bir kere.

Zeynep: 1. sınıfta mı?

DNES: Aynen, 1. sınıfta. Arkadaşım bana demişti yani, akrabamız zaten, demişti yani, 'Oku, şey yapma, hani fazla şey olma'. Dinlemedim, 2. sınıfta yine tekrar kaldım. 2 kere kaldım yani.

Zeynep: 2 kere kalınca da atıyorlar mı?

DNES: Aynen, 2 kere kalınca atıyorlar. (DNES, 17)

38.Ağır. Şöyle: Çok ders var. Zaten çok ders olmasından yana Arapçası var, ekstra da Kuranı Kerim'dir falandır. Çok ekstrası olduğu için insanın kafası karışıyor. Arapça dediğiniz ders çok ağır bir ders yani, herkes onu kolay kolay anlayamıyor. (MDÜM, 23)

39.Lisede İmam Hatip'e gittim, ikinci döneminde çok ağır olduğu için dersleri bırakmak zorunda kaldım. Ondan sonra hani Açıköğretim'den devam etmeye karar verdim. O zamandan bu zamana işte devam ediyorum.

...

Evet, ilkokulda da seviyordum da lisede hani artık birinci senden sonra ben zor... Hani 1. sınıf hep lise derler zorlu diye. Lise zorlu olanı geçtim. 2. sınıfta, imam hatip olduğu için, Arapça dersleri biraz ağırdı. Bir de hocamız da çok iyi öğretmiyordu Arapçayı. O yüzden, onlardan aksadı. Matematik, geometri, fizik falan; onlar aksadı hocalardan. Çok iyi anlatamıyorlardı yani. İngilizce öğretmeni geçiyordu, oturuyordu mesela, hiçbir şey anlatmıyordu. (NAEY, 21)

40.Ortaokul zamanı... Lise zamanında zaten lise meslek (lisesi) olduğu için Kars Merkez'deydi. Oradaydım yani, amcamlarda, kendi evimizdeydik orada. Lise iyiydi ama işte ortaokul zamanımız bizim berbattı. Kar yağıyordu, gelmiyordu veya ilkokul zamanında da kar yağınca öğretmenler gelmiyordu. Öyle oluyordu ki beş gün, altı gün, yedi gün, bir hafta. İşte o gün ders görmüyorduk. Okula git geri gel, git geri gel veya ilçe merkezine hiç gidemezdik, bekle ki servis gelecek veya o gün tipiliyse, hava kötüyse hiç gitmiyorduk yani. Üç gün, beş gün hiç gidemiyorduk. Ha tabii bu yoklamalarda yok yazılmamız anlamına geliyordu ama yapacak bir şey yoktu ki herkes, aile büyükleri dahi biliyordu bunu. Böyle bir kötü imkanlardan geçtik biz zamanında. (ENES, 24)

41. Yatılı okulu tercih etmemin sebebi durumumuzun olmaması, gidip gelmenin sorun olması. Kalıyorduk orada, gelemiyordum. Mesela bazı hafta sonları herkes giderdi, ben sadece servis parası ödeyemediğimden okula gidemezdim. İşte son 8. sınıfta, bu parti değişikliğinde falan bir ücretsiz oldu, o zaman gidip gelmeye başladım birazcık daha. Ondan öncesinde 1 ay falan okulda kaldığım zamanlar oldu, gidemedim evime. Bir 10 kilometre falan yol vardı arada. Gidemiyordum yani. Zor oluyordu ya, sıkıntılıydı.

...

Aynı okulda değildim. İlçeye gittim. Yatılı okudum. Yatılı okumak çok zor. O kadar zor ki yani anlatamam. O insanlar baya bir şey kat ettiriyor yani hani psikolojik olarak, büyüme aşaması olarak. Hani yatılı okulda okuyan arkadaşlarım olaylara daha şey bakabiliyor; mantıklı, sorumlu hissettirebiliyor kendini yani.

...

Öğretmenlerim, arkadaşlarım iyiydi de şey iyi değildi ya; yani her şeyini kendin yapmak zorunda kalıyorsun, yemekler iyi çıkmazsa açsın.. Yani çok zor, gerçekten çok zor bir şey. Hayata resmen orada başlıyorsun yani. Her şey sende. Bir de ben epilepsi hastasıyım, epilepsi-sara hastasıyım. O zaman daha büyük sıkıntı. Bazen nöbet geçiriyordum. Şimdi nöbetlerim seneliğe düştü neredeyse Allah'a şükür. (ŞLES, 25)

42. BMEY: Birinci sınıfta bir kere kalmıştım.

Zeynep: Birinci sınıfta. Neden kalmıştınız?

BMEY: Türkçe bilmiyordum.

Zeynep: Anadiliniz Kürtçe mi?

BMEY: Kürtçe. (BMEY, 23)

43. I_CTES: Sözcükler kitap okumadığım için iyi değildi. Ben de artık yani Türkçeyi neredeyse İstanbul'a gelince sökebildim. Sayısal olduğum için, kafamda hep sayısal işaretleri olduğu için kitap okuyamıyordum fazla. Hani hep içimden okuduğum için dilim de dönmüyordu tabii. (CTES, 17)

44. Arkadaşlarımla aram baya iyiydi. Sıkıntı okulda olmuyordu zaten, bu ders çalışmada sıkıntı oluyor(du). (BMEY, 23)

45. Orada da çok iyiydi. Zaten en iyi arkadaşım 1. sınıftan beri o da aynı. Hep aynı sırada oturduğum bir kızdı. O felsefe öğretmeni oldu. Onların durumları çok iyiydi, okuyabildi o da. Hala da görüşüyorum, en iyi arkadaşım hala da. Mükemmeldi ya, mükemmeldi o. (Gülüyor) (ŞLES, 25)

46. Yani çok arkadaşlıklar menfaat için olduğu için ben de biraz olsun uzaklaşmak istedim (İMEY, 18)

47. Zeynep: Birazcık bana eğitim hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz? Hangi okullara gittiniz, nasıl geçti?

BMEY: İlkokul normal diyelim. Ortaokula geçince de biraz daha normal.

Zeynep: (Gülüyor) Biraz normal açar mısın?

BMEY: Normal derken.. Fazla dersle ilgim yoktu.

Zeynep: Dersleriniz nasıldı mesela?

BMEY: İlgi yoktu. Çalışmıyordum. Çalışma durumu vardı da çalışmıyorduk yani.

Zeynep: Neden?

BMEY: Haylazlık varken diyelim, çalışma imkanı olmuyordu. (BMEY, 23)

48.Zeynep: Sever miydiniz okulu peki?

SNEY: Sevmezdim.

Zeynep: Neden?

SNEY: Yani.. sevmezdim yani. Her çocuk gibi. Bilmiyorum, çocukların bazısı seviyor mu, bilmiyorum da. Lisedeyken seviyordum ama ortaokulda, ilkokulda hiç sevmedim yani okulu.

...

Ben bunalıyordum ilkokuldayken. Okula gitmeyi hiç istemiyordum, çalışmak istiyordum.

Yani büyüdükçe tamamen artık soğudum okuldan tabii. Arkadaşlarımızla daha çok vakit geçiriyorduk. Anneye babaya daha çok yalan söyleyebiliyorduk yani. Öyle. (SNEY, 24)

49.Derslerimin hepsi kötüydü. İlkokulda bile kötüydü. Aslında kişisel bir şey.

Ben kendimi bildiğim için söylüyorum. Derslerim neden kötüydü; ben çok yoğunlaşmıyordum. Benim aklım çok başka yerlerde olduğu için. Ben okulu kendi isteğimle okumadım zaten. Ama şundan ötürü; ben müzikle uğraşmak istiyordum o zamanlar. Tabii o kafayla üniversite okuyup da bunu yapmayı düşünemezsin. O zamanlar da onu bıraktık. Dersler kötüydü, bir de arkadaş ortamı karışınca işin içine hiç umursamadım. Direkt müziğe yoğunlaştım. Zaten şu anki geleceğin mesleği Youtube olarak görüldüğü için daha çok odaklandım diyebilirim yani. Şu an da hala müzikle uğraşıyorum. Müzik ve sokak röportajları falan. (MDÜM, 23)

50.Yok. Okul takımları güzel oluyordu. Futbol. O güzeldi. Gidiyordum ben.

O güzeldi yani.

Zeynep: Nesi güzeldi?

OREY: Dersten çıkmak daha güzeldi yani. Dışarıda top oynamak. Hem ortalaman da daha güzel oluyordu ona göre. Öyleydi. (OREY, 18)

51.Şöyle söyleyeyim: İlkokula başlarken, birinci sınıfta abim bana şeyi öğretti, okuma-yazmayı öğretmişti. O yüzden ilk cümlem şuydu: 'Okuma-yazmayı öğrendim, neden daha okula gideyim ki?' Annem zorla götürdü beni okula. (Gülüyor) O yaşta. Ve şey yaptı; annem beni okula bıraktı, sonra eve gitti ama o daha eve gitmeden ben evdeydim. Evet. Sonra bir daha götürdü. (Gülüyor) (ENMA, 19)

52. Her neyse, şey, devamsızlığım baya arttı. Bir de 2 kere sildirmişlerdi. Yani kalacak duruma geldi tekrar devamsızlığım. Bir annem geldi, bir de babam geldi. Şimdi ikisini de kesinlikle çağırمام; çünkü çok sert bir yapıda benim ailem. Dayılarımı hayatta çağırمام zaten

...

Okuldan ayrılma sürecim; şimdi devamsızlık benim için hep problemdi. (ARES, 19)

53. Orada okulu bıraktıktan sonra, devamsızlıktan kaldıktan ve okumak istemedikten sonra; çünkü tekrar okumak o zamanlar hiç istediğim bir şey değildi. Aynı bölümü okumuşum, sene bitmiş. Senenin bitimine doğru, iki günden sınıfta kaldığımı öğrendim ve sınırlarım bozuldu iyice; çünkü iki gün. Notum yüksek, 92 bir notum var, diploma notum. 'İki günü silemediniz mi' diye sitem ettim. (KMÜM, 20)

54. Biz pansiyondayken etüt odasında arkadaşlarla bir araya geldik. Oturduk pis yedili oynadık, disipline götürdü hoca. Disipline gidecektik, bütün pansiyon bizi desteklemeye geldi. O yüzden biz disipline gitmedik. Ama bir dahakine uzaklaştırıldık. Okuldan kaçtık. Normalde tüm hafta sonu için izin verilmesi gerekiyordu, sadece cumartesi 1 saat izin veriyorlardı. Bayram da yaklaşmıştı, biz de kaçtık. 1 hafta uzaklaştırma aldık, 1 hafta da öyle tatil oldu. (EHEY, 20)

55.

Çünkü biz o sene - Bak, ben değil. Mesela ben hayatta hocama filan kesinlikle saygısızlık yapmadım. Mesela bizim arkadaşlarımız vardı, hocaları dövdüler. 5 tane hocayı, müdür yardımcılarını falan dövdüler. Okulun içine bizi almaya panzerle geldiler. Bu şey, özel harekate götürürler ya, zırlı önü, büyük, böyle halk otobüsü gibi; onla aldılar bizi içeride. Yani çok belalı bir...

...

Ben okuldayken suç çok işlemiştim. Yani babamla Ö...hoca WhatsApp'tan konuşuyor yani, o derece yani iletişimdeler.

...

Ondan sonra sigara içerdim, ayıptır söylemesi. Ama onlar bir-iki taneydi, fazla değildi. Onda sonra, ne bileyim, derste çok müdahale ederdim. Sürekli bana disiplin yazarlardı. Top oynardım, disiplin yazarlardı. Ondan sonra şarkı söylerdim, disiplin yazarlardı. Mesela biraz sesli söylerdim de, tabii o saçma bir şey. Dersin düzenini bozmak. Yani her tür şeyden vardı yani. (Gülüyor)

...

Bunları rüşvete bağlamıştım. Rüşvet derken şey, paraya bağlamıştım bunları, haraca. Bunlar mesela bana 50 lira veriyorlardı haftada hepsi. Bir kere veriyorlardı, 'Kanka sil' diyorlardı, veriyorlardı bir 50 lira. Tamam, diyordum. Siliyordum 2-3 gün. 'Kardeş, ben öteceğim ya, ben maddi sıkıntı çekiyorum' diyordum. Böyle olmaz, dedim, tamam mı? 50 lira

bana az geldi. Sen git o zaman doktora, doktora 1000-2000 lira ödüyorlar mesela geçmişe yönelik rapor için. Ya dedim, böyle olmaz kardeşim, hadi getir bir 50-100 lira daha diyordum. Ben okula taksiyle geliyordum, Parliament sigara içiyordum, en pahalısından. Ondan sonra ne bileyim, baya baya güzeldi. Zenginlik. Yani okula normalde ben hep yürüyerek gelirdim, servisle de değil, ne kadar uzak olursa olsun yürüyerek veya dolmuşla gidiyordum. Çünkü ailem bana kesinlikle yansıtmadı. Benim şımarmamı istemediler mesela parayla. (ARES, 19)

56. Lisedeyken. Lise ikide. Baya büyük bir kavga yaptım. Ondan sonra okuldan atıyorlardı beni. Sonra müdür dedi ki, 'Sen' dedi, 'iyisin' dedi. 'okuldan attırma kendini. Okulunu değiştir ki atmayalım seni.' Kurtköy'e geçtim. Daha ikinci günüm, yine kavga ettim Kurtköy'de. Ondan sonra dedim ki, 'Artık ben bu sene de sınıfta kalırsam oh' dedim, 'babam beni bir daha göndermez, direkt açığa yazılırım.' Babam zorla okutuyordu. 'Oku oğlum, oku oku oku oku...' Her neyse. Dedim, anca böyle kurtulurum, sınıfta kalarak. Sınıfta kala kala kala. Ondan sonra ikinci senenin ortasında bıraktım. Direkt böyle okuldan çıktım. Arkadaşım vardı. Dedim ki: Gel, iş bulalım. O bırakmıştı okulu. Ortaokuldan sonra bıraktı - Yok, o da lisede bıraktı da beş-altı ay okuduktan sonra bıraktı o. Dedim; gel, iş arayalım. Gittim. O gün direkt anında iş buldum. Dedim ki, akşam aradım babamı, saat on bir falan. 'Baba' dedim, 'ben okulu bıraktım, işe başlıyorum.' 'Eve gel' dedi. Gittim. (Gülüyor) 'Ne iş' dedi. (ENMA, 19)

57. Yok, tek çalıştım. Onda da zaten çok stres yaptım, sınavda. Unuttum her şeyi. O yüzden ondan biraz düşük aldım. Bir de herkes, baktım, çıkıyor. Ben de artık sıkıldım sınavdan, direkt çıktım sınavdan. O yüzden düşük geçti. (MAES, 17)

58. KNEY: Evet. Çok adil bir sistem değildi yani. İnsan, sınıf ayırıyorlardı. Öyleydi.

Zeynep: Nasıl yani?

KNEY: Sınıf ayırıyorlardı. Mesela bir öğrenci çalışkan olsun, tembel olsun; o kötü okula gidiyor, o iyi okula. Yani buna kimseye hakkı yok. Yani ben öyle düşünüyorum. (KNEY, 18)

59. Yok, maalesef. O baba himayesinde oldu yani. Ben aslında istiyordum. Ya en azından kendi istediğim liseye gideyim ama babam imam hatip istediği için mecbur oraya gittik, oradan da kaldık. Çok ağır dersleri olduğunu düşünüyorum oranı da zaten.

...

Hep özendik ya, öyle söyleyeyim sana. Tamam, okumadık ama pişman olduk yani. Sonra da okula gidemedik. Ya şeyden söyleyeyim, aileden dolayı. O zaman okumadık, bıraktık ama gidebilirdik tekrar. Zorlayabilirlerdi. Başka şeylere zorladıkları için olmadı. Yapacak bir şey

yok. Kaderimize boyun eğdik diyelim. Yani her şeyden bir dönüş vardır ama. Güzel günler her zaman gelecek, illa ki. (MDÜM, 23)

60. Puanlamaya göreydi. Hocayla, hoca eşliğinde yaptım. Puanıma hani nereler çıkabileceğine göre tercih yaptım. Kız mesleğin işte bilgisayar bölümü olsun, diğer bölümleri olsun, onları yazmıştık. Sağlık mesleği yazmıştım Zile'ye. Sonra imam hatip, sonra Cumhuriyet Anadolu Lisesi'ni yazmıştım. Ben imam hatipe kayıt yaptırdıktan sonra şey, kız mesleğin bilgisayar bölümünde yedeklerdeydim. Sonradan aban o mesaj geldi 'yedeklerden alındınız' diye. Ben de imam hatipe kaydımı yaptırmıştım zaten, daha da istemedim orayı, oraya gitmeyi. Öyle. (NAEY, 21)

61. TEOG'a hazırlandım ben ama kıştı bizim orada, gidemiyordum arabayla. Zor gittik, gittiğim zaman da zaten sınavlar bitmişti, TEOG sınavı. Bir daha da alamıyorlardı bizi; ne kadar yalvarsak da almadılar.

...

Zeynep: Erzurum Merkez'de mi girmiştin?

CTES: Hayır. Başka okullara gidiyordum ben. Başka okuldan hocalar geliyordu. Şey, gittiğim zaman zaten araba gidene kadar birçok sıkıntılar yaşadım. Tabii gittiğimiz zaman elimiz kalem bile tutamayacak haldeydi. Sınava giremedik. Ondan sonra yazın bir kere sınava girdim, oradan da 290 puan aldım. O da kötü geldi yine de. Kışın da iki tane sınava sadece girmiştım. Böylece puanım 222 puan oldu. (CTES, 17)

62. Yani arkadaş ortamı biraz daha meslek liselerinde farklı oluyor. Biraz daha hırğür, kavga dövüş. Bizim de az çok.. yani zaten o tarafa meyilliydik. Bir de meslek lisesine gidersem tamamen çığrımdan çıkarım diye ben kendim gitmek istemedim. (SNEY, 24)

63. Öyle. Lise çok istemiştım gerçekten. Ama ortama güvenmedik. Ben de açıkçası pek şey yapamadım, güvenemedim. O yüzden liseyi açıktan okumaya...

...

Ortaokulda arkadaş çevrem oldu. Öğretmenlerim çok iyiydi. Ondan sonra artık ben okulu sevmeye başlayınca o yüzden de lise istedim. Liseye de gideyim, devam edeyim, işte artık seviyorum falan. Ama işte ortam maalesef. O yüzden bıraktım. Dedim hani üniversitede, hedefimi, üniversite olarak koydum. Açık Lise'den, liseyi açıktan bir şekilde bitiririm, örgün olarak üniversitede istediğim bir bölümü hedefleyeyim, okuyayım. Öyle yani. Tamamen... (ZPÜM, 18)

64. O süreç(te) ben sınavlara hazırlanamadım; çünkü benim annemle babam ayrı olduğu için annem çalışıyordu sadece. Ben de o zamanlar küçük olduğum için çalışmama izin vermiyorlar yani. Ya ablam güzel bir liseye gidecekti, güzel bir yaşam sürecekti ya da ben. İki seçim vardı. Ben çalışmamayı seçtim. Ben yani kendi başıma evde çalışmayı seçtim. Dersane falan istemedim. Ablamın dersaneye yollanmasını istedim. Anlam dersaneye gitti, oradan Çengelköy Lisesi falan; onun eğitim hayatı öyle ilerledi. Ben kendi başıma çalışmaya çalıştım arkadaş ortamında ya

da dersanede. Öyle büyük bir çalışma sürecim yok; açıkçası dersane falan, öyle bir şey yok. (KMÜM, 20)

65.Hocamla konuştum, okul müdürüyle. Fikir alışverişinde bulunmak istedim ama yeterli olmadı. Birkaç arkadaşına torpil yaptı. Müdür kafasına göre yaptırdı. Ben bilseydim, yüksek okulları yazmazdım ama hoca fikir vermediğinden yapamadık. Aradan bir ay geçti. Ordan dedim başa gelen çekilir, gittim oraya. (EHEY, 20)

66.Keşke, işte kafama vuruyorum, düz liseye değil de mesleğe gitseydim şu an elimde bir meslek olurdu, çalışabilirdim. Ama düz lise de yok öyle bir şansın. (HMÜM, 23)

67.Yani dediğim gibi annem yanımda olmadığı için, hani babaannemle ve babamla kalıyordum, o süreçte yani pek fazla seçim yapamadım. İşte dediğim gibi puanım düşük olduğu için mantıken düşük okullar tercih etmem gerekiyordu. O yüzden ben de Küçükyalı'yı tercih ettim. Anadolu liselerini tercih ettim ama tutmadığı için...

...
20 tane tercih yaptım, çıka çıka imam hatip çıktı.

...
Benim seçimim kendi seçimim değildi. Ben kendim seçmedim ayrıca. Yengemin yengesi diyebilirim; o hani bu Açıköğretim'le ilgili bir şeyler biliyormuş herhalde, abim beni ona yöneltti. O da bir liste yapmış, işte içine imam hatip falan da koymuş. Ya o benim seçimim değildi, ben o okulun olduğunu dahi bilmiyordum. Ama annemin yanına da yakın olduğu için oraya gitmek zorunda kaldım. Bir de imam hatip çıktığı için 1 sene imam hatip okudum. (SMES, 16)

68.TEOG'dan sonra tercih süreçlerim nasıl oldu? Ya aslında fazla bir ümidim yoktu güzel bir okula düşeceğim diye ama gene de ben yazmıştım yani güzel bir okul gelir diye belki. Biz de ticaret mesleğe geldik yani. Ya öyle. Fazla bir ümidim yoktu o konuda yani. Sınavın kötü geçtiğini ben de biliyordum yani. Öyleydi. (KNEY, 18)

69.BMEY: Ben ortaokuldan geçişte SBS'yle geçmiştim.

Zeynep: Nasıl bir sınavdı o, nasıl geçti o süreç?

BMEY: İlk bize vurdu herhalde zaten SBS. 8. sınıfta biz SBS'ye girdik. İyi geçti. Ama bilmediğim soruları.. 3 yanlış 1 doğruyu götürüyormuş herhalde o ara. Bilmiyordum ben bunu. Bilmediklerimi sallamıştım, orada baya bir puan kırma oldu. (BMEY, 23)

70.1 sene çalıştım. 6. Sınıfla 8. Sınıfın genel sorularıydı. SBS her sene yapılıyordu. Ama OKS öyle değil 6-7-8 soruları vardı, o yüzden baya zorladı. Çünkü sınavdan çıkınca hocalara söyledik 350 puan bekliyoruz diye. Kimisi kaldı, en düşük okullara gittiler. (EHEY, 20)

71. TEOG vardı. TEOG yeniydi. Hazırlandım ama yani mesleğe geldim gene. Yani çünkü TEOG biraz bana göre adil bir sistem değildi. Şimdi kaldır(ıl)ma gibi bir olayı da olmuş galiba. (KNEY, 18)

72. Minibüsle yarım saat. Yani Yenibosna'dan Güngören'e gidiyorsun. Şey, Tozkoparan, Merter, işte o taraflar.. Minibüsle yarım saat. Ben de dedim hiç, yani sorgulamaya başladım, dedim artık yeter yani, ormanı olabilir.. Her neyse. Bir de endüstri meslek lisesiydi. Endüstri teknik vardı, anadolu teknik meslek lisesi vardı. Dedim, okulda - Ben şimdi yakışıklıyım ayıptır söylemesi- okulda kız da yok. Dedim ki en iyisi anadolu lisesine gitmek lazım.

...

Eğitim nasıldır, biliyor musunuz? Kendinizi geliştirirseniz 'eğitim aldım' dersiniz. Mesela bir üniversiteye gitmek bence eğitim değildir. Eğer kendinizi geliştirmişseniz, belli konularda uzmanlaşmışsanız ve işinizi seviyorsanız siz eğitimlisiniz. Hani o yüzden ben pek şey yapmak istemedim. Hani lisenin de bitmesini... Bitireceksin, mecbursun ama kendini geliştirmedikten sonra senin diploman olsa ne olmasa ne; doğru değil mi? Mesela bir yabancı dil yapmadıktan sonra; sonra konferanslara, sempozyumlara katılmadıktan sonra; bir yerde konuşmacı olmadıktan üniversite okumak zaman kaybı değil midir? Yani bence öyle. Ben öyle düşünüyorum. İşte ondan sonra ben gitmedim tabii, devam etmedim. (ARES, 19)

73. Şöyle söyleyeyim: İlkokula başlarken, birinci sınıfta abim bana şeyi öğretti, okuma-yazmayı öğretmişti. O yüzden ilk cümlem şuydu: 'Okuma-yazmayı öğrendim, neden daha okula gideyim ki?' Annem zorla götürdü beni okula. (Gülüyor) O yaşta. Ve şey yaptı; annem beni okula bıraktı, sonra eve gitti ama o daha eve gitmeden ben evdeydim. Evet. Sonra bir daha götürdü. (Gülüyor)

...

Benim; bak mesela o kadar çok insan tanıdı ki okulu yani beşinci sınıftan bırakmış yani. Kaç yaşında adam. Şu anda nerede acaba, nerelerde ama? Adam yani müdür kadar şeydi hani. Müdürün nasıl odasına girdiğinde önünü iliklersin, o da öyle bir adam oluyor. Ama neden; yaşadıklarıyla oluyor. Öyle yani. Boşuna beynini doldurmuyor. Sadece bir işe veriyor kendini, o işte en iyisi oluyor. Yani mesela sanayide motorcuya birkaç yaşında başlasan.. Beşinci sınıfa kadar diyelim okula gittin. Ondan sonra ya gittin sanayide çalıştın. Motor uzmanı oldun. On sekiz yaşına geldiğinde yani çok iyi kazanırsın. Gerçekten çok iyi kazanırsın. Altında araban olur. Ehliyetini almış olursun direkt zaten. Bu daha karlı bir şey olur. Çünkü yani dört dört, sekiz. Dört de oradan, on iki. Dört de oradan, on altı yıl boyunca neden okuyasın ki? On altı yılını neden okula veresin ki? Gereksiz öğretiyorlar ve çok uzun sürüyor hakikaten. Çok gereksiz bir şey okumak. Şey olacaktı; ilkokul, üniversite. (ENMA, 19)

74. Bir kağıt parçası. Başka bir şey değil gerçekten. Yani ben üniversite okuyup da boş boş gezen çok arkadaş tanıdığım için. Söylediğim gibi

Marmara Üniversitesi'nde makine okudu, hala adam restoranda çalışıyor. Ramiz Köfte'de çalışıyor. Siz düşünün yani, isim bile verdim. Yani kötü. Makine okuyup da bir de Marmara Üniversitesi gibi bir üniversitede ki buradaki insanların çoğu oraya gitmek isteyip de gidemeyen insanlar, hepimiz biliyoruz. Öyle bir üniversitede okuyup da restoranda çalışmak da kötü yani. Sadece kağıt parçası alıyorsun, işte hava atmaya gelince bir tek hava atıyorsun. Başka bir şey yok yani. Ben hava atarım yani, başka bir şey yapamazsınız. Nerede okudun, Marmara Üniversitesi, kasılırim şöyle iki dakika, tamam. (MDÜM, 23)

75. Moda tasarım işte, giyim üretimi üzerine. Gittim. Okulumu çok severek başladım. Hep yani bitirme şeyi içerisindeydim. Sonra bana hiç zor gelen yanı da olmadı. Dedim ki yaparım yani. Terk etmek gibi bir şeyim yoktu. Ne oldu o ara, bilmiyorum. Çok yoğun bir psikolojiye girdim herhalde. Bir gün okulun kantinindeyim böyle. Okul ortamı yine böyle.. Ben okul ortamı için ayrıldım oradan. Ama çok yanlış yaptığımı düşünüyorum. Yani o okuldan ayrılıp da başka bir okula yerleşme gibi bir şansım vardı elimde, ben onu değerlendirmedim. Okul ortamıydı, işte arkadaş ortamıydı.. Çevresi gerçekten çok pisti yani. Bir okul ne kadar pis olursa o kadar pisti. Okulun içi, öğretmenleri, eğitimcilerinden bahsetmiyorum; okul arkadaşları. Yani ben dedim ki eğer burada başlarsam; bir de hani, tanımadığın bir yer ya, hani o arkadaş ortamına alışması da zor oluyor. Dedim ki ya ben eğer burada böyle devam edersem ya mecbur o ortama alışacaksın, o arkadaş ortamına alışacaksın. Nereye kadar alışmayacaksın, 4 sene lise okuyacaksın yani! Yok dedim Rabia, hani burası sana göre değil dedim. Kendimi, niye bilmiyorum, hep onlardan şey görüyordum, ayrı görüyordum yani. Onların düşünceleri farklı geliyordu bana, benim düşüncelerim farklı geliyordu. Arkadaşlarımın, o arkadaş ortamının. Sonra bir gün işte o kantinde o pis çevreyi gördüm, gerçekten o arkadaş ortamının.. Anlatmak istemeyeceğim şeyler gördüm. Çok laubali takılan insanları gördüm. Bana zıt gelen şeyleri gördüm. Dedim ki ben bu okuldan ayrılmak istiyorum. Sonra işte bir gün, 'Ayrılmak istiyorum' dedikten sonra hani ailem tabii kesinlikle izin vermedi. 'Yok' dedi, 'gideceksin' dedi. Hani hepsi 'Okuyacaksın', hepsi 'Gideceksin', hepsi Bitireceksin2 deyince; yani hepsi benim iyiliğimi düşünüyor ama 'Ben istemiyorum, siz niye istiyorsunuz ki' gibi geliyordu bana o zaman. Sonra dedim ki, 'Yaparım ya' dedim. 'Şurada 2. dönemi de bitireyim' dedim, '1. dönemim zaten bitti sayılır, 1 hafta falan kaldı. Bitireyim 2. dönemi de başka bir liseye...' (RAES, 21)

76. Sonra 6. sınıfta ben çalışıyordum okul çıkışları, pazarda çalışıyordum. Böyle çalışmak çok hoşuma gidiyordu, böyle kendi parayı kazanmak, kendi emeğinin karşılığını almak.. İşte ben okulu bırakmaya karar verdim. Sonra 2. dönemde -1. dönemde teşekkür almıştım- 2. dönemde ben bıraktım okulu. Düz devam geçtim oraya. 7. sınıfa geçtim ama düz.

...

Okulu seviyordum. En çalışkan olduğum ders zaten matematikti; matematik hocam çok didindi 'Okulu bırakma' diye. İşte ama ben bir çalışma tutkusu, bir kendi parayı kazanma tutkusu.. Yani çocuk aklı. Çocukça karar verdim. Çok pişmanım yani okulu bıraktığım için. Hani mesela okulu seviyordum, arkadaşlarımı seviyordum. Okulda insan nefes alabiliyor ya. Böyle nasıl desem, arkadaşlarım olsun akşama kadar, ondan sonra hocalarım var, ondan sonra.. Yani her şey hayata dair. Okul yani çok önemli. Ben gerçekten ileride evlenirsem çocuklarımı kesinlikle sonuna kadar okuturum, asla benim gibi böyle okulu bırakma hatalarına girmesinler. Zaten sürekli kardeşlerime de destek oluyorum. 'okuyun' diyorum. 'Hani şu an belki anlamıyorsunuz ama lise sonlarında, lise üçte falan; o zaman anlayacaksınız okulun değerini' (diyorum). Öyle. (SNES, 18)

77. Teşekkür ederim. İşte hani okula gidememe durumu oldu. O yüzden şu anda açık.. Aslında bir hakkım daha vardı - Bu gizli kalacak, değil mi?

Zeynep: Evet, kesinlikle. Hepsi gizli.

SMES: Teşekkür ederim. Abim beni okutmadı. Şey, yani 'Benim çocuğuma bak' dedi 1 sene boyunca, 'Zaten o sırada Açıköğretim'i okursun' dedi. Dolayısıyla kimliğim olmadığı için yine okuyamadım, 2 senem boşuna gitmiş oldu. Şimdi diğer abime geçtik. İşte buradan devam ediyorum. İlk 4'ü buradan bitirdikten sonra üniversiteyi Ankara'da okumayı düşünüyorum. Buradan uzak bir yerde artık. Sıkıldım çünkü. (SMES, 16)

78. Ortaokulu yatılı okudum. Hepsinde takdir belgesi, onur belgesi aldım. Gayet iyiydi, derslerim çok iyiydi. Sınıfta zaten ilk 3'te garanti vardım. Babam da beni okutacak, hani şey birisiydi, beni okutabilecek birisiydi de hani durumumuz iyi değildi. O yüzden okutamadı. Hani 'Yok, ben okutmam' şeyinde bir adam değildi yani. Sadece maddi yönden okuyamadım. İşte 20 yaşında da evlendim.

...

Yatılı okulu tercih etmemin sebebi durumumuzun olmaması, gidip gelmenin sorun olması. Kalıyorduk orada, gelemiyordum. Mesela bazı hafta sonları herkes giderdi, ben sadece servis parası ödeyemediğimden okula gidemezdim. İşte son 8. sınıfta, bu parti değişikliğinde falan bir ücretsiz oldu, o zaman gidip gelmeye başladım birazcık daha. Ondan öncesinde 1 ay falan okulda kaldığım zamanlar oldu, gidemedim evime. Bir 10 kilometre falan yol vardı arada. Gidemiyordum yani. Zor oluyordu ya, sıkıntılıydı.

...

Okumayacağım belliydi; çünkü babamın durumu belliydi. Yani okutabilecek bir adam beni ama para olmadığı için okutamıyor. Bazılarının parası var, okutmuyorlar mesela; öyle birisi değildi babam.

...

Hatta birkaç tane öğretmen geldi bize; işte 'Okutun' falan filan ama babam dedi ki, 'Ben sana' dedi, 'bu kızını veririm, okutursun ama sen 1 sene peşinden koşarsın, ondan sonra kim koşacak? Hani benim durumum yok.' 'Ama okuturum dersin' dedi öğretmene, 'al okut' dedi. '4 sene getirme, al

okut.' Adam da ona razı gelmiyor, 'hani ben duramam başında' diyor. öyle kaldım yani. Geldiler yani bize, bizle görüşmeye geldiler. 6 tane öğretmenim geldi. Müdür yardımcısı geldi. (ŞLES, 25)

79.Öğretmenler çok iyiydi bizim doğuda. Yani bütün destekler onlardan geliyordu. Biz bir şey yapmıyorduk, herhangi bir kitap veya defter almıyorduk. Bütün desteği onlardan aldık.

...

Ortaokulda çok şey öğrendim. Ortaokula gelince en azından hayatı bu sefere daha iyi anladım. Okumanın ne kadar büyük bir şey olduğunu ve ne kadar insan için yararlı olduğunu anladım. Devam ettim, derslerimi yükselttim, başarıyı yükselttim. Yine bazı günler gitmediğim falan oldu. Çok iyi hatırlıyorum ortaokulu. Hocalar yardımcı oluyordu. Yani hocalar anlatırken sanki biz de savaşıyormuş gibiydik; öyle anlar hatırlıyorum. (CTES, 17)

80.Valla inanır mısınız, annemle konuşturayım sizi. Annemin çeyizlik bir sandığı vardır. İçerisini açın, karnelerin çoğunluğu ya takdirdir ya teşekkürdür. Yani boş yok. Ta bu lise üçte bırakana kadar. İşte hep.. Yani başarısız şeyimiz yok. En kötü teşekkürdü. O da yani iki puanla, üç puanla takdiri kaçırmışlığımız oldu. Ki teşekkürle ben eve gitmezdim bile. Ağlayarak giderdim. Kapının ağzında otururdum. Valla. Kapının ağzında otururdum, ağlayarak girerdim içeri. (ENES, 24)

81.Yok, anaokuluna gitmedim. İlkokula işte başladığım zamanlar hani böyle hani herkesin bir hedefi vardır ya o zamanlar, çocukluktan, 'Şunu olacağım, bunu olacağım' diye. Be öğretmen olmayı çok istiyordum o zamanlar. 'Ben öğretmen olacağım, ben öğretmen olacağım'.. İşte abim liseyi okuyordu, bahsettiğim. Amcamın oğlu bu arada. Liseyi okuyordu, sonra işte üniversite şu bu. Ben dedim ki, ben hep onun gibi olacağım. Hani binada ilk, ailemizde ilk okuyan oydu, ilk böyle yükselmeyi hedefleyen oydu. 'Ben onu gibi olacağım; işte çok iyi olacağım, çok çalışkan olacağım' diyordum. Gerçekten de ilkokul hayatımda çok çalışkandım, öğretmenlerim tarafından çok sevilirdim. Ortaokulda da aynı şekilde, yani çok orta seviyede de olsa hani sevilir bir insandım ve bu beni çok mutlu ediyordu. Yani öğretmenler tarafından bir öğrencinin sevilmesi.. Hani saygımı korumak istiyordum. Hiç böyle hayta bir öğrenci olmak aklımın ucundan geçmedi. Liseyi saymazsam işte 8 sene okul okudum ama bu 8 sene içerisinde yani hiçbir öğretmenime bir saygısızlık yapmak gibi bir niyetim oldu. Tabii ki öğrencisin, hani öğrenci psikolojisi, o zaman çocuk akıllı, baya derslerden sıkıldığımız falan oluyordu ama hiç ben böyle okuldan kaçmayı düşünen bir öğrenci bile değildim yani o zaman.

...

Çocuktuk ama. O zaman da çok bir şey hatırlamıyoruz ama tabii ki 1. sınıf zordu. Ama insan özlüyor. Geriye dönüp bakmak istiyor tabii.

...

Yani bundan önceki eğitim hayatımda.. Hani bence çok güzel geçtiğini düşünüyorum, çok güzel arkadaşlarım vardı. Güzel bir hani ortaokul yaşadım. Öyle yani. Çok güzel geçti açıkçası. Keşke o zamanlara geri dönssem. (RAES, 21)

5.3 Reflections of students on the experience of OEHS: Getting there and being there

82.Hayat şu anda genel gidiyor. Hem okuyorum hem çalışıyorum. İlerisi için bir gelecek sağlarken bir taraftan da meslek sahibi olmaya çalışıyorum. Gönül isterdi ki normal okulda olsaydım ama şartlar el vermediği için mecburen açık öğretimde okuyorum. (EHEY, 20)

83.Ben çok istedim. Onuncu sınıfa kadar ben sürekli babama direttim. Yani 'liseye gideyim, liseye gideyim'. Sonradan kendim düşündüm; şu anda Açıköğretim'de gayet, hani kredilerimi toplayabiliyorum, kendi başıma gayet güzel çalışıyorum. Şimdi bir-iki sene zaten okul ortamından uzak kalmışım, yabancılik çekebilirim. O yüzden bıraktım. Tamamen üniversiteye yöneldim. (ZPÜM, 18)

84.Şimdi benim bir arkadaşım vardı, o da bırakmak zorunda kalmıştı okulu. Yani Ardahanlıdır kendisi. O yazılmaya karar verdi, başlamaya karar verdi. Bana da dedi çok hani. Ben yok dedim. Askerlik geldikten sonra.. Askerde şöyle bir şey var: Lise mezunu olmadığım sürece TSK'da görev alamazsın. Bu yüzden de ben hani TSK'yı sevdiğim için, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'ni sevdiğim için; güzel bir meslek, vatan için en ideal bir, yani şahsen benim için ideal bir meslek o. Niye diyeceksiniz. E hırçın yetiştik, ancak orası bizi şey yapar. TSK'ya girebilmem için de lise mezunu olmam şart. O yüzden de kafaya koydum ve bitirmem lazım. (ENES, 24)

85.Açık Lise... Benim (için) daha çok şu var: Liseyi bitireyim, ondan sonra da bir 2 yıllık üniversite okuyayım diye düşünüyorum. Çünkü Açık Lise, liseyi okumayana şu an hiçbir ekmek yok. Ortaokul mezununu bile işe almıyorlar. Bu düşünceyle de liseyi bitirmeye uğraşıyorum. (HMÜM, 23)

86.YRES: Açık Lise'yi.. Ben lise üçe gelecektim, açıkta kaldım. Okul beni açığa aldı puanı yükselince. Okulun puanı yükselince beni açığa aldı; mecbur, Açık Lise'ye geçtim.

Zeynep: Öyle nasıl oluyor? Sen o okula kayıtlısın?

YRES: Evet.

Zeynep: Okul seni nasıl açığa alıyor?

YRES: Müdür dedi, 'Açıkta kaldım.'

Zeynep: Ama bir sene okumuştun?

YRES: Orada okudum. Ama diyor, 'Sen okulun puanı yükselince açıkta kalıyorsun. Mecbur. Başka bir şeye de nakledemiyoruz.' dedi. Açıkta kaldım.

...

Mecbur ben seçtim ailemle; çünkü liseyi okumam lazım, bitirmem lazım okulu. Ondan. Açıkta kalacağıma mecbur açıktan okuyayım dedim. Ondan açıktan sınavlara girdim. (YRES, 18)

87. Çok farklı. Mesela normal okul okumadığınız zaman her ne kadar bilgili olsanız da toplum açısından yine bir şey, önyargı var; 'okumamış' önyargısı var. Biz ilk geldiğimizde bize ilk önce şey soruluyordu, 'Türkçe biliyor musunuz?' Ama ben o zaman Türkçe değil, mesela ben okumayı biliyordum. Yani köyde kendi imkanlarımızla okuma yazmayı öğrendik. Yani hala okumamdan ve yazmamdan çok fazla şey değilim, emin değilim ama hani yapabiliyoruz. O zaman mesela ilk geldiğimizde önyargı çok vardı. Hani 'Okumayı biliyor musunuz'. Okumayı da geç, şey diyorlardı, 'Türkçe biliyor musunuz?' Bu sefer ben diyordum, 'Türkçe biliyorum da ben okumayı da biliyorum. Bana bu kadar önyargılı gelmeyin yani, bakmayın.' Onun hani büyük bir sebebiydi Açıköğretim'e başvurmak. Biz orada kendimizi kanıtlamak içindik aslında. Bilgi edinmek için, artık insanların üstümüze gelmemesi için. Başvurduğumuz zaman da bu sefer insanlar diyorlardı ki 'Bu yaşta okul mu okuyacaksın, bir şey mi öğreneceksin!' Bu da vardı. Hala da var. Yani bu bizim için çok fazla bir şey oldu mu hani düşünce açısından, hayır. Çok fazla etki etmedi ama yine bir eksikliği vardı tabii. Yani normal okul gibi olmuyor. Aslında mesela devlet eğer tam, hani bu sistemi başlatmış ya, Açıkta okuma; ya bu sistemi bütünüyle düşünmeli ya da öyle davranmalıydı mesela. Var, insanlar başvuruyor ama insanlar, toplum bununla yetinmiyor. Hani senden farklı bir şey istiyorlar. İmkanının ne kadar kısıtlı olduğunu bilmiyorlar. Farklı bir gözle bakıyorlar. Bunun normal okulla aynı olması gerekiyordu, imkanlarını. Şartlarının biraz daha esnek olmasını, daha kolay olmasını isterdim yani. (HEES, 25)

88. Ailemden karşı çıkan oldu. Normal okulu okuyamadın bunu nasıl okuyacaksın. İnsan kendini bildi mi, doğru bildiğinde gider. Her doğru da doğru değil tabii. Doğru olanı da yapmak lazım. Amcam ve abim karşı çıktı ama babam destekledi. Başka da bir sıkıntı çıkmadı. (EHEY, 20)

89. Ya bir şey olmadı. İyi oldu ondan sonra. Böyle böyle. Bak, dedim, iş buldum, çalışacağım. Zaten derslerim de kötü dedim. Ama derslerim iyi. Sınıfta kalıyorum baba dedim, okula gitmiyorum, devamsızlığım çok. 'İyi bok yedin' dedi. 'Öğreneceksin zamanla' dedi. 'Sonradan pişman olacaksınız' falan dedi. Baya böyle şey bastı. 'İyi tamam' dedim, dinlemedim. O zamanlar tabii, o yaşta daha şey olur ya, ergenlik dönemi. Ondandı. Ondandı sonra işe bir girdim, hayatta hiç görmediğim, yani o yaşta kadar hiç görmediğim şeyi, onlarca şey gördüm. (ENMA, 19)

90. MDÜM: Şöyle söyleyeyim: Ben iki yıl hafızlık yaptım, Kuran kursuna gittim. Zaten şeyden sonra oldu. Liseyi bıraktım, Kuran kursuna gidince zaten resmi olduğu için otomatik onlar kendileri ayarladılar. Bizim hiç fikrimiz sorulmadı yani.

Zeynep: Nasıl yani?

MDÜM: Yani girdik, yazıldık Kuran kursuna. Herkes, bir grup düşünün elli kişilik, herkesi halk eğitimden açık liseye yazdırdılar. O şekilde yani. Yani yok, 'siz imam hatip mi okuyacaksınız veya farklı bir şey mi yapacaksınız' diye sorulmadı yani. Direkt eşit.

Zeynep: Neden böyle bir şey yaptılar peki? Lise eğitiminize de bir yandan devam etmeniz için mi?

MDÜM: Evet. 'hem açıktan lisenizi okuyun, diplomanızı alın' dediler, 'hem de hafızlığınızı bitirin' falan diye düşündüler.

Zeynep: Yani aslında bu karar tam olarak sana ait bir karar değil?

MDÜM: Bana ait değil yani. Oraya gitmek de bana ait değildi zaten. Oraya da zorunlu gittik. O zaman küçüktük böyle, laf dinleme olayları falan. Gerçi hala öyle. Söz dinledik, gittik. pişman değilim ama güzeldi. En azından liseyi bitirseydim iyiydi o zamanlar. O zamanlarda hem onu yap hem onu yap olmuyordu. Sonuçta insanız yani. Bütün hepsini kafa almıyor ki. Çalışmıyoruz. Şimdi bitireceğiz inşallah. Kafaya koydum yani. (MDÜM, 23)

91. Burayı tercih etmem biraz babamın ısrarı üzerine oldu. Hani 'en azından liseyi bitir' falan gibisinden dedi. Ben de hani bir kayıt yaptırdım. İlk sınavlarım da hani biraz güzel geçince 'demek ki kolay yapabilirim' dedim hani. OI yüzden devam ettim hani açıkçası.(NAEY, 21)

92. Zeynep: Have you ever considered going to open vocational and technical high school?

EAEY: At first, I also considered it, but I thought that I can't attend to the classes all the time, because I work; that's why I didn't want it. I preferred this one. (EAEY, 23)

93. Zeynep: Why did you decide to be transferred to OEHS from open vocational and technical high school?

EHEY: It was far away. From G... to B..., I already have to work. I was getting very tired when I spent the only one free day I had from work in a week. Everything was cluttered, so I thought OEHS was better and was transferred to here (EHEY, 20).

94. Ya kolay yanı bence yok ama zor yanı var. Çünkü öğretmen yok, dersleri kendin öğrenmeye çalışıyorsun. Sınava öyle giriyorsun. Kimse sana bir yol göstermiyor.

...

I: Peki zorluk çektiğin oluyor mu? Hani bir bilgiye ulaşmada Açık Lise'yle ilgili? 'Ya ne olacaktı acaba, kayıt ne zamandı, dersler ne zaman, sınavlar ne zaman' gibi. Zor oluyor mu bu bilgilere erişmek?

BEÜM: Zor oluyor. Oluyor. Hatta kayıt, ocakta kayıt yenilemem gerekiyormuş, onu bilmiyordum mesela. (BEÜM, 16)

95. DNES: Uzaktan okumak.. Yani ders çalışmıyorsun, yani bakmıyorsun. Kötü yani. Sınava girdiğin zaman bir şey bilmiyorsun. Verdiği kitapları da çalışmıyorsun. Hani..

...

DNES: Bence Açıköğretim daha zor geliyor bana. Bir şey bilmiyorsun. Çünkü yine orada, okulda ders anlatıyorlar. Aklında kalmıyor ama burada öyle değil. (DNES, 17)

96. Ama şey yani, hiç hazırlanmıyorum, dürüst olayım. Direkt sınava giriyorum. Çünkü nasıl hazırlanabilirim ki? Mesela bir lise boyunca, düşünsenize, her gün derse giriyorsunuz, her gün haftalık program var, o kadar yetiştiremiyorlar konuları. Ben nasıl bir sınav için o kadar yetiştireyim ki? İmkansız benim için. (EAEY, 23)

97. Şimdi şöyle bir şey: Eğer ki öğretmen yardımını olabilse daha güzel olurdu. Çünkü neden; liseye gittiğinizde o dersleri görmeniz zorunlu. İşte o derslerden geçmeniz zorunlu. Yapabilmeniz için de ders çalışmanız lazım veya o dersleri verebilmeniz lazım. Ama açıköğretimde öyle bir şey yok, açık lisede öyle bir şey yok. Hem dışarıdan işte okuyorsun hem ailine destek olabilmek için çalışma imkanın var. Bu konuda güzel. Ki sadece kötü bir yanı açık lisenin, dediğim gibi, zorunlu olarak baskı yok. Hani mesela atıyorum, öğretmen baskısı olsa şahsen.. Ben bir senedir okuyorum, benim üç-beş kredim falan var. Ben onu, inanım, iki sene içerisinde bitiririm. 190 kredi almamız lazım. Eğer öğretmen başımızda olup da böyle bir baskı kursaydı belki de bir sene içerisinde ben bütün sınavlarımı vermiştim veya bir buçuk - iki sene içerisinde vermiştim yani. (ENES, 24)

98. Mesela evde çalıştığınız zaman açıktan mesela evde öğrenemiyorsunuz. Birinin size anlatması gerekiyor. Öğrenemiyorsun. Mesela bu sözel kitapları okuyabiliyorsun ama matematiği, İngilizceyi yapamıyorsun. Açıköğretim'de mesela matematik 6 kredili, mesela coğrafya dersi 2 kredili. Böyle olmaması gerekiyor, matematiğin de anı, eşit olması gerekiyor. Evdeki insan ne kadar matematiği öğrenebilir; ileri düzeyde matematik bir de yani. Üniversite öğrencilerinin yapamadığı sorular, dersler. Onların da aynı kredili olmasını isterdim. Bir de daha kolay olmasını isterdim. Ya da matematikle İngilizce hiç olmasaydı mesela.

...

Derslerimi genelde akşamları çalışmaya çalışıyorum. Herkes o zaman odalarına çekiliyor ya. Çalışmaya çalışıyorum. 1-2 saat çalışıyorum. Onun dışında zaten öğreten kimse olmadığı için anlamıyorsun ya. Okuyorsun okuyorsun, hiçbir şey anlamıyorsun. Bu sefer uykun geliyor. Hani bir şey çözdüğün zaman aklın canlanır ya, insan canlanıyor. Ama anlamadığın zaman üşeniyorsun, bırakıyorsun. Ben en fazla iki saat çalışıyorum; çünkü okuduğum zaman bakıyorum, kitabın üstünde uyumuşum. (HEES, 25)

99. Uzaktan liseye gitmek zor. Neden zor; çünkü hani karşınızda size ders verecek bir öğretmen yok. İşte zaten başka şeylerle hani şey olduğunuz için, meşgul olduğunuz için, zaten o yüzden Açıköğretim Lisesi'ne kayıt yaptırıyorsunuz. Hani onlarla meşgul olduğunuz için o derslere zaman ayıramıyorsunuz, belki sabahlıyorsunuz. Belki hani işlerinizden, kendinizden feda ediyorsunuz. Hani ben çok zorlanıyorum açıkçası.

Çünkü elimden tutan zaten kimse yok, hani en büyük çocuk olduğum için. Hani interneti açıp da öyle bir yararlanma şeyim de yok. Yani bilmiyorum, ben çok zorlanıyorum açıkçası. İlk okuduğum 5 ayın kredileri ilk sınavımda geldi, 58 kredi aldım. Sonra hani dersleri zaten anlamadım. Hani zaten ilkokuldan, lise birden çıkmışım. O yüzden hiçbir bilgim yok. Çok zorlandım açıkçası. Hala zor. (ZAÜM, 17)

100. Ya bazı şeyler, mesela fizik filan, o tür şeyler biraz sıkıntı yapıyor. Onlara hafiften çalışmak zorundasın. Sonuçta gittiğinde Arapça kalıyorsun mevzuya. Baya sıkıntı oluyor. Onlarda hafiften çalışmak zorundasın. Bir (tek) sıkıntı orası yani. (OREY, 18)

101. Derslere sadece, birkaç tane üniversiteli, Marmara Üniversitesi'nde arkadaşım var, onlar geliyor, yardımcı oluyorlar. Onlar olmasa zaten zor. Eve geliyorlar, evde test çözdürüyorlar. İşlemler. Sonra konu anlatımı yapıyorlar sağolsunlar. Kitapları veriyorum onlara. Böyle haftada bir kere falan. Bazen hiç, yani iki haftada bir kere falan oluyor. Ama olsun yani, o bile yeter. (MDÜM, 23)

102. Onları pek kullanmıyorum ama bu sene, aşağıda gelirken dikkatimi çekti, meslek üzerinde herhangi bir belge, ustalık belgesi alma tarzında şeyler varmış. Hani kendi mesleğimin belgesini almayı düşünüyorum. Şu an bir tane ısıtma-soğutma üzerine var bir belgem, bir tane daha alacağım. O biraz daha farklı bir belge. Onun için tekrar yazılabiliyim buraya ya da bölüm değişiyorsa, artık ne gerekiyorsa onu yapacağım. (ŞKES, 18)

103. Belediye başkanı her türlü mesajı atıyor. Yok icra borcunuz, vergi borcunuz; onlar geliyor ama eğitime gelince... Ya yalan yok şimdi yani. Zaten hayatımız borçtan ibaret olduğu için söylüyorum. Hayatımız borçtan ibaret. Öğrenciyiz ama borç ödüyoruz. Öğrenciyiz, işe gidiyoruz; öğrenci olduğumuz için az para alıyoruz. Bunları gördüm ben. Öğrenciler hiç umursanmıyor zaten, bundan eminim. Ya en azından mesajla böyle bir bilgilendirme olabilir, biz de geliriz. Bilgimiz olsa niye gelmeyelim yani? Şuradan şurası, kapımın önü burası benim. Ama yok. (MDÜM, 23)

104. Ya bu biraz takip etmeye bağlı. Yani sen girmediğin sürece, AÖL sayfasına girmediğin sürece öğrenemiyorsun. Ara sıra giriyorum, sayfaya bakıyorum. 'Öğrenciye gelen mesajlar' diye bir buton var bizim sayfamızda. Oraya bakıyorum ne mesajı gelmiş (diye), oradan öğreniyorum ama sürekli bir takip - Sen kendin talip edeceksin yani (ZPÜM, 18)

105. Sadece aol.com var. Bir tek oradan alıyorum. Geçenlerde yine geldim, söyledim. Yine alamıyordum oradan. İş takviminde arıza mı ne olmuş. Geldim buraya, kendim sordum. Yani onu da sormasak kayıt da yenileyemeyeceğiz. İki sefer kaçırdım zaten. Sınav giriş yerlerini söyleyeyim; haber verilmiyor, kendimiz bakıyoruz. Yani sonuçta

çalışıyoruz abi, sadece derse odaklansak hatamız bizim olur o zaman, eyvallah. Ama hem çalışıyoruz hem okuyoruz falan, o da ağır geliyor. Bir bilgilendirme mesajı falan gelse daha etkili olur yani en azından. İki kere sınav kaçırdım böyle, misal veriyorum. Çalıştığım zamanlar. Çok yoğun çalışıyordum, mesai falan. İki kere sınav kaçırdım. Haberim olmadı, fırsat bulamadım. En azından mesaj gelse, yani bile bile gitmesen kendi hatan olur ama bilmeden gitmediğin için bir şey de yapamıyorsun. (MDÜM, 23)

106. Ya istek yoktu. Bari, dedim, açığa yazılayım, dedim. Bir de ben arabaları çok seviyorum. Dedim, ehliyeti dedim, en azından açıktan okuyor gözüdürsem, ehliyeti de daha rahat alabilirim, dedim. Ama 18 yaşına geldiğimde akşam okuluna yazılmayı düşünüyorum.

...

Okuldaki, arkadaşlarım, 'Okumak istemiyorsan açık liseye yazıl bari' dedi, 'boşta durma' dedi. (BEÜM, 16)

107. İlk Açıköğretim'i bilmiyordum. Sonra babam dedi, 'Okuldan atılmışsın, git Açıköğretim'e yazıl.' Ben de geldim, zaten Bayram hocayı da az-çok tanıyordum, o yani yazdırdı beni. Öyle Açıköğretim'e geldim. (DNES, 17)

108. Mesela geçen sınavlarda şey oldu - Hatta geçen gün geldik, kayıtlarımızı yapmadılar. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı şey yapmamış. demiş, 'Kayıt yapmayın' diye. Hani mesela eve geri döndük mecbur. Bugün geldik işte tekrar kayıt yenilememi, yapmam için. Bankaya para yatırdım o gün.

...

Evet. Mesela bu sene çok arıza çıktı. Sınav kağıtlarımızın tarihleri yanlış çıktı, ondan sonra sınav günlerimizi şey yaptılar, biraz daha öne verdiler. Bu sene çok mesela şey oldu. Bu konuda mesela insanlar çok şikayetçi oldu. Hani mesela emeğinize yazık oluyor bazen. O kadar çalışıyorsun, odaklanıyorsun. Sonra bir şey olur, odaklanman bozuluyor. Böyle nasıl desem, insanın hevesi kalmıyor. Yani o konuda beni duyuyorlarsa.. (SNES, 18)

109. Açık Lise'de biraz şey oluyor, aksaklıklar oluyor. Geliyoruz, kitaplar yok. Kayıtlarımızı yapıyoruz, bu sefer ders seçimi yapamıyoruz. Lise dersleri daha çok fazla ağır geldiği için evde yaşamıyoruz, özellikle evde hiç yapamıyoruz. Ev ortamını biliyorsunuz; belki hani öğrenme açısından biraz zorluk çıkarıyor. Öyle yani. Şu an hala Açık Lise'deyim ve bitmiyor. (Gülüyor) Biteceğini de sanmıyorum

...

Evet. Mesela ortaokulda her kayıt yaptırdığımızda mesela kaydımızı yaptırıyorduk, ders seçimimizi burada yaptırıyorduk, buradaki görevliler yapıyordu ortaokulun. O ortaokul sistemi çok güzeldi mesela. Yaptırıyorlardı. Orada kitaplarımız hazırды, aşırp gidiyorduk, evde çalışıyorduk; o rahat geçti. Mesela bu lise öyle değil. Geliyoruz, kaydımızı yaptırıyoruz, ders seçimi yapamıyoruz. Aradan bir zaman geçiyor, ders seçimi yapıyoruz. Bu sefer geliyoruz kitapları almaya, kitaplar değişmiş, çoğu kitap yok. Bu sefer evde hani ders seçmişsin ama

kitaplar olmayınca daha bir zorluk oluyor. Mesela ben bu dönem kaydolacaktım. Geldim sordum demin, şey diyor mesela; şimdi kaydoluyoruz, ders seçimini kayıtlar bittikten sonra yapıyoruz, ondan sonra kitaplar da kasımda gelecek. E kasımda gelirse sınav aralıkta olacak. (HEES, 25)

110.Sayıldı ama imam hatip olduğu için, bilirsiniz belki, bazıları silinmek zorundaydı. Ben düz liseden bitirdim. Bazıları silinmek zorunda kaldı. Şimdi silinince de şey oldu; benim kredim baya düştü. Çünkü meslek derslerim benim 100'dü, 90'dı. Arapça mesela muazzamdı. Şu an bile çok iyi Arapça konuşabilirim. İbranice konuşurum mesela. (İbranice bir cümle söylüyor.) (ARES, 19).

111.Yazıyı dedim. Sonra bir ertelemeler falan oldu, araya bir şeyler girdi. İçeriden okuyabileceğimi öğrendim. Ondan sonra belli bir yaş sınırı varmış, ondan da gidemediğim için hepsi kaldı.

...

112.Aynen. İçeri gidebilirdim, geç kaldım altı ay kadar. Bir dönem kadar geç kalmışım yani. Askerden geldik. Geç kalmasaydım tekrar içeriden okuyup bitirebiliyordum ama..

...

Yok, tamamen bitti. Yaştan dolayı. Yaş geçti. O zaman geldiğimde işte 21 yaşındaydım, misal veriyorum. 21 yaşında alıyorlardı bir dönem öncesine ama bir dönem geç kaldığımız için almadılar. Artık yaş 23 oldu, daha da almazlar yani. (MDÜM, 23)

113.Evet, var. Ama şeydir, onlar kursa gelmişti. Gene de hep - Ben zaten Açıköğretim'i keşfettiğim günden beri tüm arkadaşlarıma 'Açıköğretim'den okuyun' diye baskı yapıyorum. Sürekli. Kaç arkadaşım şu anda Açıköğretim'e yazıldı benim sayemde. Ondan sonra kurslara yazıldılar. Mesela bir tane arkadaşım liseyi bitirdikten sonra burada çocuk gelişimi kursu, onla şey yaptı. Şu an mezun. Liseyi bitirdikten sonra çocuk gelişim öğretmeni. (SNES, 18)

114.Hani onlarla da yeni tanıştım. Ben bilgisayar kursuna gidiyordum, orada tanıştım. Bazen hani değişik bir test bulduklarında hemen mesaj atıyorlar, 'bu burada, şurada, şu sayfaya bak'; hani o şekilde fikir alışverişimiz oluyor. (ÖMÜM, 25)

115.Zeynep: Peki Açık Lise'deki sisteme ilişkin bilgileri yardıma ihtiyacın olduğunda nereden alıyorsun? İşte kayıt yenilemedir, sınavlardır..?
CTES: Facebook var. Genelde ben Facebook' girmiyorum ama Facebook Açıköğretim grupları var. Baya bir öğrenci oraya gelmiş. Ben yorumlara bazen bakıyorum herhangi bir sıkıntı, sistem bozukluğu v arsa oradan öğreniyorum. Hatta bu yıl baya bir oldu; hepsini oradan takip ettim, öğrendim. Ona göre gittim. Bir Facebook Açıköğretim gurubu var, baya bir öğrenci var orada. Birkaç tane arkadaşım var, onları da eklemiştım

- zaten. Bütün bilgileri oradan alıyorum. Herhangi bir şey olursa zaten Bayram hoca var. Onunla çok, devamlı konuşuyoruz zaten" (CTES, 17)
116. Benim ailem okurken bana hiç karışmadı ama, yani yardımcı olmadı ama iş seçimi konusunda bana hiç bırakmadılar, kendileri daha çok.. O zaman tabii, 14-15 yaşlarında, 'meslek sahibi olursun' falan diyerek itelediler (SNEY, 24)
117. Afedersiniz bok gibi geçiyor hayat. Neden diyeceksiniz; hani nasıl söyleyeyim, öğrencilik yapmaya çalışıyoruz, bir zamandan da çalışıyoruz. Evdeki... Zaten aileyle yaşıyoruz yaştan ötürü. Hem evdekilere bakmaya çalışıyoruz hem dışarıda bir yaşam mücadelesi veriyoruz. Yani sadece, şöyle söyleyeyim size, 8 saatlik bir zaman diliminde çalışıyorum. Onun dışında da sosyal etkinlik yapmaya çalışıyorum. Nasıl söyleyeyim, sokak röportajları olsun, müzisyenlik yapıyorum, müzik olsun. Onun dışında kendime ayıracak vaktim kalmıyor zaten. Bir de ders çalışmaya çalışıyorum. Nasıl söyleyeyim, ne uyku uyuyabiliyoruz ne adam gibi çalışabiliyoruz. Hiçbir kimse memnun değil zaten şu anki hareketlerimizden normal olarak. Kendimize de vakit ayıramadığımız için hayat hiç güzel değil yani. Bakmayın güldüğüme; çünkü kimse görüldüğü gibi değil. Çünkü insanlar gülüyoruz, mutlu zannediyor. Kimse güldüğü için mutlu değildir aslında. (MDÜM, 23)
118. Açıköğretim'e o yüzden yazıldım. Dedim, okusam da liseden sonrası yok. En azından dedim, kendi mesleğimin sahibi olayım. Daha doğrusu ben tamirat işlerini çok seviyorum. Şöyle söyleyeyim; ben okul zamanında da, 7. sınıfta, 8. sınıfta da kendi ev eşyalarımı, işte o tarz şeyleri söküp değişik şeyler yapmayı seven bir insandım. Kendime ait bir küçük takım çantam vardı yani bu işe girmeden önce de. O tarz şeylerle uğraşıyordum. Sonra yazın çalışırken her öğrencinin - Yani her öğrenci demeyeyim de farklı öğrencilerin yaptığı gibi ya da benim kendi şeyimde, nasıl diyeyim, kendi paramla bir şeyler almayı seviyorum. Böyle ortaokulda işte son dönem girdim meslek üzerine. Dedim, en azından istediğimi alırım, lise civarında biraz harçlığımı çıkartırım. Girdim, öyle kaldım işte. Açıköğretim Lisesi'ne girdik buradan. (ŞKES, 18)
119. Ben kendim, yani birilerine yük olmadan (yaşamak) kendi küçüklüğümden beri huy edindiğim bir şey. Kendi istediğimi kendim alan birisiydim. Aynı zamanda tamirat, tadilat işlerini seviyordum. Yazın böyle işe girdim. Hoşuma da gidiyor yaptığı meslek. Yani hani kimi insan resim çizerken, kimi insan yazı yazarken, kimi insan bir şeylerle uğraşırken hoşuna gidiyor; benim de bu tarz şeyler hoşuma gidiyor. Öyle girdim. Zaten okusaydım da bu tarz bir şeyler olacaktım. Sadece proje çezecektim; aradaki fark bu olacaktı. Yetkim olacaktı. Yine böyle oldu yani. Fark etmiyor benim için. (ŞKES, 18)

120. Ya öyle oluyor. Ama bende öyle değildi. Bir kere kaçtım. Baktım, annem yine götürecekti, bir daha denemedim. Sonra derslerim iyiydi ama okumak istemiyordum. Öyle. Çünkü çalışmak daha iyi geliyordu bana yani.

...

Bildiğin çalışmak. Yani şeyde, lisede mesela okulu sırf çalışmak için bıraktım. Çünkü insan okuyarak değil de daha çok çalışarak çoğu şeyi öğreniyor. Çünkü ben lise ikiye kadar salakmışım diyorum kendime. O zamana kadar. Çünkü ben sanıyordum ki o zamanlar, bir şeyler öğreniyordum sanıyordum. Ama hiçbir şey öğrenmiyordum. Yani gerçek hayata atıldığımda, tek başına yaşamaya başladığımda, kirayı kendim ödediğimde falan; o zaman anladım her şeyi. Çalıştığımda. O insanlar sana o kadar çok şey öğretiyor ki. (ENMA, 19)

121. Yani kolay yönleri var. Sınavda soruları kolay soruyorlar. Bazen zor soruyorlar ama kolay yönleri var aslında. İkisinde de çalışman gerekiyor zaten. Benim için bir tecrübe oldu. İş hayatına atıldım. Erken yaşta iş hayatına atıldım ve daha çok olgunlaştırdı (beni). Benim için güzel.

...

Hem kendin öğreniyorsun, bir şeyler öğretiyorsun. Yani hayatın gerçeklerini görüyorsun. Evde, dediğim gibi, oturunca bir şey göremiyorsun. Daha böyle atılgan olmanı sağlıyor. O yanları güzel. Zor yanları sabah erken kalkmak galiba. Ama benim öyle bir sıkıntım yok şu anlık. Ama yazın öyle olacak, sabah erken kalkmak zorunda kalacağım. (İMEY, 18)

122. Ama çok güzeldi yani. İnsanları tanıdım. Ya düşünebiliyor musun, bir hırsız gözünden tanıyorsun. Pazarcılar bunu biliyor ve bana da öğrettiler yani. İnsan deneyimleriyle yani ben bir hırsız şey yapabiliyordum. Bir de dört gözün olması gerekiyor, her şeye bakman gerekiyordu. Bir de en çok gururlandığım şey ne, biliyor musun; hiç tanımadığım insanların bana önlüğünü emanet etmesi. İçi dolu para önlük. O kadar mutlu oluyordum ki. O önlüğü hiçbir elemanın eline vermemişlerdi, sadece ben. Onun kız kardeşi vardı, bir de bendim. Mesela kız kardeşi bazen hasta oluyordu, gelmiyordu, benle kadir abi bakıyorduk tezgaha. Kadir abi işte namaz kılmaya vesaire gittiğinde önlüğü(nü) bana veriyordu. O kadar gururlanıyordum ki. Önlüğü üstümden almıyordu; 'Sende kalsın' diyordu. Böyle diyordu, 'Tamam, sende kalsın.' Öyle. (SNES, 18)

123. 14 yaşındaydım. Hatta 13'tüm ama kimlikte 14'tü. Şu an yaşıma hatta 16 yaşında, kimlikte 17. Geldim, önce fırında çalıştım. Bir türlü anlamadık. 3 gün çalıştım, çıktım işten. Ondan sonra iki ay içinde sekiz-dokuz tane iş değiştirdim veya daha fazla. Aileme dedim, 'Ben okumak istiyorum.' Onlar da 'Yok' dedi, 'Bize destek ver bu yıl' diye rica ettiler. 'Tamam' dedim. 1 yıl bir yerde çalıştım, bir restorantta çalıştım. Ondan sonra Açıköğretim okuyamadım bu sefer. Bu sefer yine bir işte çalıştım 1,5 yıl. Açıköğretim'e ondan sonra kayıt oldum. Ondan sonra başka bir işe girdim. Şu anda 1,5 yıldır bir işte daha çalışıyorum, o da bir restorant.

Ondan sonra dedim, liseye gideyim. Gidemedim. Bu yıl da böyle çalışıyorum. İşte inşallah nasip olursa liseye gideceğim. (CTES, 17)

124.Eğitim hayatım boyunca, terkten sonra yapmadığım meslek kalmadı. (Gülüyor) Yani şoförlük yapıyordum. İki sene şoförlük yaptım, bıraktım. Sonra ben de Ramiz Köfte'de o arkadaşla beraber çalıştım. Izgara ustasıydım ben. Orayı da bıraktım.

...

Orada da altı ay kadar falan çalıştım. Çünkü saatleri çok ters olduğu için. Ağır iş. Ondan sonra orada da dayanamadım, çıktım. Ne iş yaptım? Bir Belde diye bir tekstil firmasında, tekstil dediğim böyle yazlık salıncak, minder, şezlong falan yapıyor; öyle bir yerde çalıştım. Ağır sanayi benim çalıştığım yerler normalde. Şu anda. Ondan sonra zaten babamın kendi dükkanı var, reklam-tabela-matbaa. Bir zaman orada durdum, 2.5-3 sene kadar. Ondan sonra da 7 aydır burada çalışıyorum. motor fabrikası var. Tezgahtarım orada, takılıyoruz. Ağır sanayi.

...

Şöyle söyleyeyim: Ya okul okumadık, eyvallah ama çalıştık. Bir sabit bir yerde sürekli çalışmadığımız için çok bir getirisi olmadı. Sürekli sabit bir yerde çalışsaydık en azından bu yaşa kadar, güzel bir şey elde edebilirdik ama sabit bir yerde çalışmadığımız için elimizde pek bir şey yok. Yani ne bir meslek alabildik elimize. (MDÜM, 23)

125.Çünkü 15 yaşında atölyeye bıraktılar beni. Bodrum kat, güneş almıyor. Oraya giriyorduk ve sabah 8.30'da oraya girip akşam 7'ye kadar oradan çıkmıyorduk. İnsanların dışarıda ne yaptığını bile görmüyorsun. 15 yaşında bir çocuk için çok uygun bir şey değil yani bu. Okumalı çocuklar yani. 15 yaşındaki çocuklar dünyayı görmeliler, insanları görmeliler. Ben 4 sene, 19 yaşına kadar falan yaptım o işi ve sürekli aynı şekilde; sekiz buçuk(ta) gel... Bir de aynı zamanda şu var tekstilde: Maaşını tam vermiyorlar, parayı tam vermiyorlar, hor görüyorlar, iteliyorlar. Zeynep: Kaç saat çalışıyordunuz günde?

SNEY: 11 saat falan. Yani normalde tabii şey öyle değil, yasal sınırı o değil de atölyelerde öyle yani, 11 saat falan.

Zeynep: Haftada kaç gün peki?

SNEY: Cumartesi normalde öğlen bire kadar çalışılır. Hafta içi beş gün çalışılır zaten. Cumartesi bir e kadar çalışılır ama genelde beş, altı, yedi; yani o zamanlarda da çağrılıyorduk. Pazar günü de aynı şekilde.

Gelmezsen adam işten çıkartıyor. Mecbur gidiyorduk. (SNEY, 24)

126.Açık lise geçmişteki pişmanlığı bir şekilde telafi edebilmek gibi geliyor bana. Hani okulu bırakmışsın, senin için tekrardan bir şans verilmiş eline ve daha kolay bir şans bence. Bunu da iyi değerlendirmek gerekiyor. (EAEY, 23)

127.Açık lise pişmanlığın.. Yani son pişmanlıktan önceki yol ayrımı. (ENES, 24)

128. Açık Lise ikinci bir avantaj gibi sanki. Hani okulda yapamayıp da tekrar avantaj kazanmak, tekrar okumak isteyenler için bir avantaj gibi görüyorum hani. Güzel bir eğitim sistemi. Hani tekrar okumak isteyenler için güzel bir eğitim sistemi. Güzel yani hani. (NAEY, 21)
129. Genel anlamda, nasıl desem? Yani bir nevi çözüm gii bir şey. Hani hedefe ulaşmak gibi, hani bir basamak gibi bir şey. Hani fazla da bir şey katmaya gerek yok; çünkü, dediğim gibi hani, bir yerden başlamak gerekiyor. Bu da benim başlangıçlarımdan biri. (ÖMÜM, 25)
130. Ben gururlanıyorum şahsen. Yani ben, dediğim gibi, ben okumak çok istedim ama maddi durumlardan dolayı okuyamadım. Keşke olsaydı, okusaydım şu an belki bir öğretmen, bir şey olurdu ama olmadı yani. (ERES, 25)
131. Bizim için bir dönüm noktası oldu, onu diyebilirim yani. Bir değişim, bir şey hani. Önyargıların kırılması. Öyle bir şey oldu. Aile içerisinde, toplum içerisinde, han, biraz daha açtığımız zaman değil ama aile içerisinde biraz değişikliğe sebep oldu açıkçası. İyi ki böyle bir şey varmış. (Gülüyor) (HEES, 25)
132. Yani bence okumak için mükemmel bir kapı yani. Hani 'Okuyamadım ben, o zamanımızda okul yoktu' deme şansın yok artık bu devirde bence kesinlikle. Önceden herkes onun arkasına sığınabiliyordu. Ha şu anda bence lise mezunu olmayan olmasın bence de şu durumda. Bak, ücretsiz ne kadar güzel şeyler veriliyor. Bir de öğrenme şeyi de veriliyor, okuma yazma bilmeyenlere kurs veriliyor. Ben burada gördüm, kadınlar falan gelip gidiyor. (ŞLES, 25)
133. Açık Lise. Şimdi toplumun bütün kesimlerini kapsıyor, bütün kesimlerin; 7'den tut 70'e kadar. Aynı zamanda - Bak, şimdi Açık Lise'de kendiniz bir şeyler öğrenirsiniz. Kimse size öğretmez. Eğer 'yapacağım' dersiniz, hani bir amacınız varsa, yani bir şeye inanıyorsanız muhakkak yani yazılın ve bitirin. Ama gidip de diplomam olsun diye şey yapmanın bir anlamı yok. Açık Lise 7'den 70'e, hayat boyu öğretim değil midir? Hayatınız boyunca öğrenirsiniz ama öğrenmek isterseniz öğrenirsiniz. Allahü Teala hayatta der ki; 'Ben rızkı dilediğime veririm, ilimi isteyeneye.' İşte onu istemeniz lazım. (ARES, 19)
134. Beş yıl içinde yine okul ortamında görüyorum. Ben biraz bilgi edinmeyi seviyorum, öğrenmeyi seviyorum. Hani mesela bir örgünden üniversite okuyacağım, aynı zamanda Açıköğretim'den de bir üniversite düşünüyorum, bölüm düşünüyorum. O bittikten sonra yine Açıköğretim'den bir başka bölüm, örgünden yine bir başka bölüm. Sürekli bir öğrenme çabası. (ZPÜM, 18)

135. Ya iyi. Şöyle bir şey; bir yandan okuyorsun, bir yandan çalışıyorsun. Hem işini göçüyorsun hem okulunu bitiriyorsun. Eğer ben bitirirsem liseyi üniversiteye de gitmeyi düşünüyorum tabii ki. Dışarıdan bitirme yolunu da düşünüyorum. İnşallah olur yani. (ERES, 25)
136. Ne ifade ediyor? İnsanlar için güzel bir şey olduğunu ifade ediyor; çünkü hani az önce de anlattığım gibi insanların işine geliyor. (Gülüyor) Benim de işime geliyor. Hem çalışıp hem de okumuş oluyorum. Yani insanı, yani nasıl diyeyim, insanın geleceği için yardımcı olan bir şey aslında. Yani o yüzden güzelliği ifade ediyor. Yani insanı çünkü rahat bırakmış oluyorsun. Okuturken yani insanı rahat bırakmış oluyorsun aslında. Daha yani.. Şöyle düşün: Dersi okulda değil de, yani sınıfta değil de anlatıyorsun diye düşün. Öyle yani. Öğrenciler hem orada eğleniyor hem de şey yapıyor, okuyor. Çılgın Dersane. (ENMA, 19)
137. Ya açık lise, şöyle söyleyeyim; benim gibi böyle yaşam şartları biraz zor olan insanların hem okuyup hem çalışıp kendini çevirebileceği bir fırsat gibi bir şey. Çünkü okula gidiyorsunuz normal lisede okuduğunuz zaman. İşte okula gidiyorsunuz; sabah gidiyorsunuz, on ikide bitiyor okulunuz. Gidiyorsunuz, ders dinliyorsunuz, yoruluyorsunuz, erken uyanmışsınız. Vücut tükeniyor bir yerden sonra. Hop, sonra işe gidiyorsunuz. İyi de bu sefer beden de yoruluyor. Zaten sabah kafa yoruldu, akşam da beden yoruldu. Geliyorsunuz, saat on-on bir. Kimse geldiği gibi uyumaz. Ne kadar yorgun olsa da geldiği gibi uyumaz. Anca böyle bir iki gün uyumayacaksınız, öyle. Bir saat oturuyorsunuz, saat oldu on iki. Sabah altı buçukta ders var. Bunun için dört buçukta uyanman gerekiyor; dört buçuk saat uyuyacaksın. Böyle böyle kendini tüketiyorsun. Açıköğretim'de öyle değil. İşe gidiyorsun, geliyorsun. Akşam bir boşluğun oluyor, dersini çalışıyorsun. Yatıyorsun. Sonra sınav tarihleri geliyor, sınavlara giriyorsun, derslerini veriyorsun, bitiyor. Aslında normal okul döneminde bitiyor. Ama çalışırsan bitiyor. Ama şöyle söyleyeyim: Lise birde bırakırsan, yani Açıköğretim'e direkt kaydolursan normal okul süresinde bitiyor. Ama liseye başladınız, üçüncü sınıfta ya da ikinci sınıfta dönemi bırakırsanız normal okuldan bir-iki sene sonra bitiyor. Ya bu sizin için bir dezavantaj değil. Üniversiteye illa 18 yaşında gireceksiniz, 22'de ya da 23'te, tabii mesleki okuyorsanız 26'da falan bitireceksiniz diye bir kanun yok. Adam sana demiyor hani, 'Gel, bu yaşta, bu yaşta çıkacaksın, bitireceksin.' Sen istediğin yaşta gidip kaydolup, okulunu okuyup, dersini verip bitirebiliyorsun. Açıköğretim de bunun gibi bir şey yani. hem okuyup hem çalışıp kendini çevirebileceğin, hayatın zorluklarını tek başına aşabileceğin, seni biraz daha erken büyütebilecek bir fırsat veriyor sana. Böyle çalışma şartlarına erken zamanda alışıyorsunuz; çünkü üniversite zamanlarında stajlar falan oluyor. Liseyi anadoluda okuyorsun. Bitiriyorsun, üniversiteye gidiyorsun. Hiçbir bilgin yok. Geliyorsun, stajlar başlıyor. Gene hiçbir bilgin yok. E zorlanıyorsun stajda. Ben açıktan okuyorum, iş hayatını biliyorum, zorluklarını biliyorum. Bu bitti, üniversiteye gittim. Stajlarım

gelecek. Çalışma temposunu biliyorum; zorlukları ve yoruculuğunu bildiğim için üniversitede bana bir avantaj sağlayacağını düşünüyorum. Çünkü stajlara çok rahat atlatacağım. Stajyer(lik) dediğimiz çok zor bir şey. Çok eziyorlar. Onun için zorlanmayacağımı düşünüyorum. Açıköğretim aban bir avantaj sağlıyor. Bir fırsat benim için. (KMÜM, 20)

138.Yani açık lise sadece liseyi bitirip diploma alacaksan güzel bir şey, lise diploması almak istiyorsanız. Ama onun haricinde açık lisede bir eğitim yok. Yani açık liseden aldığı eğitimle hiçbir çocuk bence üniversiteyi kazanamaz. E çünkü bir eğitim yok.

...

Açık lise bana diploma ifade ediyor. Başka bir şey değil yani. 'Liseyi bitirdim' diploması. O kadar. (SNEY, 24)

139.Yani ben çok okuyor gibi hissetmiyorum şu an kendimi. Çünkü bir tek sınavlara giriyorum, o kadar. (Gülüyor) Sınavlarda da aklıma geleni, hani bildiğim şeyleri işaretliyorum. Hani çok okuyor gibi hissetmiyorum açıkçası.

...

Ben hiç çalışmıyorum. Çalışmadığım halde dersleri veriyorum, diyorum ki çalışsam... (Gülüyor)

...

Yani tabii ki bu daha kolay. Yani bence zaten böyle olmalı. Çok böyle gereksiz dersler ve gereksiz konular bence. (EAEY, 23)

140.Dediğim gibi okumak zor değil. Kitaplar veriyorlar. Bu kitapta bütün konular geçiyor, geçen konular sınavda çıkıyor. Birazcık kitabı açıp böyle normal kitap okurmuş gibi okusanız bile sınavda gördüğünüzde soruyu hani diyorsunuz ki, 'Ha, bu kitapta vardı, bunun cevabı bu.' Çünkü çok basit soruyorlar. Hani artık diyorlar ki size, yani dalga geçer gibi, 'artık okulu bitirin.' O kadar zor değil açıktan okumak. Hani bitirin, üniversitenize hazırlanın, gidin üniversitenizde okuyun, sadece liseyi bitirmek değil. Yani 20 soru var. 10'u kolay, 10'u zor. 10'unu yapabilirsin. Hiç okumasan bile yapabilirsin. Ama bazıları hiç okumadan, hiç bakmadan sayısal loto yaptığı için bitiremiyor ve onlara göre Açıköğretim zor. Açıköğretim zor olsaydı ben bugün Rize'den kalkıp gelip buraya kayıt yaptırmak için koşuşturmazdım. Ben ta Rize'den kalktım geldim. (KMÜM, 23)

141.Rahat. Yani sınava son bir hafta bile hazırlansanız çok kolayca geçebiliyorsunuz dersten. (Gülüyor) Hani bu biraz şeyin, tembellerin işi oluyor ama.. Ya nasıl diyeyim, hayatınız zaten sürekli koşuşturmalıysa ben tercih ediyorum yani. Tercih ederdim. (ZPÜM, 18)

142.Yok, bence yok yani. Çünkü sınav tarihleri, belirli sınav tarihleri oluyor. Ona gidiyorsun, sınavlarına giriyorsun. Yani mesela yapamadığın derslere 3 kere girdiğin zaman muaf oluyorsun. Mesela ben matematiği

yapamıyorum. Şu an bu 2. muaf oluşum, yani 2. muaf olacağım. Eğer bunu da yapamazsam o dersi geçmiş oluyorum. (SAMA, 17)

143.Nasıl çalışıyorum; hani normal zaten kitapların hani arka kısımlarında özetleri oluyor büyük bir çoğunluğunun. Hani onu dışında matematik, fizik gibi sayısal derslerde de hani formülleri ezberliyorum. Bir de test hani çözüyorum. Öyle. (ZAÜM, 17)

144.Kitaplarda sadece hani nereden karşıma ne çıkacak gibisinden bakıyorum. Sonra geçmiş sınav sorularını çözüyorum ki yani yüzde 50, yüzde 60 oranında hep geçmişten birkaç soru çıkıyor yani. Baya çıkıyor geçmiş sınavlardan olan sorular. Sonra işte geçmiş sınavlardan test çözüyoruz sürekli öğretmenlerle olsun, kendi başıma olsun. İnternette hani yükleniyor ya diğer sınavların cevap anahtarları, testleri falan. Oradan test çözüyorum. Kaç tane doğru yaptığıma bakıyorum, neyin üzerinde iyiysem ona daha az çalışıyorum, iyi olmadığım şeyler üzerine yoğunlaşmaya çalışıyorum. (RAES, 21)

145.Benim için, yani... Hani kimi zamanda mesela, nasıl anlatsam.. Kiminin maddi durumu iyi olmaz, Açıköğretim'e gider; kiminin ailesel durumları olur, Açıköğretim'e gider. Kimileri, dediğim gibi, hani maddi durumdan dolayı veya o tarz kişilerin gidebildiği yer.. Yani öyle ifade ediyorum açıkçası. Ben de ailesel durumlar yüzünden Açıköğretim'e gittim veya arkadaş çevrem olsun. O yüzden Açıköğretim'i tercih ettim yani. (SAMA, 17)

146.Ama Açıköğretim de pişman olan insanlar için veya okumak isteyen insanlar için bir fırsat. Çok iyi bir şey. İyi ki hani böyle bir şey ortaya çıktı. Yoksa hani mesela okuldan çıkan insanlar, şu an belki aileleri izin vermediği için okumayan insanlar, maddi imkanları olmayan insanlar bu Açıköğretim'i değerlendiriyorlar. Çünkü daha iyi. Hem hayallerinden vazgeçmiyorlar hem de ailelerinden. Öyle. (SNES, 18)

147.Uzaktan eğitim eğitim değil ki. Yani açık lise sadece liseyi bitirip diploma alacaksın güzel bir şey, lise diploması almak istiyorsanız. Ama onun haricinde açık lisede bir eğitim yok. Yani açık liseden aldığı eğitimle hiçbir çocuk bence üniversiteyi kazanamaz. E çünkü bir eğitim yok. Kendi kendinize kitaplardan, işte internette.. Ve bunu da azmeden insanlar yapar zaten. Azmetmeyen insan bunu zaten yapamaz. (SNEY, 24)

148.Güzel bir soru sordunuz; ne ifade ediyor... Bana biraz, nasıl diyeyim, böyle boşluk bir ifadesi var ya. Tanımlanmayacak bir şey. O soruyu biz boş bırakalım. (ŞKES, 18)

149.Yani.. (Gülüyor) Hiçbir şey ifade etmiyor sonuçta. Okusaydım Açık Lise'yi tercih etmezdim zaten. (VNES, 18)

150. Bir başarısızlık tablosu. Çünkü 5 yıl içerisinde hani okusaydım üniversite bitmişti, belki staj görüyordum hemşire olarak. Hani belki güzel bir hastanedeydim, çok güzel çalışma arkadaşlarım vardı. Ama hani böyle olunca durum, pek de öyle gözüküyor açıkçası. (ZAÜM, 17)
151. Tekstilde iyi bir yere gelmişim; orada görüyorum. Aynı zamanda eğitime devam ediyorum. Hani zaten bu yani her zaman gözümü kapattığımda, akşam yatağa yattığımda bunu düşünüyorum. Hem okulum var; çünkü aynı zamanda kendi paramı da kazanıyorum gayet iyi bir şekilde. Bunun verdiği mutluluk, yani ikisini de başarabilmek.. (ARES, 19)
152. 5 yıl içinde nerede görüyorsunuz.. Çok güzel bir soru. Her, yani herkesin bir hayali vardır. Benim de bir hesaplama var, hayalden biraz daha ötesi bana göre. Benim kendi açımdan baktığım zaman sadece kendi mesleğim üzerine değil, büyük bir toptancı tarzında, aynı zamanda birkaç tane daha dükkan üzerinde, işletme üzerinde görüyorum kendimi. Yani patron olarak. (ŞKES, 18)
153. Mesleğimi elime almış görüyorum, inşallah da öyle olur. Tek hedefim o, mesleğimi elime almak. Bir de araba almak istiyorum. Sadece bunlar; iki hayal. Başka bir şey hayal etmedim. (İMEY, 18)
154. Gelecekle ilgili... Ya lise diplomamı almak istiyorum yani. Ama çalışmadan da olmaz bunlar. Gelecekle ilgili, yani bir meslek edinmek istiyorum, elimde bir mesleğim olsun. İleride çünkü evleneceğim, çocuk sahibi olacağım. Bunların olması için de elimde bir mesleğimin olması lazım. Bunlar olmazsa hiçbiri olmaz. (BEÜM, 16)
155. 5 yıl içerisinde kendimi liseyi bitirmiş görüyorum. Çok mutlu olurum gerçekten bitirirsem. O zaman da böyle.. Şu an liseyi bitirme telaşı içerisindeysem o zaman da üniversiteye girme telaşı içerisinde olurum. Eğer ki üniversitede gerçekten istediğim bir yere girmek istersem ben üniversiteyi örgünden okumak istiyorum. Yani böyle bir şansım olursa yani gidip gelerek okumak istiyorum, açıktan okumak istemiyorum. Yani bilmiyorum. Başka bir şehirde de olsa okumak, küçük bir kasabada da olsa o üniversiteyi, yani oranın üniversitesinde okumayı isterim. Zaten İstanbul'da üniversite okumak gibi bir hayalim yok yani. Bilmiyorum, İstanbul'da üniversite tercihim değil yani Daha böyle sakin, sessiz şehirlerde isterim ya da böyle Trabzon'da, hani böyle Karadeniz'de. Oralarda, o yeşil alanlarda. (RAES, 21)
156. 5 yıl içerisinde?.. Çok güzel bir soruydu. Nerede görüyorum; valla bu bana bağlı herhalde. Okuyabilirsem daha iyi bir yerde, okuyamazsam yine aynı işimde, aynı evimde, aynı yerde diye düşünüyorum. O anki durumuma bağlı diye düşünüyorum. Şu anda 'Öğretmen olurum' diyemiyorum yani. Şartlar neyi gösterir, onu bilemiyorum. Ama

üniversiteyi okumak istiyorum yani. Ben hocaya söyleyeceğim, yazılacağım üniversite sınavına. (ŞLES, 25)

157.İşte, orası işte çok sıkıntı. Orayı bilmiyorum işte. Hani şu anda tek amacım sadece lise diploması almaktı. Güzel gideceğini tahmin ediyordum ama bu kadar da güzel gideceğini tahmin etmiyordum. Hani tamam, başarabilirim diye düşünüyordum ama gerçekten iyi çalışmışım. Bilmiyorum şu an. Hani daha hiçbir seçim yapmadım hani 'şunu yaparım, bunu yaparım' falan diye. (ŞLES, 25)

158.Gelecekte ev kadını olmak istemediğim kesin. Yani o hayat bana biraz, annemden gördüğüm için herhalde, etrafımdaki kadınlarda gördüğüm için hiç sevmiyorum ama şu an onu yapıyorum yani. Mevcut durumum o.

...

Evde kalmak istemiyorum mesela. Bizim kadınlar eve mahkum edilmiş. Onlara sadece yaşam alanı olarak evin içi biçilmiş ama öyle olmadığını biliyorum. Bu bizim gerçeğimiz. Hani insanın kendi gerçeğini bilmesi gerekiyor. Ama elden bir şey gelmeyince, alan olmayınca mecburen yaşamak zorunda kalıyorsun. (HEES, 25)

159.Ben evde akşama kadar kocasını bekleyen, ondan sonra kocası geldiğinde de ona yemek bekleyen, sıradan bir hayat istemiyorum. Yani bunu istemiyorum; çünkü ben inanıyorum ki ülkemiz o kadar güzel ki, ülkemizin insanları mükemmel ama kadınlar erkeklerden daha üstün. Zeka olarak da. Kadınların şu ana kadar - Ben hani demiyorum. Hele bir anne. Hiçbir şey, yani onların yapamayacağı hiçbir şey yok. Eminim buna. Çünkü ben de ileride hani kendimi böyle akşama kadar evde oturan, kocası geldiğinde yemek verip ondan sonra sıradan, akşama kadar çocuğuna bak, dışarı çıkma; ben bunu istemiyorum. Çünkü benim annem öyle. Bunu annemde gördüğüm için istemedim. (SNES,18)

160.Ne olmaktan korkuyorum?.. Yani ortada kalmaktan korkuyorum diyebilirim. Çünkü hani okursam ailem bir yerden sonra desteği kesecek. Maddi-manevi, bir şekilde hani açıkta kalacağım. Yani elbette akrabalarım okumamı çok istiyor. Hani anne tarafından üniversiteye gidenler, liseye gidenler sürekli diyorlar işte, 'Oku oku. Okuman gerekiyor. Oku, hayat seni bekliyor.' falan. Hani bu şekilde söylüyorlar ama onlar bana ne kadar destek olabilirler ki hani anne-babadan ziyade? Yani bu şekilde. (ZAÜM, 17)

161.Cebimde beş kuruş parasız gezmeyi hiç istemiyorum. İlerleyen zamanları hayal ediyorum mesela. Şu anki durumumuz zaten çok kötüye gidiyor bu gidişle. 1600 liraya çalışan bir insan olarak söylüyorum. Yani 1000 lira kira verip de... Yani bugün ailemle yaşıyorum, yarın bir gün ayrıldığım zaman düşünüyorum ki ben de ayrı eve çıkacağım. Eğer kirada çıkarsam ben de 1000 lira kira vereceğim, 600 lirayla da ben geçinemeyeceğim için... Bunun hesabını yapıyorum. Yani ileride böyle biri olmak istemiyorum yani. İnsan o noktaya düştüğü zaman çok kötü biri olabilir.

Ben de öyle biri olmak istemiyorum. Çok düşünüyorum yani. Ama olmak istediğim şeyler çok başka. İnsan hep bir şeyleri olmak ister ama çabalamaz. Çabalıyorum ben. Bakalım, olduğu kadar, ne yapalım. Olmazsa da yapacak bir şey yok. Mutluyuz böyle. Gideriz, sokak köşelerinde içeriz. (Gülüyor) (MDÜM, 23)

162.Okumak isteyip polis olmak istedim ama olmadı.

...

Küçükken yani köy hayatında tamirciliğe, işte bu şeylere akıl eriyordu. Yani okuma şeyim fazla olmadığı için yani maddi durumdan dolayı, bu işlere yöneldik. Sonra unuttum yani polis olmayı falan. Ama hala aklımda polis olmak var yani. En çok istediğim. (ERES, 25)

163.Küçüklüğümün hayalimdi hep gökyüzünde olmak. Ben pilot olmak istiyordum. En büyük hayalim buydu, pilot olmak istiyordum. Sonra böyle yaş büyüdükçe bu meslekle alakalı bazı şartları araştırmaya başladım. Benim hayalim maskeli havacı olmak, F-16 pilotu olmaktı. Hem çok yüksekte uçuyorlardı hem çok hızlı uçuyorlardı, artı çok, hani nasıl diyeyim, cool gözüküyorlardı gözümde. Ve annem askeriyede çalıştığı zamanlarda çok tanıdığım olduğu için de yakından tanıma şansım oldu onları ve böyle yakından tanıdıkça iyice heveslendim o mesleğe. Çünkü adamları görüyorsun. Ya nasıl anlatsam, benim gözümde kahraman gibilerdi onlar. Havacılık benim için hep bir heves değil de böyle bir hedef oldu. Çocukluğumdan beri. Hep böyle havacılık için çabaladım. Sonra bu aile hayatı değişince daha çok para getiren işlere kaymaya başladı. Böyle hedef biraz daha küçüldü. Çünkü ona ulaşmak zordu ve çok uzun zaman gerektiriyordu. (KMÜM, 20)

164.Açık üniversite var ama şu an etrafımda o kadar çok üniversite mezunu, hani öğretmenlik okumuş, hala dışarıda, açıkta kalan insanlar var ki onlara sıra gelmeyince bana mı sıra gelecek.. Hani diyorlar ya, motivasyonum düşüyor, umudum kırılıyor.

...

Ya 7-8 yıldır, köyden geldiğimden beri bir şey değişmediyse 5 yıl sonra da hani şu an mevcut, maddi olsun manevi olsun, 5 yıl sonra da hiçbir şeyin değişebileceğini - Bilmiyorum, sadece yaşlanırım diye düşünüyorum. O kadar umutsuzum ki. (Gülüyor) Sizi umutsuzlandırdım. (HEES, 25)

165.Gelecekte hemşire olmak istiyorum. Hani ne kadar nasip olur, bilmem ama Marmara Üniversitesi'nde hani okumak istiyorum. Hani biliyorum bu çalışmayla pek olmayacağını ama hani inşallah olur. Yani bilmiyorum, ailem üniversiteyi okutacak insanlar değil. Sonuçta liseyi okutmamış, üniversiteyi hiç okutmaz. Öyle. Pek bir umudum yok açıkçası.

...

5 yıl içerisinde kendimi çocuklu çoluklu bir aile olarak görüyorum. Hani pek okuyacağımı düşünmüyorum açıkçası. (ZAÜM, 17)

REFERENCES

- Aksoy, H. H. (2012). Piyasa memnuniyetinin yeni aracı: Kesintili, dini, mesleki, ve okul dışında eğitim. *Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi*, 10(40), 9-24.
- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education*, 162(1), 67-92.
- Apple, M. (2006). Understanding and interrupting neoliberalism and neo-conservatism in education. *Pedagogies*, 1(1), 21-26.
- Arnot, M. (2004). Male working-class identities and social justice. In N. Dolby, G. Dimitriadis & P. Willis (Eds.) *Learning to labor in new times* (pp. 17-40). London: RoutledgeFalmer
- Baird, J., Elwood, J., Duffy, G., Feiler, A., O'Boyle, A., Rose, J., & McWhirter, A. (2011). *14–19 Centre research study: Educational reforms in schools and colleges in England annual report*. Retrieved from <http://oucea.education.ox.ac.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/CReSt-Annual-Report-Final-whole.pdf>
- The Basic Law of National Education numbered 1739. Retrieved from http://personel.meb.gov.tr/daireler/mevzuat/mevzuatlar/milli_egitim_temel_kanunu_1739.pdf on the 18th of October 2015
- The Basic Law of National Education numbered 6287. Retrieved from <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/04/20120411-8.htm>
- Becker, G. S. (2006). The age of human capital. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization & social change* (pp. 292-295). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1981). Men and machines. In K. Knorr-Cetina & A.V. Cicourel (Eds.) *Advances in sociological method and methodology* (pp. 304-317). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization & social change* (pp. 105-118). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bowles, S. (1971). Unequal education and the reproduction of the social division of labor. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 3,137-153.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

- Callanan, M., Kinsella, R., Graham, J., Turczuk, O., & Finch, S. (2009). *Pupils with declining attainment at key stages 3 and 4: Profiles, experiences and impacts of underachievement and disengagement*. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED526913.pdf>
- Clark, T. (2013). The evolution of K-12 distance education and virtual schools. In M. G. Moore. (Ed). *Handbook of distance education* (pp. 555-573.). New York: Routledge.
- Çam Tosun, F., & Bayram, A. (2015). Açık öğretim lisesinde artış: Kadın öğrenciler. *Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi*, 13(49), 84-99.
- Dale, R. (2011). *Early school leaving: Lessons from research for policy makers, network of experts in social sciences of education and training report*. Retrieved from <http://archimedes.ee/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/early-school-leaving-report.pdf>
- Demiray, U. (2000). Positions of distance education graduates in the job market: A case study of open education faculty graduates in Turkey. *Quarterly Review of Distance Education*, 1(2), 145-156.
- Demiray, U., & Sağlık, M. (2003). Açık öğretim fakültesi ve açık öğretim lisesi uygulamalarını içeren araştırmalara ilişkin bir değerlendirme. *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology*, 2(3), 50-59.
- Demiray, U., & İşman, A. (2014). History of distance education. *Sakarya Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 0(1), 88-108.
- Deniz, M. (2001). *Milli eğitim şuralarının tarihçesi ve eğitim politikalarına etkileri*. (Unpublished master's thesis). Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, Isparta, Turkey.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dixson, M. D. (2010). Creating effective student engagement in online courses: What do students find engaging?. *Journal of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, 10(2), 1-13.
- Donald, J. (1983). How illiteracy became a problem (and literacy stopped being one). *The Journal of Education*, 165(1), 35-52.
- Duffy, G., & Elwood, J. (2013). The perspectives of 'disengaged' students in the 14–19 phase on motivations and barriers to learning within the contexts of institutions and classrooms. *London Review of Education*, 11(2), 112-126.
- Durkheim (2006). Education: Its nature and its role. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A.

- Dillabough & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization & social change* (pp. 76-87). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Everett, D. R. (2015). Adding value: online student engagement. *Information Systems Education Journal*, 13(6), 68-76.
- Flick, U. (2017). Triangulation. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (pp. 780-781). London: Sage.
- General Directorate of Life Long Learning Open Education High School Website. (2019). Retrieved from http://www.aol.meb.gov.tr/ana_sayfa.php
- Giroux, H. (1983). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 53(3), 257-293.
- Given, L. M. (2008). Exploratory research. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 327-329). Los Angeles: Sage publications.
- Gök, F. (2004). Eğitimin özelleştirilmesi. In N. Balkan & S. Savran (Eds.), (pp. 94-110). Neoliberalizmin tahribatı: 2000'li yıllarda Türkiye 2. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık.
- Gökmen, Ö. F., Uysal, M., Yaşar, H., Kırksekiz, A., Güvendi, G. M., & Horzum, M. B. (2017). Türkiye'de 2005-2014 yılları arasında yayınlanan uzaktan eğitim tezlerindeki yöntemsel eğilimler: Bir içerik analizi. *Eğitim ve Bilim*, 42(189), 1-25.
- Henry, K. L., Knight, K. E., & Thornberry, T. P. (2012). School disengagement as a predictor of dropout, delinquency, and problem substance use during adolescence and early adulthood. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 41(2), 156-166.
- Hill, D., & Kumar, R. (2009). Neoliberalism and its impacts. In D. Hill & R. Kumar (Eds.), *Global neoliberalism and its consequences* (pp. 12-30). New York: Routledge.
- Holmberg, B. (1977) *Distance Education: A survey and bibliography*. London: Kogan Page.
- Hubbard, B., & Mitchell, N. (2011, October 02). Online K-12 schools failing students but keeping tax dollars. *The Inews Network*. Retrieved from <http://inewsnetwork.org/2011/10/02/online-k-12-schools-failing-students-but-keeping-tax-dollars/> on the 21st of December, 2015.
- Hurst, F.(2001).The death of distance learning? *Educause Quarterly*, 24(3), 58-60.
- Keegan, D. (1996). Foundations of distance education. New York: Routledge.

- Kelle, U. (1997). *Computer-assisted analysis of qualitative data*. Retrieved from http://www.dphu.org/uploads/attachements/books/books_3132_0.pdf
- Lauder, H., Brown, P., Dillabough, J. A., & Halsey, A. H. (2006). Introduction. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization & social change* (pp. 1-70). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lawson, M. A., & Lawson, H. A. (2013). New conceptual frameworks for student engagement research, policy, and practice. *Review of Educational Research*, 83(3), 432-479.
- Leech, N. L., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2007). An array of qualitative data analysis tools: A call for data analysis triangulation. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 22(4), 557-584.
- Lessard, A., Butler-Kisber, L., Fortin, L., Marcotte, D., Potvin, P., & Royer, É. (2008). Shades of disengagement: High school dropouts speak out. *Social Psychology of Education*, 11(1), 25-42.
- Lloyd-Jones, S., Bowen, R., Holtom, D., Griffin, T., & Sims, J. (2010). A qualitative research study to explore young people's disengagement from learning. Retrieved from <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/570/1/100715disengagementreporten.pdf>
- Luttrell, W. (Ed.). (2010). *Qualitative educational research: Readings in reflexive methodology and transformative practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *AISHE-J: The All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 9(3), 335-349.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41(9), 954-969.
- Matthews, D. (1999). The origins of distance education and its use in the United States. *T.h.e. Journal*, 27(2), 56-66.
- The Ministry of National Education OEHS Regulation. Retrieved from <https://kms.kaysis.gov.tr/Home/Goster/37103?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1>
- Moore, M. (1990). Background and overview of contemporary American distance Education. In M. Moore (ed.) *Contemporary issues in American distance education* (pp. xii-xxvi.). New York: Pergamon.
- National Center for Education Statistics. Fast Facts: Distance Learning. 2012. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=80> on the 27th of January, 2016.
- Nelson, C., Treichler, P. A., & Grossberg, L. (1992). Cultural studies: An introduction. *Cultural Studies*, 1(5), 1-15.

- Nolan, K., & Anyon, J. (2004). Learning to do time: Willis's model of cultural reproduction in an era of postindustrialism, globalization, and mass incarceration. In N. Dolby, G. Dimitriadis & P. Willis (Eds.) *Learning to labor in new times* (pp. 129-140). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Open Education 2018-2019 Academic Year Second Semester First Registration Guide (2019). Retrieved from http://aol.meb.gov.tr/kitap_kilavuz/2018_2019_AOL_II_donem_ilk_kayit_kilavuzu.pdf
- Perry, O., Thomson, C., & Fowkes, G. (1999). Life course data collection: Qualitative interviewing using the life grid. *Sociological Research Online*, 4(2), 1-11.
- Reay, D. (2009). Sociology, social class and education. In M. Apple & S. J. Ball (Eds.) *The Routledge international handbook of sociology of education*. (pp. 396-404). New York: Routledge.
- Rogers, L. (2016). *Disengagement from Education*. London: IOEPress.
- Ross, A. (2009). Disengagement from education among 14-16 year olds. Retrieved from <http://www.natcen.ac.uk/media/22102/ddisengagement-education-among-14-16.pdf>
- Rumberger, R. W., & Lim, S. A. (2008). Why students drop out of school: A review of 25 years of research. California Dropout Research Project. Retrieved from <https://www.issuelab.org/resources/11658/11658.pdf>
- Shale, D. (2010). The evolution of distance education. In M. F. Cleveland-Innes & D. R. Garrison (Eds.) *An introduction to distance education*. New York: Routledge.
- Simonson, M., Smaldino, S., & Zvacek, S. (2015). *Teaching and Learning at a Distance: Foundations of Distance Education*. North Carolina: Information Age Publishing.
- Singer, D., & Hunter, M. (1999). The experience of premature menopause: a thematic discourse analysis. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 17(1), 63-81. doi:10.1080/02646839908404585
- Sumner, J. (2000). Serving the system: A critical history of distance education. *Open Learning: The Journal of Open, Distance and e-Learning*, 15(3), 267-285. doi:10.1023/A:1009636417727
- Şeker, M. (2016). Quality of life index: A case study of Istanbul. *Istanbul University Econometrics and Statistics e-Journal*, 23, 1-15.
- Taylor, G. W., & Ussher, J. M. (2001). Making sense of S&M: A discourse analytic account. *Sexualities*, 4(3), 293-314.

- Tonks, D., Weston, S., Wiley, D., & Barbour, M. (2013). Opening a new kind of School: The story of the open high school of Utah. Retrieved from <http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/1345/2419>
- Vidich, A. J., & Lyman, S. M. (1994). 'Qualitative Methods: Their History in Sociology and Anthropology', pp.23-59 in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Weis, L. (2004). Revisiting a 1980's "moment of critique". In N. Dolby, G. Dimitriadis & P. Willis (Eds.) *Learning to labor in new times*. (pp. 111-132). New York: Routledge.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Willis, P. (1983). Cultural production and theories of reproduction. In L. Barton & S. Walker (Eds.), *Race, class and education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Willis, P. (2003). Foot soldiers of modernity: The dialectics of cultural consumption and the 21st-century school. *Harvard Educational Review*, 73(3), 390-415.