Views on Homeschooling: The Case of Turkey

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Abstract

This study aims to find out the reasons for preference of homeschooling by Turkish parents who are reluctant to send their children to school, the reasons for their choice of homeschooling, and their opinions regarding homeschooling. The study was carried out in phenomenological design among qualitative research patterns. Semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with nine mothers who were contacted through social networking sites. The results indicated that the participants do not want to send their children to school mainly because they think existing public schools do not provide well-equipped teachers or learning environments. Also, they revealed that they favour homeschooling as it maintains a learning continuum compliant with human nature, in a learning environment that takes individual characteristics into consideration, so that children can grow up as free-thinking, self-confident individuals with higher self-esteem and awareness of democracy, without losing their intrinsic motivation for learning. Finally, the study disclosed the parents' need for an alternative education environment for their children.

Key words: *alternative education; home school; primary education; homeschooling.*

Introduction

Education has been a part of human life since the existence of mankind on earth. Initially, education was the responsibility of the family. It migrated to schools in parallel with women's working outside the home, especially after the Industrial Revolution (Aydın, 2015; Gündüz, 2006; Neuman & Aviram, 2003).

Although the origins of homeschool are rooted in antiquity, the emergence of this alternative educational approach has created a growing tendency, starting from the 19th and 20th centuries, as part of the reaction to educational deficiencies in public schools (Knowles, Marlow, & Muchmore, 1992). Initially gaining prominence with the emergence of industrial society in western countries, school soon came under

criticism by some scientists and pedagogues, and methods of alternative education and instruction were introduced. The first example was disclosed by J.J. Rousseau with "Emile", and in around 1935 school was heavily criticised by B. Russell (Gündüz, 2006). From the end of the 1960s on, radical educational thinkers like Edgar Friedenberg, John Holt, Paul Goodman, A.S. Neill, Ivan Illich, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren have rejected existing school methods, compulsory education, adult authority, and school rules (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004). Some radical educators have even gone so far as to claim that school is an unnecessary obstacle for real learning on its own, calling for young people to learn naturally by directly participating in society with homeschooling (Miller, 2010). Critics who devalue the community hosting school, believe that school is a place where students are like convicts who are mentally and emotionally confined, and teachers are guardians or servants of the system. They regard schools as places where students are classified and monitored, and harmful production and consumption cultures thrive, apart from a few benefits (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004). In the broadest sense, the increasingly anti-cultural movement of homeschooling opposes narrowly defined curricula, standardized tests, preidentified rules, and time spent in school overall. Parents choose to keep their children out of school (Gray & Riley, 2013; Kaya, 2015; Lines, 1994) particularly for religious, economic, and ideological reasons. In short, complaints and discomfort about traditional schools have led both families and educational authorities to seek new alternatives and alternative practices. As a result, the concept of "homeschool" has come to the forefront, mainly in the United States (Aydın, 2015). In a study on institutionalization of children's education by the Ministry of Education in the United States in 1969, it was concluded that a child should not be introduced to formal education until the age of 8-12 (Basham et al., 2007). However, the legalisation of homeschool did not take place until the 1990s (Kaya, 2015).

Although, in modern learning theories, educators emphasize that the objective of school is to prepare for the "real world", it is a stretch to say that a classroom full of teachers, peers, course books, homework and tests as part of a pre-planned program, is the real world of a child. In the real world, the individual learns by discovering their environment and interacting with that environment (Gray & Riley 2013). Homeschooling supporters believe that students who are taught at home and in the community at the same time will have a culturally much richer learning experience compared to those who are predominantly taught at school only (Lyman, 1998). In this respect, homeschooling moves school from the above-mentioned structured setting into the much larger real world (Anthony & Burroughs, 2012). Important historical figures educated at home such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Thomas Edison, and Mark Twain are examples of the "world is my teacher" mode, and these individuals in fact demonstrate that homeschooling is not a historically new concept (Lyman, 1998; Basham et al., 2007).

Homeschooling is a practice in which children of school age are educated at home rather than at school (Lines, 1994). The school's systematic curriculum, planned

lessons, and extrinsic motivation built on rewards and punishments leave their place to the real world based on intrinsic motivation, whereby the student makes decisions at homeschool (Knowles et al., 1992). Unlike the predefined stages and classrooms, a skill-based model is taken as a basis for homeschool that dignifies the individual and considers the self-realization and learning capacity of the individual (Karaali, 2015; Taşdan & Demir, 2010). Though homeschool is defined as the practice of academic learning in the home under the supervision of parents outside school walls, it does not seem apt to fit it to a specific description, considering the various ways of implementation. Since parents take an active part, task distribution is done in the family, and homeschool offers quite a flexible setting, which is a part of real life; it is possible to shape homeschooling in line with the needs of the child and the expectations of the family (Kaya, 2015). Parents can choose to follow the school curriculum at home, a pre-planned and packaged program by private publishing houses, or enroll in correspondence programs extended by various schools. Some parents use a curriculum designed by an umbrella school. The umbrella school provides support for parents with a basic curriculum to be followed and the necessary assessment forms (Lyman, 1998; Mintz, 2010). Another approach is complete homeschooling. In this approach, parents designate their educational approach according to the children's interests instead of a pre-established curriculum (Mintz, 2010). In home education, families can opt for less-structured approaches as they gain self-confidence. Meanwhile, they can refer to homemade teaching materials and local libraries. Children educated at home can also attend trips and learning activities with children studying in other homes (Lyman, 1998). In addition, the education can be boosted with certain subjects such as foreign language, music, chemistry, or physics (Kaya, 2015; Lyman, 1998; Taşdan & Demir, 2010).

Due to increased interest, homeschool has become much easier because of new technologies, especially with the proliferation of the internet. Widespread access to computers, the internet, and online resources where information and problem areas can easily be shared at home, is seen as the main reason for the rapid growth in homeschools worldwide in the last 20 years (Basham et al., 2007; Fırat, 2010; Karaali, 2015; Kaya, 2015). As a matter of fact, the relevant literature shows that the homeschooling movement, which started in the 19th century, is accelerating today (Grubb, 1998; Guterman & Neuman, 2017; Karaali, 2015; Lines, 1994; Lyman, 1998; Neuman & Aviram, 2003; Varnham, 2008).

When studies in literature are reviewed, it becomes clear that the reasons why parents prefer homeschool are mainly as follows: the opportunity to gain value and beliefs freely; to provide more quality training at home; to develop a strong relationship between parents and child, and to avoid violence and peer bullying at schools (Bauman, 2002; Basham et al., 2007; Beck, 2010; Green & Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Isenberg, 2007; Mayberry & Knowles, 1989; Tösten & Elçiçek, 2013). In his study, Bauman (2002) concluded that the difference between families who prefer homeschool and

families of students who continue formal education is not significant in comparison to previous years, and therefore it will not create a significant difference in children's development. He further stated that families who prefer home school generally have medium and higher levels of education as well as high income. Beck (2010) points out that socially supported recent homeschooling may be an attempt to restructure modern daily life, and that the number of families in different social classes who prefer homeschooling may grow. Following his studies, Isenberg (2007) revealed that low-income mothers especially, who have more time, prefer homeschool more. It is quite possible that well-educated mothers have homeschooled little children, and that the tendency of older children to be homeschooled is higher due to behavioral reasons and their specific needs.

Anthony and Burroughs (2012) investigated the daily activities of homeschools in research conducted with four families, learning that the participant families combined traditional methods and progressive approaches. Their aim was to raise adults who can think and learn on their own, are educated well, and undergo a free education. It was also observed that the families treat reading as a primary teaching method. They see writers as teachers and readers as students. They believe that relying on reading as a teaching method boosts children's independence, and the best way to learn is to grasp difficult issues by reading.

Green and Hoover-Dempsey (2007) concluded that homeschool parents play a decisive role in their children's education, similar to parents in the case of public schools. They believe that they should play an active role in their education, and that they can help their children with their school learning. Parents' preference for homeschooling was seen to be influenced by ineffective values, educational content, inadequate quality, and methods of education in public schools.

As for Turkey, there is no particular study on homeschooling or homeschoolers or their parents except for Doğan-Kılıç and Önen (2012) interviewing primary school teachers about the applicability and possible effects of homeschool in Turkey. They noted that Turkish families are inclined towards home education, and that homeschooling could eat away at compulsory primary education even while developing children's self-confidence. The teachers proposed running seminars for teachers and volunteer parents towards applying home education, and educational practices can be piloted at home.

Aim and Significance of the Study

According to Turkish law, students cannot opt for home education or homeschooling. The drive that started in 1946 to extend compulsory education up to eight years finally came to fruition in the 1997-1998 school year, putting "eight-year uninterrupted compulsory primary education" into effect (Arı, 2002). Later, in 2012, the duration of compulsory education was increased from 8 years to 12 years. According to the Primary Education Law No. 222, compulsory primary education covers children aged 6 to 13 and, by law, children of primary school age must go to school (M.E.B., 1961).

Regardless of the legal restriction, the number of Turkish families who continue educating their children at home without sending them to school appears to be at a level that cannot simply be brushed aside. Campaigns have been run for the legalisation of homeschools through social media. More than 15,000 parents have shared their views about homeschooling and homeschools on their social media accounts, and they support the practice. The literature currently provides no study on Turkish families who prefer homeschools. We think that research on this issue will shed light on the need for homeschool, despite the lack of a legal framework, and this will carry the issue of its legal applicability to the scientific media in the Turkish context. We believe that this is a significant study, as the first example to explore the views of parents choosing homeschool, along with their reasons for doing so, by means of noteworthy results.

Our study aims to identify why parents who support homeschooling, and who want to teach their children without having to send them to school, prefer homeschool, and what those parents think about homeschool. Regardless of the outcomes of the campaigns for legalisation of homeschool, which were initiated in relation to children's right to education, we consider it quite important to learn the reasons why such parents favour homeschool education and request "home school". It is expected that eliciting the parents' views will create some guidance, by revealing the need for alternative education practices and the advantages and disadvantages of homeschool. Moreover, it is thought that the reasons reported by the study participants would hint at determining the shortcomings or drawbacks in existing primary schools. It is hoped that the results of this study will guide the relevant authorities regarding regulations to be made in basic education.

Methods
Research Model

The study was carried out using the phenomenologic method, as a qualitative research model, as it intended to find out the reasons why parents who choose homeschool do not want to send their children to public schools, and their opinions about homeschooling. The model gives the researcher an insight into the participants' world, and helps identify their perceptions and reactions (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2012).

Participants

This study was carried out with Turkish parents who want to teach their children at home without sending them to school at all. We searched social media for the study population. Participants were selected using the snowball sampling method under purpose sampling methods, as it was necessary to pick situations containing an abundance of knowledge, allowing in-depth examination, and due to the difficulty of accessing families who choose homeschool because of its legal status in Turkey (Patton, 2002). Among potential participants, mothers were contacted since they are the ones who usually shoulder the responsibility for the education of children in the

process of homeschooling. Firstly, a social media group of mothers with this view was linked. Mothers who volunteered to share their views were contacted via this group. We also tried to expand the sample by borrowing names and contact information of other mothers who could provide rich information in this regard. Interviews were conducted with 11 mothers in total. However, during the interviews it was learnt that two mothers also hold U.S. citizenship. These mothers were excluded from the sample since they had the advantage of rights vested through U.S. citizenship for their children in the homeschooling process. Finally, nine mothers were designated for participation in the study. Their demographic information is given in the table below.

Table 1

Participants' demographic information

Participant	Education*	Profession	Working Status	*Spouse's Education*	*Spouse's Profession*	No. of Children	Gender of Child
FA	PS	Tailor		*UD*	*Sociologist*	2	2 G
YL	UG	Literature		*UD*	*Engineer*	3	2 G, 1 B
MM	UG	Teacher		*UD*	*Judge*	1	1 G
NE	UG	Teacher		*PhD*	*Instructor*	3	2 G, 1 B
PT	UG	Engineer		*MD*	*Engineer*	2	2 G
SA	UG	Teacher		*UD*	*Engineer*	2	1 B, 1 G
TA	UG	Engineer		*UD*	*Engineer*	1	1 B
PR	MD	Engineer		*UD*	*Engineer*	2	2 G
GL	MD	Psychologist		*MD*	*Lawyer*	2	2 B
9 Participants	1 PS, 6 UG 2 MD	3Teachers, 3 Engineers, 1 Psychologist, 1 Literature, 1 Tailor	7 not working, 2 working.	6 *UD*, 3 MD, 1 PhD	5 Engineers, 1 Sociologist, 1 Judge, 1 Lawyer, 1 Instructor	Total:18 Pre-School:7 Elementary education age:11	14 Girls (G), 4 Boys (B)

*Education: PS (Primary School), UD (Undergraduate), MD (Master's Degree)

Data Collection Instruments

In this study, a semi-structured interview form was developed by the researcher with open-ended questions and used as a data collection tool. To prepare the interview form, related literature was reviewed upon which the interview questions were drafted. Then, six experts specialised in the area were asked for their opinions about the items. The form was finalised only after revisions following the experts' opinions. The final interview form, its content validity tested through expert opinion, consists of the following questions:

1. *How do you define the practice of homeschooling?*
2. *What are your opinions about existing primary schools? Which characteristics of the current primary schools direct you towards homeschooling?*

3. How do you think homeschooling will influence the development of your child?

4. Can you describe how you will shape the training of your children at home if "homeschooling" is legalized?

5. What do your children think about homeschooling?

The interviews were recorded on a voice recorder with the consent of the participants. Each interview lasted around 45 minutes.

Data Analysis

First, the data recorded during the interviews was transcribed. Then, the written data was subjected to content analysis using the inductive analysis technique. In the content analysis stage, certain coding categories were opened according to the concepts relevant for the study aim. The data was analysed through these steps: (1) coding the data, (2) eliciting the themes, (3) arranging the codes and themes, and (4) obtaining and interpreting the findings (Fraenkel et al., 2012).

The content analysis process was conducted as follows: using the inductive analysis technique, initially the data was read repeatedly, and 489 codes were identified after open codification. New codes were then added by making use of the literature, and some codes were excluded. Codes that are related to each other were rearranged with axial coding and combined under 80 concepts. Finally, the opinions of the parents about homeschooling were organized with selective coding under the following seven major themes included in Figure 1 (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).
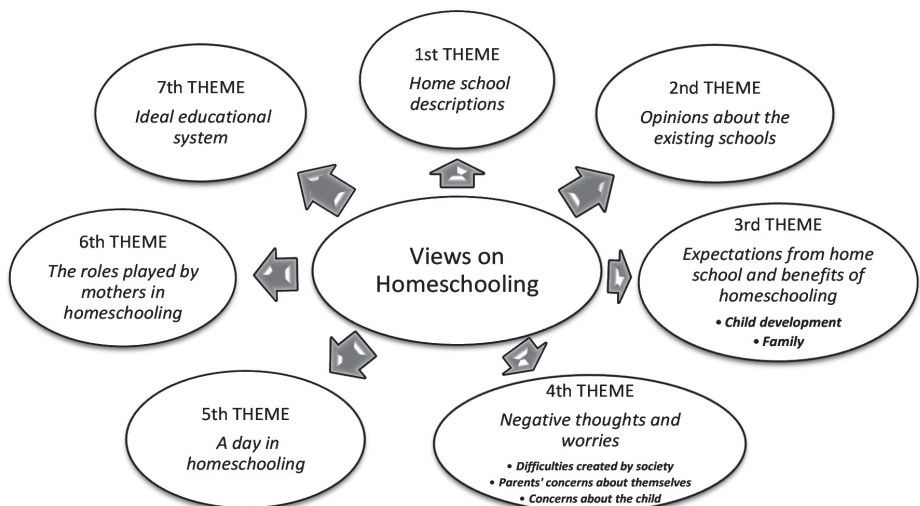

Figure 1. Seven major themes indicating the views about homeschooling

Validity and Reliability

The participants were given the choice of interview venue so that they could share their opinions freely and openly during the interviews. Accordingly, the interviews

were carried out at the participants' own offices or homes by appointment in line with their requests. To ensure reliability (regarding consent and confidentiality), the researcher introduced himself to the participants before the interviews and the objective of the research was explained. It was stated that the data recorded during the interview would not be disclosed to third parties, the same would not be used other than for the purpose of this study, and the participants' permission was requested for voice recording. The data transcribed following the completion of the interviews was subjected to validatation once the codes and themes acquired from said data was verified by the participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). In order to perform the thematic coding by considering both internal and external consistency, and to make sure that the themes and codes represent the study data in a meaningful and valid way, expert opinion was sought (Fraenkel et al., 2012).

Furthermore, in order to ensure coding reliability during the coding process, the data was separately encoded by another researcher and the codings were compared (Fraenkel et al., 2012). To calculate the reliability of the study, the numbers of "agreement" and "disagreement" by both researchers corresponding to each code were derived, and then the Miles and Huberman (1994) formula (Reliability = Agreement / [Agreement + Disagreement] X 100) was applied. It was determined that there was an agreement of 87% between the two experts in coding. The reliability criterion was satisfied for sound data analysis since compliance at or above 70% is deemed sufficient.

Results

This study aimed to identify the reasons why parents who prefer homeschool do not want to send their children to school, along with their opinions about homeschool. The findings obtained from the study were arranged and presented in accordance with the study themes.

The first theme, the mothers' "homeschool descriptions", were examined and the corresponding codes along with frequencies are given in Table 2.

Table 2
Codes and frequencies of participants' "Homeschool descriptions"

Codes	f
Non-intervening natural learning process	9
Child's finding their own natural learning path = learning to learn	6
A free life	3
Being productive	3
A learning process respecting the child's personality	2
Learning in one's own setting	2
A simple and calm life	1
Focusing on the process more than the result	1
An anxiety-free environment	1
The learning process considering individual differences	1

Table 2 shows that all the interviewed mothers (f=9) describe homeschool as a "non-intervening natural learning process". It was seen that 6 participants define homeschool as a way for children to find their own natural learning path, that is, "learning to learn". The following are examples of some of the mothers' definitions of home school:

Non-intervening Natural Learning Process:

«…*The child learns when you let her/him. I mean we did not teach them to walk, teach them to talk, we did not teach them how to count, but s/he counted, walked, talked. There are other examples too; you know Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan. Robinson Crusoe was based on him. He learned biology, learned chemistry…*»(GL)

«…*Just like infancy or childhood. How are kids up to school age? We do not teach them theoretically how to walk or suchlike. They experiment by seeing and observing, and they do as much as their physiology allows. This doesn't just happen up to the age of six. It's actually something that continues for their whole life. I believe it is wrong to limit this. That's why I advocate homeschool…*» (PT)

For the second theme, we examined the participants' opinions about the characteristics of existing schools as one of the reasons for choosing homeschool for their children. The codes and frequencies reflecting the opinions of the participants about existing schools are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Codes and Frequencies of Participants' Opinions about Existing Schools

Codes	f	Codes	f
Monotype teaching	9	Authoritarian figure	3
Impositions	8	Objectivisation of the students	3
No connection between school and real life	7	Peer pressure	3
Too long school hours	6	Unwanted learnings	3
Overcrowded classrooms	6	Artificial learning environment	3
Neglecting students' need to move	5	Impairs students' self-confidence	3
An anxiety-prone setting	5	Safety issues	3
Discrimination	5	Physical shortcomings	3
Inhibition of natural learning desire	4	Inadequacy of teacher training	2
Reward-punishment ethos	4	Failure to teach values	2
Curricular pressure	4	Lack of affection in schools	1
Competitive environment	4	Lack of continuity in the school year	1
Teachers' failure to develop themselves	3		

Upon examination of Table 3, it is clear that all of the mothers think that existing schools have a "monotype teaching" ethos. It was emphasised that students' individual characteristics, individual learning needs and individual learning speeds are ignored because of this "monotype teaching". Some of the participants' views on this issue were as quoted below:

«…*if s/he is supposed to teach something in 2 weeks according to the curriculum, the teacher teaches it for that 2 weeks. I mean s/he does not change according to your class. This is normal, you know a child may learn more slowly than the others or some other children already know the topic. S/he does not do anything differently for them, for instance. S/he follows a median route... So while assigning a reading book, s/he gives the same thing, s/he gives the book at the same level, and teaches the lesson at the same level, too…*»(YL)

«…*This is unfair. Perhaps the child is not ready for that item at that time... I mean s/he is not sufficiently ready. For example, maybe the child isn't inclined to learn addition at that time, and you will make her/him feel like an idiot by forcing it. But maybe a year later, the child will do addition a lot better. Besides, a calculator can also add. If it really matters to activate that part of mathematics in her/his mind, we can wait for that. In other words, the design should be customized, ie training should be designed individually. Rather than mass education…*»(PR)

In addition to the foregoing, the participants were found to often emphasise unfavourable aspects of schools as "impositions" on schoolchildren, like homework pressure or attendance obligations (f=8); "no connection between school and real life" (f=7), "too long school hours" (f=6), "overcrowded classrooms" (f=6), "neglecting students' need to move" (f=5), creating "an anxiety-prone setting" in schools (f=5), and "discrimination" by teachers (f=5). Mothers' opposition to school impositions are exemplified below:

«… *For example, the handwriting issue is now one of the most grievous burdens in our curriculum and I am now thinking in despair. Will it discourage the child who loves to write? Most probably it will.*» (SA)

«….*if that lesson is 40 minutes, you cannot continue after 40 minutes. I am still interested. No, it does not matter. We do not care where your interest is now. You have to go to the next lesson right now, you have to go for a break now. You have to. There are even children who are punished because they do not want to go for a break.(TA)*

The 3rd theme inspecting the reasons why parents prefer homeschool for their children tried to identify the expectations of the participants and their views about the positive returns of homeschool. The findings are included in Table 4 under two sub-themes, the expectations "regarding child development" and "parental" expectations.

As seen in Table 4, all of the participants stated that homeschool would "develop intrinsic motivation" in children towards learning (f=9). In addition, the following ideas were noted as parents' expectations from homeschool: "learning in life"(f=7),

"being free individuals who are able to question and whose personal differences are not eliminated" (f=5), allowing the child "to get to know her/himself" (f=5), and acquiring the skills of "learning to learn" (f=5).

Table 4

Codes and frequencies of participants' expectations from homeschool and benefits of homeschooling

Sub-themes and codes	
Child development	*f*
Develop intrinsic motivation	9
Learning in life	7
Being free individuals who are able to question and whose personal differences are not eliminated	5
To get to know her/himself	5
Learning to learn	5
To learn at her/his own pace	4
Social skills (communicate with people of all ages)	3
An emotionally nourished, self-confident individual	3
Experiencing childhood	2
Being helpful to others	2
Family	*f*
Strengthening intra-family communication	5
Non-repetition by the child of the parent(s)' negative educational experiences	5
The mother's ability to see the child's educational needs better than the teacher	3
The possibility of parent(s) being involved in the child's learning process	3

Besides the contribution to the child's development, other potential benefits of home school mentioned were "strengthening intra-family communication" (f=5), and "non-repetition by the child of the parent(s)' negative educational experiences" (f=5). Some further examples of the mothers' views about the family-related advantages of homeschool:

Strengthening Intra-family Communication:

«…*There has been harmony between my children since I left work and started homeschooling with them. They fight less. We have started to spend more time together. We have gone on trips…»(YL)*

«…*In first grade, the teacher wants to teach 5-6 letters a week. The teacher expects the children to learn completely what has been taught. The children stay at school until 3 p.m. When they come back home, they have so much homework to do. Naturally, you force them to do their homework. "Come on, write this, you still have not managed to finish your homework, you didn't learn, did you?" In this respect, it is a major source of stress and disrupts your relationship with your child…»(PR)*

Non-Repetition by the Child of the Parent(s)' Negative Educational Experiences:

«… Why on earth should my child experience the challenges I faced at school? Okay, I can defend my child's rights more than my mother could mine, but still, I cannot always be with her/him…»(SA)

The 4th theme investigates participants' negative thoughts and worries about home school under certain codes, and the findings are displayed with their corresponding frequencies in Table 5.

Table 5
Codes and frequencies of participants' negative thoughts and worries concerning home school

Sub-themes and codes	
Difficulties created by society	*f*
Social pressure	5
Society's concept of diploma	3
Committing an unlawful act	1
Parents' concerns about themselves	*f*
Responsibility on the mother	4
Fear of losing motivation	3
Negative impacts of metropolitan life	2
Fear of wrongly interfering with the child's natural learning process	1
Damage to the mother-child relationship	1
Concerns about the child	*f*
Social skills	4
Being resented by their children	3
The possibility that they cannot learn what they are supposed to learn	2
Staying outside the system	1
Becoming addicted to the screen	1

As seen in Table 5, the mothers' views about the potential risks of homeschool were listed under three sub-themes; "difficulties created by society", "parents' concerns about themselves", and "concerns about the child". Under difficulties created by society, two concerns were found to be at the forefront: "social pressure" to send their children to school (f=5), and "society's concept of diploma" (f=3). Some of the statements were as quoted below:

Social Pressure:

«…Here, the grandparents are involved... even neighbors or friends happen to comment on it. Or, my child's progress is being followed. I mean, "Look! They've done this, but let's see what happens eventually." They think that we're claiming, "You people sending your children to school are going to raise your kids like that, but our children will be astronauts." Nothing could be further from the truth. For that reason, we are sometimes exposed to adverse attacks by people we speak to or the environments we find ourselves in…» (PR)

Society's concept of diploma:

«…*One of the most frequent questions I got was, "Where did you graduate from?" Pretty much all conversations would lead to this question. When I tell them that I graduated from primary school, people's expressions change. You are no longer highly valued in the eyes of such people…*» *(FA)*

When parents' self-concerns are analyzed, in particular the exhaustive process incurred by the responsibility on the mother for teaching the children (f=4), and the mother's fear of losing her motivation to teach the child (f=3), come to the forefront. Several statements indicating such concerns are as follows:

Responsibility on the mother:

«…*While I have the capacity to work and make plans for work, I have become unable to do so. I mean I also had an academic life, a career. I am choosing this because I am now prioritizing my children…*»*(PT)*

«…*Much work falls to the mother. There's a kid in school all day. Well! You are comfortable. And now there is a child who is next to you all day long and you do not put that child in front of the TV…*»*(MM)*

Lastly, the parents' concerns about their children indicated a striking result. Although it was reported earlier that homeschool contributes to children's social skills, the participants appear concerned about this issue (f=4) because all the children's peers are at school. The other concerns were found to be parents' fear of "being resented by their children" in the future because of their decision to homeschool (f=3), "the possibility that they cannot learn what they are supposed to learn" (f=2), "staying outside the system" (f=1), and "becoming addicted to the screen" (f=1). Some of their views in this context can be seen below:

Social skills:

«…*they said homeschooling children or children who attend homeschool don't have any social problems, but in fact there is something: you cannot find a child. I invite my neighbor's daughter over. She seems like she is dallying, but she wishes her brothers would not go. She is happy with them…*»*(YL)*

«…*We met the neighbours so that the children could play comfortably. It's very good for the child. He's learning to be helpful. Being able to do something with kids not just her/his own age but, unlike in school, seeing all ages together. And s/he is taking part in their conversation. Many things, s/he get patterns from there. She sees older kids of all ages, she learns how to look after a baby, for example, from the neighbor's child. One of the biggest hurdles to homeschooling is that we are losing the concept of being neighbours and chidren no longer play on the streets, like in the past,…*»*(PT)*

The possibility that they cannot learn what they are supposed to learn:

«…*Is something going to be missing? I'm working really hard on this…. But what if something is not learned or missing. If s/he falls behind their peers in the future. If s/he*

knows less than their peers when s/hehas to go to university... I'm anxious about leaving something missing, broken…»(GL)

The data on how children spend a day in homeschooling, under the 5th theme, revealed that 2 mothers want to continue their children's education in the framework of the curriculum implemented in schools, while the other 7 mothers plan to follow tailor-made programs for their children, considering their learning needs and interests. It was understood that in this process, the mothers have a tendency to attach importance to outdoor activities giving their children the opportunity to move (f=7), organising activites that enhance life skills (f=6), offering planned learning opportunities for their area of interest (f=5), introducing them to role model adults (f=4), benefiting from state-provided activities (f=3), and creating special areas of interest for the children (f=2).

In addition, the interviews were used to discover the roles played by mothers in the homeschooling experience. The interviews revealed that the mothers assume a "guiding, and leading role as needed" (f=7). Moreover, regarding the children's education process, the mothers stated that they "read and follow educational resources" (f=5). The mothers undertake the roles of "a learning environment provider" (f=5), "a friend environment provider" (f=4), "co-learner" (f=4), and "role model" (f=2).

The responses about the participants' ideal educational system imply that particular emphasis is placed on dissemination of individualised instruction (f=5). In parallel, they expressed their wish for alternative school options in Turkey (f=4). They expressed their view that teachers need to open up to different ideas and development (f=5), and schools should offer teaching compatible with human nature (f=4). They referred to the need for a learning environment that respects children's ideas and personalities (f=3).

Discussion and Conclusion

This study was carried out to find out the reasons why some mothers prefer homeschool for their children, along with their views of homeschooling. The results revealed that the mothers prefer homeschool for their children to public schools mainly because they think that existing schools have inadequate teachers and learning environments. A definite highlight of the study is that the participants favour homeschool because they expect to expose their children to a learning environment that caters to their individual traits, so that the children can go through a learning process more suitable to human nature, without losing their intrinsic motivation for learning, but also growing up as self-confident individuals with high self-esteem, free-thinking, and democratic awareness.

An overview of the educational background of the study group reveals that the majority have a higher level of education, undergraduate or graduate level, except for one participant who is a primary school graduate. These findings appear to support Isenberg's (2007) argument that well-educated families are more likely to home-educate their children.

It can be inferred from the study data that mothers correlate homeschool with a "non-intervening, natural learning process". Departing from this definition, it can be

said that the participants stand closer to the concept of "homeschooling" mentioned in the literature. As Mintz (2010) points out, in the case of homeschooling, parents choose their educational approach according to their children's interests, not on a ready-made curriculum. Put another way, reference is made to a non-intrusive learning process for children. Similarly, Gray and Riley (2015) concluded that the participants referred to homeschooling as oopposed to non-schooling. As implied in the results of this study, homeschooling is referred to as a process in which children learn by living, not a home education process followed by parents.

From the participants' point of view, the most prominent fact about existing schools is the implementation of "monotype teaching". Also, the parents reported that continuing pressure for homework and attendance control are deterring aspects of public schools. Similar results were found by Galen (1987), noting that parents are of the opinion that it is difficult to meet children's individual needs in the traditional classroom environment. In a study by Memduhoğlu, Mazlum and Alav (2015) discussing the applicability of alternative schooling practices in Turkey, it was discovered that, according to academicians and teachers, expectations or requests of individuals, families and community are not appreciated in educational institutions; instead, education programs are developed for a specific model of human by considering the views of a certain circle only. Our findings seem to be in line with the foregoing study. Though not stated explicitly, the main reason for preferring home school is seen as the weak learning environment at schools (Bauman, 2002; Beck, 2010; Green & Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Isenberg, 2007; Kaya, 2015; Lines, 1994; Şad & Akdağ, 2010; Tösten & Elçiçek, 2013). The literature indicates other highlighted problems in schools as "safety" and "peer pressure" (Basham et al., 2007; Tösten & Elçiçek, 2013).

Regarding the expectations of homeschool and its benefits, the mothers pointed out that children's intrinsic motivation for learning will flourish in a free environment, and they will enjoy learning in life. They also think that homeschool will help children become critical, free, and self-aware people, embracing their individual differences. Likewise, the previous studies associate homeschooling with gains such as self-motivation, self-guidance, personal responsibility, and unlimited learning capacity (Gray & Riley, 2013; Gray & Riley, 2015). Similarly, Anthony and Burroughs (2012) noted the main goal of such parents was to educate adults who are able to think and learn on their own, are well-trained and educated freely. It seems noteworthy that homeschoolers find themselves more sociable compared to regular schoolers, and they value having a wide age range among their friends (Basham et al., 2007; Gray & Riley, 2013; Gray & Riley, 2015).

In the present study, it was stated that homeschool strengthens communication within the family, that children could be protected from parents' negative educational experiences, and that mothers could better respond to the educational needs of the child. These findings are supported by other studies reporting parents' tendency towards homeschool based on similar grounds. In general, homeschool is seen as a chance

to develop a close and strong relationship between parent and child (Basham et al., 2007; Galen, 1987; Gray & Riley, 2013). Beck (2010), Neuman and Aviram (2003) and Green and Hoover-Dempsey (2007) also concluded that parents prefer homeschool as they want to spend more time with their children and play an active role in their education. Moreover, parents' desire to personally convey their own culture, values and beliefs to their children appears to account for their intention to have more say in education (Memduhoğlu et al., 2015; Şad & Akdağ, 2010). Neuman and Aviram (2003) stated that parents prefer homeschool for their children as they remember their own negative educational experiences. This, too, appears to support our findings.

As for negative thoughts and potential harms of homeschool, several reservations were reported by participants, including social pressure on the family, concerns due to overwhelming parental responsibility, reservations about social skills and academic development of children, and fear of being resented by their children for their choice. Likewise, the literature demonstrates that pro-homeschoolers emphasise challenges arising from the perception of social pressure and social skills (Arai, 1999; Basham et al., 2007; Beck, 2008; Gray & Riley, 2013; Grubb 1998; Lyman, 1998). Arai (1999) refers to social skills as the first of the problems faced by pro-homeschooler families. It was noted that parents frequently hear questions like, *"Aren't you worried that your child will grow up different from the others?"*, *"How are you going to prepare them for real life?"*, or *"Will they be able to find a job?"* Our study also confirmed that such parents are often confused by social pressure arising from similar questions, and they are worried that the child will have difficulties in the future because of the diploma issue.

Another reported concern about homeschool was the full responsibility for the child falling onto the mother. The participants stated that they quit their professional lives for the sake of homeschool, and they spend most of their time on their children's education. This result also seems to be in agreement with Grubb (1998) and Neuman and Aviram (2003).

It is understood from our findings that in the homeschooling process mothers generally plan their days around the child's interests and needs. Along with this, it is understood that they dedicate efforts to offer the child a learning environment and materials required by the child's needs. At this stage, opportunities are created for children to acquire life skills as much as possible outside their home. Similarly, according to Lines (1994), home-educated children attend youth groups in churches, neighborhood activities and discovery expeditions, and pro-homeschoolers do not exclude their children from community life. Hanna (2011) concluded that parents of homeschoolers prefer special methods and meticulously selected learning materials, such as ready-made instructional programs, textbooks from local school districts, the use of public libraries, technology applications, consultation with instruction experts, and more contacts with parents of other homeschoolers. As discovered in our study, many other studies reveal that homeschool can provide children not just with planned learning opportunities in their areas of interest, but also supplementary

training in foreign languages, music, chemistry, or physics (Lyman, 1998; Kaya, 2015; Taşdan & Demir, 2010).

Furthermore, our research findings imply that mothers mainly adopt the role of a guide in their children's education. The findings appear to be in conformity with previous research indicating parents' interest in taking an active role in their children's education (Aydın & Pehlivan, 2000; Gray & Riley, 2015; Green & Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Varnham, 2008). As another example, Galen (1987) argues that families believe that they are competent to identify their children's learning needs more easily than teachers, and provide them with the most appropriate education, which is supported by our findings.

One striking result obtained in the present study is that mothers who prefer homeschool for their children are not fundamentally opposed to school education; they just do not want to send their children to existing schools. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the necessity of learning environments that place learners' individual characteristics at the core, appreciate different ideas, are open to development, and in harmony with human nature. Memduhoğlu et al. (2015) also reported considerable weight on the dangers of uniformization, individual differences and the importance of cultural diversity, and suggested that alternative schools containing a variety of training programs should be opened by collaboration of families and the state, the latter assuming a supervisory role over such schools.

In contrast to most research revealing the reasons for preference for homeschooling or non-schooling (Basham et al., 2007; Bauman, 2002; Beck, 2010; Galen, 1987; Grubb, 1998; Isenberg, 2007; Mayberry & Knowles, 1989), the present study did not reveal religious or ideological concerns as outstanding reasons among others. This finding can be explained by the fact that shortcomings in the teaching environment and processes in schools supersede the foregoing two factors.

In light of the study findings, it can be suggested that it is clearly necessary to raise the quality of the learning environments, namely teaching, in schools in the first place. In addition, it is important to adopt an understanding of teacher education which places the individual at the center. Furthermore, considering the findings regarding mothers' wishes to take an active role in their children's education, as also stressed by Şad and Akdağ (2010), families should be allowed to take on a more active role by means of parent-teacher associations. According to our findings, although it is currently against the law in Turkey, home schools are sustained in other ways. In addition to the foregoing, Memduhoğlu et al. (2015) concluded that there is not enough information on alternative education practices. Instead, confusion prevails on the topic in Turkey. Bearing in mind the findings of this study, , it is suggested that the feasibility of homeschools in Turkey be discussed in the scientific environment, and more scientific research is called for on this matter. The related literature can be enriched by carrying out further research on home schooled children using different methods.

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Stavovi o školovanju kod kuće: slučaj Turske

Sažetak

Cilj ovoga rada bio je istražiti razloge zbog kojih turski roditelji, koji nevoljko šalju djecu u školu, preferiraju obrazovanje kod kuće te razloge za odluku o školovanju kod kuće i njihovo mišljenje vezano uz školovanje kod kuće. U istraživanju je korišten fenomenološki pristup u okviru kvalitativnih metoda istraživanja. Polustrukturirani intervjui provedeni su licem u lice s devet majki s kojima se stupilo u kontakt putem društvenih mreža. Rezultati su pokazali da sudionice u istraživanju nisu htjele poslati djecu u školu uglavnom jer su smatrale da državne škole ne osiguravaju dobro trenirane učitelje ni okruženje za učenje. Također su otkrile da preferiraju školovanje kod kuće jer ono osigurava učenje usklađeno s ljudskom prirodom, provodi se u okruženju za učenje koje uzima u obzir individualne karakteristike tako da djeca odrastaju u slobodoumne i samouvjerene pojedince s visokim samopouzdanjem i osviještenošću o demokraciji, a da pri tome nisu izgubili vlastitu, unutarnju, motivaciju za učenjem. Konačno, istraživanje je pokazalo da roditelji imaju potrebu za alternativnim obrazovnim okruženjem za svoju djecu.

Ključne riječi: *alternativno obrazovanje; primarno obrazovanje; škola u kući; školovanje kod kuće.*

Uvod

Obrazovanje je sastavni dio ljudskoga života od samoga postanka ljudi na zemlji. U prvo vrijeme, odgovornost za obrazovanje preuzimala je obitelj. Migracija obrazovanja u školu koincidira sa zapošljavanjem žena izvan kuće što je posebno vidljivo nakon Industrijske revolucije (Aydın, 2015; Gündüz, 2006; Neuman i Aviram, 2003).

Iako je porijeklo školovanja kod kuće ukorijenjeno u antici, pojava školovanja kod kuće kao alternativnoga pristupa obrazovanju prešao je u rastući trend s početkom 19. i 20. stoljeća kao reakcija na obrazovne manjkavosti državnih škola (Knowles, Marlow, i Muchmore, 1992). Iako je s pojavom industrijskoga društva u zapadnim zemljama škola prvotno stekla ugled, istu su počeli kritizirati neki znanstvenici i pedagozi, a predstavljene su i neke metode alternativnoag obrazovanja i poučavanja. Prvi primjer predstavio je J. J. Rousseau s „Emil", a oko 1935. školu je teško kritizirao i B. Russell (Gündüz, 2006). Od kraja 1960-ih, radikalni obrazovni mislioci poput Edgara Friedenberga, Johna Holta, Paula Goodmana, A. S. Neilla, Ivana Illicha, Henrya

Girouxa i Petera McLarena odbili su postojeće metode u školama, obavezno obrazovanje, autoritet odraslih i školska pravila (Ornstein i Hunkins, 2004). Neki radikalni pedagozi išli su toliko daleko da su tvrdili da je škola nepotrebna prepreka za pravo učenje te su pozivali mlade ljude na prirodno učenje izravnim sudjelovanjem u društvu putem školovanja kod kuće (Miller, 2010). Kritičari koji umanjuju vrijednost škole u zajednici, smatraju da je škola mjesto gdje su učenici poput zarobljenika koji su mentalno i emocionalno ograničeni, a učitelji čuvari ili sluge sustavu. Oni doživljavaju škole kao mjesta gdje se učenici razvrstavaju i nadziru, gdje se stvaraju štetna produkcijska i konzumacijska društva, a korist je vrlo mala (Ornstein i Hunkins, 2004). U najširem smislu, povećani protukulturni pokret obrazovanja kod kuće suprotstavlja se usko definiranom kurikulu, standardiziranim testovima, unaprijed definiranim pravilima i vremenu provedenom u školi u cjelini. Roditelji odabiru ne slati djecu u školu (Gray i Riley, 2013; Kaya, 2015; Lines, 1994) uglavnom zbog religijskih i ideoloških razloga. Ukratko, prigovori i nelagoda zbog tradicionalnih škola potaknula je i obitelji i obrazovna tijela na traženje novih alternativa i alternativnih prakse. Kao rezultat, koncept „obrazovanja kod kuće" nametnuo se u prednji plan, uglavnom u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (Aydın, 2015). U istraživanju o institucionalizaciji obrazovanja djece koje je provelo Ministarstvo obrazovanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama 1969. godine, zaključeno je da se dijete ne bi trebalo uvesti u formalno obrazovanje prije dobi od 8 do 12 godina (Basham, Merrifield i Heoburn, 2007). Međutim, legalizacija školovanja kod kuće nije se realizirala sve do 199-ih (Kaya, 2015).

Iako moderne teorije obrazovanja ističu da je cilj škole pripremiti učenike za „stvarni svijet", malo je reći da učionice pune učitelja, učenika, udžbenika, zadaća i testova kao dijelova planiranoga programa čine stvarni djetetov svijet. U stvarnom svijetu, pojedinac uči otkrivanjem svoje okoline i kroz interakciju s tom okolinom (Gray i Riley 2013). Pristaše školovanja kod kuće vjeruju da će učenici koji se istovremeno poučavaju kod kuće i u zajednici imati kulturološki puno bogatije iskustvo učenja u odnosu na one koji se dominantno poučavaju isključivo u školi (Lyman, 1998). U tom pogledu, školovanje kod kuće pomiče školu iz prethodno spomenutoga strukturiranog okruženja u puno veći, stvarni svijet (Anthony i Burroughs, 2012). Važne povijesne ličnosti koje su bile školovane kod kuće poput Georgea Washingtona, Abrahama Lincolna, Theodorea Roosevelta, Woodrowa Wilsona, Franklina Delanoa Roosevelta, Thomasa Edisona i Marka Twaina primjeri su metode „svijet je moj učitelj", a ti pojedinci dokaz su da školovanje kod kuće nije, povijesno gledano, novi pojam (Lyman, 1998; Basham i sur., 2007).

Školovanje kod kuće je praksa u kojoj se djeca školske dobi školuju kod kuće umjesto u školi (Lines, 1994). Školski sustavni kurikul, planirani nastavni sati te ekstrinzična motivacija koja se gradi na sustavu nagrada i kazni napušta stvarni svijet koji je zasnovan na intrinzičnoj motivaciji putem koje učenik donosi odluke u školovanju kod kuće (Knowles i sur., 1992). Za razliku od prethodno definiranih faza i razreda, školovanje kod kuće zasniva se na modelu temeljenom na vještinama koje uzimaju

u obzir dostojanstvo pojedinca te samorealizaciju i sposobnost učenja pojedinca (Karaali, 2015; Taşdan i Demir, 2010). Iako je školovanje kod kuće definirano kao obavljanje akademskoga učenja, učenje kod kuće pod nadzorom roditelja izvan školske zgrade, ne može se u potpunosti opisati u toj definiciji s obzirom na različite načine implementacije. S obzirom na to da roditelji imaju aktivnu ulogu, raspodjela zadataka odvija se u obitelji, a školovanje kod kuće nudi prilično fleksibilno okruženje, što je uostalom i dio stvarnoga života; moguće je oblikovati školovanje kod kuće prema djetetovim potrebama i očekivanjima od obitelji (Kaya, 2015). Roditelji mogu izabrati da prate školski kurikul kod kuće, prethodno planirane i usustavljene programe koje nude privatne izdavačke kuće, ili se mogu upisati u dopisne programe koje nude mnoge škole. Neki roditelji koriste kurikul izrađen krovne škole (eng. *umbrella school*). Krovna škola daje podršku roditeljima s osnovnim kurikulom koji trebaju pratiti te potrebne obrasce za vrednovanje (Lyman, 1998; Mintz, 2010). Drugi pristup je apsolutno školovanje kod kuće. Kod ovoga pristupa, roditelji određuju obrazovni pristup prema djetetovom interesu umjesto prethodno dogovorenom kurikulu (Mintz, 2010). Kako im se poveća samopouzdanje, obitelji koje provode školovanje kod kuće mogu se odlučiti za manje strukturirane pristupe. U međuvremenu mogu se koristiti vlastitim materijalima za poučavanje ili lokalnim knjižnicama. Djeca koja su školovana kod kuće također mogu ići na izlete i uključivati se u aktivnosti učenja s drugom djecom koja uče u drugim obiteljima (Lyman, 1998). Nadalje, njihovo obrazovanje može se pojačati s određenim predmetima poput stranoga jezika, glazbe, kemije ili fizike (Kaya, 2015; Lyman, 1998; Taşdan i Demir, 2010).

S obzirom na veliki interes, školovanje kod kuće postalo je nešto lakše provodivo jer su na raspolaganju nove tehnologije, posebice dostupnost interneta. Velika dostupnost računala, interneta i *online* izvora gdje se informacije i problemska područja lako mogu dijeliti i kod kuće, smatra se glavnim razlogom za nagli rast školovanja kod kuće diljem svijeta u posljednjih 20 godina (Basham i sur., 2007; Fırat, 2010; Karaali, 2015; Kaya, 2015). Štoviše, relevantna literatura ukazuje na to da pokret školovanja kod kuće, koji je nastao u 19. stoljeću, danas ubrzano raste (Grubb, 1998; Guterman i Neuman, 2017; Karaali, 2015; Lines, 1994; Lyman, 1998; Neuman i Aviram, 2003; Varnham, 2008).

Proučavanjem literature postaje razvidno da su razlozi zbog kojih roditelji preferiraju školovanje kod kuće uglavnom sljedeći: prilika da djeca slobodno steknu vrijednosti i vjerovanja; da omoguće djeci kvalitetno obrazovanje kod kuće; da razviju čvrsti odnos između roditelja i djece te da izbjegnu nasilje i vršnjačko nasilje u školama (Bauman, 2002; Basham i sur. 2007; Beck, 2010; Green i Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Isenberg, 2007; Mayberry i Knowles, 1989; Tösten i Elçiçek, 2013). U svojem istraživanju, Bauman (2002) je zaključio da je razlika između obitelji koje preferiraju školovanje kod kuće i obitelji učenika koji nastavljaju formalno obrazovanje nije značajna u usporedbi s prethodnim godinama te neće značajno utjecati na razvoj djece. Nadalje, obitelji koje preferiraju školovanje kod kuće općenito su srednje i visoke razine obrazovanja i visokih primanja. Beck (2010) ističe da odnedavno društveno podržano školovanje

kod kuće može biti pokušaj restrukturiranja suvremenoga svakodnevnog života te da bi broj obitelji iz različitih društvenih klasa, a koje podržavaju školovanje kod kuće, mogao rasti. Slijedeći njegova istraživanja, Isenberg (2007) je otkrio da posebno majke s niskim prihodima i koje imaju više vremena, preferiraju školovanje kod kuće. Moguće je i da dobro obrazovane majke školuju kod kuće malu djecu, a i tendencija da se odrasla djeca školuju kod kuće je u porastu zbog razloga vezanih uz ponašanje i određene posebne potrebe.

Anthony i Burroughs (2012) istraživali su dnevne aktivnosti u školama kod kuće na uzorku od četiri obitelji gdje su saznali da su obitelji koristile tradicionalne metode i progresivne pristupe. Njihov cilj bio je odgojiti odrasle osobe koje mogu razmišljati i samostalno učiti, koje su dobro obrazovane i podvrgnute su slobodnom obrazovanju. Također je primijećeno da te obitelji čitanje smatraju primarnom metodom poučavanja. Naime, oni doživljavaju pisce kao učitelje a učenike kao čitatelje. Smatraju da oslanjanjem na čitanje kao metodu poučavanja potičemo dječju samostalnost i da se čitanjem najbolje mogu shvatiti teške teme i pitanja.

Green i Hoover-Dempsey (2007) zaključili su da roditelji koji školuju svoju djecu kod kuće imaju presudnu ulogu u obrazovanju svojega djeteta, slično kao i roditelji čija su djeca u državnim školama. Smatraju da moraju imati aktivnu ulogu u njihovu obrazovanju i da mogu pomoći svojoj djeci u učenju za školu. Preferencija roditelja za školovanje kod kuće čini se da je pod utjecajem sljedećega: neučinkovite vrijednosti, obrazovni sadržaj, nedostatna kvaliteta, metode obrazovanja u državnim školama.

Gledajući Tursku, ne postoji zasebno istraživanje o školovanju kod kuće ili o djeci školovanoj kod kuće ili njihovim roditeljima izuzev Doğan-Kılıç i Önen (2012) koji su intervjuirali učitelje primarnoga obrazovanja u Turskoj o primjenjivosti i mogućim učincima školovanja kod kuće. Prema tom istraživanju, učitelji su rekli da turske obitelji naginju obrazovanju kod kuće te da bi obrazovanje kod kuće moglo oslabiti obavezno primarno obrazovanje čak i kod razvijanja samopouzdanja djece. Učitelji su predložili održavanje seminara za učitelje i roditelje volontere vezano uz primjenu školovanja kod kuće te obrazovnoga rada koji bi se mogao pokusno izvoditi kod kuće.

Cilj i važnost istraživanja

Prema turskom zakonu, učenici ne mogu izabrati obrazovanje kod kuće ili školovanje kod kuće. Pokret za produljenjem obaveznoga obrazovanja na osam godina započeo je 1946. godine, a ostvario se u školskoj godini 1997./98. čime se počelo provoditi „neprekinuto obavezno osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje" (Arı, 2002). Kasnije, u 2012. godini je trajanje obaveznoga obrazovanja produljeno s 8 na 12 godina. Prema Zakonu o osnovnom obrazovanju br. 222, obavezno osnovno obrazovanje odnosi se na djecu od 6. do 13. godine života i prema zakonu djeca osnovnoškolske dobi moraju ići u školu (M.E.B., 1961).

Neovisno o zakonskom ograničenju, čini se da je broj turskih obitelji koje obrazuju svoju djecu kod kuće i ne šalju ih u školu dosegnuo razinu koja se više ne može

zanemarivati. Putem društvenih platformi vođene su kampanje za legalizaciju škola kod kuće. Više od 15 000 roditelja podijelilo je svoja razmišljanja o školovanju kod kuće i školama kod kuće na svojim profilima na društvenim mrežama i oni podržavaju ovaj način rada. U literaturi, trenutačno ne možemo naći istraživanja vezana uz turske obitelji koje preferiraju školovanje kod kuće. Smatramo da će istraživanja o ovoj problematici rasvijetliti potrebu za školovanjem kod kuće unatoč zakonskom okviru i da će to u znanstvenoj zajednici pokrenuti pitanje zakonite primjene u kontekstu Turske. Smatramo da je ovo istraživanje značajno jer je ono prvo koje istražuje stajališta roditelja koji odabiru školovanje kod kuće kao i razloge za tu odluku koristeći pri tome rezultate vrijedne pažnje.

Cilj je našega istraživanja identificirati razloge zbog kojih roditelji koji podržavaju školovanje kod kuće i koji žele obrazovati svoju djecu, a da ih pri tome ne šalju u školu preferiraju školovanje kod kuće te što roditelji misle o školovanju kod kuće. Neovisno o rezultatima kampanje za legalizaciju školovanja kod kuće, koja je inicirana uz pravo djece na obrazovanje, smatramo da je vrlo važno znati razloge zbog kojih roditelji preferiraju školovanje kod kuće i zahtijevaju mogućnost školovanja kod kuće. Očekuje se da će saznanje o stajalištima roditelja dovesti do nekih smjernica, otkrivajući pri tome potrebu za alternativnim obrazovnim praksama te prednostima i nedostatcima školovanja kod kuće. Nadalje, smatra se da će razlozi koje navode sudionici u istraživanju ukazati na nedostatke ili prepreke u postojećim osnovnim školama. Konačno, očekuje se da će rezultati ovoga istraživanja dati smjernice mjerodavnim tijelima za donošenje propisa u osnovnom obrazovanju.

Metode
Istraživanje

Istraživanje je provedeno koristeći fenomenološku metodu kao metodu kvalitativnoga istraživanja. Spomenuta metoda koristila se jer je cilj istraživanja bio saznati razloge zbog kojih roditelji koji odabiru školovanje kod kuće i ne žele poslati svoju djecu u državne škole, te njihova promišljanja o školovanju kod kuće. Ovakav model dozvoljava istraživaču uvid u svijet ispitanika, te pomaže u identifikaciji njihovih percepcija i reakcija (Fraenkel, Wallen, i Hyun, 2012).

Ispitanici

Ovo istraživanje provedeno je s turskim roditeljima koji žele svoju djecu poučavati kod kuće i koji uopće ne žele slati djecu u školu. Za dobivanje uzorka ispitanika, pretražili smo društvene medije. Ispitanici su odabrani koristeći metodu *snježne grude* jer je bilo potrebno odabrati situacije iz kojih će se dobiti mnoštvo informacija i saznanja i koje omogućuju dubinsko ispitivanje, ali i zbog otežanih okolnosti u pronalaženju obitelji koje školuju djecu kod kuće s obzirom na zakonski status vezan uz školovanje kod kuće u Turskoj (Patton, 2002). Među mogućim ispitanicima, kontaktirale su se majke jer obično one preuzimaju odgovornost za obrazovanje djece u procesu školovanja

kod kuće. Prvo je povezana skupina majki koja je imala zajednički interes u grupi na društvenim mrežama. Majke koje su bile voljne podijeliti svoja stajališta kontaktirane su putem te grupe. Također smo htjeli proširiti uzorak posuđujući imena i kontakt informacije majki koje bi mogle biti bogat izvor informacija za ovu tematiku. Intervjui su provedeni s ukupno 11 majki. Međutim, tijekom intervjua saznali smo da dvije majke imaju državljanstvo Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Te majke morali smo izuzeti iz istraživanja jer su imale prednost s obzirom na njihova prava kao američkih državljanki da uključe svoju djecu u školovanje kod kuće. Konačno, devet majki odabrano je za sudjelovanje u istraživanju. Njihovi demografski podatci prikazani su niže u tablici.

Tablica 1

Instrumenti za prikupljanje podataka

Za ovo istraživanje proveden je polustrukturirani intervju s pitanjima otvorenoga tipa koji je osmislio istraživač i koje je korišteno za dobivanje podataka. Za pripremu upitnika proučena je literatura nakon čega su izrađena preliminarna pitanja. Upitnik je zatim pogledalo šest stručnjaka iz relevantnoga područja koji su dali svoje mišljenje o stavkama iz upitnika. Konačna verzija upitnika napravljena je nakon revidiranja komentara stručnjaka. Konačni upitnik, nakon što su stručnjaci utvrdili valjanost sadržaja, sadržavao je sljedeća pitanja:

1. *Kako definirate praksu školovanja od kuće?*
2. *Koje je Vaše mišljenje o postojećim školama primarnoga obrazovanja? Koje karakteristike škola primarnoga obrazovanja današnjice vas navode prema školovanju kod kuće?*
3. *Kako će, prema Vašem mišljenju, školovanje kod kuće utjecati na razvoj Vašeg djeteta?*
4. *Možete li opisati kako ćete formirati praksu poučavanja djece ako se školovanje kod kuće legalizira?*
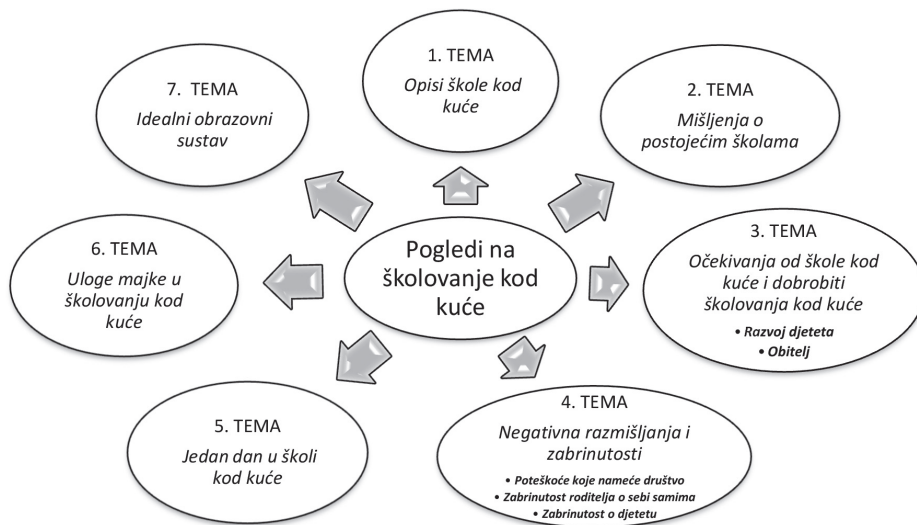5. *Što Vaša djeca misle o školovanju kod kuće?*

Uz dobivenu suglasnost ispitanika, intervjui su snimljeni koristeći diktafon. Svaki intervju trajao je 45 minuta.

Analiza podataka

Nakon što su snimljeni, intervjui su transkribirani. Pisani podatci podvrgnuti su analizi sadržaja tehnikom induktivne analize. Tijekom analize sadržaja, otvorene su određene kategorije šifriranja prema konceptima relevantnima za cilj istraživanja. Podatci su analizirani u sljedećim koracima: (1) šifriranje podataka, (2) otkrivanje tema, (3) uređivanje šifri i tema,te (4) dobivanje i interpretacija nalaza (Fraenkel i sur., 2012).

Proces analize sadržaja proveden je na sljedeći način: koristeći tehniku induktivne analize, nakon što je sadržaj iščitan u više navrata, 489 šifri je identificirano u otvorenom šifriranju. Zatim su dodane nove šifre oslanjajući se na izvore iz literature, a neke šifre su isključene. Šifre koje su bile povezane jedne s drugima reorganizirane su poprečnim (osnim) šifriranjem i spojene unutar 80 pojmova. Konačno, mišljenja

roditelja o školovanju kod kuće organizirana su koristeći selektivno šifriranje unutar sedam osnovnih tema koje su prikazane u Slici 1 (Strauss i Corbin, 1990).

Slika 1. Sedam osnovnih tema koje predstavljaju poglede na školovanje kod kuće

Valjanost i pouzdanost

Ispitanici su mogli birati mjesto gdje će se održati intervjui kako bi slobodno i otvoreno mogli podijeliti svoja mišljenja tijekom intervjua. Shodno tome, intervjui su provedeni u uredima ispitanika ili u njihovim domovima u dogovoreno vrijeme. Za osiguranje pouzdanosti (vezano uz pristanak i povjerljivost), istraživač se predstavio ispitanicima prije samih intervjua te je predstavljen i objašnjen cilj istraživanja. Također je rečeno da se podatci prikupljeni tijekom intervjua neće priopćiti trećim osobama i da će se podatci koristiti samo u svrhu istraživanja nakon što se od ispitanika dobije dozvola za snimanje glasa. Transkribirani podatci su po završetku intervjuiranja podvrgnuti testu valjanosti nakon što su šifre i teme od dobivenih podataka potvrdili ispitanici (Miles i Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). Za provedbu tematskoga šifriranja koje uzima u obzir internu i eksternu konzistentnost te da teme i šifre predstavljaju dobivene podatke na smislen i valjan način, zatraženo je mišljenje stručnjaka (Fraenkel i sru., 2012).

Nadalje, kako bi se osigurala pouzdanost šifriranja za vrijeme samoga procesa šifriranja, podatke je zasebno šifrirao drugi istraživač te su šifre uspoređene (Fraenkel i sur., 2012). Za izračun pouzdanosti istraživanja, broj „slaganja" i „neslaganja" svake šifre kod oba istraživača su izvučena nakon čega je primijenjena Miles i Huberman (1994) formula (Pouzdanost = Slaganje / [Slaganje + Neslaganje] X 100). Zaključeno je da među stručnjacima postoji 87 % slaganja u šifriranju. Kriterij pouzdanosti je zadovoljen za ispravnu analizu podataka jer se usklađenost u ili više od 70 % smatra dovoljnom.

Rezultati

Cilj ovoga istraživanja bio je identificirati razloge zbog kojih roditelji koji preferiraju školu kod kuće ne žele slati svoju djecu u školu, kao i njihova mišljenja o školovanju kod kuće. Dobiveni rezultati uređeni su i prikazani u skladu s temama u istraživanju.

Prva tema su opisi školovanja kod kuće koje su ponudile majke i koje su proučene. Prateće šifre i učestalosti prikazane su u Tablici 2.

Tablica 2
Šifre i frekvencije „opisi školovanja kod kuće" koje su naveli ispitanici

Šifre	*f*
Prirodni procesi učenja u koje se ne intervenira	9
Djeca sama pronalaze svoje prirodni put učenja = učiti kako učiti	6
Slobodan život	3
Produktivnost	3
Procesi učenja koji uvažavaju djetetovu osobnost	2
Učenje u vlastitom okruženju	2
Jednostavan i miran život	1
Veći fokus na proces nego na rezultat	1
Okruženje koje je bez anksioznosti	1
Proces učenja koji uzima u obzir individualne razlike	1

Tablica 2 pokazuje da su sve intervjuirane majke (f = 9) opisale školu kod kuće kao prirodni proces učenja u koji se ne intervenira. Uočeno je da 6 ispitanica definiraju školovanje kod kuće kao način na koji djeca pronalaze svoj vlastiti put učenja, odnosno, „učiti kako učiti". Slijede primjeri nekih definicija škole kod kuće koje su dale majke:

Prirodni proces učenja u koji se ne intervenira:

„…Dijete uči kada mu se to omogući. Primjerice, mi ih nismo učili hodati, govoriti, nismo ih učili brojati, ali ona broje, hodaju, govore. Tu su i drugi primjeri; znate Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan. Na njemu se temelji Robinson Crusoe. Naučio je biologiju, naučio je kemiju …"(GL)

„…Upravo kao i rano djetinjstvo ili djetinjstvo. Kakva su djeca do školske dobi? Teoretski ih ne učimo niti hodati i slično. Oni eksperimentiraju gledanjem i promatranjem, i rade upravo onoliko koliko im njihova fiziologija dozvoljava. To se ne događa samo do šeste godine. Zapravo je to nešto što se nastavlja kroz cijeli život. Vjerujem da je pogrešno to ograničiti. Upravo zbog toga zagovaram školovanje kod kuće…" (PT)

Kod sljedeće teme proučili smo mišljenja ispitanica o karakteristikama postojećih škola kao razlozima odabira školovanja njihove djece kod kuće. Šifre i frekvencije koje odražavaju njihovo mišljenje o postojećim školama prikazani su u Tablici 3.

Table 3
Šifre i frekvencije za Mišljenje ispitanika o postojećim školama

Šifre	f	Šifre	f
Jednovrsno poučavanje	9	Autoritativne figure	3
Nametanja	8	Objektivizacija učenika	3
Nepovezanost škole i stvarnoga života	7	Vršnjački pritisak	3
Predugi sati u školi	6	Neželjeno učenje	3
Prenapučeni razredi	6	Umjetno okruženje za učenje	3
Zanemarivanje potrebe učenika za pokretom	5	Narušeno samopouzdanje učenika	3
Okruženje podložno tjeskobi	5	Pitanje sigurnosti	3
Diskriminacija	5	*Tjelesni nedostaci*	3
Sustezanje prirodne želje za učenjem	4	Nedostatno obrazovanje učitelja	2
Atmosfera nagrade i kazne	4	Propusti u poučavanja vrijednosti	2
Pritisak kurikula	4	Nedostatak privrženosti u školi	1
Kompetitivno okruženje	4	Nedostatak kontinuiteta u školskoj godini	1
Propusti učitelja za stručno usavršavanje	3		

Nakon proučavanja Tablice 3, jasno je da sve majke misle da u postojećim školama vlada atmosfera jednovrsnoga poučavanja. Naglašeno je da se individualne karakteristike učenika, individualne potrebe kod učenja te individualna brzina učenja zanemaruju upravo zbog spomenutoga jednovrsnog poučavanja. Neka stajališta ispitanika o ovoj temi citirana su niže u tekstu:

„…ako prema kurikulu mora nešto poučavati u periodu od dva tjedna, onda učitelj to poučava dva tjedna. Mislim, to se ne mijenja prema razredu koji poučavaš. To je normalno, iako znaš da neko dijete možda uči sporije od drugih ili možda neka djeca već znaju tu tematiku. Za njih se ne napravi ništa drukčije. Učitelj ide sredinom…Dakle, kod zadatka čitanja knjige, učenici dobiju istu knjigu, istu razinu težine knjige i nastavni sat se poučava za sve na istoj razini …"(YL)

„…To je nepošteno. Možda dijete nije spremno učiti određeni sadržaj u to vrijeme… Mislim, dijete nije dovoljno spremno. Na primjer, možda dijete nije sklono učenju zbrajanja baš u to vrijeme, a vi ćete ga učiniti da se osjeća kao idiot jer ste to nametnuli. Možda bi dijete godinu kasnije puno bolje zbrajalo. Osim toga, kalkulatori također zbrajaju. Ako je stvarno potrebno aktivirati taj dio matematike u njihovim glavama, to može pričekati. Drugim riječima, dizajn bi trebao biti prilagođen, odnosno, poučavanje bi trebalo biti prilagođeno pojedincu. Za razliku od masovnoga obrazovanja…"(PR)

Uz prethodno spomenuto, ispitanici su često naglašavali nepovoljne aspekte škole poput „nametanja" djeci, poput pritiska zadaće ili obveze prisutnosti na nastavi (f = 8); „nepovezanosti škole i stvarnoga života" (f = 7), „predugi boravak u školi" (f = 6), „prenapučeni razredi" (f = 6), „zanemarivanje učenikovih potreba za kretanjem" (f = 5), stvaranje „okruženja podložnog tjeskobi" u školama (f = 5), i „diskriminacija" od strane učitelja (f = 5). Protivljenja majki – ispitanica zbog nametanja školskih obveza opisana su niže:

„… Na primjer, pitanje rukopisa je problem koji je sada već najtužnije breme našega kurikula i ja sada razmišljam u očaju. Hoće li to obeshrabriti dijete koje voli pisati? Vrlo vjerojatno." (SA)

„….ako sat traje 40 minuta, nakon tih 40 minuta sat se ne može produljiti. Ali, ja sam još uvijek zainteresirana. Međutim, to nije bitno. Nama nije važno gdje je sada vaš interes. Ti sada moraš ići na drugi sat, a ti sada moraš ići na odmor. Moraš. Postoje djeca koja su čak bila i kažnjena jer nisu željela ići na odmor."(TA)

Treća tema koja propituje razloge zbog kojih roditelji preferiraju školovanje svoje djece kod kuće pokušala je otkriti očekivanja ispitanika i njihove poglede na pozitivne ishode školovanja kod kuće. Rezultati su prikazani u Tablici 4 u dvije podteme, očekivanja vezana uz „razvoj djeteta" i „očekivanja roditelja".

Tablica 4
Šifre i frekvencije za očekivanja roditelja od školovanja kod kuće i prednosti školovanja kode kuće

Pod-teme i šifre	
Razvoj djeteta	*f*
Razvijanje intrinzične motivacije	9
Učenje kroz život	7
Slobodni pojedinci koji mogu propitivati i čije individualne raz-like nisu isključene	5
Spoznavanje sebe	5
Učiti kako učiti	5
Učiti prema svojem tempu	4
Društvene vještine (komuniciranje s osobama svih dobi)	3
Emocionalno odgojena, samouvjerena individua	3
Iskustvo djetinjstva	2
Od pomoći drugima	2
Obitelj	*f*
Učvršćivanje komunikacije unutar obitelji	5
Ne ponavlja se negativno obrazovno iskustvo roditelja	5
Sposobnost majke da bolje od učitelja uvidi obrazovne potrebe svojega djeteta	3
Mogućnost uključivanja roditelja u proces učenja vlastita djeteta	3

Kao što se može vidjeti u Tablici 4, svi ispitanici izjavili su da bi škola kod kuće kod djece „razvila intrinzičnu motivaciju" za učenjem (f = 9). Sljedeće ideje naveli su roditelji kao očekivanja roditelja od školovanja kod kuće: „učenje kroz život" (f = 7), „slobodni individualci koji su sposobni propitivati i čije se osobne razlike ne isključuju" (f = 5), omogućavanje djetetu „da spozna samo sebe" (f = 5) i usvajanje vještine „učiti kako učiti" (f = 5).

Osim doprinosa razvoju djeteta, druge moguće prednosti škole kod kuće koje su ispitanici spomenuli su „jačanje komunikacije unutar obitelji" (f = 5), i „dijete ne ponavlja negativna obrazovna iskustva roditelja" (f = 5). Neki drugi primjeri koje su majke navele vezane uz prednosti koje školovanje kod kuće ima s obzirom na obitelj su:

Jačanje komunikacije unutar obitelji:

„…Od kad sam napustila svoj posao i započela njihovo školovanje kod kuće, među djecom postoji sklad. Manje se svađaju. Počeli smo provoditi više vremena zajedno. Išli smo na putovanja…" (YL)

„…U prvom razredu, učitelj/učiteljica želi poučiti 5-6 slova tjedno. Učitelj/učiteljica očekuje da će djeca u potpunosti naučiti ono što se poučavalo. Djeca ostaju u školi do 15 sati. Kada dođu kući, imaju poprilično puno zadaće. Naravno, tjera ih se da naprave zadaću. „Hajde, napiši to, još nisi uspio dovršiti zadaću, nisi učio, zar ne?" U tom pogledu, to je veliki izvor stresa i remeti vaš odnos s djetetom…" (PR)

Djeca ne ponavljaju negativna obrazovna iskustva svojih roditelja:

„… Zašto bi moje dijete trebalo iskusiti izazove s kojima sam se ja suočavala tijekom školovanja? U redu, ja mogu zagovarati prava svoga djeteta više nego što je to mogla činiti moja majka, ali još uvijek ne mogu stalno biti s njom/s njim …" (SA)

Kod četvrte teme pod određenim šiframa proučena su negativna razmišljanja i briga ispitanika o školi kod kuće, a nalazi su prikazani u odgovarajućim frekvencijama u Tablici 5.

Tablica 5
Šifre i frekvencije za negativna razmišljanja i zabrinutosti ispitanika vezana uz školovanje kod kuće

Podteme i šifre	
Poteškoće koje stvara društvo	*f*
Društveni pritisak	5
Društveno poimanje diplome	3
Počinjenje protupravnoga čina	1
Zabrinutost roditelja o sebi samima	*f*
Odgovornost prebačena na majku	4
Strah od gubitka motivacije	3
Negativni učinci života u velegradu	2
Strah od pogrešnoga uplitanja u prirodni proces djetetova učenja	1
Šteta u odnosu majka-dijete	1

Zabrinutost o djetetu	f
Društvene vještine	4
Djeca mogu postati ogorčena na roditelje	3
Mogućnost da neće moći naučiti ono što trebaju naučiti	2
Djeca ostaju izvan sustava	1
Stvaranje ovisnosti o ekranu	1

Kao što je prikazano u Tablici 5, mišljenja majki o potencijalnim rizicima školovanja kod kuće svrstana su u tri podteme: „poteškoće koje stvara društvo", „zabrinutost roditelja o sebi samima" i „zabrinutosti o djetetu". Kod podteme poteškoće koje stvara društvo, nameću se dvije brige: „pritisak društva" da djecu šalju u školu (f = 5) i „društveno poimanje diplome" (f = 3). Neke od izjava možete pročitati niže u tekstu:

Društveni pritisak

„…u ovome slučaju, uključeni su i bake i djedovi…čak komentiraju susjedi i prijatelji. Ili prati se napredak moga djeteta. Mislim, „Gledaj! Napravili su to, ali vidjet ćemo što će se dogoditi s vremenom." Misle da mi tvrdimo „ Vi ljudi koji šaljete svoju djecu u školu tako ćete odgojiti svoju djecu, ali naša će djeca biti astronauti". Ništa nije toliko daleko od istine. Iz tog razloga, ponekad smo izloženi neprijateljskim napadima ljudi s kojima razgovaramo ili u okruženjima u kojima se nađemo…" (PR)*

Društveno poimanje diplom:

„…Jedno od najčešćih pitanja koje sam dobila je „Na kojem si fakultetu diplomirala?" Više-manje svi razgovori dotaknu su se ovoga pitanja. Kada odgovorim da sam diplomirala osnovnu školu, izrazi lica ljudi se promijene. Više nisi toliko vrijedan u očima tih ljudi…"(FA)*

Kada se analiziraju brige roditelja za same sebe, posebno iscrpljujući proces koji je nastao odgovornošću majke za poučavanje svoje djece (f = 4) i majčin strah od gubitka motivacije za poučavanje djece (f = 3), dolaze u prvi plan. Neke izjave koje upućuju na te brige su sljedeće:

Odgovornost majke

„…Nekad sam bila u mogućnosti raditi i planirati posao, sada to više ne mogu. Mislim i ja sam imala akademski život, karijeru. Ovo biram jer su mi djeca prioriteti…" (PT)*

„…Puno posla pada na majku. Dok je dijete u školi cijeli dan, zapravo si komotan. A sada, sada je dijete pored tebe cijeli dan, a da ga pri tome ne stavljaš pred TV ekran…" (MM)*

Konačno, briga roditelja o svojoj djeci ukazala je na neobičan rezultat. Iako je ranije navedeno da školovanje kod kuće doprinosi razvoju društvenih vještina kod djece, ispitanici o tome ipak pokazuju malu zabrinutost (f = 4) jer su svi vršnjaci te djece u školi. Druge brige koji roditelji imaju su „da će im djeca zamjeriti" u budućnosti zbog njihove odluke da ih školuju kod kuće (f = 3), „mogućnost da djeca neće naučiti ono

što trebaju naučiti" (f = 2), „djeca ostaju izvan sustava" (f = 1) i „stvaranje ovisnosti o ekranu" (f = 1). Neke njihove izjave o ovome pitanju dane su niže u tekstu:

Društvene vještine

„…rekli su da školovanje djece kod kuće ili djeca koja se školuju kod kuće nemaju nikakvih društvenih problema, ali zapravo nešto postoji: ne možeš naći dijete. Pozovem k sebi susjedovu kćer. Čini se kao da se zabavlja, ali bilo bi joj draže kada joj braća ne bi išla. Sretna je s njima."(YL)

„…Upoznali smo susjede kako bi se djeca mogla igrati. To je jako dobro za dijete. On uči biti koristan. To što može nešto raditi s djecom ne samo svoje dobi, za razliku od škole, zajedno vidi različite uzraste. I dijete sudjeluje u njihovim razgovorima. Puno stvari i obrazaca se nauči iz toga. Ona vidi stariju djecu svih uzrasta, uči kako se brinuti o bebi, primjerice susjedovo dijete. Jedna od najvećih prepreka školovanja kod kuće je to što izgubimo pojam susjedstva i djeca se više ne igraju na ulici, kao u prijašnjim vremenima …"(PT)

Mogućnost da dijete neće naučiti ono što treba naučiti:

„…Hoće li nešto nedostajati? Stvarno puno radim na tome…Ali, što ako se nešto ne nauči ili nedostaje? Što ako u budućnosti bude zaostajao/la u odnosu na vršnjake. Ako zna manje od svojih vršnjaka, kada bude trebala ići na fakultet… Zabrinuta sam hoću li nešto izostaviti, potrgati…"(GL)

Podatci pod temom 5, o tome kako djeca provedu dan u školi kod kuće, pokazali su da dvije majke žele nastaviti obrazovanje svoje djece unutar okvira kurikula koji se primjenjuje u školama, dok ostalih sedam majki planira pratiti program po mjeri svoje djece, uzimajući u obzir njihove potrebe za učenjem i njihove interese. Jasno je da u tom procesu majke imaju sklonost naglasak staviti na važnost vanjskih aktivnosti koje će djeci omogućiti kretanje (f = 7), organizirati aktivnosti koje će poboljšati životne vještine (f = 6), ponuditi planirane prilike za učenje u području njihovih interesa (f = 5), upoznati ih s odraslima koji im mogu biti uzori (f = 4), iskoristiti blagodati aktivnosti koje nudi država (f = 3) i stvarati posebna područja interesa za svoju djecu (f = 2).

Nadalje, intervjui su korišteni kako bi se otkrile uloge koje majke imaju u iskustvu školovanja kod kuće. Intervjui su otkrili da majke preuzimaju „ulogu voditelja i glavnu ulogu prema potrebi" (f = 7). Štoviše, vezano uz proces obrazovanja djece, majke kažu da „čitaju i prate obrazovne izvore" (f = 5). Majke preuzimaju uloge „osiguratelja okruženja za učenje" (f = 5), „osiguratelja okruženja za prijatelje" (f = 4), „suučenika" (f = 4), i „uzora" (f = 2).

Odgovori ispitanika o idealnom obrazovnom sustavu podrazumijevaju da se naglasak stavi na diseminaciju individualiziranoga poučavanja (f = 5). Istodobno, izrazili su svoju želju za alternativnim školama kao opcijama u Turskoj (f = 4). Izrazili su svoje viđenje da učitelji trebaju biti otvoreniji za različite ideje i razvoj (f = 5), a da škole trebaju ponuditi poučavanje koje je kompatibilno ljudskoj prirodi (f = 4). Naveli su potrebu za okruženjem za učenje koje uvažava ideje djece i njihove osobnosti (f = 3).

Diskusija i zaključak

Ovo istraživanje provedeno je da bi se saznali razlozi zbog kojih neke majke za svoju djecu preferiraju školu kod kuće, kao i njihove stavove o školovanju kod kuće. Rezultati su otkrili da majke preferiraju školovanje svoje djece kod kuće, a ne u državnim školama, uglavnom zato što misle da postojeće škole imaju neadekvatne učitelje i okruženja za učenje. Vrhunac ovoga istraživanja jest što ispitanici preferiraju školovanje kod kuće jer očekuju da će svoju djecu izložiti okruženju za učenje koje zadovoljava njihove individualne karakteristike kako bi djeca mogla proći kroz proces učenja koji je pogodan ljudskoj prirodi, bez gubitka intrinzične motivacije za učenje, ali i da će odrasti u samopouzdane osobe s visokim samopoštovanjem, u slobodoumlju i demokratski osviješteni.

Pregled podataka o obrazovanju naših ispitanika otkrio je da većina ima višu razinu obrazovanja, preddiplomsku ili poslijediplomsku razinu, osim jedne ispitanice koja ima završenu osnovnu školu. Ovi nalazi potvrđuju Isenbergovu argumentaciju (2007) da će dobro obrazovane obitelji vjerojatnije školovati svoju djecu kod kuće.

Iz podataka se može zaključiti da majke povezuju školovanje kod kuće s „prirodnim procesom učenja u koji se ne intervenira". Odmakom od ove definicije, može se reći da se više slažu s konceptom školovanja kod kuće koji nalazimo u literaturi. Kao što napominje Mintz (2010), u slučaju obrazovanja kod kuće, roditelji odabiru obrazovni pristup prema interesima svoje djece, a ne prema gotovom kurikulu. Drugim riječima, referira se na nenametljiv proces učenja za djecu. Slično tome, Gray i Riley (2015) zaključili su da su se ispitanici odnosili prema školovanju kod kuće nasuprot neškolovanju. Kao što rezultati ovoga istraživanja pokazuju, školovanje kod kuće smatra se procesom u kojemu djeca uče kroz život, a ne na školovanje kod kuće koje nameće roditelj.

Iz perspektive ispitanika, dominantna činjenica o postojećim školama jest primjena jednovrsnoga poučavanja. Također, roditelji spominju stalni pritisak zbog zadaća i kontrole prisutnosti na nastavi kao destimulirajućih aspekata državnih škola. Slične rezultate dobio je i Galen (1987), a ukazuju na to da su roditelji mišljenja da je teško zadovoljiti individualne potrebe djece u tradicionalnom razrednom okruženju. U istraživanju koje su proveli Memduhoğlu, Mazlum i Alav (2015) a vezano je uz primjenjivost alternativnih oblika škole u Turskoj, otkriveno je da prema akademicima i nastavnicima, očekivanja i zahtjevi od pojedinaca, obitelji i zajednice nisu prihvaćeni u obrazovnim institucijama. Umjesto toga, obrazovni programi su razvijeni za određeni model ljudskoga bića uzimajući u obzir poglede samo jednoga maloga kruga. Naši su nalazi u skladu s prethodno spomenutim istraživanjem. Iako nije eksplicitno rečeno, glavni razlog zbog kojega se preferira škola kod kuće zapravo je loše okruženje za učenje u školama (Bauman, 2002; Beck, 2010; Green i Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Isenberg, 2007; Kaya, 2015; Lines, 1994; Şad i Akdağ, 2010; Tösten i Elçiçek, 2013). Prema literaturi, ostali problemi koji su naglašeni su „sigurnost" i „vršnjački pritisak" (Basham i sur., 2007; Tösten i Elçiçek, 2013).

Vezano uz očekivanja od školovanja kod kuće i koristi od istoga, majke su naglasile da će intrinzična motivacija djece za učenjem procvjetati u slobodnom okruženju i da će uživati učeći kroz život. Također smatraju da će školovanje kod kuće pomoći djeci da postanu kritični, slobodoumni i samosvjesni ljudi koji mogu prigrliti svoje individualne razlike. Slično tome, prijašnja istraživanja povezuju školovanje kod kuće s dobitcima poput samomotivacije, samousmjeravanja, osobne odgovornosti i neograničenoga kapaciteta učenja (Gray i Riley, 2013; Gray i Riley, 2015). Na istome tragu, Anthony i Burroughs (2012) naveli su da je glavni cilj takvih roditelja obrazovati ih u odrasle koji su sposobni samostalno misliti i učiti, koji su dobro utrenirani i koji su obrazovani u slobodi. Čini se vrijedno spomena da oni koji su se obrazovali kod kuće sebe smatraju društvenijima od onih koji su išli u državne škole i da cijene to što su njihovi prijatelji različite dobi (Basham i sur., 2007; Gray i Riley, 2013; Gray i Riley, 2015).

U ovome istraživanju, rečeno je da školovanje kod kuće jača komunikaciju unutar obitelji, da se djeca mogu zaštititi od negativnih iskustava roditelja i da majke mogu bolje odgovoriti na obrazovne potrebe djece. Ti nalazi nailaze na potvrdu u drugim istraživanjima koja navode sklonost roditelja prema školovanju kod kuće na sličnim osnovama. Općenito, školovanje kod kuće može se shvatiti i kao prilika da se razvije bliska i jaka povezanost između roditelja i djeteta (Basham i sur., 2007; Galen, 1987; Gray i Riley, 2013). Beck (2010), Neuman i Aviram (2003) i Green i Hoover-Dempsey (2007) također su zaključili da roditelji preferiraju školovanje kod kuće jer žele provoditi više vremena sa svojom djecom i igrati aktivnu ulogu u njihovu obrazovanju. Štoviše, želja roditelja da osobno prenesu djeci svoju kulturu, vrijednosti i vjerovanja čini se objašnjavaju njihovu namjeru da se njihov glas u obrazovanju čuje više (Memduhoğlu i sur., 2015; Şad i Akdağ, 2010). Neuman i Aviram (2003) izjavili su da roditelji preferiraju školovanje kod kuće za svoju djecu jer se sjećaju vlastitih negativnih obrazovnih iskustava. To također podržava i naše istraživanje.

Što se tiče negativnih mišljenja i moguće štete školovanja kod kuće, ispitanici su izdvojili nekoliko zadrški uključujući društveni pritisak na obitelj, zabrinutost s obzirom na veliku odgovornost roditelja, zadrška o društvenim vještinama i djetetovom akademskom razvoju i strah od toga da djeca jednoga dana ne zamjere roditeljima na toj odluci. Slično tome, literatura pokazuje da zagovornici školovanja kod kuće naglašavaju izazove koji proizlaze iz percepcije društvenoga pritiska i socijalnih vještina (Arai, 1999; Basham i sur., 2007; Beck, 2008; Gray i Riley, 2013; Grubb 1998; Lyman, 1998). Arai (1999) aludira na društvene vještine kao prvi od problema s kojim se suočavaju obitelji zagovornici školovanja kod kuće. Zabilježeno je da roditelji često čuju pitanja poput, *„Zar niste zabrinuti da će vaše dijete odrasti drukčije od ostale djece?"*„Kako ćete *ih pripremiti za stvarni život?" ili „Hoće li moći naći posao?"* Naše istraživanje također je potvrdilo da su ti roditelji često zbunjeni zbog društvenoga pritiska koje proizlazi iz sličnih pitanja i da su zabrinuti da će njihovo dijete imati poteškoće u budućnosti vezano uz pitanje diplome.

Druga zabrinutost koju roditelji imaju o školi kod kuće jest potpuna odgovornost o djetetu koja pada na majku. Ispitanici su izjavili da su ostavili svoje profesionalne živote zbog škole kod kuće i da većinu svojega vremena provode brinući se o obrazovanju svojega djeteta. Ovaj rezultat također se poklapa s rezultatima koje su u istraživanju dobili Grubb (1998) te Neuman i Aviram (2003).

Iz rezultata istraživanja razvidno je da u procesu školovanja kod kuće majke uglavnom planiraju svoje dane uzimajući u obzir interese i potrebe svoje djece. Shodno tome, posvećuju velike napore da djeci omoguće okruženje za učenje koje djetetove potrebe nalažu. U toj fazi, stvaraju se prilike za djecu u kojima usvajaju životne vještine što je više moguće izvan svoga doma. Slično tome, prema Lines (1994), djeca koja se školuju kod kuće pohađaju grupe za mlade u crkvama, sudjeluju u aktivnostima u susjedstvu i u raznim ekspedicijama gdje otkrivaju nova znanja, a pobornici škole kod kuće ne isključuju djecu iz života zajednice. Hanna (2011) zaključuje da roditelji djece koja se školuju kod kuće preferiraju posebne metode i detaljno biraju materijale za učenje, poput gotovih obrazovnih programa, udžbenika iz lokalnih škola, koriste javne knjižnice, tehnološke aplikacije, savjetovanja sa stručnjacima u poučavanju i kontaktima s drugim roditeljima koji školuju svoju djecu kod kuće. Kao što je u našem istraživanju otkriveno, i mnoga druga istraživanja otkrila su da školovanje kod kuće može djeci osigurati ne samo planirane prilike za učenje u područjima njihova interesa, nego i dodatno poučavanje stranih jezika, glazbe, kemije ili fizike (Lyman, 1998; Kaya, 2015; Taşdan i Demir, 2010).

Nadalje, nalazi našega istraživanja podrazumijevaju da uglavnom majke preuzimaju glavnu ulogu u upravljanju djetetovim školovanjem. Ti su rezultati u suglasju s prethodnim istraživanjima koja ukazuju na interes roditelja za preuzimanjem aktivne uloge u obrazovanju svoje djece (Aydın i Pehlivan, 2000; Gray i Riley, 2015; Green i Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Varnham, 2008). Drugi primjer navodi Galen (1987) koji raspravlja da obitelji smatraju da su kompetentni prepoznati djetetove potrebe za učenjem puno lakše od učitelja i da im mogu ponuditi najprimjerenije obrazovanje, a to potkrjepljuje i naše istraživanje.

Jedan neobičan rezultat dobiven iz našega istraživanja jest da majke koje za svoju djecu preferiraju školovanje kod kuće nisu temeljno protiv obrazovanja u školi, one samo ne žele djecu slati u postojeće škole. Nadalje, naglasak je stavljen na potrebu za okruženjem za učenjem koje u središte stavlja individualne karakteristike učenika, koje cijeni drukčije ideje, koje je otvoreno za razvoj i koje je u skladu s ljudskom prirodom. Memduhoğlu i sur. (2015) također ukazuju na značajnu težinu opasnosti uniformiranja-jednovrsnosti, individualnih razlika i važnosti kulturne raznolikosti te predlažu da alternativne škole koje sadrže različite programe obuke trebaju biti otvorene za suradnju obitelji i države, gdje potonji preuzimaju nadzornu ulogu nad tim školama.

Za razliku od većine istraživanja koja otkrivaju razloge preferiranja školovanja kod kuće ili škole kod kuće (Basham i sur., 2007; Bauman, 2002; Beck, 2010; Galen, 1987;

Grubb, 1998; Isenberg, 2007; Mayberry i Knowles, 1989), ovo istraživanje nije ukazalo na religijske ili ideološke bojazni kao glavne razloge među ostalim. Taj nalaz može se objasniti činjenicom da nedostatci u okruženju za učenje i procesi u školi dominiraju u odnosu na prethodno spomenuta dva faktora.

U svijetlu rezultata istraživanja, može se evocirati da je očito važno povećati kvalitetu okruženja za učenje, posebno poučavanja i to primarno u školama. Nadalje, važno je usvojiti razumijevanje za obrazovanje učitelja koje u središte stavlja pojedinca. Također, s obzirom na nalaze vezane uz želje majki da preuzmu aktivnu ulogu u obrazovanju svoje djece, kao što su to izložili i Şad i Akdağ (2010), obitelji bi trebale imati dozvolu za preuzimanje sve aktivnije uloge putem udruženja roditelja i učitelja. Prema našem istraživanju, iako je trenutačno nezakonito u Turskoj, škola kod kuće je održiva na druge načine. Uz prethodno, Memduhoğlu i sur. (2015) zaključili su da nema dovoljno informacija vezanih uz praksu alternativnoga obrazovanja. Umjesto toga, u Turskoj o toj temi prevladava konfuzija. Uzimajući u obzir nalaze ovoga istraživanja, predlaže se razmatranje izvedivosti školovanja kod kuće u Turskoj u okvirima znanstvene zajednice te više istraživanja ove teme. Literatura o ovoj temi može se obogatiti provedbom daljnjih istraživanja o djeci koja se školuju kod kuće korištenjem različitih metoda.