

12th September Coup d'état and the Media in the Narratives of the Primary School Students as Their Educational Experiences in the 1980s' Turkey*

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to bring out the period perception of 1980's period primary school students with their own words via center-periphery and gender variables. As it is known that the period perception of individuals cannot appear independent from the political and socio-economic conditions in which they are. It is possible to find out so many developments about the political, social and economic history of different periods of the societies in the written documents. However, the documents presenting about the primary school's children's perception of the period in which their childhood is constructed is so limited. Therefore, the children as a prominent part of society, the narratives reflecting their periodic perception will let them be both the subjects and objects of history. Only oral history uncovers the children's (being excluded from historiography) periodic perception with their original narratives. This, on the one hand democratizes the nature of history, on the other hand it enriches it with its critical and transformative mission. In this study I had totally thirty-two interviews, two of which are for testing, including fifteen women and fifteen men who had their primary school education in 1980s. I recorded the interviews by a recording device and decoded them. I tried to reconstruct their period perception via their narratives.

Keywords: *Period Perception, Primary School Students, Center-Periphery, Gender, 1980s' Turkey*

Introduction

Making history with one's narratives is worthy of researching (Grele, 1991). By uncovering the educational experiences of primary school students through oral history methodology let us reach both their educational practices and the details about their childhood. Moreover, it also provides prominent details about their daily lives, and those of the socio-political context in which they had their childhood. The premise of the paper is to dig into their memories about the period in which they got their primary school education by taking into account the center-periphery and gender as variables by which we possibly may grasp whether their remembrances differ or not. When the children, an important part of the society, appraise the

developments of the period in which they grew from the point where they stand, they will become no longer the objects of history but the subjects of it (Tan, 1999, pp.26; Tan, Şahin, Sever, Aksu, 2007, pp. 10). Their history structuring position has a remarkable function in the understanding of social change and continuity (Tan, 1996).

With the amplification of the scope of historiography to write more about the masses, such as workers, women, children, prisoners since 1960s, more researches have appeared on those who have been on the margin of dominant way of writing history and doing social studies. As one of these masses, children about whom there is a scantiness of the written documents (Sağlam, 2014, pp. 185), that's why what they recall both about their childhood and educational experiences are significant not only for child history but also for educational studies. Despite the fact that making use of oral history in educational studies is not a prevailing way of constructing children's educational experiences, there has been a propensity among the academicians to provide more resources along with the written ones in the last two decades.

Oral history as a collective memory is a set of ideas, images, feelings about past. It is best located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share (Zarecka, 1994, pp. 4). Öztürkmen's "Celebrating National Holidays in Turkey: History and Memory" is one of these studies that reflects the memories of people about holidays during their childhood in general in Turkey (Öztürkmen, 2001). In her study a young student narrates the image of Atatürk as: "*Until the end of primary school, the image of Atatürk that we carried in our heads was the following: Atatürk was a good man. He loved the nation as our mothers and fathers loved us...*" (Öztürkmen, 2001, pp. 68).

Moreover, there are also studies directly on the childhood memories, which took place during the first years of Turkish Republic. Tan's study called "Çocukluğun Tarihi Araştırmalarında Sözlü Tarih Yaklaşımı ve Sözlü Tarihte Bir Çocuk (Oral History Approach in Child History Researches and a Child in Oral History)" presents the stories of two children's memories, which witnessed poverty of the first decades of Turkish Republic. One of the narratives puts the poverty in which the children were in as "*There was snow in our shoes, it was like a slipper, it was being filled with snow while walking. We were so poor. We were getting cold. I remember walking no shoes on*" (Tan, 1999, pp. 28). Furthermore, Sağlam's study named "Perception of 1970s' Turkey in the Narratives of Elementary School Students: Their Relationship with Media regarding their Social Background" reports the news of 1970s in the memories of primary school students. The students who went to primary schools in the cities

can recall the Cyprus War and the news about it. (Sađlam, 2012). In that study Ayhan obanođlu denotes his period perception as “*I can remember 1973’s elections and Cyprus operation as well. Since the Cyprus operation was started from Mersin, I can remember the passage of thanks in Adana*” (Sađlam, 2013, pp. 91).

It is possible to raise the number of studies performed on the narratives of primary school children via oral history methodology. Yet, these examples may be enough to comprehend how vital the children’s narratives about their perception of period in which their childhood was shaped are. All these studies denote how the social, political and economic developments of different period in Turkey take place in the memories of children who studied at different times. Thus, we are able to see the historical changing spheres of these developments in the words of children.

Since the following narratives will be evaluated regarding *center-periphery* and *gender* as variables, I had better put these terms into a framework so that it could be easier for the readers to interpret the relation between the narratives and social context of their lives’ experiences of the period. Center-periphery distinguishes the schools where the children completed their primary school education as the ones in the cities and in the villages. The question is to what extent the children’s narratives vary from each other on account of studying in the cities (towns, slam areas surrounding the cities) and the villages on account of the social, economic and political differences.

With the center-periphery variable it is aimed to reveal different social, economic and political conditions were in the cities and the villages in 1980s. Therefore, the memories of children about the period may differentiate regarding the milieu in which they got their primary school education (Sađlam, 2010, pp. 18-19). The children in the cities recall the political developments of the country due to the means of communication, directly being exposed to the political events and the sensitivity of their families to the developments on the one hand, those living in the villages reminisce daily activities and partially the news their parents listened on the radio on the other. Here the parents’ cultural and social resources are crucial as well as the income condition while perceiving the period (Apple, 2006, pp. 457). It is because economic and social capital turns into cultural capital via various ways. This cultural capital provides certain advantages to the children of middle and upper class families (Apple, 2004; İnal, 2008).

As a bone of contention, *gender* is another term that partially becomes decisive in differentiating the narratives. According to Ecevit (Ecevit, 2003, pp. 83) “gender with its

general definition, is simply used to indicate the socially determined roles, learned behaviors and expectations” in different cultures. Unlike biological sexuality, gender differences appear as a result of the social configuration and can be varied. In many societies men and women are accepted as different entities and also it is believed each one has opportunities, roles and responsibilities (Akin & Demirel, 2003, pp. 73).

To put it in Aksu Bora's words,

“Sexuality is a decisive factor in the determination of regulating social relations and the establishment of social hierarchies in economic, political and cultural spheres. It is important to be aware of the fact that sexuality is not only a significant factor in private sphere like individual relations, family relations, but also in public sphere like in the production of politics, economy and science” (Bora, 2008, pp. 13-14).

According to Joan Wallach Scot (Scot, 1988, pp. 42) “gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” Hence, gender is to be taken more seriously when considering what the children denote about their period perception and educational practices in the past (Apple, 2006, pp. 456). When gender variable is considered as evaluating the narratives of children, no difference is observed from their narratives, the differences are more because of the center-periphery.

A Short Interpretation of Political and Economic History of 1980s' Turkey

1980s are milestone in Turkish history in various aspects, such as political, economic and social developments. The children's perception of period may not be understood well enough if ignoring to present these developments. It is significant to pay attention to pre-1980s right-left conflicts, 12th September Coup d'état and its efforts to shape the society so as to understand the historical process precisely. Apparently, the social unrest peaked as right-left conflict just before 1980. The poor cooperation between the two political parties, Justice Party (Adalet Partisi) and Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), when needed to establish governments led to having short lasting governments. The last government under the leadership Süleyman Demirel got vote of confidence on 25th of November 1979. However, these conflicts lasted mercilessly and on the 12th of September 1980 the army ended the democratically elected government. This military intervention was encountered positively by an important part of the society (Ahmad, 2006, pp. 174-181; Altıntaş, 2003, pp. 14-17).

After the coup d'état, the government under the leadership president Kenan Evren permitted the establishment of political parties in 1983 but the presidents, board members and deputies of Justice Party, Republican People's Party, National Movement Party, and National Salvation Party were banned from making politics due to the prohibits by the constitution. The Council presided by Kenan Evren permitted the National Democracy Party (it was supported by the junta), People's Party (it was accepted as middle left), and Motherland Party (it was defined as national and conservative) to take part in November 1983 elections. According to the election results, Motherland Party won 211, People's Party won 117 and National Democracy Party won 71 deputies (Çavdar, 2004, pp. 271-276).

The social unrest resulted from economic problems was suppressed by the prohibits brought by 12th September coup d'état. Nevertheless, the economic problems across the country continued their presence. Turgut Özal, the Undersecretary of State Planning Organization of Demirel's government proclaimed the stabilization program on the 24th of January 1980. This stabilization program is known as the 24th January Decisions, which is a milestone of the integration of Turkish economy to the international market economy (Çavdar, 2004, pp. 259-260). These neoliberal programme decisions stamped the following years (Boratav, 2005, pp. 147). As Gök puts into words (Gök, 2011, pp. 286) "the government aimed to decrease the public expenditures, privatization of economic and public services by accepting structural adjustment laws." Yet, the first implementations of 24th January decisions were carried out the administration under the rule of coup d'état (Ersel, Kuyaş, Oktay, Tuncay, 2005, pp. 258).

During this period, Turkish Lira was devalued (32.9 %) significantly and a dollar's worth rose from 47 Turkish Lira to 70 (Şahin, 2000, pp. 188). Releasing import, reducing the weight of public sector in economy, raising interest and supervised-releasing it and increasing wages and base prices as remained below inflation are some these decisions (Çavdar, 2004, pp. 258). Indicating some values belonged to the years between 1978/1979 and 1988 will help us grasp the economic conditions of the period. While the inflation was 58 % in 1978/1979, it rose to 70.5 % in 1988. The amount of import was about 4 billion 834 million dollars in 1978/1979, but, it went up to 13 billion 545 million dollars in 1988. However, the export figures also rose up from 2 billion 275 billion dollars to 11 billion 662 million dollars in the same period (Boratav, 2005, pp. 159). The 1980s' period primary school students completed their primary school education in such an economic, political and social atmosphere.

The Population and Educational Data of 1980s' Period

The settlement of Turkish population in cities and villages and the educational data of the period will also let us see the educational dimensions of the period. Although the mechanization of agriculture heightened the migration from the villages to the cities since 1950s in Turkey, the village population rate was still higher than that of the cities in 1980s (Keyder, 200, pp 64; Sağlam, 2010, pp. 25). The literacy rates in cities were also higher than the ones in the villages. Despite the fact that the literacy rates went up both in the cities and villages, they did not come to the level expected along with the rising population. The literacy gap between the men and women was remarkable to focus on. To illustrate, the whole population of the country was 44.736.957 in 1980. Half of this population was men and the other half was comprised of women. While 19.645.007 of them were living in the cities, 25.091.950 were living in the villages (TÜİK 2007).

The coup d'état and 24th January decisions also affected every level of education in Turkey. The budget allocated to education was not enough. After this period, the number of private schools increased rapidly and benefiting from education deepened the inequalities because of the inequality in income distribution (Gök, 1999, pp. 7). The percentage of the boys studying in primary schools was 54.6 %, but that of the girls was 45.4 %. The percentage of the boys studying in secondary schools was 65.7 %, yet, that of the girls was 34.3 %. The same case is seen for the percentages of higher education. The percentage of the boys attending to higher education was 74 % for the boys and 26 % for the girls. As it is seen the gap between the girls and boys was becoming wider on behalf of the boys when the education level became higher. The rates in primary, secondary and high schools changed for about two or three percent in favor of the girls until 1991. Nevertheless, the remarkable increase was observed in favor of girls at higher education and it rose to 33.6 %.

According to results of census in 1980, while the 50 % of 22.041.595 women was either illiterate or did not go to primary school, the 34 % of 22.695.362 men was either illiterate or did not have primary school (Sakaoğlu, 2003, pp. 282-283; Gök, 1999, pp. 12). Moreover, 65 % of 27.303.045 adult population (over 15 years old) was literate in 1980, 76 % of 31.654.320 adult population was literate in 1985. The 79.98 % of boys who were six or over was literate; this percentage for girls was 54.67 %. In 1985, this rate was 86.52 % for boys and 68.16 % for the girls (TUİK, 2007).

In spite of the fact that there are studies provided via oral history methodology about primary school students' educational experiences belonging to different periods in Turkey like 1920s and 1970s, there are no studies about students' perception about 1980s. This study tries to fill this gap and let readers and researchers see how they conceptualized 1980s' Turkey in their minds by sharing them with the others. The purpose of this study is to find out what primary school students were able to recall about the 1980s period in general. While fulfilling this purpose, the study guided the following research questions; 1) Does where they got their primary school lead to the variety of their narratives about their period perception? 2) Do their parents' social and economic positions differentiate their period perception? 3) Does their sexuality have an impact on the change of their narratives?

Method

The method of the study is oral history, which basically writes the history of those who are being excluded from the prevailing way of historical understanding and associates their history with grand historical events and developments. Children are one of the social groups whose history and educational experiences have been ignored. What we know is that they have an active and prominent role in the formation of lives of their own, those taking place around them, their society (Wall, 2011, p. 90). What oral history does is to ferret out the individual experience, which is emptiness in dominant classical historical approach (Tan et al, 2007) and as Alessandro Portelli puts into words "*oral history tells us less about events than their meaning.*" (Portelli, 1998, p. 69). It has sought to cast the light of history on people who have occupied the lower rungs of various status hierarchies thus the phrase 'history from the below (Chan, 1994, p. 597; Danacıoğlu, 2001, p. 131).

Oral history methodology is a sort of alternative way of providing sources to collect data for both historical, sociological and educational studies. To put it in Öztürkmen's words "listening to oral narratives of national holidays also enabled us to dig deeper than the official programs published in written sources. Although the oral history approach provides the researcher with as much information as appears in the written sources, it is not just a method that simply brings us details not available in the written sources. The scope and promise of the field of oral history is much broader than that" (Öztürkmen, 2001, p. 53). Oral history is more than merely a supplement to other extant documents; it stands as an attempt at first interpretations of a series of events (Cuttler III, 1971, p. 185). As Cuttler puts into words (Cuttler III, 1971, p. 186) "oral history can serve to fill information gaps in the written record

and it can help the historian to understand the atmosphere or milieu of the period under his scrutiny. It can illustrate in vivid terms what it was like to live during the times in question.”

As Öztürk claims (Öztürk, 2010, p. 14) “while on the one hand oral history is a way to reach to various information that is not available in the written sources, it also has the potential to reach the information that is away from the authority of written sources.” The oral evidence from ordinary people is an essential part of understanding total history. It is a method of gathering material, a contribution to the general process of making sense of past (Counce, 1994, p. 2, 11). As McAdoo also (McAdoo, 1980, p. 420) puts, “the oral history method would benefit those of us in the educational community by providing rich data. It also provides insight often impossible to obtain with standardized instruments only, and gives us a check on the validity of the test data obtained.”

Moreover, for a democratic society oral history actualizes the share of knowledge through the *power of reciprocal dialogues* as Paulo Freire puts into words (McLaren, 2003). Oral history methodology, which establishes a tie among various disciplines, also contributes the development of a democratic historiography and understanding via splicing various parts of societies into historiographical process. With its critical and transformative function, it contributes socialization of history through paying attention to the life styles of individuals and groups and their socialization patterns in historical studies (Thompson, 1998). Paul Thompson as one of the pioneers of oral history believes “oral history is an intersection between the sociologists, anthropologists, historians or the ones who study on literature and culture and the others (education etc.). I have seen how certain disciplines have transformed with new research methods. Here appears the power of oral history” (Thompson, 2006, p. 23).

Besides, according to Grele “oral history is a way of developing historical consciousness” (Grele, 1991). It is a way of fostering historical consciousness and social awareness (Thomson, 1998, p. 595). Oral histories can be used to discover unfolding consciousness, to document the varieties of ideology, the criterion of meaning, and the more subjective aspects of historical experience (Grele, 1987, p. 570). Barbara Allen asserts that

...Recognizing the historical experiences which appear in oral history interviews and understanding the value of storytelling as a means of communication historical experience seem essential if we are truly committed to discovering the contours of the past and understanding it as fully as possible (Allen, 1992, p. 611).

Participants

The universe of the research group is the primary school student of the 1980s. The students interviewed with were chosen among those who went to primary schools in different regions of Turkey and belonged to different social and economic status. The answer of what primary school students of 1980s recall about the period in which they got their primary schools by making use of the evaluation of center-periphery and gender variables was tried to be found out.

Data Instrument

The data of the study was obtained from the interviews that were carried out with the primary schools students of 1980s by using a recording device. For this study, totally thirty-two interviews including fifteen women and fifteen men were carried out. Two of them were for testing. The interviews were recorded by a recording device and then decoded by keeping their original form and the text reflecting their period perception via their narratives was reconstructed.

Open-ended questions posed to the interviewees were:

1) Can you talk about yourself? For example, 1a) how old are you, 1b) where were you born, 1c) what do you do, 1d) where were your parents born, 1e) what were your parents' jobs, and 1f) how many siblings do you have?

2) Do you remember what was happening at that time? 2a) Do you recall the speeches taken place at home or outside about that period? 2b) What was being talked about? 2c) Do you think they had any impacts over you? 2d) If yes, Can you give any examples? (For instance, do you remember the 12th September Coup d'état?)

3) Were you following the news from the television or radio during your primary school education?

Data Analysis

Descriptive analysis was used in order to analyze the interviews. This is so that I was able to organize the events people witnessed in a consecutive order, to establish a relation between the events and thus to make sense for a part of the society (Büyüköztürk, Çakmak, Akgün, Karadeniz and Demirel, 2013). The narratives are evaluated and their cause-effect relations

are discussed thoroughly and hence, whether there are any similarities and differences among the narratives depending on studying in cities and villages and also being male or female are found out. (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2005; Balçı, 2004). The validity and reliability of interviews was proved both by getting the approval of the interviewees after decoding the interviews and the help of an academician about the framework provided previously so as to use the narratives in the text.

Procedure

In this study, oral history methodology was used to collect data. At the first stage, I tried to reach the primary school students of 1980s. To fulfill this, I reached the people I ought to have interviews with through either the people I know or the ones I have already had interviews with by the process called as *snowball* method in oral history methodology. Before each interview, an *oral history document* that gives us general information such as where he/she went to primary school, what his/her parents' educational and economic level was filled out. Just after the interview had been performed, an *oral history interview story* (memo), which reveals how the interview was actualized, was written (Tan et al, 2007).

To Form a Framework for a Descriptive Analysis: Here a framework was provided along with the dimensions of the conceptual framework of the study. Thus, it was determined to under which theme the data is to be used.

Data Reduction: At this stage, the data formed according to general framework of the previous stage were examined and organized and thus, the narratives which display the similarities and differences were classified accordingly.

Description of Findings: At this stage, the description of the organized data was directly quoted to the related place in the text in their original form by taking account the center-periphery and gender variables.

Findings and Evaluations

In the findings part it is essential to mention the figures reflecting the milieu where the children of 1980s received their primary school education, their parents' educational and income level first. Then, it is significant to indicate what the students mostly recall; such as, 12th September coup d'état, and the news taken place in their memories as part of the period perception. As rendering the narratives of 1980s' primary school students, giving some basic

information about 1980s' political, economic and educational clues may let us comprehend to find the students' reminiscences easier and more meaningful through center-periphery and gender variables which pave the way distinguishing their similarities and differences.

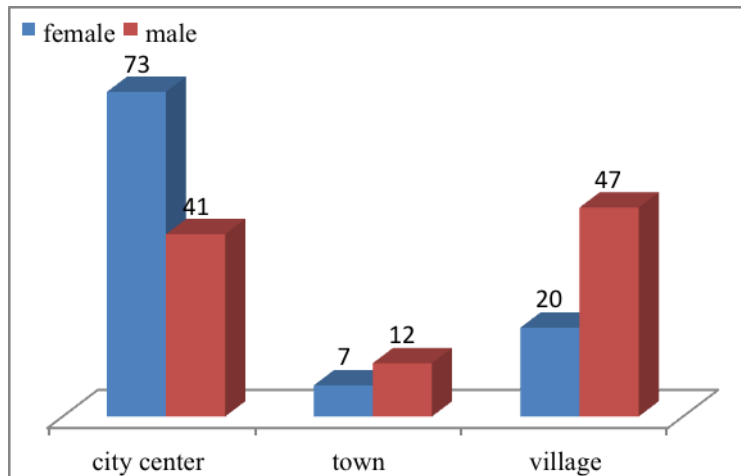


Figure 1: Percentages of Where Female-Male Students Attended Primary School

While the 73 % of the women I had interviews with completed their primary school education in cities, 7 % of them completed it in small towns and 20 % of them did complete it in villages, 41 % of the men I had interviews with had their primary school education in cities, 12 % got it in small towns and 47 % got it in the villages (Figure 1).

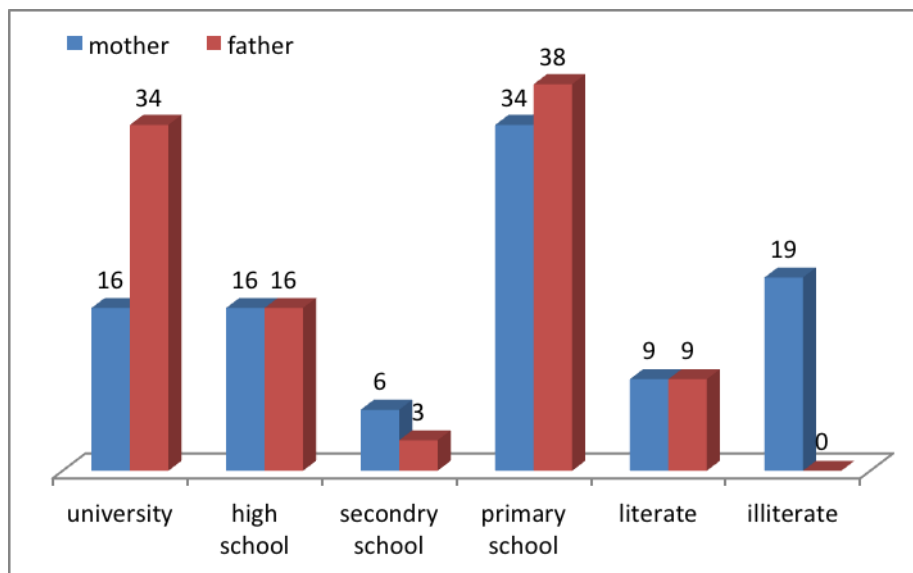


Figure 2: Parents' Educational Level

As looking to educational levels of parents; mothers, 16 % of them were university, 16 % of them were high school graduates, 9 % of them were only able to read and write and 19 % of them were illiterate. 34 % of the fathers were university, 16 % of them were high school, 3 %

them were secondary school and 38% of them primary school graduates, 9 % of them were only be able to read and write. Unlike mothers, none of them were illiterate (Figure 2).

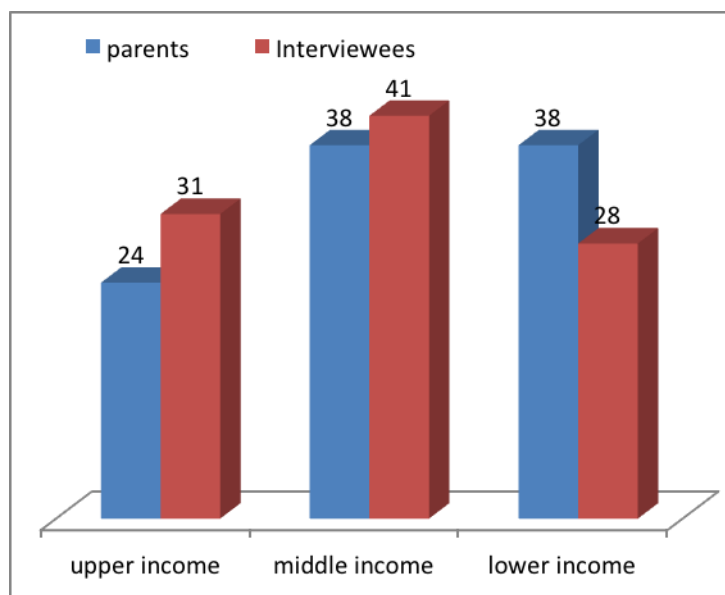


Figure 3: Parents (1980s) and the Interviewees' (present) Income Percentages

While evaluating their parents' income level through taking into consideration the conditions of that period, 24 % of them belonged to upper income group (those whose parents were doctors, engineers and had big fields to cultivate), 38 % of them belonged to the middle income group (those whose parents were teachers, civil servants and well-paid workers) and lastly the 38 % of them belonged to the lower income group families (those whose parents were workers and farmers with low wages or unskilled). There are also income levels of the interviewees, however, they are not taken into account while appraising their narratives (Figure 3).

The period perception of children includes their narratives about what happened out of school as their daily activities and the developments in the country and their reflections to the means of communication, such as radio, television etc., In the following parts, the 12th September coup d'état and the news, programmes on television and radio are expounded through the agency of center-periphery and gender variables.

The 12th September Coup d'état

When the primary school students of 1980s were asked about what they could recollect about the developments taking place out of school, in spite of the fact that most of those who went to primary school in the cities remembered so many details, particularly the developments

before the 12th September Coup d'état and after that, those who got their primary school education in the villages especially recalled their daily routines except for two who were able to call up the this military intervention. Going to the school in the center or periphery becomes decisive in the diversification of the narratives about the period. However, gender has not that much impact on the variety of narratives between the boys and girls. In the cities, the narratives of the students cover the political conflicts and developments no matter they are boys or girls. They either directly face with the developments and thus they can easily become a part of their memory.

To begin with, the ones in the cities witness the developments taking place before and after the coup d'état. They recall the right and left conflicts or symbols about them. For instance; Derya Aksüt and Berk Nur Nil's narratives are some of them. Derya Aksüt puts it into words as:

Why should I tell lies, there were so many right-left issues¹ at that time. There were writings on the walls of our school the things you know. I can remember that. Our teacher gave us swabs to wipe out them on the wall. I remember the explosions of bombs, guns' fires, the house investigations.

Berk Nur Nil notes as:

I remember the talks about political events, the right-left issues. Of course there happened the rightist and leftist conflicts in our district before September the 12th, it was 1979. There was a dormitory where the leftists and rightists were fighting.

Ayşe Zor Duran who completed her primary school education in a city reminisces what she had observed around her.

For example, it was a weekend, we were on the bus with my grandmother to go to a relative I think. I remember somebody shooting the bus and as a child I had seen that much blood for the first time except for seeing a bleeding knee before. My father was also lecturing at Marmara University in the evenings. He had been threatened by some students to declare to which political group he belonged. I also remember our downstairs neighbours; Emre and Emir. They had disappeared for sometimes. When they returned home they had been so changed. They had been imprisoned after the coup d'état.

Some children's narratives are about their parent's warnings. They indicated that their parents wanted them not to stay in the streets for long time since they did not find the streets safe owing to the political street fights. Nil Nazlı's memory includes the inculcation of her parents.

I can remember it intensively. I can remember before the 12th September² and 12th September process. The soldiers were waiting in front side of our school after the 12th September. There was a military vehicle. Sometimes, these soldiers were talking with the students. The parents were admonishing their children. There was nothing belonged to the parents to hide but they were still telling the children not to say anything wrong to the soldiers.

In order not to go home late, certain vamp stories were told to the children. Seyhan Dörtyol's memory is that:

It was a stressful period for families and the children as there were vamp stories narrated us not to stay in the streets long at nights. They were telling us that 'do not stay long in the streets stories like the vamps come'.

There are also the narratives, which let us know how they heard the 12th September coup d'état. These are the memories, which scarcely appear on the written documents. Gönül Özçelik presents her memory as:

I went out to buy bread. My mother did not know it as well. Somebody was shouting from the upstairs but there was no one on the street. I got shocked. There was an oddity. There weren't any open shops. Only me as a child was out to buy bread. My mum called me as 'come back, come immediately, come immediately'. When I came back, they said the 80's coup had happened. After that it was such an intricate period, many people were detained. Even my uncle was detained. I was afraid as though he had been going to be killed.

Musa Bıkmaz who lived in a town, close to a big city, denotes 12th September morning as:

The only thing I remember on the 12th September is that I went out to buy bread in the morning. The gendarmes stopped me and asked me whether my sisters were beautiful or not. I was angry and reacted to them. Even they ran after me but they were not able to catch me as I was on the bike. When I went to the shop, it was closed, there was no bread, nobody was on the street in the morning.

The students of 1980s also recall the period with the home investigations by the police or gendarmes. Gül Ak Karataş:

When the coup happened, our houses were searched. One night the police and the gendarmes came while we were sleeping. We all got up and they started to search every part of the home. They wanted to search my mother's bedroom, my father did not let them. He said 'my wife is sleeping there.' There was an Atatürk's photo on the wall, they even searched back of it. It left a profound trace on me. It is interesting, we have been afraid of the police since then.

We also come across a few narratives, which confirm that the 12th September coup d'état was welcomed by a great part of society since it ended the social and political conflicts and fights. Vildan Asur denotes how her father put the posters of the coup d'état generals on the wall after the 12th September.

I do not remember much out of school but at that time there were things about state. For example my father put the generals on the wall in our house. I do not know why but I think was it the time of Kenan Evren? Was there the coup d'état? The generals were at our home because of that. I remember it well. There were the pictures of the pashas on a board. I remember it well there was Kenan Evren as well. My father did not let us touch it.

Ayşe Zor Duran describes the case as: "It was a transition to a different time. I had the feeling that it was encountered well by the environment. She remembers the tells like 'no more people are shooting to each other.'"

Aykut Mert Kuş notes it as:

At that time the approach of our elders and parents was that it was good that they did as people were afraid of going out. They had the anxiety of whether they could be left in any armed conflicts, whether my son was able to be back home. I recall this quite well. Everybody welcomed the 12th September intervention.

Some of narratives reveal the curfew of the time. Ayşe Zor Duran: "What I clearly remember was that there was a curfew. There was a soldier, he was a soldier for me at that time, who was on the TV, there were always talks on it." Gül Ak Karataş puts into words as: "For instance, there was ban, state of emergency after a certain time." Turan Bölükçe puts it into words as "The families had safety anxieties about their children as there were actions at schools or in the streets. You could not have any prescience about where and when the actions would take place."

Those who went to primary schools in the villages memorize their daily routines rather than the social and political conflicts of the period. Quite a few of them indicate the 12th September³ coup d'état. Ayhan Sağ's memory is one, which gives details about what he lived on the 12th September in 1980.

I remember the 12th September it is because we have fields out of the village, we were staying there temporarily. I was to go to my grandmothers as a child that day. When I came, there is a junction at the entrance of the village where I had met the gendarmes for the first time, five or six soldiers with guns. Since we were children, they did not do anything to us. While walking in the village I saw soldiers on all houses. People were gathering in the center of the village, the guns were being collected from people

and they were detained. These were so sad events that they affected me a lot, they affected my life perspective because I felt the pressure there. The 12th September is a day I have never forgotten in my life.

Except for these two narratives of the children, the rest who completed their primary school education in the villages explicate the daily routines. Musa Erdoğan for example recounts how electricity was brought to his village.

Most of the time we did not know what had happened both out of school and the village as there were no television. To say something as memory, I remember how the electricity was brought to the village. We were just starting to school. A truck came to the center of the village, left the electric poles. There was a fuss at that time that 'if somebody erects the nice, thick poles, it becomes sturdy, better electric it energizes.' Everybody strived to take the poles, the thickest, nicest ones to their homes. Everybody dug a hole for his/her pole and erected it. All the poles were erected in a day. There was a great conviviality. Even after erecting our pole, we followed all the poles and tried to find out where the electricity was coming from and counted all the poles.

Those who got their primary education in the villages mostly claim that they do not remember much about what happened outside the school. Gözde Öksüz: "No", Gülcan Boy: "No, I do not remember that" Sonay Yol does not recall that period but emphasizes that their school director was a soldier. "I do not remember 1980s but our school director was a soldier. He was sent by the military. He was a soldier I do not remember his name." She also states that when it is talked about outside the school, she remembers going out and playing freely.

We were at a boarding school. When there came the weekend, we had the desire to go somewhere out, i.e. outside school. Being away from school, as though it had been military zoon. It was like to go out and be free as we always felt being under pressure. As it was a closed place, we were put under pressure. We wanted to go out, play games and be free. It was an oppressive period.

Aykut Ay who studied primary school in a village mentions that since the people in their village were conservative and had a homogenous social structure, they did not witness any disorders. However, he believes that his memory about the coup d'état in relation with his period perception occupies an important place in his life.

The place where I lived was a quite conservative place. People did not have much relation with outside. Only radio was a significant communicative device. People could try to follow the news about the developments both in the country and the world by radio. I do not have any precise memories about those days. The political view of the village was homogenous. There were only a few people with leftist views, I remember that people did not look them favorably. As far as I remember the coup d'état happened on a Friday morning. There used to be our town's bazaar on Fridays. I

can say that the village had connection with out by the bazaar. I did love to go to the bazaar yet since there happened the coup d'état I was not able to the bazaar. I can say that it was the first bad effect of coup d'état on me.

Media: “Television, Radio and Newspaper”

The narratives of the students of 1980s about watching TV, listening to radio and reading newspaper or magazines differentiate due to the place where they got their primary school education. Except two who got their primary school education in wealthy villages where there appeared agricultural activities, it is hard to claim that those who went to primary school in the villages were familiar with TV⁴, but they knew the radio and listened to it. For instance, Özmen Ok and Aykut Ay who went to primary school in the villages are some them.

Özmen Ok puts it as:

Yes, electricity, television came to the village at the age of three. I think there was our TV at the age of four. I remember going to our neighbour to watch TV at the age of three. We had a black and white TV at the age of four. When? I remember that we bought a colorful TV in 85, 86. It is not possible to forget Uykudan Önce ‘Before Sleeping’. It is not possible to forget Adile Naşit’s Before Sleeping. I was watching it frequently. I remember the news a lot. I remember the news affecting my dad and me. People were watching the news. However, my father’s watching TV was always bothering me. It was disturbing us, as he was not sharing time with us. He always wanted to watch the news.

Aykut Ay describes how he recalls the news:

There was only a TV in the village in the coffeehouse at that time. There was not electricity before. It was a TV that used to be run by an accumulator when there was no electricity. It had only one channel. There were no programmes all day. I remember that. It was broadcasting during the limited time periods. Watching TV was something that I liked to do. Yet, our primary school teacher banned us to go to the village coffeehouse naturally. We were only able to try to follow TV from the outside of the coffeehouse through the window as the children of the period. I had a great interest in TV. Actually, I can say that I can remember the programmes’ broadcasting times. I did love the cliffhangers. If I am not wrong, there was a cliffhanger on TRT2 at 16:40. There were programmes called Playpan and Child Time programme lasting for an hour at the weekends. There was also a programme named Radio Theatre at the weekends. I did try to follow them. As I said before I did like watching the news.

The others who were students at the primary schools in the villages assert that unlike those who partially could listen to radio, they did not have chance to watch TV. Gülcan Boy puts forth as:

We didn't follow TV. We had radio and television. We did not have such a problem but we did not follow them. We were going out. I do not remember if we were watching TV. If I say we were watching it, it would be a lie.

Ayhan Sağ also mentions it as:

There was no TV as there was no electricity in our village. I cannot say that we were watching it. Yet, we had such culture, while our elders were listening to the radio, we did not have any other chances we were listening to the programmes they were listening.

Those who got their primary education in the small towns and cities recall the TV programmes rather than the radio's as TV⁵ was more widespread at these places when compared with the villages. Their narratives get richer in terms of their context related with the TV programmes in the cities. Also, in the narrative of Musa Bıkmaz that contents the reminiscences of the students studying in the small towns, we come across the words of students about the magazines. Musa Bıkmaz:

We had to watch the news on television. We listened them on the radio as well. We watched TV. I most remember the 12th September. From the series broadcasted before that time, I recall Bonanza or Lilies of the Valley. Our house was interesting, my dad was buying two newspapers. I did learn how to read newspapers. I had collected the Tercüman Child Magazine's issues about the space in 1978s. It was giving colorful issues, which were quite hard to find. I had collected colorful documents. He was buying Hürriyet, two newspapers together.

The students of the period who got their primary education in the cities can call up more about watching TV and names of its programmes. However, they reconstruct their memories about the news that they find boring because of the fact that their elders did watch them. Seyhan Dörtüoğulları gives a detailed description of his memory as:

We did watch and listen on TV and radio at that time especially in our home when the news was on. The television was not so common. There was a black and white TV. There was a Saba brand TV. We never missed the news there. Since our parents watched them we did watch as well. Also local and foreign series call to my mind. There was the Rich and Poor as far as I remember as series. There was Eagles Fly High but it could be on TV later. I recall music programmes, art music programmes choirs or music programmes where a person would sing solo songs.

Ayşe Zor Duran calls up the means of communication as:

The radio was always on. The news was included as well. The television was on until it ended its programmes. Therefore, I did listen as a child as my parents always did. I do remember the Eurovision stories well, it was such an excitement. I recall such talks when the coup d'état happened. I do remember Dallas very well. I recall Small House

and loved it. Except that, there was a cartoon called Vikings and I did love it as a child. Actually I grew up in an environment where there were the TV and radio.

Berk Nur Nil describes it as:

Not on the radio. My grandfather used to buy Tercüman Newspaper definitely. We read it with him unconditionally. I also listened to them with him at 8 on TRT. We read the articles of Nazlı Ilıcak. I got used to looking to the Pehlivan Feuilletton that Tercüman Newspaper used to give. Kurt Develi Mehmet Pehlivan, the Adventures of Hergeleci Mehmet Pehlivan. I remember the problems about coup d'état. I remember the things like coup d'état happened. What else? I cannot forget one thing. Was it Israel's ELAL plane? The Palestinians had been hijacked. I recall such an event but I do not remember its details. I also call up the question of Maraş in 78 from the newspapers. There were always political events like many people died from the left, these people died. I remember people being put to death after the coup d'état. I remember Kenan Evren's words: 'Will we feed them instead of killing them?'

According to Aliye Parmaksız, their teachers wanted them to listen or watch the news and recount them during the lesson next day. She gives the details of the case as:

We did. When we came to school in the morning, we were narrating the news; we had been given such a duty by our teacher. You will watch the news in the evenings and everybody will bring a news next day etc., Next morning we were standing and sharing the news that we had watched before in the classroom for 10, 15 minutes. Generally, everybody was recounting the same. There was such a case. The teacher had us watch the news.

The speech of Şeyda Ayhan also illustrates the atmosphere of the period:

Of course! I never forget since I was a child of 80s generation. In other words, I have ligature with 80s. I did like music much. Particularly western music, there was such a style at that time. I knew all the singers, their songs known as arrangement songs. I loved Ajda Pekkan. There was Bonanza as a series. there was Taş Devri as a cartoon. These are what I can remember now. I did also watch the series for the elders such as the Angels of Charlie, Dallas. I watched all of them not only the child programmes.

As a result, the primary school students of the period are able to recall the events or news of the period resulted from the place where they got their primary school education. In the rural areas such as villages, they had a limited notice of the news via listening to the radio. We encountered only two narratives where the students claim that they were listening to the plays from the radio. Unlike those in the villages, the students who got their primary school education in the cities were able to watch television and they put forth them with examples. There are also two narratives displaying that they could read the newspapers and magazines at that time.

Conclusions

The period perception of 1980s in the words of period primary school students has been rendered. As it is commonly known, it is hard to stumble upon the views of the children who depict the period in which they got their primary school education in the written documents. Therefore, it must be prominent to expose how they reconstruct the period during which they completed their primary school education in their memories. They give considerable details about 1980s' period. These details compose their period perceptions as parts of their educational practices and thus we are able to behold the ruptures and continuities in historical perspective. Observing these ruptures and continuities in the narratives of the children make them be both the subjects and sources of historical and educational studies.

It is likely to derive some consequences when the data of the narratives of the children of the period are considered by means of taking cognizance of the where they completed their primary school education, their family income and educational levels. To begin with, their parents' both income and educational level seem to be slightly effective in the variation of their reminiscences. However, these levels may implicitly reflect their necessities on living in the villages or cities, the process of urbanization. It is known that living in the cities also is the indication of having better education and being wealthy.

Secondly, their period perceptions or what took place out of school in their minds differentiate from each other due to the fact that they got their education in the villages and cities. A great many narratives of the children studying their primary education in the cities reverberate the events and developments of the period. They were able to call up and personally witness the developments that took place before the 12th September Coup d'état and those taking place after it. However, the children living and studying primary school in the villages scarcely recall these developments. They more speculate the villages' life conditions and details about their daily life's practices.

The children in the cities no matter they are boys or girls could watch, listen and read the social and political developments on TV, from the radio and the newspapers as they had chance to access these means of communication. Also their parents' social and economic levels were decisive to have a more sophisticated background while remembering their past experiences. Here Pierre Bourdieu's term *cultural capital* or *habitus*, indirectly acquired knowledge and skills, lets us know that where they lived (living in the cities) provides them certain advantages in terms of being aware of the developments taking place around them

(McLaren: 2003, Apple: 2004, Marshall: 1999). Unlike those who got their primary school education in the cities, the children who were in the villages were not able to remember the 12th September coup d'état except for one or two examples. It is because they had less opportunity to know the social and political developments in country. The parents' sensitivities to the social and political developments may result in their awareness about them. Yet, in the cities apart from their parents' interest to the events, children themselves could learn about the developments in the country.

Thirdly, when we compare the narratives of 1970s' and 1980s' primary school students' narratives about their period perception, we grasp that there is a continuity in their narratives regarding what they recall about the period in which they had been. While those who got their education in the cities are able to remember what happened out of school, the ones who were in the villages hardly denote the social and political developments or conflicts depending on to what extent they had means of communication. Briefly, their remembrances vary because of the place and the period they were in and its conditions and their gender is not remarkable while recalling what took place in the country during their primary school education in the 1980s' Turkey.

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¹ The narratives of the children getting their primary school education in the cities also reflect the political conflicts resulted from social disorder in 1970s. Naciye Dertli who was a primary school student in Ankara in 1970s puts it as "There were conflicts at that time. Our school was near Niđde Yurdu. There were the bombs' sounds, terrifying sounds." Sađlam, Mehmet. *Sözlü Tarih Yöntemiyle 1970ler İlkokul Öğrencileri*, Ankara: Greece Kitaplığı, 2014, pp. 140. These examples affirm that the political disorders of 1970s continued till the 12th September Coup d'état and took place in the memories of the primary school students.

² Rıza Öz describes his 1970s' period perception as "Especially, there happened the 1971's memorandum. The Mamak Military Prison was opposite of us. There were talks about the people arrested such as Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan." Sađlam, 2014, pp. 140

³ The primary school students in the periphery (particularly villages) in 1970s mostly do not remember the nation-wide political and social developments as we come across in the 1980s. Only a few whose parents were more sensitive to political developments recall them. Kadriye Kodaman who got her primary school education in a village puts it as "I remember the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, my parents' sadness. They did not sleep at that night and waited for the news on television. When they heard their execution they did not sleep. They were so sad and thus we asked them why they had been sad and been influenced that much. They said 'you are too young to understand. In the future you will have chance to know about them.'" Sađlam, 2014. pp. 142. All these examples display that those who were in the periphery could remember what had taken place out of school as long as they had particularly chance to get the news through the means of communications.

⁴ Unlike the primary school students of 1980s who mostly had television that was more widespread as well as the radio, those who got their primary school education in the villages in the 1970s had less chance to meet the news on television. They could hear the news from the radio. Feyza G. Gözüpek reveals it, as "There was the radio at a certain time, everybody had to listen the news from the radio in each house. There was a complete silence and the father turned on the radio and listened to the radio. As a result of this we had to listen to them with them as well." İsa Dağ: "We followed the news from the radio. There was no television. The evening news was to be listened definitely." They particularly recall the Cyprus Campaign, and the political conflicts. Sağlam, 2014, pp. 145.

⁵ In 1970s, the students who completed their primary school education in the cities had televisions and could read newspapers. Muhittin Balkız describes how they had watched the news on television. "We did not follow the news but when our dad was watching them, we were watching too. We could see Demirel, Ecevit, Erbakan on television." Aytaç Arı: "I remember man's landing on the moon. It engaged the public. I remember reading the newspapers and Neil Armstrong's landing on the moon." Sağlam, Mehmet. 2014. pp. 146.

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