

“CUT THE KIDS IN HALF”:
NEW URBAN CHILDHOODS IN TURKEY
THROUGH THE LENS OF THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA, 1977-1997

DENİZ ARZUK KOCADERE



BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

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Thesis submitted to the
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by
Deniz Arzuk

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Doctor of Philosophy from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History

This thesis has been approved on 10 April 2015 by:

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Buğra Kavala

Assoc. Prof. Duygu Köksal

Assoc. Prof. Cengiz Kırılı

Assoc. Prof. Serra Müderrisoğlu

Assoc. Prof. Pınar Uyan Semerci

ABSTRACT

An Abstract of the Thesis of Deniz Arzuk
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Title: “Cut the Kids in Half”: New Urban Childhoods in Turkey
Through the Lens of the Mainstream Media, 1977-1997

This thesis questions how the concept of childhood was redefined by the mainstream media in the aftermath of the fiscal crisis of the late 1970s. The research was based on popular daily newspapers representing the centre, social democratic left, and conservative right. Some important characteristics of this new era were the erosion of the traditional structures of modernity, persistent inequalities which were especially visible in cities, and social responses to increasing social insecurity in the forms of anxiety and fear aggression. This study uses the term “new childhood” with a concern similar to the scholars who have concocted new concepts such as neo-liberalism, new globalisation, advanced capitalism, and liquid modernity to comprehend the profound social, political, economic, and cultural transformations that took place in this period.

The introductory chapters where I briefly outline the theoretical framework, describe children’s living conditions in the period, explain my methodology, and introduce my sources are followed by three main chapters. First, I discuss the economic and political pressures that shaped news media, and explain how new trends in journalism changed the social meanings of news. Second, I question how the media reassessed conventional meanings childhood, and claim that traditional social responsibilities over children’s well-being were allocated to families and children themselves. Third, I turn to the media’s responses to persistent and increasingly visible inequalities, and demonstrate the different standards and distinct sets of values journalists employed when making news about unequal childhoods. I conclude that the traditional definition of childhood as a shared life stage was shattered, and “new childhood” was constructed as an exclusive privilege.

ÖZET

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Doktora Derecesi için
Deniz Arzuk tarafından
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Başlık: Anaakım Medyanın Objektifinden Türkiye'de
Yeni Kentsel Çocukluk Tanımları, 1977-1997

Bu tez hâkim üç siyasi pozisyonu, yani merkez, sosyal demokrat sol ve muhafazakâr sağı temsilen seçilen çoksatar günlük gazetelerden yola çıkarak 1970lerin sonunda yaşanan mali krizi takip eden dönemde anaakım medyanın çocukluk kavramının nasıl yeniden tanımladığını sorguluyor. Bu yeni çağın alametleri arasında modernizmin geleneksel yapılarının yıkımı, artan toplumsal güvencesizliğe karşı geliştirilen endişe ve saldırganlık gibi tepkiler ve özellikle de kentlerde görünür hale gelen kalıcı eşitsizlikler bulunuyordu. Çeşitli düşünürler yaşanan derin toplumsal, siyasi ve kültürel dönüşümü açıklayabilmek için neoliberalizm, yeni küreselleşme, ileri kapitalizm ve akışkan modernizm gibi yeni kavramlara ihtiyaç duydular. Bu çalışmada “yeni çocukluk” teriminin ortaya atılması da benzer bir ihtiyaçtan ileri geliyor.

Kuramsal çerçevenin özetlendiği, çocukların yaşam koşullarının tasvir edildiği, araştırma yöntemlerinin ve kaynakların tanıtıldığı giriş bölümlerinin ardından tezin üç ana bölümü takip ediyor. Burada ilk olarak ekonomik ve siyasi baskıların haber medyasına nasıl yön verdiğini ve yeni gazetecilik akımlarının haberin toplumsal yapısını nasıl değiştirdiğini tartışacağım. Ardından, medyanın alışlagelmiş çocukluk kavramını tartışmaya açarak çocukların refahına dair toplumsal kabul edilen görevleri ailelere ve bizzat çocukların kendilerine bölüştürdüğünü anlatacağım. Üçüncü olarak ise medyanın kalıcı ve görünür eşitsizliklere yaklaşımını ele alarak gazetecilerin eşitsiz çocukluklara karşı takındığı ayrıcalıklı tutumları ve uyguladıkları farklı değer yargılarını sergileyeceğim. Sonuç olarak ise çocukluğun ortak bir yaşam evresi olarak görüldüğü geleneksel tanımın parçalandığını ve “yeni çocukluk” kavramının seçkin bir ayrıcalık olarak inşa edildiğini söyleyeceğim.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Deniz Arzuk

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy 2007-2015	The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Bogazici University, Istanbul
Doctor of Philosophy 2011	History Department, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, University of Antwerp, Antwerp (Exchange)
Master of Arts 2005-2007	The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Bogazici University, Istanbul
Master of Arts 2003-2005	Cultural Studies Programme, Grad. S. of Social Sciences, Bilgi University, Istanbul (Audit)
Bachelor of Architecture 1997-2005	Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul

EXPERIENCE

Researcher 2014-2015	Funded Research Project Salt Research Institute, Istanbul
Volunteer 2013-2014	Social Work for Children TTM (Tarlabasi Community Centre), Istanbul
Teaching Assistant 2010 and 2012	Term in the Middle East Programme St. Olaf Coll., Minnesota and Bogazici Uni., Istanbul
Instructor 2008-2010	The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History Bogazici University, Istanbul
Teaching Assistant 2007-2008	Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Bahcesehir University, Istanbul
Research Assistant 2006-2007	The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History Bogazici University, Istanbul
Co-Editor 2005	Building Information Centre Architecture Yearbook 2005 YEM (Building Information Centre), Istanbul

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Social History of Modern Turkey, History of Childhood and Youth, Cultural Studies, Media Sociology, Children's Well-Being, Historical Demography of Turkey, Social Inequalities, Social Policy, Urban Sociology.

PUBLICATIONS AND THESIS

Book Chapter: “‘Universal Republic of Children?’ ‘Other’ Children in Doğan Kardeş Children’s Periodical.” In *Internationalism in Children’s Series (Critical Approaches to Children’s Literature)*, edited by Karen Sands-O’Connor and Marietta Frank. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Book Chapter: “Creating A Nation from Scratch: Nationalism and Nationhood in Çocuk Children’s Periodical in Turkey, 1936-39.” In *Children’s Literature on the Move: Nations, Translations, Migrations*, edited by Nora Maguire and Beth Rodgers. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013.

Master’s Thesis: *Vanishing Memoirs: Doğan Kardeş Children’s Periodical between 1945-1993*. Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Duygu Köksal. Istanbul: Bogazici University, 2007.

Article: “Cumhuriyet ve Aşk: Kerime Nadir’in Erken Dönem Romanları Üzerine Bir İnceleme” (The Republic and the Romance: A Research on the Early Novels of Kerime Nadir). *Mesele* 6, June 2007.

Article: “Türkçenin Ortasında Geniş Bir Sevgi ve Şevkat Ürpermesi: Ölümünün 50. Yılında Reşat Nuri Güntekin” (A Chill of Love and Compassion in the Midst of Turkish: Resat Nuri Guntekin on the 50th Anniversary of His Death). *Birgün Kitap* 29, December 2006.

Book Review: "Direniş İmkânı ve Sınırları" (The Possibilities and Limitations of Resistance: Reina Lewis's Rethinking Orientalism). *Birgün Kitap* 25, October 2005.

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND WORKSHOPS

“Parçalanmış Kentlerde Çocukluk: Türkiye’de Çocukluğun 1980 Sonrası Mekânsal ve Söylemsel Dönüşümü” (Childhood in Split Cities: Spatial and Discursive Transformation of Childhood in Turkey after the 1980s). Salt Research Funds Project Presentations. Salt Research Institute. Istanbul, December 2014.

“Children of Sob Stories: Mainstream Media Representations of New Urban Childhoods in Turkey.” Inter-Disciplinary Net 4th Global Conference on Childhood. Mansfield College, Oxford, July 2014.

“Little Adults and Pseudo-Kids: Representations of Unequal Childhoods in the post-1980s Turkish News Media.” The International Institute for Social History 10th European Social Science History Conference. University of Vienna, Vienna, April 2014.

“Split Cities, Split Childhoods: Spaces of New Urban Childhood.” Society for the History of Children and Youth 7th Biennial Conference. Nottingham University, Nottingham, June 2013.

History of Childhood Workshop. Co-Organised by British Institute at Ankara and British Academy. Ankara, March 2011.

“Definitions of Urban Childhood and Children’s Experiences in Turkey.” Department of History, Political History Research Group Workshop. University of Antwerp, Antwerp, February 2011.

“...’not pitied but written off’: Child Poverty in Turkey since the 1980s.” Centre for the Study of Childhood and Youth 3rd International Conference. Sheffield, July 2010.

“Nostalgia for Childhood: Children’s Experiences of Political Conflict in Turkey in the late 1970s.” Growing up in Divided Societies International Conference, Co-Organised by Research Forum for the Child at QUB, Centre for the Study of Childhood and Adolescence, and International Childhood and Youth Research Network. Queen’s University, Belfast, June 2010.

“‘Universal Republic of Children’? Other Cultures in Doğan Kardeş Children’s Periodical.” International Research Society for Children’s Literature 19th Biennial Congress. Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, August 2009.

“Çatışmanın Gölgesindeki Çocuklar: Çocukların Deneyimlerinin Çocuk Edebiyatına Yansımaları” (Children under the Shadow of Conflict: Reflections of Children’s Experiences on Children’s Literature). The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History 2nd Graduate Conference. Bogazici University, Istanbul, March 2009.

“Creating the Nation’s Citizen’s from Scratch: Nationalism in *Çocuk* Children’s Periodical (1936-1948).” Irish Society for the Study of Children’s Literature 7th Annual Conference. St Patrick’s College, Dublin, February 2009.

“Vanishing Memoirs: *Doğan Kardeş* Children’s Periodical (1945-1993).” The Child and the Book 5th Annual Conference. New York State University, Buffalo State College, Buffalo, NY, May 2008.

“Ville, Architecture, Patrimoine Maghreb et Proche Orient - l’Atelier Turquie” Urban Architecture Workshop. Co-Organised by Ecole Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture Paris-Malaquais and Mimar Sinan University. Mardin, May 2000.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: CHILDREN IN THE CITY

Several years ago, when I was out for a stroll in one of the main pedestrian areas of the city, I came across a poignant scene. It was early autumn, and the sun was setting; its beautiful crimson rays washing over the grey walls of the city. Suddenly two young people came sprinkling handfuls of purple confetti in the air to start off a publicity campaign for an upcoming film festival. As the pieces of paper floated in the breeze, I saw two little children in their school uniforms chasing them as if they were delicate cherry blossoms. One of the two was a little boy of about eight years of age, and the other was a girl one or two years younger. There they were, in the middle of the rush hour, two little children chasing bits of paper, and obviously enjoying themselves. As the girl jumped up and down and tried to catch pieces before they hit the ground, the boy kneeled down to pick up those scattered on the street. But instead of pocketing the bundle he collected, he turned to the little girl with an affectionate glow in his eyes and a wide smile on his face, and handed her his precious treasure, saying “here, you should have it all.” To this day, that scene stuck with me.

This was when I was wrapping up my master's thesis. I was doing research on a children's periodical in Turkey, and I was reading the very same issues that I had read as a child, but from a very different perspective. Perhaps it was the selective perception of a social scientist that had made me more conscious of children in the city. I remember later seeing a dreamy toddler hanging on to her mother's skirt as she begged the passersby for bread, and a group of kids playing catch under the shadow of a gigantic building next to a highway. And then there were pupils sombrely watching the rain from the windows of school buses taking them from gated communities to prestigious private schools, babies strapped into car seats in the gloomy parking lots of shopping malls; countless children in the midst of the city, trying to find a little place for themselves in a world that rushed by without noticing them.

Watching children while reminiscing about my own childhood, the stark difference struck me. That was how I decided to study the changing ideas about childhood. My initial impression was that the concept of childhood must have undergone a tremendous change sometime during the last quarter of the twentieth century. When I talked to friends, I noticed that quite a few people from my generation agreed with this impression. We feared that children were losing out on childhood, and that was because we sensed that their experiences were very different from ours. The main difference, I contemplated, lay in the deeply felt inequalities between children. I thought very diverse childhood experiences came together in cities, and that although the distinction between children was out on display, it was invisible; we either ignore, or have become hardened to, and perhaps even normalised these contrasts that we witness.

It is, of course, a valid question to ask if childhood inequalities should matter more than other intrinsic inequalities embedded in the society. My answer to that comes from an understanding of a social contract for children. In *Theory of Justice*,¹ John Rawls argues human beings would agree on a social contract were they to meet in “the original position.” In this position, they would be under a “veil of ignorance;” in other words, they would have the necessary knowledge of the workings of a social order, but be ignorant of their own standing in that setup, hence oblivious of their particular advantages and disadvantages. Rawls assumes that people in the original position would agree on a social contract that would be both “to everyone’s advantage” and “to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged.”

This second principle of the Rawlsian contract also came to be known as the maximin principle, and according to Hilde Bojer,

children may well be considered the weakest group in society, the group most unconditionally dependent on the goodwill of others. The group ‘children’ is therefore a strong candidate for the position of the least advantaged in the maximin principle.²

To that, one might add that childhood as a stage of life is the closest humanity gets to the original position that Rawls sees as the basis of a social contract. That is because children’s position in society is not yet fixed. Their potentiality, at least from an ideal perspective, means that their social standing has yet to be determined; they are in flux.

This difference between childhood and adulthood is exactly what inspired the international postwar agreements about children. The definition of the child as the

¹ John Rawls, *Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Oxford University Press, 1971).

² Hilde Bojer, “Children and Theories of Social Justice,” in *Feminist Economics* 6/2 (2000), pp. 23-39.

non-adult, despite its much negotiable aspects and connotations, not only offers special protection for children, but also immunity to the fragmentations of the adult world. It suggests that children, innocent beings as they are, should be spared the injustice which seems unavoidable in the adult world. This ideal was put forth by the United Nations, an organisation founded upon the tragedies of World War II, in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948: "childhood is entitled to special care and assistance."³ When The United Nations General Assembly declared a series of principles concerning the child, and proclaimed that *mankind owes the child the best it has to give*, the very first principle was

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. *Every child, without any exception whatsoever*, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.⁴

By setting these primary conditions of the special assistance and care the children deserved, the children were, in a sense, considered to be exempt from "adult" distinctions. The idea that the child is to be protected from the fragmentations of the adult world blossomed from a shared conscience. However, I feared that reaching this humane common ground had become unimaginable in the late twentieth century.

Thus, my starting point in this dissertation is more of an ethical position than a scientific hypothesis. I believe that we, human beings, need to formulate an egalitarian social contract which offers each and every child, without any exception whatsoever, the best we have to give. Furthermore, I also believe that this equality

³ "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25," Full text available [online] at <<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>> [1 October 2013].

⁴ "Declaration of the Rights of the Child, Principle 1," Full text available [online] at <<http://www.cirp.org/library/ethics/UN-declaration/>> [1 October 2013].

should not be limited to basic necessities, but also extend beyond the terms of material indicators of economic welfare. From this standpoint, it is not only material consumption, sanitation, water, or daily calorie intake that indicates well-being. Gerry Redmond notes two other approaches to thinking about children's rights: capabilities and social exclusion. Both of these perspectives are extremely useful in thinking about social justice, and especially the capabilities approach which Redmond defines as "the freedoms a person has to choose from a set of different possible and desirable courses of action."⁵ Amartya Sen expresses that the study of development should be concerned first and foremost with "our capability to lead the kind of lives we have reason to value."⁶ Martha Nussbaum, too, puts what people are "able to do and to be" at the centre of human development.⁷ The expressions of these perspectives in childhood studies can be found in the growing body of work on "child well-being," which is described not only in terms of material needs, but also associated with children's physical, social and mental health, happiness, less symptoms, self confidence, and helplessness.

It is children's well-being defined as such, I argue, that should be at the core of the social contract. I also hold true that an egalitarian promise as such can only be kept by social mechanisms built in cooperation and consent. This kind of mutual agreement, which seems almost probable to reach when it concerns children, has the

⁵ Gerry Redmond, "Child Poverty and Child Rights: Edging towards a Definition," in *Journal of Children and Poverty* 14/1 (2008), pp.68-70.

⁶ Amartya Kumar Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.285.

⁷ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

potential of expanding to cover all the ‘others’ of the world. For, as put by Hilde Bojer,

Children are not a separate group, but in a phase of life through which every single human being has to pass. Justice to children is therefore not justice to a particular, distinct portion of humanity, but justice to all.⁸

It is precisely the same reasons that make childhood a great basis for a just social contract –its vulnerability, its sharedness, its transiency as a live stage yet permanence as a social category– which make the study of childhood somewhat different from that of any other social group.

That is why my first theoretical influence comes from childhood studies. And of course it would be unforgivable not to start with Philip Ariés, whose seminal work had a compelling impact on a new field which is now established. Today, half a decade after the publication of *Centuries of Childhood*⁹ in French, Ariés remains the most cited historian on childhood. In this study, he claims that the idea of childhood did not exist in medieval society and defines distinct attitudes to children that emerged after the sixteenth century. Despite wide criticism of its methodology or its original assumptions, the one point every scholar seems to agree upon is that his work contributed greatly to childhood history by revealing that “childhood could have a history.”¹⁰ *Centuries of Childhood* influenced many other works that outlined

⁸ Bojer, “Children and Theories of Social Justice,” p.26.

⁹ Philip Ariés, *L'enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life), translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

¹⁰ Colin Heywood, “Oxford Bibliographies: Philippe Ariés,” Available upon subscription [online] at <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199791231/obo-9780199791231-0088.xml>> [1 October 2013].

different histories of childhood, including Hugh Cunningham¹¹ and Colin Heywood's¹² histories of Western childhood, and for example, Bekir Onur's body of writing on childhood in Turkey.¹³

Once childhood became the subject of history, the scope of research quickly extended beyond ethnographic observations and descriptive histories. By and large, this was inspired by the new extensions of history writing. One of the most important drifts in historiography in the last decades has been the increasing interest in giving voice to the silenced people of the past. Historians have sought the lost footprints of women, peasants, non-Caucassians, criminals, and other outcasts of "The History." This also required a change of methodology, which has meant both turning to different sources, and handling the sources at hand in different ways with different sets of questions.

History's flirtation with other disciplines and methodologies has widened the horizons of the discipline with a social turn. Certainly it was not only the "insignificant" people that "The History" had ignored while it narrated the high and the mighty; it also had ignored the "insignificant" everyday. In other words, the ordinary goings-on of daily life were overlooked as chroniclers focused on the extraordinary events that disrupted the flow. As more and more historians became interested in culture and mentality, this became evident. Thus began the introduction

¹¹ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995).

¹² Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

¹³ Bekir Onur, *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi: Çocukluğun Sosyo-Kültürel Tarihine Giriş* (History of childhood in Turkey: an introduction to the socio-cultural history of childhood) (Ankara: İmge, 2005); Bekir Onur, *Çocuk, Tarih ve Toplum* (Children, history, and society) (Ankara: İmge, 2007); Bekir Onur, *Türk Modernleşmesinde Çocuk* (The child in Turkish modernisation) (Ankara: İmge, 2009).

of the ordinary into history, and works that focused on the micro began to be more prominent in the discipline.

It was also with these developments in historiography when the history of childhood received attention from more scholars, and they began to discuss the close-knit connections of other socio-analytical categories like gender and class with the concept of childhood, and the importance of addressing children's actual experiences. One such scholar was Harry Hendrick, who adopted a paradigm in the history of childhood, following the path of feminist historiography in his 1997 work *Children, Childhood and English Society 1880-1990*. The main statement of his paradigm emphasized that children's history should not be simply "added on," but rather put "into" history.¹⁴ One cornerstone in this regard was Viviana Zelizer, who attempted a contextual analysis and narrated the transition from the "economically useful" to the "economically useless, but emotionally priceless" child in late nineteenth to early twentieth century America.¹⁵

Meanwhile, historians in Turkey, too, became increasingly more interested in childhood. In 1993, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı (Turkey Economic and Social History Foundation) organised a symposium and workshop on the history of childhood.¹⁶ In 1997, Ankara University's Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (ÇOKAUM - Children's Culture Research and Development Centre) started

¹⁴ Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.4-5.

¹⁵ Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

¹⁶ The foundation later published a collection of papers presented at the symposium. Bekir Onur (ed.), *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* (The child in social history) (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994).

organising biannual congresses on children's culture.¹⁷ It was also in this decade when İsmet Kür published his reference work on children's periodicals,¹⁸ and Cüneyd Okay conducted his research on the Child Protection Agency,¹⁹ and on Ottoman childhood.²⁰ By the late 1990s, there had accumulated a considerable amount of writings in the field that merited the publication a bibliography of translated and original works on children's culture studies.²¹ These earlier works opened up the way to the oral history collections²² and more focused works on the history of childhood, such as Öztan's work on the relation between the construction of childhood and the political projections of the Late Ottoman to Early Republican period²³ that would surface in the following decades.

¹⁷ The centre publishes biannual collections of papers presented at these congresses. Bekir Onur (ed.), *Çocuk Kültürü: 1. Ulusal Çocuk Kültürü Kongresi* (Children's culture: 1st National Congress on Children's Culture) (Ankara: ÇOKAUM, 1997); Bekir Onur (ed.), *Cumhuriyet ve Çocuk: 2. Ulusal Çocuk Kültürü Kongresi* (The Republic and the child: 1st National Congress on Children's Culture) (Ankara: ÇOKAUM, 1999); Bekir Onur (ed.) *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Değişen Çocukluk: 3. Ulusal Çocuk Kültürü Kongresi* (Changing childhood in the world and in Turkey: 3rd National Congress on Children's Culture) (Ankara: ÇOKAUM, 2001).

¹⁸ İsmet Kür, *Türkiye'de Süreli Çocuk Yayınları* (Children's Periodicals in Turkey) (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991).

¹⁹ Cüneyd Okay, *Belgelerle Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti* (Child Protection Agency in the Archives) (İstanbul: Şûle, 1999).

²⁰ Cüneyd Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler* (Reformations in the Lives of Ottoman Children) (İstanbul: Kırkambar, 1998).

²¹ Sekine Karakaş, *Türkiye Çocuk Kültürü Bibliyografyası: 1928-2000* (A Bibliography of Children's Culture in Turkey: 1928-2000) (Ankara: ÇOKAUM, 2001).

²² Mine Göğüş Tan et al. (eds.), *Cumhuriyet'te Çocuklar* (They were the Children in the Republic) (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2007).

²³ Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası* (The Political Construction of Childhood in Turkey) (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2011).

In brief, the attention paid to writing histories of childhood has revealed that the concept changes through time and across contexts. And the idea of temporal and contextual change in conceptualising childhood took root in an emergent discipline, the sociology of childhood. In 1997, two sociologists, Allison James and Alan Prout, edited a particularly influential collection of writings. In their contribution to the volume, they offered a new paradigm for the study of childhood.²⁴ Their now widely established paradigm had three main statements: first, childhood is socially constructed; second, childhood should be asserted as an analytical category; third, children are also active participants in this creation.

James and Prout, with the addition of Chris Jenks to the team, penned another book the following year, and expanded their paradigm beyond the social constructivist perspective.²⁵ In the years that followed, the sociology of childhood branched out to tackle with some questions put forward by James, Jenks, and Prout, and some scholars have become more concerned with issues such as giving voice to children and highlighting individual experiences in research, overcoming the asymmetrical relationship between the adult researcher and the child subject, and themes such as diversity and agency. Wyness' elaborate bibliography on sociology of childhood is a great introduction to this line of childhood sociology.²⁶

²⁴ Allison James and Alan Prout (eds.), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, (Philadelphia, PA: RoutledgeFalmer, 1997).

²⁵ Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1998).

²⁶ Michael Wyness, "Oxford Bibliographies: Sociology of Childhood" Available upon subscription [online] at <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199791231/obo-9780199791231-0011.xml>> [1 October 2013].

For the purposes of my research, I need not delve further into the intricacies of these debates on children's agency. Two questions that are also central to these works, however, remain to be answered, how to define the concept of childhood, and who to include in the category. Childhood can be defined according to various criteria. Some of these are objective. UNICEF and UNCRC adopt chronological definitions, and consider children to be people under 15 and 18 years of age, respectively. Other definitions use biological criteria, and draw the border, for instance, at sexual maturity. Then there are those scholars who want to underline children's agency and the diversity of children's experiences, who suggest subjective and multiple definitions of childhood according to the child's personal conditions, or cultural contexts. However, I suggest that assuming children are free agents in their own right devotes those deprived of power not only agency, but also accountability of their actions, thereby underestimating the extent of oppression, and the power of social conditions over children's lives.

Furthermore, although subjective definitions of childhoods might be useful if, for instance, they are not used to establish difference, but to identify it; they are of little use when studying inequality, for they do not see childhood as a unifying and universal category. Provocative at times, I believe Brian Barry's criticism of multiculturalism and the "politics of difference" is mind opening in this sense. In *Culture and Equality*, Barry warns us that this rhetoric underlines and affirms difference and separateness rather than promoting unity, and that is why the concept of plurality is often utilised as an excuse for diverting away from the goal of

universalist redistribution.²⁷ Yes, there are many possible and subjective answers as to who is a child that can help identify the differences between childhood experiences, but in this study, I will stick to an objective definition of children as under 18 years old to underline the shared notion of childness.

That being noted, I should mention that I will specifically and intentionally stick to the neo-Marxist or structuralist interpretation of childhood studies. Jens Qvortrup, an influential thinker of this school, defines childhood as a “structural form.”²⁸ Corsaro summarizes the reasoning behind Qvortrup’s approach as follows:

Children are active members of their childhoods; however, childhood is merely a temporary period of their lives. For society, however, childhood is a permanent structural form or category that never disappears, even though its members change continuously and its nature and conception vary historically.²⁹

To put it differently, although children are transient members of childhood, childhood is a perpetual structural form in society that should be understood in relation to other structural groups, such as classes and gender. The importance of this theory for my thesis is encapsulated by Burke:

Childhood viewed at a distance, through a historical perspective, is revealing of patterns or what are sometimes called landscapes—general conditions of how children appeared to themselves and to their adult contemporaries at any one time.³⁰

²⁷ Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

²⁸ Jens Qvortrup, “Childhood as a Structural Form” *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies*, edited by in Jens Qvortrup, William A. Corsaro, and Michael-Sebastian Honig (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 21-33.

²⁹ William A. Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood Sociology for a New Century Series* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 2011), p. 370.

³⁰ Catherine Burke, “Theories of Childhood,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, edited by Paula S. Fass (New York and London: Macmillan Reference, 2004.)

Since I argue that the change of childhood cannot be fully revealed without a holistic analysis of social change, this theory is central to my study.

Studies on childhood have observed several indicators of the transformation following the 1980s for quite some time. From a cultural angle, increased parental anxieties for children's safety and security, prolonged adolescence, the pressure of consumer culture on children, and earlier encounters with adult culture were mentioned; while childhood inequalities, poverty and social deprivation have been the concern of another group of works. In other words, the disappearance of childhood as we know it has been pointed out by several scholars, implying different shifts of perspectives.

Another way to put this, however, is that these observations did not really come together to reveal a bigger picture. As childhood studies as a discipline established itself, began to produce more sophisticated analyses, and branched out; it also became more professionalised, dispersed, and the distance between subfields widened, in some instances destroying chances of contact. In other words, the present condition of scholarly work compartmentalised childhood studies, with cultural aspects on the one side, and the material on the other, and left little ground to analyse the transformation of childhood per se. Moreover, since most works focus on either one group of children or another, they need not search for the common origins of these transformations.

Are childhood experiences so apart from each other that they no longer occupy the same space? Did extreme material and mental change render a unifying category of childhood as a unit of analysis irrelevant, or is it still meaningful to analyse these differentiating childhoods together? I believe that these developments

are not detached, but indeed interrelated; and although these distinct childhoods appear to be in different realms, they still occupy the same space, the same shore, which carries the ripples they make to each other. Put differently, different states of childhoods may not share the same reason, but they share the same origin, and we need to make a meaningful map out of the marks these changes have left to make sense of the transformation of childhood.

That is why the key concept in writing this thesis is Pierre Bourdieu's concept of positionality. Bourdieu uses this concept to explain and underline the difference between the real, material suffering (*la grande misere*), that is caused by structural defects, and the ordinary, positional suffering (*la petite misere*), caused by the social order. He eloquently defines positional suffering in an analogy, and observes "how painful the social world may be experienced by people who, like the bass player in the orchestra, occupy an inferior, obscure position in a prestigious and privileged universe." Bourdieu's analysis of social positionality is particularly useful for analysing the changing nature of inequality from the perspective of the poor. In his own words,

Using material poverty as the sole measure of all suffering keeps us from seeing and understanding a whole side of the suffering characteristic of a social order which, although it has undoubtedly reduced poverty overall (though less than often claimed) has also multiplied the social spaces (specialized fields and subfields) and set up the conditions for an unprecedented development of all kinds of ordinary suffering (*la petite misère*).³¹

Yet, the concept is also useful for a wider analysis, because positionality not only assesses the experience of the ones who occupy the inferior positions, but it is

³¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Space of Points of View," in Pierre Bourdieu et al., *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, translated by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010 (1999)).

also the reason why the ones in the superior positions find themselves there. The measurement of inequality is the distance between the two ends, one will not be “above” if not for the presence of another one “below,” and there would be no talk of inequality unless there were two positions which can only be defined in relation to each other. That understanding of positional inequality between children, and the quest to look for ways the media participated in the creation of positional distinction between children is one of the foremost aims of my research.

This is where the two distant perspectives of childhood studies that I have discussed come together. At first sight, it appears that these two frameworks offer quite distant sets of questions. However, material and mental change are not independent processes. I believe it is only by turning to both that the jigsaw of this study’s questions might fall into place. A particularly inspiring collection for my purpose is Pilcher and Wagg’s *Thatcher’s Children*, which brings together scholars from different perspectives to lay out a deep and dispersed analysis of childhood in England in the 1980s and 1990s.³² This volume, and particularly two consecutive chapters, Chapter 9, in which Bob Franklin and Julian Petley take the example of a murder case committed by two children and discuss how the media reflects public discussion and constructs public discourse;³³ and Chapter 10, in which Patricia Holland looks at the other side of the coin and discusses concerns and anxieties over

³² Jane Pilcher and Stephen Wagg (eds.), *Thatcher’s Children? Politics, Childhood and Society in the 1980s and 1990s* (London: Falmer, 1996).

³³ Bob Franklin and Julian Petley. “Killing the Age of Innocence: Newspaper Reporting of the Death of James Bulger,” in *Thatcher’s Children?*, edited by Jane Pilcher and Stephen Wagg, pp. 134-154

children's widening knowledge and their new relations with the media, are guiding examples for what I will try to achieve with my research.³⁴

Since I set out to bring together pieces of seemingly unrelated bits and pieces of information on ideas about childhood and formulise a holistic analysis, I needed a wider framework of social change. This brings me to my second theoretical influence, analyses of the late twentieth century. Before I started doing research for my thesis, I read various works from a wide range of disciplines including economics, sociology, geography, and urban studies. These works, and most importantly the analyses of Zygmunt Bauman and Richard Sennett, with their miscellaneous analytical tools and methodologies do not form a consistent theoretical school. Neither do they interpret what they find in a shared terminology. Still, there are some common themes that crystallised in this dispersed and scattered literature which shed light on the key characteristics of this period.

The first of these common themes is the break from conventional and traditional structural forms and processes, and the formation of a new structure. Because my interest is primarily in the mental framework that prepared the ground for this transformation, I will not attempt a detailed analysis of structural change but a great introduction is written by David Harvey, who devoted a whole volume that explains how neoliberalism erased the post-war structure, destroyed its safety nets and support mechanisms, and persuaded the greater public that this was inevitable, if

³⁴ Patricia Holland, "'I've Just Seen A Hole in the Reality Barrier!' Children, Childishness, and the Media in the Ruins of the Twentieth Century," in *Thatcher's Children?*, edited by Jane Pilcher and Stephen Wagg, pp. 155-171.

not downright desirable,³⁵ or in Margaret Thatcher's now infamous slogan, convinced them that "there is no alternative."³⁶

In the first part of *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, Richard Sennett talks about the change of institutions, which he defines as "erosion"³⁷ and pinpoints the turning point at 1973, right after the oil crisis and the breakdown of the Breton-Woods agreement. Although Zygmunt Bauman does not see a radical break in historical terms, a similar statement can be found in his concept of liquid modernity.³⁸ Bauman defines this concept by means of its difference from "solid" modernity, which he sees as an attempt to capture, control, and correct the social order. Albeit their differences in interpretation, what both Sennett and Bauman point out is the erasure of the traditional structure of modern society, along with the solidity it offered.

Changing displays and experiences of economic inequality and disparity is another common finding of these studies. Nearer the end of the century, the extreme inequalities became so pronounced as to catch the glance of international organisations. Thus, for instance, the very first of the millennium goals agreed upon by the United Nations was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.³⁹ But perhaps

³⁵ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁶ Thatcher often repeated this slogan, and one of the earliest utterances was delivered in 1976, before she was elected prime minister. Margaret Thatcher, "Speech to Australian Institute of Directors" Available [online] at: <<http://www.margareththatcher.org/document/103099>> [1 October 2013].

³⁷ Richard Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

³⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

³⁹ United Nations, "Millennium Development Goals: Background" Available [online] at <<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>> [1 October 2013].

more importantly, extreme inequalities were not only visible globally, but as pointed out by Göran Therborn, they could also be spotted in rich countries as well, and even in places like Finland, which are known for their just distributional policies.⁴⁰

Stiglitz finds the distinguishing features of the period in policies which “shaped the market, and shaped it in ways that advantage the top at the expense of the rest.”⁴¹ The gains of the top at the price of the losses of the bottom are also the gist of Thomas Piketty’s much discussed work on wealth concentration and inequality.⁴² Richard Sennet, too, agrees that although “inequality was different in context,” it was equally pronounced,” and new inequality is characterised by the growing gap between the two ends of the wealth scale, especially due to the rapid growth of the top decile, and even more so to the gains of the top percentile.⁴³ Last but not least, according to Zygmunt Bauman, the coming together of the very top and the very bottom of the populations in cities exposes the inequalities which were previously easier to ignore.⁴⁴

The final common theme that emerges from my readings is a logical continuation to the thread that starts with the first and second themes. This can best be summarised as two separate but interrelated responses to the erosion of security offered by the traditional structure, and to new forms inequality. In need of better

⁴⁰ Göran Therborn, *The Killing Fields of Inequality* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

⁴¹ Joseph Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality: How Today’s Divided Society Endangers Our Future* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012), p.1.

⁴² Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁴³ Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, p.13.

⁴⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in An Age of Uncertainty* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

terms, I will call these responses “anxiety” and “fear aggression.” Richard Sennett observes how the military-like organisation of the social economy in the Weberian sense has organised time as to enable people to imagine and plan their future lives, or in his own words, offered “life narrative thinking.” He interprets the main tension of their erasure as the lack of life narrative, and observes how this results in a sense of instability. Seen in this light, one of the main differences of our times is unpredictability, it is no longer being able to think ahead, to be prepared, which he sees as a constant source of anxiety.⁴⁵ That is also a point observed by Bauman, whose analysis reveals how the transition to a liquid version of modernity, by destroying the certainties promised by social institutions, caused feelings of insecurity and instability.⁴⁶

The other side of the coin is how these feelings of anxiety and fear turn into hostility against the most vulnerable members of the society in a manner which might as well be diagnosed “fear aggression.” Richard Sennett explains that this hostility stems from anxieties. He builds an analogy to the depictions of the Great Depression, and observes how the images of the poor, the immigrants, the outcasts of society became constant reminders of personal anxieties; they become a “spectre of uselessness” which “poses a challenge to the welfare state- the state broadly conceived as providing benefits to those in need. What will it offer people who are cast aside?”⁴⁷ Similarly, Zygmunt Bauman describes how this surplus population came to be seen as “human waste,” the masses left behind by the system which has

⁴⁵ Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, p.13.

⁴⁶ Bauman, *Liquid Times*, p.105.

⁴⁷ Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, pp.83-84.

proven that it only needs an ever shrinking number of people to survive.⁴⁸ It is anxiety of becoming redundant as well, they argue, that turn the rest of the population against those people.

The life work of Loic Wacquant can be read as an analysis of these responses as well. In *Urban Outcasts*, he takes to the examples and banlieues and ghettos, and discusses the differences of urban marginality in France and the United States.⁴⁹ In *Punishing the Poor*, he turns the transition from distributive to penal states, and argues that states now find their legitimacy not in correcting but in controlling and confining the ones left behind. He explains how crime is detached from the social context and considered personal liability, thus presenting problems inherent to the system as a problem of security: “this confusion is tailor-made to channel toward the dark skinned figure of the street delinquent in the diffuse anxiety caused by a string of interrelated social changes.”⁵⁰ Similar striking observations are also made by works of urban sociology which demonstrate the effects of these tensions in the formation of new cities in the last decades. There is a flourishing literature, for instance, on how the human waste were left to deteriorate in slums,⁵¹ or on gated communities which were erected as safe recluses from fear.⁵²

⁴⁸ Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*.

⁴⁹ Loic Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

⁵⁰ Loic Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2009), p.3.

⁵¹ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London; New York : Verso, 2006).

⁵² See, for instance, Edward James Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder (eds.) *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997).

With the main themes established, I needed to contextualise and designate the focus of my study. That is why I turn to socio-economic change in Chapter 2 with specific questions about the extent of change. First, I wanted to find out if there was indeed a traceable gap between children from the two ends of the wealth distribution scale. Second, I wanted to evaluate the issue from a temporal perspective, and question if it was the 1980s that had diversified the living conditions of these children, or if these childhoods had never been categorically similar to begin with. Finally, I needed to specify where and where to look to see clearly how this affected the concept of childhood.

The most important finding of my research was that although there were some improvements in human development indicators, inequalities persisted if not worsened in this period. The growing global, regional, and local gaps were a common finding of both international and country specific studies. Moreover, persistent inequalities, coupled with increasing population and demographic movements to city centres which hosted the groups both at the top and the bottom created new patterns of positional inequality. For children, uneven development had severe consequences, which had dramatic effects on every aspect of their lives. Right from the moment they were born inequalities determined children's chances of survival, their cognitive and physical development, their educational attainment, and finally completing the vicious cycle by passing advantages and disadvantages onto the next generation.

My survey of the changing nature of children's living conditions allowed me to designate the timeframe and focus of my research. I found that the most severe forms of transformations took place in urban centres; which is why I will specifically

look into urban childhood. I also found that the beginnings of the transformation can be traced back to the late 1970s, hence the beginning of my period at 1977. I also found that the late 1990s marked some kind of turning point in terms of inequality. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the late 1990s marked an awakening for many major organisations, as well as researchers of child well-being, when they began interpreting data in the light of a rediscovered awareness of inequality.⁵³ This awakening came a few years later in Turkey after the crisis of 2001, when poverty and inequality became a focal point in academic studies. My interpretation of this burgeoning interest was that the late 1990s signified a peak point in terms of inequality, when its displays were too out in the open to be over looked.

With that research, the subtitle of my thesis was finally determined: “New Urban Childhoods in Turkey between 1977 and 1997.” Yet, as I mentioned above, my primary question is related to the change of ideas. Thus, it was not only the material, but also the mental change that needed to be looked into, for this change, I believed, was even greater. I also wanted to understand how the media participated in the construction of a new childhood by presenting its own distorted picture. That is why I turn to mainstream media in the body of my thesis. Chapter 3, in which I outline media sociology literature, and introduce my sources and methodology, and explain why I turn to newspapers as my primary source, should be read as a brief introduction to the following chapters. This is also where I discuss my reasons for using the metaphor of axes of orientation instead a chronological or topical organisation to lay out the findings of my analysis. With the drawing of these axes, I hope to create a coordinate system based on the themes that emerged in my readings.

⁵³ See Chapter 2, pp.29-30.

Most thinkers who dwell on the change that took place in the last quarter of the twentieth century chose to define it by adding an adjective or a prefix to established concepts that captured the essence of the earlier era, so the concepts are often defined in terms such as post-welfare, de-regularisation, new-right, or liquid-modernity. In this thesis, I use the term new childhood in much the same manner, to suggest a deviation from the customary concepts that were habitual, conventional in the post-war period. But before I set out to understand how this transition came about, I need to analyse the factors that set the ground for change. Thus, in this first axis I will look into the economic and structural factors that shaped newspapers, I will analyse the tangible changes in newspapers, and then I will move closer and analyse the paradigm shifts of newsmaking that are spotted by many scholars.

Numerous analyses of the media and the changing mental lexicon in Turkey in the 1980s and the 1990s, quite understandably, have focused on the representations of the newly emerging and most apparent and visible signs that pointed to the new direction Turkey was taking. That is because difference was easier to capture and define, even before time allowed those analysers to gain a perspective of the era, while they were still in the midst of it. Today, the three decades that we elapsed offer us a wider, though perhaps still not entirely historical, perspective to view what has happened since that decade. It is now the time to narrate a history, because now we have the chance to understand not only what was in the forefront, but also what was pushed to the back; we can see what stories were left untold. So rather than concentrating on the newspeak of the neoliberal period, in this second axis of orientation, I will focus on the decade's negotiation with the conventional concept of childhood, and question the ways that it was abandoned or

renounced. This axis is based on three questions about the social meanings of childhood: the extent of social responsibility, parental liability, and children's own personal accountability.

I believe these first two axes paved the way to a new conceptual construction of childhood, which is what I will analyse in the third axis. From the beginning, my definition of childhood in this analysis had been inclusive and general; my only perimeter had been the subjects' age. However, as I conducted the archival research, I realised that this universal definition was exactly what the media discarded. I began to spot patterns in the exceptions to "childhood" in news. This led me to define my final axis in terms of distinction and equality. For this, I will turn to my initial argument that the 1980s and 1990s were when displays of childhood inequalities began to change. Second, I will concentrate on how news drew the borders of childhood following persistent lines of discrimination, which were gender, ethnicity and region of origin, and income. Lastly, I will turn to the idealised imagery of impeccable children, and I will look for the contrasts and parallels between these different representations to highlight and analyse the dissolution of childhood.

I will conclude that the 1980s and the 1990s were a new turning point in the construction of childhood, very much like the Late Ottoman to Early Republican period; they were the formative years of "new childhood." I will argue that there opened a rift in our understanding of childhood as the disadvantaged and privileged children were separated from each other. The transformations of this period affected different groups of children in various and sometimes quite distinct ways, yet I believe it is precisely this rift that separated them that we need to comprehend if we are to make sense of new childhood.

CHAPTER 2

CHILDREN'S WELL-BEING IN THE 1980S AND 1990S

Have we done well by our children? Although defenders of economic growth tend to narrate the global history of the second half of the twentieth century as a positive story of development, for the rest of us, there is another dimension of this tale. We know that there are significant gaps within and between countries, regions, and even cities. Unfortunately, even in the most desirable circumstances, some babies die before they grow up to become toddlers, some kids fall behind in school, some suffer from accidents and illnesses, and not all reach their full potential. However, if the chances of health, education, security, and capabilities of self actualisation are not distributed equally, and if specific groups of children are born into lives threatened by all these risks, then there is something wrong with the way things are. In this scenario, the story of growth becomes an oxymoron, for as Aristotle pointed out some 2400 years ago, “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else.”⁵⁴ I believe what we provide for our children constitutes an essential part of that “something else.”

⁵⁴ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, section 6, p7.), quoted by Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.289.

In this chapter, I will lay out an analysis of children's well-being in the 1980s and the 1990s, and I will question how childhood inequalities and diversity of childhood experiences affected children's lives. First of all, let me define what I mean by children's well-being. The term comes from a developing literature that emerged in the 1990s, which states that the concept of children's well-being should be developed not only for the sake of children's future potentials, but also for their presents. In other words, it offers a child oriented perspective instead of the developmentalist perspective of the child welfare approach.

The scholars who adopt the child well-being approach propose a new set of indicators for monitoring children. For example, Asher Ben-Arieh proposes that child well-being should be monitored according to children's economic resources and contribution, civic life skills, personal life skills, safety and physical status.⁵⁵ Today, this approach is supported to a great extent by organisations such as UNICEF, with the reservation that the focus on individual children should not shadow developmentalist goals. However, it is not always possible to analyse these indicators proposed by the child well-being perspective. As Ben-Arieh observes, as well as others, the most important problem is the lack of resources available on child well-being indicators. This becomes even more relevant when studying the period between 1977 and 1997, for it is only recently that major organisations have started monitoring indicators of children's well-being.

⁵⁵ Asher Ben-Arieh et al. (eds), *Measuring and Monitoring Children's Well-Being* (Dordrecht, Boston, London: Academic Publishers, 2001).

The Existing Data and Methodology

I have mentioned before that children's well-being gained interest after the late 1990s. For the period that I will focus on, however, there is limited data on even the most basic indicators. For instance, there are no comparable studies on income inequality in Turkey apart from the 1987 and 1994 household budget surveys conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS-now Turkstat).⁵⁶ The first poverty study carried out by Turkstat is dated 2002, the first comprehensive health report is dated 2008, and statistics that specifically monitored children were first collected in 2013. Thus, it is almost impossible to comprehend the extents of social change between 1977 and 1997.

This is not to ignore the tremendous efforts of various institutes and organisations. There are many official institutes, ministries and organisations that collect data on children, including ministries of Education, Health, Family, and Internal Affairs, and also the State Planning Organisation, the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, not to mention the efforts of universities and academic institutions such as the Hacettepe University's Institute of Population Studies, which has carried out Turkey Demographic and Health Surveys (TDHS) since 1968,⁵⁷ or non-governmental organisations which collect data on a variety of issues that concern children's well-being. Among notable monitoring efforts are

⁵⁶ Devlet İstatistik Kurumu (State Institute of Statistics), *Hanehalkı Gelir ve Tüketim Harcamaları Anketi Sonuçları: Gelir Dağılımı 1987, 1994* (Results of the household income distribution and consumption expenditures surveys 1987, 1994) (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Kurumu, 1998)..

⁵⁷ Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies, *Quinquennial Nationwide Population Surveys*, Available [online] at <http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/eng/population_survey.shtml> [7 December 2013].

Children's Rights Progress Reports written under the auspices of Social Services and Child Protection Agency,⁵⁸ and planning reports by the State Planning Organisation.⁵⁹

Although most of these reports meticulously capture the state of children at a given point in time, their various methodologies and incompatible analytical tools makes it almost impossible to map trends over time. Neither is it possible to analyse in which combinations outcomes of inequality overlapped, and to what extent this affected children's experiences of disadvantage. These reports usually monitor outcomes of inequality under several categories, but do not attempt to analyse the relations between those variables. For example, the rate of school enrolment has been one of the most accurately captured indicators for decades, whereas little information sheds light on the relation between income distribution and enrolment, the number of teachers per classroom, or available recreational space per child. The available indicators collected by international organisations, on the other hand, albeit collecting data that reveal trends over time, often take into account whole populations of specific countries, and thus conceal differences within countries and regions. This is the biggest deficit of respectable policy oriented reports such as UNICEF's *State of World's Children* reports series (SoWC),⁶⁰ UNDP's *Human*

⁵⁸ Sosyal Hizmetler Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu (Social Services Child Protection Agency), *Çocuk Hakları İlerleme Raporu* (Children's rights progress report) (SHÇEK, Ankara: 1999).

⁵⁹ Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (State Planning Organisation), *Çocuk Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu* (Special child commission report) (DPT, Ankara: 2001).

⁶⁰ United Nations Children's Fund, *State of World's Children*, Available [online] at <<http://www.unicef.org/sowc/>> [7 December 2013].

Development Reports (HDR),⁶¹ ILO-IPEC's *Global Estimates on Child Labour* series (GECL),⁶² UNESCO's *Education for All* series (EFA)⁶³, and WHO's *World Health Reports (WHR)*.⁶⁴

This summary reveals that Turkey is in need of an extensive research on the impacts and outcomes of inequality and distinction if we are to capture the real dimensions of the question. In this regard, some important institutions and efforts should be acknowledged. After the fiscal crisis of 2001, inequality and poverty became topics of interest in Turkey. Around these years, academic journals began devoting special issues to these problems,⁶⁵ and seminal works were published.⁶⁶

Furthermore, childhood studies has also attracted a growing interest. Several universities have founded centres dedicated to study children and childhood. Among these new units are Koç University's Child and Family Studies Laboratory,⁶⁷ Ankara

⁶¹ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report*. Available [online] at <<http://hdr.undp.org/>> [7 December 2013].

⁶² International Labour Organisation, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, *Global Estimates on Child Labour*, Available [online] at <<http://www.ilo.org/ipec/lang--en/index.htm>> [7 December 2013].

⁶³ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Education for All*, Available [online] at <<http://www.efareport.unesco.org/>> [7 December 2013].

⁶⁴ World Health Organisation, *World Health Report*, Available [online] at <<http://www.who.int/whr/en/>> [7 December 2013].

⁶⁵ See for instance, the twin special issues of *Toplum ve Bilim* on poverty and wealth: "Yoksulluk ve Yoksunluk" (Poverty and deprivation) *Toplum ve Bilim* 89 (2001), "Zenginler Senden Benden Farklıdır" (The rich are different from me and you) *Toplum ve Bilim* 104 (2004). NPT also devoted an issue to discuss similar topics: "Special Issue on Poverty and Social Exclusion," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38 (2008).

⁶⁶ Oğuz Işık and M. Melih Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk: Sultanbeyli Örneği* (Poverty in turns: the case of Sultanbeyli) (İstanbul: İletişim 2001) and Necmi Erdoğan (ed.), *Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye'de Kent Yoksulluğunun Toplumsal Görünümleri* (Faces of poverty: social displays of urban poverty in Turkey), (İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 2002).

⁶⁷ Koç University, Çocuk ve Aile Çalışmaları Laboratuvarı (Child and Family Studies Laboratory) Homepage, Available [online] at <<http://cocukaile.ku.edu.tr/en/home>> [7 December 2013].

University's Children's Culture Research and Development Centre,⁶⁸ Bilgi University's Child Studies Unit,⁶⁹ and Boğaziçi University's Social Policy Forum,⁷⁰ which is not specifically dedicated to childhood studies, but has produced some excellent research on children's well-being.

Among this newly emerging cluster, Semerci et al.'s comprehensive study of child well-being in Turkey deserves a special mention.⁷¹ This extensive study analyses child well-being according to children's material conditions, health, education, participation, housing and environment, risk and security, relations, as well as their subjective well-being. The report's holistic approach to the question of child well-being, which showcases that all of these variables are undeniably linked to each other, proposes a promising new route for childhood studies.

Unfortunately, there is no similar research about the period that I discuss. Therefore, to avoid the obstacles of working with data provided by existing child monitoring efforts summarised above, I will construct the following analysis on a selected number of established reference reports that interpret various data. Among the few examples that attempt to analyse the socio-economic dimensions of children's well-being, four reports published by the World Bank (WB) stand out as the most detailed analyses about the socio-economic dimensions of inequality

⁶⁸ Ankara University, Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (Children's Culture Research and Development Centre) Homepage, Available [online] at <<http://cokaum.ankara.edu.tr/>> [7 December 2013].

⁶⁹ Bilgi University, Çocuk Çalışmaları Birimi (Child Studies Unit) Homepage, Available [online] at <<http://www.cocukcalismalari.org/english/>> [7 December 2013].

⁷⁰ Boğaziçi University, Sosyal Politika Forumu (Social Policy Forum) Homepage, Available [online] at <<http://spf.boun.edu.tr>> [7 December 2013].

⁷¹ Pınar Uyan Semerci et al, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk: Çocuğun "İyi Olma Hali"ni Anlamak, İstanbul Örneği* (Childhood in an unequal society: understanding child "well-being," the example of Istanbul) (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

experienced in Turkey in the 1980s and beyond. The first is the “Turkey- Socio-Economic Differences in Health, Nutrition, and Population” report (WB Turkey HNP) published in 2007.⁷² This extensive report is part of a series of country reports focusing on the relations between inequality, health, nutrition and population, and it stands out as the most detailed analysis about the socio-economic dimensions of children’s well-being. The WB also published two other reports based on the data derived from SIS’s household income and expenditure surveys which shed light on several aspects of inequality in the post-1980 era. First of these is the “Turkey: Economic Reforms, Living Standards, and Social Welfare Study” of 2000,⁷³ which interprets data collected by the 1987 and 1994 household income and expenditure surveys. The second is the “Turkey Joint Poverty Assessment Report,” written after the 2001 crisis, in 2005, in collaboration with the SIS, which offers valuable analysis about the late 1990s.⁷⁴ Finally, “Expanding Opportunities for the Next Generation” is an extensive review about children’s opportunities, and how these are in turn related

⁷² Eldaw Suliman, Adam Wagstaff, and Agbessi Amouzou, *Country Reports on Health, Nutrition, Population and Poverty: Turkey- Socio-Economic Differences in Health, Nutrition, and Population: 1993-1998* (Washington DC.: World Bank Group Health Nutrition and Population, 2007) Available [online] at <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2007/04/7537513/turkey-socio-economic-differences-health-nutrition-population>> [7 December 2013].

⁷³ World Bank Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit Europe and Central Asia Region, *Turkey: Economic Reforms, Living Standards and Social Welfare Study* (World Bank, Washington DC:2000), Available [online] at <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2000/01/438177/turkey-economic-reforms-living-standards-social-welfare-study>> [7 December 2013].

⁷⁴ World Bank Europe and Central Asia Region and Turkish Statistical Institute, *Turkey: Joint Poverty Assessment Report*, (World Bank, Washington DC: 2005), Volume I Available [online] at <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2005/08/6338668/turkey-joint-poverty-assessment-report-vol-1-2-main-report>>; Volume II Available [online] at <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2005/08/6310170/turkey-joint-poverty-assessment-report-vol-2-2-poverty-policy-recommendations>> [7 December 2013].

to intergenerational opportunity groups.⁷⁵ I also will refer to academic works and special cluster reports, but these comprehensive studies form the basis of the following analysis.

Human Development, Welfare Retrenchment and Inequality

The initial finding of several analyses of human development indicators since the 1960s is an astonishing improvement. For instance, the first of the “Human Development Reports” published by the UNDP in 1990 observed that developing countries had managed to reduce infant mortality rates (per thousand deaths of children under age one), and halved the under five mortality rates in the 25 years after 1960, and made health care, safe water, and school enrolment accessible to a majority of their people.⁷⁶ In Turkey, the decades that followed the 1960s saw a similar progress. The 2000 WB report affirms that significant improvements had been made in the accessibility of education and health care, and rates of economic vulnerability had decreased.⁷⁷ Likewise, the UNDP country evaluation on Turkey points out that between 1965 and 1998, Turkey has achieved some major goals, bringing the adult literacy rate from 53 up to 84 percent, the school enrolment ratio

⁷⁵ World Bank Europe and Central Asia Region, Human Development Department, *Turkey: Expanding Opportunities for the Next Generation, A Report on Life Chances*, Available [online] at <<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/TURKEYEXTN/Resources/361711-1270026284729/ExpandingOpportunitiesForTheNextGeneration-en.pdf>> [7 December 2013].

⁷⁶ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1990*, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), Available [online] at <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1990>> [7 December 2013], p.27.

⁷⁷ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.i.

from 44.9 up to 61 percent, and life expectancy from 53 to up to 69.3 years.⁷⁸

However, a closer look at the same findings from a critical perspective reveals that there might be a hidden story behind these numbers. This is why all of the reports mentioned above also stress that reported improvement of figures constitute only one side of the situation, and that these developments might mask some fundamental problems.

First of all, as pointed out by the “Human Development Report 1990”, human development in the second half of the twentieth century was by and large related to overall economic growth and technological and scientific progress. On the other hand, an examination of the sub-periods reveals that there was no direct link between growth and human development. The report notes that development in the last decades of the twentieth century was much slower compared to the previous decades, and observed that human progress might slow down and deteriorate even when the economy continues to grow, that “falling income, flagging employment, plunging wages and deep cuts in social spending - can quickly reverse progress.”⁷⁹

Furthermore, apart from the rate of growth and progress, another factor to be questioned is their reach. For instance, an increase in a country’s gross national product (GNP) does not necessarily mean that this is distributed evenly, or an increase in the rate of school enrolment does not necessarily indicate an improvement in the availability of education for the whole of the population. These numbers might also signify that a group of people benefited at the price of excluding another group. Thus, it is safe to say that the numbers that we come across when

⁷⁸ United Nations Development Programme, *Country Evaluation: Assessment of Development Results: Turkey*, (New York: UNDP, 2004), p. 15.

⁷⁹ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990*, p.36.

studying the rapid change might also conceal the disparities within geographies. In other words, indicators of human development might mask large gaps within countries and regions, and a close scrutiny of the same numbers also reveals that inequality remains a persistent and undefeated problem. According to Rainwater, Smeeding, and Coder, the unit of analysis should not be a nation-state; rather, regional and other differences within a nation should also be taken into consideration for a comprehensive study.⁸⁰

In the following part of this chapter, I will examine the outcomes of income inequality for children. However, before doing so, I should emphasise some problematic aspects of using income as the only variable for inequality analysis. First, income inequality does not necessarily indicate that there should be a vast difference between different economic groups. There are several factors which can ameliorate market determined inequalities, such as taxation policies, redistribution, extensive social services, availability of basic assets, or high mobility. It is only when these mechanisms fail to reach children that economic equality indicates a great gap between children from low and high income families. Furthermore, it should be stressed that income inequality alone does not come close to fully illustrating the extent of inequalities within a country. Inequality might affect children's lives at various levels, including but not limited to their physical well-being, educational attainment, social skills, as well as their values and hopes. Nonetheless, the distribution of income remains the most suitable data set for the analysis of inequality. For, as pointed out by Susan Mayer, “income is positively

⁸⁰ Lee Rainwater, Timothy M. Smeeding, and John Coder. “Poverty across States, Nations and Continents” in *Child Well-Being, Child Poverty and Child Policy in Modern Nations*, edited by Koen Vleminckx and Timothy M. Smeeding (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2001).

correlated with virtually every dimension of child well-being that social scientists measure and this is true for every country for which we have data.”⁸¹

The outcomes of income inequality have been analysed by many scholars focusing on different cases around the world. Lawrence Aber and David Ellwood observe that children always had higher poverty rates of persistent poverty than others, and poverty rates were highest for the youngest children.⁸² As found by Kamerman and Kahn, although the share of sources assigned to social policies targeting children and families had increased since 1945, they “have not done well in comparison with other social benefits.”⁸³ In his analysis of welfare, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, too, underlines that since the 1960s, welfare policies have tended to favour adults rather than children.⁸⁴ Certainly these observations are very general. Simply the fact that social policies for children were those which resisted welfare retrenchment the most in the 1990s reveals the complicated nature of the subject. However, it does not mean that things have been getting any better for children, and the changing welfare policies in the period under consideration were insufficient in reducing children’s vulnerability in terms of income.

⁸¹ Susan Mayer, *Parental Income and Children’s Outcomes*, (Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development, 2002), quoted by UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, *Report Card 6: Child Poverty in Rich Countries*, (Florence: Innocenti, 2005), Available [online] at <<http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/371/#pdf>> [7 December 2013], pp.7-8.

⁸² Lawrence J Aber and David T. Ellwood. “Thinking about Children in Time” in *The Dynamics of Child Poverty in Industrialised Countries*, edited by Bruce Bradbury, Stephen P. Jenkins and John Micklewright (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.281-300.

⁸³ Sheila B Kamerman and Alfred J. Kahn. “Child and Family Policies in an Era of Social Policy Retrenchment and Restructuring,” *Child Well-Being, Child Poverty and Child Policy*, edited by Koen Vleminckx and Timothy M. Smeeding, pp.501-526.

⁸⁴ Gøsta Esping-Andersen, “A Child-Centered Social Investment Strategy,” in Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Why We Need A New Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.26-67.

According to Lichter, the situation worsened after the 1970s, and compared to the previous generation, children grew poorer; the number of poor children increased in comparison to average children; poor children were socially more isolated from the non-poor in schools, neighbourhoods, communities, in both urban and rural areas, and their poverty tended to be more chronic.⁸⁵ The material deterioration was much more than simply material, Falkingham states that the transition from an equitable distribution of income to inequality is the transition from a position of security to uncertainty from a child's perspective.⁸⁶

On the other hand, it can be observed that not all children in the world have experienced these changes as dramatically. At the core of the differences lie social policies targeting children, and the basis of entitlement to welfare. Esping-Andersen defines three different types of welfare states: liberal, corporatists, and social democratic. Although this triple categorisation has been criticised and expanded by other scholars, some of its general findings stand true considering child welfare policies. For instance, in social democratic welfare states, children's rights, and thus the social policies targeting children are universal, whereas in liberal states where means-tested benefits are more common. According to her analysis of Scandinavian countries, Germany, and United Kingdom, Ulla Björnberg observed that Nordic countries succeeded in keeping child poverty at bay, whereas the rates remained high

⁸⁵ Daniel T Lichter, "Poverty and Inequality among Children" in *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997), pp.121-145.

⁸⁶ Jane Falkingham, *Innocenti Working Papers 76: From Security to Uncertainty: The Impact of Economic Change on Child Welfare in Central Asia* (Florence: Innocenti, 2000).

in Germany and the UK.⁸⁷ Björnberg's argument is also supported by Bruce Bradbury and Markus Jäntti's study on data derived from Luxemburg Income Study, which observed that child poverty rates were relatively low in Northern European countries compared to Southern European and English speaking countries.⁸⁸ However, it is a relief to know that there are deviating cases, too. The tradition of social investment in East Europe is still evident, despite the economic hardships these countries went through in the last decades, and new social policies like those announced in Ireland in 1997, in the United Kingdom in 1999, and in Belgium in 2000 had positive results in reducing child poverty.⁸⁹

Where does Turkey stand in this picture? Several studies point out that Turkey is traditionally a highly unequal society. As pointed out by Ayşe Buğra, the welfare regime in Turkey shares a lot with the corporatist type,⁹⁰ where the distribution of benefits mostly serves the preservation of class and status distinctions. Thus, the persistent inequalities of the post-1980s cannot simply be explained with the transition to the free market ideology and the new political economy. Nonetheless, as observed by Boratav, after the 12 September military coup d'état, the

⁸⁷ Ulla Björnberg, "Paying for Children in Eight North European Countries: Ambivalent Trends," in *Children, Families and the Welfare States*, edited by Jane Lewis (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006), pp.90-109.

⁸⁸ Bruce Bradbury and Markus Jäntti, "Child Poverty Across the Industrialised World: Evidence from the Luxembourg Income Study" in *Child Well-Being, Child Poverty and Child Policy*, edited by Koen Vleminckx and Timothy M. Smeeding, pp.11-32.

⁸⁹ For an extensive overview of global child well-being indicators, see the collection of articles in *Child Well-Being, Child Poverty and Child Policy*, edited by Koen Vleminckx and Timothy M. Smeeding.

⁹⁰ Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika* (Capitalism, poverty, and social policy in Turkey) (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), pp..

attacks of national and global capital dominated economic policies, and eradicated even the limited egalitarian gains of the earlier decades.⁹¹

The extent of economic deprivation is somewhat visible in the statistics. As observed by the UNDP Country Evaluation, development in Turkey remained uneven according to region, gender, and income throughout the period in question.⁹² In its analysis of the Household Budget Surveys conducted by the SIS, OECD's "Growing Unequal Report" concludes that income distribution did not improve after 1980.⁹³ Similarly, the 2000 WB report underlines the unevenness of gains, and states that Turkey's progress had been wounded by significant gaps, and finds that although income inequality in Turkey appears to remain roughly unchanged; it actually increased in the 1980s and the 1990s.⁹⁴

In her examination of the distribution of income, Ayşen Candaş finds that Turkey's low and middle income groups were more affected by the increasing income inequality, while the share of the highest income group increased in the 1980s, and slightly decreased in the next decade. She also finds that during the 1990s, the share of middle income groups slightly improved but there was no improvement whatsoever for the lowest income groups.⁹⁵ Thus, the distance between

⁹¹ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye'nin İktisat Tarihi: 1908-2007* (Turkey's economic history: 1908-2007) (İstanbul: İmge, 2003).

⁹² UNDP, *Country Evaluation: Turkey 2004*, p. 15.

⁹³ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries 2008*, Available [online] at: <<http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/growingunequalincomedistributionandpovertyinoecdcountries.htm>> [7 December 2013], p.27.

⁹⁴ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Ayşen Candaş et al., *Türkiye'de Eşitsizlikler: Kalıcı Eşitsizliklere Genel Bir Bakış* (Established inequalities in Turkey: search for a comprehensive conceptual framework) (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu, 2010), pp.9-11. Extended Summary

the top and the bottom of the inequality scale was wider at the end of the century (see Figure 1).

Economic deprivation affected children more than any other age group. The 2000 WB report notes that under-ten-year-old children had already been the most vulnerable group in terms of income.⁹⁶ On top of rising inequality, children's relative income had recorded a decline from the mid-1980s to mid-2000s, as pointed out by OECD's "Growing Unequal" report.⁹⁷ According to UNICEF's "Child Poverty in Turkey" report, by 2002, 34 percent of Turkey's children were living in relative poverty.⁹⁸ This meant that compared to the late 1970s, there were twice as many poor children with a lower chance of escaping from poverty.

Meanwhile, in the same period, despite a relative slow down, Turkey's population continued to soar, and rose from 43.192 million in 1977 to 53.219 million in 1987, and 63.331 millions in 1997. Despite these numbers, however, the most important demographic change observed in these two decades was not the population growth, but its movement within the country. The rural to urban population ratio in 1977 was 42.48 to 57.52. This ratio changed in favour of the urban population for the following twenty years, and became 44.88 to 55.12 in 1987, and 36.86 to 63.14 in 1997. Meanwhile, the urban population rose from 18.348 to 39.987 million. Moreover, by 1997, a quarter of the country's population lived in agglomerations of

in English Available [online] at: <<http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/index.php/en/established-inequalities-in-turkey-search-for-a-comprehensive-co>> [7 December 2013].

⁹⁶ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.49.

⁹⁷ OECD, *Growing Unequal?*, pp.27-29.

⁹⁸ UNICEF, *The Faces of Child Poverty in Turkey*, (Ankara: UNICEF, 2006), p.5.

more than 1 million, and the population living in those areas doubled from 8 to 16 millions in just two decades.⁹⁹

This last wave of urbanisation had various results. First of all, inequality in cities was much higher compared to that in the rural areas. In 1987, Gini coefficient was reported as 0.423 for rural, and 0.450 for urban areas. In 1994, the situation was mildly better for rural areas with a reported Gini of 0.414, whereas it rose to a critical 0.504 in the cities (see Figure 2).¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, taking into consideration population growth, the 2000 WB report found an actual rise of a million people in the number of economically vulnerable persons.¹⁰¹ Thus, a greater proportion of the country's population was concentrated in giant cities, which were characterised by an uneven distribution of wealth and benefits.

Another important factor to be considered when examining demographic change is the characteristics of migration. Many studies agree that the population movements after the 1980s were significantly different from the post-war movements.¹⁰² Contrary to the previous decades when urban migration had been an upwards step for rural migrants, the newcomers of the 1980s and 1990s were poorer,

⁹⁹ World Bank, *Turkey Development Index*, Available [online] at: <<http://data.worldbank.org/country/turkey>> [7 December 2013].

¹⁰⁰ Data derived from The United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, *World Income Distribution Database*. Available [online] at: <http://www.wider.unu.edu/research/Database/en_GB/database/> [7 December 2013].

¹⁰¹ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.38.

¹⁰² See for instance Ahmet İçduygu and Turgay Ünalan “*Türkiye’de İçgöç: Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri*,”(Internal migration in Turkey: research questions and methods of investigation) in *Türkiye’de İçgöç ve İçgöçün İşçi Hareketlerine Etkisi* (Internal migration in Turkey and its effects on labour movements), edited by Ahmet İçduygu, İbrahim Sirkeci and İsmail Aydıngün (İstanbul: *Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı*, 1998), pp. 38-55, Available [online] at: <http://www.migrationletters.com/sirkeci/Icduygu_Sirkeci_Aydingun_1998_turkiyede_icgoc.pdf> [7 December 2013].

less qualified, and less able to integrate into the distributive mechanisms of the city. In other words, these people had to fit into an increasingly unequal setup from the bottom of a steep slope.

The situation was worsened with the changing patterns of migration in the 1990s. The migration from the Southeast was unlike any other demographic movement the country had experienced in the previous decades, and had even greater polarising effects. According to TESEV's report on forced migration, 378,000 to 1,500,000 people were moved or were forced to relocate in this process.¹⁰³ These displaced people constituted the most vulnerable of the new urban population. There are several studies which scrutinize the particular disadvantages children experienced, such as Gün's thesis on children and migration.¹⁰⁴ Children's experiences of war and conflict in the Kurdish cities were traumatic, but migration, and especially forced migration, also caused psychological trauma, affected children's educational attainment, and forced them to work.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, the chances of survival and integration of newcomers also changed significantly after the late 1970s. Buğra and Keyder observe that the new poverty of this period differed from the previous eras when informal safety nets, such as kinship and familial ties to rural areas and neighbourhood support, helped survive periods of poverty. In the 1990s, the migrants' connection to their rural communities

¹⁰³ Dilek Kurban et al., "*Zorunlu Göç" ile Yüzleşmek: Türkiye'de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası* (Facing forced migration: the construction of citizenship in Turkey after displacement), (İstanbul: TESEV, 2008), p.74.

¹⁰⁴ Zübeyit Gün, *Çocuk ve Göç* (Child and migration), Unpublished Masters Thesis, (Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2002).

¹⁰⁵ Başak Culture and Art Foundation, *Do Not Be Sorry But Look After: Immigration and Its Effects on Children and Youngsters*, (İstanbul: Başak Culture and Art Foundation, 2004).

was cut by the dissolution of the rural, the transition to the nuclear family structure dissolved familial support, rapid and massive urbanisation unravelled informal neighbourhood ties, and left newcomers deprived of these support mechanisms.¹⁰⁶ These were followed by the stigmatisation of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (squatter areas), which acted like a temporary gateway to the cities in previous decades.¹⁰⁷ The new poor of the 1990s were less likely to integrate into the urban structure.

Inequality cannot be explained just by looking at those on the losing side of the inequation. The last quarter of the twentieth century also saw Turkey's upper and middle classes generate a whole new set of standards. The market was flooded with imported luxury goods, colour televisions, private television stations, personal computers, and mobile telephones. For children, probably the most important changes were in the area of education. The percentage of private enrolment in secondary schools rose from 2.8 in 1990 to 4.6 percent in 1999.¹⁰⁸ The expansion of private teaching institutions, private music, language, arts, and sports courses from the country's elite to the top quintile was another novelty. Unfortunately, these data sets remained irrelevant for a majority of the child population. At the same time, education expenditure differed greatly between income groups, and by the late 1990s, the wealthiest 20 percent of households could afford to spend thirty times more money on education, compared to the poorest 20 percent.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *New Poverty and the Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey*, (Ankara: UNDP, 2003).

¹⁰⁷ Deniz Yonucu, "A Story of a Squatter Neighborhood: From the Place of the 'Dangerous Classes' to the 'Place of Danger'" in *The Berkeley Journal of Sociology* Vol. VII (2008).

¹⁰⁸ UNESCO, *Education for All 2012*.

¹⁰⁹ UNICEF, *Child Poverty in Turkey*, p.14.

I have observed elsewhere that the percentage and number of urban poor rose in the same period. Thus, by the late 1990s, a considerable percentage of the poor children were living in urban households in the same cities that hosted the top quintile, whose income was seven times more than that of the bottom. Meanwhile, poor children were more affected by the rising inflation, for as pointed out by World Bank, inflation limited the purchasing power of lower income groups more than higher.¹¹⁰ Thus, low income determined their consumption patterns. In 2002, only one quarter of poor households could afford a television or a refrigerator, whereas three quarters of non-poor households had both. Presumably, this increased the perceived inequality experienced by poor children.

To sum it up, after the 1980s, existing safety nets were torn by demographic, economic, and social change. Without any solid welfare policy that attempted to repair the ruptures, urban inequality remained critical. By the end of the century, more people were living in crammed cityscapes, and experienced greater perceived inequality. By the late 1990s, a great percentage of Turkey's child population was living in the very same cities that hosted their advantaged peers. The situation was worsened with the new patterns of migration, dissolution of informal safety nets, and changing faces of poverty in the 1990s. In the following section, I will discuss the outcomes of income inequality in Turkey in the 1980s and the 1990s on children's health and education, the areas for which we have the most data. These two areas are chosen to illustrate to what extents inequality determined children's life chances.

¹¹⁰ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.26.

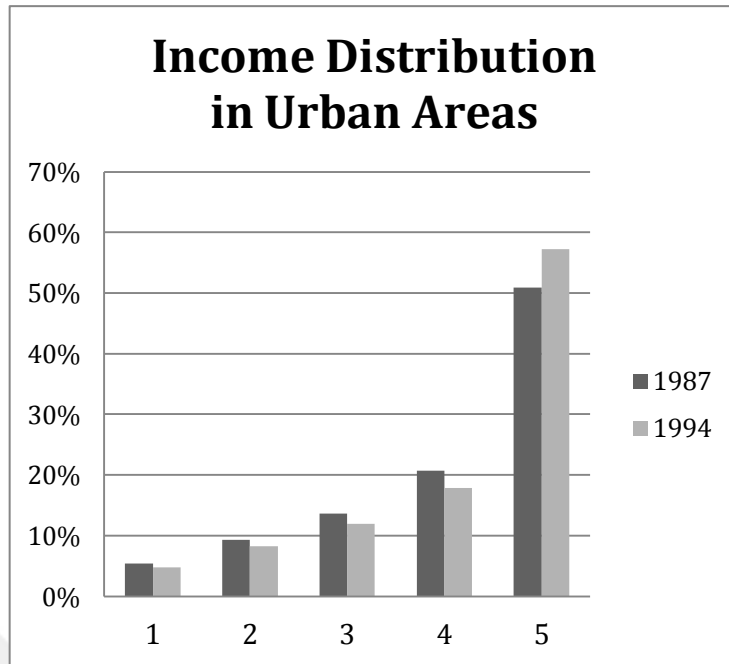


Figure 1 – Income distribution according to population quintiles in urban areas in 1987 and 1994

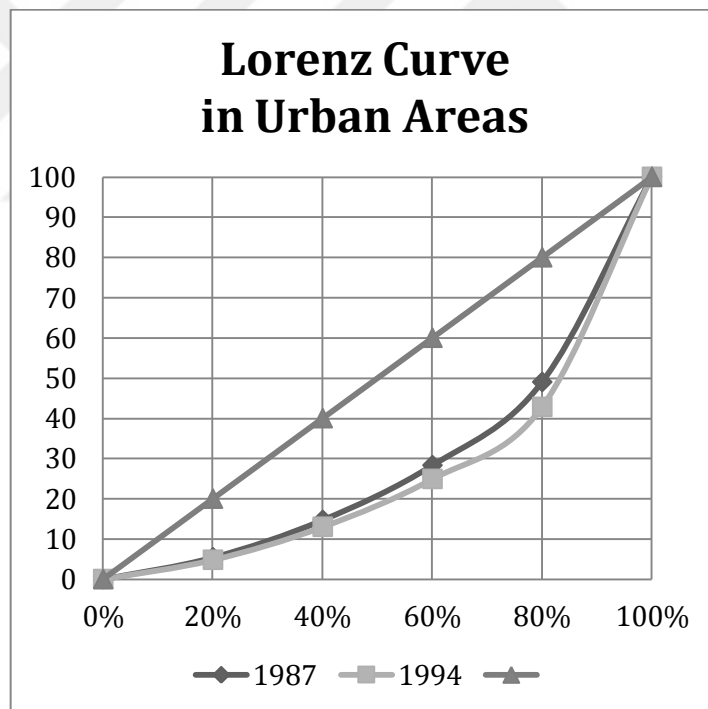


Figure 2 - Income distribution as displayed by the Lorenz Curve in urban areas in 1987 and 1994

Source: Household Income Distribution and Consumption Expenditures Surveys 1987, 1994, conducted by the State Institute of Statistics

Outcomes of Inequality and Children

Income and Health: An Unequal Start

Some of the most serious outcomes of income inequality are related to children's physical well-being. The World Health Organisation's 1995 dated "World Health Report" states that "the world's most ruthless killer and the greatest cause of suffering on earth is (...) extreme poverty."¹¹¹ However, it is not only extreme poverty that affects children's physical well-being, but there is also a direct link between their life chances and income. Semerci et al. observe the negative impacts of income inequality on low birth weight, asthma, meningitis, chronic and acute health problems, and even lead poisoning, and state that these negative outcomes have serious affects on children's own perception of their physical well-being.¹¹² Although taking the necessary measures for the protection of children is one of the primary functions of the state, not all children have an equal chance to enjoy that protection.¹¹³

The most obvious indicator of children's well-being is their chance of survival. In 1998, infant mortality rates (for one year of age or younger) per a thousand live births was 29.8 for the richest quintile. For the poorest quintile, this rate was twice as high, at 68.3 per thousand. A similar correlation was also present in under-five year old mortality rates (see Table 1). Within the country, the two ends of

¹¹¹ WHO, *World Health Report 1995: Bridging the Gaps* (Geneva: World Health Organisation, 1995), p.1, Available [online] at: <<http://www.who.int/whr/1995/en/>> [7 December 2013].

¹¹² Semerci et al, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk*, p.92.

¹¹³ See Table I for an extensive list of child indicators according to income quintiles in 1998.

the income scale were as diverse and uneven as those of the globe. Whereas infant mortality was almost as high as South Asia for the bottom quintile, the top quintile had already caught up with Eastern Europe.¹¹⁴

The children who did survive, on the other hand, had to face a series of challenges, and their disadvantages started at their own homes. In the late 1990s, a considerable proportion of children from low-income families were still living in crowded houses with poor heating, and inadequate sanitary facilities. A detailed analysis of housing conditions also reveals that for some indicators, the vast difference was not only between the highest and the lowest income groups, but the first income quintile was left behind even by the second in several housing necessities. For instance, in 1998, the number of people per room for the first quintile was 70 percent more than the second; households from the second 20 percent, albeit having inadequate sanitary facilities themselves, were two times more likely to have piped water in the household, seven times more likely to have flush WC compared to the poorest households.

Then there were several household “luxuries” almost exclusive to the top quintile, including the availability of central heating, private radiators or natural gas radiators; dishwashers; and bottled water or water station usage (See Table 1). Semerci et al. find that personal hygiene habits, such as brushing teeth or showering tended to be practiced less frequently as the income status or housing conditions worsen, and the number of children increased.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ In 1998, infant mortality rate was 76 in South Asia, 29 in Baltic countries, 6 for industrialised countries, and the global average was 59. UNICEF, *State of World's Children 2000* (Geneva: UNICEF, 2000), p.86, Available [online] at: <<http://www.unicef.org/sowc00/>> [7 December 2013].

¹¹⁵ Semerci et al, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk*, p.97.

Another link between inadequate income and children's physical well-being is malnutrition. UNICEF warns that malnutrition has some serious outcomes, like underweight and stunted growth.¹¹⁶ According to "State of World's Children 1998," it also threatens children's cognitive development.¹¹⁷ By 1998, malnutrition no longer posed a threat to the nation's top quintile. For the bottom, however, it was still a serious problem, for 14.8 percent of children were stunting, and 13.4 percent were underweight.

Moreover, income inequality limited children's access to basic health services. This was evident in health care indicators such as delivery attendance, antenatal care, and immunisation. In 1998, all children from the top quintile were immunised for at least one basic disease. Yet, a full 8.6 percent of the poorest children had no access to basic immunisation at all. For diseases like measles and BCG, immunisation rates for the poorest children in the late 1990s were still at the level of the national averages reached in the 1980s.¹¹⁸ The numbers were even more dramatic for antenatal care and delivery attendance. Whereas virtually every mother from the richest income group visited a medically trained person before birth, the rate was 30.7 percent for the poorest quintile. In the period in question, Turkey's health care system was fragmented, unevenly distributed throughout the country,

¹¹⁶ The criteria for underweight (moderate and severe - below minus two standard deviations from median weight for age of reference population; severe - below minus three standard deviations from median weight for age of reference population) and stunting (moderate and severe - below minus two standard deviations from median height for age of reference population) are defined by UNICEF. Available [online] at: <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/stats_popup2.html> [7 December 2013].

¹¹⁷ UNICEF, *The State of World's Children 1998: Nutrition*, (Geneva: UNICEF, 1998), Available [online] at: <<http://www.unicef.org/sowc98/>> [7 December 2013].

¹¹⁸ World Bank, *World Development Indicators Database*, Available [online] at: <<http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>> [7 December 2013].

and largely dependent on several social security schemes covering only the formal labour force. The “Green Card,” introduced in 1992, was the only scheme that attempted to provide social security for the poor. However, a decade after the introduction of the green card, one third of the population still had no access to health insurance, and only 42 percent of the bottom quintile was covered by some kind of insurance policy.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the situation was far from being smooth for those who had health insurance, for as observed by the UNICEF report “Child Poverty in Turkey,” another problem affecting children was the low level of public spending on health. According to the report, apart from scarcity of the resources, the complicated organisation of public health services too kept health care out of reach for low income families. Thus, health care often required out-of-pocket spending. However, in that regard, there was another great gap between the top and the bottom. The top percentile could afford to pay more than three times the expenditure of the bottom.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, the household income and expenditure data shows that incidence of injuries and illnesses increased as the household income dropped. In other words, the healthier of society spent more on their health compared to the poorest and the most disadvantaged. According to the WB-SIS report, the decrease in health spending was mostly related to the low income households’ hesitation to get health care and hospitalisation even when they needed it. In 2001, half of those who required hospitalisation from the bottom quintile were not

¹¹⁹ WB and TSI, *Turkey: Joint Poverty Assessment Report*, p. 73

¹²⁰ UNICEF, *Child Poverty in Turkey*, p. 19.

hospitalised. Of them, 88 percent declared that their reason was simply economic.¹²¹ This fact further complicated the problems regarding children's physical well-being.

As I mentioned above, one of the main suggestions of the child well-being approach is to look beyond survival in monitoring children's physical status. The main reason behind this suggestion is that survival alone does not indicate well-being. Ben Arieh et al. state that basic indicators such as those listed in this section "deal mainly with survival and the basic needs of children, and are inadequate for measuring the state and the quality of the life of children beyond survival."¹²² That is why researchers came up with new sets of data to monitor children. Unfortunately, a close look at the physical well-being of Turkey's children reveals that, in the late 1990s they still experienced several serious inequalities regarding their survival chances. Most children from low income households, as well as children in need of protection, were under a serious threat of mortality; they lived in households without the basic sanitary and hygienic conditions; their bodies tended to be less developed compared to their peers, they were more likely to experience injuries or illnesses, yet less likely to receive health care. I believe this is one of the main reasons for the lack of sufficient data for analysing children's well-being beyond survival. The outcomes of inequality on health were still so dramatic that they shadowed any possible concerns about other dimensions of children's well-being.

¹²¹ WB and TSI, *Turkey: Joint Poverty Assessment Report*, pp.75-80.

¹²² Ben Arieh et al., *Measuring and Monitoring Children's Well-Being*, p. 48.

Table 1 – Child Indicators According to Income Quintiles in 1998

Child Indicators and Income 1998	Percentage According to Income Quintiles				
	1 (low)	2	3	4	5 (high)
Basic Indicators 1998					
Infant Mortality	0.68	0.54	0.42	0.37	0.29
Under 5 Mortality	0.85	0.67	0.53	0.47	0.32
Moderate Stunting	14.80	14.00	8,80	6.10	3.20
Severe Stunting	13.70	6.40	4.60	3.00	0.50
Moderate Underweight	13.40	7.00	5.20	3.20	2.70
Severe Underweight	3.10	1.20	12.00	0.30	0.00
Education Indicators					
School Participation (Female)	47.2	68.7	75.5	84.0	86.3
School Participation (Male)	58.60	71.00	83.00	83,70	84.20
School Completion (Female)	53.00	68.70	78.20	85.20	94.40
School Completion (Male)	85.30	93.20	95.10	96.50	98.70
Health Care Indicators 1998					
No Basic Immunisation	8.6	5.1	1.5	1.2	0
Measles Immunisation	63.9	72.8	79.5	93.6	88.9
DPT Immunisation	45.2	48	62.7	64.4	81.4
Antenatal Visit to a Doctor	30.7	50.2	71.6	82	95
BCG Immunisation	74.8	84.8	93,7	93,9	100
Housing Indicators 1998					
Number of People Per Room	3,7	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.7
Flush WC in Residence	3,6	26.7	59.2	89.8	96.7
Piped Water in Residence	24.3	53,2	69.3	70.4	52.4
Bottled Water	0	1.1	3	9.4	26.3
Water Station	0.3	1.1	2.7	8.8	15.6
Central Heating	0	0.1	0.5	4.5	30.3
Private Radiator	0	0	0.1	0.7	10.1
Natural Gas Radiator	0.1	0.2	0,6	1.6	15
Refrigerator	70.4	94.5	98.9	99.9	99.9
Dishwasher	0	0.1	1.8	6.9	58.7
Washing Machine	3.4	31.9	72.2	94	9.2
Vacuum Cleaner	3.5	35	76.6	93.4	98.7

Source: Suliman et al.'s *Country Reports on Health, Nutrition, Population and Poverty: Turkey- Socio-Economic Differences in Health, Nutrition, and Population: 1993-1998*, prepared for World Bank's Health, Nutrition and Population series.

Income and Education: A Vicious Cycle

In 1990, almost half a decade after the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which stated that “everyone has the right to education, and education shall be free,”¹²³ delegates from 155 countries considered it a necessity to repeat and remind members of that clause, and underline once again that education is a fundamental right for all people. What led them to sign the Jomtien declaration and make this statement was the observation that in most countries, educational inequality had taken a turn for the worse due to stagnation and cutbacks in government expenditure in the 1980s.¹²⁴

Education affects children’s lives in multiple dimensions, and its outcomes are manifest both in their presents and their futures. First, education, especially organised education, has a direct impact on children’s daily lives through socialisation, and the formation of values and ideas. Second, it affects their future well-being and limits their opportunities. Children’s access to schooling, school completion rates, number of years spent in education, and the quality of education are all variables that are closely linked to income when income inequality is not compensated through other means. In a country such as Turkey, where one quarter of income inequality can be explained by educational attainment alone,¹²⁵ this creates a vicious cycle.

¹²³ United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Available [online] at: <<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>>[7 December 2013].

¹²⁴ UNESCO World Conference on Education for All, *World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*, Available [online] at: <http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/pdf/JOMTIE_E.PDF> [7 December 2013].

¹²⁵ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.23.

Starting with the most basic indicators, it is obvious that income inequality drastically determined the educational experiences of Turkey's children. As revealed by the WB's "Health, Nutrition, and Population" study, there was a strong correlation between income and school completion rates both in 1993 and in 1998.¹²⁶ In 2001, children from poor households constituted 53 percent of primary school aged children who were not enrolled in primary schools.¹²⁷ Moreover, traditionally inequality affected not only children's school completion, but also their chances of staying in school. Higher education levels always had a positive correlation with personal returns. The significance of the period under discussion was that the returns of primary education had declined. As the 2000 World Bank report observes, from the 1980s on, educational attainment of the workforce was improved, and the proportion of the workforce with at least secondary education increased from about 16 percent in 1980 to 24.7 percent in 1994.¹²⁸ In other words, by the 1990s, those who could not pursue higher degrees constituted the most vulnerable proportion of the labour force, and thus, time spent in school became more important than ever.

Unfortunately, there is not enough data to observe the trends of staying in school by income quintile. What we do know, however, is that the chances of the bottom quintile to reach high education remained marginal, and that fewer than one percent of that group made it past high school, whereas the chances of the top

¹²⁶ World Bank, *Health, Nutrition, and Population*, p.7.

¹²⁷ Cem Mete, "Education Finance and Equity in Turkey," paper commissioned for World Bank Human Development Sector Unit Europe and Central Asia Region, *Turkey: Education Sector Study: Sustainable Pathways to An Effective, Equitable, and Efficient Education System for Preschool through Secondary School Education* (Washington DC: World Bank, 2005), Available [online] at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTURKEY/Resources/361616-1142415001082/Educational_Finance_by_Mete.pdf> [7 December 2013], p. 33.

¹²⁸ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.45.

quintile in pursuing a university degree steadily increased.¹²⁹ Moreover, as observed by UNESCO's "Education for All" report, low income accentuated other inequalities, and created enormous gaps between children. According to the report, these children were more likely to suffer from gender and ethnic inequality, compared to the wealthiest 20 percent.¹³⁰ Kavak and Ergen's research shows that the most disadvantaged groups in terms of education apart from the urban poor were children with disabilities, girls, child labourers, street children, and children of nomadic families.¹³¹

There were many things that prevented children from low income families to pursue longer periods of education, including the value of child labour, and lack of access to quality schooling, and the expenses of keeping a child in school. Furthermore, as pointed out by Gökşen, Cemalcılar and Gürlelel, 30 percent of drop-out children cited low educational achievement as the main reason why they had quit school.¹³² But, as observed by many scholars, that too, was closely related to socio-

¹²⁹ Anıl Duman, "Education and Income Inequality in Turkey: Does Schooling Matter?" in *Financial Theory and Practice* 32 (3) (2008), pp. 369-385, Available [online] at: <http://www.fintp.hr/en/archive/education-and-income-inequality-in-turkey-does-schooling-matter_263/> [7 December 2013].

¹³⁰ UNESCO, *Reaching the Marginalised: Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.71, Available [online] at: <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001866/186606e.pdf>> [7 December 2013].

¹³¹ Yüksel Kavak, Hüseyin Ergen, "Türkiye'de İlköğretime Katılım ve Okula Gidemeyen Çocuklar" (Primary school attendance in Turkey and children who cannot go to school), *Milli Eğitim* 35/173 (2007), pp.8-19.

¹³² Fatoş Gökşen, Zeynep Cemalcılar, Can Fuat Gürlelel, *Türkiye'de İlköğretim Okullarında Okulu Terk ve İzlenmesi ile Önlenmesine Yönelik Politikalar*, (Basic education policies for monitoring and preventing drop-outs in Turkey's primary schools) (İstanbul: AÇEV, ERG, KADER, EU, 2006), p.37, Available [online] at: <<http://spm.ku.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/pdf/okulterk.pdf>>;

Executive summary in English Available [online] at: <<http://spm.ku.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/pdf/okulterk-exec.pdf>> [7 December 2013].

economic inequalities. The outcomes of income inequality became evident even before children from the disadvantaged groups started school. A recent pilot study conducted by Koç University reveals that cognitive development inputs, such as language stimulation between mothers and children, and the availability of learning materials are linked to socio-economic circumstances. As shown by language comprehension (Tifaldi) and short term memory (Corsi) test results by socio-economic strata, these in turn affect children's cognitive development outcomes, which are considered crucial for academic achievement.¹³³ Semerci's research shows that the educational attainment of parents, father's occupational status, unfavourable living conditions, crowded residences, number of children in the family, and most of all, and low income affect how children do at school.¹³⁴

The impact of their educational levels on their futures was not the primary concern for children themselves. For them, the school was also their primary socialisation environment, and in 2005, Turkey was the only OECD country where most children liked school.¹³⁵ 77 percent of girls in primary school responded they liked school a lot. Unfortunately, not all could stay there as long as they wished. As mentioned above, low educational achievement was an important factor affecting children's decisions to quit school. Children's own perception of dropping out reveals another dimension of this problem. Semerci et al. find that a great number of

¹³³ Nazlı Baydar, *The Study of Early Childhood Development Ecologies in Turkey*, (İstanbul: Koç University Education Reform Initiative, 2008).

¹³⁴ Semerci et al, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk*, pp.142-145.

¹³⁵ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Doing Better for Children* (OECD, 2009), p. 57, Available [online] at: <<http://www.oecd.org/social/family/doingbetterforchildren.htm>> [7 December 2013].

children blamed themselves, and believed that their poor performance at school had kept them from pursuing higher degrees.¹³⁶

It also should be noted that state transfers had been far from adequate in balancing the inequality children experienced. Moreover, several state expenditures concerning children were also affected by the policy changes after the 1980s. For example, as noted by the World Bank, consolidated budget expenditures on education fell from 19.7 percent of total budget (4.02 of GNP) in 1992, to 10.1 (2.21 of GNP) in 1997.¹³⁷ On the other hand, “Human Development Report 1990” reveals that achieving equality in education can be possible with the effective use of even the scarcest resources.¹³⁸ Regretfully, it was quite the opposite in Turkey where state transfers actually tended to go to high income households.

As observed by World Bank’s 2000 report, state transfers required both high attainment, and the necessary networks and intricate knowledge of the system. Thus, it was the already disadvantaged who suffered the most from cuts. In 1998, the trend turned the other way after the increase of compulsory education to eight years. Yet, half a decade after the introduction of new policies, households were still paying at least 32 percent of educational expenses.¹³⁹ Meanwhile, education expenditure differed greatly between income groups. The wealthiest 20 percent of households could afford to spend thirty times more money on education, compared to the

¹³⁶ Semerci et al, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk*, p.117.

¹³⁷ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.71.

¹³⁸ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990*, pp.16-17.

¹³⁹ *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Türkiye Eğitim Harcamaları Araştırması 2002* (Turkey education expenses research 2002), (Ankara: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2006), p.16.

poorest. Thus, these cuts did not affect the most advantaged children as much as it affected their disadvantaged peers.

One dimension of child poverty and child well-being that should not be overlooked for an adequate evaluation is their relation to social and intergenerational mobility. As Brabury, Jenkins and Micklewright assert in their extensive compilation, greater inequality in income distribution might be compensated with shorter periods of time spent in poverty.¹⁴⁰ As pointed out by Paul Gregg and Stephen Machin, intergenerational mobility (or immobility) of economic status is another important variable, and it should be analysed if “disadvantages faced during childhood display a persistent (negative) association with the subsequent economic success of individuals.”¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, in this period, there was a two way relationship between education and income, and this can also be seen in the opportunity group research conducted by the World Bank. The “Expanding Opportunities for the Next Generation” report shows clearly the long term impacts of inequality for children. The report finds that the socio-economic status of their grandparents highly determined the well-being of children, and that physical and cognitive development, school attendance and completion all correlated with inter-generational opportunities.¹⁴² Uneducated women were more likely to give birth to more children even compared to primary school graduates, and more significantly, the average number of live births for them was 5.63; whereas the average number of

¹⁴⁰ Bruce Bradbury, Stephen P. Jenkins and John Micklewright (eds.), *The Dynamics of Child Poverty*.

¹⁴¹ Gregg, Paul and Stephen Machin. “Childhood Experiences, Educational Attainment and Adult Labour Market Performance,” in *Child Well-Being, Child Poverty and Child Policy*, edited by Koen Vleminckx and Timothy M. Smeeding, p.147.

¹⁴² World Bank, *Turkey: Expanding Opportunities for the Next Generation*.

children they actually wanted was 2.9,¹⁴³ and income poverty was much more common in larger families. This was but one of the many ways that the inequalities in the society were visited upon the children.

In a country where a great proportion of inequality is linked to education and employment, where the average income for a person with a higher degree diploma was six times more than an illiterate person, where the number of children per household, rate of infant and child mortality, and incidence of childhood diseases are all correlated with the mother's low educational attainment, educational inequalities have severe consequences. The 2000 World Bank report warns that the gap between high and low income groups "presents an important indicator of differences in values, aspirations, consumption patterns and lifestyles across groups."¹⁴⁴ In Turkey, although education was the primary determinant of children's capabilities, the state did little to close that gap between those at the top and the bottom. The richest of the population spent 30 times more than the poorest on education, and received 5.5 times more state transfers. Differences in income found their reflections in the quality of education, school environments, classrooms, study materials, not to mention students' achievement and subjective well-being. This was how inequalities were inherited and passed on to the next generation.

¹⁴³ Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etüdüleri Enstitüsü, *Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması 1998* (Turkey Population and Health Survey 1998), (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1999), Available [online] at: <<http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/pdf/TNSA1998-AnaRapor.pdf>> [7 December 2013].

¹⁴⁴ World Bank, *Turkey: Economic Reforms*, p.17.

Inequality, Distinction, and Perceived Inequality

At the beginning of this chapter, I observed that the 1980s and the 1990s were characterised by a certain progress, which was very unequal. I also pointed out that economic policies failed to correct uneven development while informal safety nets of the previous decades disintegrated. Moreover, the growing population was concentrated in urban areas which hosted both the lowest and the highest income groups. This, I argued, transformed children's experiences of inequality, as reflected by the differentiation of child indicators for those at the top and the bottom of the inequality scale. That is to say that while a group of children still faced the immediate dangers of infant mortality, drop outs from school, inadequate housing and other problems, another group were introduced to new technologies, luxury goods, quality education, and health services.

In her critique of the existing literature on childhood studies, Allison James voices her concerns that the discipline is turning away from socialisation to individuality and agency, which she believes are not adequate to fully grasp childhood experiences. To avoid overlooking the impact of socialisation, she suggests that we use the term "connectedness," as a concept that might create a link between those circumstances and the individual, and to locate children in time, space and history.¹⁴⁵ She writes that "childhood studies needs to move beyond simply

¹⁴⁵ Allison James, *Studies in Childhood and Youth: Socialising Children*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.177.

describing children's everyday lives and experiences. We need also to be able to explain them."¹⁴⁶

I believe James's concept of connectedness should also be adapted to the study of children's well-being, for children's well-being is perceptual as well as it is material. In other words, children's well-being is not determined simply by the conditions in which they live; it is also determined through their own perception of those conditions. And that perception is affected by the distances between different children, their life chances, their capabilities to reach their potential, and their opportunities to preserve their self respect and dignity. Thus, if we are to locate children in history, it does not suffice to look into trends over time and locate childhood in context. We also should consider the relation between children sharing that same context and locate them in their own time and place. That is precisely why I use inequality rather than development as a primary concept in constructing my thesis, and argue that perceived, positional, and subjective inequality should be at the core of child well-being studies.

The period that I discussed might have brought its own agenda and standards, and in several aspects, the child population lived better than the previous generation. On the other hand, for a considerable proportion of the child population, old problems were still in effect. Thus children, whose lives were determined by completely different criteria, began to occupy the same cities, witnessing each other. This was how distinction was conceived. In a country where numerous indicators of child well-being showed signs of improvement, the gap between children could have

¹⁴⁶ Allison James, "Researching Young People's Experiences of Difference and Identity," Unpublished paper presented at the Growing Up in Divided Societies Conference, School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Queen's University, Belfast, UK, June 10th to 11th, 2010.

been narrowed had the policies been reshaped to target those who were left behind. A problem gains more importance and urgency when it is solved to a great extent. To put it differently, it is obvious that children are under a tremendous threat if three quarters of the child population have stunted growth, are underweight, or uneducated; but the threat is even bigger if only five percent of the children fall behind their peers, because this also means that those children are more likely to be isolated, ignored, and more likely to experience greater inequality and disadvantages against a greater proportion of their fellow children.

One of the starting points of this thesis was my impression that after the 1980s, the mainstream media in Turkey depicted a somewhat distorted picture of the uneven- unequal social setting described above. The UNICEF report on child poverty in Turkey makes a similar observation, and states that this is

a critical oversight on the part of journalists and television producers alike because professionals in the broadcasting and publishing sectors are opinion makers and the culturally informed outlook of society on poverty that they help to shape is a significant influence on the welfare system.¹⁴⁷

Goode and Maskovsky explain this changing attitude with reference to the work of Sanchez-Othero,¹⁴⁸ and Bourdieu:¹⁴⁹

“if there is one ideological claim that has fuelled these attacks on the poor and has served to legitimate the political and economic developments described above, it is the belief in the free market as the

¹⁴⁷ UNICEF, *Child Poverty in Turkey*.

¹⁴⁸ German Sanchez-Otero, “Neoliberalism and Its Discontents,” in *NACLA Report on the Americas* 24/4 (1993).

¹⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market* (New York: The New York Press, 1998).

most efficient means for achieving economic growth and guaranteeing social welfare.”¹⁵⁰

Perhaps more troublingly, it was not only the advantaged population that perceived the outcasts from the lens of the media: these children themselves were also the audience of that distorted perspective. And the media portrayals of children and childhood, I believe, is precisely what multiplied these children’s positional suffering. This, I argue, is what makes the depressing status of Turkey’s children a desperate one. It is no discovery to assume how polarised a society might be composed with these ingredients. However, the crucial issue here is not only the persistence of inequality, but also its presentation and interpretation. In the following chapters, I will analyse the representations of children in the news media in light of the changes described in this chapter. I will try to grasp what lay beneath the polarisation between the children who were perceived as threats to the society, and those who were protected from them.

¹⁵⁰ Judith G. Goode and Jeff Maskovsky, *The New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Politics and Impoverished People in the United States* (New York: NYU Press, 2002), p.7.

CHAPTER 3

AXES OF ORIENTATION: AN INTRODUCTION

As I discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, consensus exists among thinkers that the world underwent a profound transformation in the last decades of the twentieth century. Some scholars saw the origins of that change in the vanishing of modern institutions, others defined it in terms of political economy, and still others approached the subject from sociological, cultural, or linguistic perspectives.

Whether they called it new, post, advanced, or liquid, they all agreed that the world of the new millennia was no longer what it used to be. This debate was the starting point of my research; I wanted to find out what this transformation did to our understanding of childhood, and to unravel if and how the concept of childhood was reshaped in the changing world of the 1980s and later. That is not only because I am very much interested in ideas about childhood in different periods of time, but I also think the changing conceptualisation of childhood is key to our conceptualisation of society. I believe that ideas about childhood reflect how we envision our future; moreover, that our attitude about children is a symbolic display of our attitude about the most vulnerable in society.

In the previous chapter, I outlined some of the basic observations on children's well-being in Turkey in the 1980s and the 1990s. I observed that children continued to grow unequal in terms of their everyday experiences, capabilities, and life prospects. In the following three chapters, I will examine how the social contract on childhood was renegotiated amidst these developments. For that purpose, I will turn to the representations of children and childhood in the mainstream media.

Then again, why turn to newspapers as archival resources to study the conceptualisation of childhood in a certain period? My first concern in starting this research was that representations of children in the media are usually two dimensional. Carter and Davies observe that media portrayals of children often “lack of autonomy,” and children are usually depicted in a state of “persistent victimhood.”¹⁵¹ During my research, I observed that children, like all agents who do not possess any kind of power to shape news articles, need to fall into certain categories in order to be recognised as subjects of news. The most common form was the representation of individual children as singular subjects when they do or experience something out of the contextually defined ordinary. Second, they might become multiple subjects without reference to their individuality when something that has been going on for some time gets noticed; in other words, when the ordinary becomes noteworthy. Finally, children might be used as secondary-subjects to provide texture and depth to other stories. Thus, newspapers are not a good source to monitor children's real experiences.

¹⁵¹ Cynthia Carter and Máire Messenger Davies. “A Fresh Peach is Easier to Bruise: Children and Traumatic News” in *Journalism: Critical Issues*, edited by Stuart Allan (Maidenhead, Open University Press, 2005), p.232.

That being said, I should underline that the subject of the following chapters chapter is *not* news as reports of facts about children in the period in concern. I will not document the actual tides that affected children's lives. Rather, I will attempt to pinpoint the oscillations in the media's mainstream discourse through a visual and textual analysis of the newsmakers' interpretation of several occurrences, handpicked and sometimes even fabricated for their purpose.

It has been some seventy years since Davis observed that news and statistics do not necessarily match.¹⁵² In a populous and large country like Turkey, every day there are numerous cases of domestic violence, petty crimes, accidents, school exams, national holidays; children are born; some suffer from diseases and illnesses; some succeed and some fail at school; they play games; child indicators are monitored, statistics are updated; the states make regulations concerning children's education, health, and welfare. However, newspaper reports of these events and eventualities change; sometimes regardless of their frequency or urgency. In this sense, news journalism is *selective narrative*. That is to say, of many occurrences, only a few are chose to be written about. To put it in David Manning White's established terminology, journalists are "gate keepers"¹⁵³ who select events and turn them into news, sometimes because they assume that the audience will want to be told, sometimes because they believe that these events need to be known. Moreover, as Michael Schudson states:

journalists not only report reality but create it (...) by selecting, highlighting, framing, shading, and shaping in reportage, they create an

¹⁵² F.J. Davis, "Crime News in Colorado Newspapers," in *American Journal of Sociology* 57, 1952, pp.325-330.

¹⁵³ David Manning White, "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News" in *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950), pp. 383–391.

impression that real people – readers and viewers – then take to be real and to which they respond in their lives.¹⁵⁴

We should also bear in mind Herman and Chomsky's assertion that the media serve as a vehicle for propaganda "to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state."¹⁵⁵

Still, I will refrain from holding journalists or editors as the only actors responsible for making the news. Starting with Gaye Tuchman's innovative book *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, sociologists began to seek for an interpretation of news as the product of a certain context. As Dan Berkowitz puts it, we should take into account that news is socially constructed, as well as being the product of the newsrooms and organisations.¹⁵⁶ For this purpose, Pamela Shoemaker calls for an extended outlook on the role of the journalist as the "gate keeper;" she suggests that we should also consider the roles of "the social system [including news sources, advertisers, markets, interest groups, public relations, governments, and other social institutions], communication organisations, audience, ideology and culture as well as the individual newsmaker."¹⁵⁷

I also will try to avoid interpreting news as a simple transition of *the* message from *the* sender through *the* channel to *the* receiver. According to James Carey,

¹⁵⁴ Michael Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, series editor Jeffrey C. Alexander (New York & London: W.W. Norton, 2003).

¹⁵⁵ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London : Vintage, 1994).

¹⁵⁶ Dan Berkowitz (ed.), *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader* (Thousand Oaks, California & London: Sage Publications, 1997).

¹⁵⁷ Pamela J. Shoemaker, "A New Gatekeeping Model," *Social Meanings of News*, edited by in Dan Berkowitz, pp.57-62.

news can also be interpreted in a “ritual model of communication” which takes into account the dramatic performance between the text and the reader.¹⁵⁸ The readers are an active and internal part of the practices of making and reading news. Furthermore, as Ien Ang warns us, the audience should not be thought of as a homogenous whole, but the communication between the reader and the news text should be analysed from an “interdiscursive”¹⁵⁹ perspective.

Thus, from a wide selection of themes and events, some are chosen and turned into stories by newsmakers, and their narrative interpretations are re-interpreted by readers, who not only have the chance to pick their news source, but also enter a dialogue with what they read from within the collection of stories presented to them, and news might come to mean different things for different audiences. The textual source might only reveal how journalists perceive their readers, and their perception does not necessarily overlap with the actual readership. In this interaction there are several forces at play, including but not limited to the readers’ social class, political standing, and gender. Furthermore, as Bertrand and Hughes caution eager scholars, the method of content analysis bears its own dangers of failing to pick a representative sampling, precise categories, and feasible criteria for their units of measurement, not to mention the subjectivity of interpretation.¹⁶⁰

Bearing these criticisms and reservations in mind, I believe we should nonetheless consider Greg Philo’s answer to the question of ambiguity in content

¹⁵⁸ James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp.20-21.

¹⁵⁹ Ien Ang, “On the Politics of Empirical Audience Research” in *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), pp.35-53.

¹⁶⁰ Ina Bertrand and Peter Hughes, *Media Research Methods: Audiences, Institutions, Texts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

analysis. Philo, a founding member of the Glasgow University Media Group research cluster, criticises the audience response criticism's employment of Hall's theory of encoding/decoding.¹⁶¹ Although he acknowledges that there is some evidence of audience participation, he also insists that this perspective should not overshadow "the power of the media," which he argues is often overlooked amidst these reservations.¹⁶² Furthermore, as pointed out by Barry Richards, not only is the media a powerful actor in the formation of mainstream discourse, but it also participates in the construction of an "emotional public sphere"¹⁶³ by shaping beliefs and feelings as well as opinions. Since I want to comprehend how news articles and comments diffused, shaped, and reflected ideas about childhood, and not the act of communication itself, in this analysis I will judge news as texts, written from the perspective of a certain author, embedded in a certain historical context, that aimed a certain perceived audience.

Certainly, news might come to mean different things for different audiences. It might be impossible to decipher how and by which actors and forces they were made. Still, news are texts which reflect the authors that create them, the institutions that fabricate them, and the audience that receives them, and the collective framework that produces them. Furthermore, they are in constant dialogue with that framework through construction and negotiation. The idea that the media takes part

¹⁶¹ Stuart Hall, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (Birmingham, England: Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1973), pp. 507–517.

¹⁶² Greg Philo, "News, Audiences and the Construction of Public Knowledge" in *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, edited by Stuart Allan (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.407-416.

¹⁶³ Barry Richards, "News and the Emotional Public Sphere," in *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, edited by Stuart Allan, pp.301-311.

in the construction childhood through visualisation¹⁶⁴ and idealisation¹⁶⁵ is not new. And although these representations might be interpreted from a variety of angles, together they still form a coherent and substantive whole. That is the perk of studying ideas; because ideas leave traces. It's not only the major changes, but also the blips that give us a hint of mentality. To put it in other words, the sense of the mental context doesn't always penetrate through intentional verbiages, but through little margins that are concealed in texts occupied in other issues which may seem totally unrelated. It is as visible in news texts about childhood as in the Balinese cockfight,¹⁶⁶ the resistance against the brutality of the Black Law,¹⁶⁷ or the underground literature of pre-revolutionary France.¹⁶⁸

Following Krippendorff's suggested basic methodology for content analysis, I carried out the consecutive steps of unitizing, sampling, recording and coding, and reducing for my research.¹⁶⁹ It was decided that popular national newspapers with high sales numbers would be the most suitable representatives of the mainstream mental context. Thus, child-related news published in these papers is my unit of

¹⁶⁴ Patricia Holland, *What Is a Child?: Popular Images of Childhood* (London: Virago, 1992) and *Picturing Childhood: The Myth of the Child in Popular Imagery* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ Debbie Olson, Giselle Rampaul, "Representations of Childhood in the Media" in *Routledge International Handbook of Children, Adolescents, and Media*, edited by Dafna Lemish (Routledge: Oxon, Canada, 2013), pp.23-30.

¹⁶⁶ Clifford Geertz, "Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

¹⁶⁷ Edward Palmer Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

¹⁶⁸ Robert Darnton, *What Was Revolutionary about the French Revolution?* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, Markham Press Fund, 1990).

¹⁶⁹ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2013), p.86.

analysis. As mentioned elsewhere, the time frame of this dissertation is limited to the twenty years between 1977, the beginning of the global fiscal crisis and the first signs of socio-economic change, and 1997, the peak point when these signs ceased to be ignorable. Throughout this period, *Hürriyet* kept its place as the newspaper with the highest numbers of issues, and represented itself as the representative of the average of the nation; hence it was the obvious choice for print media analysis. In order to avoid limiting the research to a single newspaper, other newspapers, representative of major political positions were sought for cross reference and comparison. *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman*, with their clearly defined and quite rigid political scopes were incomparable to popular serious *Hürriyet*, and they were found unsuitable for the purposes of this analysis. *Milliyet*, which held its position as one of the most popular newspapers during the timeframe was chosen to represent the middle left. From the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, *Tercüman* was selected as representative of the nationalist right, and for the period from the late 1980s to late 1990s, it was replaced with *Türkiye*, the media organ of the conservative right that was on the rise.

With the primary sources determined, the need to confine the limits of the dissertation became obvious. Not only was it impossible to scrutinize every issue of three newspapers for twenty years, furthermore, it was unfeasible, and even potentially harmful, because that broad a research would provide as much material as could be moulded into any scheme. Reducing the number of issues per year was potentially harmful, because news about children tends to fluctuate throughout the year according to conditions that are impossible to predict. Choosing specific types

of news to narrow down the number of articles to be read proved to be impracticable without concluding the research first.

Therefore, the method I selected was first to conduct a keyword search with the word “çocuk” (child) among the articles published on the first pages of newspapers and their attachments between January 1st 1977 and December 31st 1997. Unfortunately, at the time of my research, *Milliyet*'s database¹⁷⁰ was the only on-line archive open to public that enabled keyword search. This search returned 5202 headline articles, 4283 of which were published in the newspaper itself, and 919 published in several supplements. I then skim read these articles to reveal the outlines of the change in discourse from 1977 to 1997.

Next, I used systematic sampling and thoroughly scanned all issues of *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Tercüman* and *Türkiye* newspapers in every fifth year of the period (1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997). I cannot claim to have spotted every news story and image, since it is virtually impossible to accomplish that manually, but I intensively read, listed and classified all news articles and comments I found about children, and all articles that used images of children published in those years. “Children” as used in this research is not defined according to newspapers' classification, but according to the age of the subjects, and includes everyone under the age of eighteen. The texts and images were analysed taking into account their topics, themes, subjects, their placements in the paper, also the lexicon, info, and comment they contained. What this archival research returned was a giant bulk of primary material, approximately 350 articles per year per newspaper, more than 6000 pieces of text and images in total, excluding the results of the online search. For

¹⁷⁰ *Milliyet* online archive, Available [online] at: <<http://gazetearsivi.Milliyet.com.tr/>> [26 February 2014].

statistical references, I listed and categorised all child-related news published in *Hürriyet*.¹⁷¹

The following step was to make sense of those texts to come up with a meaningful analysis. It was necessary to employ a clear methodology so as not to lose perspective and get lost in the big pile of data. Such a classification could have been made using various methods. A historical periodisation based on temporal phases of change, and grouping news articles according to this periodisation was the first method that I considered. However, this method bears the danger of overlooking the complexity of the discursive change and the direction of its dissemination. Some of the features of the change described in this chapter appeared as early as the 1970s in some newspapers and then spread to others gradually. Therefore, a historical analysis might ignore the different paces each newspaper took, not to mention that it might force the analysis to fit inside a factitious division that ignores continuity.

A second method could have been to classify these texts according to their topics, like crime, health, family, or migration. Alternatively, a similar categorisation might have been made according to analytical themes like social, economic, and political. The problem with this approach is that it veils similar tendencies that might be spotted in news articles with quite distinct topics or themes, and produces different versions of the same story. Thus it is not quite useful in revealing the leitmotifs that cut across different categories. However, since a topical approach was too precious to discard altogether, I used these categories as substantiating elements throughout the analysis.

¹⁷¹ See Appendix B: News Categories and Appendix C: Child-Related News Stories Published in *Hürriyet* in 1977-1982-1987-1992-1997.

Therefore, to avoid flattening out the analysis by employing a presupposed and rigid periodisation, and to avoid composing different variations of the same tune, I employed a third method in this analysis. This method is to define several denominators that describe the direction news articles took, and to specify the general characteristics of change in the conceptualisation of childhood by Turkey's mainstream news media. I will argue that the re-conceptualisation of childhood followed three separate but closely linked routes: the creation of a new mental framework, the dissolution of the conventional meanings of childhood, and the construction of a new set of values and rules. I will suggest the following three routes, the three "axes of orientation" of a coordinate system to map the content, direction and consequences of redefining childhood:

First Axis: A New Framework for A New Childhood

Second Axis: Social Meanings of Childhood

Third Axis: Inequality, Distinction, and Conditional Childhood

In the following chapters, first, I will question how the transformation of mainstream media set up a new framework for new childhood. Second, I will turn to the changing social meanings of childhood and the media's negotiation with the traditional concept of modern childhood. Finally, I will look for the ways the media interpreted new forms of inequality, reflected upon the anxiety that stems from social instability, and channelled these tensions onto the most vulnerable in the society.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIRST AXIS: A NEW MEDIA AND A NEW FRAMEWORK

*ripple in still water
when there is no pebble tossed
nor wind to blow*

The main question of my thesis is how the news media redefined childhood in the 1980s and the 1990s. But before I turn to analysing the new meanings of childhood, I want to explore how the stage was set for this transformation, and how the ground was prepared for the construction of a new set of values that framed this conceptualisation. The focus of this chapter, then, is not the changing ideas and concepts about childhood, but rather, it is the framework that supported these ideas. Neither is the task at hand to prove that the media intentionally engineered or manufactured a new framework. Not only is that well beyond the limits of my research, but it is also irrelevant for my purposes. I will observe merely the changing methods and neologisms of the media, and I will argue that these proposed a new way of thinking about the society, and reconfigured the social roles of adults and children, and their relationship with each other. In other words, I will scrutinise the changing mentality of journalism and news reading, and I will ask how these reframed our way of thinking about society.

In the following pages, first, I will look into the economic, political, and structural factors that reshaped the news media in the 1980s and the 1990s. I will trace visible changes in the appearance and layout of newspapers. I will look for patterns in the changing areas of interest and focus, and I will argue that the priorities of the press shifted from making to selling news. Second, I will attempt a textual analysis of contents and styles of news stories, and outline the general characteristics of tabloidization and sensationalism. Third, I will question how the changes in style and content transformed the nature of journalism and news readership. To conclude, I will argue that it was this transformation that eased the transition to a new conceptualisation of childhood.

The following analysis is based on a variety of data. To outline the historical context, I will summarise the observations of some major works on the history of print media in Turkey. I will then support these observations with an analysis of modifications in selected newspapers, derived from a statistical listing of sales prices, number of pages, news types, visual materials, advertisements, and sections published in the first week of December of every fifth year, starting in 1977.¹⁷² Finally, I will refer to the extensive list of child-related news published in *Hürriyet* newspaper again in 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997 to analyse the changes in the contents and themes of news articles.¹⁷³

¹⁷² See Appendix A: Quantitative Data Related to Newspapers.

¹⁷³ See Appendix C: Child-Related News Stories Published in *Hürriyet* in 1977-1982-1987-1992-1997.

24 January and 12 September:

The Transformation of Newspapers and Newsmaking

If we were to lay two issues of *Hürriyet* from 1977 and 1997 next to each other, it would be almost impossible to identify that they were issues of the same newspaper. In merely two decades, everything about the paper, from typefaces to fonts, from number of pages to uses of visual elements, and from headline formats, to even the logo changed beyond recognition. Furthermore, it was not only *Hürriyet*, but *Milliyet*, *Tercüman* and *Türkiye* went through metamorphoses as well. This rapid change was inflicted by some significant structural changes, both economic and political. In this section, first, I will trace those developments. Then, I will look for the tangible, solid, traceable prints they left on news media in general and on child-related news stories in particular.

Most observers agree that two dates in the year 1980 established symbolic turning points that affected the press in Turkey. The first of these was the economic regulations of 24 January, which constituted the backbone of the country's integration to a global free market economy. The second was 12 September, the date of the coup d'état, when the military dissolved the parliament and took power for three years, and transformed the political scene for years to come. Together, these two dates came to signify the two interlinked vectors of economy and politics, both of which changed the faces of newspapers in the following decades.

The impact of economic transformation on media structure came gradually, but deeply. In the late 1970s, the main sources of income for newspapers were state substitution, sales profits, and advertising revenues. Two decades later, the balance

between these three was completely different. As pointed out by Kolođlu, the greatest impact of the 24 January decisions was that they marked the end of state subsidies, leaving the newspapers more dependent on the other two sources.¹⁷⁴ The cessation of state subvention was also coupled with the spiking inflation that instantly quadrupled the price of paper,¹⁷⁵ which continued to soar in the following decade.¹⁷⁶

The solution to boosting the budget of newspapers in the face of government cuts could have been an increase in sales numbers. However, as the price of paper continued to rise, so did the prices of newspapers, and by 1995, the price of a national popular broadsheet came to cost one-sixth of the average daily wage.¹⁷⁷ It was partly this costliness that prevented the newspapers from reaching a larger audience. As pointed out by Tılıç, newspaper readership in Turkey gained momentum in the 1960s, when the number of papers per person doubled, but then remained stable until the 1990s despite the much higher literacy rates.¹⁷⁸ And

¹⁷⁴ Orhan Kolođlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi* (History of the press from the Ottoman Empire to the 21st Century) (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2006), p.142.

¹⁷⁵ Aytül Tamer, “Basın Üzerine Niceliksel Bir Çözümleme: Fiyatlar ve Tirajlar” (A quantitative analysis of the press: prices and sales numbers) in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İletişim: Kurumlar, Politikalar* (Communication in the Republic: institutions and policies), edited by Nazife Güngör (Ankara: Siyasal, 2010), p.371.

¹⁷⁶ Kolođlu finds that the price of paper was multiplied by 160 between 1980 to 1991, a rise significantly sharper than the inflation of wholesale prices which was multiplied by 30, from 100 to 3000. Kolođlu, p.150.

¹⁷⁷ In 1980, *Hürriyet* was sold at 10 liras, which was approximately five percent of the daily earnings of an average worker, who earned 180 liras per day. In 1995, the price of the newspaper was 20,000 liras, 14 percent of the daily wage of 139,000 liras. The numbers are provided by Tamer, p.373.

¹⁷⁸ Dođan L. Tılıç, *Utanyorum ama Gazeteciyim: Türkiye ve Yunanistan'da Gazetecilik* (Ashamed to admit that I am a journalist: journalism in Turkey and Greece) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), p.81.

although total sales of newspapers were higher by half a million,¹⁷⁹ Tamer finds that the number of newspapers in proportion to population in 1997 was no larger than in 1970.¹⁸⁰ Another reason for the stable sales numbers was the emergence of new media. The country was introduced to a new type of communication in the 1990s, when state-owned radios and television was joined by private broadcasting companies. By 1997, there were 16 television channels and 36 national radio stations broadcasting nationwide. Furthermore, television sets became a common household item, and 97 percent households owned at least one set.¹⁸¹

The last resort for newspapers, then, was advertising. However, after the 24 January decisions, the input of the public sector fell in this compartment as well. Between 1980 and 1990, the share of official announcements in newspaper ads fell from 49.5 to 3.6 percent, leaving the lion's share to private advertisements.¹⁸² This change left newspapers more dependent on private advertising as a source of revenue.¹⁸³ Apparently, the advertising sector was willing to cooperate, and advertisement expenditure per person rose by 60 percent, from 5 USD to 8 USD during the 1980s.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, the decade was marked by changing patterns of consumption, and the dominance went from the mass production of durable goods to a larger middle class, to marketing luxury goods to a smaller proportion of upper

¹⁷⁹ Koloğlu, p.194.

¹⁸⁰ Tamer, p.367.

¹⁸¹ TÜBİTAK, *Bilgi Teknolojileri Yaygınlık ve Kullanım Araştırması 2000* (Prevalance and access to information technologies research 2000) (Ankara: BTAE, 2001), p.41.

¹⁸² Koloğlu, p.195.

¹⁸³ Ibid, p.143

¹⁸⁴ Tılıç, p.87.

class consumers. Newspaper advertisements reflected this directly, and evidently there were more advertisements in colour published on full or half pages, rather than smaller commercials of durable goods, classified advertisements, and public notices. As observed by Schudson, when newspapers earn more from advertisements than sales, a smaller sales number might be more beneficial than problematic, because a smaller but high earning audience is more likely to attract upscale advertisers.¹⁸⁵ Thus, by the 1990s, the newspapers' priority was not to obtain larger numbers of readers, but to hold on to those that would attract advertisers.

Thus, after 1980, as the press became increasingly profit oriented and dependent on private advertisements, all these economic factors rendered the media sector more vulnerable to market influence. Moreover, the impact of economic transformation on news media was not limited to market pressures. As pointed out by Ahmet Oktay, an equally radical change took place in newspaper ownership.¹⁸⁶ Oğuzhan Taş observes that the media's changing hands from family owned newspapers to corporations began as early as the late 1970s.¹⁸⁷ Large investment groups' interest in the sector not only increased because of the evident attraction of owning a mass media device, but also because newspapers proved to be handy toys of marketing and promotion for large corporations. Another factor that accelerated the transition was the emergence of new and sophisticated technologies. According to Adaklı, this eradicated smaller investors' chances to compete with larger

¹⁸⁵ Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, p.106.

¹⁸⁶ Ahmet Oktay, *Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın* (Social change and the press) (İstanbul: Bilim/Felsefe/Sanat Yayınları, 1987), p.155.

¹⁸⁷ Oğuzhan Taş, *Gazetecilik Etiğinin Mesleki Sınırları: Profesyonellik, Piyasa, Sorumluluk* (The vocational limits of journalistic ethics: professionalism, market, responsibility) (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012), pp.166-167.

companies which could afford expensive but effective printing technologies.¹⁸⁸ As the news sector moved from its traditional, modest offices in Babiâli to massive media headquarters in İkitelli, it became embedded in large conglomerates such as *Hürriyet* Grubu, Doğan Grubu, and İhlas Gazetecilik Holding, and it was incorporated with marketing companies such as Hür-Pa, Mil-Pa, and İhlas (*Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Türkiye*, respectively).¹⁸⁹

Most historians of Turkey's media agree that another date that had a drastic influence on the press was 12 September. As observed by Oktay, Tılıç, and others, legislative changes on collective bargaining and strike weakened unions, and journalists' organisations lost political power.¹⁹⁰ But a more immediate outcome of the military coup was censorship, as documented by the extensive list derived by the Progressive Journalists Association, which compiled banned publications, trials, and press members punished with prison sentences in hundreds of pages.¹⁹¹

However, it should also be noted that the pressure on journalists extended well beyond the military rule, and continued after the restoration of a civil government. In 1987, Ahmet Oktay noted that censorship, blackouts, and judicial pressures persisted under the ANAP rule.¹⁹² According to Umur Talu, who interpreted the period retrospectively in 2008, the worst was yet to come. Talu states that albeit the control and pressure from the government, the press dared to be more

¹⁸⁸ Gülseren Adaklı, *Türkiye'de Medya Endüstrisi: Neoliberalizm Çağında Mülkiyet ve Kontrol İlişkileri* (Media industry in Turkey: ties of ownership and control in an age of neoliberalism) (İstanbul: Ütopya, 2006), p.136.

¹⁸⁹ Koloğlu, pp.147-148.

¹⁹⁰ Tılıç, p.212; Oktay, p.133.

¹⁹¹ *Basın '80-84* (Press '80-84) (Ankara: Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği, 1984).

¹⁹² Koloğlu, p.151.

zealous in the 1980s, but it was in the 1990s when contents became more superficial and servile. A decade of economic dependency and political oppression created a news media that would self-censor its own contents.¹⁹³

In an interview with Nebil Özgentürk, *Hürriyet*'s editor-in-chief Ertuğrul Özkök accepted and defended this orientation to put profit above all journalistic concerns. According to the editor, the media was but another sector that had to profit, and the competitive market for the press was particularly fierce. His reasoning is that a news corporation that failed to generate revenues was bound to be dependent on other sources, such as government subsidies, political parties, or workers' unions, and eventually be dominated by those institutions. What Özkök failed to envision, however, was that market orientation was equally problematic in terms of journalistic integrity and independence.¹⁹⁴ As pointed by Koloğlu, as well as others, market demands, both real and perceived, were a major factor in the reshaping of newspapers, and this was facilitated by the wide spread content control, censorship, and economic dependencies.¹⁹⁵

While both economic and political factors determined the priorities of newspapers, and transfixed the media's direction for decades to follow, there were specific turning points in the histories of all the newspapers used for this research. Let us go through each history one by one. Perhaps the newspaper that changed its position the least was *Hürriyet*, ever since the start the driving force behind the paper's manner was its popularity. As the sales numbers reveal, it managed to remain

¹⁹³ Nebil Özgentürk, *Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Basının Kısa Tarihi* (A short history of the press from the Republic to contemporary) (İstanbul: Alfa, 2008), pp.238-239.

¹⁹⁴ Özgentürk, pp. 153-160.

¹⁹⁵ Koloğlu, p.141.

the most persevering of all, the newspaper was the head of the line when it came to transformation. Every major trend change was started off by the newspaper, and it lead the rest of the media by the nose.

Hürriyet was owned by the Simavi family until 1994, when the second generation of the Simavi family sold their shares to Doğan Media. The greatest change in *Hürriyet*'s history was not in the ownership structure, but among the editorial board. The transition started with the handover of the editor in chief position from Nezih Demirkent, who had held the title for more than a decade, to Çetin Emeç, who edited the newspaper intermittently between 1981 and 1989, and passed the mission on to Ertuğrul Özkök, who would remain in this position until 2001. After he handed the editorial post to Özkök, Emeç became a member of the paper's administrative board, until he was assassinated in 1990.

Among the newspapers subject to this research, the most turbulent history was that of *Milliyet*. In 1979, the newspaper lost its editor-in-chief Abdi İpekçi to an assassination. İpekçi was an iconic journalist who had been responsible for *Milliyet*'s contents since 1955, and had given the newspaper its status as the voice of the left of centre. When İpekçi's life was taken by ultra-nationalist assassins, he was followed by a line of successors, including Çetin Emeç, Doğan Heper, and Umur Talu, none of whom held the title longer than a few years until finally Ufuk Güldemir was named for the position in 1994.

The loss of İpekçi affected not only *Milliyet*'s editorial policies, but according to Emin Karaca, his death was also a turning point for the newspaper's ownership. Karaca recalls that İpekçi had strongly objected to Karacan family's plans to sell the

newspaper to Aydın Doğan.¹⁹⁶ However, not long after İpekçi's death, Doğan first became a major investor, and then bought the newspaper in 1980. After a transition period, in 1993, *Milliyet* became the first newspaper to move out of Babıâli to İkitelli, and it became the first newspaper to be published in Doğan Media Centre, which enabled rapid publication in bulk. Thus, it was the textbook example of corporatisation.¹⁹⁷

Compared to *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*, *Tercüman*'s history was relatively eventless. The Ilıcak family founded *Tercüman* in 1955 as a conservative middle right newspaper with nationalist reflexes. The newspaper reached its peak of popularity in the second half of the 1970s, when political polarisation in the country sharpened the engagements of both left and right readership. However, the political oppression of the 12 September coup and the depoliticisation period that followed cost the paper its audience, and it eventually closed down.

Around the same time, another popular conservative newspaper was launched by a marketing company. Although it started publication in the 1970s, *Türkiye* was a product of the 1980s, both in terms of ownership structure, and in regards to its political positioning. Contrary to the nationalist *Tercüman*, *Türkiye*'s conservatism was markedly influenced by an amalgam of Turkism and Islamism, the unpronounced official ideology of the military coup. During the 1980s, *Türkiye* rapidly became one of the more popular right wing newspapers, transferring a

¹⁹⁶ Emin Karaca, *Plazaların Efendisi Aydın Doğan: Bir Medya İmparatorunun Öyküsü* (Aydın Doğan, master of plazas: the story of a media mogul) (İstanbul: Karakutu 2003).

¹⁹⁷ Emin Karaca, *Milliyet Olayı* (The *Milliyet* incident) (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1995).

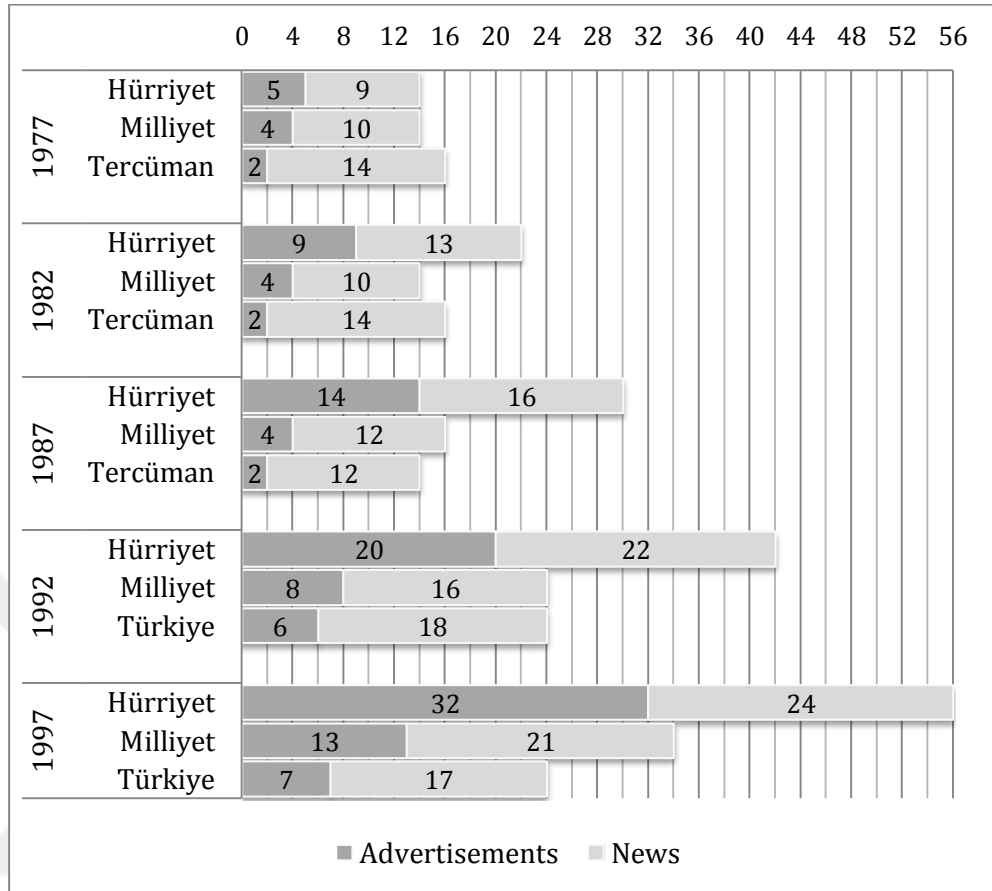
substantial number of readers from *Tercüman*.¹⁹⁸ During the 1980s and the 1990s, *Türkiye* steadily widened its audience, largely due to its extensive promotion campaigns and its elaborate subscription network.

The rapid transformation in the media that I summarised so far was reflected by the changes in the general appearance of newspapers in various ways. One of the most significant changes was the sharp increase in the number of pages. Contrary to the 1970s when paper was scarce, it was imported in plenty in the 1980s, and new technologies enabled printing en masse. Thus, despite the soaring inflation, the number of pages per newspaper quadrupled in less than twenty years. Between 1977 and 1997, the number of pages in an average issue of *Hürriyet* went from 14 to 56 on a week day, and from 20 to 88 for Sunday editions. Similarly, a Sunday edition of *Milliyet* went from 20 to 64 pages.

The main reason behind the increase in page numbers were the pages reserved for advertisements, a sure sign of the media's economic dependencies. In 1977, *Hürriyet* reserved 5 of its 14 pages for advertisements and announcements. In 1997, the number reached 32 and above, and advertisements covered almost two-thirds of the newspaper. *Milliyet* and *Türkiye* were not as efficient in attracting advertisers, but in the 1990s, advertisements covered no less than 30 to 40 percent of both papers. Thus, the actual increase in number of pages for news stories, comments, and analyses was not as high as the expansion of the broadsheets.

¹⁹⁸ Koloğlu, p.157.

Table 2 – Changes in the Number of Pages per Newspaper
(Advertisements and News Stories)



Source: Data derived manually from an archival study on the issues of the newspapers published in the first week of December of the specified year.

Still, the journalists needed to fill twice as many pages without a substantial increase in the number of staff. In 1997, *Hürriyet*'s reporters had to produce 160 news stories every day, and even though the boost was mostly compensated by small news spots in the sports and economy sections, the reporters and commentators had a tremendous workload. The need to cover more pages was fulfilled by a large number of visual materials. Now that the publication of images was facilitated with the emergence of new technologies, by the 1990s, almost all news articles were

accompanied by at least one photograph, icon, figure, or drawing. Furthermore, every section and page in the paper had its own logo and design, and each column featured a snapshot of its writer. Excluding these logos and portrait photographs, 1997's *Hürriyet* contained an average of 170 visual elements, which was three times more than in 1977.¹⁹⁹

With the increase of page numbers, the organisations of newspapers went through a complete makeover, and the pages were grouped under smaller and more manageable sections. *Tercüman* of the late 1970s was comprised of three major sections: News, Life and Sports. In addition to that trio, *Milliyet* featured Finance and Comics pages, and *Hürriyet* also had the regional pages for urban centres such as Istanbul and Ankara, and the “In Focus” section which elaborated headlining stories. By 1997, *Türkiye* featured ten different sections. The number of sections was fourteen for *Milliyet*, and fifteen for *Hürriyet*. The division founds its reflection in a variety of styles that differed from section to section.²⁰⁰

The urgency to fill more pages had direct results in news types as well. A significant indicator of the changing preferences was the reduction in the number of more complex news stories. Although the newspapers published more news stories in the 1990s, the number of analytical articles, news folders, and investigative files remained the same, if not decreased. Moreover, an even more striking development was the rising number of columnists. In the 1970s, each newspaper had a limited number of daily columnists who wrote middle length articles on national headlines.

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix A: Quantitative Data Related to Newspapers.

²⁰⁰ See Appendix A.

By the 1990s, the number of columns per paper had increased ten times, and reached the impressive number of twenty columns per weekday in *Hürriyet*.²⁰¹

The common reason for both the fall of analytical pieces and the rise of opinion columns was productivity. It is often observed by news sociologists that from the 1980s on, economic pressures became a major factor that reshaped the new media, or as put by Elizabeth Bird, “the cheap, easy, and popular story often [won] out over expensive, difficult and less popular ones.”²⁰² Shorter stories and opinion pieces meant a lighter workload for the staff, and quick and guaranteed fabrication. In this sense, the journalistic trends of the new era were bound to favour capable reporters who could produce catchy, simple news articles quickly, to investigative journalists, who would devote their precious time and sources to creating considerate and thought out files on long-term developments about child well-being and other subjects. Furthermore, they came with added bonuses: easily digested shorter stories were popular with the readers, and star columnists attracted their own audience.

From the vantage point of child-related news, however, the transition from informative and analytical pieces to short stories and opinion pieces was problematic on more than one account. First of all, detailed articles that analysed longitudinal data were the only pieces that monitored children’s living conditions. Short news stories and opinion articles rarely focused on the silent tides that affected the everyday, but they were interested in sharp waves of immediacy and instantaneity. When the former type receded in favour of the latter, children’s everyday

²⁰¹ See Appendix A.

²⁰² Elizabeth Bird, “Tabloidization, What is it, and Does it Really Matter?” in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Changing Faces of Journalism: Tabloidization, Technology and Truthiness* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.40-50.

experiences fell out of focus. Furthermore, most opinion columns were reserved for political discussions and personal comments on the larger events on the agenda, and children as insignificant news subjects hardly ever captured the eye of columnists. By the end of the period, children were either the subjects of human interest stories and trivial articles with larger fonts and photographs, or their visibility was limited to two-liner news spots in specialised sections of newspapers.

Thus, during the years following the 25 January decisions and 12 September coup, the press was vulnerable against both political and market pressures. The end of state subsidisation forced the newspapers generate more income by attracting readers and advertisers, and the transition to a market driven news media was accelerated by the changing editorial boards and ownership structure. What accompanied this transformation was a change of style and content, which I will turn to in the following section.

Changing Contents, Imagery and Lexicon:

Tabloidisation and Sensationalism

As I observed in the previous section, economic dependencies and political pressures came together to reshape the structures of newspapers in the 1980s and the 1990s. In this section, I will move a step closer and look beyond the layout to reveal how this new structure shaped the news. I will argue that beneath the visible makeover, there was a subtler but more profound shift. It is useful to refer to categories of print press to understand how this shift transformed the style and contents of newspapers, and for this purpose, I will borrow Colin Sparks' categories.

Sparks analyses the contents of newspapers according to two variables: the concentration of hard news topics (politics, economics, and society) versus soft (scandal, sports, entertainment), and focus on public versus private life. He then classifies newspapers according to these, and suggests the categories of serious, semi-serious, serious-popular, news stand tabloid, and finally, the supermarket tabloid. Bearing in mind that there is no newspaper in Turkey that can be considered “tabloid” as such, during the timeframe of my research, the newspapers I analysed moved away from hard to soft topics and from public to private life, thus changing their position from the category of the semi-serious to the serious-popular. By the 1990s, all newspapers I studied were leaning towards the latter category, which Sparks defines as:

“popular newspapers, which have a strong stress upon visual design and contain a large dose of scandal, sports, and entertainment, but still demonstrate all, or a significant part, of the same inventory of news values as their more serious cousins.”²⁰³

Indeed, a similar tendency is observed by many scholars from the field of news sociology, who agree that journalism went through a paradigm shift in the last decades of the twentieth century. Several studies conclude that this transformation can best be analysed on the two related levels of news content and style. Among common diagnoses for the change of preferences in contents is “tabloidisation” as a journalistic bias. The transformation of the presentation style, on the other hand, is often referred to as “sensationalism.” These two definitions are quite adequate in describing the changing focus of child-related news in Turkey. Thus, in the following section, I will scrutinise the media’s preferences in terms of content under the broad

²⁰³ Colin Sparks, “Introduction: The Panic Over Tabloid News” in *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch (Lanham; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. 14-15.

concept of “tabloidisation.” Then, I will turn to the second dimension of the paradigm shift, and analyse the style changes under the term of “sensationalism.”

The popularisation of news content, which is commonly referred to as “tabloidisation,” was a direct result of the growing interest in attracting audience. According to Elizabeth Bird, a characteristic sign of tabloidisation in newspaper content was trivialisation, or the increasing amount of soft news stories such as celebrity gossip and human interest stories which were designed to attract readers by tickling their curiosity.²⁰⁴ Ayda Kayar’s study on the frequency of news subjects over 60 years proves Bird’s suggestion in the Turkish context. Kayar finds that after the 1980s, *Hürriyet* began to publish an increasing proportion human interest stories and trivial news.²⁰⁵

Needless to say that neither human interest stories, nor trivial news were invented in the 1980s. They had always been a staple of newspapers. Still, it would not be an exaggeration to observe that they were rediscovered by the mainstream papers and presented with a new finesse in this period. There are various reasons that might explain the increasing frequency. Ever since Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge’s pioneer study on news values,²⁰⁶ many scholars have been interested in finding out patterns to understand why certain stories are published whereas others are discarded by the press, and searched for criteria which define what makes an event, an account,

²⁰⁴ Bird, “Tabloidization,” pp.40-50.

²⁰⁵ Ayda Kayar, *Hürriyet Gazetesi Özelinde Gazetelerin Birinci Sayfalarında Haber Dağılımı ve Haber Dilinin 60 Yıllık Değişiminin İncelenmesi* (The investigation of the news shares and language via *Hürriyet* newspaper during the last 60 years) Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi, 2010, pp. 72-83.

²⁰⁶ Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge, “Structuring and Selecting News” in *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, (1965)1973), pp. 62-73.

a story, or an analysis newsworthy. Among the notable answers to the question of newsworthiness are Steve Chibnall,²⁰⁷ Allan Bell,²⁰⁸ Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill,²⁰⁹ and Yvonne Jewkes.²¹⁰ All of these studies came up with similar answers, that there are some criteria make a story worthy of publication: such as personalisation, violence, sexuality, elite-centricity.²¹¹

However, it also should be kept in mind that news values do not remain constant through time and context; they might change from paper to paper, style to style, audience to audience, through time and across different social contexts. And they change in accordance to journalists' and newspapers' priorities. As observed by Jewkes, there are two main reasons that make a news story worthy of publication, public appeal and public interest. And while the first is reflected by the sales numbers, the second is an open definition which can be influenced by political, corporate, or other similar concerns.²¹² As I observed in the previous section, by the 1980s, public appeal began to weigh a lot more than public interest in assessing news values. In other words, editors were more likely to print news if they believed they would attract more readers. As found by Esser in his comparison of the tabloidisation

²⁰⁷ Steve Chibnall, *Law and Order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press* (London: Tavistock, 1977).

²⁰⁸ Allan Bell, *The Language of News Media* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

²⁰⁹ Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill, "What is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited" in *Journalism Studies* 2/2 (2001).

²¹⁰ Yvonne Jewkes, *Construction of Crime News in Media & Crime Second Edition* (London: Sage, 2004).

²¹¹ See Chris Greer for a full compilation of news values defined by Galtung and Ruge, Chibnall, and Jewkes. Chris Greer, "News Media, Victims and Crime" in *Victims, Crime, and Society*, edited by Pamela Davies, Peter Francis and Chris Greer (London: Sage, 2007).

²¹² Jewkes, *Construction of Crime News*, pp.37-38.

of newspapers in Germany and the UK, the more competitive the market, the greater is the tendency towards the popularisation of the news language.²¹³ Furthermore, both the increasing authoritarian character of the political climate, and the expectations of corporate journalism in a competitive market forced the journalists to set aside their social and ideological concerns about public interest, and shape their output according to economic and political priorities. Although it was true that soft news already had a news value, their frequency did not until increase until in the “mastership” period of journalism in the 1980s and 1990s, precisely because journalists of the 1970s could afford to ignore “public appeal” for the sake of “public interest.”

Another finding of Ayda Kayar’s study is that politics and economics began to take up a greater proportion of the *Hürriyet*’s front pages. However, it should not be assumed that this prevalence signalled a more socially conscious journalism. The stories that were covered in the headlines were rarely about the resonant developments of policy changes or quiet and serious observations about the general public, but they were bombshells and major events that revolved around significant political actors. In other words, the front pages cherry picked which aspect of politics and economics to publish, thereby shadowing the journalistically insignificant issues, or pushing them out of the headlines.

The changing organisation of news within the paper further accentuated the effects of the changing focus. The division of newspapers into sections was more than a practical decision to guide the readers to finding their ways amidst increasing

²¹³ Frank Esser, “‘Tabloidization’ of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism,” in *European Journal of Communication* 14 (1999).

page numbers; it was a method that enabled the turn newspapers from book-like publications that were meant to be read from cover to cover, into a compilation of specialised magazines which could be consumed separately. In this compilation, news articles that concerned the greater public were decreasing in favour of sections that spoke to smaller and specific audiences.

In his interpretation of the changing newspaper contents, Ertuğrul Özkök observed the dissolution of a common agenda, and stated that:

What we realised at the time was that what we call ‘the mass’ was gradually disappearing. These might still be called mass communication media, but ‘the mass’ is no longer there. People have individual interests, and for each person, those interests create small communities. And we appreciated how important those communities were.²¹⁴

Thus, on the one hand, issues that were neglected because they concerned only a small part of the readership found place in these specialised sections. On the other hand, however, these issues were published in clearly distinguished pages that only a specifically interested audience would read. Thus, the newspaper was organised and coded in a fashion that enabled the reader to choose or avoid whatever they wanted to pick out of the giant basket of news. And this attitude left most politically relevant news stories out of reach of the average reader.

While the contents of newspapers were reshaped to attract and hold the attention of a diverse audience, the news making styles were also given a makeover. Once again, turning to Elizabeth Bird, these stylistic changes can be broadly defined as a greater use of visual material, an increasing emphasis on the personal in both the coverage and narration of news stories, and the adoption of catchy, engaging, and

²¹⁴ “Şunu da anladık biz o dönemden sonra, kitle diye bir şey ortadan kalkıyor yavaş yavaş. Adı kitle iletişim araçları ama kitle kalkıyor ortadan. İnsanların kendilerine ait özel ilgi alanları var ve her insan için o özel ilgi alanı, küçük bir cemaat oluşturuyor. O cemaatlerin çok önemli olduğunu anladık biz.” Özgentürk, p.152.

simple writing techniques.²¹⁵ According to many commentators, the visual turn constituted by far the greatest transformation of newspapers. It was not a coincidence that Can Kozanoğlu decided to call his book “The New Image Age” in reference to the New Stone Age when polished stone replaced flaked stone,²¹⁶ and neither was it haphazard that Nurdan Gürbilek’s collection of essays was titled “Living on Display.”²¹⁷ The 1980s were a decade of images, displays, exhibitionism, and voyeurism. The visualisation of newspapers was instantly recognisable, with tens of colours, photographs, graphics, charts, and various other visual stimulants dominating every corner of every page. In his comparative analysis of the changing percentage material published in newspapers through time, Ahmet Oktay finds that the ratio between visual and textual material had changed in favour of the former.²¹⁸ By the late 1980s, the only news texts that could be published without photographs or graphics were columns, which would also be decorated with portraits of columnists by the 1990s.

Definitely, visual materials were items that needed to be produced just like news stories, and producing this amount of visual objects needed a serious amount of labour, sources, and creativity. With the increasing visualisation, the need to assemble a greater number of images to accompany news texts introduced newspapers to stock images. Thus, instead of employing graphic artists and photographers, news corporations began to rely on these ready-made images that

²¹⁵ Bird, “Tabloidization,” p.41.

²¹⁶ Can Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri* (The new image age) (İstanbul: İletişim, 1992).

²¹⁷ Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980’lerin Kültürel İklimi* (Living on display: the cultural climate of the 1980s) (İstanbul: Metis, 1992).

²¹⁸ Oktay, *Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın*, pp.110-114.

were easier to acquire for a lower cost. As pointed out by David Machin, the stock images were “ideologically pre-constructed” and they “fit together with the consumer culture.”²¹⁹ Thus, while they relied heavily on stereotypes and ideologies, they also imposed their own imagery on the readership. The shiny happy children in the ever colourful world of stock images might not have reflected the everyday reality of childhood, but they declared their dominance in the collective imagery nonetheless.

Meanwhile, newspapers began to assemble their own visual portfolios. In many cases, the photographs that would be attached to the news stories did not necessarily stem from the story itself, but they were staged, symbolic scenes. This was especially evident in the images that accompanied child welfare news in the late 1980s. Approximately around the same time as the social democrats decided to use images of squeezed lemons for their campaign instead of actual images of real people living in undesirable conditions,²²⁰ these articles began to be combined with whimsical symbols instead of real life scenes. Among the examples of this bizarre iconography were photographs of dinner tables covered with luxurious food that accompanied news articles about malnutrition or the inflation of food.

This exaggerated imagery that aspired to please the eye and attract readers’ curiosity rather than attract attention to the news itself irrevocably twisted the relation between images and meanings. The epitome of this grotesque imagery was probably the iconic image of little children holding enormous bread loaves (see

²¹⁹ David Machin, “Building the World’s Visual Language: The Increasing Global Importance of Image Banks in Corporate Media” in *Visual Communication* 3/3 (2004), pp. 316-336.

²²⁰ “Beş yıl daha limon gibi sıkılmaya hayır” (Say no to being squeezed like a lemon for another five years) *Hürriyet*, 28 November 1987.

Figure 3). These photographs depicted a child, or several children who symbolised the family, and next to the children would be a giant piece of bread, often larger than the children as the symbol of rising household expenditures. However, the contrast between the serious reality of child poverty, malnutrition and inflation and the tongue-in-cheek criticism of these photographs corrupted the link between the signifier and the signified by creating a link between the humorous photograph and the serious text.

Then, as Nurdan Gürbilek brilliantly observes, what was experienced in the 1980s was a declaration of “autonomy for the image,” and this change went hand in hand with the “arbitrariness of language.”²²¹ Gürbilek underlines that in the 1980s, the direct links between the topic, the text, and the image were completely dismantled; their coming together was quite random and gratuitous, and the image began to dominate over the others. The dominance of the visual was a multi-faceted transition. While news stories with less photogenic and less sensational photographs fell out of favour, the temptation of the image pushed forward some stories ahead of others. For instance, in the 1990s, a simple photograph of children living on the streets was not enough to make them into a story. Instead, newspapers wanted their news with a twist, they preferred to publish news about young and beautiful celebrities in events organised for these children, or interesting organisations that shadowed the pessimistic image of the children in need (see Figure 4).

²²¹ Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, pp.23-27.

In other cases, a text could simply be written to accompany a certain photograph. Thus, when an eye catching image was received from international news agencies, a two liner news story would be created for the sake of that image. In fact, the 1990s' *Hürriyet* had a special section for these photographs, and their selection included photographs of children playing with toys accompanied by a small explanation about Haitian refugee camps in Guantanamo Bay,²²² or of children sitting on potties with a note about orphaned children in Rwanda²²³(see Figure 5). In those examples, the news text was not much more than an addendum to the image, a postscript, or a caption.

Another reflection of the changes in style was the transformation of news texts. According to Oktay, this transformation was most visible in the changes in titles. Oktay suggests that in the mid-1980s, news titles began to be more imaginative than informative, and avoided revealing anything about the story itself.²²⁴ That is to say that the headings began to act like trailers to the news story, rather than short and descriptive summaries. This was clearly different from the long, informative headings of the 1970s, which usually had been written in the form of full sentences, complete with subjects, objects, adjuncts, complements and verbs. As Oktay observes, the first element to be left out of headings was verbs, and in time the titles of news stories were completely detached from the text and were constructed entirely on wordplay.

²²² “Doktorculuk oynuyor” (Playing doctors) *Hürriyet*, 11 January 1992.

²²³ “Oturak sefası” (Fun times on the potty) *Hürriyet*, 27 February 1997.

²²⁴ Oktay, *Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın*, p.107.



Figure 3 – Bizarre Iconography

Images: *Milliyet*, 13 January 1986; *Hürriyet*, 21 September 1987; *Milliyet*, 16 March 1986; *Tercüman*, 26 January 1987.

Aktüalite
Geleceğin sahiplerine Sişli Belediyesi sahip çıktı

Sokak çocuklarına yardım

Sişli Belediye Başkanı Gülay Atıç, "Kırmızı ışık çocuklarına yeşil ışık yakacağız" dedi

Start verildi
Kahramanmaraş Çarşı Sokakları Yardım Kampanyası'nın başlatıldığı bir toplantıda Sişli Belediye Başkanı Gülay Atıç, Sokak Çocuklarına Yardım Kampanyası'nın startını verdi.

Mağdur kadınların neşe dolu gecesi

İSTANBUL - Sişli Belediyesi, sokak çocuklarının kurtarılması kampanyasına başladı. Bu amaçla Harbiye Ocağı Askeri Müze Kültür Merkezi'nde bir konsert düzenleyen Sişli Belediye Başkanı Gülay Atıç, "Onlar sokakların değil bizim çocuklarımız. Kırmızı ışık çocuklarına yeşil ışık yakacağız" dedi. Önceki gün gece Büllent Ersoy'un varlığı konusunda davetliler arasında takım takım döğüş, Çeçenin şerif müzisi Semra Özalı.

Konser gelirin yarısı ana, sokak çocuklarının kurtarılması için Sişli Belediyesi bir banka hesap numarası da açtı. Başkan Gülay Atıç, kampanyayı, Sokak Çocukları Gönüllüleri Derneği ile birarade yürütmeye kararlı olduğunu belirtti. "Tamamıyla sokakta yaşayan çocuklara sahip çıkacağız. Onların ümitsizliği yarık bir insan olarak yetimleşti için cabasıdır" dedi.

Sokak çocukları için, gönüllü öğretmenlerin verdiği atölye faaliyetleri okullarına beliren Atıç, şunları söyledi: "Bu merkezde çocuklara ve ailelerine eğitimci kadrolar düzenlenmektedir. Ayrıca, öğrencilerimizin oradan çıkarak işsizlik sorunlarından kurtulmaları sağlanacak. Merkezde ayrıca sağlık ve beden eğitimi ile spor ve sanat dersleri verilecektir."

Ersoy'a paye Harbiye Kültür Merkezi'ndeki konsertin şerif müzisi Semra Özalı, Büllent Ersoy'a Türk Müziği'ne katkılarından dolayı verilen doktora payını Semra Özalı'dan aldı.

● LEVENT AKIN

Whiskas SÜPER KEDİ 1997

Kediler, sokak çocukları için yarışacaklar

İSTANBUL - Holiday Inn Oteli tarafından geleneksel hale getirilen kedili güzellik yarışması, bu yıl 29 Haziran tarihinde gerçekleştirilecek.

Holiday Inn Oteli'nde düzenlenen basın toplantısında yarışmaya ilgili bilgi veren Muzaffer Bulgurcuoğlu, bu yıl 3. sili düzenlenecek olan yarışmaya geçen yıldan daha fazla rağbet olacağını belirterek, "Eğer bir kediniz varsa mutlaka yarışmaya katılın" dedi. Whiskas kediler için mamaları, Anadolu Hayvan Hastanesi ve Holiday Inn Oteli işbirliğiyle düzenlenen yarışmadan elde edilecek gelirin, Sokak Çocukları Vakfı'na bağlanacağı belirtirken, yarışmada dereceye girecek olan kediler sahibilerine Holiday Inn Crown Plaza Oteli'nde iki kişilik haftasonu konaklama ve kedilerine Anadolu Hayvan Hastanesi'nde bir yıl ücretsiz bakım imkanı sağlanacak.

● CELAL ERBAŞ

27 Nisan 1992 Pazartesi 24

Kimşesiz çocuklar için defile

İSTANBUL - The Marmara Oteli'nde, önceki gün Eminönü ve Çarşoğlu Leo Klüpleri tarafından kimşesiz çocuklar yararına düzenlenen defileden 100 milyon lira gelir elde edildi. Defileyi 100 bin lira ödeyerek izleyen konuklar, ayrıca 50 milyon liraya yakın bağış yaptılar. Bir Amerikan firmasının 1992 yaz koleksiyonundan oluşan defilede yer alan mankenler Merve İldeniz, İpek Tenolcay, Ceylan Saner, Beril Önder, Bülent Mutlu, Can Güler, Göksel Budak, Murat Parasayay ve Serdar Önal ücret almadılar. (Ahmet ALTINKAYA)

Sokak çocuklarına piknikten 1 milyar

Sokak Çocukları Gönüllüleri Derneği'nin gelir sağlamak amacıyla Pirelli lastikleri tarafından düzenlenen piknikte, dernek için yaklaşık 1 milyar lira toplandı. Silivri Kınalı Çeltiköy'deki piknikte, Sokak Çocukları Derneği üyesi 40 çocuk, 150 motosikletli genç ve yaklaşık 250 kişi katıldı. Saat 12.00'de Dolmabahçe'de toplanan motosikletliler, Yunuslar olarak bilinen motosikletli polisler eşliğinde, O-2 Otobanı'nda uzun kuyruklar oluşturarak, piknik alanına gitti. Bu yıl ilk kez düzenlenen piknikte, Pirelli'nin Türkiye Genel Müdürü Paul Calvi, Sokak Çocukları Derneği Başkanı Ahmet Yusuf Kula'ya 70 milyon liralık bağış çekti verdi. Piknikte çeşitli konserler verildi, motosikletli gençler, Sokak Çocukları Derneği üyeleri minikleride mangalda et pişirdi. Yunuslar da motosikletleriyle çocuklara küçük geziler yaptırdı. Derneğin amblemli bulunan tişörtler 1.5 milyondan satıldı.

Cehit AKYOL - Hüsnü SAVAS

Figure 4 – Autonomy of the Image

Images: Türkiye, 29 March 1997; Türkiye, 12 June 1997; Hürriyet, 27 April 1992; Hürriyet, 21 July 1997.



Kuzey Kore'nin şanslı çocukları

Kı-ki yıl üst üste kuraklığın verdiği Kuzey Kore'de açlıktan kıvranan halka uluslararası yardım kuruluşları nihayet elini uzatıyor. Popsong bölgesindeki bir kreşin

yiyecek ihtiyacını ise, Caritas adlı yardım kuruluşu üstlendi. Besimdeki minik Koreliler, ne kadar şanlı olduklarını dahi bilmeden karınlarını doyurdular. Ve ideolojik

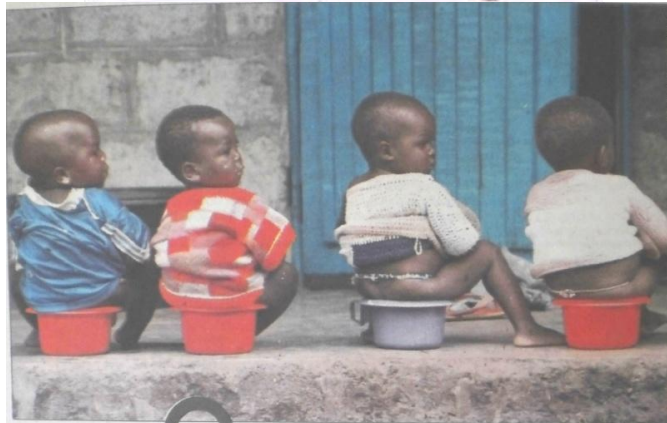
iddiaların, siyasi kaygıların, iki bloklu dünyanın, selim politikaların mirası olan açlıklar biraz dinince, melekler gibi bir uykuya döküldü.

Çocuk haklarına doğru

Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Hakları Sözleşmesi'nin Türkiye'de de kabul edilmesi için Çocuk Hakları Derneği, yarın büyük bir miting yapma hazırlığında. Minikler, herşeyleriyle, herşeyden önce varlıklarıyla bu hakları çoktan hak etmişler. 3 - 6 yaşlarındaki 45 minik amatör manken, 1994 ilkbahar - yaz defilesinde, 185 parça çocuk giyisini kızılcıklara sundu. Ve bol bol alışlandı

► 9. SAYFADA

Fotoğraf: Semra BENCİ



Oturak sefası

Zaire'nin sınır kenti Goma'daki kimsesizlerin sevimli konukları Ruandalı miniklerin keyifli şimdilik yerinde... Önceki gün kırmızı ve eflatun, plastik oturaklarında pek rahat görünen

çocuklar, yakında ülkelerine, etnik çatışmaların bir türlü dinmediği Ruanda'ya geri gönderilecek. Mülteci kampında 300 Ruandalı ile 30 Zaireli bulunuyor.

Figure 4 – Autonomy of the Image

Images: Türkiye, 29 March 1997; Türkiye, 12 June 1997; Hürriyet, 27 April 1992; Hürriyet, 21 July 1997.

Furthermore, by the 1990s, it was not unusual to find not only the title but whole news texts written in this manner. These news stories briefly mentioned child-related topics, and moved on to other topics without lingering further. The examples of de-contextual news texts ranged from satirical mentions of children's rights in trivial articles about fashion shows,²²⁵ to discussing poverty in reports of conspicuous consumption,²²⁶ and to comparing children in their underwear playing in decorative pools in the city centre to people enjoying the sports facilities of big hotel chains.²²⁷ The random texts were detached from the message it conveyed.

Surely, not all news stories were written in such a flighty manner. Another characteristic feature of the period were overly sentimental news texts. And this style was equally problematic in its interpretation of serious news stories. The sensationalist approach became most explicit in news about warfare and terror, which were a central feature both in the 1980s and the 1990s. In 1987, the articles about children killed in PKK attacks constituted more than one fourth of all child-related news published in *Milliyet* newspaper. *Milliyet* database research reveals that in the post 1980s, the greatest share of child-related headline stories belonged to the subject of warfare, national or international. In 1982, global news covered 16 percent of all articles, and in 1987, the articles about children killed in PKK attacks covered 26 percent. This trend continued in the 1990s, peaked in 1992 with a percentage of

²²⁵ "Çocuk haklarına doğru" (Towards the rights of the child) *Milliyet*, 29 April 1994.

²²⁶ "Haberimiz olsaydı bizim yetimleri de o şanslı köpeğin arkasından sünnet ettirirdik" (Had we known, we would have our boys circumcised with their dog) *Milliyet*, 7 May 1982.

²²⁷ "Sıcaklar bastırıldı, havuzlar doldu" (Pools fill up after heatwave) *Milliyet*, 28 June 1982.

31.²²⁸ The nature of both the texts and the photographs of these articles was extremely violent. The photographs of child victims were scattered uncensored, sometimes even to the point of obscenity. It can be argued that this almost pornographic depiction of violence has participated in the inurnment to brutality and the erosion of the idea of disaster by the end of the millennium. As eloquently put by Ahmet Oktay, “the morphing of the reality of war into its image did not only turn it into a spectacle, but also shielded the spectator away from the disturbance of death: for they were alive and watching.”²²⁹ The vile depiction of brutality played a part in the normalisation of violence.

During the latter half of the twentieth century, most critics of tabloidisation and sensationalism in newspapers found their argument in a presumed hierarchy that placed high journalistic standards of the past above mass friendly journalism. In the beginning of the new millennium, however, news sociology witnessed a reactionary cultural turn that put this analysis into a new perspective. For instance, Herbert J. Gans employed a “class cultural analysis” and interpreted the shift in terms of popularisation. According to Gans, the popularisation of news media was a class related change, a changing preference between high and low “taste cultures.” He also argued that the popularisation of news language and style could be utilised to democratise information.²³⁰ Similarly, Elizabeth Bird argued that “if done well, ‘tabloid’ features, such as emphasis on the personal over the institutional, can make

²²⁸ See Appendix C: Child-Related News Stories Published in *Hürriyet* in 1977-1882-1987-1992-1997.

²²⁹ “Savaşın görüntüye dönüşü, onu yalnızca seyirlik bir olay haline getirmekle kalmıyor, aynı zamanda seyredeni ölümden masun kılıyordu. Diriydik ve seyrediyorduk.” Ahmet Oktay, “Savaş ve Estetik” (Warfare and Aesthetics) *Milliyet*, 22 August 1992.

²³⁰ Herbert J. Gans, “Can Popularization Help the News Media?” in *Changing Faces of Journalism*, edited by Barbie Zelizer, pp.17-28.

news more direct and effective.”²³¹ Jostein Gripsrud, too, agreed with Bird and Gans, and confronted Pierre Bourdieu’s criticism of sentimentalism in television journalism that he elaborated in *Sur la Télévision*,²³² and argued that “a totally intellectual or ‘literary’ journalism is practically unthinkable and politically not desirable: too many citizens would be excluded and so would most probably a number of perspectives based in their life-worlds.”²³³ What these critiques had in common was the assumption that it was not the styles or methods per se that were problematic, but their instrumentalisation by the news media.

However, it should be stressed that the spread of tabloidisation and sensationalism was not mainly a strategy to make news accessible to the general readership. On the contrary, as mentioned before, some subjects and topics such as economics were exempt from these reader-friendly styles and written in specialised lexicons, and these topics were rendered especially unintelligible by the uninformed reader. Neither were these methods concocted to overcome the serious news language of the previous decades and open the common agenda to the wider audience. In the following chapters, I will discuss how some of these styles and tactics were successfully employed in the 1970s with quite different effects, as evidenced by the uses of personal perspectives in analytical news stories. The priority of journalism in the 1980s and beyond, on the other hand, was not to serve

²³¹ Bird, “Tabloidization,” p.49.

²³² Pierre Bourdieu, *On Television*, translated by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson (New York: New Press, 1995).

²³³ Jostein Gripsrud, “Tabloidization, Popular Journalism, and Democracy” in *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch (Lanham; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

public interests and create a common agenda across cultural hierarchies, but to gain public attention; it was more populist than democratic.

Furthermore, the argument of news accessibility does not necessarily devalue the critique of these methods in terms of handling serious topics. Some possible problematic characteristics of sensationalism and tabloidisation were widely acknowledged by the very scholars that adopted a class-culturalist approach. For instance, although she believes that tabloid styles might make news stories easier to relate to, Elizabeth Bird agrees with Richard Campbell's warning that they might also shadow social and political aspects of events.²³⁴ Bird and Dardenne are not entirely critical in their analysis of personalisation in news stories, which they deem inevitable, but still they concur that narrative journalism "by nature excludes all the other stories that are never told,"²³⁵ and thus presents the reader but a flat version of the events.²³⁶ Thus, they conclude that although a certain dose of tabloid journalism might be needed to reach a wider audience, the new tools of the media were not useful to describe and analyse, to find patterns and contextualise, and that the styles of new journalism were insufficient when dealing with complex topics. But above all, as explained by Gripsrud, the tendency to describe the world in melodramatic dualities of good and evil convinced the reader of the "*strength* of the forces at play,

²³⁴ Bird, "Tabloidization," p.42, in reference to Richard Campbell, *60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

²³⁵ S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, "Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News," in *Social Meanings of News*, edited by Dan Berkowitz, pp.333-350.

²³⁶ Gripsrud, "Tabloidization, Popular Journalism,"p.299.

their pervasiveness, the impossibility of getting around them.”²³⁷ I believe it is this interpretation of events as indisputable and inalterable myths that was the most important element of the change that I discussed. In the following section, I will look further into the problematic dimensions of new journalism with a focus on the changing meanings of making and consuming news.

Reconfiguring Positions:

Advocacy to Prosecution, Reading to Watching

The metamorphosis of news went far beyond the structural and stylistic transformations I summarised earlier in this chapter, and had resonant effects on the conceptualisation of new childhood. In this final section, I will turn to the changing meanings of making and reading news as social practice. For this, I will first look into the changing nature of news making, and the way this change reformed news readership. I will argue that news texts were reconstructed to evoke emotions rather than rational thought, and to relate with the reader than the society. Second, I will look for the sentimental resolutions news texts offered to social problems, by repeating predictable stories, evoking intense but ephemeral emotional fits, and offering catharsis and public outbursts. To conclude, I will question how these transformed the meanings of news as a means of social interaction.

The first, and probably the most important reason behind the changing nature of news was spotted by Stuart Hall as early as 1980, when he observed that

²³⁷ Jostein Gripsrud, “The Aesthetics and Politics of Melodrama” in *Journalism and Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage, 1992), pp.84-96.

in difficult times, it is tempting to avert the gaze from problems whose remedy will require a profound reorganisation of social and economic life and to fasten one's eyes, instead, on the promise that the continuity of things as they are can be somehow enforced by the imposition of social order and discipline 'from above.'²³⁸

Hall argues that this temptation to look away was the origin of the shift to authoritarian populism, and this which would characterise the political scene in the decades following the crisis of the 1970s.

According to Helen Dunbabin, this is precisely what the media did in this period. Dunbabin agrees with Hall's observation on the origins of authoritarian populism, and adds that the media, bound in a "symbiotic relationship" with political discourse deliberately turned its gaze away from social and economic life.²³⁹

Following Dunbabin's view, I will argue that, under the influence of the social and political change, the media took part in the creation of a new framework for thinking about the society at large when it looked away from social problems, or interpreted them as indisputable, undeniable and inalterable. And in doing so, it actively and studiously participated in the creation of the very political climate that forced it to shy away from handling the social and political aspects of events. For, as observed by Leon Sigal, "The press, in amplifying some voices and muting others, in distorting some messages and letting others come through loud and clear, affects the nature of opposition and hence of governance."²⁴⁰ In other words, what the mass

²³⁸ Stuart Hall, *Drifting into A Law and Order Society* (London: Cobden Trust, 1980), p.3.

²³⁹ Helen Dunbabin, "'Child Criminals' in the Media: An Analysis of Media Constructions of 'Child Criminals' and a Critical Analysis of the Consequences" in *Internet Journal of Criminology* (2011), p.18.

²⁴⁰ Leon V. Sigal, "Who? Sources Make the News" in *Reading the News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, edited by Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (New York: Pantheon 1986), p. 62.

media, and especially what the press did was more than mere communication or translation of the political discourse into news language, it also affected and shaped how we conceptualised society.

Following that line of thought, it is not surprising to find that most observers saw the 1980s as the beginning of decline for the socially conscious journalism of the post-war period.²⁴¹ Journalists themselves did not have much say in the matter; as observed by Kabacalı, the strict hierarchical organisation of corporate newspapers left them out of the editorial processes.²⁴² Furthermore, the anti-unionist laws of the new constitution robbed journalist organisations and unions of the power and influence they had before 12 September.²⁴³ According to the Progressive Journalists Association, the media began to let go of its social functions in this decade.²⁴⁴ These idealist journalists held dear the notion that the media should act as a political and social agent. The loss of that notion was what despaired Umur Talu when he drew an analogy between journalists and dogs, and argued that the journalists became lap dogs and sleuth hounds of power, instead of being the watchdogs for the society the way they were supposed to be.²⁴⁵

To understand what Talu and others meant when they argued that the media lost its social functions, what we should consider first and foremost is what they thought those responsibilities were. These functions comprised of two components: the first was documenting, monitoring, and contextualising events for the audience,

²⁴¹ Özgentürk, pp. 236-237.

²⁴² Kabacalı, 358.

²⁴³ Tılıç, 212.

²⁴⁴ *Basın '80-84*, p.110.

²⁴⁵ Özgentürk, pp.238-239.

and the second was acting as arbitrators between the power and the society. While the journalists shifted from monitoring to showcasing, documenting to storytelling, commenting to pontificating, advocacy to prosecution, and from criticism to legitimising and normalising; these functions were set aside.

The transition from analytical to narrative journalism, a point I will revisit time and again throughout this thesis, constituted the first dimension of the loss of media's social functions. That is to say that the analytical approach in the 1970s, which interpreted events from a perspective of causality, and contextualised news stories with statistics, tables, and other background information was replaced with a narrative approach that chronicled events with emphasis on the sentimental dimensions of the story. In other words, the main theme of news texts shifted from the contextual and the institutional to the personal, exceptional, and sensational.

The changing proportion of news categories in newspapers clearly signalled this transition. I observed elsewhere that news stories related to children can be broadly categorised under two groups. First of these is "hard news," which are news and investigative articles about issues that are related to child policies, such as health, education, and welfare.²⁴⁶ Most of these pieces comment on long term developments, and include general observations about children's experiences. The second category consists of "soft news", including news about immediate events, such as crime and juvenile delinquency reports, human interest stories, and also articles on child rearing and lifestyle.²⁴⁷ As I observed earlier in this chapter, by the

²⁴⁶ According to the categorisation I used for this thesis, "hard news" consists of the following news categories: child well-being, education, global news, health, Kurdish question, religion. For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

²⁴⁷ The news categories that fall under the group of "soft news" are: accident reports, human interest stories about children and families, crime reports, juvenile delinquency,

end of the period, newspapers published more soft news than hard news. Patterson, as well as others, finds that this was a global phenomenon, and that the share of soft news (stories with no evident connection to policy issues) rose from 35 to 50 percent from 1980 to 1998. He also finds “an increase in sensationalism, human-interest reporting, and crime and disaster news” in the same period.²⁴⁸

A closer look at news texts, however, reveals that the undercurrent was even stronger than what was visible on the surface, and there was also a great transformation of hard news too. For instance, out of the 32 health related news stories published in *Hürriyet* in 1977, 25 were analytical articles. By 1997, the ratio was 4 in 27, and the remaining 23 articles were individual reports about children with diseases or in need of treatment.²⁴⁹ Thus, although the newspaper appeared to publish a certain amount of news on children’s health, it actually narrated unrelated stories. Furthermore, the central themes of these stories began to change as well, and brought forth the personal and emotional angles of stories rather than contextual explanations. This meant that children were less likely to be the anonymous and general subjects of investigative articles and commentary, but more visible in sensational stories.

This simple narrative style did refrain from contextualising events, and what is more is that it denied the readers of the necessary tools to connect the dots themselves. As suggested by Oktay, this was directly related to the presentation of

parenting, reproduction, inspirational stories, tragic stories and portraits. For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

²⁴⁸ Thomas E. Patterson, *Doing Well and Doing Good* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joan Shorenstein Center, Kennedy School, Harvard University, 2000), pp.98-99.

²⁴⁹ See Appendix C: Child-Related News Stories Published in *Hürriyet* in 1977-1982-1987-1992-1997.

news and the formulation of messages. The standardised messages and stereotypical news texts concealed the causality between events and policies, and prevented the readers from obtaining of a critical outlook.²⁵⁰ For instance, in 1982, 1987, and 1992, *Hürriyet* did not publish a single analytical article about the occupational hazards child labourers faced, but published seven news stories about children who died in workplace accidents. However, not one of these articles attempted to look for links between legislation, safety measures and fatality, give statistical evidence, or even refer to similar stories published in the same paper. What they did instead was present heart breaking details about these children's lives, and depict them as victims of fate. Thus, even though the issue was presented to the readers, it remained hidden under the carpet.

If the first component of the media's social function was to monitor and document, the second was to act as arbitrators between the public and the authorities when they defended the disadvantaged groups in society. Numerous examples from the papers published in the 1970s reveal that the socially conscious newsmaking positioned journalists as an intermediary between the losers of the society and power, drawing into the alliance the readers as the public. Thus, for instance, it was common for journalists to address the authorities on behalf of disadvantaged children. Sometime during the 1980s, journalists suddenly stepped down from their role and began to act like prosecutors and accuse the social outcasts with whom they were previously aligned. The shifting role was manifest in the changing focuses of texts. For example, several articles about juvenile delinquency penned in the 1970s and early 1980s approached the topic from the child's perspective. The examples from

²⁵⁰ Oktay, *Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın*, p.107.

the mid-1980s, on the other hand, no longer asked the reader to sympathise with the child delinquents, but to identify with the victims of petit crimes. Even in the stories which still focused on the delinquent child, the text was constructed as an accusation.

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According to Robert Reiner, a similar tendency to focus on the victim of crime was also visible in the British press, which, he observed, mimicked the shift from the rehabilitative penal system of the post-war era to retributive justice.²⁵² Thus, it was not longer the child delinquent as the victim of social failure with whom the reader was expected to side, and the journalist acted as the public prosecutor rather than the advocate for the deviant child.

An example of changing alliances can be found in stories about migrants and ethnic minorities. There were several examples from the 1970s when newspapers took it as their duty to report on the problems of rural migrants. For instance, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* published at least a couple of articles each year reporting about children in squatter settlements, and the hardships they faced. The exception to this was *Tercüman*, which presented migration as a social ill, but still refrained from smearing the rural migrants themselves. By the 1990s, there appeared a completely different perspective, which sided with the official rhetoric that viewed squatter settlements as illegal occupation rather than a strategy to overcome housing shortage. *Türkiye* went to great lengths to change the public perception of the subject, and published a series of articles which argued that the conditions were not as poor as the

²⁵¹ I will return to the changing themes in juvenile delinquency reports in the following chapter. See Chapter 5, pp. 177-178.

²⁵² Robert Reiner, "The Rise of Virtual Vigilantism: Crime Reporting since World War II" in *Criminal Justice Matters*, 43/1 (2001), pp. 4-5.

audience thought.²⁵³ A specific example from 1992's *Hürriyet* called the residents of a squatter settlement “sneaky occupants” who robbed the deserving citizens of their lawful rights.²⁵⁴

The changing positions of journalists reassessed the positions of readership as well. As newsmakers stepped down from the position of the intermediary, and chose sides in social conflicts, they fixed the position of their readers. Yvonne Jewkes points out that the enmity inherent to this perspective enabled the creation of an “us and them” rhetoric, which was then tactically used to turn the readers’ attention away from structural problems.²⁵⁵ To put it differently, the journalists stopped approaching the readers on behalf of the disadvantaged groups in the society, but instead chose to approach the news on behalf of their perceived audience. In doing so, they positioned readers as individuals protecting themselves from an inherently flawed social order, rather than members of that society that were expected to transform and fix problems from within.

Furthermore, the narrative approach to news transformed the active roles of reading, thinking and acting, and replaced them with the passive roles of watching, feeling, and sensing. When news are interpreted as such, the relation between the reader and the news story, and by definition, the subjects of that news story is corrupted and reduced to an emotional link, which might as well be sympathy, apathy, as it might be antipathy and empathy, all of which destroy the social links

²⁵³ Ali İhsan Gülcü, Kazım Zaim, “Gecekoncular” (Gecekondu) *Türkiye*, 3-5 January 1992.

²⁵⁴ Şahin Polat, “Gecekoncular parka dayandı” (Gecekondu have crept up to the park) *Hürriyet*, 16 September 1992.

²⁵⁵ Jewkes, *Construction of Crime News*, p.60.

between the reader and the subject, and position them as two separate and distinct beings, as the giver and receiver of an emotional link, thus assuming a virtual superior-subordinate relationship.

The detachment of the audience from social realities and the passive roles of news readers should not be considered independent from the decoupling of politics and governance in the last decades of the twentieth century. It is often observed that socioeconomic decisions were detached from political debate and negotiation.²⁵⁶ As explained by David Harvey, neoliberal thought placed the socio-economic structure beyond the reach of democratic negotiation and political intervention, and even constrained state sovereignty by insulating key institutions from democratic pressures.²⁵⁷ It was no surprise, then, that the belief in the ability to change, transform, and correct social problems by rational thinking and political intervention was shaken. When social and the political participation was considered futile, the only relation to be founded with the society was bound to be emotional.

The greatest impact of the emotional turn in journalism was the presentation of news as sentimental rather than rational articles. And when news texts were constructed as such, the solutions they offered to problems were also bound to be emotional. Once the main impact of a news stories were emotional reactions rather than rational actions or thought processes, then we begin to see different versions of

²⁵⁶ See for example, Paul Treanor's much quoted definition of neoliberalism as a philosophy in which "the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs." Paul Treanor, "Neoliberalism: Origins, Theory, Definition" Available [online] at: <web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html>

²⁵⁷ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.66.

proposed resolutions, escape routes out of the problems that they laid out in the text. That is why they tend to legitimize, ignore, or seek resolution.

The narrative approach was primarily tactical in this sense. Human interest stories became popular not only because they were easy and cheap to produce, but also because they served the needs of a new readership who needed familiar and predictable news stories that touched their feelings and evoked sentiments without actually disturbing or offending them enough to actually cause a stir. As Richard Sennett points out, “boredom in particular plays a powerful role in relieving anxiety.”²⁵⁸ That was the main appeal of repetitive stories. The endless iteration of human interest stories with more or less the same endings and even the same beginnings offered a cyclical understanding of time, disregarding causality and context. It was this sense of continuity that both stunned and numbed the reader out of reactions, but also gave a sense of stability in an otherwise insecure and ever changing world. However, these stories were also despairing and dispiriting because they curbed the readers’ hopes of ever recovering or changing the way things were. They did not trigger complex thought processes, they did not offer any real initiative to the reader. Thus, the cynical and pessimist outlook of repetitious human interest stories also reproduced their endless reality.

The other side of the narrative approach was the emphasis on the sensational; these stand alone stories floating in space sought emotional resolutions rather than solutions. While sensationalism became the new motto of the press, a simultaneous shift can be observed in the dominant feelings of the articles. While sensationalism sold papers, it also posed the threat of exhausting the audience by causing too

²⁵⁸ Richard Sennett, *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (London: Penguin 2012), pp. 179-180.

complex emotions for them to deal with. This might be why news stories were meticulously tailored to channel these emotional tensions to stronger, more intense but momentarily flashing and ceasing feelings. I observe in the following chapter how the focus of the structure of the human interest story was on individual liability rather than policy and institutional liability. Thus, for instance, preventive measures were rarely at the centre of a traffic accident reports, these stories were about the human angle.

During the 1980s, that angle, and the overarching themes of stories suddenly changed. It was no longer the tragedy of the loss of a child, but the inattentiveness of their mothers that was at the focus of domestic accident reports; not the suffering juvenile delinquent, but the robbed pensioner who was at the centre of crime news. All the stories about abandoned children in 1977's *Hürriyet* approached the subject from the perspective of the child and presented the story as a tragedy. Some examples, such as Akdoğan's story about a family who decided to seek adoptive parents for their twin sons, for whom they could not provide, invited the readers to empathise with the parents.²⁵⁹ The majority of similar stories published in the 1980s, on the other hand, were written as condemnations of the parents who abandoned their children, some even directly called their "humanity" into question.²⁶⁰ Thus, the tragedy of the orphaned child was replaced with rage towards the cruel mother. In each of these examples, sympathy, tragedy and sorrow gave way to stronger reactions like accusation, exasperation, and rage.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ İbrahim Akdoğan, "İkizlerini evlatlık verecekler" (They will give their twins up for adoption) *Hürriyet*, 14 October 1977.

²⁶⁰ "Vcdansızlar" (Remorseless parents) *Hürriyet*, 5 April 1987.

²⁶¹ For more discussion on such articles, see Chapter 5, pp.146-147.

Charity journalism was another resolution strategy newspapers offered against social problems. Starting in the 1990s, we begin to see several examples where poor, disabled, or ill children were introduced to the readers as the victims of their bad luck, and the newspaper asked for help in the name of the child. For instance, in 1992, *Hürriyet* published 16 charity reports, for 1997, the number was 11. Afterwards, successful attempts at charity were given an even bigger place in the newspaper.

Laurie Ouellette and James Hay²⁶² state that charity journalism was concocted in a neoliberal culture of deregulation, and presented humanitarian aid as a replacement for political action. This, they observe, defined social responsibility in terms of philanthropy, and favoured the individual alms giver over the citizen who questioned and demanded institutional solutions. According to Eoin Devereux, this was how this approach concealed social problems.²⁶³

But charity journalism did not just simply hide the social aspects of problems; it also resolved any disturbance or sense of injustice the readers faced when they read these stories. Thus, it had the dual function of both individualising social ills, and solving those individualised cases with the promise of an escape route. Charity reports provided a cathartic ending to the story by relieving emotional tensions with lines such as “humanity is not dead.”²⁶⁴

²⁶² James Hay and Laurie Oulette “Charity TV: Privatizing Care, Mobilizing Compassion” in James Hay and Laurie Oulette, *Better Living through Reality TV: Television and Post-Welfare Citizenship* (Oxford, Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), pp. 32-62.

²⁶³ Eoin Devereux, “Good Causes, God's Poor and Telethon Television” in *Media, Culture & Society* 18/1 (1996), pp. 47-68.

²⁶⁴ “Cengiz Öztürk, “Kümes çocuğuna yardım yağıyor” (Aid pours in to save the kid in the hutch) *Hürriyet*, 8 March 1992, the follow-up to the story “Kümes çocuğu” (The kid in the hutch) *Hürriyet*, 3 March 1992.

Peter Thomas observes that Bertolt Brecht deliberately refrained from writing cathartic resolutions in his dramas, with the belief that the emotional need to resolve unsolved tensions would lead the audience to take real political action.²⁶⁵ What these news stories did was the exact opposite; they created the illusion of having done something and absolved the readers of their actual social responsibilities.

Another way of avoiding confrontation with complicated social problems was the communalisation of pain and suffering in extreme cases of violence and deaths. In several articles, and especially those dealing with political violence, real children who suffered from the tragedy were extracted from the headlines and replaced with the public's reaction against the incident. This was then followed by news depicting ceremonies, quoting political orations and promises.

The most significant examples of collective grief were found in news about children killed in the Kurdish region. Using Hallin's terminology, these texts adopted a "geopolitical perspective" in the sense that they approached the subject from outside the region, and not from the perspective of the people who actually lived in that geography.²⁶⁶ Even in the years when conflict in the region claimed many lives and disrupted everyday life, the newspapers did not report extensively about life in the region, and there was hardly any coverage about the origins of the conflict.

The only source of information that gave readers a sense of what was going on were short reports, such as *Türkiye*'s one liner about the shutting down of schools

²⁶⁵ Peter Thomas, "Catharsis" in *Historical Materialism 17* (2009), pp. 259–264.

²⁶⁶ Daniel C. Hallin, "Cartography, Community and the Cold War" in *Reading the News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, edited by Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (New York: Pantheon 1986), pp.109-145

for safety reasons.²⁶⁷ On the other hand, all newspapers devoted their headlines to reporting attacks on villages with spiteful headlines and extremely explicit photographs of victims; they devoted several columns to news stories about humanitarian relief programmes, memorial ceremonies, and funerals. In 1992, *Hürriyet* published twenty one news stories about the conflict that featured children as the main focus, but not a single one of these news stories was about the life in the area, or what might have been the cause of the problem. Thus, while the media appeared to be constantly reporting on the region and its children, indeed, the eyes were turned to those cities only in extreme circumstances, and then they were left to their fate.

In her analysis of the interpretation of disaster news in the United States media, Carolyn Kitch observes a similar pattern of sensual resolutions to real life tragedies, such as natural disasters and deaths. She states that the greatest problem of such an approach is that it presented events as “unanticipated exceptions rather than foreseeable consequences of chronic social and political problems,” thereby envisioning a world where “feeling fixes everything.”²⁶⁸ Thus, personal grief was made public, the different stages of communal mourning were displayed, and finally, resolved without paying any particular attention to the social and political roots of the conflict.

²⁶⁷“Terör yüzünden Iğdır’da okullar tatil edildi” (Terror shuts down schools in Iğdır) *Türkiye*, 17 November 1992.

²⁶⁸ Carolyn Kitch, “Tears and Trauma in the News” in *Changing Faces of Journalism*, edited by Barbie Zelizer, pp.29-39.

In this section, I observed that in the 1980s and 1990s, the newspapers gradually let go of their social functions of documenting, monitoring, and arbitration, and instead turned to chronicling, narrating, and prosecuting on behalf of their perceived readership. I argued that in doing so, not only did they conceal the socialness of news, they also fixed the position of the audience as passive recipients rather than active participants of news stories. Furthermore, the sensationalist narrative approach offered emotional escape routes and resolutions to social problems by inciting familiarity, providing catharsis, and displaying public outbursts. In an essay written in 1968, Hannah Arendt commented on collective responsibility, and observed that

This vicarious responsibility for things we have not done, this taking upon ourselves the consequences for things we are entirely innocent of, is the price we pay for the fact that we live our lives not by ourselves but among our fellow men, and that the faculty of action, which, after all, is the political faculty par excellence, can be actualized only in one of the many and manifold forms of human community.²⁶⁹

Considering Arendt's proposition, the news media's changing position was far more important than simply a transformation of a communication medium. While the role of the press shifted from the duty of informing the public, to selling news as entertainment; the activity of reading news as social duty was replaced with news consumption as a pastime activity and leisure, and enabled the denial of collective responsibility. This denial, I argue, was the core element of the framework in which the concept of "new childhood" was conceived.

²⁶⁹ Hannah Arendt, "Collective Responsibility" in Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgement*, (New York: Random House, 2003 (1968)), pp.147-158.

The Social Meanings of News

In this chapter, I observed that socio-economic and political change has resonant effects that had transformed the press media into a market driven sector that was prone to political and corporate pressures. I analysed how this transformation was reflected by the changing layout of newspapers, and also by the changing contents, imagery and lexicon. I argued that as newspapers were reorganised according to the principles of tabloidisation and sensationalism, they gave up their social functions of observing, commenting, and asking for solutions. What is the social significance of reading news?

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson paraphrases Friedrich Hegel's famous statement that "newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayer."²⁷⁰ Anderson, refers to Hegel's statement in his work on the role of language in the formation of the nation state, and suggests that this is the meaning of news: reading newspapers is the mass ceremony that brings together modern communities. If the way we relate to news is a reflection of the way we relate to our communities, then it can be concluded that in the period under consideration, this relationship was damaged, and turned into a more sensual, emotional relationship which was acquiescent, egocentric, and passive. And that eased the transition to a new conceptualisation of childhood, which I will turn to in the following chapters.

²⁷⁰ "The significance of this mass ceremony –Hegel observed that newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers- (...) what more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned?" Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso 2006 (1983)), p.36.

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND AXIS: SOCIAL MEANINGS OF CHILDHOOD

*I've seen the ripples change their size,
but never leave the stream
of warm impermanence*

The construction of a new definition for a concept first and foremost necessitates a dialogue, a negotiation with the prevailing definition. The structural parts that make up its frame first should be disentangled, and while some of these are eliminated, others should be re-established and integrated to new parts. In this chapter, I will concentrate on how the media re-evaluated the social dimensions of childhood in order to make way for the reconstruction of a new concept. To map the media's orientation in this transition, the chapter is based on three basic questions that pinpoint childhood in relation to society, to families, and to children themselves.

The first of these questions is about social responsibility. Who is to be custodians of children, who will be responsible for maintaining their living? Should the society take care of children's welfare, health, and education or should those responsibilities be allocated to surrogates like communities, families, or individuals? The second question examines parental liability and children's protection. Are families children's only guardians? Should parents bear all the costs and burdens of their children? Should they be the sole providers, or do children need social

assistance and protection? Finally, the third question interrogates personal accountability, and decides if children are to be held accountable of their own actions, or if society is to be appointed as their supervisors. Are children's life stories simply determined by personal and unalterable conditions, or do social factors affect their life chances?

How these questions are answered by the media reveals the general characteristics of thinking about childhood in a particular context. They determine to whom children belong, and whose duty it is to take care of them. They judge whether children are to be considered a collective asset, or a social burden; they decide if children belong to the public sphere or the private. And the way news media adjust their answers for these questions constitutes the first axis of orientation towards a new urban childhood.

The following analysis will outline three intertwined tendencies of news journalism that compose this axis. The first section will concentrate on the issue of social responsibility, with a focus on children's living conditions and its socio-economic contextualisation in news. The second section will examine how familial liability is reconstructed, concentrating on news and articles about children and families. Finally, the third section will turn to the subject of personal accountability, using news stories about individual children. Upon these analyses about the three dimensions of the social meanings of childhood, I will argue that over time, the media's definition of childhood transformed from a multi-faceted, integrated and public concept to a more isolated, privatised and personal one.

Social Responsibility: Who Should Be Children's Custodians?

Desocialisation and Particularisation of Children's Well-Being

Who should bear the costs of maintaining children's living standards? The delegation of a custodian to children's well-being is probably the most fundamental question in assessing the social meaning of childhood, for it queries whether society is responsible for its children. The question's implications of social responsibility are twofold: on the one hand, from the perspective of children, it determines the extents of the responsibilities of the society to an individual child. On the other hand, from the perspective of the adult members of the society, it asks what, if anything, an individual owes to the society. In other words, the interpretation of these two dimensions of social responsibility designates if the nature of the symbiotic relationship between the individual and the society is to be mutual or neutral.

In the first chapter of this thesis, I have observed that in the last quarter of the twentieth century, despite economic growth, uneven distribution had blunted children's life chances, and neither the state's redistributive welfare policies nor non-governmental efforts sufficed to compensate for this unevenness. As a result, the improvement of children's living conditions that had continued since the mid-twentieth century began to slow down in this period. In this section I will question how the newspapers addressed this curb of human development, whether they acknowledged and commented on it, or else if they revised their interpretation of social responsibility to children in this context.

The news media's position vis-à-vis collective responsibility is most clearly displayed in the coverage of the fundamental necessities for children's survival and

development. Thus, this section will be built upon an analysis of articles that cover children's education, health, and standards of living.²⁷¹ Upon this analysis, I will argue that newspapers' appointment for children's custodianship changed considerably during the twenty years in question, and drifted away from holding society responsible for taking care of its children, to overlooking, if not openly denying, that the society must ensure children's well-being, and reassessed what were considered to be social responsibilities at the beginning of the period.

The primary function of news media in advocating social responsibility is to draw attention to children's living standards by publishing articles about children's lives that addressed the public (see Figure 6 for examples), and what can be spotted at first glance is a steady decline of interest in these kinds of articles. Between 1977 and 1997, the share of such news stories among all child-related news dropped from 27 to 17 percent in *Hürriyet*.²⁷² Similar patterns can be observed in other newspapers as well: for example, education, welfare and health constituted one quarter of all child-related news that made it to the front pages of *Milliyet* in 1977, whereas in 1997, the share of these headlines had dropped to one sixth.²⁷³

²⁷¹ News categories used in this section are children's education (curricula, exams, legislation, private education, problems, schools), health (drug abuse, contagious diseases, non-contagious diseases, nutrition, sanitation, preventive medicine, natal/prenatal care, social security, hazardous substances, medical malpractice cases, scientific developments, private healthcare), and living conditions (child labour, child welfare, children with disabilities, economic problems, gendered discrimination, general observations, global child well-being, homeless children and orphanages, housing, juvenile delinquents, legislation, migrant children, natural disasters, safety). For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

²⁷² Share of articles on children's living standards in child-related articles in 1977 was 77 in 283 (27%) in 1977, 86 in 427 (20%) in 1982, 76 in 352 (21%) in 1987, 68 in 382 (17%) in 1992, and 81 in 423 (19%) in 1997. See Appendix C: Child-Related News Stories Published in *Hürriyet* in 1977-1982-1987-1992-1997.

²⁷³ The ratios are derived from a quantitative listing of headlines that contained the words "child" or "children" published in the first page of *Milliyet* newspaper in 1977 and 1997.

3 Mart 1977
Türkiye'nin
Yeni Yılları bellidir
MİLLETİN
ADAY ADAYI

Et, süt, yoğurt, yumurta gibi gıda maddeleri pahalı olduğu için çok az tüketilebiliyor. Ayrıca çocuk beslenmesi konusundaki bilgisizliğin de yetersiz beslenmede büyük etken olduğu belirtiliyor

Bir günün hikayesi
Ön seç

Kansızlık

● Hacettepe Üniversitesi Beslenme ve Gıda Enstitüsü Müdürü Prof. Dr. Orhan Kızıllar'ın başkanlığında yapılan çalışmalar sonucu bez yaş altında 1,5 milyon çocuğun gizli açlık içinde olduğu ortaya çıktı

HÜCRETİPİ Çiğdemli Beslenme ve Gıda Enstitüsü ile Hacettepe Üniversitesi Beslenme ve Gıda Enstitüsü Müdürü Prof. Dr. Orhan Kızıllar başkanlığında yapılan çalışmalar, Türkiye'nin gizli açlık içinde olduğu 1,5 milyon çocuk olduğunu ortaya çıkardı. Bu çocukların %50'si 3 yaş altındaki çocuklardır. Açlık ve yetersiz beslenme, çocukların fiziksel ve zihinsel gelişiminde büyük engeller olmaktadır. Prof. Dr. Kızıllar, "Türkiye'de beslenme konusunda yeterli bilgi yoktur. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz."

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● Ülkemizde 13 milyon kişiye "Anemi" hastalığı olduğu tespit edildi

disan
ŞİLE BEZİ
'77
modelleri

İlk kez bu yıl yeni modellerimizi, Avrupa'ya birlikte ülkemizdeki mağazalara sunuyoruz. Fırsattan yararlanın... DİSAN'ı ziyaret edin. 13-16 Mart'ta Düsseldorf (IGEDO), 26-30 Mart'ta Paris (Prêt à Porter) giyim fuarlarında sergilenen giysilerimizi siz de görün. Ve 1977'nin şile bezi yazıklarını ülkemizde ilk gören, müşterilerine ilk sunan siz olun.

DİSAN
yeni ve rahat giyim

Türkiye Tıpınat Satış - Nacısınmıye Cad.
Ali Babu Türbe Sok. No:16/A İstanbul Tel: 22 89 74

YETERLİ BESLENMEDE ETKEN FAKTÖRLER
Beslenme sorunlarına göre, genellikle çocuk beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgi yoktur. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz. Çocukların beslenmesi konusunda yeterli bilgiyi veremeyiz."

TÜRKİYE'DE VE BAZI ÜLKELERDE BİR KİŞİM GIDALARIN TÜKETİM DURUMLARI (KG/ Kişi başına Yılı)

Gıdalar	Türkiye	Yunanistan	İsviçre	İtalya	Fransa	İngiltere	Amerika
Tahıllar	185,0	146,0	140,0	145,0	110	88,0	89,0
Et	18,9	17,5	20,7	20,4	68,7	87,8	82,1
Süt - Yoğurt	26,8	46,5	19,2	55,8	40,7	155,4	172,4
Peynir	8,9	8,3	8,9	8,5	7,1	4,2	5,7
Yumurta	80	92	306	150	206	252	424
Bakli	1,5	18,2	11,8	8,9	10,2	8,8	6,8

Yeni yıl gelire sahip olma-yan ailelerin çocukları cendun bir, bulabildiği bir iki lokum ile mutlu olabiliyor çocuklar. Yetersiz beslenmede büyük sorunlar var. 1,5 milyon çocuk bugün yetersiz beslenmede. Yetersiz beslenme ve zeka yetersizliği çocuklar için büyük tehlike oluşturuyor.

En genç mi
Nehar

Figure 6 – The layout of a typical article on children's well-being published in 1997. Image: *Hürriyet*, 23 April 1977

This decrease was not directly caused by a shrinking number of articles about children's well-being, but rather it was a result of the increasing proportion of human interest stories, such as crime reports and trivia. In fact, the number of articles that reported children's living standards remained more or less stable. However, as the number of news per paper increased, so did the numbers of news articles, and child well-being articles were crowded by other stories about children. These findings are consistent with other studies that observe the rising percentage of human interest stories in newspapers and their replacing news topics like economy and politics.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, a closer look at the texts reveals that by the late 1990s, the space reserved for children's living conditions was fairly smaller. In 1977's *Hürriyet*, an average piece of article on children's well-being covered three to four full columns in a typical six column page layout, which was roughly two percent of a newspaper, and had 750-1000 words per article (see Figure 6). Whereas in 1997's broadsheet, which had twice as many pages, the space reserved for these articles had dropped to two to three half-columns, which was no more than 300-450 words per article.

Reports on children's living conditions were further concealed by the increased compartmentalisation of newspapers. In the late 1970s, an article investigating children's living standards was most likely to be found in *Hürriyet*'s "extra headlines" section on page 3, which covered national feature news that did not report immediate developments, but usually published detailed news files on a variety of demographic trends. This began to change after the paper shortage of the 1970s was sidestepped by importing vast quantities of cheaper paper. I have discussed how the number of pages per paper steadily increased and triple folded

²⁷⁴ For more information on changing news types, see Chapter 4, pp.85-86.

over the next two decades, replacing the simple quadruple organisation of newspapers (news, finance, sports, and arts, life and style) was replaced with more rigid and clearly defined sections.

The restructuring of contents and organisation of news had direct implications on the coverage of child-related news stories. First, the headlines were registered for scandals and economic or political events, and since children often escaped the radar of such stories, they were denied the public's immediate attention. Second, child-related issues which could not be categorised were either left out completely, or they were classified under a certain page. The publication in specialised pages instead of a common agenda meant that such news stories would be read by a smaller audience. Moreover, when such news stories were published in specialised pages, their contents were shaped according to the rules and codes of that page. For example, when child labour and child poverty were confined within the realm of finance pages, these topics were interpreted with the particular lexicon of a section which discussed concepts such as productivity and growth. Or when children's health or education was the topic in parenting advice columns, the focus of the story was the household rather than public institutions. Thus, as their placement in the newspaper changed, the texts were re-written from a different perspective.

A second reason was the changing nature of news, and a new appreciation of newsworthiness. The pressure of new technologies and media made the traditional news media to seek new ways to attract readers. In an effort to defend their place in news media against the flashy television channels, newspapers began to look for strategies that would promote readability and news consumption. News in general

became more sensational, trivial or event oriented.²⁷⁵ The examples from the 1970s were thorough, and they were accompanied by detailed statistical analyses and comments. These kinds of reports required a great deal of time both for the reader and the journalist. However, the newsmaking trends of the 1980s needed news to be fast, catchy, and most importantly easy to produce and to read. Thus, by the 1990s, most newspaper articles about children were either human interest stories like crime reports, or soft news stories like child rearing advice and trivial articles about child stars. This was a major obstacle that made it hard for ordinary children and their experiences to appear in the newspapers. Champagne states that

Even if the close observation of everyday life in these suburbs, with its ordinary problems, is more enlightening, the majority of journalists tend to focus on the most spectacular and therefore exceptional violence. The media thus produce for the general public, which is not directly concerned, a presentation of problems that emphasize the extraordinary.²⁷⁶

What this meant for articles on children's living standards was that they disappeared from the headlines, divided into smaller clusters and pushed to their reserved clusters. For instance, news stories about juvenile delinquency, underage prostitution and other similar titles were classified as crime reports and confined to the third page, which was devoted to human interest stories by the 1980s. Meanwhile, reports about child poverty and child labour were labelled economic developments and filed under "finance" folders. Several other issues like education and housing were given slots in supplements. This cognitive reorganisation removed

²⁷⁵ In 1997, half of all news articles about children were human interest stories; the ratio was one third in 1977.

²⁷⁶ Patrick Champagne, "The View from the Media" in Pierre Bourdieu et al., *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, translated by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010 (1999)).

child well-being news away from its previous nest under the national headlines, and in a sense, away from the social agenda.²⁷⁷

Still, the difference was not limited to sheer numbers or page layouts, but it was also visible in the coverage of child well-being as a subject. A comparison of articles from the beginning and the end of the period reveals a giant leap from a socially oriented journalism to a “soft”er newsmaking. At the beginning of the period, a typical article on children’s living conditions comprised of several parts dedicated to different facades of the issue, and supported the general analysis with background information, interviews with specialists and experts, and concluded with the journalists’ take on possible outcomes. By the late 1990s, an average article on children’s lives was stripped of those details, was more to the point, and reported an immediate development case without providing further information, links to similar stories, or in depth analysis. This minimalist approach was especially significant in a period of newsmaking that was characterised by an attenuated presence of the journalist’s personal voice as a newsmaking trend.²⁷⁸

One reflection of this trend was the shrinking interest in extensive investigative folders. Among the most common forms of articles on children’s living conditions were analyses of child indicators in the late 1970s, which were granted a significant place in all three newspapers. Child indicator researches published by the state or by major non-governmental organisations and UN agencies were reported, commented on, and scrutinised. Furthermore, it was a common journalistic practice

²⁷⁷ The effects and results of compartmentalisation will be revisited in the following chapter. See Chapter 6, pp. 194-195.

²⁷⁸ The increasing attenuation of the journalist’s intimate voice was observed as early as the 1980s. See for example, Steve M. Barkin "The Journalist as Storyteller: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" in *American Journalism* 1/2 (1984), pp. 27-33.

for the newsmakers to collect their own data and publish files on child-related social issues. Apparently, investigative journalists considered it their duty to monitor children's material well-being and document their living conditions. Some prominent examples of these surveys and reports prepared by journalists were Selma Tükel's several news files²⁷⁹ and *Milliyet*'s series on children used by smuggler gangs.²⁸⁰ This practice was not completely abandoned until the mid 1980s. For instance, in 1982, *Tercüman* published a series of interviews with children with severe disadvantages conducted by the newspaper's staple journalist, Nazlı Ilıcak.²⁸¹

On the one hand, investigative journalism's apparent enthusiasm of monitoring children may be interpreted as a fascination with data collection and quantitative sociology, and the reflection of a modernist desire to keep childhood -an unpredictable and ambiguous demographic- under control by constant surveillance. To put it differently, the media's eagerness to take account of children's lives might not be entirely immune from governmentality practices in the Foucauldian sense.²⁸² Evidently, some of these articles did indeed rationalise the advocacy of children's

²⁷⁹ Selma Tükel, "Doğumun eşiğinde" (On the eve of birth) *Hürriyet*, 7-12 February 1982.

²⁸⁰ Güngör Gönültaş, "Kent var Marlboro var" (Got Kent, got Marlboro) *Milliyet*, 11-18 March, 1977.

²⁸¹ Nazlı Ilıcak, "Sanki her şey bu çocukları mutsuz etmek için" (It's almost as if everything came together to make these children miserable) *Tercüman*, 14 March 1982; "Sesleri görerek ve duyarak işitiyorlar" (They hear sounds by seeing and touching) *Tercüman*, 28 March 1982; "Siyah gülü sevmiyorum çünkü her yer zaten siyah" (I don't like black roses, because everything is already black) *Tercüman*, 11 April 1982; (There's no Mercedes at the door, but sorrowful world behind it) 9 May 1982.

²⁸² See Anne McGillivray's *Governing Childhood* for an interesting argument about governmentality and children built upon Rose's famous statement: "childhood is the most intensely governed sector of human existence," quoted by McGillivray from Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self Governance and Childhood* (London; New York: Free Association Books, c1999) in *Governing Childhood*, edited by Anne McGillivray (Aldershot, England; Brookfield, Vt.: Dartmouth, 1997).

well-being in terms of maintaining the social order. The reasoning behind some journalists' demands of child welfare was to establish control over unsupervised children, and the elimination of the threat they posed to the rest of the society, as exemplified by *Tercüman*'s harsh comments about juvenile delinquents, and especially children involved in property crimes, whom the newspaper labelled as menaces to society.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that in monitoring children, the media did not necessarily ally with the power but it purposefully accepted the role of arbitrator and counsellor. That is to say that most journalists' authorial position was closer to a social worker, who was concerned with the well-being of the child, than to a law enforcer/police officer, who was concerned about maintaining order, as displayed by the numerous reports about unattended children on the streets. These "stray children," as reporters preferred to call them, were a major item on the agenda in 1977, and all newspapers used in this study published at least one comprehensive article on this subject. In all these examples, the journalists' narrative was used to convey children's problems to the authorities using a negotiation style.

Certainly, different newspapers' opinions on the causes of, and possible solutions to child-related social issues varied even at the beginning of the period. A study of the articles about "stray children" reveals that *Hürriyet*'s Selma Tükel apprehended the matter at hand from a child welfare angle and suggested that the state needed to improve its institutional care policies and called the government into action to shelter abandoned children.²⁸³ *Milliyet*'s general editor Abdi İpekçi's diagnosis was rather different. İpekçi drew attention to the immediate danger of

²⁸³ Selma Tükel, "Devlet babayı arıyorlar" (They seek the *parens patriae*) *Hürriyet*, 21 May 1977.

crime and advised the formation of a separate judiciary system for children, and better funding for preventive measures to save these children.²⁸⁴ Finally *Tercüman*'s Erkan Yiğit, with the most conservative perspective of the three, put the matter in terms of security for city dwellers, and argued that demographic flow from rural to urban lay at the heart of the problem and that it needed to be controlled.²⁸⁵ Albeit their differences, what they all had in common were their approaches to children as a collective asset and a collective responsibility, and since they saw the case of “stray children” as a socially rooted problem with social implications if left unattended, they all searched for holistic solutions.

This holistic approach began to change in the next decade. Although as stated above, children's well-being continued to be a subject well into the 1980s, the first to vanish were the analytical articles, detailed reports and news files. Apart from the few examples of the sustaining echoes of the society-oriented news making, the majority of news articles on children's living conditions began to report problems as singular incidents and stopped to treat them by linking them to greater social issues. In other words, instead of looking for repetitive patterns, commonalities, and generalisations, journalists began to isolate and present events as sporadic instances.

Sporadification was another reflection of the increasing market pressures on newspapers. Since journalists were no longer allowed to pursue news for longer periods, their stories appeared to be more detached and less contextualised. The changing trends of children's health reports clearly illustrate this phenomenon. In the

²⁸⁴ Abdi İpekçi, “Gaflet” (Negligence) *Milliyet*, 8 March 1977 and “Suça Yönelik çocuklar” (Children turned into crime - Interview with Istanbul Police Child Bureau Director Hüseyin Bilgin) *Milliyet*, 7 March 1977.

²⁸⁵ Erkan Yiğit, “Suç onların mı? Hayır!” (Are they to blame? No!) *Tercüman*, 26 March 1977.

newspapers of 1970s, there were numerous comprehensive news files on issues such as malnutrition and sanitation that affected children's health. Although it would not be fair to argue that children's welfare as a topic was completely abandoned, by the 1980s these issues were generally scattered to isolated news reports. For instance, in 1987, *Hürriyet* published numerous articles with similar headlines reporting children's health problems none of which attempted to link them together and draw a more comprehensive picture.²⁸⁶

What was even more eye catching than the shrinking numbers of reports on health was the sharp increase of the stories about children with diseases, or about parents who committed crimes in order to take care of their sick children. While the former type of news steadily declined, number of articles that reported sick children as personal tragedies or to inform the readership of a charity campaigns began to increase.²⁸⁷ Therefore, while children's health as a topic was increasingly exchanged with reports of illnesses, it was sporadified and pushed to the private realm.

Although human interest stories and charity campaigns proved to be escapes for journalists who wished to comment on children's living conditions for a brief window in the mid-1980s, even that kind of social criticism or search for alternative solutions began to diminish later on. The strong tidal waves of social consciousness created by the 1960s that were adrift until the 1980s had lost their push by the end of the decade. The 1990s were years when all the sustaining traces of contextualising news reports in social terms slowly withered away and disappeared. As the trends

²⁸⁶ There were 19 reports on health in 1987's *Hürriyet*, and in only three were there a mention about widespread and general problems that threatened children's health.

²⁸⁷ The number of texts on children's health/ human interest stories about sick children in *Hürriyet* are as follows: 1977: 31/1, 1982: 19/11, 1987:19/10, 1992:11/11, 1997:9/13.

that were conceived in the 1980s matured and reached their highest point, children as subjects of well-being reports could only make it to the newspapers in very severe and extreme situations and sensational revelations. Thus, for example, in 1997, when the International Labour Organisation published its report on the worst forms of child labour which revealed startling facts about children in the workforce, even the left leaning *Milliyet* had merely a single line to spare on its front page.²⁸⁸

Another display of the media's changing interpretation of children's living conditions was the changing target audience of the articles. As mentioned before, news media's approach to children had been holistic and state-policy centred in the late 1970s, and most analyses addressed official authorities. However, as collective responsibility of children's welfare was renegotiated, a new quest for foster custodians began, and families or civil society replaced the general public as the audience. By the second half of the 1980s, health problems, such as epidemics, malnutrition, environmental hazards, and contaminated water sources were reported almost exclusively to warn families into taking precautions.²⁸⁹ In 1977, cautions to families were mentioned in 16 percent of health articles, whereas in 1987, their share peaked at 42 percent. The emphasis on parental liability over health became a sustaining trend for the remainder of the period.

In a similar vein, by the 1990s, public charity campaigns began to replace journalists' demands from the governments or official organisations. As if the media

²⁸⁸ "Çalışan 100 kişiden 5'i çocuk" (Five percent of labourers are children) *Milliyet*, 23 April 1997.

²⁸⁹ In addition to 18 human interest stories about sick children, 8 of 19 articles about children's health published in *Hürriyet* in 1987 directly addressed parents. The discourse of parental liability over children's health will be revisited in detail in the following section, pp. 155-156.

had concurred that the state was incapable of taking care of children in need, they attempted to fill the gap created by the retrenchment with the privatisation of welfare through a variety of mechanisms ranging from individual philanthropic gestures, to non-governmental organisations, and to a revival Ottoman *vakıf* (religious foundation) system under governmental supervision.²⁹⁰

The tragic case of Deniz G. might be a good example to observe the slight differences between newspapers in this matter. Deniz was a little girl in need of expensive medical care that her parents could not afford. Her story occupied the press for some months in 1992. While *Hürriyet* organised a public campaign and called for individual participation,²⁹¹ *Milliyet* encouraged NGOs to take care of the little girl's well-being.²⁹² *Türkiye*, on the other hand, tailored the state a benevolent alms-giver cape, and celebrated official participation to civil charity efforts by reports that eulogised state officers who lent Deniz a helping hand.²⁹³ What was problematic about these campaigns were that none of them evolved into a universal scheme or promise, but remained a piecemeal solution for the child in their focus.

Meanwhile, reports about education reveal that the media drew back from seeking uniform solutions to issues that concerned children. In 1977, education was a priority for both *Tercüman* and *Milliyet*, both of which devoted numerous columns to commenting on the politicisation of the school curricula and the educational staff. In *Tercüman*, half of all child-related news stories were about education. This was

²⁹⁰ For further discussion on charityism in Turkey, see Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika*, pp.197-219.

²⁹¹ Kadriye Yüksel "Deniz yaşasın" (Let Deniz live) *Hürriyet*, 8 October 1982.

²⁹² "Deniz kurtulsun" (Let Deniz be saved) *Milliyet*, 13 November 1992.

²⁹³ Sadi Özdemir, "Deniz'e Özdemir desteği" (Özdemir's support for Deniz) *Türkiye*, 19 November 1992.

hardly surprising given the rapidly changing political atmosphere of the period and especially the debates in the parliament surrounding the Ministry of Education. Yet, even when the polarisation in the country created conflicting envisions about what children should be taught; both camps demanded a uniform solution: there was no question that the educational system would and should remain unified, and in none of the news was there a mention of de-unification or separate systems.

Two decades later, in 1997, education once again became the political arena's main concern when the National Security Council demanded eight-year compulsory schooling. This would necessitate the closure of religious secondary schools, and the government refused to do so: a conflict which would only resolve by the military's intervention. However, this time around, the desired outcome was not a uniform system. Instead, each camp demanded a tailor-made solution, laid out by *Türkiye*'s columnist Er.²⁹⁴ *Hürriyet*'s headline "Private School Revolution"²⁹⁵ marked the end of the unificationist ideal and celebrated government subsidies for private education as "the reform that would save education." However, the newspapers' demands only concerned students whose families could afford to choose. Thus, not only free education and liberal education were represented as mutually exclusive concepts, the basic principles of the education reform were left uncontested save one comment or

²⁹⁴ Rahim Er, "Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu ile yirmi birinci asra girilemez" (We cannot enter the 21st century with the unification of education act) *Türkiye*, 21 March 1997.

²⁹⁵ Kamuran Zeren, "Özel okul devrimi" (The revolution of private schools - Headline) *Hürriyet*, 4 December 1997.

two. The few objections that argued privatisation would increase inequalities were too weak to be heard.²⁹⁶

Meanwhile the focal points of news that still reported child-related issues went through a significant change as well. This change was best displayed by the concentration of different groups of children in education news. In 1977, all reports on education in *Hürriyet* were about public schools and their pupils. In the next two decades, the number of articles on private education increased disproportionately to the number of children schooled by private institutions. By the end of the 1990s, roughly half of all education reports were about private schools, whereas the actual percentage of their students was no more than three percent.²⁹⁷

This trend was mirrored by other newspapers as well. The news reserved to education issues other than private schools rarely dealt with the average pupil's problems. Even in 1997, when the debate on education reform was covered by 62 articles, 56 articles reported parliamentary debates, political implications, and campaigns. Only the remaining six articles were actually about public schools and their curricula, and a mere three articles mentioned logistic issues, even though for the following years Turkey's students would obviously face numerous problems related to the rapid and such as a shortage of classrooms and teachers. The oddity of this was even pointed out by *Hürriyet*'s own Zeynep Atikkan, who criticized that the

²⁹⁶ Two unique exceptions were Mümtaz Soysal and Zeynep Atikkan. Mümtaz Soysal, "Para ve okul" (Money and school) *Hürriyet*, 9 December 1997. Zeynep Atikkan, "Eğitimciler hala konuşmadı" (Educators still have not spoken) *Hürriyet*, 12 August 1997.

²⁹⁷ MEB (Ministry of Education), *Millî Eğitim: Sayısal Veriler* (National education: quantitative data) (Ankara: MEB Yayınlar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1999).

debate seriously failed in taking the students into account.²⁹⁸ Although public high schools and conflicting demands of different social groups were at the centre of the debates, experiences of students were barely visible. In striking contrast, when *Hürriyet* published its detailed report on education in 1977, it called out to students and educators to participate, and paid attention to voicing their different opinions, and concentrated on their actual problems. Their perspective suggested that reform had to be based on their experiences.²⁹⁹

Thus, in the two decades, news media's interpretation of children's custody changed drastically as they came to refuse social responsibilities to children. Surely, the abolition of collective responsibility was not left unacknowledged. Among the earliest responses from the journalists were expressions of worry and concern. *Hürriyet*'s 1977 dated article about a boy caught selling illegal cigarettes, and a little girl in religious dress was one of the pioneer examples that used the phrase "these are our children."³⁰⁰ Throughout the 1980s, the constant repetition of the phrase "our children," with a special emphasis on the possessive pronoun, turned it into a memento of how the society was not treating all children as its own. Another such catchphrase that signified worry was "shame:"³⁰¹ it was used in different occasions to signal that the following text could only be read in shame and regret. These innuendos, and this need in the journalists' part to remind the reader that all children

²⁹⁸ Zeynep Atikkan, "Sürü değil birey yetiştirmek" (Raising up individuals and not herds) *Hürriyet*, 5 August 1997.

²⁹⁹ "Eğitim dosyası" (File on Education) *Hürriyet*, 27-29 September 1977.

³⁰⁰ "Bu çocuklar bizim çocuklar" (These children are our children) *Hürriyet*, 6 October 1977.

³⁰¹ Namık Koçak, "Çağ atlayan Türkiye'den çağdışı manzaralar: İnsanlık utansın!" (Primitive scenes from Turkey that leapt forward to the next century: Shame on humanity!) *Hürriyet*, 11 November 1987.

are “our children,” may be interpreted as a declaration of anxiety: it became the motto of a desperate call to persuade the society not to giving up on children.³⁰²

A more stolid contestation to de-socialisation came in the late 1990s, when children’s problems were rediscovered by the press. Some examples of this second wave were quite observant, fair, and furthermore, sophisticated in their analysis of the socio-economic context. They were in sync with the new efforts flourishing in the academic scenes that called for a new framework that went beyond the classical child welfare angle. For instance, they went beyond basic child welfare approach when *Milliyet*’s Öymen questioned the lack of a universal health insurance scheme, *Hürriyet*’s Balıkçı criticised the philanthropic activities stigmatising the poor, and *Türkiye*’s journalists investigated the psychologies of child workers.³⁰³ As I discussed in the introduction, this newly burgeoning interest was one of the developments that mark the end of my research period.³⁰⁴ Nonetheless, it should be noted that the academic and institutional concerns about children’s well-being found their reflections in the media as well. This, I believe, was one of the signs that the change becoming too grand to overlook by the late 1990s.

The media’s approach to children’s well-being was not unproblematic in the late 1970s; there were some blind spots even at the peak of social-oriented journalism. Child labour, Kurdish children, poverty, and rural children were only a few of the issues that were hardly ever tackled. However, as decades progressed,

³⁰² A frequency study of buzzwords in news media is much needed. Unfortunately, the lack of access to online databases makes it very difficult to conduct such a research, and the increase stated above is based on personal impressions.

³⁰³ Altan Öymen, “Grip ve sağlık” (Flu and health) *Milliyet*, 16 Ocak 1997; Faruk Balıkçı, “Utandırın yardım” (Demeaning charity) *Hürriyet*, 19 Ocak 1997. “Çalışan çocuğun ruh sağlığı” (Child workers’ mental health) *Türkiye*, 28 July 1997.

³⁰⁴ For an explanation of the timeframe of this research, see Chapter 1, pp. 21-22.

social responsibility did not expand to cover these remote areas or disadvantaged children. Quite the contrary, it retrenched and left children as media marginals. Abandoning children's problems did not mean that they were solved; they were merely swept under the carpet. In this sense, the media became an active partner in crime in the desocialisation of children's well-being.

If the question was "who is responsible of ensuring children's well-being," then by the late 1990s, the mainstream news media's response had clearly changed. And who better could carry the flag of this change of heart than the sardonic Serdar Turgut of *Hürriyet*, who mockingly said that he, a childless, hard working, middle-class man, was "impoverished" because he had to pay for "other people's kids."³⁰⁵ He had shelved the idea that whatever concerns children, concerns the public in general. Turgut's harsh and unleashed discourse was definitely not representative of the mainstream discourse. In fact, its open refusal was more of a deviation from the hesitant ignorance of the press. However, he was also the first to pass a threshold and openly refuse the individual's responsibility to society's children.

Turgut was the epitome of what Richard Sennett called the "uncooperative self." In *Together*, Sennett captures the dissolution of social responsibility and observes that "a distinctive character type is emerging in modern society, the person who can't manage demanding, complex forms of social engagement, and so withdraws. (...) This person becomes an 'uncooperative self.'"³⁰⁶ The child, by definition, is a human being that cannot survive or develop without the protection and care of adults, and children need complex and intricate social structures and

³⁰⁵ Serdar Turgut, "Çocuk vergisi" (Children's tax) and "Çocuklar ve ben" (Children and I) *Hürriyet*, 21-22 August 1997.

³⁰⁶ Sennett, *Together*, pp. 179-180.

mechanisms to reach their full potential. None of these can be established by uncooperative individuals who are callous and apathetic to the needs of others.

According to Sennett, this is a deformation of character, and “in this diminished condition, people feel little ambivalence, little inner unease, about behaving uncooperatively.” Sennet sees social solidarity that depends on cooperation is a habit which can be learned.³⁰⁷ However, this habit can also be erased by oblivion, and by the late 1990s, news media was en route to abandoning the habitualisation of collective responsibility. Hendrick observes that the child of the welfare state had two main identities as public responsibility and family member.³⁰⁸ In the following section, I will discuss how the dissolution of the former gave way to an increased emphasis on the latter.

Parental Liability: Who Should Be Children’s Guardians?

Familialisation of Children’s Upbringing and Safety

The question about children’s relation with their family is probably among the oldest and the most fundamental queries on childhood; the child question is also a part of the family question. What are parental liabilities? What should the extent of families’ authority? May the society intervene in the relationship between parents

³⁰⁷ Anthony Andrew, “Richard Sennett: 'Big society? It's to keep the bankers happy ...'” (Interview with Richard Sennett) *The Observer*, 12 February 2012.

³⁰⁸ Harry Hendrick, "Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood: An Interpretative Survey" in *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*, edited by Allison James and Alan Prout, pp.34-62.

and their children? What do parents owe their children, and what does the society owe families? In this section, I will focus on the depiction of parenthood and families in news stories, articles and advertisements that directly addressed parents.³⁰⁹ I will argue that the media's answers to these questions about children and families went through some major changes. However, I do not mean to suggest that the family has been an institution that has been criticised, or even been analysed in depth by the mainstream news media in Turkey. Earlier in this chapter, I stated that a redefinition not only introduces new functions to a concept, but also re-establishes some parts of the old definition and integrates them to the new design. Such a re-established unit borrowed from the earlier concept was the structure of the family. It was a statement accepted by all parties involved that the modern family was a very positive institution.

Yael Nakano Glenn, as well as many other scholars, traces the concept of bourgeois family back to the separation of the household (unit of reproduction) and the workplace (unit of production) during the Industrial Revolution. This concept of modern family concept was adopted from the Western bourgeois family, and defined as the legal union of a male, a female, and their children,³¹⁰ and the ideal was adopted by the Ottoman Reformists roughly a century earlier.³¹¹ The ideal household

³⁰⁹ These topics were parenting (pedagogical advice, cultural protection of children, parents' experiences, children's health) family stories (abandoned children, family breakdowns, rare diseases, runaway/lost children suicides, good parents, parents involved in crime) and advertisements (banking/insurance, clothing, education, entertainment, food, furniture/tools, housing, other). For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

³¹⁰ Yael Nakano Glenn et al. (eds), *Mothering, Ideology, Experience, and Agency*, (New York, London: Routledge, 1994), p.14.

³¹¹ For an analysis of CUP's "National Family" project, see Zafer Toprak, "Family, Feminism and the State During the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918" in *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne* (Istanbul-Paris: Éditions ISIS, 1991), pp.441-452.

of the news media in the 1980s and the 1990s, with its emphasis on nuclear family, cooperation of the sexes, and monogamy, was remarkably similar to the national family project envisioned by the Committee of Union and Progress at the turn of the yester century. Therefore, there had been no question indeed that a male and a female should eventually be bound together in a legal, heterosexual, monogamous union and procreate. It was, after all, children born in wedlock that made this couple a family; children were the defining element of this institution. Thus, all obituaries listed the number of children the deceased parented, all crime reports counted victims' children among the sufferers of the crime, and all celebrities and politicians were photographed with their sons and daughters at some point.

The durability of the idealised nuclear family image was especially remarkable considering the historical context. In the western half of the globe, this structure began to disintegrate by the late 1960s, with increasing divorce rates, declining number of children per household and the availability of birth control. Thus, by the 1980s, the bourgeois family prototype was uprooted by social change around the globe. Mark Mazower observes how traditional marriage was turning into a “choice rather than duty” in the Europe of the post-1980s.³¹² The transformation in Turkey was not quite as dramatic, although the sharp decreasing fertility rates of the 1980s and 1990s, especially in urban areas, signal that the country was not immune to change.³¹³

³¹² Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's 20th Century* (London: Penguin, 1999), p. 359.

³¹³ Mehmet Ali Eryurt and İsmet Koç, “Internal Migration and Fertility in Turkey: Kaplan-Meier Survival Analysis” in *International Journal of Population Research* (2012).

Nonetheless, the idealised image of the two-parent household remained more or less intact in the news media. Any union that deviated from the idealised two parent family structure was frowned upon, and there was not much difference whether the family was built on a polygamous affair, or consisted of a voluntary single mother and her children. For instance, all articles and reports about single mothers published in *Hürriyet* were either voicing concerns or reassuring readers that the Turkish family was still intact. Şehriban Oğhan's twin articles that compared single motherhood in Europe and in Turkey were an example of this approach.³¹⁴

Meanwhile, feminist movements gained a second momentum after the women's emancipation movements of the late Ottoman and early Republican eras, and feminists put forward their own contestation of families and gender roles. These movements, however, and feminist criticism of the traditional family structure was hardly heard by the news media. According to Şirin Tekeli, feminist movements could only flourish after the military coup wiped clean the lively political arena that outnoised their voices. On the other hand, it was also the coup that silenced it too, for Tekeli also points out that the reason why women's movements were unable to influence the greater public was the overwhelming oppression of the 12 September coup on political organisations.³¹⁵ Evidently, the conservative outlook that dominated Turkey's politics after the 12 September coup d'état was more influential on the press than its opposition, criticism, or defiance.

³¹⁴ Şehriban Oğhan "Avrupa'da evliliğin sonu" (The end of marriage in Europe); "Biz evliliği seviyoruz" (We like marriage) *Hürriyet*, 15-23 January 1997.

³¹⁵ Şirin Tekeli, "Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırılmalı İncelemesi" (A Comparative Analysis of the First and Second Waves of Feminist Movements) in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler* (Women and Men in 75 Years), edited by Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), pp.337-346.

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the established roles of mothers and fathers was not open for discussion either. There was a general assent on the traditional division of labour in the household which set the father as the wage earner and the mother as the caregiver, in very much the same vein the family structure was affirmed. In the scanned years, *Hürriyet* published only five articles on fathers' participation in child rearing, and the numbers were much lower than articles on motherhood in all newspapers. And even in those few instances, fathers taking care of their children were often described in terms of motherhood. These five articles were especially instrumental in following the media's opinion, because they were not parental advice articles written *for* fathers, they were reports *about* fathers who deviated from the norm. For the mainstream news media, the fathers who took part in child rearing were the men who bit the dog, as were the mothers who financially supported their children.

Briefly stated, there was not much debate on the affirmation of the family institution or its structure. What was reconsidered throughout the two decades was its function. And since the child was considered the constitutive element of the family; the function of the family unit was defined by parental roles and responsibilities towards their offspring. Consequently, I will scrutinise how parental roles and liabilities were not only re-established, but also redefined to encompass a much greater range.

In this re-established imagery, motherhood was defined as the ultimate goal and primary responsibility of a woman. Thus, it was not unusual for reporters to

consider childless women “imperfect” or “incomplete.”³¹⁶ The discourse of motherhood was composed of multiple assumptions. One of those components was the definition of motherhood as an instinctive state. It was assumed that all women by nature desired to be mothers, thus to reach their ultimate state. Since it was concurred that women’s primary aim in life was motherhood, many articles represented it unbelievable that a woman could abandon her child or could choose not to have them.

Despite the birth control and abortion debates that occupied the agenda in the early 1980s, there were hardly any comments which acknowledged that a woman’s decision to bear children might cause the slightest reluctance. For instance, in 1982, there were negotiations in the parliament about the laws that would eventually legalise abortion for the first time in the country’s history.³¹⁷ When the issue became a public debate, several famous women brought their own experiences of abortion into the open.³¹⁸ Nonetheless, even in the articles about these personal accounts the issue remained untackled.

Meanwhile, again in 1982, a scandal surrounding a gynaecology clinic surfaced. The details of the news story reveal that gynaecologist Cumhuri Akkent performed abortions which were illegal at that time, and he also mediated between families and arranged informal adoption agreements. The coverage of the Akkent case was a radical example of the media’s total abstinence from scrutinising this

³¹⁶ “Doğurdu rahatladı” (She at ease now that she has a baby) *Hürriyet*, 5 May 1992 announces the childbearing of a famous singer by stating that she’s now “complete.”

³¹⁷ Law no.2827 on Population Planning that legalised abortion until the tenth week after conception was enacted in 1983.

³¹⁸ “Müjde Ar ve Füsün Önal hakkında kürtaj yaptırmaktan takipsizlik kararı verildi” (Case dismissed for charges of abortion on the cases of Müjde Ar and Füsün Önal) *Milliyet*, 16 September 1982.

subject. At the beginning, *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet* hesitantly contextualised the revelation of Dr. Akkent's practice with references to the ongoing debate. However, within a week all newspapers began to ignore this context, and the case was labelled an awful display of child trafficking networks.³¹⁹ It is peculiar that the news media decided to push forward the adoption side of the story while the proposed law was still on the table.

Thus, the case served two ends at the same time. First, by focusing on the illegal practices of adoption, it constructed a horror story of those women who chose to terminate their pregnancy, or children who were "stolen" from their parents. Second, by ignoring the women who consciously gave up their newborns for adoption, it declared abandoning one's offspring unthinkable. There was no acknowledgement of the possibility that a woman could diverge from the instinctive state of bearing and rearing children. Instead, and the case was instrumental in stigmatising these "unnatural" evil women who were stigmatised as a blasphemy to motherhood.

Another example of demonising women unwilling to become mothers was found in news reports about abandoned babies. In the twentieth century, it was quite common in Turkey for parents who wanted to avoid the exposure of the official adoption process to discreetly leave infants in public areas, and newspapers published numerous reports about these children. In 1977, all such reports were written from the perspective of the child and presented the cases as tragic accounts. Among those articles that mentioned their mothers, most were openly apologetic

³¹⁹ Kasım Gence, Uğur Cebeci, Ümit Görker "Bebek tüccarları" (Merchants of babies) *Hürriyet*, 30 July 1982; Özden Akbal, Ahmet Yabuloğlu, Mustafa Başdağ "Bebek Pazarı" (Baby outlet) *Tercüman*, 30 July 1982.

about these women, and used phrases as “desperate,” “unfortunate,” or “ill-starred” to describe them. There was an accusation of the parents in only one of the reports.

During the 1980s, while the focus of the reports began to shift from the perspective of children to their mothers, their approach slid from an empathetic to critical. Mothers – and never both parents - were presented as the villains in one third of these stories, and they were blamed to be “remorseless,” “perfidious,” and “cold-hearted.” The accusatory tone in some of these news texts was fortified by contrasting these women to “thousands of mothers” who would “sacrifice everything they had” to have kids.³²⁰ The conservative right’s insistence to see women as mothers was even stronger. For instance, *Türkiye* strongly opposed when the government discussed the formation of a ministry of women’s affairs, claiming that the new title’s secret mission was to “separate the woman from the family and children.”³²¹

While the first assumption of motherhood was establishing it as an instinctive and natural state for women, the second was its domestication. Motherhood was clearly identified with home, indoors and enclosed spaces. Publishing all child-related news including those on day-care, child welfare, and even children’s rights under the title “Woman and Home” was a tradition conceived by *Tercüman* and followed by *Türkiye*; *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet* mostly published those kinds of articles

³²⁰ “Ne oluyor bu annelere? (What is wrong with these mothers?)” 28 Şubat *Tercüman*, 28 February 1982; Cahit Akyol, “Bebeklerini hastanede bırakıp kaçtılar” (They abandoned their babies in the hospital) *Hürriyet*, 4 March 1982.

³²¹ Ahmet Kabaklı, “Kadın mı aile mi?” (Will it be the woman or the family?) *Türkiye*, 22 February 1992; Metin Özer, “Hedef aileyi parçalamak” (The mission is to destroy the family) *Türkiye*, 26 February 1992; Ferat Gülver “Ailenin parçalanması, devletin yıkılması demektir” (The destruction of the family will be the demolition of the state: Interview with Cemil Çiçek, former state minister in charge of family affairs) *Türkiye*, 27 March 1992.

in the attachments aiming female readership, and traditionally articles on families were embedded in life and style sections and attachments. *Hürriyet* published child rearing advice by Azize Bergin in the columns “Ana Kucağı” (Mother’s Bosom) “Notebook” (Notebook) and “Anne ve Çocuk” (Mother and Child) in the newspaper’s supplement that targeted the female audience; *Milliyet* reserved several inserts for the issue; Belma Aksun prepared the “Kadın ve Ev” (Woman and Home) column for *Tercüman*, and Ayşe Nur prepared a column by the same title for *Türkiye*. In this sense, raising children was considered an almost exclusively feminine domestic chore, a housekeeping activity.

That being said, there were nuances between the 1970s and the following decades, as displayed by the changing depictions of working mothers. To a certain extent, the affiliation of women and children to the house and indoors went parallel to the encouragement of women to quit the labour force to take care of their family.

³²² In the late 1970s, both *Tercüman* and *Hürriyet* habituated making news in life style attachments about famous professional women having children, quoting their statements that motherhood was much more important than their work, and when it came down to it, they would not hesitate to give up their profession for their children. In 1977, *Tercüman* published at least ten interviews with famous women on motherhood, all of which stated that motherhood in itself a profession, and it was *the best* profession. However, at the same time, both newspapers had acknowledged, and even encouraged working mothers. They published articles that admired the benefits of day nurseries over looking after children at home, argued that it was better for the

³²² Yıldız Ecevit. “*Türkiye’de Ücretli Kadın Emeğinin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelinde Analizi*” (A Gendered Analysis of Women’s Wage Earning in Turkey) in 75 *Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu pp.267-284.

child that the mother socialised through work, and suggested that the state should provide better child care opportunities and relief mechanisms for families. For instance, all articles on mothers working for salary published in *Tercüman* in 1977 were empathetic.³²³

Yet, as women's participation in the workforce steadily decreased, so did the positive representations of professional women in the newspapers. In 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997 there were only eight articles on working moms in *Hürriyet*, most of which depicted a mother's wage earning as a secondary vocation after taking care of her family. The demands of social childcare were replaced with articles that underlined working mothers' "drama" and the potential dangers of leaving children away from home in day-care, as exemplified by two news files by Selma Tükel published five years apart from each other.³²⁴ In brief, although women's participation in the workforce generally had been regarded as an insignificant addition to the family budget, it can be concluded that a conservative outlook to women's employment that spread from right-leaning papers, and from life and style sections into the rest of the newspaper became a general trend by the late 1980s. What replaced wage earning professions was stay at home child rearing. The

³²³ "Çalışan annelerin çocukları" (Children of working mothers) *Tercüman*, 13 January 1977; Belma Aksum, "Babasız çocuk büyötmek kolay değildir" (It's not easy to raise a child without a father) *Tercüman*, 27 October 1977; Belma Aksum "Çocuğun sosyal gelişmesi ve anaokulları" (Preschools and children's social development) *Tercüman*, 15 October 1977.

³²⁴ Selma Tükel, "Çalışan 7 milyon anne soruyor... Çocuğuma kim bakacak?" (7 million working mothers demand: who will take care of our children?) *Hürriyet*, 23 April 1977; Selma Tükel "Çalışan annenin günlüğü" (The diary of a working mother) *Hürriyet*, 13-17 June 1982.

construction of motherhood as a profession in and by itself can be read as a signal of mothers' changing responsibilities.

Inasmuch as the media defined motherhood as the natural state for women, mothering was not: it was viewed as something to be learned and needed expertise, it was too complicated a matter to be left to maternal instincts. Throughout the period there was a significant and continuous increase in columns devoted to child rearing, now presented as an exact science that left no room for contradiction. By 1977, *Tercüman* already had much of advice to offer by child rearing experts; a feature which was less prevalent in *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* other than the odd informative article about proper ways of washing vegetables.³²⁵ However, it wasn't long before *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* jumped the wagon as well. In the mid-1980s, all newspapers had special columns or inserts dedicated to pedagogical and psychological advice.

Moreover, as coined by Ann Hulbert, the 1980s were the post-Spock era,³²⁶ and the new trends in the field of pedagogy differed spectacularly from Doctor Benjamin Spock's best seller *Baby and Child Care*, which opens with the sentence "trust yourself: you know more than you think you do."³²⁷ Spock firmly believed that although parents were a major influence on a child's development, they were already

³²⁵ For a detailed analysis of *Hürriyet*'s take on motherhood, see Gülay Uzel's thesis: *Magazin Basınında "Anne" İmgesi ve "Annelik": "Kelebek" Magazin Eki Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (The image of the "mother" in the media and "motherhood": a research on "Kelebek," the newspaper supplement) (Ankara: Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2008).

³²⁶ Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and A Century of Advice About Children*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), p.335.

³²⁷ Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care* (New York: Pocket Books , 1946).

equipped with the necessary tools and common sense to look after a child, and that their babies would inspire their parenting.

On a side note, the bible of child rearing in Turkey was İhsan Doğramacı's *Annenin Kitabı* (Mother's Book), and although it was argued that some parts of the book echoed Spock's *Baby and Child Care*, the title of the book alone signals that Doğramacı specifically designated mothers as the caregivers, and that he was not exactly in tune with Benjamin Spock who felt the need to revise his book according to new debates on gender roles and feminist criticism,³²⁸ and whose approach was accused of "permissiveness" and bringing up rebellious generations that would confront their betters.³²⁹ As the years progressed, the tone of child rearing advice began to turn from supplying information to threatening cautions; the grammatical moods of sentences changed into imperative rather than subjunctive and cohortative; experts declared certainties instead of probabilities. Perhaps more importantly, there was a consensus on the tone of child rearing advice. Child rearing was presented as too serious a profession to be left to maternal instincts and common sense. The dominant voice in these articles held mothers responsible not only for their children's protection, but also their sexual, psychological and physical upbringing. They were capable of raising healthy and capable individuals, but they were also capable of failure. Child rearing advice's accentuation on how cautious mothers should be when taking care of their kids got harsher and louder as the period drew to a close.

³²⁸ Benjamin Spock, "Why This Revision of *Baby and Child Care*," in *Baby and Child Care: Completely Revised and Updated for Today's Parents* (New York: Pocket Books, 1976), p.xv.

³²⁹ Nixon's vice president Spiro Agnew was among the conservatives who accused Dr. Spock of bringing up an unruly generation, as reported by Maier. Thomas Maier, *Dr. Spock: An American Life* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998).

The emphasis on potent motherhood was coupled with a more liberal approach to child rearing that promised the child greater individual space. Ironically, this put an even greater weight on mothers' shoulders. They had to be a strong presence on every aspect of their children's lives, yet at the same time, they had to refrain from disciplining the child, hence disturbing their child's delicate psychology. In other words, mothers were expected to be in total control without actually controlling their child: instead, they had to control everything the child would encounter (see Figure 7).

In her famous piece "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," Jay Mechling cautions us against taking parental advice at face value, and offers a new perspective that takes into consideration that parents might behave quite differently than what official advice suggests.³³⁰ Twenty-five years after the publication of this article, Mechling penned a review to applaud Julia Grant for employing a reader-response perspective to decipher the changing ideology of motherhood and mothering advice.³³¹ In *Raising Baby by the Book*, Grant finds that parenting advice trends swings like a pendulum, with each new trend denouncing the teachings of the former, harmonious with the historical context of the era. She also suggests that mothers' social positions were influential in their interpretation of child rearing advice.³³²

³³⁰ Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," in *Journal of Social History* 9/ 1 (1975), pp. 44-63.

³³¹ Jay Mechling, "Review: Raising Baby by the Book: The Education of American Mothers," in *Journal of Social History*, 33/3 (2000), pp. 751-753.

³³² Julia Grant, *Raising Baby by the Book: The Education of American Mothers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

Unfortunately there are no similar studies that focus on parents' interpretations of and responses to child rearing advice in this specific period in Turkey. What we do know, however, was that it was not only the tone and discourse of child rearing advice that displayed the changing parental to-do-list. A similar pattern can be spotted in articles that did not necessarily address mothers, such as accident reports, crime news, and articles on children's health. And these articles show us that the increased burden of parenting was spreading beyond child-rearing books and columns.

The increased emphasis on parental liability in child-rearing advice was accompanied by a significant increase in articles reporting the infinite number of perils children's lives were in. By the mid-1980s, a judging style emerged in articles about accidents and other misfortunes children encountered. Mothers were cautioned that the world beyond their doorstep was full of dangers. The common point of these texts was that they warned parents against threats that could have been considered somewhat out of their reach and control, they were told not only to be aware, but also beware of strangers, when sporadic child kidnapping cases were presented as crime sprees, and isolated theft stories were presented as criminal waves. Socially rooted problems like children addicted to drugs and inhaling psychotic substances were narrated as tragic family stories. Instead of demanding secure grounds for children, the press warned the parents to keep their children indoors to protect them from the uncontrolled city streets. The only exception was *Milliyet's* insistence on governmental responsibility in securing urban landscapes for children.

In 1977, only one out of the five articles about children who had lost their lives in accidents published in *Hürriyet* contained the word "negligence." However,

in the following years, “negligence” became a buzzword in news accusing “inattentive” and “lousy” mothers whose carelessness slaughtered their children. Even a child injured when he found a hand grenade on the street could be presented with the subtitle, “Caution, mothers and fathers!”³³³ without any questioning of the strange presence of an explosive in plain sight. These “failed” mothers who were in fact those who suffered the most were introduced as deterrent examples to other families.

This can be interpreted as a distortion of the scientific motherhood rhetoric of the early century to an omnipresent, over-capable super mother. Moreover, children’s health became an issue of concern as well. While unusual diseases were presented to the reader with a certain fascination of new medicinal advancements, they also informed perturbed mothers of thousands of strange diseases. What accompanied these news articles was a new rhetoric used in health news that implied that the mother was in total control of her children’s health. Ahıska and Yenal observe that news about “the new person ideal” became a common topic after the 1980s, the overarching theme of which was “the return to self and accepting the *responsibility* to optimize one’s own health and competence.”³³⁴ This “self improvement/self help” literature included tips to motivate individual control over well-being, and stories of personal accomplishments were prevalent among child-related articles that targeted families. In the case of children, the emphasis was on parental responsibilities, and

³³³ “Top diye bomba ile oynayan Ali’nin parmakları koptu” (Ali lost his fingers when he mistook a hand grenade for a ball) *Hürriyet*, 17 August 1982.

³³⁴ Meltem Ahıska and Zafer Yenal, *The Person You Have Called Cannot Be Reached at the Moment: Representations of Lifestyles in Turkey, 1980-2005* (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2006), p.43.

mothers were the designated controllers over children's psychology, physical health and competence.

In the previous section, I observed that the focus of news on children's health was increasingly the family instead of general problems of healthcare. The shift of emphasis from social control to parental liability over children's health can be closely analysed by a comparative reading of two articles from 1977 and 1987 which focus on the same problem: uncontrolled street food sold to children right in front of schools. The earlier report defines the possible problems of uncontrolled food, then specifically addresses the Education Ministry, Health Department, and Municipal Police, and calls them to perform their duties and monitor these food stalls.³³⁵ The latter, by contrast, although defining the problem in more or less the same terminology, addresses parents instead, and urges them to somehow make sure that their children do not buy food that is presented to them at an affordable price, at the immediate vicinity of their schools.³³⁶ Thus, what mothers must do to keep their children healthy was scrutinized, and even the qualification toxic materials available on the market were considered a parental duty, and not a matter of regulation.

The construction of parental guilt over children's well-being was not limited to threats or illnesses coming from outside, their safety at home also became a factor that burdened their mothers. According to Peter Stearns, the scientific advancements and the improvement of children's living standards in the twentieth century had paradoxically created new concerns for parents who wanted to protect their valuable

³³⁵ "Seyyar satıcılar öğrencilerin sağlığı ile oynuyor" (Street vendors are putting children's health at risk) *Hürriyet*, 29 April 1977.

³³⁶ Selma Tükel, "Boyalı tehlike" (Hazard in colour) *Hürriyet*, 9 October 1987.

children from harm.³³⁷ In other words, as their environment became more secure, and their standards higher, parents were even more anxious to protect their children. Stearns argues that this was how a new rhetoric child rearing was built upon parents' desire to discard chance and accident.³³⁸ In this rhetoric, not only did accidents, health problems, and other malices come to be seen as unacceptable, but also they were considered "outside the child's obvious control, and without any fault on the child's part."

Thus, if negligence or parental liability was one side of the coin, then the other side was the construction of the fragile child. The reflection of increasing parental anxiety and the unacceptability of accidents on Turkey's news media was quite straightforward. Domestic accidents, which rarely turned into news stories unless they resulted in injuries or deaths in the 1970s, came to cover a great proportion of child-related news by the next decade. The peak was in 1987, when *Hürriyet* published more than twenty reports about non-life threatening accidents, quarter of which were on the cover. Thus, the newspapers were stocked with stories of domestic accidents as almost-disasters and children who could-have-been-victims. Although this might be a result of the increase in page numbers and hospital reporters, the disproportionate representation of unsupervised children who encountered mishaps in households drew a surreal landscape in which everything, from balloons to candies, from pencils to erasers, from horses to roosters were accidents waiting to happen; children were sitting ducks who could hurt themselves while playing house, walking in the street, or listening to the hissing sound of

³³⁷ Peter N. Stearns, *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Child Rearing in America* (New York: NYU Press, 2004), p.26.

³³⁸ Stearns, p.17.

lighters.³³⁹ They were potential victims that mothers should keep under constant surveillance (see Figure 8).

The same media that failed to draw the obvious link between low income, poor sanitation, and contagious malaria found a pattern in random cases of domestic accidents and regionally diverse kidnappings. According to World Health Organisation, one in five child labourers in Turkey suffered from a workplace-related injury or illness in the second half of the 1980s. However, *Hürriyet* published only a single news story about a workplace accident the year it published twenty odd reports about children slightly injured at home. This is not to suggest that children were not falling sick, attacked or injured in domestic accidents. However, as put by Schudson, the media drew a dramatic landscape full of fragile innocent kids “by selecting, highlighting, framing, shading, and shaping in reportage, they create an impression that real people – readers and viewers – then take to be real and to which they respond in their lives.”³⁴⁰

³³⁹ “Balon uçtu, Beyhan uçtu” (Balloon took off, Beyhan took off) *Hürriyet*, 14 April 1982; “Renkli şekerleri çocuklar ilaçlarla karıştırıyor” (Children are confusing coloured candies with drugs) *Hürriyet*, 19 April 1982; “Kalem kurbanı” (Victim to a pencil) *Hürriyet*, 30 September 1982; “Küçük öğrencinin kulağına silgi kaçtı” (An eraser blocked the little student’s ear) *Hürriyet*, 18 November 1982; “Az daha erkekliğini kaybedecekti” (He’d almost lost his manhood - Headline) *Türkiye*, 23 June 1982; “Murat’ı horoz gagaladı” (Murat was pecked by a cock- Headline) *Hürriyet*, 4 April 1982; “Evcilik kör ediyordu” (Playing house almost blinded them) *Hürriyet*, 12 March 1982; “Afacan Recai meraktan ölecekti” (His curiosity had almost killed the little rascal Recai) *Hürriyet*, 21 February 1982.

³⁴⁰ Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, p.2.



Figure 8 – News coverage of domestic accidents

Images: *Hürriyet*, 12 March 1987; *Tercüman*, 15 September 1987; *Hürriyet*, 20 May 1987; *Hürriyet*, 4 April 1987

Thus, child rearing advice and accident reports that addressed mothers alike were instrumental in the familialisation of children’s health, security, and development. Psychologists, pedagogues, and physicians came together in blaming the parents for not protecting their kids. Meanwhile, the advertisement campaigns of the same decades told another side of the story. The blossoming free market had a remedy for every complaint. If parents wanted to be sure that their children were safe and sound playing outside in the park, they would buy an apartment in a gated community and watch them from the window.³⁴¹ If they wanted to keep them safe on the road, they would buy a safer car.³⁴² Even children’s health was a commodity. “Mothers who cared” would feed them the right way,³⁴³ fathers would buy better quality healthcare to make sure their kids got better in capable hands.³⁴⁴ They could even secure their children’s future by providing for a good education.³⁴⁵ The purchasability of well-being was not only advertised, but also supported by the many articles in child rearing columns and society pages that suggested parents could ensure their children to be smarter, healthier, and safer as long as they invested in the right properties and consumed the right goods.

³⁴¹ “Yeşilşehir sizi bekliyor” (Yeşilşehir awaits you – advertisement for a gated community) *Türkiye* 7 September 1997 states that “your children will go play in the park anytime they like, and you will be able to watch over them from your own living room” “Yeşilşehir’de bu mutluluk balkonlardan izlenecek” (You will be watching this happiness from your balcony - advertisement for a gated community) *Hürriyet*, 6 September 1997.

³⁴² “Anneler biliyorlar” (Mothers know- advertisement for Opel automobiles) *Hürriyet*, 11 May 1997.

³⁴³ “Özen gösteren anneler için” (For mothers who care – advertisement for Sana margarine) *Hürriyet*, 29 October 1987.

³⁴⁴ “Mutlu, sağlıklı, güvenli” (Happy, healthy, safe – advertisement for Büyük Anadolu Hospital maternity ward) *Türkiye*, 5 September 1997; “O şimdi çok sağlıklı” (He is very healthy now – advertisement for *Türkiye* Hospital) *Türkiye*, 29 November 1997.

³⁴⁵ “Bir okul seçmek, bir gelecek seçmektir” (Choosing a school is choosing a future – advertisement for private Oğuzkaan high school) *Hürriyet*, 26 July 1997.

The journalists themselves did not problematise the purchasability and commoditisation of individual escapes either. While advertisement campaigns in attachments addressed mothers, the main sections of newspapers called out to fathers to buy control over their child's well-being. As mentioned before, although some exceptional articles professed to hold both parents responsible for the shared custody of the child, it was generally agreed that although the mother who was responsible for the children's upbringing, and it was first and foremost the father's duty was to provide for the family, and their duty now entailed buying health, safety, and even social status for their children. This was illustrated by a closer look at the private schooling news and articles of the late 1990s. As outlined by *Hürriyet's* Tuluhan Tekelioğlu, fathers who worked double shifts were convinced to "sacrifice everything they had," do "whatever it took" to make sure their children got the best education on offer "at all costs."³⁴⁶ The private school advertisements came in a wide collection that ranged from "raising individuals that respect national and moral values"³⁴⁷ for the conservative families, to "democratic, secular, modern education"³⁴⁸ for the secular; to a resort "away from the debate on education" for the undecided parents.³⁴⁹

The commoditisation of child well-being becomes more significant when read together with a Fathers' Day article penned by Necmi Onur in 1977. In the article, Onur describes different fathers and concludes that fathers always try the best

³⁴⁶ Tuluhan Tekelioğlu "Özel okul yaman okul" (What private schools are capable of) *Hürriyet*, 26 May 1997.

³⁴⁷ *Hürriyet*, 17 August 1997.

³⁴⁸ *Hürriyet*, 18 August 1997.

³⁴⁹ *Hürriyet*, 11 August 1997.

they can, and that the best they can was good enough, even if it means that the children do not get the best of everything.³⁵⁰ Apparently, by the end of the period, the news media's opinion of what counted as good parenting changed considerably compared to its stance two decades earlier.

Esping-Andersen notes that "social inheritance" is still predominant in determining children's life chances and that "parents' social status continues unabated in dictating children's educational attainment, income and occupational destination."³⁵¹ However, as pointed out by Brian Barry, this is not inevitable, and social measures can ensure that children's opportunities are not limited by their parents' means. He concludes that "if there is any determinism involved, it is political: the range of powerful interests that would be mobilized in opposition to moves designed to disturb the process by which the advantages of one generation are transmitted to the next."³⁵² That being the case, the news media's penchant for holding parents liable for their children's fates does not promote social intervention or greater social responsibility.

It can be concluded that although the media's views on families and children were more static than dynamic in the 1980s and the 1990s, there were some important changes. The intrinsic opinions on the necessity and positivity of the family institution have remained integral, but parenting was infused with increasing anxiety and guilt, while an angle of failure and success was being introduced. The

³⁵⁰ Necmi Onur, "Canım Babam" (My dear father) *Hürriyet*, 19 June 1977.

³⁵¹ Gøsta Esping-Andersen, "Inequality of Incomes and Opportunities" in *The New Egalitarianism*, edited by Anthony Giddens and Patrick Diamond (London: Polity, 2008), p.31.

³⁵² Brian Barry, *Why Social Justice Matters* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), p.69

idealisations of mothers who must know or learn what was best for their children, and fathers who must get it for them no matter the cost was a significant construction in the making, and the effects of this construction on parents' psychology should be studied in detail.

Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, while parents were given a greater role in taking care of children, issues like education, safety, and health which were considered social responsibilities in the previous eras were, by the late 1990s, presented as parental duties and familialised. And although the attention paid to children's fragile physiologies and psychologies escalated parental anxiety to new heights, kids also had their own share of the load in this delegation of social responsibilities, and this will be discussed in the following section.

Personal Accountability: Who Should Be Children's Supervisors?

Personalisation of Success and Failure

While the first two questions I discussed in this chapter were about adult responsibilities *to* children, and how these responsibilities were desocialised and allotted to particular subjects, the third and final question that I will turn to deals with children's own accountability over their actions and fates. In other words, this is a query about whether children's stories should be considered personal, or they should be considered outcomes of greater factors and determinants. Should society claim the custody of children left behind, or instead take pride in those who get ahead? Are these stories entirely random and arbitrary, or are they a part of a larger story and contextual?

In this section I will examine different manifestations of “personalisation” in news stories. I use the term “personalisation” to define an overwhelming dominance of human interest stories and feature pieces that had single children as their protagonists or antagonists over news articles with general, anonymous, or unspecified subjects.³⁵³ I will observe that the dominance of personalisation in news articles signalled that the media began to hold children liable of their destinies, and partly enabled the reconstruction of children as agents with socially uncontrollable lives.

Since these stories dominated the newspapers from the mid-1980s, I will not construct this section upon temporal comparisons and quantitative listings, but instead I will use qualitative and descriptive methods to form a critical analysis on the subgenres of these personalised stories, borrowing methods and terminology from literary criticism to unravel how the implications of personalised stories should be read. I will discuss how children’s stories were detached from a greater and complex social narrative, and retold using concepts such as coincidence, luck, and fate. I will argue that over two decades the news media came to deny social custody of children and pushed forward individual children as responsible actors.

³⁵³ List of news categories used in this analysis are crime reports (child abuse, child trafficking, forced marriage, gendered discrimination, kidnapping, political violence, pornography/prostitution, property crimes, violent crimes), juvenile delinquency reports (property crimes, violent crimes, organised acts, political crimes, underage sex, deceit), human interest stories (tragic stories, charity calls, sick children& charity calls, inspirational stories), and individual portraits (child stars, talented children, achievers). For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

The first discernible sign of personalisation was the decreasing number of news articles with general and anonymous subjects.³⁵⁴ In the post late 1990s, human interest stories with single children as their focus covered roughly one quarter of all news articles about children, whereas in the late 1970s, their share had been around one sixth. As discussed before, a society-oriented journalistic approach was more common until the 1980s, and this approach attempted to contextualise child-related news and events while still paying attention to the children who experienced it. Most of the news articles from this period were reports on children's living conditions that did not concentrate on single stories, a point observed in the section on social responsibility over children's well-being. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, a new actor-oriented style began to dominate news media. Newspapers published articles stories that narrated similar events, but rarely brought them together. For example, there were more stories about tragic stories of sick children, but fewer articles about children's health. Thus, by the 1980s, the newspapers published more stories about child actors than news articles about children in general, and news were being increasingly personalised.

I do not mean to imply that using personal appearances of children in news stories is an inherently flawed method in capturing children's lives. In fact, this method might prove useful to highlight children's individual experiences. For instance, in the late 1970s, it was a common trait of journalists to construct stories with multiple subjects upon individual experiences to overcome the generalising and homogenising affects of making news with multiple subjects. For example, while

³⁵⁴ Share of articles on children's living standards in child-related articles in 1977 was 49 in 283 (16%) in 1977, 101 in 427 (23%) in 1982, 83 in 352 (23%) in 1987, 106 in 382 (27%) in 1992, and 107 in 423 (25%) in 1997.

Selma Tükel's series about high school students was built upon a public survey conducted among a thousand female high school students, she also focused on these girls' individual hopes, future projections, and opinions on a variety of subjects ranging from female participation in the workforce, to sexuality.³⁵⁵ *Milliyet*'s Güngör Gönültaş, in a series on cigarette smuggling, conducted in-depth interviews with children used by smuggler gangs, drawing vivid portraits.³⁵⁶ Considered in this fashion, what is problematic is not the increase in the number of stories with child actors per se.

However, an optimistic take of the journalistic trends of the period might mistake de-socialisation and personification of news for an attempt to capture children's experiences should also be avoided. The personalisation of news stories by itself does not automatically attenuate children's individual experiences, and single and detached feature pieces do not necessarily result in a more accurate individual portrait of the child actors. There is a great difference between acknowledging the socio-economic context of an incident while actually paying attention to the individual caught in its midst, and singling out children and stripping them of all traces of their agency but the details that make that particular incident appealing to the reader. This is why I prefer to use the term "personalisation" instead of "individualism" or "individual causality"³⁵⁷ to define the characteristics of human

³⁵⁵ Selma Tükel, "Liseli Kızlarımız" (Our girls in highschools) *Hürriyet*, 11-19 April 1977.

³⁵⁶ Güngör Gönültaş, "Kent var Marlboro var" (Got Kent, got Marlboro) *Milliyet*, 11-17 March 1977.

³⁵⁷ Chibnall's choice of terminology is "individual pathology and individual causality," and Jewkes prefers the term "individualisation" to define news stories that have a single focal character. Chris Greer, "News Media, Victims and Crime" in *Victims, Crime and Society*, edited by Pamela Davies, Peter Francis and Chris Greer (London: Sage, 2008), p.27.

interest stories that focus on children. My choice of terminology implies an emphasis on this difference between “individual” experience and “personal destiny.” The human interest stories about children that constituted a quarter of child-related news in the 1980s and the 1990s were not enhanced with an emphasis on individual experiences, but their focus on child actors merely signified that they interpreted these stories as personal.

The craftsmanship of human interest stories is rarely about the rules, but it is about exceptions. These feature stories are actually very much like fictional tales with simple narrative structures, and without any character arch whatsoever. They narrate stories as singular and isolated happenings stripped off all details but the ones that make that particular incident stand out among others, and hence are more sensational for the reader. They seldom focus on experiences shared by millions of children, but they look for eccentricity and extremity. Neither the reporter nor the reader has time to indulge in unravelling the details, but the ones that make the case stand out. Consequently, the main problem caused by this shift was an obstruction of the social context.

The fish-eye perspective of portraits in personalised stories blurs children’s backgrounds, distorts their features and fails to capture their entirety. What we see is a slice of the child’s life, a capture of the moment that distinguishes that child from the great sea of children. In reports about juvenile delinquents, we see children in handcuffs, with black strips over their eyes, behind a table in a police station. We are not aware of those children’s lives beyond that frame; we remain ignorant of their socialness. And if we are made aware of further details, it is only to distinguish and alienate the child from the rest. All details serve the single purpose, to ensure the

reader that this happened to that child for a particular reason. Their subjects may be alike, but they remain unrelated. Their commonality does not make them commonplace.

Furthermore, these stories are ahistorical. They are about a single moment without a past or a future. For instance, the extent of information provided in juvenile delinquency reports is limited to the criminal act itself: what was stolen, from whom, and how the thief was caught; its causes or affects were rarely questioned. The frozen picture frame of these stories becomes eternal. It deems the narrated scene inalterable, and presumes that no amount of social intervention might reverse, repair or prevent that scene. The frozen moment is trapped in the eternal present of the still-life image, and leaves the viewer unaware of the life from which it is sliced. It is merely another incident, and although it is very much like other incidents before it, these fragments of children's lives never come together to reveal a bigger picture. Hence, these incidents are declared inevitable.

In these narrative compositions, the actors became the focal point as the commonalities they share with other actors become irrelevant. Thus, personalised stories often result in dichotomies, and depict children as either very good or very bad; either as demons or as angels. This is because when single children become the actors of news stories, the details that make the story peculiar are selected specifically for narrative purposes, and the actors are deprived of all characteristics, but the distinctive ones that will embellish the story arch. In other words, as the children's actions and their outcomes are personalised, they are reduced to their act, and their subjectivity almost disappears. Their acts are narrated without a need for explanation. This approach's accentuation of randomness and personal

consequentiality tends to interpret complex social events as mere consequences of children's personal acts or personal characteristics inherent to the child. Thus the action of the child appears to be a result of an essential feature or flaw of character.

Moreover, since personalised stories put the child actors at the centre and isolate the incident from the circumstances, they render the children open to judgement. In obstructing their socialness, they expose the child antagonist or protagonist. Thus, the storytelling not only does it accredits the child characters an autonomy that they do not possess, but also attributes the reader an authority of judgement over the persons in the plot. The relationship personalised stories establish between the reader and the hero is bound to be judgemental. The verdict might be severe reprimand or unrestrained praise, and either way, the reader and the central character of the story are placed in two opposite positions. In the case of child characters and adult readers, this throws an already unequal relationship out of balance. The adult reader becomes the judge and prosecutor of the child character.

The interlinked presentation of news about multiple characters, on the other hand, protects children in question by casting the social structure as the lead role, and children as the supporting characters, hence providing a degree of anonymity. In the late 1970s, when journalists were eager to socio-economically contextualise children who could not meet the demands of the public at school or elsewhere as victims to greater social problems like poverty or inefficiency of the social security system. This was especially dominant in crime and domestic violence stories in which the forgiving and embracing tone of their articles sought external explanations for the act.

By the 1980s, in the rare articles that had children as multiple subjects, the same tone was still dominant. For example, 1982's *Hürriyet* and 1987's *Tercüman* published comprehensive files on juvenile delinquency, in which different writers took on different aspects of the subject, and soberly analysed the factors that drew children to crime, complete with interviews with children in juvenile detention centres.³⁵⁸ However, the rhetoric adopted in articles with anonymous subjects could not seep into individual stories about juvenile delinquents or miscreants. Within mere months of the articles mentioned above, both newspapers would not hesitate to publish crime stories harshly condemning children caught for petty thefts.³⁵⁹

Therefore, personalised news stories decontextualise, distort, and alienate their central characters. Moreover, the various subgenres of these stories evoke distinct reader responses. News about accomplished children is one of these subgenres. Talented children were always an editors' favourite in Turkey, and child prodigies such as Suna Kan and İdil Biret, who were known nation-wide as early as the 1950s. The stardom of wunderkinds became much more prominent by the 1990s, when child singers, actors, and even children voicing their opinions on television shows were presented as nation's sweethearts.

The personalisation of success, on the other hand, was a new phenomenon, pioneered and refined by *Hürriyet*, which published series of interviews with "champions" of university exams, consulting them for tips of success.³⁶⁰ This type of

³⁵⁸ Celalettin Çetin, "Suçlu çocuklar" (Juvenile delinquents) *Hürriyet*, 29-31 August 1982; "Çocukların dramı" (Children's tragedy) *Tercüman* 16-18 March 1987.

³⁵⁹ İrfan Ülkü, "Bunlar da soyguncu" (These are burglars too) *Tercüman*, 15 April 1987.

³⁶⁰ Saygı Öztürk, Kemal Saydamer, "Sınav Şampiyonları" (Champions of exams) *Hürriyet*, 24 May 1982.

articles was quickly adopted by *Tercüman*, and later in the late 1980s *Milliyet* joined the queue. As Rifat Bali observes, the 1980s were marked by an increased display of wealth and success in the media.³⁶¹ Thus it was not unpredictable how the showing off of success was embroidered by astonishing details of the successful children's lives, who proudly talked about their distinguished parents, hobbies, and beautiful homes. These were quite different from the high society news of the 1970s, which displayed beautifully dressed children in community gatherings and celebrations. The children of the *crème de la crème* of the 1980s were portrayed individually, not anonymously.

Significantly, stories about exam champions did not centre on a child's social status lest the child was from a family of limited means.³⁶² The children who managed to succeed despite some hardships were even more noteworthy for the press. As the news media found in school entrance exams the last bastion of social mobility, children from middle class families who scored high points provided better material for the articles. While the ladder of mobility narrowed, the accomplishments of these middle class children were presented as the ultimate testimony of meritocracy, and they became the centrepiece of news stories instead of the two-thirds of the child population who applied for the exams, but could not pursue higher education.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Rıfat N. Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (From way of life to "lifestyle:" new elites, new spaces, new lives) (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), pp. 35-37.

³⁶² "Ortadirek çocuğu sınav şampiyonu" (The champion of the exam is a child from the middle class) *Hürriyet*, 19 Ağustos 1987.

³⁶³ In 1998, less than 400000 out of 1,5 million applicants were placed in higher education programs. National exam centre's data is available [online] at: <<http://osym.gov.tr/belge/1-6159/osys-yuksekokretim-programlari-orgun-kontejan-ozet-tabl.html>> [31 May 2014].

While champions of exams were instrumentalised to prove social mobility, stories about children with disadvantages who succeeded despite hardships were viewed as pillars of the individual's victory against all odds. Since there were not many disabled children who were assisted to climb upwards, the media lowered the bar of newsworthiness, and did not necessarily wait for grand successes, but settled for valedictorians and students at the top of their class. For children with severe disadvantages like poverty, merely keeping on the right track and not revolting against fate were good enough to make them newsworthy. These personal salvation stories did not criticise the hardships disadvantaged children faced, but suggested a quest for personal escape. Thus, for example, *Hürriyet's* story about a little girl who worked on the streets to take care of her family³⁶⁴ was not written as a critical account of her being a child labourer, but it was an appraisal of her personal bravery and prudence. Although it is not fair to argue that *Hürriyet* would not publish Ayşe's story had she been less agreeable, in the scanned years, the paper did not publish any other stories that portrayed children who did complain about poverty. Instead, inspirational portraits which showcased their subjects as successful individuals who managed to overcome their disadvantages by consequence labelled children who could not as personal failures.

A different variety of this phenomenon of demanding specific and personalised solutions to social problems were found in crime stories. As the society-oriented journalistic approach, which tended to construe particular incidents as part of a greater social context began to fade; socio-economic problems were relocated in personal stories. These stories, albeit defining some issues in social terms, were

³⁶⁴ “Küçük Ayşe, çiçek satıp 4 kişilik ailesine bakıyor” (Little Ayşe takes care of her 4 person household by selling flowers) *Hürriyet*, 12 January 1982.

coupled with a new approach that demanded personal solutions to problems that originated from the socio-economic context. The most obvious examples of these could be found in the third page of *Hürriyet* newspaper, which was an extra headline page in the previous decade. By the 1980s, the third page was almost exclusively devoted to human interest stories. It was especially the domestic violence news were analysed as results of the socio-economic context. The concluding remarks of these stories were usually moral lessons that reminded the readers that not all victims of social injustice retorted to violence and cautioned them to find their own personal solutions. In a specific example, when reporting a filicide committed by a wretched unemployed father, Güven and Özdoğan advised parents to keep their children out of their economic troubles, and quoted a psychology professor who admitted that most familial problems stemmed from socio-economic problems, but concluded that it was “up to the couple’s will” to overcome that.³⁶⁵ Not all examples were as explicit as this article, yet there was a significant frequency in mentioning personal liability in domestic disturbance stories that used socio-economic context as a background element.

The media did not overlook the children who could not succeed no matter how hard they tried. However, their stories were mostly found in articles calling for charity. There were no examples of charity calls in *Hürriyet* in 1977, whereas by the 1990s, the newspaper published at least one charity report per month. In calls for charity, children were singled out for their outstanding performances such as bravely facing diseases or getting excellent grades at school, and the circumstances that blocked their way to accomplishment were narrated in detail. When the call for

³⁶⁵ Avşar Cihan, Cemalettin Özdoğan, “Çocuklarınızın önünde çenenizi tutmayı bilin” (Learn to hold your tongues in front of your children) *Hürriyet*, 9 January 1982.

charity was answered, the follow up article was often more highlighted than the original news. The gist of these narratives was that fate would eventually lend a helping hand to the deserving individual. In some of these personal salvation stories, the protagonist was not the beneficiary but the beneficent, the guardian angel. Like personal achievement stories, these motivational articles that depicted individual philanthropists embellished the might of the individual as well, and their moral theme was how a single person could change the world. Another side effect of the increased frequency of charity stories is that this concealed commonalities between separate events. Instead of offering a holistic understanding, these types of news stories leave it to the reader to connect the dots. Thus, in the 1990s, when newspapers published emotional stories about children whose parents could afford to get the treatment they needed, they rarely stepped back and made news about the general problems of social security. Rather, it was stories about children who were saved by the state one at a time in singular acts of compassion that they picked to elaborate.

But then there were stories which could not be twisted into a morality tale with a happy ending; there were children who had lost their freedom, their health, or even their lives because of their circumstances. The most insidious version of personalisation was present in these texts. In her seminal work on arabesque culture, Meral Özbek observes a shift in meaning between the spontaneous remonstrance of the 1970s' lyrics, and the "I will weep, but I will nonetheless do the deed" type "pragmatic-emotionalism" of the 1980s.³⁶⁶ A similar shift is visible between the calm opposition of the journalists in the 1970s and the covertly consenting whinge after

³⁶⁶ Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (Popular culture and Orhan Gencebay's arabesque) (Istanbul: İletişim, 2000 (c.1991)), pp.125-127.

the 1980s. While the former criticised and demanded explanations, the latter blamed luck, wept for the unlucky children, and that sufficed. For instance, when *Hürriyet*'s Yalvaç announced the death of a teenage construction worker with the remark “shame on poverty,”³⁶⁷ that was the extent of the complaint. Child poverty and exploitation of child labour was mentioned, acknowledged, or rather insinuated, but they were reduced to emotional details that would add depth to the story. There was no follow up to the report that listed an analysis of child labour or work place accidents, and no chase to point out those responsible for the tragedy.

The “baklava” case of 1997 was another significant example.³⁶⁸ The initial report was that three poor kids broke into a shop, and stole sweet pastries because they were hungry. Although their defence was based on their being in dire need, they were sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment. For a couple of months, columnists and journalists alike joined together in a wailing chorus, but their complaints did not evolve into an organised attempt to analyse the conditions that drove children to stealing; rather, these articles served as a collective emotional catharsis that was limited to that particular incident.

³⁶⁷ İsmet Yalvaç, “Genç işçinin ölümü” (The death of a young worker) *Hürriyet*, 30 Kasım 1982.

³⁶⁸ Mehmet Taşçıoğlu, Özlem Öztürk “Fıstık hırsızı 3 çocuğa 18 yıl” (18 years for three little pistachio thieves) *Milliyet*, 26 December 1997; Enis Berberoğlu, “Baklava yerine oto çalsalardı” (If only they stole cars instead of pastries) *Hürriyet*, 14 July 1998; Nedim Şener, “Acı bir baklava öyküsü” (A bitter story of sweet pastries) *Milliyet*, 18 November 1998.

8 yaşındaki yankesici ilk işinde yakalandı

CEVDET AKYOL

- İSTANBUL-Fındıklı'da, Doç. Atilla Çetin'e ait özel otomobilden, içinde toplam 350 milyon lira değerinde mücevherat ve nakit para bulunan çantayı çalan 8 yaşındaki küçük kapkaççı F.Ö. 48 saat içinde yakalandı.
- Yankesicilik Bürosu ekipleri, çantayı ele geçirmek için Kasımpaşa Hacı Hüsrev Mahallesi'nde bir operasyon yaptılar. Operasyonlarda gözaltına alınan çok sayıda yankesicinin sorgulanması neticesi, çanta eksiksiz olarak ele geçirildi. Polis, olayla ilgili olarak F.Ö.'yü gözaltına aldı.



Özel otodan içinde 350 milyonluk mücevher ve para bulunan çantayı çalan küçük kapkaççı, 48 saat içinde yakayı ele verdi.



En küçüğü kan kırmızı

Otomobillerden, toplam 32 milyon 650 bin lira para, kıymetli evrak ve banka cüzdanı bulunan çantaları çalarırken suç üstü yakalanan 9 yaşındaki kız gözaltına alındı. Küçük Y.C'nin daha önce de yankesicilikten bir kaç kez ele geçtiği açıklandı. ► 5. sayfada



KOBRA ÇETESİ

KENDİLERİNE "Kobra Çetesi" adını veren 15 yaşındaki U.Y. (soldan ikinci), 14 yaşındaki M.D. (en solda), 14 yaşındaki A.P. (sağdan ikinci) ve kardeşi 12 yaşındaki H.P. (sağda), Bakırköy çevresinde birçok evden hırsızlık yaptıklarını söylediler. Galatasaraylı Tanju Çolak'ın evinden kupa çaldıklarını, girdikleri evlerde birçok kişiyi eğlenince için korkuttuklarını söyleyen minik hırsızlar, marifetlerini oyundaymış gibi gülerek anlatıyorlardı. Sanıklar, Çocuk Mahkemesi'ne sevk edildiler. (Fotoğraf: Abdullah COŞKUN)

Bakkalların başına belâ olmuşlardı

Bunlar da soyguncu!

☆ **Çocuk soyguncular:** Bakırköy, Şişli ve Küçükbakkalköy'de soygunlar yapan, aralarında 1 kişiyi öldürüp bir kişiyi de yaralayan grubun da bulunduğu 3 ayı çete ele geçirildi. Soyguncular arasında bir de çocuk var...

İrfan ULKU
Anadolü Şubesi Gasp Masası ekiplerinin düzenledikleri operasyonlarda İstanbul'da bakkal dükkanlarından silah zorla para alan ve bir kişiyi öldürüp bir kişiyi de yaralayan üç ayı soygun çetesi ortaya çıkarıldı. Bakırköy ve Şişli semtlerinde bir süre önce meydana gelen cinayet, gasp ve soygun olaylarını düzenleyen Muzaffer ve Sami Balcan adlı iki kardeş ile Hilmi Şevdet ve Recep Karataş'ın oluşan çetenin iki ay önce de Sefaköy'de silah tehdidiyle soymak istedikleri Dursun Başkaya adlı bakkal kendilerine direnince tabancayla başına ateş ederek öldürdükleri tesbit edildi. Dursun Başkaya'yı öldüren çetenin şefi Muzaffer Balcan'ın gene Sefaköy'de Necati Er adlı tahafeciye de tabancayla yaraladığı açıklandı.

Çetenin lideri Muzaffer Balcan suçunu itiraf ederek "17 yıl önce Sınop'ta kan davası yüzünden amcamın oğlunu öldürmelerden istikam almak için onların ailesinden birisini öldürdüm. Aftan çıktıktan sonra da yapacak iş olmadı için yama topladım üç arkadaşla soygunlar yapmaya başladım" dedi.

Orhan Taşdan, Kazım Düden adlı iki kişiden oluşan ikinci çetenin Küçükbakkalköy'de müsteri olarak bindikleri bir taksi götürme soydukları belirtildi.

Anadolü Şubesi yetkilileri kendilerine "Avrupalılar" adını veren üçüncü çetenin ise Almanya'da doğup daha sonra Türkiye'ye gelen 19 yaşındaki Fikret Fakir ile Özden Bulut'tan oluştuğu yetkililer tarafından bildirildi. İki soyguncu "Bizim paraya ihtiyacımız yok. Bu işleri macera olsun diye yapıyoruz" şeklinde konuştular.

MACERA OLSUN DİYE: Kendilerine "Avrupalılar" adını veren bu çocuklar Almanya'da doğup Türkiye'ye gelmişler. Kendi ifadelerine göre paraya ihtiyaçları yok, macera olsun diye soygun yapıyorlar...

Figure 9 – Juvenile delinquents in personalised stories

Images: *Türkiye*, 14 November 1992; *Hürriyet*, 1 March 1992; *Milliyet*, 21 January 1989; *Türkiye*, 15 April 1987

Still, the most solid form of personalisation was found in crime stories. As observed before, in the 1970s, it was apparent that journalists avoided vilifying children involved in criminal activities. Most of these children were called “children pushed to crime,” or defined as victims of the act, not the actors. The only exception was *Tercüman*’s extreme reaction against property crimes. Children caught for non-violent acts of burglary, shoplifting, or theft were presented as the bad seeds by journalists. The extent of information provided in their articles did not go beyond the criminal act itself: what was stolen, from whom, and how the thief was caught; its causes or affects were rarely questioned. Furthermore, as the narrative was temporally and spatially limited to the action, so were the child villains. This style isolated the delinquent children from all factors and reduced their presence to their action. The characters in the story were only visible in the demeaning setting, and devoid of meaning outside this context. Thus, the miscreants stood out as the only bearers of liability, and their being was defined by their evil deed, and this admonitory fashion denounced the child delinquent (see Figure 9).

In his essay “Luck and the Individualisation of Remedies,” Zygmunt Bauman observes that the basic promise of Enlightenment was to overcome uncertainty. The modern organisation of the society was designed to free us from that feeling, and find patterns and rules that will explain and organise what is happening and why, to help us gain control over our lives. However, in “liquid modern” times, these modern institutions are no longer valid or strong enough to keep that promise. Bauman uses the arguments formed by Ulrich Beck in *Risk Society*,³⁶⁹ who observes that it is now individuals who are held liable to come up with their own personal solutions to social

³⁶⁹ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992).

problems. According to Baumann, this liability assumes that we can untangle those social complications, and declares us capable individuals, “individual by decree.” However, we do not possess the power to actually solve social problems, and we cannot become “individuals de facto.”³⁷⁰ Bauman’s argument is even more applicable to children, who are not remotely capable of designing the lives into which they are born. And since there is no more control expected from modern institutions, and we as individuals are not able to overcome uncertainty with our own means, we need something else, something that might make life more bearable, and comprehensible. The ambivalence left behind by the modern social structure is replaced with an emphasis on personal luck and character.

This is one of the reasons why the media increasingly depended on personalised stories to explain what happens to children. Personalisation views society as a composition of unrelated persons and denies any social responsibility over personal destinies. It is purely personal conditions that designate children’s accomplishments or failures. However, when children’s life stories are presented as such, they can only be explained as causes of personal actions. This approach enables the media to deny social responsibility by holding the child actors liable for their doom or salvation. Furthermore, it enables us to categorise children by separating those who could and those who could not. And differentiating children from each other was a ground changing development that set the scene and paved the way for the second axis: the labelling of some children as “proper” and some as the proper child’s constitutive others.

³⁷⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, “Luck and the Individualisation of Remedies,” in *Collateral Damage: Social Inequalities in A Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press: 2011), pp.94-103.

Transition from Plural to Singular Answers

In this chapter, I have argued that the mainstream print media's answers as to who children's caregivers, guardians, and custodians should be gradually was transformed throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This is to say that in the media's answers to these basic questions, singular subjects replaced plural subjects while the emphasis shifted from the society onto families, from state onto citizens, and from public to private. In other words, the way the news media made sense of childhood changed, and the prevailing approaches to envisaging the relationship between the child and the society converted into something altogether new, which portioned out shared responsibilities and designated separate singular actors to perform different social functions. Over time, the media's definition of childhood transformed from a multifaceted, integrated and public concept to a more isolated, privatized, and personal one.

It can be argued that this was the result of changing journalistic trends in the twenty years from 1977 to 1997, when a society oriented and descriptive journalism that diagnosed events as socially embedded incidents, looked for social explanations, and demanded social solutions was replaced with a new approach. In accordance with this new approach, the media left children's survival and development off its agenda, and journalists stepped down from the position of advocates of children's well-being. This process went hand in hand with welfare retrenchment, and the reallocation of social responsibility to private agents. It was the parents that got the biggest share of liability, as the image of the vulnerable child was used to endorse the purchasability of children's wellbeing, and their duties and anxieties were raised

without any major discussion about their traditional roles. Meanwhile, an event and actor oriented narrative journalism dominated mainstream newspapers. This new style interpreted news as purely isolated happenings, and depicted them as results of personal choices. The personalisation of news stories imputed child actors intrinsic qualities and portrayed them as essentially good or bad, personally lucky or unlucky. These portraits shattered the modern view of the child that as the blank slate, and attributed the children an agency which they logically could not possess.

The media of the 1990s no longer employed the imperative mood to address the society, the authority, the government, but used it to address singular subjects who were devoid of the necessary power to influence political decisions or make a social change. The protective and pluralist approach that viewed children as social beings and that wanted to prevent children's inheritance or personal actions to determine their fates was replaced with an "every child for himself" attitude. In a sense, these developments were indicating that the promise of equality, solidarity and human development, in short, the social contract of cooperation and security that held the society together since the post war period was being written off. In the following chapter, I will discuss what had replaced that shattered contract, and how a new conceptualisation for childhood was conceived.

CHAPTER 6

THE THIRD AXIS: INEQUALITY, DISTINCTION AND CONDITIONAL CHILDHOOD

*because we separate like
ripples on a blank shore*

In the previous chapter, I discussed how mainstream media negotiated with the prevailing definition of childhood and re-evaluated the social connotations of the concept. I argued that, by end of the period, the news media had come to disclaim social custodianship of children, and instead, started to emphasise familial liability and personal accountability. The abolition of collective responsibility over children's well-being was a major axis of the transformation, and it was precisely this abolition that set the ground for a new terminology and a new conceptualisation of childhood. In this chapter, I will investigate the factors which underpinned this new definition.

As observed elsewhere, between 1977 and 1997, persistent disparities between different children's living standards, capabilities and life chances widened the gap between different groups. Thus, the period not only sustained the already present inequalities but also created a new kind of distinction between different childhoods. In this chapter, I will question how the representations of childhood in mainstream media reflected persistent and discriminating social inequality, and I will

discuss the relation between distinction and the symbolic reconstruction of childhood.

I will argue that the split between distinct childhoods also was translated into the mainstream discourse of the news media. This was not only evident in the media's imperceptions of social inequality, but also displayed by their characterisation of children. As the child population began to concentrate at the opposite ends of the inequality scale, the embracing concept of childhood began to decompose. That is to say that, as the print media began to re-evaluate who is to be considered a child, it found in itself the status to designate who would be included in the category of children and who would be considered the surplus; who is to be considered a child, and who is not. Thus, the representations and misrepresentations of social inequality among children in the absence of collective responsibility, and the redefinition of childhood as a conditional and exclusive privilege constitutes the third and final axis of the transformation between the late 1970s and late 1990s.

In the following chapter, I will analyse the media's interpretations of inequalities and distinctions between children on three levels. First, I will look into the transformation of commentary on childhood inequality and the media's compliance with distinction. Second, I will question how the borders of childhood were redrawn to exclude some of its members, and how some children were denied childness, especially on the grounds of gender, poverty, and region of origin. Finally, I will scrutinise positive images of children to unravel the values and qualities attributed to "decent" and idealised childhood. To conclude, I will argue that these three consecutive steps morphed the understanding of childhood from an age-defined life stage into a discriminating social category.

From “One for All” to “All for Some”

Media Interpretations of Persistent Inequalities

As I discussed in the chapter on children’s well-being, the distribution of income in Turkey remained uneven after the fiscal crisis and change of economic policies.³⁷¹ Furthermore, in the 1980s and the 1990s, urban dwellers outnumbered rural dwellers for the first time in the country’s history. Thus, a significant proportion of the population was concentrated in giant cities, which were characterised by an even greater inequality, caused by the uneven distribution of wealth and benefits. The increasing disparity experienced in shared urban environments transformed both the displays and the experiences of inequality.

Children, especially those under fifteen years of age, whose relative income recorded a decline in the period from the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s, were among the most vulnerable groups in terms of social justice. With little redistribution that made up for unequal income, persistent disparities continued to affect disadvantaged children’s lives, limited their life chances and blocked their way out of this vicious cycle. Meanwhile, the living standards of advantaged children continued to improve, with better quality of education, healthcare, and access to information and culture. Briefly, growth without redistribution created distinct groups of children. Thus, while inequalities between different children’s capabilities and life chances sustained, real and perceived differences created a distinction between different groups of children.

Henceforth, I will question how the representations of childhood in mainstream media reflected this persistent inequality in an age of fast transformation.

³⁷¹ See Chapter 2, pp.37-39.

I will argue that the newspapers' interpretations of persistent and discriminating social inequalities, and comments on the diversification of children's living standards are crucial issues in understanding the definition of new childhood. In the following section, I will argue that not only did the media abandon the critique of an unjust social system, but also accepted inequalities as irrevocable, and even participated in their justification.

I will construct this analysis on news and articles about children's living standards,³⁷² and I will focus on comments that specifically addressed inequalities between children. The reason why I place particular importance of the interpretation of inequality is the fact that the distinction between children was not merely symbolic or cultural, but the inequalities that children faced had some undeniable manifestations. Although statistics sometimes fell short of capturing the severity of childhood inequalities, there were some signs too obvious to ignore. And the media's interpretations of these signs might reveal their position in relation to social justice and childhood. Thus, for instance, it is undoubtedly significant to spot that the media chose to reveal inequalities between children in the 1970s when signs of uneven distribution were hidden by geographical distance, whereas by the 1990s, albeit the increasing visibility of uneven childhoods concentrated in urban settings, not only did they abandon this critique, but also renounced the notion that social equality in itself is a positive and desirable goal for a society.

³⁷² News categories used in this section are children's education (curricula, exams, legislation, private education, problems, schools), health (drug abuse, contagious diseases, non-contagious diseases, nutrition, sanitation, preventive medicine, natal/prenatal care, social security, hazardous substances, medical malpractice cases, scientific developments, private healthcare), and living conditions (child labour, child welfare, children with disabilities, economic problems, gendered discrimination, general observations, global child well-being, homeless children and orphanages, housing, juvenile delinquents, legislation, migrant children, natural disasters, safety). For a full list of news categories, see Appendix B.

Turkey in the 1970s was not a lost paradise in terms of children's life chances.³⁷³ The country had neither succeeded in guaranteeing an equality of capabilities for its children, nor had it promised a high level of social mobility. The journalists, of all people, who witnessed various examples of disparities, were very aware of this. In fact, they were the first to admit that children were growing up unequal. Predictably, despite their different ideological standings, all newspapers observed and criticised inequalities inherent to the society, and observed newly appearing signs of distinction. A representative example was Atikkan's investigative article on the costs of labour in private and public institutions, in which she criticised the obvious differentiation of costs and services of a basic necessity such as natal care, which was supposed to be indiscriminately available.³⁷⁴

The newsmakers were especially sensitive to discrepancies in the quality of education. At the very least, education was thought to enable intra-generational social mobility, and it was the only feasible escape route out of inherited poverty and disadvantage. However, as Dayıođlu observed in 1977,³⁷⁵ not all children had the same chances with the existing elimination methods. According to Dayıođlu, the quality of education varied between schools and across regions, cities, and even neighbourhoods, and that this limited the chances of disadvantaged children to reach their full potential.

³⁷³ For more information on the availability and accessibility of health care, see Chapter 2, pp47-49.

³⁷⁴ Zeynep Atikkan, "Dünyaya gelmek de pahalılaşıyor" (Being born is more expensive than ever) *Hürriyet*, 4 February 1977.

³⁷⁵ Gülten Dayıođlu, "Kolejlere giriş sınavlarının düşündürdükleri" (Some thoughts on private school entrance exams) *Milliyet*, 26 March 1977.

Still, at least the system aspired to a certain degree of meritocracy, a quality which the commentators were anxious to preserve. A similar objection to education inequality was the reasoning behind the outcry when reporters revealed that there was a de facto stratification between classrooms in some state schools. Apparently, in some wealthy neighbourhoods children from different social classes were placed in different classrooms, and wealthy families were allowed to provide enhanced learning environments for their own children. The tone of the reports in *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* were very disapproving; both found it unthinkable that schools favoured some children and offered them better opportunities in education, and argued that this kind of distinction was a practice of a bygone age.³⁷⁶

This bitterness of criticism began to diminish in the following decade, even though the inequalities did not. The news media's perception of the disparities between children resorted to observing without comment by the 1980s, as displayed by *Hürriyet* and *Tercüman*'s pieces on educational inequality. In both articles, the newsmakers were more weary than shocked when they detected evidence of the growing gap between children.³⁷⁷ The raw resentment at the face of injustice was smoothed, and in some cases, it vanished altogether. There were still some correspondents who continued to make wish lists about children's equality, albeit

³⁷⁶ H.B. Ülgen, "Bazı okullarda imtiyazlı sınıflar yaratıldığı öne sürüldü" (It has been asserted that some schools have instituted privileged classrooms) *Hürriyet*, 26 January 1977; "Bazı okullarda kapıcı çocukları için ayrı sınıflar açıldığı söyleniyor" (It has been reported that there are separate classrooms for caretakers' children in some schools) *Milliyet*, 24 September 1977.

³⁷⁷ "Eğitimde garip görüntü: bir yanda öğretmensiz okullar, bir yanda öğretmen fazlası var" (Strange scenes from education: Schools without teachers on the one hand, excess teachers on the other) *Hürriyet*, 26 October 1987; Bülent Deveci and Ali Bilgili "Eğitimimizden tezatlar: 2 bin yılının çocukları... ve okulsuz çocuklar" (Contradictions in education: Children of the next millennium... and children without schools) *Tercüman*, 4 November 1987.

without much hope. Such an example was Tülay Bilginer, who analysed the discrepancies between child welfare in different parts of the world.³⁷⁸ However, the distinction between children was no longer seen as an unacceptable and outdated practice, but as a stone-cold fact.

It should be noted that in the 1970s, not all criticism of distinction was based on the principle of an egalitarian system. In some occasions, the criticism was made with a certain annotation, as displayed by the case of *Tercüman*. Since the newspaper's anti-communism designated its ideological understanding of the social structure, it was unthinkable for *Tercüman* to criticise the inequalities in terms of an egalitarian social contract that aspired to a new system. Thus, when *Tercüman*'s reporters observed and criticised examples of social inequality, they did not do it so to advocate the principle of social justice, but to caution the readers of the possible problems and threats inequality could pose to those of better means. As mentioned earlier, *Tercüman* refrained from formulating a complex criticism of the social structure; the newspaper's position to child-related issues was determined by an anxiety to conserve the status-quo. Thus, their interpretation of unequal childhoods was based on the assumption that marginalised children who inevitably envied their advantaged peers would cause social unrest when they grew up. They suggested social assistance as a control mechanism, the very idea that lay at the heart of the post-war welfare economics, as pointed out by Eric Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm asserts that the memory of the 1930s, as well as the strong presence of the Soviets, was the driving force that shaped the economic functions of welfare states in the post-war

³⁷⁸ Tülay Bilginer, "Çocuklara hayat bayram olsa" (If only life was a rose garden for children) *Hürriyet*, 23-29 April 1987.

period.³⁷⁹ However, the criticism of inequality from a welfare angle was doomed to hollow out when the main reasoning behind governance began to change at the turn of the century, and the redistributive function of social states retrenched in favour of the penal function of police states.

Then again, even by the late 1990s, many commentators were reluctant when it came to revealing the ugly truth to children themselves. Although they appeared to reconcile with inequality and came to terms with a society that favoured some children at the expense of others, many journalists argued that if at all possible, kids should be spared from recognizing their social statuses. In 1977, *Tercüman* had already offered its own solution to this problem when it asked the municipalities to ban residency below street level, so that the children living in basements would not feel inferior to their peers upstairs.³⁸⁰ By the 1980s, other newspapers absorbed *Tercüman*'s approach to the issue, and many commentators agreed that prohibiting and containing symbols of distinction could be a solution. For example, school uniforms were considered to be among the primary means of concealing inequality from children. Thus, when private schools first introduced school-specific uniforms instead of the nation-wide black school aprons, the practice was interpreted as an unnecessary display of status, and Hasan Pulur of *Hürriyet* asked for strict regulations for students' dress codes, so that underprivileged pupils would not witness their friends who were dressed in fancy outfits for celebrations.³⁸¹ Similarly,

³⁷⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century (1914-1991)* (London: Abacus 2009 (c1994)), p.271.

³⁸⁰ "Bodrum katlarında oturanlar sinirli ve hırçın oluyorlar" (Those residing below the street level grow up more irritable and ill-tempered) *Tercüman*, 12 July 1977.

³⁸¹ Hasan Pulur, "İlkokul önlükleri üzerine" (On primary school uniforms) *Hürriyet*, 14 August 1982.

Milliyet asked for the removal of television commercials for luxury goods that targeted children, for they “belittled” parents of slender means in the eyes of their sons and daughters.³⁸²

Although the angle of perceived inequality was not unsubstantial, newspapers’ prohibitionist approach to symbolic status was problematic insofar as this entailed a covert acceptance of persistent inequality lest it was not visible to the child. Therefore, this desire of maintaining the illusion of social equality could not turn into a plea for a better society, but remained a variation of the cautious conservative criticism of *Tercüman*, which concentrated on avoiding the symbolic displays of social distinction instead of narrowing the gap between children.

This timid request to conceal increasing disparities from children’s eyes was nonetheless more egalitarian than the downright defence of distinction that emerged in the 1980s. This sly reinterpretation changed the vocabulary of the equality/inequality debate by detaching it from the viewpoint of the disadvantaged children and approaching it from the perspective of the already advanced groups. From this angle, equality was no longer viewed as a principle but construed as an obstacle that would curb the advancement of already privileged children. This was done by distorting the concept of “equality of opportunities” and using it as a synonym of choice. Thus, the expansion of commodities available on the market was presented as increasing opportunities.

The subversion of the “equality of opportunities” concept was based on the assertion that it would be unfair to close down privatized escape routes in an unequal system. However, just because something was on the market does not mean that it is

³⁸² “TV aileleri çaresiz bırakıyor” (TV makes parents desperate) *Milliyet*, 9 March 1988.

an equal and real opportunity, not unless all children could afford it. This twisting and turning of the concept emptied it of its meaning as it used evidence of the existing inequalities and egalitarian efforts to advocate distinction. Thus, as the concept was reduced to an appendage of market emanated possibilities of choice in this distorted definition, it was separated from its social connotations.

The faulty uses of the “equality of opportunities” concept were especially apparent in the privatisation of education debate which used the term as a multi-functional tool. On the one hand, the terminology of egalitarianism was used by the opponents of special public high schools. These educational institutions that offered foreign language education to special students selected by nation-wide tests were considered to be causing inequality in regards that they offered better opportunities than regular public schools.³⁸³ But at the same time, private teaching institutions and private schools were defended as egalitarian instruments that helped close the gap between children.³⁸⁴ For instance, *Milliyet*’s Mehmet Barlas was among the pioneers to employ the term “equality of opportunity” to suggest that the upper classes should not have to lower their standards to maintain social equality. He argued that since the state was incapable of providing high quality education, it should step out of the way of those who could afford to take care of their children, and allow them to do so.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ “Anadolu liseleri fırsat eşitliğini zedeliyor” (Anatolian high schools are damaging the equality of opportunities) *Hürriyet*, 2 January 1987; Kemal Önder, “Anadolu Liseleri tartışılıyor” (Debate over Anatolian high schools) *Türkiye*, 9 December 1992.

³⁸⁴ “Özel dershaneleri kapatma kararının gözden geçirilmesi istendi” (The closure of private teaching institutions was called into reconsideration) *Hürriyet*, 18 February 1982; Oktay Apaydın “Özel dershaneler fırsat eşitsizliğini önüyor” (Private teaching institutions help prevent inequality of opportunities) *Tercüman*, 11 March 1982; “DPT özel dershanelerin kapatılmasına karşı çıktı” (The State Planning Organisation is against the closing down of private teaching institutions) *Milliyet*, 14 March 1992.

³⁸⁵ Mehmet Barlas, “Yabancı dil eğitimi” (Foreign language education) *Milliyet*, 27 January 1982.

The presentation of being available on the market as “equality of opportunities” became the dominant theme of the equality question by the 1990s, when the priority of a just competitive market over a just society was rarely contested. For example, in 1992, Erol Gönenç interviewed the founders of private schools for *Hürriyet*’s private education file, and conveyed their demands such as tax exemptions, state subsidies, and abandonment of compulsory scholarship programs to support the privatization progress. The article defended that private education should be a mass marketing product, and concluded that public schools created an unjust competitive atmosphere which was discriminated against private institutions, and harmed the “equality of opportunities” for the middle-classes by putting private education beyond their reach.³⁸⁶

The instrumentalisation of the equality principle was adopted by journalists and statesmen alike, who used the evidences of dualities to justify elitism and distinction. For instance, Köksal Toptan, minister of education between 1991 and 1993, rarely refrained from vocalising his great despair that the state schools were in very bad shape indeed. Although it was highly unusual for a politician to admit that his ministry had failed its duties, the point of his declarations was clear: the minister stated that since the state simply would not allocate enough resources to enhance the quality of education for everyone, it was time for those of better means to take a stand and look after their own children.³⁸⁷ In other words, the evidence of inequality

³⁸⁶ Erol Gönenç, “Özel okul dosyası” (File on private schools) *Hürriyet*, 7-10 June 1992.

³⁸⁷ “Bakan’dan acı itiraf” (Bitter confession from the minister) *Hürriyet*, 27 January 1992. “Milli Eğitim Bakanı’ndan acı itiraflar” (Bitter confessions from the minister of education) *Türkiye*, 20 August 1992.

was used both to oppose egalitarian measures, and to advocate privatisation and offer escape routes for the already advantaged classes.

What accompanied this approach was the media's shift of perspective in terms of social justice. A very interesting instrumentalisation of inequality was to be found in marketing campaigns. Rifat Bali observes how the new elites in Turkey designed their life styles around owning or enjoying what others could not.³⁸⁸

Publicists who targeted families with children craftily sculpted a new advertisement slogan out of this tendency, and started marketing distinction and advertising inequality. They marketed their products for being exclusive and limited to a privileged few. A country club could be advertised for being exclusive to only a few hundred distinguished members and their children, whereas an advertisement for a gated community took pride in being the "one and only," hence, one cut above the rest.³⁸⁹

While there was nothing new in pointing out the uniqueness of a product as a selling point, illustrating other people's disadvantages to highlight that uniqueness was not that common a practice. For instance, an advertisement for a housing estate opened with the observation that there were many children who did not have any access to parks, the only vegetation they encountered were houseplants, but then it concluded, "but your children will grow up in lush green gardens."³⁹⁰ Simply put,

³⁸⁸ Bali, pp. 44-56.

³⁸⁹ "Pegasus'a merhaba" (Say hello to Pegasus) *Hürriyet*, 24 April 1992. "İstanbul'da benzeri yok" (The one and only in İstanbul) *Hürriyet*, 5 October 1997.

³⁹⁰ "Bizim çocuklarımız yemyeşil bahçemizde çiçeklerle birlikte büyüyor" (Our children are growing up along with flowers in our lush green garden) *Hürriyet*, 17 May 1997.

these campaigns suggested that there was no point in being on the losing side of the inequation in an unequal society.

The media's interest in childhood inequalities began to decline by the 1980s when the rationale behind the debate shifted from criticising inequality to concealing its displays, and the focus switched from one side of the inequation to the other. Be that as it may, since inequalities persisted, their representations beyond the criticism or justification angles could still be found in newspapers. Sometimes the growing gap between children was unintentionally captured while the media's lens was directed elsewhere without any acknowledgement whatsoever. The concentration of child images around special themes facilitated the observation of the differentiating living standards of children for the inquiring eye. For example, in the special pages for Ramadan, poor children waiting in line at charity organisations and wealthy families enjoying feasts shared the same pages; the incompatibility of their strikingly different experiences was disregarded.³⁹¹ However, by the late 1980s, the instances when two distinct childhoods shared columns and even pages became rarer. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a common characteristic of late twentieth century newspapers was compartmentalisation,³⁹² which confined topics related to children in their reserved margins. As subjects related to children were extracted from the front pages, divided into specialties, and sent to their reserved zones, unequal childhood experiences were also separated from each other.

³⁹¹ Sibel Yılmaz, Ümit Özkan, "Yemek şöleni" (Banquet feast) *Hürriyet* 8 March 1992; Veysi Şahin, "Buyurun iftar sofrasına" (Help yourself to the iftar table) *Hürriyet*, 8 March 1992.

³⁹² For a scrutiny on the reasons and outcomes of compartmentalisation, see Chapter 4, pp.125-126.

Metaphorically, the accelerating compartmentalisation of newspapers followed a similar pace to that of urbanisation trends. Thus, while some pages acted as the shanty towns of the newspaper, others began to look like gated communities, and provided secure grounds for the favoured children of higher social strata. Consequently, reports about juvenile delinquency were sent to the periphery of local news, underage prostitution to page three, child labour to finance pages, child poverty to comment sections; and housing problems to real estate inserts; education, pedagogy and children's culture were offered a safe haven in the outskirts of life and style supplements. This cognitive reorganisation concealed the socialness of children's problems, and the widening socio-economic gap between children by categorising their problems.

Examples from the 1970s reveal that the newsmakers did not feel obligated to designate which children they implied when they reported about child-related issues, not even when the topic concerned a specific group of children such as child labourers or urban children. Instead, they simply used a generic term such as "children" or "students." Thus, specific problems that affected even a small portion of children were considered relevant to the entirety of the child population. In many articles, reporters declared issues related to specific groups of children to be all-encompassing problems.

But then, as the years went by and child-related news was categorised, these articles also differentiated in their styles, lexicons, and even their attitudes towards their subjects. Thus, by the late 1990s, it was possible to find an article which sermonised about the fragile psychology of rebellious adolescents and cautioned mothers against smothering their kids on one page, and on another page would be

another article about adolescents of the same age living on the streets, which, albeit briefly mentioning the hardships these children encountered, argued that street children were menaces who posed threats to otherwise safe neighbourhoods. Even when children's experiences were brought together by the same topic, they were subject to different standards.

The problem with compartmentalisation and double standards is that unless these different childhoods are represented alongside each other, in the same frame, subject to same principles, their not being considered members of the same group begins to be internalised. And once their difference becomes irrelevant and invisible, their inequality is reproduced precisely because of this distorted vision. The divergence of their experiences and their representations does not allow conceptualising these distinct childhoods as variants of a common experience of "childness."

Apart from the direct addresses to inequality and unintentional captures of its severity, the third and final version of the representations of unequal childhoods was the displays of the asymmetrical relationships between children. Once the demands for equal childhoods were shelved in favour of equal opportunities to buy one's way up the status ladder, the only alternative left for children at risk was philanthropy. By the 1980s, a growing number of reports about charity organisations began to depict children in need receiving charity while they paid their gratitude to the benevolent wealthy. The disturbing scenes of children receiving alms with their awkward smiles, standing next to the generous benefactors helping them out were

immortalized in colourful photographs.³⁹³ However, these scenes were between adults and children, whose relationship was already and by definition disproportional.

By the 1990s, a very curious practice began called the sister schools, which paired privileged private schools with schools of slender means. The original idea was probably a very optimistic one which hoped to bring together children from different strata to make them aware of what they had in common: their childhood. In reality however, when two institutions were engaged in a charity agreement, the private school organised a charity campaign, collected old toys and whatnot, then the collected items were taken to the sister school by children themselves. The ceremonial exchange of hands of in kind relief from child to child was staged in front of news reporters, in a very demeaning fashion. These reports were perhaps the most atrocious version of the awkward encounters between unequal children.³⁹⁴ As such, the objective of the practice went beyond creating bonds between children, and focused on teaching the advantaged children the moral significance of giving.³⁹⁵ Thus, these practices symbolically marked the proper positions for givers and takers; they put every child in its right place. It can be concluded that articles that applauded these alms-giving ceremonies not only normalised unequal childhoods, but also

³⁹³ Levent Akın “Miniklere erken bayram” (The festival arrives early for the little ones) *Türkiye*, 3 February 1992; Birsal Sancar “Çanta sevinci” (Joy over school bags) *Hürriyet*, 22 September 1992.

³⁹⁴ “Minik öğrenciler kardeş oldu” (Little students become brothers and sisters) *Türkiye*, 23 April 1992 – A report of a charity agreement between a private school in İstanbul and students of a school in the rural east of Turkey.

³⁹⁵ “Miniklerden özveri dersi” (A lesson of selflessness from the little ones) *Hürriyet*, 19 January 1992 – A report of the charity giving ceremony in which students of a private daycare brought toys and clothes to children living in a state orphanage.

affirmed the asymmetrical relationship between these children by suggesting benevolent charity as a cure to inequality.

Concisely, by the end of the period the media was less restless of inequality and that some children were being left behind. Contestations to unequal society were more hushed and children's diverse living standards were normalised. However, just that the media changed its attitude towards inequality did not signal that it was no longer an issue: it merely showed that the media's lens was focused elsewhere. The disadvantages children faced were not overcome, further yet, they became even more crucial and urgent precisely because they affected a smaller proportion of the child population, and it was more feasible to eradicate these disadvantages. And for that smaller proportion of disadvantaged children, it was even more important that the media was interested in them when they were face to face with greater inequalities and discrimination. It should be questioned then, how the media perceived these disadvantaged children defeated by this differentiation, and if the newspapers actually discriminated against them. In the following section, I will argue that not only did the media overlook when some children were hindered by disadvantages, in various cases, it actively participated in their marginalisation.

Drawing the Borders of an Exclusive Childhood:

Sorting Out the Exceptions

Thus far, I have elaborated how the media renounced collective responsibility of children's welfare and disavowed its pursuit for equal childhoods. In this section, I will turn to the representations and interpretations of children at risk, and I will argue

that the media's changing discourse turned these children into the outcasts of childhood. I am using the term "outcast" as employed by Loïc Wacquant in *Urban Outcasts*, to refer to those children who are excluded from an indiscriminating and objectively defined categorisation of childhood.³⁹⁶ My assertion is that the greatest damage this exclusion had done was to the integrity of the concept of childhood, as the disadvantaged children, albeit being considered children legally and conventionally, were cast out of the media's conceptualisation of childhood.

Numerous reports on children in Turkey observe that children's living conditions and future prospects are greatly determined by some important and persistent lines of discrimination, and gender, income, and region of origin are among the major factors that predispose children's life chances.³⁹⁷ Here, I will argue that the same three categories defined the outer limits of childhood in news texts, and girls, poor children, rural migrants in general, and Kurdish children in particular, were the first to be abandoned from the embracing term of childhood. This is not to say that only children living in poverty, girls, or children of ethnic minorities and rural migrants suffered from this partiality. Definitely, there were other groups of children apart from these categories which were subject to discrimination by the news media. For example, parents' ideology and religion were among the most common reasons that affected children's representations in newspapers.

While *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet* believed that it was orthodox religious groups who contaminated childhood, for *Türkiye* it was the faithless. The examples from both ends of the spectrum are numerous; in 1987, *Hürriyet* published ten articles

³⁹⁶ For further discussion on Wacquant's use of the concept, see Chapter 1, p.20.

³⁹⁷ The determinist links between gender, income and region of origin are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, p.53.

about religious indoctrination; in 1992, *Türkiye* published no less than 15 articles about cultural degeneration; in 1997, religious courses appeared in 14 different headlines on *Milliyet*'s front page. Most of these texts used similar terminologies to define the non-childishness of the children they reported about. The children were depicted as innocent but helpless victims of brainwashing and propaganda. In other words, children, whose families were the designated ideological opposites for a particular newspaper, were denied any kind of personhood that was offered to other children.

The fact that the journalists felt comfortable when they made a preference between “acceptable” childhoods and others was an important signifier of the changing mentality. However, these disparate practices of distinction varied from paper to paper and did not turn into a full frontal attack against specific groups of children, as did the discrimination against region of origin, gender, and income. Thus, I will confine the focus of this chapter to this trio, which were the common and coherent lines of discrimination in all newspapers, albeit at different degrees.

Temporalising this analysis and comparing trends across newspapers is particularly problematic because of the multi dimensional patterns of dissemination. Some of the trends observed in this section were already there in the 1970s, but improved in time; others started in the 1980s and got worse by the end of the period. Some spread like contagious diseases through time from one newspaper to others which were more cautious in stigmatising certain groups of children. Other practices only briefly appeared and waned, but influenced even worse forms of discrimination. I will look for patterns, and revisit these rise and falls throughout this section.

The following analysis is constructed upon the media representations of childhood's outcasts, which are specified as the three categories of childhood inequality explained above.³⁹⁸ I will observe that three major tactics were employed by the press to exclude these children from the general definition of childhood. First of these was denial: the media chose to ignore or overlook some children's experiences, and even refused to acknowledge their existence. Second was othering: some children were appointed as the constitutive others of childhood, and described as adult-like or evil. The third method was fictionalisation: some children only appeared in newspapers as characters in narratives, the reality of their experiences wiped out as they were used as fictional elements in human interest stories without any particular ratification of their actuality. Lastly, I will turn to the representations of Kurdish children as a rather standoffish but nonetheless relevant case study.

I have mentioned elsewhere that several problems concerning children's well-being, such as child labour, ethnic discrimination, or domestic abuse never found prominent place in newspapers, while others like child poverty, and inequality were gradually left out of focus.³⁹⁹ Consequently, children who started their lives with these disadvantages were also left aside by the news media. In other words, along with the disadvantages that limited their life chances, these children were also exiled

³⁹⁸ The following analysis is based on a study of the representations of children according to their gender, income, ethnicity/region in news about children's well-being (including children's living conditions, education, health), crime reports (child abuse, child trafficking, forced marriage, gendered discrimination, kidnapping), juvenile delinquency reports (property crimes, violent crimes, organised crimes, political crimes, underage sex, deceit), news on the Kurdish question (Kurdish children, child soldiers, warfare, migrant children), human interest stories (tragic stories, sick children, charity reports, poverty and socioeconomic tragedies).

³⁹⁹ Apart from analyses of child poverty and income, *Hürriyet* published 10 human interest stories about children living in deprivation in 1977, the numbers were 7 in 1982, 19 in 1987, 7 in 1992, and 3 in 1997.

from the media's agenda. The vanishing of poor children from newspapers is best displayed by a frequency study of child poverty as a topic. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the number of reports on children's well-being recorded a significant decline throughout the period in all three newspapers.⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, human interest stories that depicted the hardships of children living in deprivation were less common in the 1990s than in the 1970s.⁴⁰¹ It should be underlined that there was a general fall of interest in poverty and income inequality in other media; the disappearance of poor children from newspapers mimicked the invisibility of the poor in cultural products, such as movies and novels.⁴⁰²

The media's indifference to poverty was no coincidence either; the desire to diminish the visibility of child poverty and other indicators of the poor socio-economic climate was even advocated by some journalists, including *Hürriyet's* chief editor Ertuğrul Özkök. Özkök criticised the social democrat discourse of the 1970s for using the image of the "poor child."⁴⁰³ According to him, it was no longer the time for photographs of "poor children with flies on their faces," but for positive images that would make the voters imagine a forward target. As an avid supporter of free market liberalism, Özkök's concern was that grim signifiers of economic problems such as child poverty would cause despair and negativity, and thus block more ambitious goals, but the statistical evidence of the decreasing number of reports

⁴⁰⁰ See Chapter 5, p.123.

⁴⁰¹ See Chapter 5, p.132.

⁴⁰² As observed by Hilmi Maktav, "Türk sinemasında yoksulluk ve yoksul kahramanlar" (Poverty and poor protagonists in Turkish cinema) and Ömer Türkeş, "Romanın 'zenginleşen' dünyası" (The "wealthier" world of novels) in *Toplum ve Bilim* 89 (2001).

⁴⁰³ Ertuğrul Özkök, "Türk solunun trajedisi" (The tragedy of Turkey's left) *Hürriyet*, 24 April 1992.

suggests that his proposition was embraced by his team as well. The image of the poor child was sent off from the paper's front page to the small print on the inside.

The media's imprudent ignorance of children's existence and experiences was not the only variant that shattered the inclusive definition of childhood. Another and more intentional version was the othering of disadvantaged children. In his study of childhood sociology, Chris Jenks observes that the media depicts juvenile delinquents as either "adult-like and/or evil." According to Jenks, these two renditions constitute the two versions of their otherness. Here I will suggest that these categorisations were not only used in news about child criminals, but they were found in news reports about other outcasts of childhood as well.⁴⁰⁴ By representing these children as either one of these stereotypes, the media refused to acknowledge that they were, indeed, children. In other words, as soon as children stepped over some critical lines, the media refused to refer to them as children and acknowledge their childness, but categorised them as some "other" thing, be it adult-like or evil.

I have observed elsewhere that gendered discrimination was hardly ever mentioned, or at least it never became a dominant subject in child-related news, and that the emphasis on girls' disadvantages did not change visibly or worsen in the period. In fact, some apparently sexist comments were withdrawn to a certain extent in the 1990s when journalistic ethics debates brought into question some problematic approaches. For example, until the 1990s newspapers did not hesitate to publish "virginity reports" by medical authorities in autopsy reports or sexual examination.⁴⁰⁵ This practice of reporting medical statements that "officially" declared the end of a

⁴⁰⁴ Chris Jenks, *Childhood* (London: Routledge: 2005), p.135.

⁴⁰⁵ "Kahreden rapor"(Shameful report) *Hürriyet*, 24 January 1987; "Ve Arzu sağlam çıktı" (And Arzu is proved to be wholesome) *Hürriyet*, 18 February 1987.

girl's childhood was abolished in the late-1990s. In 1997, when a local newspaper suggested that female students' virginity should be checked routinely, *Hürriyet*, which previously had no problem whatsoever with publishing the results of similar physical examinations, protested with fury.⁴⁰⁶

However, not all sexism was eliminated from the paper. Underage prostitution, for example, was reported with demeaning language and images in numerous articles. In 1992, an investigative report about underage sex workers serialised by *Hürriyet* newspaper was accompanied by almost pornographic imagery and provided horrifying details and information about the trade, including the costs, names of the hotels that served the sector, and even the names and telephone numbers of their pimps (see Figure 9).⁴⁰⁷ Although there were laws that designated which publications were considered "malign" for children, there was no legislation that protected the children who were the subjects of the news. Newsmaking ethics were left to the mercy of newspapers, and it wasn't until 1999 when a publishing group declared some principles about their ethical principles.⁴⁰⁸

Moreover, the sexist approaches of the media actively participated in discrimination against girls. The exclusion of sexually active children from childhood remained one of the most common versions of othering. Furthermore, it was only the girls who stepped out of childhood as soon as they were involved in

⁴⁰⁶ Mustafa Saripek, "Bekaret depremi" (Virginity earthquake) *Hürriyet*, 15 March 1997; Mustafa Saripek, "İşte Marmaris'i karıştıran adam: muhabirden bekaret özrü," (Here's the man who upset Marmaris: the reporter apologises about remarks on virginity) *Hürriyet*, 16 March 1997.

⁴⁰⁷ "Körpe vücutlara fuhuş tuzağı," (Prostitution trap for tender bodies) *Hürriyet*, 21 January 1992.

⁴⁰⁸ "DMG'de 27 altın kural," (27 golden rules of Doğan Media Group) *Hürriyet*, 1 December 1999.

some kind of sexual act. There was no clear difference between girls who were voluntarily involved in romantic relationships, or who were subject to sexual assault. For example, stories about child brides, rape victims, and girls who ran away with their boyfriends, never failed to refer to them as young women, regardless of their age (see Figure 9).

A limited number of examples about flirting reveal that this approach was also closely related to social class. While the juvenile brides of human interest stories were considered women, upper and middle class families were advised to cut their daughters some slack and let them explore the naive and innocent pleasures of flirting. Then again, even in those examples, children's sexuality remained a taboo, and there were no mentions of any topic related to sexuality, including masturbation, not to mention the blatant and unquestioned heteronormativity of the child images. Thus, for girls, sexual maturity was perceived as a separator between childhood and adulthood, between girlhood and womanhood (see Figure 9).

Girls did not need to be sexually active to be considered adult-like either. In many cases, they merely needed to look less childlike. This attitude was especially visible in "Lolita" photo stories, which appeared to be prepared according to a certain template.⁴⁰⁹ These articles usually featured a large photograph of an underage girl, with a caption that announced their age with a mock disbelief. The expressions of surprise in their adult-like looks denied these children their childness just because they fit the norms of feminine appeal defined by the newspaper that made news out of them (see Figure 9).

⁴⁰⁹ "Bu seks kokan kadın 11 yaşında" (This woman who smells like sex is 11 years old) *Hürriyet*, 28 January 1982; Kadir Demirel, "12 yaşında ama kimse inanmıyor," (Noone believes that she's 12) *Hürriyet*, 17 November 1992; Esra Tüzün, "16'lık lolita" (16 year old Lolita) *Hürriyet*, 30 May 1997.



Figure 10 – Gendered depiction of girls

Images: *Hürriyet*, 30 October 1992; *Hürriyet*, 28 January 1982; *Hürriyet*, 12 November 1992; *Hürriyet*, 20 October 1992; *Hürriyet*, 21 January 1992; *Hürriyet*, 17 August 1992.

Whereas the discrimination against girls by the media was an example of presenting children as adult-like, juvenile delinquency reports were the ultimate showcase of the second version of their otherness, which is demonisation. I attempted a detailed analysis of the representations of deviant children in the previous chapter where I discussed the personalisation of liability.⁴¹⁰ I discussed how in the late 1970s, juvenile delinquents were considered to be victims of the crime as well, unless their actions posed a vital threat to the lives of others. The only exception was *Tercüman*'s strict and harsh sentencing of children involved in property crimes. This began to change by the 1980s, when other newspapers joined *Tercüman* in accusing children involved in criminal acts, including petty crimes, as the only liable actors, and started labelling their behaviour as a perversion from childhood.

Yvonne Jewkes observes that the murder of the three-year-old James Bulger by two ten-year-old boys was a threshold for British news media, when “the notion of childhood innocence gave way to themes of childhood horror and evil”⁴¹¹ There is no threshold as such in Turkey’s media comparable to the Bulger case, but the demonisation of children living on the streets, and specifically the example of “paint thinner addicts” served a similar purpose. Children living on the streets who inhaled toxic materials as psychoactive drugs were labelled as “paint thinner addicts,” and presented as a source of terror. Interestingly, this derogatory term was not as commonly used in the media as one might assume, but its impact was more powerful than its prevalence.

⁴¹⁰ See Chapter 5, pp.169-170 and pp.177-178.

⁴¹¹ Yvonne Jewkes, *Construction of Crime News*, p.58.

There are not many examples of articles that specifically used the term in relation to crime; a search in *Milliyet* database reveals that there was only one violent crime committed by young adults (and not children) while under the influence of these substances in the 1990s.⁴¹² On the other hand, there were plenty of articles which referred to children addicted to toxic substances as “paint thinner addicts,” both in tragic human interest stories or in children’s health reports. By using the same label in both crime reports, and other news stories about children living on the streets, the newspapers established a symbolic link between those children and crime. Thus, through their misrepresentations, all children living on the streets were stigmatised as merciless evil beings, and the horror attached to their images was engraved in the collective conscious.

Moreover, a link with crime was not a prerequisite to demonise poor children; in some cases children’s mere visibility was more than enough. Many articles did not see beggars, poor children struggling to get to the front of queues at in-kind relief organisations, and children living or working on the streets as victims of social insecurity, but as signifiers of degeneration and spectres of unsafety for the rest of the population. This attitude is best exemplified by *Türkiye*’s depiction of child beggars. In the late 1990s, *Türkiye* participated in a media frenzy over beggars on city streets who “exploited people’s compassion.” In these articles, the children were either dehumanised, described as instruments, machines, even “robots” used by their families for “emotional blackmail.” In other examples, they were called tricksters

⁴¹²“Tinerici cinayeti,” (Thinner addict kills) *Milliyet*, 24 June 1994.

and exploiters who masked their lies behind their innocent faces in order to exploit upright citizens' conscience to get more than they deserve⁴¹³ (see Figure 11).

To understand the news media's explicit hostility to these children, we should take into account two observations. The first of these is offered by Loïc Wacquant in *Punishing the Poor*. As I discussed in detail above, Wacquant interprets the last three decades as a transition from the welfare state to the penal state. He then elaborates this statement by asserting that this new type of government finds its legitimacy not in providing social security, but in inciting the sense of insecurity.⁴¹⁴ A signifier of this transition was the media's increased emphasis on safety. Symbols that provoked the sense of unsafety were the staple of this approach. The horrifying image of the delinquent, feral child threatening upright citizens became one of those symbols. The change of lexicon in accordance to the child on the streets becomes especially evident in a parallel reading of articles from the 1970s and 1990s on the same subject. In the previous chapter, I observed how the articles about "stray children" were examples of social commentary, and instead of blaming the children, journalists concentrated on analysing the social backdrop of the problem. It is significant to note that the very same theme was completely reversed in perspective in the two decades that followed, and these children came to be seen as the sole carriers of the blame.

⁴¹³ Veysi Gezer, "Çocuklarını dilencilere kiralyorlar" (They are renting their children to beggars) *Türkiye*, 30 January 1992; Ercan Seki, "Küçük Ceylan işbaşında" (Little Ceylan in action) *Türkiye*, 11 January 1992; Utku Sağılır "Dilenci annenin dilenci çocuğu" (The beggar son of a beggar mother) *Türkiye*, 8 January 1992; Selahattin Tercan, "İstanbul'a dilenci akını" *Türkiye*, 16 January 1997; Sadık Kahraman, "Dilenci operasyonu," *Türkiye*, 21 February 1997; Nuri Yılmaz, Dünder Batık, "Dilenci aldatıyor," *Türkiye*, 20 November 1997.

⁴¹⁴ Loïc Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor*. (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1999).

İNSANLARI HALİNE ACINDIRIYOR
Laleli'de, trotuar kenarına çöküp boynunu bükün ve gelip geçenlerin merhametine sığınan Ceylan, beş yaşında ama mesleğe ısınmış! Ana-kız günlük nafakalarını çıkıyorlar...



"Merhamet avcılığı" yaparak geçimini sağlamaya çalışıyor
'Küçük Ceylan' işbaşında...



Kırık Çocuk
Sahibi cepi yerlerinde dilenciler tarafından alınıldığı bir çok çocuk, ailesi ile rahatsız mezarlık evlerine teslim edilmiş ve çocukları yerlere terk edilmiş ya zahmetli gelir kayseri...

Geçmiş sıkıntısı tehlikeli şekilde istismar ediyor
Çocukları dilencilere kiralyorlar

● Adana'da son günlerde insanlığı ve aile kavramına sığmayan rahatsız mezarlık sahipleri, çocukları tehlikeli bahçelerle bazı aileler götüreli 10 il 20 bin lira arasında değişen ücretlerle çocukları dilencilere kiralyor.

VEZELER ● 13. SAYFADA



Dilenci annenin dilenci çocuğu

● ETKİLİ SAĞLIK

Dilenci aıdatıyor

Türkiye'de dilencilik "meslek" edinip dilenenlerin sayısı her geçen gün hızla çoğalıyor. Belediye zabıtalılarıyla karşılaşan kör dilenciler görmeye, topallar ise koşmaya başlıyor.

Kanun ne diyor?

17.2.1984, Madde 514: "Her kim kamu yerlerinde dilencilik yaparak halkın huzuruna ve güvenine zarar vermiş veya zarar vermeğe çalışmış ise bir aydan üç ay hapis cezasına çarptırılır."

17.2.1984, Madde 515: "Her kim 10 yaşından küçük çocukları dilencilik için veya yaşı veya vukuatı itibarıyla hukuka aykırı olarak çalıştırmış veya zorlamış ise bir aydan üç ay hapis cezasına çarptırılır."

ACINDIRIYORLAR

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Zabıta Müdürlüğü Dilencilik Önleme Birimi Topkapı ve Şişli Mahalle Amirliği Zabıta Birimleri, dilencilerin çoğu İstanbul'un en kalabalık ve nüfuslu bölgelerinde, özellikle Şişli ve Beşiktaş'ta, dilencilerin sayısının arttığını bildirdi.

CEZA YOK

Dilencilerin T.C.K.T'nin 61 ve 62'inci maddelerinde belirtilen suçları işledikleri takdirde hapis cezasına çarptırılmaları mümkündür. Ancak Şişli ve Beşiktaş'ta, dilencilerin çoğu kör ve topal kişilerdir. Bu kişiler, dilencilik yaparak geçimini sağlarlar. Bazı dilenciler, çocuklarını da dilencilere aıdatıyorlar. Bu çocuklar, dilencilik yaparak geçimini sağlarlar. Bazı dilenciler, çocuklarını dilencilere aıdatıyorlar. Bu çocuklar, dilencilik yaparak geçimini sağlarlar.

POYRAN: SELAHATTIN YERCAN

İstanbul'a dilenci akını

İSTANBUL Pamazan'la birlikte İstanbul, çevre il ve ilçelerden gelen dilenci akınına uğradı. Pamazan'da insanlarımızın merhamet duygularını arttırdığı bilen dilenciler, mesleklerini bırakarak İstanbul'a dilencilik yapmaya geliyorlar. Dilenciler namaz vakitlerinde cami önlerinde, hastahane önlerinde kalabalık durarak ile iş merkezlerinin önlerinde, metro giriş-çıkışlarında gündüz üst geçitlerin merdivenlerinde yardım toplamaya çalışıyorlar.

Baş edemiyorlar

Zabıta dilenciler toplamaya çalışsa da baş edemiyor. Dilencilerle baş edemeyen zabıta "Pamazan sırım dışında baş edemediğimiz dilenciler, bu mübarek ayda bir o kadar daha fazla oluyor. Dilenciler çevre il ve ilçelerden Pamazan'ımıza da geliyorlar. Dilenciler de bu ayda, diğer aylara nazaran vatandaşlarımızın merhamet hislerinin daha katmanlı olduğunu bildiklerinden İstanbul'u mesken tutuyorlar" dediler.

SELAHATTIN YERCAN



Cocukları alet ediyorlar

Genellikle İstanbul dışında özellikle dini bayramlar sebebiyle gelen dilenciler, küçük çocukları alet ediyorlar diyor Zabıta Müdürü Türkiye, "Dilencilik sanat haline getirmişler. Vatandaşlar uyandı olunsun birçoğu bizden daha zengin" dedi.

Dilenci operasyonu

SADIK KAYRAMAN
İSTANBUL-Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından özellikle dini bayramlarda İstanbul ilçelerini meken tutan sayısız ve dilenciler, yapılan operasyonlarla terke zorlanıyor. Bayramca Belediye Zabıta Müdürlüğü ilde sayıları bayram sebebiyle artan sayıya ve dilencilere göz açtırmayacağı belirtti. Bayramca Belediye Zabıta ekibi, düzenlediği bayram sonu operasyonu ile dilenci ve sayısız vatandaş tedbirini aldı. Denetimleri vatandaş rahat ve huzuru için yaptıklarını söyleyen Zabıta Müdürü Hasan Türksek, "Özellikle dini bayramlarda İstanbul'a göç eden dilenciler vatandaşlara durgun solumlarını yapıyorlar. Dilenci ve sayısız vatandaşlarımızın rahat ve huzuru için yaptığımız operasyonlar, özellikle mübarek ayda vatandaşlarımızın huzur ve rahat için gereği gördüklerimizdir" dedi.

Figure 11 – Children begging on the streets

Images: Türkiye, 11 January 1992; Türkiye, 30 January 1992; Türkiye, 8 January 1997; Türkiye, 20 November 1997; Türkiye, 16 January 1997; Türkiye, 21 February 1997

The second observation is articulated by both Zygmunt Bauman and Richard Sennett from quite different perspectives, but both thinkers reach similar conclusions in their interpretation of the issue in terms of redundancy. According to Bauman, capitalist society in its most recent form has created masses that are redundant to the system. He calls these masses “human waste.”⁴¹⁵ In a similar reflection, Richard Sennett observes that the very population Bauman called “human waste,” that is the poor, the unemployed, and other losers of the system, constituted a “spectre of uselessness” that alarmed the rest of the population, who felt in danger of becoming redundant.⁴¹⁶ Thus, the images of these children served two ends at the same time. First, they became symbols of insecurity, and second, they became alarming spectres of redundancy. These factors influenced their portrayal by the news media, and the apparent disturbance caused by their images was frantically covered with vile and aggressive expressions.

In addition to denial and othering, the third, and probably the most powerful form of casting children out of childhood was metaphorisation. In the previous chapter I wrote about human interest stories and how they participated in the personalisation of news. I argued that this left children alone, identified them as liable actors, trespassing the legal definition of childhood.⁴¹⁷ Many scholars of news sociology observe that the image of the child undeniably increases newsworthiness. Throughout the period, as news value became a major priority, the appearances of

⁴¹⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts* (Oxford : Polity, 2004).

⁴¹⁶ Richard Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2006).

⁴¹⁷ See Chapter 5, p.169.

children in personalised human interest stories as narrative motifs began to increase. But while children were interpreted as symbols, heroes, villains and literary metaphors in these stories, their reality was breached by the text. Using the image of the child as a literary motif to enhance the emotional effect of the text upon the audience corrupted the relationship between the readers and the child whose story they are reading. The child of the news text became fictionalised, external, strange, and different to the readers' own experiences with real life childhood. This was especially evident in three main genres of human interest stories, which can best be categorised as genres of drama: tragedies, satires, and comedies.

I observed that several problems related to children's welfare were dropped from the national headlines, and they were moved under the nest of human interest stories. Apart from the social commentary embedded in human interest stories, the only other resort of child poverty, which was practically invisible by the 1990s, were the advertisements for television serials. The advertisement for "Küçük İbo" (Little İbo)⁴¹⁸ described the little boy "who is so poor that he can't even attend school," and the one for "Ayrı Dünyalar" (Separate Worlds)⁴¹⁹ announced the show as a tear jerker tale of "poor twin girls born into a squatter home." Thus, child poverty was only a subject as a narrative theme, not only figuratively, but also literally. However, as the pursuit for children's welfare was limited to these personal stories and fictional narratives, the criticism of child poverty was reduced to its ultimate outcomes, and the problem was over identified with tragedies.

⁴¹⁸ "Küçük İbo," (Little İbo) *Hürriyet*, 1 February 1997

⁴¹⁹ "Ayrı Dünyalar," (Separate worlds) *Hürriyet*, 3 December 1997

This laid yet another layer upon the already covered problem by presenting it as the result of an untreatable malaise. Furthermore, as observed by Bullock, Wyche and Williams,⁴²⁰ the abundance of mentioning child poverty in relation to human interest stories such as crime and domestic violence reports deepened the stigmatisation of the poor by assuming a natural link between poverty and tragedy. Gloomy accounts of charity organisations and scenes depicting the needy receiving alms further deteriorated the connotations of poverty. These images became cornerstones in the collective immunisation to these unsolvable problems.

Satire was the genre which used images of disadvantaged children to underline a certain political criticism. Albeit unintentionally, these became another version of human interest stories that alienated the readers from the child subjects of the news. For instance, a common practice was to publish accounts and observations about families living in poverty.⁴²¹ These articles were written from the point of view of journalists who went native and tried to live the way these families did. However, this mock anthropologist approach added a virtual geographic and historical distance between two synchronic childhoods. In many examples, the temporal and spatial distance was enforced by phrases such as “cave men,” “this is not Africa but Turkey,” or “Views from India in Turkey.”⁴²² Thus, although the texts

⁴²⁰ Heather E. Bullock, Karen Fraser Wyche and Wendy R. Williams, “Media Images of the Poor” in *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (2001), pp. 229–246.

⁴²¹ “Nasıl yaşıyorlar?” (How do they live?) *Hürriyet*, 19 May 1982; Kemal Önder, “7200 TL ile nasıl geçiniyorlar?” (How can they live on 7200 TLs?) *Türkiye*, 7 September 1982; “Nasıl geçiniyorlar?” (How do they survive?) *Milliyet*, 19–21 December 1987.

⁴²² “Mağara insanları,” (Cavemen) *Milliyet*, 18 January 1988; Ramazan Yavuz “Türkiye’de Hindistan manzaraları” (Scenes from India within Turkey) *Hürriyet*, 29 Haziran 1992; Aytekin Kömürgöz “Afrika değil İstanbul’un göbeği” (This is not Africa but the middle of İstanbul) *Tercüman*, 30 January 1987.

offered somewhat insightful reviews on social distinction, they also participated in the exoticisation of their subjects.

Still, the crudest form of metaphorisation and using child images as literary elements were found in comical remarks about the outcasts of childhood. I observed that in many examples, the media denied children the notion of childhood by underlining their un-childlikeness. This was evident in how the reporters referred to them; they were rarely called children, but were called novice thieves, young brides, little angels of death, amateur pickpockets, or little victims. In the rare instances in which the reporters did account a childish act committed by one of these children, their childishness was presented as a travesty. In various examples, the comical element was found in a child's childish actions. Accordingly, a report about juvenile delinquents crying in a police station could claim that they were little deceivers who "kneeled down and begged" in police stations to be set free,⁴²³ and an article about a little girl who ran away from her wedding to an older man could account that she "whined" and insisted that she did not want to get married.⁴²⁴ The journalists were so determined to ignore their childhood that they interpreted their childishness as a pretention. In a manner of speaking, the wry humour in articles about these children accused them of being pseudo-kids; their childishness was declared a blasphemy to the integrity of real childhood.

⁴²³ Sadık Kaplan, "Vestiye fareleri kendilerini savundu" (Coatroom rats defend themselves) *Hürriyet*, 21 May 1982; "Küçük yankesiciler" (Little pickpockets) *Hürriyet*, 15 May 1987.

⁴²⁴ "Kardeşi için baldızını kaçırdı ve hapse girdi" (He abducted his sister in law for his brother and ended up in jail) *Hürriyet*, 21 October 1982.

As explained in the introduction, my main focus is urban childhood, because I believe cities, where inequalities and distinction crystallised in a new fashion, were the breeding ground of the concept of new childhood. In this sense, attempting an analysis of the depictions of Kurdish children, most of whom lived in rural areas away from the immediate attention of the mainstream media, might seem out of context in this study. Indeed, their depictions by the press constitute a rather peculiar example of casting the disadvantaged children out of childhood, because they were, figuratively, the negative images of advantaged urban children. Yet, this is precisely why I include this analysis in this section. The representations of Kurdish children in the media stood in such a stark contrast with the images of the impeccable urban kids that they constituted a giant influence in the disintegration of an embracing concept of childhood.

Just like the urban poor, Kurdish children by themselves were practically invisible to the media, but their invisibility followed a more complex pattern than that of poor children. Throughout the period, Kurdish children's presence received almost no mention. An electronic search in the *Milliyet* database reveals that in the ten years from 1977 to 1987, there were only three articles⁴²⁵ that contained the word "Kurdish" without appending it to the words "terror" or "problem," and only one of those mentioned the state of Kurdish children. Acknowledgements of Kurdish children were totally absent from newspapers, apart from some implied mentions of

⁴²⁵ "Gençleri eğitmeyi bilmiyoruz" (We do not know how to educate the youth-interview with Dr. Aysel Ekşi) *Milliyet*, 20 October 1982; Zeynep Oral, "2000 yılına doğru Yukarı Mezopotamya" (Northern Mesopotamia at the eve of 2000) *Milliyet*, 28 April 1984; Fikret Otyam, "Beritan Aşireti" (The Clan of Beritans) *Milliyet*, 23 April 1986.

children who could not speak Turkish in articles about education.⁴²⁶ One of the first validations of the Kurdish language in the period was Erdal İnönü's declaration that people could not be persecuted for speaking their mother tongues.⁴²⁷ However, İnönü's plea coincided with an increasing number of PKK attacks in western cities, and the identification of "Kurdish" ethnicity with terms such as "terror" and "violence" escalated in the following years.

In some of the rare articles about Kurdish children, their presence was blurred as other aspects of a case were highlighted. For instance, *Hürriyet*'s news report on Diyarbakır prison's juvenile ward⁴²⁸ quoted underage political prisoners to explain how the ward resembled a military school, where they were taught the principles of the state ideology.⁴²⁹ The article refrains from mentioning any probable negative aspects of prison life, or what kind of political struggle brought these children to the prison, and insists on portraying them as if they were the well-fed pupils of a boarding school. However, the personal memoirs about that same ward⁴³⁰ and

⁴²⁶ "Atılan nutuklara rağmen acı gerçek yurttan ve yurt dışında karşımızda: Bu çocuklar Türk ama Türkçe bilmiyor" (Despite the sermons, the truth is out in the open here and abroad: these children are Turks but they don't speak Turkish) *Hürriyet*, 30 September 1977.

⁴²⁷ "Kürtçe konuşan suçlanamaz" (One cannot be accused of speaking Kurdish) *Milliyet*, 21 July 1987.

⁴²⁸ Diyarbakır prison was opened in 1980 by the Ministry of Justice, and after the coup it was used as a military prison by the military rule until 1988. More than half the prisoners and convicts incarcerated in the prison were listed as members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). TBMM, Diyarbakır Cezaevi Raporu, 1996, Available [online] at: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/belge/kr_20DiyarbakırCezaevi.pdf> [12 July 2014].

⁴²⁹ "Kalaşnikof tutan eller oya işliyor" (The hands that held rifles are now doing crafts) *Hürriyet*, 26 June 1982.

⁴³⁰ "Diyarbakır 5 No'lu Askeri Cezaevi" (Diyarbakır Military Prison No.5) in *Serbestî* 14 (2003).

parliamentary reports accounted several human rights violations in the prison differed greatly from the newspaper's version.

The media's failure to notice Kurdish children was especially evident in the coverage of military's raids on houses in Cizre and Şırnak. According to Human Rights Watch, 1992 was a particularly bad year for human rights. Not only did the PKK's guerrilla warfare intensified, but at the same time the security forces claimed the lives of 74 people in house raids, mostly in the south-east region.⁴³¹ In Cizre and Şırnak, the military carried out house raids in civilian neighbourhoods to combat PKK supporters and confiscate weaponry.⁴³² The photographs of the raids show clearly that children were in the middle of everything, witnessing the arrests of family members and neighbours. However, the texts completely ignored their existence, and refrained from acknowledging that there was an everyday life going on in these cities.⁴³³

The lack of children in these texts does not prove a deliberate denial of Kurdish children. However, considering the common usage of the child figure in other news about warfare makes the curious lack of children in news about south-east Anatolia significant. For example, in the same year *Hürriyet* published more than a dozen articles about the ongoing war in Bosnia. Furthermore, the newspaper published another 10 articles about PKK attacks on villages, again using images of

⁴³¹ Human Rights Watch, *World Report 1993*, Available [online] at: <<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1993/WR93/Hsw-08.htm>> [12 July 2014].

⁴³² Aliza Marcus, *Blood and Belief: The PKK and the Kurdish Fight for Independence* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), p.239.

⁴³³ "Teröriste yumruk, halka şevkat" (Blow to terrorists, lenity to the public) *Hürriyet*, 27 March 1992; "Evlerde bubi tuzakları" (Booby traps in houses) *Hürriyet*, 23 August 1992; "Şırnak'ta 362 kişi gözaltında" (362 under custody in Şırnak) *Türkiye*, 22 August 1992.

children. The children of the region were perfectly visible if they were affected by PKK attacks, but they were invisible otherwise. To what extent was this a result of the journalists' interpretation, and to what was it caused by censorship in the media in general remains unsaid. However, in her recollections of the years as a journalist in Şırnak, Evin Çiçek argues that although some journalists in the region reported about the human rights violations, not all reports made their way through the editorial processes.⁴³⁴

In other examples, children's experiences were buried beneath the text as reporters freely de-contextualised and relabelled their reports. For instance, a very specific example from *Türkiye* narrates the story of children caught during an attempt to flee across the borders. Although it is titled "Child Traders," the article informs us that this is indeed not a case of child trafficking but the families actually paid the person to take their children out of the country into safety. However, labelling the case as one of trafficking distorts the very fact that the report conveys, and transposes refugees into the victims of kidnapping. The readers are informed that the parents paid a great sum to protect their children, but they are left unaware of the threat from which they were running away. Thus, warfare within the country remains nothing but a glossed over innuendo.⁴³⁵

It also should be noted that adultification and demonization of Kurdish children was rare, even when they actively took part in warfare. For example, in

⁴³⁴ Evin Çiçek, "Şırnak'ta 1992'de neler oldu?" (What really happened in Şırnak in 1992) in *Bianet*, 20 December 2013. Available [online] at: <<http://www.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/152201-sirnak-ta-1992-de-neler-oldu?>> [12 July 2014].

⁴³⁵ Aşkın Eriş, "Çocuk tacirine suçüstü" (Child trader caught red handed) *Türkiye*, 26 September 1992.

1998, the PKK was reported to have 3,000 children in its ranks, more than 10 per cent of whom were girls. The youngest child reported among the PKK was 7 years old.⁴³⁶ Notwithstanding this knowledge of child guerrillas, there were only a few articles about these children. The media's silence on this subject should be scrutinised. In the few articles that tackled the subject, these children were presented as brainwashed or poisoned by the party and its militants,⁴³⁷ but the reporters carefully refrained from devoting any kind of liability to these children. A probable explanation to this might be that demonising these children would also mean acknowledging their personhood, and that would contradict the media's preference of ignoring the Kurdish question and conflicts in the region.

Nonetheless, in other examples, the media wanted to draw a line between "guerrillas" and real children. For instance, a close analysis of several photographs of captured PKK members clearly show that they were under the age of majority. However, the news texts explicitly denied to categorise them as children, and instead referred to them as "militants" or "terrorists." The quandary of the media in assessing when these children would be considered terrorists, and when they would be considered brainwashed children is verbalised in a sentence from *Hürriyet's* news file on child guerrillas. In defence of civilian deaths in combat, the article observes that the military had trouble differentiating between civilians and militants. What is

⁴³⁶ Child Soldiers International, *Child Soldiers Global Report 2001*. Available [online] at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/498805f0c.html>> [12 July 2014].

⁴³⁷ Arif Ataş "PKK hain emellerine çocukları da alet ediyor" (PKK uses children for treason) *Tercüman*, 18 September 1987; Tahir Hacıkadıroğlu, "Dersler bölücü Sovyetlerden, destek İsveç'ten" (The lessons are from the separatist Soviets, funding is from Sweden) *Tercüman*, 16 April 1987; "PKK'nın dili çözülüyor" (PKK finds its tongue) *Hürriyet*, 15 June 1992.

interesting is the wording of the sentence: “it is impossible to distinguish who is a child and who is a guerrilla,” as if childhood and warfare were mutually exclusive.⁴³⁸

Moreover, not only did the media overlook children’s experiences of warfare and conflict in the region, but it also enthusiastically captured colourful and peaceful scenes. In 1997, during a quiet period in the Kurdish region, all three newspapers were ornamented with serene photographs of Kurdish children playing, but hardly ever displayed less soothing scenes of the aftermath in the region. Although this can be read as an effort to humanise the portrayal of Kurdish children, these photos were not more realistic than those that only focused on violence, and the children they portrayed were treated as decorative figures (see Figure 12).

To summarise, a significant proportion of disadvantaged children’s images in the media underlined their evilness, adult likeness, or difference, if they were ever noticed at all by the myopic lens of the newspapers. Giroux observes that this portrayal of children created “a sense of disposability.”⁴³⁹ As they were reconstructed as disposable excesses of childhood, their problems were cast aside. The reason why journalists agreed to discard these children might be interpreted as a defence mechanism against the erosion of children’s established status. It was hard to admit their childness, because it would make their suffering indigestible to the public, and the media chose to serve it on different plate. However, not only did this leave these children alone and unprotected by their advocates, but also redefined the meaning of the acceptable childhood, which I will turn to in the following section.

⁴³⁸ “PKK’nın çocuk militanları,” (PKK’s child militants) *Hürriyet*, 28 August 1992.

⁴³⁹ Henry A. Giroux, “Racial injustice and disposable youth in the age of zero tolerance,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 16/4 (2003), pp.553-565.

Bereketli topraklarda artık kan değil alınteri akıyor

GAP, terörü yendi

Harran'da işsizlik bitti. GAP'ın suyu, terörü boğdu. Bölge insanı kurtarmak parası için Batı'ya gitmiyor

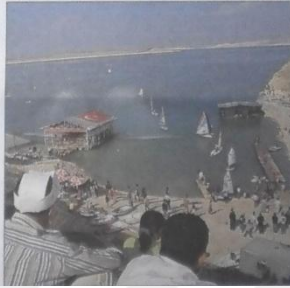
U ile gelen huzur

Sarıkatı tünellerinden akan su Güneydoğu'nun bereketli topraklarına hayat verirken, terör ve anarşinin de kökünü kuruttu... Hasat bayramı bu yıl Harran İvası ile Mardin'de kutlandı. Atatürk Barajı Gölü'ndeki Su Sporları Söleni'ne ilişkin sporcular güven içinde yarıştı, algıya canlılık ve hareketlilik getirdi.

Herkes tarlalarda

GAP kapsamında sulanan toprak alanı giderek artarken, Güneydoğu insanı kurtarmak parası için Batı'ya ve özellikle de Cukurova'ya gitmiyor artık. Harran İvası'nda çokluk çocuk, genç ihtiyar herkes hariç birli bütümlük topluyor. Yıllık ki tarla sahipleri elbette kaldırılacak adam miktarında zorlanıyor.

İHSAN GÜLCÜ'nün 11. sayfa



Şölen var Terörün vurduğu, geri kalmışlık ve fakirliğin belini baktığı Güneydoğu için terör endişesi bitti. GAP'ın getirildiği mnevellerin sevdiği ve güveni kazandı. GAP'ın kalbi Atatürk Barajı Gölü'nde, bu yıl 3.500 vaparlan Su Sporları Söleni'nde 2022 sporcu, çeşitli dallarda biribirleriyle kavayışa mücadele ettiler.



Güneydoğu'daki yumuşamayı gündelik hayattan ve ekonomide faaliyetlerinden çıkartmak mümkün. Gelinim rahla da çalışmalarını emareleri gösteriyor.

Güneydoğu'da umut

PKK'nin etkisi azaldı, faili meçhul cinayetler durdu
■ Susunlukta bilelikle Güneydoğu'da umutlar yeşerdi. Bölgede genel bir yumuşama havası var. Önemlikle askeri açıdan yeni bir denge kurulduğu düşünülüyor. PKK'nin saldırı kapasitesi epey azalmış durumda. Kırsal kesimde PKK'nin militanları var ama kendileri yok.
■ Köylerin boşaltılmasıyla PKK'nin östetik darbe yedği, yeni kadro gelişmesinin zorlaştığı, propaganda imkanının daraldığı gözleniyor. İnsan hakları ihlalleri sönüyor ama infaz korkusu yok olmuş.

Ruşen ÇAKIR'ın yazı dizisi 14. sayfa



Ünlü hoca sevindirdi

Bayanlar Millî Takımı Hocası Ergin Kızılcı, Tunceli'de çocukları sevindirdi. Bir genç kızın, peti peti tenis ayakkabılarını görünce sevinç oğuşu atarak okuması gözüne yaşardı.

Tunceli'de Tenis Bayramı yaşanıyor

Doğu ve Güneydoğu'nun GAP'la meddiholmesinden sonra, terör öleceği çöken 30 bin nüfuslu Tunceli'nin yaşamına, tenis sporu da yepyeni bir renk kattı. Tenisle tanışan gençler tüm bir bayram sevindi şayyor.
■ Hürriyet'in Tunceli'de tenis kortu yapıldığı ve çocuklara ders verildiği habertiden sonra, Hürriyet, TED ve Slaenger firması işbirliğiyle başlatılan yardım ve eğitim programına destek yaymaya başladı.
■ Yayı ve fotoğrafları: Ertağrul BALIKCIOĞLU

Vali dağıttı

Tunceli Valisi Ali Uzunoglu ve TED Kulübü Başkanı Ömer Güneş, öğrencilerin aramaları 20 rakat, 30 sözlü, 24 ayakkabı ve eşya ile dağıttıkları gençlere ulaştı.

HÜRRIYET PAZAR DA

Figure 11 – Kurdish children

Images: *Türkiye*, 8 October 1997; *Milliyet*, 16 April 1997; *Hürriyet*, 2 November 1997

Dualities and Double Standards:

Idealisation and Connotations of “Decent” Childhood

Certainly the newspapers did not publish only neglectful, accusatory or sensationalist articles about children. There was also a grand body of writing and imagery about the idealised concept of “decent” childhood. In this section, I will search for positive representations and images of children, and analyse these findings to understand how the media defined the decent childhood. Since these portrayals were mostly found in family pages, lifestyle sections and advertisements, news categories published in these pages will constitute the majority of the data used in this section.⁴⁴⁰ However, the lines of exclusive childhood were not only drawn by affirmations, they were also drawn in contrasts. That is to say that the media’s different vocabularies and sets of values reserved for different children reveal how the newspapers distinguished the proper children who were left behind once the excesses of childhood were eliminated. Thus, I will also draw examples from other news texts to explain and underline the media’s different approaches to categorically similar topics, such as children’s safety and security, reproduction and population control, and children’s psychology and psychopathology.

⁴⁴⁰ News categories referred to in this section are advertisements (banking/insurance, clothing, education, entertainment, food, furniture/tools, housing, other), parenting (pedagogy, cultural protection, parenthood, children’s health), titbits and trivia (arts/entertainment, beauty/fashion, campaigns, celebrations/ceremonies, life, politics, sports, child stars). For a full list of new categories, see Appendix B.

The distinguishing characteristics of positive representations of children reveal that the idealised imagery of family pages and lifestyle sections borrowed many aspects from the prevailing definition of the concept. The children of these pages were those who were still considered non-adults that needed to be sheltered and protected. Moreover, the majority of these positive images were of impeccable children with high standards of living. Although there were still some affirmative portrayals of children with imperfect bodies, or who lived in less desirable conditions, these children were never the subjects of news stories in their own right. There was not a single portrait of a child with disadvantages that was about the child itself; these children were accounted for only when they managed to succeed in spite of their disadvantages.

The characteristics newspapers devoted to decent childhood crystallised in the anxious narrative about the loss of childhood. Around the same time as Neil Postman put out his acknowledged work *The Disappearance of Childhood*,⁴⁴¹ newspapers began to circulate comments about the erasure of conventional childhood experiences. In the 1990s, all three newspapers published articles on the lost childhoods of children who were crushed under heightened expectations in a competitive market, or who gained access to a grown-up consumer culture.⁴⁴²

This theme in itself assumed a proper and idealised notion of childhood and mourned for its loss. A quick look at these articles reveals that what journalists

⁴⁴¹ Neil Postman, *The Disappearance of Childhood* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982).

⁴⁴² “Çocukluk yıllarımızı kim geri verecek bize?” (Who is going to give us our childhood years back?) *Hürriyet*, 19 April 1992; Gülseren Güver, “Yazık bu çocuğa” (Pity this child) *Milliyet*, 21 May 1992; Ayhan Songar, “Çocukluğunu yaşayamayan çocuklar” (Children without childhoods) *Türkiye*, 26 May 1992.

feared to be disappearing was a care free, innocent childhood experience devoid of hard work and grown up anxieties. However, the articles also display the media's favouritism towards a certain category of children. Apparently, those who were missing out on their childhood were those who had a decent childhood to begin with, and not the outcasts of childhood who did not have anything to lose. There were many articles about children who worked hard for private school exams, but none for instance, about the lost childhoods of underage prostitutes or child labourers. In some significant examples, these favoured children who were forced to grow up early were compared literally to children who were never considered kids in the first place. For instance, one reporter observed that pupils resembled little porters going to work;⁴⁴³ another one feared that little girls dressed in feminine outfits looked like "Lolitas," a label reporters used for underage prostitutes and promiscuous little girls.⁴⁴⁴

The reason why these children were favoured over their less lucky peers was linked closely to their evaluation by the newspapers. The media placed more value on children the better they were fed, clothed, housed, and groomed, and the journalists favoured the children the more their value increased. Thus, these privileged children begin to constitute a larger part in child-related news. There were twice as many family pages and child rearing articles in *Hürriyet* in the 1990s than the previous decade. As I observed earlier, news articles about childhood's outcasts were strikingly lower by the end of the period, whereas the space reserved for children from middle and upper class families was disproportional to their actual share in the child population. Articles about the quality of education in private

⁴⁴³ Aytül Akal, "Ah çocuklarımız, vah çocuklarımız!" (Alas, our poor kids) *Hürriyet*, 21 April 1992.

⁴⁴⁴ "Lolitalar mı yetiştiriyoruz?" (Are we raising Lolitas?) *Hürriyet*, 17 August 1992.

schools constituted half of all articles on education in the 1990s, whereas the share of private institutions was not more than three percent.

The media's favouritism was displayed clearly by the contrasting attitudes about different groups of children. The differentiation between children began right at the moment they were conceived. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the 1970s, there was a complete lack of debate on the inherent positivity of having children to the point of considering it an obligation; there was a consensus that all couples should want children.⁴⁴⁵ In the 1980s, however, the media began to question and decide who deserved to have children. As a result, two distinct perspectives on families having children emerged, the first of which viewed having children as a case of population control, and second as a matter of reproduction. The twin subjects of population control and reproduction began to occupy the newspapers in the mid-1980s. On the one hand, articles of the former genre presented uncontrolled population growth as the major problem of the society, openly criticised poor families for having more children, and even presented abortion as a means of keeping population growth under control. Some of these texts even crudely belittled parents who had one too many children.⁴⁴⁶ On the other hand, examples from the latter genre not only consisted of texts about the many joys of procreation, but also of informative articles that focused on sperm banks, fertilisation treatments like in vitro, and other costly ways of reproduction. Quite simply, having children was declared a

⁴⁴⁵ See Chapter 5, pp.141-142.

⁴⁴⁶ Erdoğan Kahya, "Bulaşıkçı Musa 11. çocuğunu bekliyor" (Musa the dishwasher is expecting his eleventh) *Hürriyet*, 7 May 1982; "Elibol ailesinin 13. Bebeği de yolda: Doğum kontrolü de ne?" (Thirteenth baby is on its way for the Elibol family: birth control? whatever can that be?) *Hürriyet*, 29 November 1982.

social issue for some parents, while for well endowed and “decent” families, it remained a *personal* choice.

On some level, the double standards in child-related news were mirrored the changing perspective of childhood studies. In Chapter 2, I observed that children’s living standards diverged so dramatically that social scientists needed to employ diverse and tailored data sets to adequately monitor children from different social strata.⁴⁴⁷ A similar pattern is also present in the differentiation of education news. The diversification of children’s experiences split news about education into two genres, first of which focused on the quantity, and second that had moved on to discuss the quality of education. That is to say that, since access to education and time spent in school were still the main concerns for children of the lower income groups, the inaccessibility of early childhood education, lack of sufficient state funding and teaching professionals, and parents who struggled with educational expenses were discussed regularly in newspapers. Meanwhile, schooling rates were no longer an issue for middle and upper classes, and what made the difference for them were the standards of learning. Thus modern learning environments, integrating new technological tools to curricula, efficient teaching and learning techniques, private and special school exams, and students’ psychology constituted a second genre of education articles, editorial columns, and analyses. As a result, news about quantity was moved out of the space reserved for quality, and vice versa. There were no longer any mentions of logistic or other problems of the education system in the attachments, files and articles that addressed well-to-do parents to help them choose schools for their sons and daughters, just as there were no mentions of the integration

⁴⁴⁷ See Chapter 2, p.42.

of information technologies to language learning in pages reserved for those without schools.

A particular news story stands out as an illustration of the media's favouritism. On 24 May 1992, Turkey's students woke up to a scandal involving high school entry exams. The police found that one of the test booklets had been stolen, and the exam was cancelled. This story headlined all newspapers, and journalists were furious at the state for failing to protect the children.⁴⁴⁸ This outcry was an exception; the media did not call the state to account for a fair system when hundreds of thousands of pupils failed in the exams. But they did demand the state to secure those same exams, which they saw as the rightful social ladder of middle and upper class children.

The media's appropriation of standards that should be available to children revealed other aspects of "decent" childhood. In the 1970s, it was not irregular for newspapers to inform children that they may not always get what they wanted. In this respect, *Hürriyet*'s children's pages are especially interesting. In these pages were articles on the economic circumstances of the period, which advised children to understand that not all families could afford everything their children asked for, and soberly cautioned children against being too demanding. For example, an article from 1977 explained economy to children in simple terms using the example of inflation in toy prices, and suggesting that they create their own toys.⁴⁴⁹ However, the

⁴⁴⁸ Saygı Öztürk, "Bunun hesabını kim verecek?" (Who will pay for this? – Headline) *Hürriyet*, 24 May 1992; "Görülmemiş rezalet" (Unprecedented atrocity – Headline) *Milliyet*, 24 May 1992.

⁴⁴⁹ "Oyuncaklarınızı kendiniz yapabilirsiniz" (You can make your own toys) and "Oyuncak fiyatları artıyor," (Toy prices are on the rise) *Hürriyet*, 16 January 1977.

children of the 1990s were spared from these issues; there was not a single article that spoke to children about the realities of the family budget.

Furthermore, the child rearing columns too, had a rather different image of their perceived audience. *Hürriyet*'s Bergin suggested that parents should provide their children a certain amount of allowance, and the amount she deemed proper was no less than half the minimum wage in Turkey.⁴⁵⁰ This was not surprising since it was apparent from parental advice that the perceived audience of this page was thought to raise children who would become professionals: the prospective professions were not lower ranking than doctors, architects, and journalists.⁴⁵¹ Surely, those kids deserved more in terms of income.

Since children were now in control of money without ever having to understand the concept of earning, they had to spend it. Throughout the period, the positioning of children as consumers became more obvious. Marketing departments saw the opportunity in this demand and supplied for it. The 1990s saw the evident rise in fashion shows, toy fairs, even cosmetics and a whole range of consumer products aiming at the children (see Figure 8). Journalists were keen on capturing these, and soon all newspapers began to publish marketing articles in their life style sections, and reporting about children's participation in consumption.

It might have been a valid analysis to interpret the construction of the child consumer as a simple matter of supply and demand in a flourishing free market economy. However, the problematic dimension of this construction was that the

⁴⁵⁰ Azize Bergin, "Çocuklara ne kadar harçlık verilmeli?" (How much should your child's allowance be?) *Hürriyet*, 15 March 1992.

⁴⁵¹ Azize Bergin, "Çocuğun davranışları geleceğini belirliyor," (A child's behaviour hints his future) *Hürriyet*, 31 March 1992.

value of the child was directly linked by the sources available to the child. This very striking double standard was visible in newspaper representations of children's safety versus social security. As mentioned before, children's safety became a primary familial liability by the mid-1980s. The frequency of repetitions in advertisements that promised to keep children safe and sound suggests that it also became a commodity by the 1990s. Thus, whenever a child who was properly provided for was proved to be unsafe, it stirred the press. There emerged a pattern of articles that argued that human lives were cheap in Turkey, accusing the low standards available to those who were willing to pay more, as in the example of a little boy who lost his finger that got stuck in the escalator of a luxurious shopping mall.⁴⁵²

These beliefs incited by the media were among the reasons of the unrest when something that cost good value was proven foul. For instance, the case of the airbag accident of 1997, which killed an unfortunate little girl in an expensive car, stirred the comments columns for days.⁴⁵³ They demanded to know how such an expensive vehicle bought especially for safety reasons failed to protect the child. Just a month later, the death of three children in a minivan that hit a landmine would simply be reported without comment.⁴⁵⁴

Furthermore, it can even be argued that the media made a preference between some children's safety and others' security. I have discussed elsewhere how crime

⁴⁵² "Merdivende dehşet" (Terror in the escalator) *Hürriyet*, 17 October 1997.

⁴⁵³ Ufuk Sandık, "Doğru kullanılan airbag hayat kurtarır" (Right use of airbags save lives) *Hürriyet*, 9 June 1997; "Tüyleler ürperten kaza" (Bloodcurdling accident) *Türkiye*, 8 June 1997; "Minik Beyza airbag kurbanı" (Airbag claims little Beyza's life) *Milliyet*, 08 June 1997; "Amerika airbagi suçlu ilan etti" (USA declares airbags guilty) *Milliyet*, 14 June 1997.

⁴⁵⁴ "Mayın faciası: 12 ölü" (Landmine disaster: 12 dead) *Hürriyet*, 16 December 1997.

news found patterns and sprees in individual crime stories, and that the newspapers devoted precious man-hours and resources to follow these stories. Strikingly, the same newspapers failed to spot the patterns in more prevalent cases of attacks on children living on the street. For example, there was only one article on sexual assaults these children faced, and was not pursued any further, although according to the article it was a wide-spread problem.⁴⁵⁵ On the other hand, petty crimes committed *by* deviant children were a staple of the third page. In other words, the threat these children posed to public safety was more in focus than their own security.

The media's double standards were reflected by the interpretation of crimes committed by children. It is interesting to note that even *Tercüman*, the very newspaper that stood out by its unforgiving attitude against juvenile delinquents involved in property crimes had embraced quite a different approach when the crime in question was committed by a more favourable child. For instance, in an article about delinquent behaviour of the children of wealthy families, the newspaper argued that these children attempted property crimes to "express their personality and independence."⁴⁵⁶

The media's tolerance of delinquent or mischievous behaviour in children was influenced partly by changing child rearing values. Peter Stearns observes that by the 1920s, child rearing advice increasingly depended on "psychological, rather

⁴⁵⁵ Kürşat Yılmaz, "Sapık korkusu," (Fear of the perverts - Interview with Feride Yıldırım, child psychologist and director of an NGO which supported homeless children) *Hürriyet*, 3 September 1992.

⁴⁵⁶ "Çocukta hırsızlık: hali vakti yerinde ailelerin çocukları da çalar," (Children and stealing: children of well endowed families steal as well) *Tercüman*, 8 January 1987.

than moral expertise.”⁴⁵⁷ A similar trend was observed in Turkey around the 1980s, which valued children’s psychological well-being more than their morality. To put it differently, the goal of child rearing began to shift from raising a productive member of society who would live harmoniously with others, to raising individuals who would keep up with change and pursue self-realisation. This approach was reflected by the changing child rearing advice, which came to interpret behavioural problems in children either as signs of strong character, individuality, and free will,⁴⁵⁸ or as purely psychological issues that needed clinical care and attention.⁴⁵⁹ The negative connotations of concepts such as obstreperousness, naughtiness, and impishness were erased by the affirmation of the mischievous child image in advertisement campaigns. In a sense, Arçelik’s 1992 campaign for water heaters that featured a child covered in mud, with a toothy grin in 1992⁴⁶⁰ was a prototype of the global “dirt is good” campaign for OMO detergents that Unilever would launch a decade later.⁴⁶¹

The only exception to this approach was *Türkiye*’s disciplinarian views of children’s education. The newspaper turned to religious texts for child rearing advice, and cautioned parents to discipline their children against impudence and chattiness, warning that these kinds of behaviour in children should be considered

⁴⁵⁷ Stearns, p.19.

⁴⁵⁸ “Ele avuca sığmayan çocuklar” (These children are a real handful) *Hürriyet*, 8 February 1997.

⁴⁵⁹ “Yaramaz değil hasta” (Not naughtiness, disorder) *Hürriyet*, 4 October 1997.

⁴⁶⁰ “Beklemeden sıcak su” (No need to wait for hot water) *Hürriyet*, 5 July 1992.

⁴⁶¹ Available [online] at: <<http://www.unilever.com.tr/brands-in-action/detail/Omo/314197/>> [12 July 2014].

indecent.⁴⁶² However, the newspaper remained an exception; *Milliyet*'s advice on liberal parenting was only one of the many examples that advised parents not to smother their children with too much care and attention, and that argued that adolescent rebellion is very acceptable.⁴⁶³ Journalists interpreted this pedagogical approach as a hard scientific fact, and went as far as accusing parents of being dictators.⁴⁶⁴ However, this shift was remained a privilege of a few, underprivileged kids were still expected to fit into society, as showcased in the media's demonic portrayals of deviant children who committed crimes to make ends meet.

The liberal approach to child rearing carried its contradiction in itself. On the one hand, an increasing number of pedagogues and psychologists recommended the parents to leave their kids alone and not to intervene into their choices and tastes so as not to damage the formation of their free will. On the other hand, the media was increasingly concerned that these free-willed children had too much to choose from in the flourishing new communications media.⁴⁶⁵ In the beginning of the period, all newspapers agreed that it was the family's decision and responsibility to oversee which cultural products children would be allowed to consume, and suggesting parental supervision was the extent of cultural protectionism in articles. By the 1990s, newsmakers started demanding a centralised control mechanism that would

⁴⁶² "Çocuk sevgisi" (Love of children) *Türkiye*, 23 July 1997.

⁴⁶³ "Onları hoşgörün" (You should tolerate them) *Milliyet*, 01 March 1987.

⁴⁶⁴ "Siz bir diktatör müsünüz?" (Are you a dictator?) *Milliyet*, 02 March 1987.

⁴⁶⁵ Türkiye quoted a lawyer who argued that this desire stemmed from the clash between the family's values and those offered by the society. Mehmet Nuri Yardım, "Aile ve cemiyet çatışıyor" (The society clashes with the family – Interview with Türkan Göze) *Türkiye*, 23 November 1997.

screen to what children could be exposed.⁴⁶⁶ The state was happy to take on the mission and employ a couple of officers to make sure that minors were protected from “obscene publications.”⁴⁶⁷ Thus, cultural protection became the single subject that newspapers crossed off from the parents’ to-do-list and added to the state’s.

The media’s plea for state provision over cultural products should not be viewed solely as a protectionist urge. As Philip Jenkins warns, children are often used by the media to denounce any controversial subject, and they quickly became staple images of “morality campaigns.”⁴⁶⁸ According to Jewkes, these moral panics promoted “the overtly sanctimonious moral discourse directed at the institution of the family, which has characterized the media and political agendas since the 1980s.”⁴⁶⁹ Thus, media’s morality campaigns became instruments that maintained a conservative outlook on family life, while appearing to advocate more liberal views on child rearing.

Further analysis on the positive images of childhood reveals an interesting dimension. We find a significant proportion of adult-like portrayals of children. The image of children mimicking adults had been used in the previous decades as well, mostly as a humorous element. The images from the 1980s and beyond differed from these earlier examples in their appraisal of “little adults.” Newspapers began to publish an increasing number of images of children in grown-up outfits, depicted in

⁴⁶⁶ “Özel TV’lere dikkat” (Keep an eye on private television channels) *Milliyet*, 14 February 1992. “Çirkin yayınlara son verilsin” (Malicious broadcasts should be stopped) *Türkiye*, 20 May 1992.

⁴⁶⁷ The obscene publications act of 1927 was revised in 1986, and this act enabled bureaucrats to investigate broadcasts and publications which might be “harmful” for minors.

⁴⁶⁸ Philip Jenkins, *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*. (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992), quoted by Jewkes, p.57.

⁴⁶⁹ Jewkes, p.60.

settings that are identified with adult professions. The examples included little children walking down the catwalks, being crowned in beauty pageants, performing pop songs dressed in daring costumes, mimicking adult celebrities, and also children brokering in stock exchanges, or in serious poses playing sports matches and performing arts, announced as the successful adults of tomorrow (see Figure 9). These positive images of children acting like adults almost appeared to reassure the reader of these children's bright futures.

What was more interesting was the exchange between the image of the child and the image of the young adult. Defining childhood as the collective potential of the society was a common point in a great proportion of articles in the 1970s. Quite often, child well-being reports were enforced by statements like "children are the foundation of the society," "children will create the happy world of tomorrow," or "children are the basic core of family and humanity."⁴⁷⁰ Most of these were clichés, but remarks become clichés for a reason: they are familiar and expected. Such was the clichéd relation between images of children and hope for a better future. On the first day of 1992, *Hürriyet* published the ordinary list of New Year's aspirations, and wished that "all children will keep smiling all year long."⁴⁷¹ This was one of the rare clichéd remarks about childhood that *Hürriyet* would use that year, even the customary child welfare aspirations list that's published every 23 April was abandoned. At the same time, adolescents and young adults began to replace children

⁴⁷⁰ "Dünya çocuk gününü kutluyoruz" (We are celebrating world children's day) *Hürriyet*, 2 October 1977.

⁴⁷¹ "Çocuklarımız hep böyle gülsün" (Shall our children always laugh like this) *Hürriyet*, 1 January 1992.

in the most unlikely places, like an advertisement for a private school that used images of accomplished young people instead of children.⁴⁷²

To understand the significance of constant reappearances of adult-like children and young adults in newspapers, the relation between children and the hope for a better future should be reconsidered. In *The Culture of New Capitalism*, Richard Sennett observes that the social economy of the post-war period had “long term and incremental and above all predictable time” at its core, hence “the idea of being able to plan defined the realm of individual agency and power.”⁴⁷³ Sennett’s point becomes especially relevant when considering the potentiality of childhood. When the future is seen under the light of a linear narrative of progress, then the potentiality of childhood offers hope. However, in a context where progress towards a better social order is no longer a postulate, time becomes unpredictable, and it is no longer possible to envision that everything will be better eventually. In an immobile society where the present of the child signifies its future, childhood ceases to be an open promise.

The positive images of decent childhood that I analysed in this section reveal that some aspects or some values placed on the child remained somewhat similar to the conventional definition throughout the period. Children were still seen as the first to be saved from a building on fire, the society still was expected to bear them in mind first, and the ultimate line was drawn if a child was concerned. Thus, there were still certain qualities attributed to children, such as their innocence and value. Despite this, the concept of childhood began to lose its positive connotations, and it

⁴⁷² “Ata Liseli olmak” (Being an Ata Collegiate) *Hürriyet*, 17-18 April 1992.

⁴⁷³ Richard Sennett. *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c2006, p.23.

became increasingly associated with worries about children's safety and prospects, concerns about their psychology and health, and a deep anxiety over the disappearance of childhood.

The Construction of Childhood upon Despair and Disintegration

In this last chapter on the axes of orientation, I observed that after the late 1970s, the journalists gave up their position as advocates of social equality for children. Through time, the media drifted from criticising to overlooking, and finally to justifying the persistent inequalities that splintered the child population. I also opined that the dominant discourse used by the press abandoned a standardised and age-based definition of childhood, and employed a conditional definition that normalised the application of different standards to different groups of children. Several groups of children were excluded from an objective conceptualisation of childhood, and throughout the period in concern, the print media singled out these children as “decent” children's constitutive others.

In other words, journalists began to evaluate children's actions or statuses to designate whether they would be included in the category of children or not. Although some aspects of the modern conceptualisation of childhood were somewhat intact in positive images of “decent” childhood, these notions about childhood became privileges. Thus, the final axis of orientation indicates a shift from the idea of equality to the acceptance and affirmation of an unjust system, which lead to an exclusive definition of childhood.

Moreover, these articles were published in special sections and aimed distinct audiences. This determined the contents of the texts, an article that targeted families did not state the same observations as a general article that would be found on national headlines. By the late 1990s, disadvantaged children could only appear in personalised stories in newspapers by what they did, and not because they were children, but particularly because they were doing un-childlike things. On the other hand, advantaged children were hardly ever mentioned for what they did, but they were in newspapers for who they were, for being the children of the perceived readership, in life and style pages, advice columns, and advertisements.

Disadvantaged children, children of immigrants, poor families, child workers, beggars, and juvenile delinquents, those who still struggled to fulfil their basic needs became objects of fear or pity. The media participated in their marginalisation by casting away, exoticising, or demonising these children, stigmatising them as “pseudo-kids” by calling their childishness into question. Thus, the grim image of disadvantaged children became a burden, a living premonition that demonstrated that the society had failed, and this caused resentment against the very victims of this failure.

Meanwhile, privileged children, whose material conditions were more or less secured, were crushed under heightened expectations and anxieties. Parenting columns, news articles, and comments admired their precocity, and saluted them as “little adults” in the making. And for the advantaged children of the middle classes, the future was so unbearably insecure that their childness was no longer a hopeful potential but a constant source of concern. When the ambivalent image of the child

was replaced with the image of the young adult; it was actually an exchange between an uncertain distant future and a reassuring already present.

This, I believe, was why the inherent positivity attributed to the image of the child was being eradicated. While the media viewed some children's maturity as a positive attribute, and saluted them for being almost adults, at the same time it declared others to be non-children, and saw their childishness as an act of pretention. While some children were praised for foregoing their childhood, others were denied being children in the first place. And in between the two opposites of the images of the decent children as little adults, and the depiction of the under-privileged children as pseudo-kids, it was the optimistic idealisation of childhood's potentiality that was wounded.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

What made me write this thesis was my impulse to understand the main difference between then and now, between my childhood and the childhoods I witnessed as a grown-up social scientist. It is more than likely that this impulse was incited by a nostalgic longing for a lost paradise, but a retrospective glance at my findings shows me that my hunch was not unfounded, that there was indeed a dramatic difference in the concept of childhood. I was not surprised to see transformation; I was looking for it. But I was surprised to discover that some of the changes I thought I would find actually happened much later, or were not as important as I thought. I also learned that some of the seeds had been sown even earlier than I thought, and I realised that some things that I remembered from my own childhood were echoes of the previous era. Finally, where I ended up with this study also showed me that seemingly unrelated changes were deeply entangled with each other, and that was what made the transformation so profound.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I explained that my aim was to use the separate findings of both the cultural and well-being approaches to childhood studies, and rephrase them using the framework of sociological analyses of the period under consideration. So I first turned to the findings of child well-being studies. I observed that although there was some improvement in several human development indicators both globally and in the case of Turkey, visible inequalities sustained if not increased. This was especially visible in the urban context. My analysis of the two areas for which we have the most extensive data, health and education, revealed that inequalities had serious outcomes for children, and uneven distribution of sources affected every aspect of their well-being, including their chances of survival, development, and their future prospects.

Having decided to focus on the two decades following the fiscal crisis of the late 1970s, I then moved on to the analysis of childhood as presented by the mainstream media to shed light on the mental context of the period. To present this analysis, I used the metaphor of three axes of orientation. These axes symbolise the framework that set the ground for change, the changing social meanings of childhood, and the new concept that emerged as a result of the first two. By organising my findings in this structure, I was hoping to come up with a three dimensional analysis that revealed the socio-economic and political transformation of news media, its negotiation with the conventional definitions and concepts, and the establishment of a “new childhood.”

In the first axis, I outlined how the press media was moulded by economic dependencies and political oppression, and pointed out the obvious shift from informative newsmaking to entertaining the audience. I observed how child-related

news was transformed as news content was popularised, and how the dominance of image and arbitrariness of language marked the style of news. I argued that this transition changed the positions of journalists and readers alike, and while newsmakers turned away from the social and political to the personal, and from analytical to narrative, news readers entered a new relationship with news which was founded not on rationalisations, but on emotions. I concluded that if how we relate to news is a reflection of how we relate to the world, then that relation shifted from rational to emotional.

Previously I mentioned that one of the common themes that emerged from my theoretical readings was the erasure of the traditional structures and concepts of modernity. In the second axis, I turned to this theme and questioned how media renegotiated with the conventional meaning of childhood on three levels: social responsibility, parental liability, and personal accountability. First, I observed that as the media shifted from society-oriented analytical newsmaking to actor-oriented narrative newsmaking, it renounced social responsibility, stopped monitoring children's well-being, and stepped down from the position of negotiation, arbitration and advocacy on behalf of children. Second, I analysed how the idealised nuclear family image, the traditional division of labour, and the domesticity of childhood were re-established while familial duties were redefined to encompass greater liabilities. I stated that through construction of parental guilt and anxiety, the media held parents responsible for children's sexual, psychological, physical upbringing. I argued that the familialisation of health, security, and development went hand in hand with a rhetoric that defended the purchasability of well-being and commoditization of individual escapes. Third, I observed how ahistorical and

decontextual narrative journalism interpreted children's stories as personal, and obstructed the social context, and at the same time, in many personal stories, the journalists imputed "success" and "failure" to children themselves. To conclude, I argued that as the media's answers shifted from plural to singular, from society to families, state to citizens, and collective to personal, the old social contract based on cooperation and social protection was shattered.

There were two other common themes of sociological analyses of the late twentieth century; new types of inequalities, and individual responses to the erosion of traditional structures. So in the last axis, I focused on these themes and first I discussed the media's take on inequalities between children. I observed that despite the increasing visibility of distinction, the media chose to look away when and if it could not justify inequality. Moreover, journalists subverted the definition of "equality of opportunities" to undermine the basis of the debate, and used this concept both to oppose egalitarian measures and to advocate personal escapes. In the following parts of the chapter, I looked into how individual responses to change were reflected through the discourse on childhood. To illustrate how fear aggression was pointed towards the disadvantaged children, I focused on denial, othering, and fictionalisation, three major methods employed by the media to marginalise the outcasts of childhood. Finally, I discussed how increasing concerns over children's security, and ambiguous feelings towards childhood reflected the anxiety caused by the erosion of traditional safety mechanisms.

I should underline that this change did not come about over night, but was introduced in three stages. Roughly, the late 1970s was the "conception" period when many of these ideas were conceived, but were not dominant, and remained

exceptions. It was largely in the 1980s, the “dissemination” period, when they slowly matured and widely circulated. Finally, in the “saturation” period, the 1990s, the “new childhood” took over the mainstream and erased the old concept.

The late 1970s witnessed the unsystematic emergence of several news themes that would constitute the majority of child-related articles, such as juvenile delinquency, and personal achievement. However, it should be underlined that these news stories were not treated with the same approaches that would become dominant in the following decades. It was also in these years when political polarisation determined the agenda. Yet, this observation by no means indicates that other issues concerning children were overlooked under the shadow of this subject. On the contrary, regarding social responsibility over children, the late 1970s were so radically different from the rest of the time frame that these years almost acted like a control period for my study. Hard news about children’s well-being constituted an important proportion of articles, and issues such as health, housing problems, legal rights of immigrants, abandoned children and juvenile delinquency defined as a social ill were discussed widely. What is significant about the articles on children’s well-being was that a considerable number of these articles were not reports but comments, remarks and analyses. It may be stated that the newspaper deemed that its duty was not only to comment on these issues, but also to offer solutions to them.

In 1980, the tone and style of the articles about children changed instantly and beyond recognition. This change was definitely related to the increasing pressure on the press after the military take over and changes of economic policies in the early 1980s. Yet there is no arguing that this new mentality sustained throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, long after the loosening of control mechanisms. Two very important

aspects of the change were tabloidisation and sensationalism. This resulted in newspapers which published articles on malnutrition are combined with photographs of children holding enormous bread loafs, or of dinner tables covered with expensive food. A comment about children's rights might be found embedded in an article about a fashion show for kids, poverty might be mentioned in an article about a ceremony organised for a dog, the children swimming in a decorative pool might be compared to young people enjoying the swimming pools of big hotel chains. This resulted in the muffling of vital news or observations above all the hubbub of all this information.

Meanwhile, the trends that would sweep the ground in the following years were gradually established in the 1980s. The number of articles about juvenile delinquency began to escalate, as well as stories of achievement and success, both genres highlighting personal liability. As for the distribution of articles, it may be observed that the greatest share belonged to the subject of warfare. These news stories were accompanied by vile, almost pornographic photographs of child victims. The ever increasing levels of brutality on display numbed the readers into a state of callousness. The pressure on families and parental anxieties fuelled by the media also escalated in this period. Newsmakers constructed stories to put the blame on "inattentive" parents, and especially mothers, rather than looking for social remedies. The images of lousy mothers were found in news about different subjects, such as domestic accidents and public health articles. At the same time, parenting advice articles adorned with exclamation points increased in this period. Mothers who were cautioned not to leave their children alone for one second were also cautioned not to

smother their children with too much attention as liberal child rearing methods were asserted with fury.

Despite all these transformations, the 1980s had a much more mellow tone when compared with what was to follow. For instance, although it was shadowed by this crowd of distorted imagery and the part reserved for discussion, analysis, and scientific data gradually diminished, children's well-being continued to be a subject in the 1980s, and health problems, malnutrition, environmental hazards, and contaminated water sources were still reported. And although children's liability was being emphasised, journalists abstained from explicitly criminalising and demonising children. In many respects, the 1980s were not like the 1990s, when such considerations slowly withered away and disappeared.

The 1990s was the decade when all the sustaining traces of the 1970s vanished, and the trends that were conceived in the 1980s matured and reached their highest point. Children's destinies were personalised and social responsibility was cast aside altogether. The role of the family, and especially its provider function, was strongly emphasised in advertisements. Meanwhile, the attitude of cautionary articles also was carried to the extremes as the parents were warned about threats they were expected to control. Distinction between children also peaked in this decade when different childhoods were sent to separate parts of the newspaper and newsmakers saw no harm in treating these children with different social statuses according to different sets of standards. As a result, disparate genres of news about different child subjects acquired distinct tones, a treatment which participated in the dissolution of a unifying concept of childhood.

It was also in the 1990s when hard news stories about children rapidly decreased. From then on, the number of articles on the front page of the newspaper began to decline, and the children could only appear on the first page if they were the subjects of extreme news. The majority of the articles concerning children were about children as subjects of the major issues with which the newspaper was preoccupied. Yet, these articles were not about children themselves, but about these greater issues. Childhood was reduced to a battle ground for politics, and children to mere details of bigger news stories.

The results of the research briefly summarised above reveal that there is indeed a dramatic change that took place in the 1980s. The late 1970s was a period that children's well-being and subjects related to it were uttered and discussed, in spite of the political and social chaos. Some of these subjects managed to continue for another decade, still, they were often silenced by the noisy discourse of the period. Yet, in the 1990s, some issues dominated the agenda to the extent of shunting all others, including those concerning children. It also may be argued that some problems were accepted insolvable and swept under the carpet. As the disadvantaged children were marginalised and removed from the focus of the public's attention, the centre of concern was invaded by their more advantaged peers.

I also should point out that the timing of the appearance of orientation shifts did not overlap for all newspapers at all times. Rather, they spread from one to another. Some tendencies that were conceived in one newspaper in the late 1970s penetrated into others much later, some successful tactics concocted by one paper were adopted by others over time. This contamination slowly narrowed the distance

between different ideological positions, steadily pushing them together by curbing their differences and smoothing out their contestations.

What I found particularly interesting is how these newspapers representing the three major currents of Turkey's mainstream politics all drew closer together, and aligned at the same position in the proverbial coordinate system as marked by the axes of orientation defined and analysed in this thesis. I hope I succeeded in showing that the history of childhood is also the history of social change. My aim was to reveal not only how the concept of childhood had changed over decades, but also to display the transformation of public discourse that facilitated this change, and the role of the media in the making of public discourse.

So, where did I end up after this analysis? I had observed that the meaning attributed to children at the two opposite ends of the welfare scale differentiated both from each other, and from "childhood" in its conventional definition. I am convinced that witnessing and having to accept these inequalities resulted in a great split between our perceptions of different children, and that distinction is the main reason behind the decomposition of an embracing and unifying concept of "childhood." On the one side were the children deprived of childhood, who were not even included in the category, and on the other side were children who were perceived as innocent non-adults who should be spared social ills, but whose childhoods were pruned under a constant pressure to catch up and not fall behind.

Although sustaining anxieties over children's safety and security implies some continuity to the traditional definition of childhood as different from adulthood, the "new childhood" was conceptualised as an exclusive a privilege rather than a natural life stage shared by all human beings. This new conceptualisation eradicated

the inherent positivity attributed to childhood, and wounded the optimistic idealisation of childhood's potentiality.

Today, the transition to a "new childhood" is more evident than ever; the growing number of new studies on childhood and on children's well-being attest to that. If we were to look back forty years, the distance that has elapsed from the 1970s to 2010s seems like a giant leap. We might be shocked to encounter the child begging in the middle of the highway, and the one sitting in the backseat of a car, never touching each other. But the pang of horror is even greater upon realising that these scenes are no longer an exception, that we are immune to them. We are shocked because we did not realise how slowly but steadily we moved from there to here. This was what I tried to tackle in my thesis. I hope my analysis offers an explanation to how we ended up where we are right now.

My thesis by no means extinguishes this multifaceted subject. On the contrary, I hope it will open new grounds to analysis because I think this field merits a holistic approach, and an integrated body of work to make sense of these different childhoods. I trust that childhood studies still holds the promise of inter-disciplinarity, although it is now dispersed and its interests are diverse. Moreover, I firmly believe that we need to establish childhood as a separate, diverse, but nonetheless whole group. If we do not see children as equal members of the same shared stage of life, how else can we argue for equality? And who better might constitute the basis of an egalitarian society than children?

In the introduction, I mentioned that I considered the late 1990s to be a peak point in terms of social inequality. The late 1990s were also the years of some important paradigm shifts in terms of childhood. The first of these was the break in

education policies in 1998 when compulsory education was extended from five to eight years, and middle schools which previously had a separate curriculum and teaching staff were included in the primary schools. This meant that specialised middle schools were closed down, and that included both religious and foreign language public schools. Both political polarisation and the shrinking opportunities of high quality public education accelerated the rate of privatisation. Another paradigm shift was urban transformation. Although status based segregation in cities had been on the plate for quite some time, it was not until the beginning of the new century when this had solid effects on cities, creating patterns of gated communities and slums. Finally, in 2001, right after the fiscal crisis, the government passed into the hands of the AKP (Justice and Development Party), which changed the ground for all political debate about childhood from censorship to social services, and from education to family policies. Thus, one possible direction for future research might be to extend the scope beyond the period that I discussed. I suppose we are to find some significant differences, yet there is some continuity as well. At least at first glance there does not seem to be a return to an inclusive definition of childhood.

Taking on the hard task of sociological rather than historical research bears some dangers, especially in a turbulent country like Turkey. But focusing on the recent developments offers us new possibilities for research. One such possibility is to analyse new and advanced forms of urban transformation, and their effects on childhood. Because the displacement of marginalised groups and gentrification are hot topics that affect children's lives, and the reconfiguration of urban landscape is inextricably intertwined with the reconstruction of symbolic geography that I

discussed in this thesis. I believe these concepts need to be studied from an integrated perspective.

Another direction we might turn to is what I deliberately avoided in my quest for writing the history of the mainstream: the counter movements, under currents, and responses to new childhood. Debates on childhood, including education and family policies, and different oppositions to mainstream rhetoric do deserve serious consideration. Here, we need to consider Islamic or new middle class responses as well as alternative forms of defiance against the mainstream, and discuss both the possibilities and the limits of resistance, and question how these responses got entangled within the web of the system.

I have explained earlier that a central theme of my study was Pierre Bourdieu's concept of positionality. In this dissertation I looked at the ways the social order was founded upon ideas disseminated by the media, but this concept was originally coined to make sense of perception and experience of the social order. Thus, we need take into account children's own responses to social transformation for a comprehensive analysis of positional suffering and advantage. The need for research into experience proved to be more urgent today in the aftermath and probably the eve of massive social movements, which demonstrated that we as social scientists might be painfully clueless at times of change.

In this study, I painted a grim picture. However, there's no place for desperation in the social sciences. My starting point was an ethical position. I argued that we can still be a part of this disequilibrium, and perhaps we might turn the tide around and demand equality. When I started working on this, I planned to conclude with repeating this ethical assumption. I would state that there may be a way out of

this, yet I was not very hopeful. But then Gezi happened, and a movement ignited by those claiming their rights to the city encouraged an astounding display of people's demands to take back what they thought to be rightfully theirs. It seems now we are tumbling back into pessimism, but for a brief moment, I was extremely excited to see the children whose childhoods I told you about become the backbone of this civilian resistance. I humbly dedicate this work to those children.



APPENDIX A

QUANTITATIVE DATA RELATED TO NEWSPAPERS

Data derived manually from an archival study on the issues of the newspapers published in the first week of December of the specified year.

1977			
Newspaper	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Tercüman
Number of Prints Per Day	602-676000	Not Specified	482-488000
Daily Price	250 kr	250 kr	250 kr
Number of Pages	14-20	14-20	16
Number of Photographs	45-50	25-30	60-65
Number of Other Visuals	10 to 15	35 to 40	40+
Number of News Articles	80+	70+	100+
Number of Articles/Comments	1-2	4+	5
Number of News Folders/Analyses	2-3	1 to 2	2 to 3
Advertisements	30+	15+	10+
Number of Ad Pages	5+	4+	2+
Sections	News In Focus Sports Regional Magazine	News Economy Comments Sports Magazine Comics	In Focus News Sports Magazine
Attachments	Regional Magazine	Sunday	Magazine

1982			
Newspaper	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Tercüman
Number of Prints Per Day	785-895000	Not Specified	484-488000
Daily Price	20 -30 TL	20 -30 TL	20 -30 TL
Number of Pages	22 (16+6)	14+	16 (12+4)
Number of Photographs	70+	35+	20+
Number of Other Visuals	25+	15+	30+
Number of News Articles	100+	100+	75+
Number of Articles/Comments	1 to 2	5+	8+
Number of News Folders/Analyses	1 to 2	2 to 3	2 to 3
Advertisements	35+	15+	10+
Number of Ad Pages	9+	4+	2+
Sections	News Economy Foreign Regional Sports Magazine	News Economy Foreign Interview Sports Magazine In Focus Various	News Foreign Economy Magazine Sports
Attachments	Magazine	Sunday	Encyclopedia

1987			
Newspaper	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Tercüman
Number of Prints Per Day	719-909000	Not Specified	?
Daily Price	150 TL	150 TL	150 TL
Number of Pages	30 (24+6)	16 (+Sunday)	14
Number of Photographs	70+	60+	50+
Number of Other Visuals	20+	10+	10+
Number of News Articles	100+	125+	100+
Number of Articles/Comments	2 to 3	2+	7+
Number of News Folders/Analyses	1 to 2	7+	2+
Advertisements	55+	15+	5 to 10
Number of Ad Pages	14+	4+	2+
Sections	News	News	News
	Economy	Economy	Foreign
	In Focus	Foreign	Economy
	Foreign	Interview	Magazine
	Regional	Sports	Sports
	Magazine	Magazine	In Focus
Attachments	Sports	In Focus	
	Magazine Sunday	Sunday	None

1992			
Newspaper	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Türkiye
Number of Prints Per Day	1562-1641	900 (max)	384-385
Daily Price	4000 TL	4000 TL	2500 TL
Number of Pages	42 (48)	24 (38)	24 (everyday)
Number of Photographs	135+	85+	90+
Number of Other Visuals	55+	35+	35+
Number of News Articles	150+	100+	110+
Number of Articles/Comments	12+	15+	19+
Number of News Folders/Analyses	1 to 2	1 to 2	None
Number of Ad Pages	20+	8+	6+
Sections	Human Interest	Local	In Focus
	Social	Life	Economy
	Economy	Economy	World News
	Business	Finance	Culture
	Finance	Politics	News
	Series	News	Women's
	World News	World News	Serials
	World Analysis	Arts	Sports
	Arts	Series	TV
	In Focus	Sports	Series
	Extra	TV	
	Sports	Magazine	
	TV		
Women's			
Magazine			
Attachments	Weekend	Weekend	None
	Magazine	Finance	

1997			
Newspaper	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Türkiye
Number of Prints Per Day	517-756	?	?
Daily Price	100000 TL	100000 TL	50000 TL
Number of Pages	56 (88)	34 (62)	24 (everyday)
Number of Photographs	135+	135+	90+
Number of Other Visuals	35+	35+	25+
Number of News Articles	160+	140+	100+
Number of Articles/Comments	20+	18+	20+
Number of News Folders/Analyses	1 to 2	1 to none	None
Number of Ad Pages	32+	13+	7+
Sections	In Focus	Magazin	Haber
	Human Interest	Life	News
	Social	Economy	Economy
	Life	Business	Finance
	Economy	Finance	World News
	Business	News	Culture
	Finance	Politics	Women's
	HR	Analysis	Serials
	World News	World News	Sports
	Series	Comments	TV
	Arts	Youth	
	Local	TV	
	Sports	Culture	
	Magazine	Sports	
Films & TV			
Attachments	Magazine	Weekend	None
	Weekend	HR	
	HR	Economy	

APPENDIX B
NEWS CATEGORIES

A full list of news categories used in this dissertation.

Accident Reports	Home
	Leisure
	School
	Traffic
	Workplace
Advertisements	Banking/Insurance
	Clothing
	Education
	Entertainment
	Food
	Furniture/Tools/etc.
	Housing
	Other
Child Well-Being	Child Labour
	Child Welfare
	Children with Disabilities
	Economic Problems
	Gendered Discrimination
	General
	Global
	Orphanages
	Housing
	Juvenile Delinquents
	Legislation
	Migrant Children
	Natural Disasters
	Safety
	Children and Families
Family Breakdowns	
Rare Diseases	
Runaway/Lost Children	
Suicide	
Good Parents	
Criminal Parents	

Crime Reports	Child Abuse
	Child Trafficking
	Forced Marriage
	Gendered Discrimination
	Kidnapping
	Other
	Political Violence
	Political Crimes
	Pornography/Prostitution
	Property Crimes
	Violent Crimes
Education	Curricula
	Exams
	Legislation
	Private Education
	Problems
	Schools
Global	Country Profiles
	Migrants (from Turkey)
	Migrants (to Turkey)
	Warfare
Health	Drug Abuse
	Contagious Diseases
	Non-Contagious Diseases
	Nutrition
	Sanitation
	Preventive Medicine
	Natal/Prenatal Care
	Social Security
	Hazardous Substances
	Medical Malpractice
	Scientific Developments
	Private Health Services
	Juvenile Delinquency
Violent Crimes	
Organised Crimes	
Political Crimes	
Underage Sex	
Deceit	

Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
	Child Soldiers
	Warfare
	Migrant Children
Parenting	Pedagogy
	Cultural Protection
	Parenthood
	Health
	Indoctrinisation
	Religious Persecution
	Education
Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
	Population/Birth Control
	Ethics
Stories and Portraits	Inspirational
	Success Stories
	Tragedies
Titbits and Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
	Beauty/Fashion
	Campaigns
	Celebrations/Ceremonies
	Life
	Politics
	Sports
	Child Stars
Portraits	Success Stories
	Talented Children
	Inspirational
Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
	Squatter Demolitions
	Charity Reports
	Poverty

APPENDIX C – CHILD-RELATED NEWS STORIES PUBLISHED IN *HÜRRİYET*
NEWSPAPER IN 1977-1982-1987-1992-1997

Date	Topic	Theme
1 January 1977	Parenting	Parenthood
1 January 1977	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
2 January 1977	Misc.	Children's page
3 January 1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
3 January 1977	Accident Reports	Home
4 January 1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Organised Crimes
7 January 1977	Accident Reports	Traffic
7 January 1977	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
9 January 1977	Advertisement	Food
9 January 1977	Misc.	Children's page
16 January 1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
16 January 1977	Misc.	Children's page
17 January 1977	Child Well Being	Global
17 January 1977	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
19 January 1977	Child Well Being	Global
20 January 1977	Education	Problems
21 January 1977	Accident Reports	Home
23 January 1977	Misc.	Children's page
26 January 1977	Education	Problems
30 January 1977	Misc.	Children's page
1 February 1977	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
4 February 1977	Accident Reports	Home
4 February 1977	Health	Natal/Prenatal Care
5 February 1977	Accident Reports	Home
6 February 1977	Misc.	Children's page
10 February 1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
13 February 1977	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
13 February 1977	Misc.	Children's page
14 February 1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Political Crimes
17 February 1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
18 February 1977	Advertisement	Banking/Insurance
20 February 1977	Misc.	Children's page
21 February 1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
23 February 1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
24 February 1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
24 February 1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
25 February 1977	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
26 February 1977	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
27 February 1977	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
27 February 1977	Accident Reports	Home
27 February 1977	Misc.	Children's page

28	February	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
1	March	1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
2	March	1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
3	March	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
4	March	1977	Children and Families	Parental Suicide
5	March	1977	Accident Reports	Home
5	March	1977	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
6	March	1977	Advertisement	Furniture
6	March	1977	Misc.	Children's page
10	March	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Organised Crimes
12	March	1977	Child Well Being	Global
13	March	1977	Health	Natal/Prenatal Care
13	March	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
13	March	1977	Misc.	Children's page
16	March	1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
20	March	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Political Crimes
20	March	1977	Misc.	Children's page
22	March	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
24	March	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
26	March	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
27	March	1977	Misc.	Children's page
28	March	1977	Child Well Being	Gendered Discrimination
3	April	1977	Misc.	Children's page
4	April	1977	Titbits-trivia	Politics
8	April	1977	Health	Preventive Medicine
10	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
10	April	1977	Misc.	Children's page
11	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
12	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
13	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
14	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
15	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
16	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
17	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
18	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
19	April	1977	Misc.	Surveys
16	April	1977	Education	Problems
17	April	1977	Titbits-trivia	Politics
17	April	1977	Misc.	Children's page
18	April	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
23	April	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
23	April	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
23	April	1977	Health	Nutrition
24	April	1977	Misc.	Children's page
26	April	1977	Accident Reports	Leisure

29	April	1977	Health	Sanitation
1	May	1977	Misc.	Children's page
4	May	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
4	May	1977	Crime Reports	Forced Marriage
8	May	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
8	May	1977	Misc.	Children's page
9	May	1977	Child Well Being	Global
9	May	1977	Health	Sanitation
15	May	1977	Misc.	Children's page
21	May	1977	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
22	May	1977	Misc.	Children's page
23	May	1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
23	May	1977	Health	Nutrition
23	May	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
24	May	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Deceit
25	May	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
25	May	1977	Global	Warfare
27	May	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
28	May	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
29	May	1977	Misc.	Children's page
30	May	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
31	May	1977	Education	Problems
1	June	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
1	June	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
2	June	1977	Accident Reports	Traffic
4	June	1977	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
4	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
5	June	1977	Misc.	Children's page
7	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
12	June	1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
12	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
12	June	1977	Misc.	Children's page
15	June	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
16	June	1977	Health	Sanitation
16	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Sports
17	June	1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
17	June	1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
19	June	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
19	June	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
19	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Politics
19	June	1977	Misc.	Children's page
21	June	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
21	June	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
24	June	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
25	June	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes

26	June	1977	Health	Natal/Prenatal Care
26	June	1977	Misc.	Children's page
27	June	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
27	June	1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
27	June	1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
28	June	1977	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
29	June	1977	Parenting	Pedagogy
30	June	1977	Education	Problems
1	July	1977	Accident Reports	Leisure
2	July	1977	Health	Sanitation
3	July	1977	Portraits	Success Stories
3	July	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
3	July	1977	Misc.	Children's page
4	July	1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
4	July	1977	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
5	July	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
6	July	1977	Child Well Being	Child Labour
7	July	1977	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
10	July	1977	Misc.	Children's page
11	July	1977	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
13	July	1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
13	July	1977	Health	Sanitation
17	July	1977	Misc.	Children's page
18	July	1977	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
18	July	1977	Health	Preventive Medicine
19	July	1977	Accident Reports	Home
20	July	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
24	July	1977	Misc.	Children's page
30	July	1977	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
30	July	1977	Health	Sanitation
31	July	1977	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
31	July	1977	Misc.	Children's page
7	August	1977	Misc.	Children's page
9	August	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
10	August	1977	Accident Reports	Traffic
10	August	1977	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
14	August	1977	Misc.	Children's page
17	August	1977	Children and Families	Health
18	August	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Organised Crimes
18	August	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
21	August	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
21	August	1977	Parenting	Pedagogy
21	August	1977	Misc.	Children's page
24	August	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
24	August	1977	Health	Sanitation

25	August	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
28	August	1977	Misc.	Children's page
28	August	1977	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
28	August	1977	Misc.	Children's page
3	September	1977	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
4	September	1977	Misc.	Children's page
4	September	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
7	September	1977	Health	Preventive Medicine
11	September	1977	Misc.	Children's page
13	September	1977	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
18	September	1977	Health	Sanitation
18	September	1977	Misc.	Children's page
20	September	1977	Education	Problems
20	September	1977	Titbits-trivia	Life
20	September	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
20	September	1977	Health	Sanitation
20	September	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
21	September	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
22	September	1977	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
22	September	1977	Education	Problems
22	September	1977	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
23	September	1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
24	September	1977	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
24	September	1977	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
25	September	1977	Education	Problems
25	September	1977	Parenting	Pedagogy
25	September	1977	Misc.	Children's page
26	September	1977	Education	Problems
26	September	1977	Advertisement	Education
27	September	1977	Education	Problems
28	September	1977	Education	Problems
29	September	1977	Parenting	Health
29	September	1977	Education	Problems
30	September	1977	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
30	September	1977	Education	Problems
30	September	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
1	October	1977	Education	Problems
2	October	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Deceit
2	October	1977	Misc.	Children's page
5	October	1977	Education	Problems
6	October	1977	Child Well Being	General
8	October	1977	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
9	October	1977	Health	Medical Malpractice
9	October	1977	Health	Contagious Diseases
9	October	1977	Misc.	Children's page

10	October	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
11	October	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
12	October	1977	Education	Problems
13	October	1977	Health	Sanitation
14	October	1977	Education	Legislation
14	October	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
16	October	1977	Misc.	Children's page
17	October	1977	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
19	October	1977	Education	Problems
20	October	1977	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
21	October	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
23	October	1977	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
23	October	1977	Health	Drug Abuse
23	October	1977	Misc.	Children's page
24	October	1977	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Other
24	October	1977	Education	Curricula
28	October	1977	Child Well Being	Children with Disabilities
30	October	1977	Education	Legislation
30	October	1977	Misc.	Children's page
2	November	1977	Child Well Being	Global
3	November	1977	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
3	November	1977	Accident Reports	Traffic
3	November	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
6	November	1977	Misc.	Children's page
13	November	1977	Religion	Indoctrination
13	November	1977	Misc.	Children's page
16	November	1977	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
17	November	1977	Crime Reports	Property Crimes
20	November	1977	Education	Problems
20	November	1977	Misc.	Children's page
26	November	1977	Personal Tragedies	Sick Children
27	November	1977	Education	Problems
27	November	1977	Misc.	Children's page
29	November	1977	Health	Nutrition
30	November	1977	Crime Reports	Political Violence
30	November	1977	Education	Problems
2	December	1977	Health	Sanitation
2	December	1977	Parenting	Pedagogy
4	December	1977	Misc.	Children's page
5	December	1977	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
8	December	1977	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
9	December	1977	Portraits	Talented children
10	December	1977	Health	Medical Malpractice
11	December	1977	Child Well Being	Children with Disabilities
11	December	1977	Misc.	Children's page

12	December	1977	Health	Drug Abuse
18	December	1977	Portraits	Talented children
18	December	1977	Parenting	Parenthood
18	December	1977	Misc.	Children's page
19	December	1977	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
21	December	1977	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
22	December	1977	Accident Reports	Home
23	December	1977	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
25	December	1977	Misc.	Children's page
27	December	1977	Accident Reports	Home
27	December	1977	Education	Curricula
27	December	1977	Parenting	Pedagogy
28	December	1977	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
28	December	1977	Health	Non-Contagious Diseases
29	December	1977	Portraits	Success Stories
31	December	1977	Child Well Being	Safety
1	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
2	January	1982	Accident Reports	Home
2	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
2	January	1982	Education	Exams
3	January	1982	Portraits	Talented Children
3	January	1982	Crime Reports	Political Violence
3	January	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
4	January	1982	Accident Reports	Home
5	January	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
6	January	1982	Global	Warfare
7	January	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
7	January	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
7	January	1982	Health	Scientific developments
9	January	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
9	January	1982	Global	Warfare
11	January	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
10	January	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Deceit
11	January	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Deceit
10	January	1982	Global	Warfare
11	January	1982	Global	Warfare
11	January	1982	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
12	January	1982	Portraits	Inspirational
12	January	1982	Global	Warfare
13	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
13	January	1982	Accident Reports	Home
13	January	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Teenage Sexuality
13	January	1982	Global	Warfare
14	January	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
14	January	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure

15	January	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
15	January	1982	Education	Exams
16	January	1982	Crime Reports	Indoctrination
17	January	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
18	January	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
20	January	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Teenage Sexuality
21	January	1982	Accident Reports	Home
21	January	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
22	January	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
22	January	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
22	January	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
22	January	1982	Education	Exams
25	January	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
25	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
25	January	1982	Accident Reports	School
25	January	1982	Child Well Being	Global
26	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
26	January	1982	Accident Reports	School
28	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Child Stars
28	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
29	January	1982	Children and Families	Parental Suicide
30	January	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
30	January	1982	Portraits	Success Stories
30	January	1982	Children and Families	Other
31	January	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
2	February	1982	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
2	February	1982	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
3	February	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
3	February	1982	Accident Reports	Home
4	February	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
4	February	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
6	February	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
7	February	1982	Health	Natal/Pre-Natal Care
8	February	1982	Health	Preventive Medicine
8	February	1982	Health	Natal/Pre-Natal Care
9	February	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
9	February	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
9	February	1982	Accident Reports	Home
10	February	1982	Health	Natal/Pre-Natal Care
10	February	1982	Portraits	Talented Children
11	February	1982	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
11	February	1982	Health	Natal/Pre-Natal Care
12	February	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
12	February	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
13	February	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life

13	February	1982	Child Well Being	Global
14	February	1982	Education	Problems
14	February	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
14	February	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
15	February	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
15	February	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
16	February	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
18	February	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
18	February	1982	Education	Private Education
18	February	1982	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
19	February	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
20	February	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
22	February	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
23	February	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
23	February	1982	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
24	February	1982	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
25	February	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
26	February	1982	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
27	February	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
27	February	1982	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
28	February	1982	Crime Reports	Forced Marriage
1	March	1982	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
2	March	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
2	March	1982	Child Well Being	Child Labour
3	March	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
4	March	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
4	March	1982	Child Well Being	Housing
4	March	1982	Accident Reports	Home
6	March	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
6	March	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
6	March	1982	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
7	March	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
8	March	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
8	March	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
9	March	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
9	March	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
10	March	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
10	March	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
11	March	1982	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
11	March	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
12	March	1982	Education	Legislation
12	March	1982	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
13	March	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
13	March	1982	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
16	March	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence

17	March	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
17	March	1982	Education	Private Education
17	March	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Child Stars
18	March	1982	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
20	March	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
21	March	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
22	March	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
22	March	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
23	March	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
24	March	1982	Crime Reports	Political Violence
25	March	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
26	March	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
26	March	1982	Reproduction	Ethics
27	March	1982	Parenting	Cultural Protection
28	March	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
28	March	1982	Education	Exams
30	March	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
31	March	1982	Education	Exams
1	April	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
2	April	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
2	April	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Campaigns
3	April	1982	Portraits	Inspirational
3	April	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
4	April	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
4	April	1982	Education	Curricula
5	April	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
8	April	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
9	April	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Child Stars
12	April	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
12	April	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
12	April	1982	Crime Reports	Political Violence
14	April	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
15	April	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
15	April	1982	Education	Exams
15	April	1982	Crime Reports	Political Violence
16	April	1982	Education	Exams
17	April	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
17	April	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
18	April	1982	Education	Exams
21	April	1982	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
24	April	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
27	April	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
28	April	1982	Global	Warfare
28	April	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
29	April	1982	Health	Nutrition

30	April	1982	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
30	April	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
1	May	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
1	May	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
2	May	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
2	May	1982	Global	Country Profiles
5	May	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
6	May	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
7	May	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
9	May	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
9	May	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
11	May	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
12	May	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
12	May	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
12	May	1982	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
14	May	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
18	May	1982	Education	Exams
19	May	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
19	May	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
19	May	1982	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
20	May	1982	Accident Reports	Home
21	May	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
21	May	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
24	May	1982	Education	Exams
24	May	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
24	May	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
24	May	1982	Education	Exams
25	May	1982	Education	Exams
26	May	1982	Education	Exams
26	May	1982	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
26	May	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
29	May	1982	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
30	May	1982	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
30	May	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
31	May	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
2	June	1982	Portraits	Success Stories
2	June	1982	Education	Problems
3	June	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
5	June	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
5	June	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
5	June	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
5	June	1982	Health	Sanitation
6	June	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
7	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
9	June	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children

9	June	1982	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
9	June	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
9	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
11	June	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
11	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
12	June	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
13	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
13	June	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
13	June	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
13	June	1982	Accident Reports	School
14	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
14	June	1982	Education	Legislation
14	June	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
15	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
15	June	1982	Education	Curricula
16	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
16	June	1982	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
17	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
18	June	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
19	June	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
19	June	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
20	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
20	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
20	June	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
21	June	1982	Child Well Being	Gendered Discrimination
21	June	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
22	June	1982	Child Well Being	Gendered Discrimination
26	June	1982	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
28	June	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
29	June	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
1	July	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
3	July	1982	Religion	Indoctrination
5	July	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
5	July	1982	Education	Exams
6	July	1982	Accident Reports	Home
6	July	1982	Education	Curricula
7	July	1982	Education	Exams
9	July	1982	Accident Reports	Home
11	July	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
11	July	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
13	July	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
13	July	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
14	July	1982	Child Well Being	Housing
15	July	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Organised Crimes
16	July	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes

18	July	1982	Accident Reports	Home
18	July	1982	Global	Warfare
21	July	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
25	July	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
26	July	1982	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
27	July	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
29	July	1982	Education	Curricula
30	July	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
31	July	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
1	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
2	August	1982	Education	Exams
2	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
3	August	1982	Education	Exams
3	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
3	August	1982	Accident Reports	Home
4	August	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
4	August	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
4	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
5	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
5	August	1982	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
5	August	1982	Health	Contagious Diseases
6	August	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
9	August	1982	Crime Reports	Political Violence
10	August	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
11	August	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
11	August	1982	Education	Private Education
12	August	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
12	August	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
13	August	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
14	August	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
14	August	1982	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
14	August	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Campaigns
15	August	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
15	August	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
16	August	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
17	August	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
17	August	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
17	August	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Sexual
19	August	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
19	August	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
19	August	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
20	August	1982	Global	Warfare
22	August	1982	Children and Families	Suicide
23	August	1982	Education	Curricula
24	August	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life

25	August	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
25	August	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
25	August	1982	Health	Natal/Pre-Natal Care
26	August	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
26	August	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Sexual
27	August	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
27	August	1982	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
28	August	1982	Reproduction	Ethics
29	August	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
30	August	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
31	August	1982	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
31	August	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
1	September	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
1	September	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
1	September	1982	Health	Sanitation
2	September	1982	Education	Curricula
2	September	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
2	September	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
2	September	1982	Parenting	Parenthood
3	September	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
4	September	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
5	September	1982	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
6	September	1982	Accident Reports	Workplace
7	September	1982	Education	Private Education
7	September	1982	Crime Reports	Indoctrination
7	September	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
9	September	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
9	September	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
9	September	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
9	September	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
10	September	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
10	September	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
11	September	1982	Health	Nutrition
11	September	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
13	September	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
13	September	1982	Education	Curricula
13	September	1982	Accident Reports	Home
14	September	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
15	September	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
15	September	1982	Education	Problems
16	September	1982	Accident Reports	Home
17	September	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
18	September	1982	Health	Scientific developments
19	September	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
19	September	1982	Education	Problems

20	September	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
21	September	1982	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
21	September	1982	Health	Scientific developments
21	September	1982	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
23	September	1982	Education	Problems
24	September	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
25	September	1982	Global	Warfare
27	September	1982	Portraits	Inspirational
27	September	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
27	September	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
3	October	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
4	October	1982	Health	Hazardous Substances
4	October	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
3	October	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
5	October	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
6	October	1982	Children and Families	Suicide
8	October	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
10	October	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
10	October	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
11	October	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
12	October	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
12	October	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
13	October	1982	Education	Legislation
13	October	1982	Health	Drug Abuse
16	October	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
17	October	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
17	October	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
18	October	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
21	October	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Sexual
21	October	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
22	October	1982	Education	Problems
22	October	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
22	October	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
23	October	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
23	October	1982	Accident Reports	Home
26	October	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
29	October	1982	Reproduction	Ethics
29	October	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
30	October	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
31	October	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
2	November	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
2	November	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
3	November	1982	Child Well Being	Housing
3	November	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
4	November	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents

5	November	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
5	November	1982	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
6	November	1982	Accident Reports	Traffic
7	November	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
8	November	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Politics
9	November	1982	Accident Reports	Home
18	November	1982	Accident Reports	Home
19	November	1982	Crime Reports	Property Crimes
19	November	1982	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
21	November	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
22	November	1982	Portraits	Talented Children
23	November	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Politics
25	November	1982	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
26	November	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
29	November	1982	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
30	November	1982	Accident Reports	Workplace
1	December	1982	Children and Families	Good Parents
2	December	1982	Health	Medical Malpractice
5	December	1982	Education	Exams
6	December	1982	Accident Reports	Home
7	December	1982	Health	Medical Malpractice
8	December	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
9	December	1982	Global	Warfare
9	December	1982	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
11	December	1982	Child Well Being	Global
13	December	1982	Accident Reports	Leisure
15	December	1982	Children and Families	Suicide
16	December	1982	Accident Reports	Home
18	December	1982	Global	Country Profiles
19	December	1982	Health	Contagious Diseases
21	December	1982	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
21	December	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Life
23	December	1982	Titbits-Trivia	Politics
27	December	1982	Child Well Being	Housing
29	December	1982	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
30	December	1982	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
31	December	1982	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
31	December	1982	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Other
2	January	1987	Education	Private Education
3	January	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
4	January	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
5	January	1987	Education	Private Education
7	January	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
7	January	1987	Accident Reports	Home
8	January	1987	Accident Reports	Home

8	January	1987	Education	Exams
9	January	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
11	January	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
11	January	1987	Child Well Being	Global
11	January	1987	Parenting	Pedagogy
12	January	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
14	January	1987	Titbits-trivia	Politics
14	January	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
16	January	1987	Accident Reports	Traffic
16	January	1987	Child Well Being	Global
16	January	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
16	January	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
18	January	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
19	January	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
20	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
20	January	1987	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
20	January	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
20	January	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
22	January	1987	Parenting	Pedagogy
23	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
23	January	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
24	January	1987	Titbits-trivia	Child Stars
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
24	January	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
25	January	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
25	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
25	January	1987	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
26	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
26	January	1987	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
26	January	1987	Health	Social Security
26	January	1987	Accident Reports	School
27	January	1987	Global	Warfare
27	January	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
28	January	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
29	January	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
29	January	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
30	January	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
30	January	1987	Children and Families	Suicide

3	February	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
5	February	1987	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
5	February	1987	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
5	February	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
6	February	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
7	February	1987	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
8	February	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
9	February	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
10	February	1987	Portraits	Success stories
10	February	1987	Portraits	Talented children
12	February	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
12	February	1987	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
12	February	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
13	February	1987	Accident Reports	Home
14	February	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
15	February	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
15	February	1987	Health	Hazardous Materials
16	February	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
16	February	1987	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
16	February	1987	Global	Warfare
18	February	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
18	February	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
18	February	1987	Parenting	Parenthood
19	February	1987	Accident Reports	School
19	February	1987	Titbits-trivia	Beauty/Fashion
21	February	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
21	February	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
21	February	1987	Health	Natal/Prenatal Care
22	February	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
24	February	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
24	February	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
24	February	1987	Accident Reports	Home
24	February	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
27	February	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
27	February	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
27	February	1987	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
2	March	1987	Education	Exams
3	March	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
3	March	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
4	March	1987	Accident Reports	Home
7	March	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
10	March	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
12	March	1987	Accident Reports	Home
14	March	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
14	March	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence

14	March	1987	Health	Social Security
15	March	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Other
17	March	1987	Global	Warfare
17	March	1987	Portraits	Talented children
18	March	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
19	March	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
19	March	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
21	March	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
21	March	1987	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
22	March	1987	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
25	March	1987	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
26	March	1987	Education	Problems
26	March	1987	Child Well Being	Global
28	March	1987	Health	Preventive Medicine
30	March	1987	Accident Reports	Home
31	March	1987	Education	Exams
2	April	1987	Reproduction	Ethics
3	April	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
3	April	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
3	April	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
4	April	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
5	April	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
5	April	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
8	April	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
8	April	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
8	April	1987	Reproduction	Ethics
12	April	1987	Child Well Being	Legislation
13	April	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
14	April	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
14	April	1987	Accident Reports	Home
18	April	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
18	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
19	April	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
19	April	1987	Child Well Being	Legislation
21	April	1987	Accident Reports	Home
21	April	1987	Accident Reports	Home
21	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
22	April	1987	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
22	April	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
22	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
22	April	1987	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
23	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
23	April	1987	Child Well Being	Global
24	April	1987	Child Well Being	Disabled Children
24	April	1987	Children and Families	Criminal Parents

24	April	1987	Child Well Being	Global
24	April	1987	Accident Reports	Workplace
24	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
24	April	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
25	April	1987	Child Well Being	Global
25	April	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Teenage Sexuality
25	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Arts/Entertainment
25	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Arts/Entertainment
26	April	1987	Education	Private Education
26	April	1987	Child Well Being	Global
26	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
30	April	1987	Parenting	Parenthood
30	April	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
1	May	1987	Titbits-trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
1	May	1987	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
3	May	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
5	May	1987	Health	Hazardous Materials
6	May	1987	Health	Hazardous Materials
7	May	1987	Health	Hazardous Materials
8	May	1987	Child Well Being	Child Labour
9	May	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
9	May	1987	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
10	May	1987	Parenting	Parenthood
10	May	1987	Accident Reports	Home
10	May	1987	Advertisement	Education
11	May	1987	Children and Families	Good Parents
12	May	1987	Titbits-trivia	Politics
12	May	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
13	May	1987	Health	Drug Abuse
15	May	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
18	May	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
20	May	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
20	May	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
20	May	1987	Accident Reports	Home
20	May	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
22	May	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
22	May	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
23	May	1987	Education	Exams
23	May	1987	Accident Reports	Home
24	May	1987	Education	Exams
24	May	1987	Education	Curricula
24	May	1987	Education	Exams
25	May	1987	Advertisement	Education
26	May	1987	Education	Exams
26	May	1987	Accident Reports	Home

27	May	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
28	May	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
29	May	1987	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
1	June	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
2	June	1987	Accident Reports	Home
6	June	1987	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
10	June	1987	Titbits-trivia	Child Stars
11	June	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
11	June	1987	Education	Exams
13	June	1987	Education	Exams
9	June	1987	Education	Curricula
12	June	1987	Education	Curricula
13	June	1987	Education	Curricula
14	June	1987	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
15	June	1987	Accident Reports	Home
16	June	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
17	June	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
18	June	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
19	June	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
19	June	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
19	June	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
19	June	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
20	June	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
22	June	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
23	June	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
23	June	1987	Accident Reports	Home
24	June	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
24	June	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
27	June	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
27	June	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
1	July	1987	Accident Reports	Home
1	July	1987	Accident Reports	Home
1	July	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
2	July	1987	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
2	July	1987	Health	Nutrition
3	July	1987	Crime Reports	Child Trafficking
3	July	1987	Accident Reports	Home
4	July	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
4	July	1987	Accident Reports	Home
6	July	1987	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
7	July	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
7	July	1987	Health	Sanitation
8	July	1987	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
8	July	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
10	July	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare

11	July	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
15	July	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
15	July	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
15	July	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
15	July	1987	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
16	July	1987	Education	Private Education
17	July	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
18	July	1987	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
18	July	1987	Children and Families	Suicide
19	July	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
27	July	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
29	July	1987	Portraits	Success stories
1	August	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
2	August	1987	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
5	August	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
10	August	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
11	August	1987	Accident Reports	Home
14	August	1987	Health	Sanitation
15	August	1987	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
19	August	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
20	August	1987	Kurdish Question	Warfare
21	August	1987	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
27	August	1987	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
29	August	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
29	August	1987	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
30	August	1987	Advertisement	Education
1	September	1987	Child Well Being	Housing
4	September	1987	Child Well Being	Global
5	September	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
5	September	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
6	September	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
6	September	1987	Accident Reports	Home
10	September	1987	Health	Nutrition
12	September	1987	Education	Problems
12	September	1987	Child Well Being	Legislation
13	September	1987	Education	Problems
17	September	1987	Portraits	Talented children
18	September	1987	Accident Reports	Traffic
19	September	1987	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
20	September	1987	Education	Problems
20	September	1987	Child Well Being	Child Labour
21	September	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
21	September	1987	Health	Nutrition
21	September	1987	Education	Problems
22	September	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life

23	September	1987	Education	Problems
23	September	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
24	September	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
24	September	1987	Advertisement	Education
24	September	1987	Advertisement	Education
24	September	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
26	September	1987	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
27	September	1987	Global	Migrant Children (to Turkey)
27	September	1987	Education	Problems
30	September	1987	Accident Reports	Home
30	September	1987	Health	Preventive Medicine
1	October	1987	Health	Sanitation
2	October	1987	Parenting	Parenthood
3	October	1987	Titbits-trivia	Life
4	October	1987	Parenting	Pedagogy
6	October	1987	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
6	October	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
6	October	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
7	October	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
7	October	1987	Education	Problems
9	October	1987	Health	Hazardous Materials
12	October	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
13	October	1987	Health	Nutrition
14	October	1987	Global	Warfare
14	October	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
16	October	1987	Global	Country Profiles
18	October	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
18	October	1987	Advertisement	Furniture/Tools/etc.
18	October	1987	Education	Problems
21	October	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Teenage Sexuality
22	October	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
23	October	1987	Health	Sanitation
23	October	1987	Accident Reports	Traffic
24	October	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
26	October	1987	Education	Problems
26	October	1987	Accident Reports	Traffic
26	October	1987	Child Well Being	Children with Disabilities
27	October	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
28	October	1987	Titbits-trivia	Child Stars
2	November	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
3	November	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
4	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
5	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
6	November	1987	Education	Problems
6	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty

9	November	1987	Accident Reports	Home
11	November	1987	Accident Reports	Home
11	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
11	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
12	November	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
13	November	1987	Parenting	Parenthood
14	November	1987	Religion	Indoctrination
16	November	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
16	November	1987	Accident Reports	Leisure
18	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
18	November	1987	Accident Reports	Home
18	November	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
18	November	1987	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
19	November	1987	Education	Curricula
19	November	1987	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
20	November	1987	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
21	November	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
21	November	1987	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
24	November	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Violence
28	November	1987	Advertisement	Other
28	November	1987	Advertisement	Other
29	November	1987	Education	Legislation
29	November	1987	Advertisement	Food
4	November	1987	Portraits	Success stories
5	December	1987	Children and Families	Rare Diseases
7	December	1987	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
8	December	1987	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
9	December	1987	Children and Families	Good Parents
11	December	1987	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
11	December	1987	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
1	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
1	January	1992	Accident Reports	Leisure
1	January	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
1	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
1	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Other
3	January	1992	Portraits	Inspirational
3	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
4	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
4	January	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
4	January	1992	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
5	January	1992	Accident Reports	Leisure
5	January	1992	Child Well Being	Global
5	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
6	January	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
6	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns

6	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
6	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
6	January	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
7	January	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
7	January	1992	Education	Schools
8	January	1992	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
9	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
10	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
11	January	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
11	January	1992	Global	Country Profiles
11	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
12	January	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
13	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
13	January	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
14	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
14	January	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
14	January	1992	Health	Contagious Diseases
14	January	1992	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
15	January	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
15	January	1992	Child Well Being	Global
16	January	1992	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
16	January	1992	Education	Schools
17	January	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
19	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
20	January	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
20	January	1992	Portraits	Success Stories
21	January	1992	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
21	January	1992	Education	Schools
22	January	1992	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
24	January	1992	Advertisement	Entertainment
26	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
26	January	1992	Portraits	Talented Children
27	January	1992	Education	Problems
28	January	1992	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
29	January	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
29	January	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
31	January	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
31	January	1992	Child Well Being	Global
31	January	1992	Health	Medical Malpractice
3	February	1992	Global	Country Profiles
3	February	1992	Global	Country Profiles
3	February	1992	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
4	February	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
5	February	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
6	February	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life

6	February	1992	Global	Country Profiles
8	February	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
12	February	1992	Global	Warfare
12	February	1992	Child Well Being	Safety
13	February	1992	Child Well Being	Global
16	February	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
16	February	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
16	February	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
17	February	1992	Global	Country Profiles
19	February	1992	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
20	February	1992	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
21	February	1992	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
23	February	1992	Global	Migrant Children (from Turkey)
23	February	1992	Portraits	Talented Children
24	February	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
24	February	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
24	February	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
24	February	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
25	February	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
28	February	1992	Global	Warfare
28	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
1	March	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
1	March	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
3	March	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
4	March	1992	Global	Warfare
6	March	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
6	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
7	March	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
7	March	1992	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
8	March	1992	Portraits	Inspirational
8	March	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
8	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
8	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
9	March	1992	Global	Warfare
9	March	1992	Accident Reports	Workplace
10	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
10	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
10	March	1992	Child Well Being	Safety
11	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
14	March	1992	Global	Country Profiles
15	March	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
17	March	1992	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
18	March	1992	Advertisement	Banking/Insurance
18	March	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
20	March	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports

21	March	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
21	March	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
21	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
21	March	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
23	March	1992	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
27	March	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
28	March	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
29	March	1992	Advertisement	Banking/Insurance
29	March	1992	Global	Country Profiles
31	March	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
31	March	1992	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
1	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
1	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
1	April	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
2	April	1992	Child Well Being	Global
8	April	1992	Advertisement	Banking/Insurance
8	April	1992	Education	Problems
11	April	1992	Global	Warfare
13	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
15	April	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
15	April	1992	Advertisement	Entertainment
15	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
16	April	1992	Global	Warfare
16	April	1992	Child Well Being	Global
16	April	1992	Advertisement	Furniture/Tools/etc.
16	April	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
17	April	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
17	April	1992	Advertisement	Education
18	April	1992	Advertisement	Education
18	April	1992	Crime Reports	State Violence
19	April	1992	Education	Exams
18	April	1992	Crime Reports	State Violence
20	April	1992	Education	Exams
21	April	1992	Education	Exams
21	April	1992	Global	Country Profiles
21	April	1992	Education	Exams
21	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
21	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
22	April	1992	Education	Exams
23	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
24	April	1992	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
24	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
24	April	1992	Advertisement	Entertainment
24	April	1992	Health	Sanitation
25	April	1992	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments

25	April	1992	Advertisement	Banking/Insurance
27	April	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
1	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
1	May	1992	Children and Families	Suicide
1	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
2	May	1992	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
3	May	1992	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
4	May	1992	Portraits	Talented Children
4	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
5	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
5	May	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
5	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
5	May	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
6	May	1992	Crime Reports	Political Violence
8	May	1992	Portraits	Talented Children
8	May	1992	Health	Scientific Developments
8	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
8	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
8	May	1992	Child Well Being	Global
8	May	1992	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
9	May	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
9	May	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
9	May	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
11	May	1992	Accident Reports	Workplace
11	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
12	May	1992	Global	Warfare
13	May	1992	Accident Reports	Home
14	May	1992	Crime Reports	Political Violence
16	May	1992	Education	Legislation
18	May	1992	Education	Exams
18	May	1992	Global	Warfare
19	May	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
21	May	1992	Education	Private Education
21	May	1992	Education	Exams
23	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
24	May	1992	Education	Exams
25	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
26	May	1992	Global	Warfare
26	May	1992	Accident Reports	Traffic
26	May	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
27	May	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
27	May	1992	Health	Social Security
30	May	1992	Child Well Being	Natural Disasters
30	May	1992	Global	Country Profiles
30	May	1992	Accident Reports	Leisure

31	May	1992	Global	Warfare
1	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
1	June	1992	Child Well Being	Disabled Children
2	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
3	June	1992	Global	Warfare
3	June	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
3	June	1992	Global	Country Profiles
4	June	1992	Accident Reports	Traffic
4	June	1992	Health	Drug Abuse
4	June	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
4	June	1992	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
6	June	1992	Reproduction	Ethics
6	June	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Underage Sex
6	June	1992	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
7	June	1992	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
7	June	1992	Education	Private Education
8	June	1992	Portraits	Inspirational
8	June	1992	Global	Country Profiles
8	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
8	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
8	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
8	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
9	June	1992	Education	Private Education
10	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
10	June	1992	Education	Private Education
10	June	1992	Advertisement	Education
11	June	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
15	June	1992	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
15	June	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
16	June	1992	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
17	June	1992	Global	Warfare
18	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
18	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
23	June	1992	Health	Sanitation
24	June	1992	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
25	June	1992	Global	Country Profiles
26	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
29	June	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
5	July	1992	Advertisement	Tools/Furniture/etc.
5	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
6	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
8	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
8	July	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
9	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
10	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping

15	July	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
16	July	1992	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
17	July	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
17	July	1992	Portraits	Success Stories
19	July	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
20	July	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
21	July	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
22	July	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
22	July	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
25	July	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
30	July	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
31	August	1992	Advertisement	Entertainment
9	August	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
9	August	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
10	August	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
13	August	1992	Accident Reports	Traffic
13	August	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
15	August	1992	Global	Warfare
17	August	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
18	August	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
19	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
19	August	1992	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
19	August	1992	Portraits	Talented Children
22	August	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
23	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
24	August	1992	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
24	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
25	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Migrant Children
28	August	1992	Global	Warfare
29	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
30	August	1992	Accident Reports	Workplace
30	August	1992	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
31	September	1992	Global	Country Profiles
1	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Politics
1	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
3	September	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
3	September	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
4	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
4	September	1992	Education	Private Education
4	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
6	September	1992	Education	Problems
6	September	1992	Education	Private Education
7	September	1992	Education	Problems
8	September	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
9	September	1992	Portraits	Inspirational

9	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
10	September	1992	Global	Warfare
16	September	1992	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
17	September	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
19	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
20	September	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
20	September	1992	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
21	September	1992	Crime Reports	Political Violence
22	September	1992	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
22	September	1992	Education	Problems
22	September	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
22	September	1992	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
23	September	1992	Crime Reports	Political Violence
23	September	1992	Child Well Being	Homeless Children and Orphanages
25	September	1992	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
27	September	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
29	October	1992	Global	Warfare
1	October	1992	Parenting	Pedagogy
3	October	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
3	October	1992	Child Well Being	Migrant Children
4	October	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
5	October	1992	Children and Families	Good Parents
7	October	1992	Child Well Being	General
7	October	1992	Health	Sanitation
8	October	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
12	October	1992	Education	Schools
15	October	1992	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
17	October	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
17	October	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
18	October	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
18	October	1992	Education	Problems
19	October	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
19	October	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
20	October	1992	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
20	October	1992	Health	Drug Abuse
21	October	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
21	October	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
22	October	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
23	October	1992	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
28	October	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
28	October	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
29	October	1992	Parenting	Parenthood
29	October	1992	Education	Private Education
30	October	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
30	October	1992	Accident Reports	Home

31	November	1992	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquents
2	November	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
3	November	1992	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
5	November	1992	Advertisement	Education
5	November	1992	Education	Schools
6	November	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
7	November	1992	Crime Reports	Forced Marriage
7	November	1992	Accident Reports	Home
7	November	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
7	November	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
9	November	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
9	November	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
10	November	1992	Religion	Religious Persecution
11	November	1992	Kurdish Question	Warfare
12	November	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
13	November	1992	Global	Warfare
14	November	1992	Health	Scientific Developments
16	November	1992	Child Well Being	General
17	November	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
17	November	1992	Child Well Being	General
18	November	1992	Parenting	Cultural Protection
18	November	1992	Child Well Being	General
18	November	1992	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
27	November	1992	Global	Country Profiles
27	November	1992	Global	Warfare
28	November	1992	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
28	November	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
28	December	1992	Reproduction	Population/Birth Control
28	December	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
1	December	1992	Crime Reports	Property Crimes
3	December	1992	Global	Warfare
4	December	1992	Global	Warfare
5	December	1992	Global	Country Profiles
6	December	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
6	December	1992	Global	Country Profiles
7	December	1992	Global	Warfare
7	December	1992	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
9	December	1992	Health	Hazardous Materials
12	December	1992	Inspirational	Campaigns
16	December	1992	Crime Reports	Forced Marriage
16	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
19	December	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
20	December	1992	Accident Reports	Leisure
25	December	1992	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
27	December	1992	Crime Reports	Kidnapping

27	December	1992	Education	Schools
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Life
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
31	December	1992	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
1	January	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
1	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
2	January	1997	Accident Reports	Leisure
3	January	1997	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
3	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
3	January	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
4	January	1997	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
6	January	1997	Parenting	Parenthood
7	January	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
11	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
12	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
13	January	1997	Kurdish Question	Migrant Children
14	January	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
14	January	1997	Kurdish Question	Migrant Children
15	January	1997	Parenting	Parenthood
16	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
16	January	1997	Accident Reports	Leisure
17	January	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
18	January	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
18	January	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Political Crimes
18	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
19	January	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
19	January	1997	Child Well Being	General
19	January	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
20	January	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
20	January	1997	Parenting	Cultural Protection
21	January	1997	Global	Warfare
22	January	1997	Crime Reports	Property Crimes
22	January	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
22	January	1997	Children and Families	Abandoned Children
22	January	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
23	January	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
23	January	1997	Parenting	Parenthood
25	January	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
26	January	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Political Crimes
26	January	1997	Portraits	Talented Children
26	January	1997	Child Well Being	General
27	January	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy

28	January	1997	Child Well Being	Economic Problems
29	January	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
30	January	1997	Education	Problems
1	January	1997	Advertisement	Entertainment
3	February	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
3	February	1997	Health	Medical Malpractice
3	February	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
3	February	1997	Advertisement	Other
5	February	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
7	February	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
7	February	1997	Crime Reports	Kidnapping
8	February	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
8	February	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
10	February	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
13	February	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
13	February	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
16	February	1997	Children and Families	Suicide
16	February	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
17	February	1997	Crime Reports	Other
18	February	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
20	February	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
22	February	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
23	February	1997	Health	Hazardous Materials
23	February	1997	Child Well Being	Legislation
26	February	1997	Children and Families	Runaway/Lost Children
27	February	1997	Global	Country Profiles
28	February	1997	Global	Country Profiles
1	March	1997	Education	Private Education
2	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
2	March	1997	Advertisement	Education
2	March	1997	Child Well Being	Global
3	March	1997	Global	Country Profiles
4	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
4	March	1997	Education	Private Education
6	March	1997	Global	Country Profiles
8	March	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
9	March	1997	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
9	March	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
10	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
11	March	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
13	March	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
14	March	1997	Children and Families	Parental Suicide
15	March	1997	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
16	March	1997	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
17	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies

18	March	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
18	March	1997	Global	Warfare
19	March	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
21	March	1997	Accident Reports	Leisure
21	March	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
22	March	1997	Crime Reports	Other
22	March	1997	Global	Warfare
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
24	March	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
24	March	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
24	March	1997	Religion	Education
25	March	1997	Religion	Education
25	March	1997	Religion	Education
25	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
26	March	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
28	March	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Underage Sex
28	March	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
29	March	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
30	March	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
30	March	1997	Religion	Education
30	March	1997	Religion	Education
30	March	1997	Religion	Education
30	March	1997	Portraits	Success stories
31	March	1997	Religion	Education
1	April	1997	Religion	Education
1	April	1997	Religion	Education
2	April	1997	Portraits	Success stories
3	April	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
4	April	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
5	April	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
8	April	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
8	April	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
11	April	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
11	April	1997	Accident Reports	Home
13	April	1997	Religion	Education
14	April	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
16	April	1997	Education	Private Education
16	April	1997	Health	Contagious Diseases
17	April	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
17	April	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
18	April	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns

19	April	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
19	April	1997	Religion	Education
19	April	1997	Children and Families	Criminal Parents
21	April	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
23	April	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
23	April	1997	Child Well Being	Child Labour
23	April	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
24	April	1997	Education	Schools
26	April	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
27	April	1997	Religion	Education
27	April	1997	Education	Private Education
28	April	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
28	April	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
1	May	1997	Religion	Education
2	May	1997	Crime Reports	Other
2	May	1997	Child Well Being	Global
2	May	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
5	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
7	May	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
7	May	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
7	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
8	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
8	May	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
8	May	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
8	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
10	May	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
11	May	1997	Global	Country Profiles
11	May	1997	Advertisement	Furniture/Tools/etc.
12	May	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
12	May	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
12	May	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
14	May	1997	Education	Private Education
15	May	1997	Education	Private Education
16	May	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
17	May	1997	Advertisement	Education
17	May	1997	Advertisement	Housing
17	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
18	May	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
18	May	1997	Education	Problems
18	May	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
18	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
21	May	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
22	May	1997	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
22	May	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
23	May	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare

23	May	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
23	May	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
23	May	1997	Child Well Being	Legislation
24	May	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
25	May	1997	Education	Problems
26	May	1997	Education	Private Education
26	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
26	May	1997	Education	Private Education
27	May	1997	Education	Private Education
27	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Politics
29	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
30	May	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
31	May	1997	Child Well Being	General
1	June	1997	Advertisement	Other
2	June	1997	Religion	Education
2	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
3	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
5	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
6	June	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
7	June	1997	Education	Legislation
7	June	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
8	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
9	June	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
10	June	1997	Accident Reports	Home
10	June	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
11	June	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
11	June	1997	Children and Families	Suicide
12	June	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
12	June	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
12	June	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
13	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
14	June	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
14	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
16	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
16	June	1997	Child Well Being	Security
17	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
17	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
18	June	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
18	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
19	June	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
19	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
19	June	1997	Education	Private Education
20	June	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
20	June	1997	Education	Private Education
20	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies

21	June	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
21	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
21	June	1997	Education	Exams
21	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
22	June	1997	Advertisement	Education
22	June	1997	Advertisement	Clothing
24	June	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
24	June	1997	Children and Families	Suicide
24	June	1997	Child Well Being	Global
25	June	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
26	June	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
26	June	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
26	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
27	June	1997	Kurdish Question	Child Soldiers
30	June	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
4	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
5	July	1997	Advertisement	Housing
7	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Celebrations/Ceremonies
11	July	1997	Religion	Education
13	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
14	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
15	July	1997	Religion	Education
16	July	1997	Crime Reports	Other
19	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
19	July	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
20	July	1997	Advertisement	Education
21	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
21	July	1997	Advertisement	Education
21	July	1997	Parenting	Health
22	July	1997	Advertisement	Education
22	July	1997	Portraits	Success stories
22	July	1997	Religion	Education
22	July	1997	Religion	Education
23	July	1997	Advertisement	Education
23	July	1997	Portraits	Success stories
23	July	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
23	July	1997	Education	Private Education
24	July	1997	Religion	Education
24	July	1997	Education	Curricula
25	July	1997	Education	Curricula
26	July	1997	Education	Private Education
26	July	1997	Advertisement	Education
29	July	1997	Parenting	Health
29	July	1997	Religion	Education
29	July	1997	Religion	Education

29	July	1997	Education	Schools
29	July	1997	Religion	Education
29	July	1997	Education	Curricula
30	July	1997	Religion	Education
30	July	1997	Religion	Education
1	August	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
1	August	1997	Education	Problems
1	August	1997	Religion	Education
1	August	1997	Religion	Education
4	August	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
5	August	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
5	August	1997	Education	Problems
5	August	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
5	August	1997	Religion	Education
5	August	1997	Religion	Education
6	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Indoctrination
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
7	August	1997	Religion	Education
8	August	1997	Religion	Education
8	August	1997	Portraits	Success stories
9	August	1997	Religion	Education
11	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
11	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
12	August	1997	Education	Curricula
13	August	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
16	August	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
16	August	1997	Education	Curricula
16	August	1997	Religion	Education
16	August	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
17	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
17	August	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
17	August	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
18	August	1997	Religion	Education
18	August	1997	Child Well Being	Juvenile Delinquency
18	August	1997	Education	Private Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Education	Private Education

18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Education	Private Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Education	Private Education
18	August	1997	Education	Curricula
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
18	August	1997	Education	Private Education
19	August	1997	Health	Private Health Services
19	August	1997	Education	Curricula
19	August	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Teenage Sexuality
20	August	1997	Global	Warfare
20	August	1997	Religion	Education
20	August	1997	Religion	Education
20	August	1997	Religion	Education
21	August	1997	Religion	Education
22	August	1997	Religion	Education
22	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
23	August	1997	Education	Curricula
24	August	1997	Education	Curricula
24	August	1997	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
25	August	1997	Advertisement	Education
26	August	1997	Religion	Education
28	August	1997	Education	Curricula
28	August	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
29	August	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
30	August	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
30	August	1997	Education	Private Education
31	August	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
31	August	1997	Religion	Education

2	September	1997	Religion	Education
3	September	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
4	September	1997	Education	Private Education
5	September	1997	Advertisement	Housing
6	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
6	September	1997	Advertisement	Housing
7	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
7	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
7	September	1997	Religion	Education
9	September	1997	Religion	Education
10	September	1997	Education	Private Education
11	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
11	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
11	September	1997	Education	Curricula
13	September	1997	Kurdish Question	Warfare
13	September	1997	Religion	Education
13	September	1997	Child Well Being	Child Welfare
13	September	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
13	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
14	September	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
14	September	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
15	September	1997	Crime Reports	Property Crimes
15	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
16	September	1997	Education	Curricula
17	September	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
19	September	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
19	September	1997	Child Well Being	Housing
19	September	1997	Advertisement	Housing
20	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
21	September	1997	Education	Curricula
22	September	1997	Health	Drug Abuse
22	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
23	September	1997	Education	Private Education
24	September	1997	Global	Country Profiles
24	September	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
25	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life
26	September	1997	Health	Private Health Services
26	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
27	September	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
1	October	1997	Global	Warfare
2	October	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
2	October	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Arts/Entertainment
3	October	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
4	October	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
4	October	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy

5	October	1997	Advertisement	Housing
9	October	1997	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
10	October	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
10	October	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
11	October	1997	Religion	Religious Persecution
11	October	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
11	October	1997	Health	Drug Abuse
12	October	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
12	October	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Beauty/Fashion
15	October	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
16	October	1997	Child Well Being	General
17	October	1997	Accident Reports	Leisure
18	October	1997	Education	Problems
19	October	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
20	October	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
21	October	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
26	October	1997	Child Well Being	Global
26	October	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
1	November	1997	Children and Families	Domestic Violence
1	November	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
1	November	1997	Reproduction	Infertility Treatments
2	November	1997	Kurdish Question	Kurdish Children
3	November	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
5	November	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
6	November	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
7	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
8	November	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
9	November	1997	Global	Country Profiles
12	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
12	November	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
14	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Squatter Demolitions
15	November	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
16	November	1997	Education	Schools
17	November	1997	Parenting	Parenthood
17	November	1997	Health	Children with Disabilities
18	November	1997	Parenting	Parenthood
19	November	1997	Parenting	Pedagogy
20	November	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
20	November	1997	Crime Reports	Child Abuse
20	November	1997	Education	Curricula
21	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
22	November	1997	Children and Families	Suicide
22	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
22	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Charity Reports
23	November	1997	Health	Non-Contagious diseases

24	November	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Property Crimes
25	November	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Poverty
28	November	1997	Children and Families	Family Breakdowns
30	November	1997	Child Well Being	Global
2	December	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Child Stars
2	December	1997	Child Well Being	Other
3	December	1997	Advertisement	Entertainment
3	December	1997	Crime Reports	Violent Crimes
4	December	1997	Education	Private Education
4	December	1997	Education	Private Education
4	December	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
5	December	1997	Education	Private Education
6	December	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
8	December	1997	Crime Reports	Pornography/Prostitution
9	December	1997	Education	Private Education
9	December	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
10	December	1997	Juvenile Delinquency	Violent Crimes
11	December	1997	Crime Reports	Other
11	December	1997	Socio-Economic Tragedies	Sick Children
13	December	1997	Advertisement	Housing
16	December	1997	Accident Reports	Other
17	December	1997	Health	Medical Malpractice
17	December	1997	Accident Reports	Traffic
21	December	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Campaigns
22	December	1997	Crime Reports	Gendered Discrimination
26	December	1997	Education	Exams
27	December	1997	Titbits/Trivia	Life

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