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Full Length Research Paper

The narratives of 1970s' primary schools' children in Turkey: Childhood and remembering the past

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In this study, I am trying to display the narratives about the 1970's primary school childrens including their childhood and their past through using the center-periphery and gender variables. The article aims to indicate the students' childhood, their primary school education passing in poverty, their games and memories. I have made interviews with the people who used to be students in the primary school in the 1970s. Their experiences are to be put into context by taking into account the center-periphery and gender variables which become decisive in understanding and evaluating their narratives. Remembering their childhood, their poor life conditions, the games they played and their memories in the school is very important for us to understand their past. Thus, these narratives help us see not only how their school experiences reappear now but also in what circumstances their childhood was. I believe that center-periphery and gender as significant variables reveal how different their childhood and past.

Keywords: narrative, childhood, education, gender, center-periphery

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to evaluate the narratives of 1970s primary school students by making use of the center-periphery and gender variables. In this study, the center refers to the city centers, the periphery indicates the shanty houses called *gecekondu* (suburb of the city), small towns and villages. Even though the shanty areas are situated around the city centers they have similarities to the small towns and villages in terms of their social, cultural and economic features due to the migration accelerated with the agricultural mechanization since 1950s. It is because of this the shanty areas started to appear and surround the cities. As a result of this, the shanty areas particularly in the big cities had similar characteristics (Can, 2007; Ertürk, 2008).

The decisive factor that distinguishes these two parts is more their social, economic and educational

opportunities which vary from one part to another. The remarkable difference is observed in the income levels of these two parts particularly. While the former one has higher life standards, the latter has lower ones. Moreover, the educational opportunities differ from the center to periphery. That is, better educational opportunities are provided for the center first such as, schools' physical conditions, the number of teachers appointed to the schools etc., then these facilities and opportunities are provided for the periphery if possible. This difference must have taken an important role in the later formation of the narratives of the students about their educational practices and experiences.

Gender is another variable to be taken into consideration so as to grasp and evaluate the differences in the narratives. In general gender in its wide meaning

indicates the social roles formed for males and females, learned behaviours, and expectations in a society. (Ecevit: 2003, Keller: 2005). According to another definition, gender means the inequality between masculinity and femininity in social respect. (Marshall: 1999). Unlike the biological sexuality which determines the biological differences between males and females, gender differs from one society to another in relation with their social formation and cultural differences. (Akın and Demirel: 2003, Alkan: 2005). The roles based on sexuality reflect how males and females are expected to behave and what kind of duties expected from them to be fulfilled. (Marshall: 1999). This can be best observed in the public and private spaces. While in these spaces working and political activities are the roles for males, houseworks and the activities about family seem to be the natural roles for females. (Akın ve Demirel: 2003, Bora: 2008).

Gender also reveals the inequality resulted from the different social roles between the males and females. The discrimination based on sexuality also values women less than men in cultural context. We can see the discrimination at the division of labor too. To illustrate, the work done at home is seen less valuable and exploited than the paid one and also women are less educated than the men, the continuity of sexual discrimination at work, the increase in the number of women at lower wage works, the higher number of women living in poverty and getting less health services are the examples of this discrimination. (Connell: 1998, Akın and Demirel: 2003). After all, evaluating these narratives under the light of the center-periphery and gender variables will also bring a critial approach itself.

Certain Past Studies

There have been some studies about the students educational experiences which reflect more than what we can learn about their education in the written documents. Thus their educational experinces become more important than it is expected in general. Their experiences not only provide important clues about their education they also present important details about the child history and childhood¹. If I want to give examples about the previous studies, I must refer to the study called *Cumhuriyet'te Çocuklar* (*They Were Children at Republic*) by Tan. It provides us a comprehensive perspective about the primary students' educational experiences belonging to the foundation period of the Young Turkish Republic (Tan, 2007). Tan, M. (2001). Another study of Tan "Düriye Köprülü'nün Çocukluğu "Bir Genç Kız Yetişiyor" (The Childhood of Düriye Köprülü "A Young Girl is Growing") which gives significant details about educational practices of the period and her primary

school education experiences (Tan, 2001).

In addition to these studies which also became inspiration for the fallowing doctorate study called *1970-1975 Dönemi İlkokul Öğrencilerinin Eğitim Deneyimleri: Sözlü Tarih Yöntemiyle Bir Çalışma* (1970-1975 Period Primary Students' Educational Experiences: A Study With Oral History Methodology) by Sağlam (Sağlam: 2010). This study reveals not only the students' primary school educational experiences about that period but also the social, economic, and cultural conditions of the period. It also make a contribution to the history of children of the period and their significance in terms of understanding the history of Turkey from 1950s to 1970s as a whole.

There are also some studies focusing on individuals' educational experiences through oral history methodology. To illustrate, Çameli's work titled as *Çağdaş Eğitime Geçişin Tüm aşamalarının Tanığı Hüsnü Ciritli'nin Yaşam Anlatısı 'Cumhuriyet Nasıl Bir Adamdı ki?* (The Witness of All Steps of Transition to the Contemporary Education Hüseyin Ciritli's Life Narrative; What Kind of Person Was Republic?) displays what had been lived at school during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. It presents vital clues and details about the daily life at the time of fast modernisation process (Çameli, 2005).

Additionally, biographies including Kansu's *Çocukluğa Yolculuk* (*Journey to Childhood*) and Öymen's *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk* (*A Period A Child*) informs us both about their childhood and primary school educational practices. (Kansu, 2002; Öymen, 2002) As well as these studies which are about educational experiences of individuals and children of different periods in Turkish history through oral history methodology I may contribute the previous studies to some extent by using oral history methodology so that the voices of those who are ignored may be heard in educational studies. It includes some of the narratives of about fifty students of 1970s which show their experiences and feelings about their childhood, school, games, past and social economic and educational conditions.

¹(According to E. Erickson child is a mirror reflecting cultural themes, it is not a creature , it is also a creator of a culture, therefore it is a dynamic power itselfs. Like other social classes, children are part of a large system. They are not only the target of this system but also they affect the other parts of this system. See. Tan, M. "Çocukluk: Dün ve Bugün", In *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* , edited by Bekir Onur, İstanbul: 1993, 11-19. History of children on the one hand can give us ideas about the society as a whole on the other hand help us explain the society by looking to the role of childhood. See. Stargardt, N. German Childhoods: the Making of Historiography, *The German History Society*, 16, 1998, pp. 1-15. The childhood can not be studied by isolating the childhood from the whole of the society, children have a close relationship with its environment. See. Cunningham, H. *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, London, Longman, 199)

METHOD

The method of this study is oral history methodology. Making history with one's narratives is worth of researching. History is the object of cultural formation. Understanding this formation means understanding a lot of things about culture (Grele: 1991). Thus, trying to pursue the 1970-1975's primary school students' educational experiences will not only give us important details about their school lives but also present significant details about the political, cultural, economic and social atmosphere of the period. Oral history methodology with its critical, innovative, transformative approach cares about individuals, groups' life styles and their socialization patterns in historical studies and contributes the socialization of history (İlyasoğlu: 2006, Thompson: 1988, 2006). As Paulo Freire puts into words "*the power of reciprocal dialogues*" (McLaren: 2001, 2003) for a democratic society oral history plays an important role and function in the share of knowledge. According to Grele, oral history is a sort of development of historical consciousness (Grele: 1991).

This method mainly writes the history of those particularly being excluded from the dominant historical understanding, children and relates their history with big historical events. What oral history does is to uncover the individual experience that is a gap in classical historical approach. (Tan: 1998, 2000). The oral evidence of ordinary people are part of the understanding of history as a whole, in this respect oral history has a vital role in giving sense to the past. By this way we can understand today better and plan our future (Caunce: 1994). Briefly, it is oral history methodology that enlightens the history of masses who have been excluded from the dominant historical approach and develops a critical and alternative historical approach to historiography. With such a belief I made fifty interviews including 25 women and 25 men who had their primary school education in 1970s. To reach these people I made use of the snow ball method by which I was able to contact with the next person I may interview with. I got their permission so as to use their narratives in my study and then I decoded their narratives after the interviews which forms the core of the study. I only made use of the narratives directly related to the issue.

FINDINGS AND EVALUATION

Childhood and Their Past

Despite not asking questions directly about their childhood² some interviewers specified details about their childhood. The content of these details were mainly related with in what kind of social and economic milieu they belonged while studying at primary school. Only

those who studied in the city centers and had better economic conditions said that they had a good childhood and were able to remember about their childhood. To illustrate, Nalan Aslan and Tümay Yörük who studied at a private primary school said that they had a great childhood. Nalan Aslan: "*I had a great childhood.*" Tümay Yörük: "*When my mother gave a birth to my brother, she stopped working, she was at home and thus I had a lovely childhood.*" The number of such students can be increased as we will see in the following examples. Serap Ülgen: "*Obviously we did not grow up in the problems as today's children are growing in. We were more after childish things like games, entertainment etc.,*" Ayhan Çobanoğlu: "*Of course I remember having a exciting time with my friends during my childhood.*"

However, those who studied in rural areas and were in poor economic conditions could not recall anything about their childhood. What they could remember was a part of producing something, being a part of producing process. They were able to remember how they had to work and help their parents. For instance, Özay Doruk: "*During my childhood life, my father took me to the work sometimes.*" Tahsin Koyuncu: "*When we came home there was always for us to do. There was no electricity in the village to study. We also did not have time to study because of the work.*"

In terms of gender, the girls who were in the rural areas mentioned that they were not able to remember their childhood it is because they were probably under the pressure of their parents. Nesime Kaya: "*I can not remember some things , we could not talk with our father, we might have been under his pressure that prevents me from remembering my childhood. We could not ask anything to our father.*" This is a good example revealing the difference resulted from the gender. As it can be seen in this example, girls are expected to obey the social and cultural norms rather than the boys. As Kandiyoti mentions gender has an important role in the formation of power relationship in the families (Kandiyoti: 1988).

²(According to West and Patrick, the identities of children, their personalities and behaviours reflect the features of their environment. See. Bkz. Tan, M. "Çocukluk: Dün ve Bugün", *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* içinde, der: Bekir Onur, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı, 1993, 11-19. In this respect researches focused on children are necessary so as to understand the social reality. See. Kennedy, D. The Roots of Child Study: Philosophy, History, and Religion. *Teachers College Record*, 102, 2000, p. 514-538. Writing the history of children and childhood can not be thought isolated from the economic, social and political developments. See. Aries, P. "Education and the Concept of Childhood" *Childhood in America* içinde New York, New York University Press, 2000. It is not wrong to say that writing the history of children has taken an important place in historiography due to the mass movements since 1960s. Also writing the history of children has a vital importance in order to understand the cultural, social and political reproduction process. See. Hawes, J. M. Ve Hiner, N. R. *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, West Port, Greenwood Press, 1991)

Working Children and Those Who Studied Primary School in Poverty

Some of the interviewers said they had spent their non-school time working to contribute their families' budgets. Most of these students were originating from the poor families. They continued their education in poverty compare to the those who were wealthy and lived in the centers of big cities. The students who studied in the centers of big cities did not say anything that displays they had to work unlike the ones in the periphery. There is a inter-connection of periphery and gender variables while talking about the working children while they were at primary school. Here the division of labor becomes important. While boys were expected to work outside of their homes, such as in the fields, factories, girls were to work at their homes. As a boy Şevket Ulubatlı indicates that "*Since our father was away from home working as a shepherd, we had to work during the holidays, we both went to school and worked to live on.*" Mahmut Ersan: "*During the holidays I used to work as an apprentice with my brother.*" The following example is very striking to reveal the poverty in which they were in. Recai Güleç: "*When I didn't go to school my father was cutting parsley, onions in the garden and putting them on my shoulder to sell for a few penny. We were in a financial diffiulty at that time. I work in a brick factory as well.*" Hasan Tatik: "*We were starting school late each term, almost a month later and having to leave school a month early before the end of the term. Because we had to look after the cattle and work in the fields.*" This narrative displays that participating to production process at a very early age shortens the period of childhood Thus, these children are not able to remember their childhood. They more stres on their work instead of remebering their childhood.

In all these narratives, the boys used to work outside of their houses. However, girls were usually working at home. For example, Bedriye Soylu narrates that case as in the following sentence. "*We did not have time to play games. Because, when we came back from school we were made to work by our mother.*" The differences observed from the division of labor between the boys and girls can be explained by the social rolles resulted from the sexual discrimination. To prepare boys and girls for the future, while parents make the boys get used to working for the paid job, they make girls get used to working at houseworks without payment (Ecevit: 2003). Here we witness the narratives of males and females differ from each other due to the division of labour brought about by class stratification and sexual diffirences. In these narratives it is possibly seen that with the term of *Apple cultural and social capital* is being reproduced (Apple: 2004).

Games

When I ask them about the games they played, most of the interviewers indicated that both boys and girls were playing together but the number of their games were limited. In some narratives we do not see any discrimination in terms of gender variable but in some we can see it. Füsün Börekçi: "*We were playing line game, (çizgi oyunu) skipping rope, (ip atlama) dodge ball, voleyball with our male friends, there was no any distinction at all.*" Fahriye D. Doğu: "*We were playing ball, skipping rope with the boys.*" Mahmut Ersan: "*As boys and girls, we were playing together. There was no seperation at all.*" Ayça Arslan: "*During my childhood we were never seperated as boys and girls. We were playing with the boys as well.*"

At that time they mostly used to play the games including *drop the handkerchief* (gağ satarım bal satarım), *stopping*, (stop) *five stones*, *skipping rope*, (ip atlama) *muscadine*, (misket) *blind man's bluff*, (kör ebe) particularly in villages *skittles* (çelik çomak), *long donkey* (uzun eşek), *hide and seek* (saklambaç). A limited number of students living in the city centers would play different games from the previously mentioned ones. Yet, in general they were playing common and similar games. The children who were in poor social and economic conditions had to make their own toys with the materials taking place around them naturally in general. Such as, Isa Akşehir: "*What sort of games did we play? We could make cars from the watermelon shell, rubber wheel. In winter we could play snow ball, and did snow man.*" Hasan Tatik: "*We could play five stones, skipping rope. We were making ball from the wool to play football.*" Bedriye Soylu: "*Since we did not have balls, my mother had mad ball for us from cotton. We were placing stones in a line and hit them with the ball. We were also playing hide and seek.*" Those who were in better economic conditions and in the city centers could have their own toys and played more sophisticated games. As in the example of Nalan Asyalı: "*We had a park for the children in the school garden. I remember that It has oscillators, slides etc., We could play there. We could do exercises and play voleyball.*"

We also see some examples reflecting the sexual discrimination in the games they were playing. This can be obsrvd in some narratives of the girls and boys. They said that they could not play games with their male friends as if it had been shame. This attitude is seen particularly in the rural areas. As it will be easily seen in the Kadriye Kodaman's words. "*I can't say that we could play games with the boys. I always played games with my female friends. I never had a boy friend at school at that time.*" Recai Güleç: "*We could only play with our*

female friends under the control of our teacher. Except that we even could't go and talk with our girl friends. Because we were too shy to talk with them." Safiye Arikol: "Boys and girls did not play games together. Girls were playing blind man's bluff, hide and seek, skipping rope, five stones etc., no boys and girls together at all."

Despite the fact that there are several narratives revealing that boys and girls could play common games there are stil ones which show that they had to play games separately it is because of their sexuality. These examples are the ones which belong to those who especially studied either in rural areas or in shanty parts of the cities. Also their social background becomes decesive in their relationships at school.

Memories

When I asked them about their memories which left traces on their lives while studying at primary school, those who could remember their memories were mostly the ones who were in the city centers and living in better social, economik and educational conditons. While they narrated them pleasantly, those who were in the rural areas and shanty places sometimes did not remeber their memories, even when they remembered they became sad and emotional. They were using general expressions rather than talking about their memories. Since they started working at a very early age and becoming a part of production they had a short childhood. Additionally, in the rural areas, as the children take part in agricultural activities like the adults, they are not seen in a seperate category. The members of those groups who are excluded from history have difficulty in understanding their lives as a story (Tan: 2007). They think what they live is not so special and find it someting ordinary.

Şevki Ulubatlı puts his opinions about his memories as in the following expression. "*What kind of memory! We do not have any momories, no memory I have.*" Tahsin Koyuncu: "*We had a photo taken about school. I just can remember that. There was no money to get a photo taken. I don't know but I was able to save some money for that photo. There was another photo of me but since I could not pay for it, I couldn't get it.*" Hasan Tatık recals an interesting memory. "*The best memory about school was that I think I was at third grade, it was April the 23th, my father had given me 25 penny, I went to the grocer and bought five sweets with it. I ate two or three of them and put little stones instead of the sweets and sold them to my friends with 35 penny and to buy biscuits with it. I sold them with 50 penny, in that way I got two liras. I can remember this very well.*"

The narratives of those who studied in city centers were able to remember a lot about their memories. Some of them could remember their memories about the ceremonies at school. Fevziye Erdoğdu: "*The most important memories were the ceremonies. Our parents*

were coming to watch us during the ceremonies. They were taking our photographs. Now I have those photographs. I can understand how I grew up in the photoes." Ayla Işık: "*It was always raining during the Children's Day on the 23th of April. My beautiful clothes were becoming wet. I have never forgotten, once I had a new colorful dress which became so wet during the ceremony.*"

Some of the interviewers including boys and girls narrate their love which can be heard from the students who were both in the city centers and had wealthy families that were able to provide better living conditions for their children. Tümay Yörük who studied in a private school expresses her love in a confidence. "*I had a boy friend when I was a second grade student. I remember looking at his eyes and going to school and coming home together since we were neighbours. His name was Altan. It lasted for three years. I can not forget Altan.*" Naciye Dertli: "*At that time we had a half-blooded or cross-bred friend. His mother was German, his father was Turkish. His name was Oktay who asked me if I had been able yo marry him. Since it was against our culture, I was angry with him. Although we had been walking for six months before that event, I stopped walking with him and did not talk with him again.*" In these two examples, even though these two girls were living in the city centers and had better economic opportunities there appeared the cultural factor distinguishing the behaviors of the individuals one from another.

The memory of Rıza Öz who lived in a village indicates that he could not explain his feelings to the girl he loved. "*Now when you say memory I do not know what to say, I had a vice president of class. She was so beautiful, I loved her a lot, I can not forget it, We could not tell our feelings. We could not live these things freely, we were hiding our feelings.*" Muhittin Balkız: "*We had girl friends, of course we had primary school loves. There was a girl called Hayriye, I can remember her. There was another called Süheyla.*" While some students could express their feelings to their girl or boy friends about their loves, some could not. This difference can be explained by and related with the Bourdieu's term called "*cultural baggage*" which becomes determinative to what extent one can be free. The children's families economic, social milieu has a close connection with the limit of childrens's freedom. These conditions which the children were in turn into cultural capital throughout the time (Marshall: 1999).

Moreover, the hidden cirriculum also plays an important role in the determination of the borders of the freedom of children about their feelings to express. While the hidden cirriculum trains students in private schools as active and multi-directional persons and tolerates them in their behaviors, it lets the sub-class students obey the cultural values of dominant culture engaged with inaequalities, it also expects them to be punctual at their duties, teaches them how to respect to their superiors according to the dominant criteria reflecting inequalities between the

social classes (İnal: 2006, Bowles and Gintis: 1976). It is also possible to relate the relationship between hegemony, ideology and the hidden curriculum. In other words, it is hidden curriculum which indirectly allows the individuals to get the values of dominant hegemony and ideology (Willis: 1977).

School

When they talked about their schools they mostly indicated their schools and classrooms' physical conditions, the environment of their schools, their relations with their teachers. Unlike the gender variable, the center-periphery variable seemed to be decisive in the formation of their narratives. In the narratives it is clearly mentioned that the schools in the center had better physical opportunities than the ones in the shanty houses surrounding the city centers, small towns and villages. The following narratives belong to some of the students who studied in the schools taking place in the city centers. Gülizar Çağla: *Our school was very beautiful. It was a clean and tidy school, we had a caretaker. The teachers were good as well, namely we had a nice school.*" Tümay Yörük who studied in a private school described her school like that. *"It had a pool in front of it. And There a lot of things which the students could make use of at the back of the school. We had swings and slides. It had pine trees which were so beautiful. We could feed the turtles there. All the trees were cut down and swings and slides were removed just a short time ago. I witnessed it, it was too sad."*

In contrast to the narratives of those who were in the center, the ones who studied in the periphery described the poor conditions in which they were. There appears the poverty as a remarkable factor. İsa Akşehir: *"Our school had three rooms two of which were used as classrooms and one was for the teachers, it also had a housing for the teacher to stay. After a while another room was added to the main building. I can remember these things when I was a student of first grade. We had a large classroom with wooden floor. Both the first grade and second grade students were in the same classroom, we studied together there. Three or four students had to sit on a desk, it was a narrow school, it wasn't big enough for the students at all."* İdris Başak: *"It was a concrete and tiled school, its garden was beautiful, founded in the intersection of three rivers."*

In some of the narratives of those who studied in the periphery, it is mentioned that they did not have a good education when they talked about their schools. Macit Eskicioğlu: *"I was too young to know what the school was like. We were escaping from the school. Of course there was no education that's why we were escaping from it. There was no much education. Our teachers were spending their time playing with the ball. They did not care about us at all. Since there were so many vineyards*

and orchards, we were going there and did not spend our time at school. I learnt reading and writing, reading newspaper at the secondary school not at the primary school."

In another narrative, while talking about their school one of the students of that period reveals that they had a close relationship with their teachers. He even indicates that their teachers were controlling them to find out if they were studying for their lessons at nights or not. Isa Akşehir: *"There is one thing I have never forgotten. At that time from the third grade, our teacher chose first five or six students who were the most successful students and visited the houses with us so as to control the students. We were looking through the windows to find out whether they were studying or not. It was a kind of otocontrol for the students. Our teacher could know which student had studied. Since the students knew they were being controlled, they felt they had to study. They knew that there was someone who was controlling them"*

There are not many narratives reflecting certain differences while considering the gender variable. But there are some students who studied in the periphery narrated that in their classrooms some of the girls were older than them. It is because in the villages the girls started school at a late age. Tahsin Koyuncu: *"In our school there were students who were much older than us. They were over fifteen years old. Since the school was far from their houses, they started school late. We were going to school with very big girls who were older than us."* Aytaç Ari: *"There was a boarding school just next to our school. We were with them. There was a big age gap between them and us."*

Also some of the students also mentioned that they had been going to school on Saturdays as well. Especially those who finished primary school in 1971 went to school on Saturdays. As today there is no school at the weekends. Ahmet Bozok: *"We were going to school until mid-day on Saturdays."* Safiye Arikol: *"Was there school on Saturdays? Of course there was. It was until mid-day on Saturdays."* Some of the students indicated that there were graduation exams at the end of the year. Naciye Dertli: *"At that time at primary school, we had graduation exams."* Aytaç Ari: *"After we were given a degree at the end of the term, there was a graduation exam. For each course there were separate exams. There was a teachers' council. There was either a written or an oral exam depending on what kind of the course was."* Füsün Börekçi: *"At that time they made exams while graduation school. During these exams the teachers sometimes wanted us sing for them. I remember that."*

One of the narrative of students was remarkable to pay attention. He said that the students who had low level of intelligence were collected in one classroom and this worsened his psychology. Ahmet Bozok: *"They were trying to form a classroom as school administration. This made our friends sad. There almost three hundred fifty or four hundred students in our school. Since thirty-five and*

forty of them had poor grades, a classroom was formed from such students. That influenced my psychology badly. Some of my friends were taken into that classroom."

CONCLUSIONS

Under the light of the center-periphery and gender variables evaluating the 1970s primary school students' educational experiences enables us to make certain inferences. The narratives of the students let us know about their primary school education like the games they played, their memories about their childhood, to some extent their life conditions including their social and economic conditions as well. It seems to state that what they narrate is obviously related with their social position, where they lived and studied. Remembering their past, exclusive memories, the games they played, their schools' conditions, having to work can vary to some extent due to their sexuality and being a part of center or periphery.

It is clear that unlike the ones studying in the city centers those who were in the periphery could hardly remember their childhood because of being a part of daily productivity like their elders. They could remember how they had to work to support their parents financially. The students in the city centers had more freedom to express their feelings to share with their girl friend. It seems that their social, economic and cultural environment and sometime sexuality play an important role in the formation their narratives. While the students in the city center were more flexible in terms of how to behave, those in the periphery were to be more responsible and punctual. This was fulfilled not only by the cultural and social values of the environments they were in but also fulfilled by the hidden curriculum by which the dominant cultural and social values were able to be reproduced.

Those studying in the city centers indicated their school conditions, memories and childhood with joy. However, the ones who studied in the periphery mostly mentioned how poor their school conditions and had difficulty to recall what they had lived as part of their childhood due to being a part of productivity. Moreover, belonging to an upper class that's why studying in a school situated in a city center allow them to remember the games which partially vary from the ones in the periphery. In addition to all these inferences, to some extent we can conclude that gender also had a necessity in the formation of some students' narratives. Particularly some could not play games with their girl or boy friends at school. Also there is the division of labor in the narratives of students studing in the periphery where the boys were working outdoor the girls were working especially indoor.

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