

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
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INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF THE EXPERIENCES
OF THE 1980 COUP IN TURKEY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY WITH
THREE GENERATIONS

Sırma ÜLGEN

118647004

Assist. Prof. Yudum SÖYLEMEZ

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Table 1: Themes Within Generations

Table 2: Themes Between Generations

Abstract

Considering the political history of Turkey, the 1980 coup has an important place due to the experiences in the lives of many families and many individuals. These experiences should be considered as witnessing the challenging experiences experienced by family members or friends as well as the personal experiences of individuals. During the 1980 coup, many people were detained, tortured, exposed to violence, and lost their lives due to differences in opinion. All these experiences have left traces in the lives of many families and individuals that are difficult to recover. This study, it is aimed to examine how the traces left by these experiences were transferred between generations and how they left traces in the following generations. In the study, in which the transference of the experiences between three generations and the generations' experiences were examined, interviews were done with six families; four of these families are formed by three generations of female participants, and two of them consist of two generations of male participants, consisting of the second and third generations. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with these families participating in the research. Then, the data obtained were analyzed in the context of coping styles and parenting styles using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis; common and different themes that exist between generations and within the generations were revealed. The similarities and differences of the obtained results with the literature were discussed in the context of the common and different themes across the generations and the effect of gender difference on experiences. Clinical implications were proposed about the intergenerational effects of the 1980 coup period, which is an important life event for many families in Turkey, and how different generations experienced this period. Finally, the limitations of the study and improvement recommendations for future studies were discussed.

Key Words: Intergenerational transmission of the experiences, 1980 coup, similarities and differences between generations, coping mechanisms, parenting styles

Özet

Türkiye'nin politik tarihi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, 1980 darbesi bir çok ailenin ve bir çok bireyin hayatında yaşanan deneyimler nedeniyle önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu deneyimler bireylerin birebir maruz kaldığı deneyimlerin yanı sıra aile fertlerinin veya arkadaşlarının maruz kaldığı zorlayıcı deneyimlere şahitlik etmeleri olarak da ele alınmalıdır. 1980 darbesi döneminde bir çok insan düşünce farklılıkları nedeniyle, göz altına alındı, işkence gördü, şiddete maruz kaldı ve hayatını kaybetti. Bütün bu yaşananlar bir çok ailenin ve bireyin hayatında iyileşmesi güç izler bıraktı. Bu çalışmada bu deneyimlerin bıraktığı izlerin kuşaklar arasında nasıl aktarıldığının ve daha sonra gelen kuşaklarda nasıl izler bıraktığının incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Üç kuşak arasındaki aktarımın ve kuşakların kendi arasında incelendiği araştırmada, 6 tane aile ile görüşmeler yapıldı; bu ailelerin 4 tanesi üç kuşak kadın katılımcılardan, iki tanesi de ikinci ve üçüncü kuşağın oluşturduğu 2 kuşak erkek katılımcılardan oluşmaktadır. Araştırmaya katılan bu ailelerle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirildi. Ardından elde edilen veriler, Yoruma Dayalı Fenomenolojik Analiz kullanılarak, zorluklarla baş etme biçimleri ve ebeveynlik stilleri bağlamlarında analiz edildi; kuşaklar arasında ve kuşakların kendi içerisinde var olan ortak ve farklı temalar ortaya çıkarıldı. Elde edilen sonuçların literatür ile benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları, kuşakların ortak ve farklı temaları ve cinsiyet farklılığının deneyimler üzerindeki etkisi bağlamlarında incelenerek tartışıldı. Türkiye'de bir çok aile için önemli yaşam olayı olan 1980 darbesinin kuşaklararası aktarılan etkilerinin ve farklı kuşakların bu dönemi nasıl deneyimlediği hakkında klinik çıkarımlar önerildi. Son olarak yapılan çalışmanın sınırlayıcı yanları ve gelecek çalışmalar için geliştirici öneriler tartışıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Deneyimlerin kuşaklararası aktarımı, 1980 darbesi, jenerasyonlar arası benzerlikler ve farklılıklar, baş etme mekanizmaları, ebeveynlik stilleri

INTRODUCTION

The military coup in 1980 is one of the most critical breaking points in Turkish political history. In the development of the military coup on September 12, 1980, a chaotic atmosphere was evident in almost every part of the country due to differences in opinion during this period; In this process, murders on the streets, violence against innocent people, psychological and physical torture in prisons became a part of daily life and started to be seen as usual by everyone. The traumatic events experienced by individuals, families, and friend groups have left wounds that are difficult to heal in people's lives. Some families ignored these events and refused to talk within the family, and some families tried to overcome this process by getting support from each other. In addition to the traumatic experiences experienced, the martial law rules set in order to restrain this chaotic environment in the country have severely restricted people's lives in material and moral terms. These restrictions have led people to renounce many education, business, and social life issues and experience material and moral losses.

On the other hand, as a researcher, being more interested in socio-political issues in my nuclear and extended family than other members led my parents to share what they experienced during this period. Besides, my parents' experiences during this period caused them to approach my interest with concern.

So, do these individuals, families, and the young generation who have not witnessed this period carry the traces of these events in their lives? How were the experiences transferred down to the lower generations? How the challenging experiences experienced during this period affected individuals' coping mechanisms and parenting styles; are there common patterns on these issues that the generations convey to each other? The present study aimed to investigate these questions by focusing on the unique experiences of the participants.

1. THE LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. THE 1980 COUP

In Turkish history, military forces always had an important role and impact on the political aspects, that is why it is not surprising that there were periods when the Turkish Armed Forces put itself forward as the protector of the nation; this situation leads up the historical military interventions in 1960, 1971 and 1980 (Tachau & Heper, 1983).

In the late 1960s, the student movements that erupted in Europe also affected Turkey after a while and provoked left-right conflicts in the country (Alver, 2012). Although the conflicts of opinions started to be experienced primarily among university youth in the big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, and Adana; they soon started to spread among the public and turned into an armed struggle that affected social life, politics and economy to a great extent (Alver, 2012; Kırkpınar, 2009).

In this case, the military forces intervened in the chaos in the country and forced the government under Süleyman Demirel to resign. After the military intervention of 12th of March 1971, the streets calmed down to a certain extent with the martial law, then were shaken again by political murders in 1974, and the tension, political chaos in the country reached the ceiling by 1976 (Alver, 2012).

During these years, people who were linked to or in contact with extreme ideological groups and political organizations were seen as threats (Özman & Coşar, 2013); also it is known that conflict of opinions and being a threat to one another caused many people to lose their lives as the victims of unidentified murders (Uzel, 2019).

Left-right conflicts increased the ethnic and religious sectarian strife (Aköz, 2010); alongside Alevi-Sunni, secular-anti-secular fights, increasing Kurdish movements in the eastern provinces of the country, and the separatist terror that emerged as a result increased day by day and left the politicians in a desperate situation (Alver, 2012). The correct implementation of the law was unreliable; the authorities could not cope with the daily news of murder; chaos has reigned, and

civil war was seen as a very imminent possibility (Demirel, 2003). In addition, while chaos seriously damaged the rights of the citizens, government authorities could not restore trust and prosperity for the public (Alver, 2012; Uzel, 2019). Inevitably, on the 12th of September 1980, the army took over. After the declaration of martial law, political parties, organizations, and trade unions were closed (Karacan, 2014); after a short while, arrests, detentions, interrogations, and torture were initiated throughout the country (Alver, 2012).

As a result, as the conflict of ethnic and political ideologies was seen as an internal threat to the regime, it was aimed to suppress these ideologies with the military coup (Uzel, 2019). Unlike previous interventions, the 1980 Coup, by its nature, targeted all segments of the society (Cemal, 1986), and it aimed to frighten and manipulate the society through torture and thus to empower the military (Zeydanlođlu, 2009). In this situation, the screams rising from the tortured bodies acted as a warning, and even the public heard this warning clearly, but due to the fear and anxiety of detention, they chose to close their ears and forget about them (Dinçer, 2011).

There is various statistical information showing the effects of the 1980 coup on all segments of the society, which are: 14.000 people were deprived of their political rights; 3.000 journalists were brought to court through more than 2.000 press cases; 251 books were burned, 458 periodicals were not allowed to be published, and 937 films were banned. In addition, 30.000 people took refuge in various countries of Europe, primarily Switzerland, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, and Greece, as political refugees during this period (Karaca, 2001).

Considering the statistics of the punishments given in this process, the numbers that stand out are quite devastating; 600.000 people were detained. 230.000 people were trialed, 517 people were sentenced to death, 49 people were executed, 171 people died due to torture. 30.000 people were fired because they were "unreliable", and journalists were sentenced to a total of 3.315 years in prison (Akşin, 2007). Finally, according to The Human Rights Foundation of

Turkey (1994), official reports state that 0 people were executed between 1980-1984.

The 1980 Coup had enormous consequences and effects on many aspects, so explaining these results may not be conveyed in a list. Therefore, any statistical explanation will fail to fully reveal the chaotic situation and personal experiences experienced during this period (Zavaro, 2017). As a result of all this, the whole society and predominantly ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities and mostly different groups who advocate their political ideologies were affected and experienced permanent changes in their lives (Uzel, 2019). On the other hand, torture became a part of the system after the military coup of September 12, and the people who were subjected to torture were tried to be neutralized by the intimidating public with tortures, pressures, threats, and policies. In addition to being an extraordinary life experience that can cause physical and psychological problems, the torture that the public was exposed to during the 1980 coup also became a significant public health problem affecting society's mental health (Olgun, 2009).

At the end of this depoliticization and oppression process, political participation was restricted with an attitude that depoliticizes and suppresses the young generation; political participation was reduced to voting action only in specific periods (Öncü, 1991).

1.2. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRAUMA

Charles Figley (2012) explains trauma in *Encyclopedia of Trauma: An Interdisciplinary Guide* as a deterioration condition caused by stressors so severe that they can be life-threatening or make the person believe they are going to die because of the experience (Figley, 1983, as cited in Figley, n.d., 1995, 2012, in press; Valent, 1998; van der Hart & Horst, 1989). The traumatic events, which generalized before as stress factor, refer to the situations that are remarkably out of normal limits of human comprehension with extreme distress (Basoğlu, 2017; Saporta & Van der Kolk, 1992). Some traumatic events may be natural disasters

like earthquakes, tsunamis, etc.; traumatic experiences may also occur in interpersonal contexts like rape, assault, wars, torture, etc. Experiencing those overwhelming traumatic events also damages the sense of self-worth, need for security, and need for the sense of predictability of the future (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). In addition, experiencing traumatic events involving physical or psychological threats damages the bodily integrity of survivors and suppresses both psychological and biological coping mechanisms (Basoğlu, 2017; Saporta & Van der Kolk, 1992).

On the other hand, Figley (2012) emphasizes the importance of keeping in mind that an event perceived as traumatic for a person may not be perceived as traumatic by another person. Also, Peter Levine (2006) mentions that the individual's perception of trauma can change according to the person's age and life experiences in his book "Healing trauma: A pioneering program for restoring the wisdom of your body". That is why it is essential, keeping in mind the individual and perceptual differences about traumatic events while investigating the causes; these differences may be cultural differences about religious, socio-economic statuses, or racial backgrounds (Figley, 2012; Levine, 2006).

Sigal et al. (1973) mentioned the term "transgenerational trauma transmission" in their research about the effects of the Nazi persecution on the second-generation. They emphasized that the parents' negative traumatic experiences affect their children's psychology. Although the survivors' children did not experience the traumatic event directly, it was noticed that the children of the parents who experienced the traumatic event had certain character traits (Felsen & Erlich, 1990; Grünberg & Markert, 2017).

On the other hand, Yael Danieli (1998) mentions in his book that the researchers started to focus on the topics of the intergenerational transmission of trauma after the devastating losses following World War II and their effects; it was first observed in 1966 in Canadian clinics by clinicians who were concerned and curious about the number of children of Nazi Holocaust survivors seeking treatment (Rakoff, 1966; Rakoff, Sigal et al., 1966; Trossman, 1968; Dominik & Teutsch, 2018). The research that started after World War II, along with the

researches continued in the United States (Axelrod et al., 1980; Barocas & Barocas, 1973, 1979; Danieli, n.d., 1980, 1981a, in press; Fogelman & Savran, 1979; Kestenberg, n.d., 1972, 1989, in press as cited in Danieli, 1998) and later in Israel (Davidson, 1980; Klein, 1971, as cited in Danieli, 1998), further improved our understanding of the "second generation". In later studies, concerns about the transfer of pathological intergenerational processes to third and subsequent generations were also expressed, and research on these topics began (Rosenthal & Rosenthal, 1980; Rubenstein et al., 1990). Much of the research conducted to examine intergenerational trauma transmission examines Holocaust survivors, war victims, victims of collective trauma, and their children (Toledo, 2014). In the recent researches, in order to investigate the effects of the intergenerational trauma, essential incidents such as Japanese-American detention camps (Nagata, 1998 as cited in Toledo, 2014), The Vietnam War (Davidson & Mellor, 2001 as cited in Toledo, 2014), the genocide in Cambodia (Muong & Sochanvimean, 2013 as cited in Toledo, 2014) and second-generation refugees (Kalayjian & Weisberg, 2002 as cited in Toledo, 2014) are covered.

1.2.1. Models of Trauma Transmission

Intergenerational transmission of trauma is a complex process; Kellermann (2001) suggested four major theoretical approaches to investigate the transmission of trauma: psychodynamic, sociocultural, family system, and biological models of transmission.

1.2.1.1. Psychodynamic and Relational Models of Transmission

Psychodynamic point of view explained the transmission of Holocaust traumatization as an unconscious process of identification and failure to achieve self-object differentiation (Kellermann, 2001).

Intergenerational transference is when an older person externalizes one's traumatized self against a developing child, and the child becomes a reservoir for the unwanted and problematic parts of this self. These parts internalized by the child cause one's desires, expectations, and act in this direction. After this process,

it becomes the child's duty to reverse the feelings of helplessness and humiliation feeling about the trauma of one's ancestors and to mourn their traumatic experiences (Volkan, 1997, as cited in Kellermann, 2001). Similarly, Dani Rowland-Klein and Rosemary Dunlop (1998, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) emphasized the projective identification phenomena while transmission of the trauma to the younger generations; they explained as a reflection of feelings and worries about the experiences of the parent who experienced the Holocaust, on their child; the child also introject the situation as if one experienced concentration camps. In the light of all these, children have to live in the Holocaust past that their parents lived through (Kogan, 1995, as cited in Kellermann, 2001).

1.2.1.2. Sociocultural and Socialization Models of Transmission

According to anthropology, the transmission of culture has always been the premise; the transmission of social norms and beliefs from generation to generation also has an important place in social psychology (Heller, 1982). While psychoanalytic theories focus more on the unconscious and unconscious effects, social learning theories focus on parents' direct and conscious effects on children (Kellermann, 2001).

Sociocultural and socialization model of transmission of trauma focuses on the conscious relationship between parent-child; Sears et al. (1957, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) emphasized the importance of the relationship between child-rearing practices and behavioral traits in the child; after traumas experienced, child-rearing problems arise due to attachment and separation; the exaggerated anxieties of the parents who are anxious because of these experiences may have carried a preventing sense of danger that the child may have absorbed.

After the traumatic experience of the parents, their anxiety and feelings can be reflected in their relationship with their child in many ways and leave substantial marks on the child, which are; rejection patterns, overprotection;

excessive allowance; and harsh, inconsistent discipline over the developing child (Kellermann, 2001).

1.2.1.3. Family Systems and Communication Models of Transmission

The family environment prepares an environment for the unconscious and conscious transmission of parental traumas, and it is thought that this environment has a significant impact on children (Kellermann, 2001). When considering traumatized families, Holocaust survivors are considered as in most studies; families who have experienced this experience are undoubtedly different from each other in many ways (Danieli, 1981), but more pathological ones that families have become a closed island and only exist in an environment, where children come into contact with their parents, siblings and other survivors. In these closed systems, parents become entirely dependent on their children, and each individual in the family tries to protect each other from painful experiences; children are highly concerned about their parents' welfare (Klein-Parker 1988, as cited in Kellermann, 2001).

Considering the family dynamics that are strengthened after traumatic experiences, as mentioned earlier, it is not surprising that problems with individuation and separation (Barocas and Barocas 1980; Freyberg 1980; Klein, 1971, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) and attachment (Bar-On et al. 1998, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) frequently arise. Such parents, who are too caring and intrusive with their children, tend to put their children in the crossfire of their emotional problems, traumatic experiences and attach their children to themselves in a way that makes it difficult for their children to gain their independence (Kellermann, 2001). Children exposed to these situations become parents of their parents (Motro, 1996, as cited in Kellermann, 2001); this role reversal due to the trauma of their parents explained with the concepts, "defensive caregiver" (Metzger-Brown 1998, as cited in Kellermann, 2001), "narcissistic parenting" (Rosenberger 1973, as cited in Kellermann, 2001), "enmeshment" (Seifter-Abrams 1999; Zlotovorski 1985, as cited in Kellermann, 2001), "engagement"

(Podietz et al. 1984, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) or "parent-child role distribution" (Zilberfein, 1996, as cited in Kellermann, 2001).

Moreover, according to Fran Klein-Parker (1988, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) and Helen Lichtman (1984, as cited in Kellermann, 2001), much of the impact of trauma transfer within the family is caused by non-verbal, ambiguous, and guilty-inducing communication; it is also the widespread "conspiracy of silence" to which mentioned by Danieli (1998, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) as the lack of importance given to the damage caused by mass killings, physical and cultural genocides and the trauma caused by these situations (Danieli, 1982).

1.2.1.4. Biological or Genetic Models of Transmission

The biological patterns of trauma transmission are based on the assumption that a person may have a genetic predisposition to the etiology of their disease. With the transfer of genes to the child, some mental illnesses can leave a clear inherited mark. Considering a parent who has had a traumatic experience, the genetic memory code of this parent can be passed on to the child through specific electrochemical processes in the brain (Kellermann, 2001). Kellermann (2001) cited the publication of Van der Kolk et al., (1996, as cited in Kellermann, 2001), and underlined that psychological trauma has long-term effects on neurochemical responses to stress in traumatized parents, as well as persistent character and neurological deficiencies and some biological vulnerability in the child.

In addition, Kellermann (2001) mentions the studies of Yahuda and colleagues (2000, as cited in Kellermann 2001) in the article "Transmission of Holocaust Trauma-An Integrative View", emphasized that Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is always seen as a risk in children whose parents are victims of Holocaust and that the low cortisol levels in these children are found to be due to the traumatic experiences of their parents.

Finally, Kellermann (2001) notes that, whether environmental or hereditary exposure to trauma, trauma transmission is explained by any or all of the psychodynamic, sociocultural, family system, and biological factors mentioned above the combination of these.

1.3. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRAUMA AND PARENTING STYLES

According to Nancy Darling (1999, as cited in Marazyan, 2016), since the 1920s, the impact of parenting on children's development has been an important part of the psychological literature. The importance of parenting during and after the traumas becomes even more sensitive (Harris, 2020). Charles Figley (2012) emphasizes the importance of children's needs during trauma to the caregiver models that provide them with a safe, secure sense of normality in an abnormal world and successfully adapt to the traumatic situation (Cohen, 2009; Rosenfeld et al., 2005, as cited in Figley, 2012). Ideally, after the trauma experienced, parents will be able to safely organize their children's environment, help them regulate their children's emotions, and be available to their children both physically and psychologically. In addition to all these, parents will be models for effective coping and problem-solving while giving hope to their children; therefore, it is essential to communicate with them about any confusion, fear, or anxiety that their children may experience. Also, it is important to talk to them about any misunderstandings children may experience while building a trustworthy worldview. For this reason, the coping style of the parents in the face of traumatic events and how they react to their child's behavior is a determining factor for the child's perception of a traumatic event (Cohen, 2009; Rosenfeld et al., 2005, as cited in Figley, 2012).

According to the publication of Nigel P. Field, Sophear Muoung et al., (2013) about the intergenerational transmission of trauma caused by the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia, in this process, individuals who have had traumatic

experiences can activate the symptoms of trauma such as flashbacks and nightmares accompanied by the reminders of their past experiences, intense fear, and vulnerability. According to them, any situation that creates a feeling of vulnerability can serve to activate the past Khmer Rouge (KR) trauma they have experienced. The researchers stated that the traumatic memories of their childhood experiences were triggered during the KR regime when individuals who became parents after traumatic events felt threatened, isolated, and unprotected due to the attachment signals they received from their children; such devastating experiences can ultimately compromise the parents' ability to function effectively (Field, Muoung et al., 2013).

In addition, in the study by Nigel P. Field, Chariya Om et al., (2011), they found that the effects of parents' post-traumatic symptoms on their parenthood, as well as their exposure to trauma, is an important factor in the transmission of trauma to the next generation. The studies conducted by Boracas & Boracas (1980), Davidson (1992), Kestenberg (1980), Russell (1974), and Trossman (1968) also support this by stating that, due to the high level of anxiety of the survivors after trauma, they resort to specific parenting methods such as overprotective behaviors and they tend to over-invest in their children to compensate for their losses, which prevents the individualization process and discourages the sense of independence of the child (Marazyan, 2016). As a result of their exposure to severe and ongoing trauma, individuals are more likely to see the world as a more dangerous place and therefore need to protect their families from this insecure world; this can lead to overprotective behaviors towards their children (Brom, Kfir & Dasberg, 2001, as cited in Marazyan, 2016).

According to Carol George and Judith Solomon (2008, as cited in Field, Muoung et al., 2013), one consequence of exposure to trauma is the development of role-reversal parenting patterns later in parenting. In the studies on Holocaust in the literature, it has been emphasized that individuals who were exposed to a genocide in the past adopt a role-reversing parenting pattern (Baider & Sarell, 1984; Bar-On et al., 1998; Brom et al., 2001, as cited in Field, Muoung et al.,

2013). In role-reversing parenting, the parents turn to their child to fulfill their unmet emotional needs (Chase, 1999, as cited in Muoung et al., 2013); in addition, parents may be unsuitable for their children due to their stress or grief reactions and be less aware of how their children affect their behavior (Gewirtz, et al., 2008). As a result, the child has to take responsibility for the parents' emotional welfare and reduce their attachment needs to do this entirely (Field, Muoung et al., 2013).

Another consequence of childhood trauma exposure is to adopt an overprotective pattern in parenting (Bar-On et al., 1998; Brom et al., 2001). Although Nigel P. Field, Sophear Muoung et al., (2013) stated that as a result of their research with Cambodian families, there were no supportive results for the mediating role of overprotective parenting in trauma transmission, the researchers stated that this result might be due to the normative nature of overprotective parenting style for Cambodian families. In contrast to this result, Field, Om et al. (2011), Dan Bar-On et al. (1998), Brom et al. (2001), and Gewirtz et al. (2008) their research prove that these individuals exhibit an overprotective parenting attitude. On the other hand, according to Abigail Gewirtz et al. (2008, as cited in Figley, 2012), traumatized parents may oscillate between overly restrictive parenting patterns in their parenting as well as overly permissive behaviors.

1.4. COPING

According to Richard Lazarus and Susan Folkman (n.d., 1980, 1984, in press), coping is the behaviors and thoughts people use to manage internal and external demands in situations defined as stressful. In their study, Susan Folkman and Judith Tedlie Moskowitzs (2004) stated that coping is strongly related to regulating emotion, especially distress, during stressful situations. Emotion regulation can be considered under the concept of coping to the extent that it aims to alleviate negative emotions or feel positive emotions consciously (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Littleton et al., 2007).

The greatest need in the face of the difficulties encountered is coping strategies; which has been defined as strategies that will directly mobilize a person to confront the stressors they face and reduce their impact, thus leading to solving problems in a simple way by John A. Updegraff and Shelley E. Taylor (2000). According to Carver and colleagues (1989, as cited in Uzel, 2019), active coping strategies include; problem-solving strategies, making plans for solving problems, coping with oppressive, avoiding competitive activities, and seeking support that will benefit them.

According to Charles Figley (2012), the most critical strategy needed after trauma is the support mechanism. Traditionally, social support literature has focused on obtaining support, but researches suggest that giving support also plays a vital role in one's welfare. In addition, another important strategy is the use of cognitive appraisals. Because cognitive appraisal about the event help to make sense of the way that event occurs and the degree of danger of it; thus helps determine the person's reaction to the event (Lobley, 2007; Paton et al., 2004; Shakespeare-Finch et al., 2005, as cited in Figley, 2012).

Finally, various researchers state that coping with trauma can reduce the disturbing feelings about what happened and the impact of the event itself, and even positively affect perceptions of growth and resilience associated with stress (Aldwin & Revenson, 1987; Updegraff & Taylor, 2000; Uzel, 2019).

1.5. POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH

The terrifying consequence of the trauma, the serious shake of one's basic assumptions about the world, can create fertile ground for unexpected consequences that can be observed in survivors, which is post-traumatic growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). According to Richard G. Tedeschi & Lawrence G. Calhoun (2004), post-traumatic growth occurs with attempts to adapt when exposed to traumatic situations that can cause high levels of psychological

distress. The term post-traumatic growth has been defined by Richard G. Tedeschi & Lawrence G. Calhoun (n.d. 1999, 2001, in press) as the positive psychological change experienced as a result of struggling with challenging living conditions.

The idea that pain and distress can be a source of positive change has been thousands of years old (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). The early ideas and writings of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and early Christians, some teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam exemplify this by containing elements of the potentially transformative power of suffering (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995, as cited in Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). On the other hand, the literature contains writings and studies done in the 20th century about positive personal outcomes of the critical life crises (Caplan, 1964; Dohrenwend, 1978; Frankl, 1963; Maslow, 1954; Yalom, 1980, as cited in Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004).

Richard G. Tedeschi & Lawrence G. Calhoun (2004) explained post-traumatic growth in "Post-traumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence" as a highly complex phenomenon that cannot be transformed into a single coping mechanism; accordingly, Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004), linked post-traumatic growth with the following five areas: increased personal power, increased appreciation for life, changing priorities, more meaningful relationships, and more prosperous existential life. In addition, post-traumatic growth is not a static result but an ongoing process that interacts with the development of life wisdom and life history.

In addition, according to the researches, perceived social acceptance and social support serve as protective factors after trauma, emphasize that these support mechanisms continue to contribute to post-traumatic growth (Forstmeter et al., 2006, as cited in Rush, 2020).

Finally, according to Luciana Lorens Braga et al. (2009, as cited in Rush, 2020), after traumatic experiences, the intergenerational transfer of post-traumatic growth and resilience patterns, through embodied themes and narratives of hope and power, promote survival for the people who experienced the traumatic event.

1.6. RESILIENCE

The American Psychological Association (as cited in Braga et al., 2012) defines resilience as a process of adapting well to significant stressors such as distressing trauma processes and aftermaths, such as tragedy, threats, family and relationship problems, the stress in the workplace and financial issues, and severe health problems. On the other hand, Charles Figley (2012) explains resilience in the publication from a more evolutionary perspective. According to *Encyclopedia of trauma: An Interdisciplinary Guide* (2012), resilience is the ability to physiologically and psychologically adapt to environmental changes that apply to all living things and a necessary survival skill. In humans, when questioning the existence of resilience, regardless of whether the stressors are human-made and/or natural, the difference is often observed between individuals who can care for themselves and those around them and those who are unable to care for themselves when exposed to significant stressors (Charney, 2004; Cicchetti, 2006; Gold, 2002; Masten, n.d. 1999, 2001, in press; Vaillant, n.d. 1977, 2003, in press, as cited in Figley, 2012). Consequently, according to Figley (2012), resilience is defined as the ability of a person to return to normal functioning after the first shock of trauma with little interruption.

Tak Yan Lee et al., (2012), in their article "Resilience as a Positive Youth Development Construct: A Conceptual Review" mentioned the three critical conditions in order to define resilience, which are: growing up in life-threatening difficult social conditions or in distressing life situations that are considered severe adversities; the presence of protective factors including internal and external sources that can help counter the effects of risk factors; and lastly, achievement of positive adaptation as a result of significant traumatic experiences.

The family form includes both internal and external sources to adapt to the changing factors and their negative effects. Froma Walsh (2007) emphasized that, especially in childhood, it is thought that it is crucial to have a family environment and to have protective features in order to adapt. The warmth, compassion, and

supportive attitude provided by parents and other family members and the existence of reasonable boundaries within the family contribute to the resilience of the individual in the face of difficulties. In addition, all these values, including harmony within the family, flexibility, open communication, problem-solving skills, and shared beliefs, shared spiritual values, and cultural heritage can play a positive role in adapting to changes and determine how the family approaches a crisis (Walsh, 2007). Also, according to Esther Cohen (2009), research has shown that securely attached parents are better able to help their children develop a coherent narrative that is meaningful to them that can contribute to their resilience under stress.

On the other hand, while the outcomes resulting from flexible responses or responses to adversity may be universal, people are not identical in terms of environmental factors that affect their capacity and resilience to cope with adversity (Reich et al., 2010, as cited in Uzel, 2019). People may go on different trajectories in the face of difficulties, as the resources they cling to in the face of difficulties may differ (Gallo et al., 2005, as cited in Uzel, 2019).

1.7. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF RESILIENCE

The literature lacks a consistent and precise definition of intergenerational transmission of resilience, resulting in differences in research and practice due to the imprecise conceptualization (Denov et al., 2019). According to Denov and colleagues, several authors have aimed to identify key determinants such as protective factors in order to examine the nature of intergenerational resilience (Field, Muoung et al., 2013; Kazlauskas et al., 2017; Schofield et al., 2014, as cited in Denov et al., 2019). In addition, the available literature implies that intergenerational resilience refers to the process of transmitting resilience across generations (Atallah, 2017). In other words, research is still ongoing on the emergence of a richer and more concrete understanding of the concept itself (Denov et al., 2019).

In Andrea J. Rawluk's (2012) study of indigenous depictions of the transmission of intergenerational resilience in the Northwest Territories of Canada, intergenerational resilience defined as "an opportunity to honor intergenerational learning and lived experience of each generation" and "a concept of holistic balance that brings people together".

As a similar result, Lewis Williams and Nick Claxton (2017) also define intergenerational resilience as a family heirloom; Claxton attributes intergenerational resilience to collective memory supported within the family system and mentions that family insights from the past are used to shape the future.

Luciana Lorens Braga et al., (2012) aimed to link intergenerational transmission patterns and resilience models to phenomena related to parental trauma in their study "Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma and Resilience: A Qualitative Study With Brazilian Offspring of Holocaust Survivors". According to the study, there are three significant elements, which are: "modes of parental psychic working over", "ways in which survivors communicate the traumatic message to their offspring" and "repercussions of trauma on second-generation experiences" (Braga et al., 2012).

1.7.1. Working Over The Traumatic Experience

Symbolically, the inability to work on the traumatic event, the intergenerational transmission of trauma can lead to various psychopathological disorders and somatization, as symbolic resources are insufficient or incomplete. With symbolic resources, survivors can find various ways to work on their destructive experiences through personal narratives, documentary recordings, cultural rituals, and expressions, leveraging collective memory or defending universal values. This way of appropriating and historicizing traumatic experiences can provide the transfer of resilience models to the second generation (Braga et al., 2012).

In addition, Devin G. Atallah (2017) also emphasizes the vital role of storytelling and sharing everyday stories in developing resilience; highlights the importance of the intergenerational transmission of resilience when family members witness others' past challenges on special occasions, such as memorial days.

1.7.2. Parental Communication Style

The persistence of resilience within the family and its transmission between generations is more common among children of families with more open and loving communication styles, which frequently use humor as a symbolic resource. For this reason, the trauma experience is much more pronounced in the opposite cases, that is, in the children of survivors who do not mention their traumatic experiences, keep them a secret or pass them indirectly, in a fragmented manner (Braga et al., 2012).

1.7.3. Repercussion In The Lives of Survivors' Offspring

The reflections of traumatic experiences on the lives of subsequent generations can be associated with their rigid behaviors such as defense of universal or social values, social and political activism, the search for collective bonds, and the search for social bonds. It can also be transformed into an unforgettable legacy by the offsprings of the trauma survivors by translating a kind of "cursed legacy" through the traumatic experiences of previous generations, through social support networks, artistic creation, attempts to learn more about processes and poetic, epic, romantic narratives (Braga et al., 2012).

As a result, according to Braga and colleagues' study (2012), it has been observed that the traumatic dimensions and adverse effects of a traumatic experience can be transferred between generations, as well as the possibility of overcoming trauma by developing resilience mechanisms using the coping mechanisms of the survivors' children.

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

When working with the intergenerational transmission, considering the traumas experienced in the past and examining the traces of these traumas within the family is a frequently researched subject in the literature. As seen in the literature, parenting style both affects how individuals experience social events and is shaped by these social events experienced. For families living in Turkey, it is inevitable to carry the traces of trauma in their lives. 1980 coup period is also engraved in history as one of the most traumatic experiences in Turkey; many people lost their lives, many people were tortured, lots of families had losses during this period, and almost everyone lost their sense of safety during this period; experiences were based on a sense of fear and being under control by the power of the military (Zeydanlıođlu, 2009).

Although many researches have been conducted about this period, there is not enough research in the literature regarding the unique experiences of generations and the intergenerational transmission of the traces of the 1980 coup period on families.

Therefore, in this thesis, qualitative research will be used to deeply understand the unique experiences of families consisting of two generations which the first and the second generations experienced the 1980 coup period and the third generation's beliefs on the impact of this period on them, and on their family even they did not experience the 1980 coup period. After the interviews, common themes will be examined in the context of parenting, patterns of coping with difficulties, and common themes of participants' unique experiences; after that, findings will be discussed with the existing literature and the implications for clinicians and researchers.

3. METHOD

3.1. THE PRIMARY INVESTIGATOR (PI)

As the primary investigator of this thesis, I am a 26 years old woman who is a student in Istanbul Bilgi University Clinical Psychology MA program. Considering the field of education in more detail, intergenerational transmission in family systems plays a vital role in my education on couple and family systems. In addition to this, I must emphasize that I have a great interest in the social and political events that occurred in Turkey's history.

When I compare myself with the participants of this research, I can state that I am able to establish a closer connection with the third generation participants in terms of age and because I also did not experience the 1980 coup period. Although I did not experience the period of the 1980 coup that took place in Turkey's political history of this period, I think this period has its effects on my life. Even though there were no significant losses in my own family, I realized that my curiosity about the 1980 coup period was further strengthened with the memories I listened to and the information I acquired about this period. I think that my family members' sharings about this period, the way of expressing it, and even the most minor guidance they make about this period may have shaped my curiosity about this period.

Considering all these, as a young woman who did not experience the 1980 coup period but thought that I was influenced by the information transferred to me by the upper generations, I wanted to examine the unique experiences of these generations in this period and how these experiences were transferred between generations.

3.2. PARTICIPANTS

In order to conduct the study, six families were planned to be selected, consisting of three generations as the participants. The first generation participants

were in the age range of 65-80 (which were at the age of 25-40 during the 1980 coup); the second generation participants were in the age range of 45-60 (which were at the age of 5-20 during the 1980 coup); the third generation participants were in the age range of 20-35 (which were not born yet during the 1980 coup). Since four of the six families who accepted to participate in the study as a participant consisted of only women and the experiences of both genders were wanted to be investigated, it was preferred that the remaining two families consist of men. Therefore, two of the six families consist of only the second and third generations. The interviews were conducted with a total of 16 people, of which 12 were women, and four were men.

For the following parts, to explain each family's experiences and participants' experiences, the researcher classified each family by using different letters and used different numbers for each generation. (1=First Generation, 2=Second Generation, 3=Third Generation) In the following part, a familial background will be explained briefly.

Family A

A1 is an 80 years old woman who lost her husband about 10 years ago. A1 stated that her religious belief is Islam. She is a former lawyer but stated that she left her profession a long time ago. She stated that she had witnessed her brother's death due to his leftist views during the 1980 coup and the violence inflicted on her brother's child. The participant stated that she left her profession after these experiences and close up to the family. She mentioned that she now spends her time painting at home.

A2 is a 55 years old married woman. In the 1980 coup period, she was 15 years old and was a high school student. She declared her religious belief as a deist. A2 is a chemical engineer and has got a master's degree. However, she stated that she was not working actively.

A3 is a 21 years old single woman studying in Cinema and Television Undergraduate program in the United States. She stated that she has no religious

belief. They stated that everyone was born in İstanbul, and except A3, they all live in İstanbul.

Family B

B1 is 68 years old woman born in Çanakkale. However, after marrying because her husband is a soldier, she temporarily lived in different regions of Turkey. She had divorced years ago. B1 is a secondary school graduate and a housewife. B1 stated that her religious belief is Islam.

B2 is 48 years old woman. She was also born in Çanakkale. Because her father is a soldier, she stated that she lived in various regions of Turkey. During the 1980 coup period, she was eight years old, and she was an elementary school student. B2 is married and is a textile engineer. B2 stated that her religious belief is Islam.

B3 is a 21 years old single woman. She was born in İstanbul. She is studying medicine. She stated that she has no religious belief. They stated that they all live in İstanbul.

Family C

C1 is a 72 years old divorced woman. She was born in Konya and currently lives in İstanbul. Because her father is a soldier, she stated that she lived in various regions in Turkey. She graduated from open plan schools and a kindergarten teacher, but she stated that she had never worked; she is a housewife. C1 stated that her religious belief is Islam.

C2 is a 51 years old divorced woman. She was born in İstanbul and lives in İstanbul. She states that she was 11 years old at the time of the 1980 coup. She is a graduate and a banker. C2 stated that her religious belief is Islam.

C3 is a 25 years old single woman. She was born in İstanbul and lives in İstanbul. She is doing his doctorate on the chemical industry. C3 stated that her religious belief is Islam.

Family D

D1 is an 80 years old woman, lost her husband years ago. She was born and raised in Antakya, although she lives in İstanbul now. D1 is a housewife who worked as a tailor once. She stated that her religious belief is Islam.

D2 is a 60 years old divorced woman. She was born in Antakya and grew up there. She is currently living in İstanbul. She is a retired accounting manager. D2 was a 20 years old university student during the 1980 coup period and had her education by staying in a dormitory in Karabük. She stated that her religious belief is Islam.

D3 is a 35 years old married woman. He was born in İskenderun and currently lives in İstanbul. D2 is a graduate and works as an agency producer. She stated that she has no religious belief.

Family E

E2 is a 60 years old divorced man. He was born in İstanbul and currently lives in İstanbul. He is a former company owner. E2 stated that he was actively working in a political organization from 1977 until 1980. In 1980, he was caught and interrogated for three weeks before the coup and stated that he was exposed to physical and psychological torture during interrogation. Immediately after the interrogation process ended, he left the country at the age of 20 and went to study in England. He declared his religious belief as a deist.

E3 is a 28 years old single man. He was born in İstanbul and currently lives in İstanbul. E3 is graduated from the Political Science department and currently working in the private sector. When asked about his religious belief, he stated that although his identity card says Islam, his religious belief does not matter to him.

Family F

F2 is a 60 years old married man. He was born and raised in Bursa and spent his university years in Ankara. He was a 20 years old university student during the 1980 military coup and experienced this period in Ankara. F2 currently lives in

İstanbul. He is a retired banker and also has got a master's degree. F2 declared his religious belief as a deist.

F3 is a 31 years old single man. He was born in Ankara and currently lives in İstanbul. F3 is an engineer and works in the private sector. He also has got a master's degree. F3 declared his religious belief as a deist.

3.3. PROCEDURE

The researcher reached the participants using the snowball method after getting the İstanbul Bilgi University Ethics Review Board. The study and participation criteria were announced in academic and social mail, Whatsapp groups, and social media. Convenience sampling was used to recruit the sample, and the participants were interviewed by using the interview questions, which the ethical committee approves. In addition, to strengthen the research and structure of the interviews, a pilot interview was done. With this design, one male was interviewed, who is 59 years old, by the Primary Investigator, separately and before the other 16 interviews and then checked by the researcher and the advisor to ensure that the results reflect participant experience. In order to schedule the interview date, during the telephone call, participants were informed about the purpose of the study, that interviews were going to be about their experiences in the 1980 coup period and its reflections on their families and today lives. Also, participants were informed that the interviews were going to be done via online channels, which are Zoom, Skype, or Whatsapp video call because of the pandemic. Participants were asked for their e-mail addresses in order to send them the informed consent before the interviews. Participants were expected to reply to the mail by writing as they consent to participate in the study.

The researcher conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews in Turkish, which were approximately 30-45 minutes long for the second and third-generations; compared to these generations, first-generation's interviews were shorter. The short duration of the interviews of first-generation participants is since the topics that have not been discussed for years and are taboo within the

family and that is not openly communicated are discussed in the interviews. This confidentiality has also been observed to impact the interviews, so it is meaningful that the interviews with the first generation participants lasted shorter than the other generations. In addition, since the interviewer, PI, is a 26-year-old woman, is close to the third generation in the generation, this situation may lead the first-generation participants to experience difficulty sharing these issues with the interviewer, which they had difficulty talking about with their grandchildren. For this reason, it is observed that they showed similar attitudes within the family and during the interviews. During the interviews, audio records were taken with the permission of the participant. Because of the first generation's age range, some participants stated that they have no e-mail addresses; that is why voiced consent was taken from the first generation by recording before the interviews. The audio records of the interviews were transcribed into the researcher's passworded computer after the interviews.

At the beginning of the interviews, the researcher informed the participants about the aim of the study one more time and gathered the demographic information via verbal questions. After the demographic questions, participants were asked open-ended questions to understand their unique experiences during the 1980 coup period and their reflections on their daily lives (see Appendix B).

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this qualitative study, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith & Osborn, 2003) was used to understand the unique experiences that participants may call traumatic based on their experiences of each generation about the 1980 coup. All interviews were audiotaped and then transcribed. The transcriptions of the interviews and the field notes were read and re-read at the beginning of coding by paying attention to reflections that the researcher took after each interview. MAXQDA Software program was used to code each interview and to form the themes. Finally, themes and subthemes were identified by the discussion of the interpretations. In order to understand each generation's

experiences and the intergenerational transmission of these experiences, themes were clustered into two groups: within generations and between generations.

3.5. TRUSTWORTHINESS

In order to strengthen the trustworthiness of this study, multiple methods were used. During the interviews and coding process, field notes were taken to reflect the primary investigator's own views, perspective, and observations. These notes were available for the thesis advisor, and the advisor followed the whole process. On the other hand, after the interviews, triangulated investigator method was applied, and the thesis advisor became a part of the coding and identifying themes process.

4. RESULT

As stated before in order to examine the unique experiences about the 1980 coup of the participants 16 interviews were done with participants from three generations according to the analysis have been made 12 super-ordinate themes emerged. These themes differ from within generations and between generations, while explaining the results thee themes will be clustered as within generations and between generations, common themes within generations will be explained under the "Themes Within Generation" title, which are: "Living In Fear"; "Coping Mechanisms"; "Enormous Effect of the Experiences"; "Lost Pieces"; "Over Time"; "Relationship With Politics"; "Shaped Parenthood According to The Experiences"; "Protecting Loved Ones"; "Speaking Up"; "Reflections On Thee Third Generation". These super-ordinate themes have also their subthemes and also will be explained in detail below on the other hand the common themes between generations will be explained under the "Themes Between Generations" title, which are: "Intergenerational Transmission of Coping Mechanisms"; "Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Styles"; "Intergenerational Transmission of Political View" also have their own subthemes that are explained in detail.

4.1. THEMES WITHIN GENERATIONS

Table 1. Themes within generations

THEMES WITHIN GENERATIONS		
Coping Mechanisms	Personal Coping Mechanisms	Closing-Up
		Being Interested In Hobbies
		Using Humor
	Struggling With The Difficulties Together	Intrafamilial Support Mechanism
		Social Support Mechanism
	Power of The Acceptance	Post-Traumatic Growth
Living In Fear	Fearful Experiences	
	Emotions Arising With Fear	Uncertainty
		Insecurity & Need For Security
	Being Quiet Because of The Fear	
Enormous Effects of The Experiences	Living Memories	
	“We Were Only Biologically Young”	
	Marks Left By The Experiences	Marks On The Family
Lost Pieces	Renounce	Feeling Sorry For One’s Generation
	Lost Pieces In The Family	
	Experiencing Restrictions	Experiencing The Adversely Affected Social Life
Over Time	Increased Awareness	
	From Chaos To Stability	“A Bittersweet Smile”
Shaped Parenthood According to The Experiences	Creating a Libertarian Family Structure	Raising The Third Generation As Aware People
		Raising The Third Generation As Independent Individuals
	Parental Experiences	
	Keeping Away From Politics As A Parent	Avoiding The Coup Process
		Talking About Politics In Family
Protecting Loved Ones	Willing To Protect Family	
Speaking Up	Voicing The Anger	
	Voicing Criticism	
	Questioning	
	Not Hesitating To Speak	
Reflections On The Third Generation	Not Feeling Safe	
	Hopelessness	
	Admiring	
	Curiosity About The Coup Period	

4.1.1. Coping Mechanisms

During the pre-1980 coup and the post-coup period, a large part of the society was affected; the participants also stated in the interviews that they were affected differently in different ways. After the interviews, although each participant was affected by this period differently from each other, it was observed that there were certainly common themes in the way of coping with the difficulties experienced. In addition, it has stood out that the third generation has common coping

mechanisms with the first and second generations while coping with the difficulties. The super-ordinate theme "Coping Mechanisms", detailed with the sub-themes, "Personal Coping Mechanisms", "Struggling With The Difficulties Together" and "Power Of The Acceptance" in order to explain the participants' similar coping mechanisms.

4.1.1.1. Personal Coping Mechanisms

In 16 interviews, the participants mentioned that they have personal coping mechanisms that are good for them in the face of their difficulties. In the interviews with the first and second-generation participants, the coping mechanisms based on the 1980 coup period were emphasized, while the third-generation participants' coping styles against the difficulties in their daily lives were discussed.

4.1.1.1.1. Closing-Up

It was observed that in all three generations interviewed, there were participants who stated that they need their personal space in times of difficulty. They stated that they want to stay on their own in these situations and prefer to solve their problems on their own (A1, C1, D1, A2, D2, E2, B3, D3, E3, F3). For example, one participant from the third generation stated:

"I do not share much; I do not prefer to share. When I am on my own, I do the classic distractions; like watching something or reading something. But I have to be alone, this is my priority." (E3)

One participant from the second generation mentioned:

"I have spent that period by closing-up, I react like that to the difficulties." (A2)

Finally, one participant from the first generation expressed:

"So why should I upset them too? Their mother is crying, of course, they will be upset. I have always been smiling, but when I am alone, it would be a lie if I say I do not get upset." (A1)

4.1.1.1.2. Being Interested In Hobbies

After the interviews, it was observed that all three generations prefer to direct themselves to a field of interest to cope with difficulties. Although participants prefer to be interested in different hobbies, turning to a field of interest in the face of difficulties is a common point for some of the participants of all three generations. For example, a first-generation participant explained this vital resource as:

"I started again with the encouragement of my little daughter, with the death of my brother in that period and my troubles, I started taking the course, and I have come until this year. It has 30 years."

(A1)

A participant from the second generation mentioned the importance of reading for him as:

"I read many books at that time, books on politics differently, the books about Turkey. Reading would make me feel very comfortable. It is good that reading keeps people away from everyday things." (F2)

Finally, F3, one of the third generation participants, emphasized the importance of culture and art activities as:

"One of the best things that I love doing right now is going to a concert; I always feel good this way." (F3)

4.1.1.1.3. Using Humor

Another important detail that stood out in the interviews was that all three generations softened the compelling experience they told by using humor while talking about the issues they had difficulties with. It was observed that the participants of all three generations laughed while talking about their harrowing experiences. For example, during the interview, it was observed that one of the first generation participants laughed while talking about the crying of family members if the challenging experience was talked about within the family:

"We do not speak as much as possible. Because everybody starts to cry. (Laughs). That is why; this issue is almost like a taboo, especially when the family is together." (A1)

Additionally, it was observed that a participant from the second generation laughed when he talked about being tortured when he was detained just before the 1980 coup:

"Of course, it is not easy, so after three and a half weeks of being tortured in a tiny cell in the basement. (Laughs)" (E2)

Finally, it was observed that one of the third generation participants laughed while talking about a family turmoil during the 1980 coup:

"So when I look at the actions taken, there had been a tense environment in the family (laughs), and some serious decisions have been made." (E3)

When looked specifically, it is thought that two participants from the second generation use humor as a coping mechanism in a different way. While talking about the challenging experiences they had during the 1980 coup period, these participants preferred to express their difficulties in some parts of the interviews as if they were funny by using playful language.

"It was hilarious, I mean, it was ridiculous that the news came out, we were laughing, sometimes we were having fun, despite all the difficulty, I do not know, despite all the trouble, there were moments when we had fun (laughs). It was very adventurous." (E2)

"When the news of the attack in the dining hall came, of course, slogans began to be chanted in the classroom, members of factions came from other places, barricades were set on the door of the class (laughs)." (F2)

4.1.1.2. Struggling With The Difficulties Together – “All we could do was supporting each other”

In interviews with three generations, it was observed that while 15 of the 16 participants struggled with difficulties, togetherness had great importance for them. The participants stated that the presence of outside support while dealing with difficulties is very precious to them. Therefore, intrafamilial support and social support mechanisms had an important place in the difficulties experienced during the 1980 coup, especially for the first and second generations.

4.1.1.2.1. Intrafamilial Support Mechanism

As mentioned before, the 1980 coup period can be considered as a period in which families prefer to protect themselves by closing up in the family because it created much fear in people. In the interviews conducted with the first and second generations, it was learned that nine out of 10 participants tried to solve the difficulties they experienced during this period by getting support from each other. According to participants' memories, help was sought, and support was given to each other in situations of difficulty in the family; in addition, to overcome that period more easily, rituals were created within the family, and the sharing was increased. For example, one of the second-generation participants described the support provided within the family as:

"Actually, we tried to get through that period by talking about the same things every day, "When will it end; when will we achieve prosperity; Was it the right decision, the coup, the lockdown; How patient can people be?" (C2)

In addition, a first-generation participant stated:

"My brother-in-law said, "I will not be able to choose either right or left; I will not be able to do it. I will not be able to continue this; my education life is over. " He cried to his brother. Since he expressed his sadness in that way, they had gone, took their belongings and left the dormitory without experiencing any conflict." (B1)

Similarly, in the interviews with the third generation, participants emphasized that cooperation and sharing within the family is a coping mechanism used when dealing with difficulties in daily life. For example, one participant from the third generation expressed:

"Today, in the same way, the current difficulties are being dealt with in the same way by getting help from the family, trying to solve them within the family and supporting each other." (C3)

"I also share it with my family. "What can I do?", "How can I find a solution?" I consult them when I encounter a problem." (C3)

4.1.1.2.2. Social Support Mechanism

According to the interviews conducted with the second and third generations, it has been observed that the social support mechanism provides both a safe place for people in case of struggling with difficulties, it is an area to avoid difficulties, and that being struggling with the same difficulties gives the person a sense of trust. For example, a participant from the third generation emphasized that sharing with his social circle was good for her as:

"It is good for me to meet and talk with my closest friend in the difficulties I am experiencing." (F3)

Additionally, a participant from the second generation mentioned the importance of spending time with social activities and social environment as:

"Music, meeting of friends, according to the things of that time, we were trying to get through with these kinds of things, so as much as we could... In other words, we were trying to pull ourselves out when we entered the house with friends from that political environment, the environment inside and outside the school, with different things." (F2)

Similarly, another participant from the second generation explained the importance of spending time with the social environment as:

"At that time, the neighborhood and friendships in the apartment were more, and the conversations were more, as the people did not engage in technology as it is now." (C2)

Three of the participants from the second generation mentioned that they share their memories of this period when they came together with their friends and emphasized that this makes them feel good even they are having difficulty while sharing those traumatic experiences. For example, one participant from the second generation expressed:

"When we come together, it is good to share what happened, but we all cry when they are telling them." (D2)

Similarly, a participant from the second generation mentioned the importance of sharing with friends as:

"10-12 people from our Maarif College community are talking about these events. It is good for us too." (E2)

Another participant from the second generation emphasized that although sharing with friends is a challenging experience, this is needed, as:

"A friend of ours, who had great difficulties at that time, came to our group meeting. Along with what he told, we all experienced the same things intensely again while he was telling. However, one also needs to share." (F2)

On the other hand, some participants stated that being united in the face of difficulties makes them feel stronger. A participant from the first generation emphasized the importance of fighting as a unity many times during the interview.

"The state could not enter there before September 12th, the coup. They tried it once or twice; they came with tanks, we repelled them, there were many serious conflicts there. However, we are so strong that as an organization there, we repelled them." (E2)

"...Workers, peasants and so on, but we are so strong. So there, that place was ours, the state can hardly enter..." (E2)

Additionally, in the interviews with the third generation, it has been observed that the sense of unity is also of great importance for this generation.

Feedback was received stating that the common difficulties experienced relieve participants and that participants feel more comfortable if they are united. For example, one of the third generation participants explains this as:

"Even in the Gezi Park protests, there was always such a common feeling that "we are experiencing something right now". There is a feeling that we are not alone this creates, and I think it makes it easy to get over things." (A3)

Again, another of the third generation participants emphasized the importance of the feeling of unity as:

"It seems to me that if I were in such an environment, I would get strength from all the students and take strength from the power of that crowd and participate in this way." (F3)

4.1.1.3. Power of The Acceptance - "After all, life can show you anything."

After the difficult experiences experienced during the 1980 coup, one participant from the second generation and two participants from first-generation mentioned that they had to accept that situation, no matter how difficult that talking about those experiences, and they expressed themselves as:

"We lived and accepted whatever the day brought." (B1)

"We spent that time like that. We waited, and we were patient."
(D1)

"After all, life can show you anything. At that time, we accepted the situation. " (A2)

Additionally, one participant from the second generation also mentioned that their tolerance to negative experiences increased after those events.

"I watch the heaviest movies and never get bored. Our boredom level is so high that now I guess I can cope with everything very easily because I am not bored very easily. My boring bar is extremely high." (A2)

4.1.1.3.1. Post-Traumatic Growth

It was observed that the first and second-generation participants showed post-traumatic growth characteristics in the face of the difficulties they had experienced. As the participants started to look at their experiences from a more mature perspective after their difficulties, they mentioned that what happened was an experience for them. For example, one participant from second-generation stated:

"Of course I have the effect of this period; I became more aware. It changed my view of life. When you see things, a person who lives life in rose-colored spectacles cannot experience anything. We have seen many things." (D2)

Another participant from the second generation explained that she relieved herself by thinking about the difficulties she overcame as:

"When I had difficulties, "You overcame everything, what days you went through, you coped with everything. Everything that will be even more beautiful, these are temporary troubles, and everything has taught. What have we achieved, and we will leave them behind. " I comfort myself with this way." (C2)

C1, one of the first generation participants, emphasized that she thinks that life difficulties can be experienced as:

"Everyone has problems in their lives, nobody's life is straight. We have seen them." (C1)

Another first-generation participant spoke of the idea that life cannot be controlled and that coincidences can occur as:

"My life continued like this; sometimes you cannot control your life. When you use some coincidences, possibilities, and possibilities that come your way, life takes a completely different path." (A1)

4.1.2. Living In Fear

Considering both personal experiences and information about this particular period that has been experienced during the 1980 coup, it has been observed that the most remarkable experiences of people who have experienced this period in Turkey caused individuals to live in one's fears. As a result of the interviews, the theme of "Living In Fear" emerged as an important theme for the first and second generations. In addition to this super-ordinate theme, these subthemes stood out for first and second generations according to their own experiences: "Fearful Experiences", "Emotions Arising With Fear" and "Being Quiet".

4.1.2.1. Fearful Experiences – “I Never Forget”

In a total of 10 interviews held with the first and second-generation participants, it was observed that the participants emphasized that the characteristics of their memories about what happened in that period are fearful for themselves, for their families, and their social circles, also for the future of the country.

When participants were asked about their experiences, first-generation participants mostly generalized what happened and talked about the events that mainly were experienced on the street, which did not directly affect the participants. For example, one participant from the first generation stated:

"I never forget those years, it was a very unsafe environment. People were shot on the streets; they were killing people on the street. We had a horrible time." (A1)

Another participant from the first generation also mentioned the chaotic atmosphere:

"For example, those Uğur Mumcu's and so on, they were always assassinated at that time. Like Abdi İpekçi, these were all the events that I experienced at that time, my youth... You see, you hear, you live, you follow the newspapers, you see people in the street, protests, military polices, things like these." (C1)

It has been noticed that the second-generation participants described the chaotic period mostly through their personal experiences; for example, one participant from the second generation explained his frightening experience by stating:

"Imagine that our school bus was raked. While passing through Bahçelievler, they raked the school bus, and I was in it.." (F2)

Similarly, another participant from second-generation described how she had experienced these frightening experiences as a student:

"We were in the classroom, for example, the teacher was lecturing, suddenly the armed soldiers said, "Get up!" They are searching us. It is extraordinary because we were just play kids at that age. They were entering the classroom, looking at our notebooks, looking at our bags, "Which party are you holding, right and left? Where is your family? Where does she live? They were asking. It was terrifying.." (C2)

Finally, another participant from the second-generation gave an example of how the chaotic atmosphere was close to their daily life by stating:

"There were gunfights, for example, they threw a body in front of my house in Karabük. When we woke up in the morning, a dead body was lying in front of my window.." (D2)

On the other hand, it was also inevitable to experience martial law restrictions as those who had experienced this chaotic period. Therefore, both the first generation and second-generation participants emphasized the compelling nature of the martial law restrictions they experienced in the interviews; for example, one participant from the first-generation stated:

"There were house searches, they come and search homes, we get excited when they say there is a search at school and run to school and so on. So we lived through them. Like lockdowns at night.." (C1)

Also, another participant from the second generation mentioned:

"While we were studying, there would be police at the door of our university ... it was normal for us. The police would surely be at the door. Sometimes they would check identity like this. For example, I never found these strange at that time. However, when you think about it now, this is a bizarre and scary thing, so why would a police officer ask about my identity while going to college? Why should there be police at the door all the time? Isn't it? So it was interesting.." (B2)

4.1.2.2. Emotions Arising With Fear

The participants from the first and second generations, who lived through this period, also emphasized the existence of dominant emotions that were created by fear and the emotions, which reinforced each other. In the interviews, it was observed that feelings of "Uncertainty" and "Insecurity and "Need For Security" are prioritized when talking about experiences of in three out of four participants from the first-generation and in six of six participants from the second-generation.

4.1.2.2.1. Uncertainty - "Not knowing what will happen next."

Participants mentioned that they felt in great uncertainty, as the process experienced was very unusual; they emphasized that the uncertainty of what will happen after any step created a great feeling of helplessness for themselves and their families. For example, one person from the first generation emphasized the feeling of uncertainty by stating:

"It is scary, of course; it is horrifying. "I wonder what will happen?" In other words, it is such a thing that, even you did not do anything wrong, there is also being taken and being questioned unjustly. You don't know what will happen to you... Besides being afraid for yourself, you also fear for your child for your family. After all, you drop her off at school in the morning and go home, or she goes to school on her own. "How will she be back? What happened?" (C1)

Similarly, another participant from second-generation described their fears by saying:

"We knew that they would not shoot or kill us, but even for the slightest mistake, "Would they take them into custody, take them to jail, torture them?" we were thinking about that sort of thing."
(F2)

In addition to the feeling of uncertainty that people felt for their families and themselves, especially the participants from the first generation stated that what happened in the country also created a feeling of uncertainty for the future.

"So you don't know what will happen; will there be financial difficulties or moral difficulties?.." (C1)

D1, a participant from the first generation, which experienced uncertainty for the future, emphasized that the uncertainty of the country's situation at that time created a great fear for them.

"Well, it feels bad now, but at that time there were very exaggerated events, we were feeling terrible... Everybody was upset because our state is going bad... Our fear was especially concerned with the situation in Turkey. How will our children be if the situation does not get better in Turkey? This would have worried me a lot.." (D1)

On the other hand, the participants from the second-generation emphasized that they lived in suspicion for a long time due to the uncertainty of the punishments and detentions they witnessed, and stated that they lived in uneasiness for that reason; for example, a second-generation male participant mentioned that their fear affects their sleep, by stating:

"Now, of course not much, but after the raid on the house, we always have experienced things like waking up at night or something." (F2)

Another second-generation male participant similarly emphasized that he was trying to act carefully:

"In other words, I looked from behind the shelves and when I saw those books in the bookstore, "Is anyone watching or tricking? " or something." (E2)

4.1.2.2.2. Insecurity & Need For Security – “No place was safe for nobody.”

Due to the experiences experienced during this period, first-generation and second-generation participants stated that they were insecure and experienced great anxiety due to the belief that their families and loved ones were not safe. For example, a participant from the second generation stated that they organized and tried to take precautions because they did not feel safe:

"Everyone was organizing within themselves that they should be silent." (C2)

Another participant from the second generation mentioned that due to the anxiety experienced by his family, they tended to take precautions for him:

"My parents had such anxious days that they even said, "Stop school, come, do not do it. Then you can go again." their anxiety level has brought them to say this." (F2)

In addition to these, a participant from the first generation explained how worried they were about their family members due to the chaotic environment they lived in:

"You are wondering about your spouse, your mother, and father, your brother, your nephew; I do not know, these are people who leave the house in the morning and come home in the evening." (C1)

Due to the feeling of anxiety they experienced, especially the participants from the first generation emphasized that they had to take security precautions due to the emergence of their need to be safe during this period. For example, one participant from the first generation stated:

"For example, we did not allow them to do some things just because something would happen to them, because something

would happen to the children... However, when we let it, we let it in our fear. Our eyes are on the road until they come back, that is until they return. You cannot be comfortable." (A1)

In addition, this participant mentioned another security precautions they took:

"Then our daughter-in-law gave birth to a daughter, but they went abroad because we did not want them to live in Turkey. We were afraid; we were terrified; we were terrified that they would kill and harm my brother's children too." (A1)

Another participant from the first generation emphasized that they also paid attention to taking precautions, especially on special days, which may be dangerous:

"That is to say, for example, on May 1st, these things would happen, the workers would revolt, the opposite side would have right-wing massacres, they would go with sticks, and they would gather in the squares, etc. In those days, we would try not to leave the houses as much as possible." (C1)

Finally, D1, one of the first generation participants, shared an experience of her daughter and her husband and talked about the precautions taken due to fear in this period:

"At that time, H., N.'s husband bought the rifle and waited at the window all night, so if they came or raided the house, he would counteract." (D1)

Another situation that strained the first generation in this process and increased their worries during this period was because they think their loved ones were not safe and could not reach their loved ones whenever they want. For example, one participant from the first generation stated:

"At that time, we did not have a mobile phone, we could not communicate, and we were anxious because we could not communicate." (A1)

Similarly, another participant from the first generation emphasized the difficulty of not having mobile phones at that time:

"Then there are no such mobile phones, of course. So you do not have a chance to reach it, now it is easy, you open "Where are you?" he says, "I am here," you relax." (C1)

Another concern of participants from the second generation about the family is the sense of responsibility they felt towards their families due to their own experiences. Participants mentioned that this situation aroused more anxiety in them, as they felt responsible towards their families if they were harmed in an unsafe environment. For example, one participant from the second generation stated:

"I will go, okay, because we really started to do something for what we believed in, but what will happen to my parents? What is their guilt?.. That is why I was so uneasy too.." (E2)

Similarly, another participant from the second generation mentioned his thoughts:

"Our communication facilities are extremely troublesome; you cannot hear from each other at any time. Constantly on television and in newspapers, news such as "So many people died here, so many people were shot, the following events happened in these universities, it happened like this, these events happened in this neighborhood." That is why I can guess what they lived through." (F2)

4.1.2.3. Being Quiet Because of The Fear – “Everyone was organizing within themselves that they should be silent.”

As mentioned above, the precautions taken during this period have increased enormously due to the difficult period experienced. One of the most striking precautions among these taken due to fear mentioned by the participants was that they prefer to remain silent due to fear. Second-generation participants mentioned that they had to not express their thoughts, in any way, due to their fear and

feeling of insecurity. For example, one participant from the second generation stated:

"Being quiet, not to talk too much, not to give much information, actually it is not nice to be silenced in a place, not to be yourself. But we were afraid." (C2)

In addition, three participants from the second generation shared their memories about burning books because of the fear experienced during this period as:

"In those days, we burnt my uncle's books by carrying them in the garden. My grandmother carried my uncle's books because there were raids on the houses, so I have burned books." (A2)

"Many books were burned; my uncle burned many books, I remember, on September 12th." (D2)

"Also, I had lots of books in my house. While I was in custody because there was a shortage of gas at that time, the radiators did not burn; my mother had to burn those books in the stove for three days and four days one by one." (E2)

4.1.3. "Enormous Effect" of The Experiences

One of the most striking themes in the interviews about the 1980 coup process was that the participants had linguistic and descriptive emphasis during the interview about how difficult the experiences of that period were for the first and second generations. Three sub-themes have emerged to detail the enormosity of the effects of the experiences; these are "Living Memories", "We Were Only Biologically Young" and "Marks Left By The Experiences".

4.1.3.1. Living Memories

As a result of the interviews, the memories from the difficult period of one participant from the first generation and three participants from the second generation take place in their minds. It was noteworthy that these participants remembered their memories in detail while sharing and shared them in the

interviews in this way. For example, A1, one of the first generation participants, stated that she could never forget their challenging experience as:

"What was done to my brother; that we try to save his child...Do I ever forget it? I cannot forget." (A1)

Similarly, A2, F2, and E2 from the second-generation participants described their difficult experiences in detail as:

"Since I ate that pudding that day, I still cannot eat it, so this always comes to my mind. I am sitting there on the sofa. I mean, none of those scenes go out of my mind. I was 10 years old, 45 years ago, like now." (A2)

"No matter how much time passes, it is not like to be forgotten, because we were in the exam, they came and took us from the exam, we took the Statistics exam, it was 2 o'clock. The door of the amphitheater opened at 2:15 am, they sent the teacher outside, and they gathered us all together and took us to that big area, as I said." (F2)

"There was a hilarious story; it came to my mind that we were talking to friends recently; I had gone to England at that time; the coup had just happened. I saw Turkish books that our organization brought to Turkey illegally through Germany on a shelf, I saw them, but I could not go take a look at them." (E2)

A1, who had a greater traumatic experience than the other participants, emphasized in the interview that she frequently remembered the traumatic experience she had at that time and felt the pain repeatedly while talking.

"As I still think about it, I feel like a sword is sticking in my lung." (A1)

Three participants from the second generation stated that the effects of their difficult experiences are continuing, and they emphasized that they also had friends who experienced these effects similarly. Second generation participants B2, D2, and E2, explained this as:

"I do not want to read political books on the ferry; I do not prefer to read a book that will express my political view in a crowded environment. Maybe it might be in our subconscious back then because there are classifications such as banned books and political books at home." (B2)

"...But I contradicted myself. I both read and talk about these issues, but on the other hand, I tell my children not to interfere in these issues, and I get angry because we are afraid because I remember what happened in that period." (D2)

"It was difficult, of course, very difficult. Even after I left, I could not easily get out of its influence in England." (E2)

In addition, as a result of the interviews, it was learned that some participants became sensitive to the reminders of what happened in this period. For example, one of the second-generation participants explained what she experienced in the coup attempt on July 15th, 2016, as follows:

"I experienced the July 15th attempt in sheer panic. I was on Bağdat Street with a friend of mine; I do not even remember how I ran home in that panic. When they said there was a coup, I immediately came home and turned off all my lights and put a blanket on me." (D2)

Another of the second-generation participants explained that she wanted to stay away from the reminders of her experiences in this period, as she emphasized the experience of eating pudding in the past:

"Since I ate that pudding that day, I still cannot eat it, so this always comes to my mind. I am sitting there on the sofa. I mean, none of those scenes go out of my mind. I was 10 years old, 45 years ago, like now." (A2)

E2, a second-generation male participant, talked about the effect of reminders on him after he went abroad after the 1980 coup:

"I had gone to England at that time; the coup had just happened. I saw Turkish books that our organization brought to Turkey

illegally through Germany on a shelf, I saw them, but I could not go take a look at them." (E2)

4.1.3.2. “We Were Only Biologically Young”

In interviews with all three generations, especially the second-generation participants, according to both the participants' own experiences or their relatives' experiences, they emphasized the brutality of the torture methods and the violence applied during the 1980 coup. For example, a first-generation participant describes her challenging experience as:

"It was a terrifying thing, and they found my little one-year-old cousin next to the lime well. They killed his father and left him there." (A2)

A participant from the second generation describes his experience of torture as:

"Of course, it is not easy, so after three and a half weeks of being tortured in a tiny cell in the basement." (E2)

Another participant from the second generation detailed the difficult experiences they experienced despite their young age as:

"They kept everyone like this for hours, guns turned on us, imagine we are sitting on the ground. This is torment, total torment, mental torment. I see this as psychological violence and torture... We witnessed many things in that period; we were only biologically young but what we had witnessed was very stressful." (F2)

4.1.3.3. Marks Left By The Experiences

According to the information provided by the first and second-generation participants in the interviews, the restrictions applied, the violence used, and physical and psychological torture had left important marks in people's lives.

5.1.3.3.1. Marks On The Family

As stated in the interviews, what happened during the 1980 coup caused losses in the family and health problems within the family after the losses and after the difficulties experienced. For example, a participant from the second generation explained the health problem experienced in the family as:

"My father's health was very affected. One day he even had a nose bleed, and the doctor said, "Fortunately, the bleeding of the nose could have been this cerebral hemorrhage," because he was very stressful." (E2)

Another participant from the second generation described the psychological difficulties experienced in the family as:

"Because with the death of my uncle and the torture that my cousin experienced as a baby, I grew up in women whose children were harmed, so I experienced that effect." (A2)

According to a participant from the first generation, the traumatic events experienced in this period turned into a taboo within the family and affected the family dynamic.

"We do not talk about these events as much as possible. Because everybody starts to cry. That is why we do not talk about it, especially when the family is together, it is almost like a taboo." (A1)

4.1.4. Lost Pieces - "This period is a generation loss."

The "Lost Pieces" super-ordinate theme, which stood out in the interviews with all three generations and emerged with the sharings of the participants of first and second generations, mostly emphasizes the losses experienced by the participants of the second-generation during the 1980 military coup. In addition to this super-ordinate theme, these subthemes emerged for first and second generations according to second generation's experiences and first generation's observations: "Renounce", "Lost Pieces In The Family", and "Experiencing Restrictions".

4.1.4.1. Renounce - "We are a generation that renounces."

During the 1980 coup period, the second-generation youth had to renounce many issues related to their lives due to the chaotic period. During the interviews, two participants from the first generation talked about the losses they observed in their relatives regarding the second generation; on the other hand, five participants from the second generation emphasized the losses of their generation.

4.1.4.1.1. Feeling Sorry For One's Generation

According to the interviews, two participants from the second generation stated that they are upset that their generation had to make critical decisions about their lives due to the chaotic period and had to make renouncements that would change their lives. E2, one of the second-generation participants, explained how he had to go abroad due to the events experienced during the 1980 coup period as:

"When I got out of custody, I said to my father, "Okay, I have to get out; otherwise they will come home and retake me."... The next day I flew, the house was raided again, and it was made again on the night of September 12th. They raided the house three times. That is why I could not go four and a half years in Turkey." (E2)

Another second-generation participant mentioned that her uncle had to leave the university due to what happened in this period as:

"My uncle decided to do his own business because he could not study at university, because of the chaotic period, and because he graduated from high school. More precisely, he had to do his own thing... He had regret in him, that is, he was not able to go to university." (B2)

In addition, one of the second-generation participants emphasized that the second generation, which was young during the 1980 military coup, was silenced and never could be oneself.

"Being quiet, not to talk too much, not to give much information, actually it is not nice to be silenced in a place, not to be yourself. But we were afraid." (C2)

4.1.4.2. Lost Pieces In The Family

The "Lost Pieces In The Family" super-ordinate theme was observed in two different ways in the first and second-generation participants as a result of the interviews; in the interviews with the first generation, two participants stated that they did not believe that the second generation could be affected by the 1980 coup period:

"No, I do not think she was affected because she had a one-year-old daughter at that time. That is why I do not think she was very affected by what happened." (D1)

"Actually, I do not know what they were thinking, but I know they complain that we do not allow." (A1)

While in the interviews with second-generation, it was observed that two participants from the same families reacted that they were not seen and understood by their families in this period:

"My mother was saying, "Would it be better if there were still clashes in the streets. Now there is no such thing, at least never mind you are home. Your child is safe. " My mother was looking at it this way; she did not understand my feelings about the cruelty, my mother did not understand me." (D2)

"My parents' troubles were probably much more tangible; my distress did not seem very important to them. Our problems were not enough for them... As soon as we tell our troubles, they said "read a book", for example when we get bored, they said "nothing will happen, read a book", if something bad happens, they said "knit", it was always the solution. Whereas, listen, explain, let me tell you my wishes, my dreams, let me explain what I could do, I could not, but no such thing could not happen." (A2)

4.1.4.3. Experiencing Restrictions

In addition to the losses experienced for second-generation, all the second-generation participants mentioned that they were exposed to restrictions and

obligations during the 1980 coup. For example, one participant from the second generation stated:

"There was no freedom of expression; we were afraid of everything. Soldiers were coming immediately; they could search your house. Then I had some books, my textbooks, but since these were left-wing teachers, I had to hide them." (D2)

Another participant from the second generation explained the limitations of their daily lives as:

"So there were so many events that we would rather not be outside, and they would not allow it anyway; school-home, that is it." (A2)

Similarly, another participant from the second generation described the precautions taken by their parents due to their parents' anxiety as:

"My parents told me to come back, but their biggest step was to insist that I should stay at the hotel." (F2)

4.1.4.3.1. Experiencing The Adversely Affected Social Life

In addition, two of the second-generation participants emphasized that the experienced restrictions have a negative effect on their social lives.

"You cannot go anywhere at night; you cannot go out, that is why we always lived at home, we were never allowed, for nothing." (A2)

One of these participants emphasized during the interview about a friend they lost track of at that time.

"Before the pandemic, we were always meeting with our university friends; one day, one of our friends who had been in prison for this period came to one of those meals. In other words, he was imprisoned, tortured, sent to Diyarbakır Prison, and we could not hear from him for a long time. He came; we did not even know if he was alive. That is when we found a lost friendship." (F2)

4.1.5. “Over Time”

In interviews with three generations, since the first and second generations experienced the period of the 1980 coup, participants from these two generations emphasized that the fact that time has passed over their experiences in this period has an impact on their current perspective on events. Seven out of 10 participants from the first and second generations emphasize that time has passed since their experiences had a significant effect on their approach to that period.

4.1.5.1. Increased Awareness

According to two participants from the second generation, the passing of time after their experiences has turned into a situation that creates different awareness for them.

One participant from the second generation emphasized that the seriousness of the events experienced in that period became more noticeable as time passed and the dangerous environment they were in became more aware in the following time.

"When the time passes, people realize that they are in great danger, so we knew then, but now you realize much more, and I have the idea that there was a complete oppression against the students that was done there at that time." (F2)

According to the memory shared by another participant from the second generation regarding the Gezi Park protests, he became more open-minded, especially towards young people, over time.

"We were stuck in Istiklal, we were exposed to the gas, we were running back, and we were stuck, I told the young guys there, "Look, it is easy, bring 5-6 bottles of gas, I will make a Molotov cocktail, we will pierce it, but it is dangerous." And those guys told me very clearly, " If a gun goes off, we will go to our house." I said, "Oh alright, thank you, you are the leader, whatever you say. We will see the result; I am watching, after all. "; I was led by young people there." (E2)

4.1.5.2. From Chaos To Stability

In the interviews, two participants from the first generation and four participants from the second generation stated that the effects of the difficulties they experienced in that period decreased over time. They emphasized that the chaotic process has stabilized over time. Two of the first-generation participants expressed:

"I mean, those days were actually pretty bad days, now it seems like you forget when you think about it, but of course you do not feel like that when you live those days." (C1)

"We were terrified. Well, we have gone through many things, but these are all I remember because they are past days." (D1)

Similarly, four of the second-generation participants also added as:

"So many years have passed. Imagine this event happened in the 75th, a whole life passed over it. The wound is scabbed. Even those scabs have passed." (A2)

"Now, of course, the time has passed; It does not happen much, but after those house raids, we have always had things like waking up at night and stuff." (F2)

"These periods were challenging, of course, but later on, of course, you get caught up in the flow of life." (D2)

"But as I said, different things happened as time passed over it. Past things are now being forgotten." (C2)

4.1.5.2.1. "A Bittersweet Smile"

Another effect of time on experienced painful experiences was emphasized as the sad remembrance of what happened. One participant from the second generation mentioned that the experiences turned into sadness over time and sadness became a bitter smile.

"Later, when my grandmother passed away, when I went home, I found those banned books we kept under the bed. I looked at those

books like that, with sadness and smile mixed, with a strange feeling. It was a bittersweet smile." (F2)

Another participant from the second generation stated in the interviews that he proudly remembers his experiences in that period.

"I am glad that we have gone through these, I am glad that we have done all these. I never regret what we have done and gone through." (E2)

4.1.6. Shaped Parenthood According to The Experiences

In the interviews conducted separately with three generations, it was observed that the first generation participants did not make any statements that their parenthood was shaped by the experiences of the 1980 coup period. In addition, according to the second-generation participants, the difficult period they experienced both affected their parenting and shaped their own parents' parenthood. In the interviews with the third generation, they mentioned that the 1980 coup period experienced by their parents played a role in shaping their parents' parenthood.

4.1.6.1. Creating a Libertarian Family Structure

In the interviews with the second generation, four of the six participants emphasized that they give importance to creating a libertarian family structure in their nuclear families as parents due to their experiences during the 1980 coup period and that they behave in this way towards the third generation.

4.1.6.1.1. Raising The Third Generation As Aware People

It has been observed that participants four out of six from the second generation interviewed give importance to raising their children as aware people. These participants emphasized that, with the third generation, they try to share past experiences, make them not hesitate to make political shares, and encourage them about freedom of thought. One of these participants stated:

"Of course, we told them. They know, too. A3 has such questions that she wonders and asks, that is why I have explained everything." (A2)

B2, another of the second-generation participants, explained that they raised her daughter with an open mind as:

"We raised B3 with very open-minded. She has the right to do what she wants, as she wants, in any environment she wants; We both tried to give her that self-confidence and also tried to give that freedom." (B2)

In addition, one of the second-generation participants, E2, explained that he spoke with his children about the 1980 coup period and talked about what happened in this period as follows:

"I talked about these subjects with my children sometimes. It is not like sitting down and lecturing, especially on these issues, but for example, there was the "Hatırla Sevgili" TV series years ago, when the September 12th episodes were released; for example, I intervened a lot. I said, "Look, they are saying something here, but it was more, it was like this is" we have talked back then a lot." (E2)

Similarly, one of the second-generation participants, F2, explained that Turkey preferred to raise its children consciously about its political past as:

"It was as if I had encouraged my children a little secretly, not to say encouragement but I wanted them to learn; let them know what happened in those times, that people were not guilty either; I wanted them to learn that what happened in Turkey's recent history; I wanted to make them know that those people who killed were not guilty; I wanted them to understand well what they want to do." (F2)

4.1.6.1.2. Raising The Third Generation As Independent Individuals

In addition to raising the third generation as aware people, in the interviews, three participants from the second generation emphasized the importance of raising the third generation as independent individuals. These participants stated that they try to be careful about making joint decisions within the family, respecting their children's boundaries, and valuing their opinions. For example, one of these participants stated:

"Now, for example, we always make our decisions jointly, even when going to a restaurant, we ask the children, "shall we go to this one or this one?" "Do you want it, do you want this?"" (A2)

Another participant from the second generation expressed:

"B3 can easily say the things she is uncomfortable with, she can easily say what she finds wrong, and sometimes she can say it too much comfortably." (B2)

Finally, another of the second generation participants stated that he and his son participated in the Gezi Park protests together and explained his experience there as:

"During the Gezi Park protests, when we join to the protests, I was looking at E3 from afar; I know he did not want me because he was with his friends, he was right. I was checking him from afar; I was checking the situation, whether there would be an attack or something." (E2)

4.1.6.2. Parental Experiences

According to their sharings in the interviews, parenthood shaped by the difficulties experienced during the 1980 coup led to the experience of protective parenting by the second generation.

According to the second-generation participants, two participants stated that they experienced protective parenting by their parents during the 1980

coup, rules were set for them in this period, and the elders guided them. They explained their experiences as:

"I was the only child in the family, and because we went through such a process, I was in my mother's care and watch at that time... They were taught things like, "Do not make a voice, if they asked which party you were from, do not say anything, tell them "We do not talk about such things, we do not hold any party"." (C2)

"...but the environment is so tense, and as I said, guns go off every day; my parents did not send me home because the hotel was much safer; they were very anxious. "You will not stay at home overnight; you will stay at the hotel." they said." (F2)

4.1.6.3. Keeping Away From Politics As A Parent

1980 military coup was a critical time for Turkey's political history; in the interviews with the participants, it was observed that this period affected their relationship with politics, especially for the first generation participants.

4.1.6.3.1. Avoiding The Coup Process

In the interviews with the first generation, it was observed that two out of four participants talked about the coup period with disdain while talking about what happened in Turkey's political history. One participant stated:

"There was no need to talk about that period." (B1)

The other participant similarly expressed her thoughts on the 1980 coup as follows:

"Young people need to learn how to save the country, how to be a good child, how to be a good citizen; we need to awaken these feelings, teach them and raise them. Otherwise, I think there is no need to explain these coups or something." (C1)

4.1.6.3.2. Talking About Politics In Family

According to the results of the interviews, another effect of what happened during the 1980 coup period on the relationship of the first generation with politics was that they preferred not to talk about politics within the family.

"We kept our children a little out of all these issues and politics."
(A1)

"No, no-no. Since my husband was a military officer anyway, such topics were not discussed at all... That is why we were out of politics as a family. Children were also not made to feel because they were small." (B1)

On the other hand, one participant from the first generation emphasized that she started to stay away from politics as a mother since the 1980 coup period, and she still does not like to talk about politics.

"I was already at home, there were children, and I was always interested in them. I was not interested in politics then. My husband was more interested in politics... And I would say to my daughter, "Enough is enough for God's sake to speak now." because she talks a lot, I pulled myself off from these issues; I do not like to talk too much... I still do not like to listen to such politics and talk..." (D1)

4.1.6.4. Protecting Loved Ones

In addition to protective parental experiences of the second generation, both second-generation participants and third-generation participants emphasized in the interviews that protecting their loved ones has great importance for them.

Although one participant from the second generation gives importance to raising his children independently and aware individuals, he stated that when he thinks of his experiences, he feels that he was caught in the middle because he was afraid that they would be endangered; he emphasized that he tears between creating an independent atmosphere and worries about loved ones.

"You want them not to stay away from the realities of the country, to be interested in these issues, not to be unaware of what is happening in the world, but on the other hand, you feel that anxiety, "I wonder if anything will happen to them? Is there anything wrong? Is there a problem? Will they get into trouble? " You feel the fear inside you because of your own experiences." (F2)

4.1.6.4.1. Willing To Protect Family

In the interviews with the third generation, five participants out of six stated that if they had experienced the 1980 coup period, they would be extremely protective of their families and loved ones and emphasized that protecting their loved ones and their families was very important. For example, a third-generation participant explained her desire to protect her loved ones as:

"I think that love is at the heart of this, so we love, and we want to protect it. We are the same with our parents; in fact, the biggest similarity is with their generation and ours." (A3)

Another participant from the third generation explained that thinking about the chaotic atmosphere of the 1980 coup period arouses anxiety in her as:

"Those situations that were experienced would create anxiety for me, too." (C3)

Similarly, D3, one of the third generation participants, mentioned that she might worry about her children when she thinks about this period:

"I would absolutely afraid for my child...Let me step into everything by myself, but I protect my loved ones." (D3)

Another third-generation participant spoke about his father's worry about him and his desire to protect himself as:

"Either in the street in general, for example, at the point where we get out of his control circle, because we are a part of a social life now, he is experiencing tension at the points where we can interact

with other people or any branch of the state mechanism, perhaps because of his own experiences." (E3)

Finally, F3, one of the third generation participants, explained that she might be worried about her loved ones, considering what happened during the 1980 coup period as:

"But on the other hand, I would also be a very worried person; "What is he doing? Is he good?" I would think about these. Because there were very few communication tools at that time, so there was no mobile phone. I would not be able to reach my child whenever I want, you know, it is very easy for us now. However, if I had lived then, I would have been more curious. Anxiety, fear, I would have lived them quite a lot." (F3)

4.1.7. Speaking Up

A salient point, which stood out in the interviews with three generations, was that the second and third generations expressed their thoughts more easily than the first-generation participants. As a result of the interviews, the subthemes of "Voicing The Anger" and "Voicing The Criticism" emerged both for the second and third generations with the super-ordinate theme "Speaking Up", as well as the sub-themes "Questioning" and "Not Hesitating To Speak" for the third generation.

4.1.7.1. Voicing The Anger

In the interviews, it was observed that five of the six participants from the second generation did not hesitate to express their anger on various issues. For example, one of the second-generation participants mentioned an issue that bothered her about this period as:

"The fact that people are punished for what they read and that they are punished for what they think is very annoying for me." (A2)

Another second-generation participant mentioned how meaningless what happened in this period was as:

"While we were studying, there would be police at the door of our university ... it was normal for us. The police would surely be at the door. Sometimes they would check identity like this. For example, I never found these strange at that time. However, when you think about it now, this is a bizarre and scary thing, so why would a police officer ask about my identity while going to college? Why should there be police at the door all the time? Is not it?" (B2)

In addition, another second-generation participant expressed her anger at the restrictions imposed during this period:

"What are we saying today? Is not Nazım Hikmet one of the most important poets in the world? In those years, our beloved Sabahattin Ali, you cannot read the works of many successful writers like this because they are not allowed. How can it be possible?... Since I was a bit interested in politics, this time I started to be influenced by reading books by myself, by reading the books of people, writers, writers who were victims; then I got much angrier." (D2)

A participant from the second generation also expressed his anger against the practices carried out in the 1980 coup period.

"They kept everyone like this for hours, guns turned on us, imagine we are sitting on the ground. This is torment, total torment, mental torment. I see this as psychological violence and torture... I mean, how old are we as university students; we all experienced it as a great trauma." (F2)

E2 from the second-generation participants showed his anger about underestimating the educated youth at that time. Throughout the interview, E2 emphasized many times that with the September 12th coup, the educated and aware young people of this period were wasted, and their value was not known at that time.

"These educated youth either died or languished in prisons; if under normal circumstances, these young people educated in Europe or elsewhere, those people today will be an important source for Turkey." (E2)

4.1.7.2. Voicing Criticism

In the interviews, it was observed that the second and third generations were much more courageous than the first generation in terms of criticizing and expressing their anger on various issues.

During the interviews, two out of six participants from the second generation expressed their criticisms of the system and government as:

"It happened on September 12th, people lost their lives, very, very important people, generation was lost; This situation, which has come with the erosion of education in this way, is terrible, it means taking the future of this society, the Anatolian geography under the mortgage." (D2)

"They take you away. What is done and applied is always a torment, always creating fear, they always try to control people in this way." (F2)

In the interviews with the third generation, it was observed that the participants were much more critical and reactive towards the events and cruelty during the 1980 coup, based on the information they read, watched, and obtained from the upper generations. During the interviews, five out of six participants from the third generation who participated in the study made critical statements about the violence and the harsh executions during this period. For example, one of these participants stated:

"For example, they said, "his political view is like this" for my grandmother's brother, and the man was killed. I do not know, so the imposition of this fear does not seem right to me." (A3)

Another participant expressed her reaction against the executions applied as a punishment method in this period as:

"Although some things were wrong, the response should never be executions; I never question this, I do not accept it, I think it is a very primitive solution to events." (B3)

In addition, another participant described her reaction to the atmosphere of violence during the 1980 coup period as:

"What does it mean, people, killing each other just because of their difference about their thoughts?... In other words, we see people who are still 50-60 years old who still suffer from serious bone diseases, pains, and illnesses due to the torture they have suffered. What the hell?" (D3)

Similarly, another third-generation participant described his reaction to the torture inflicted during this period as:

"When you read, listen, and see all these events, you say, "The man is finished" he was tortured for years for nothing; he was exposed to some psychological torture. Of course, this is what I am talking about, mostly those around Istanbul, in Anatolia and Eastern Anatolia; there are situations in the prisons that are much more different and terrible." (E3)

F3, one of the third generation participants, explained his thoughts on torture, murders, and violence as:

"Torture, murders, disappearances, that is, when you think about them, I feel so strange. I cannot believe that such a period had really happened." (F3)

On the other hand, it has been observed that another issue that has been criticized and paid attention to by two of the third generation is related to commenting on an unknown subject. These participants stated:

"I do not like to comment, and people love to talk without knowing anything." (B3)

"Since I did not live that period, it would be difficult to make such clear comments, question or criticize without being fully sure." (E3)

4.1.7.3. Questioning - "Obviously, should it had to be this way?"

As a result of the interviews, it has been observed that as the generations progressed, the younger generation approaches the events much more questioning. It was noteworthy that four participants from the third generation emphasized the issues they are questioning about the 1980 coup period during the interviews.

B3 of the participants stated that she preferred to consult her family about the issues she questioned in her mind and discuss it within the family.

"It is not very important whether I know something or not, for example, I have read something from a few places, I have seen it, I think, I question, "I wonder which one is correct?" Then I share my opinion with my family; they say "Yes, you are right" or "It was like this then, something like this happened" and so on." (B3)

Third-generation participants C3 and E3 also stated that they were questioning more about the period after learning about the 1980 coup period.

"The executions that affected me the most, I think they should not have been, okay, there was a need for a coup at that time, but I am questioning her a little bit; frankly, it should have been that way." (C3)

"So the more you become aware of what happened back then, the more striking the harshness of that reality becomes. You question the absurdity of what happened." (E3)

Another issue questioned by the third generation regarding the 1980 coup period is questioning the labels used for the young people by society and the damages of these labels. Two participants of the third generation participants emphasized:

"...For example, they call you something, that label is becoming you...For example, they said, "his political view is like this" for my grandmother's brother, and the man was killed. I do not know, so the imposition of this fear does not seem right to me." (A3)

"While walking down the street, someone would ask you, "Are you right or left?" You can be killed directly with a gun at the point

where you say that person is not; this was such a chaotic and no right and wrong environment." (B3)

Finally, B3, a third-generation participant, mentioned that she questions being too radical in political views.

"I really have no idea why everything has to be so radical; I think one should not need to be so radical, one should not have to be involved in that much politics." (B3)

4.1.7.4. Not Hesitating To Speak – “I can never say I was silent about injustice.” (F3)

Looking at the Speaking Up theme, as explained above, it was observed that all of the third generation participants did not hesitate to express their thoughts during the interviews.

Accordingly, third-generation participants, A3 and D3, expressed their reactions towards the system without hesitation as:

"It seems like a danger to express your opinion; it has become more dangerous to really attach to something, to do something for the sake of something or this country." (A3)

"So, at the end of the day, you see that no matter how right you are, you will be suppressed and not reach your desired goal. Because that is what happened, what people have lived through, at the end of the day, they eliminated three young people with the gallows; then everything continued as if nothing had happened, everything got worse." (D3)

In addition, two participants from the third generation emphasized that they do not hesitate to speak critically about the country's politics; especially these participants pointed out that they share their thoughts within their families. One of them stated:

"Of course, comments can be made to criticize the government."
(E3)

Another participant emphasized:

"There are many times which comments and criticism are made at home by watching the news." (F3)

4.1.8. Reflections On The Third Generation

As a result of the interviews, it has been observed that although the third generation participants did not experience the 1980 coup period, this period had an impact on the third generation. During the interviews with the third generation, in addition to the "Reflections On The Third Generation" super-ordinate theme, sub-themes about the different reflections of these impacts on the lives of the participants emerged, these are: "Not Feeling Safe", "Hopelessness", "Admiring", "Curiosity About The Coup Period" and "Being Unable To Internalize What Happened In The Past".

4.1.8.1. Not Feeling Safe

In the interviews with a total of six people from the third generation, it was found that four of the participants did not feel safe today due to what happened during the 1980 military coup.

Two participants, indicating that not feeling safe, stated that the sense of insecurity is caused by the uncertainty of Turkey's political situation in each period; the feeling of uncertainty explained the insecurity of these participants. For example, one of these participants stated:

"On the one hand there is a huge uncertainty and injustice; in Turkey in any bad situation, we started to think justice will not be achieved." (A3)

In addition, the other participant made the following statements about not feeling safe:

"So when we consider the overall political conjuncture in Turkey, as in this case, it has never been stable when I was in university, there were the times that some protests occurred in the school, in those times I was thinking about what happened during the 1980 coup period, and I was getting anxious." (F3)

Another reason why the third generation does not feel safe stood out to be the feeling of insecurity towards the government. Accordingly, four of the six participants of the third generation stated that expressing ideas could be dangerous in Turkey, which creates a feeling of insecurity for the participants. For example, one of these participants explained that making an effort for the sake of belief can be dangerous as:

"It seems like a danger to express your opinion; it has become more dangerous to really attach to something, to do something for the sake of something or this country." (A3)

In addition to expressing her opinion, one participant made the following statements about the fear of people participating in the protests:

"I do not think that half of the people speaking at the moment, as well as the people who support the ideas, can participate in the protests Because we are afraid." (B3)

Similarly, another participant emphasized the fearfulness of participating in the protests as:

"But I might not be able to participate in the protests at an extreme level. I am not sure if I could show that courage. Because when we look at the period of the 1980 coup, the recent events are terrifying." (F3)

In addition, one of the third generation participants stated that what happened during the 1980 coup period also affected the feeling of trust towards the government as:

"I think the 1980 coup period created a feeling of insecurity towards the government." (D3)

4.1.8.2. Hopelessness

As a result of the interviews, it has been observed that it is inevitable that what happened during the 1980 coup period on the third generation caused a feeling of insecurity, creating a feeling of hopelessness.

According to the A3 and D3 of the third generation of participants, people now have no belief that they can create changes in the system in order to their beliefs; people feel hopeless about it and give rise to remain silent because they think they can lose their lives in this direction, because of Turkey's history. These participants stated:

"It seems like a danger to express your opinion; it has become more dangerous to really attach to something, to do something for the sake of something or this country... Losing your life for nothing makes no sense." (A3)

"I think the 1980 coup period created a feeling of insecurity towards the government...So, at the end of the day, you see that no matter how right you are, you will be suppressed and not reach your desired goal. Because that is what happened, what people have lived through, at the end of the day..." (D3)

4.1.8.3. Admiring

Another reflection of the 1980 coup period to the third generation is the admiration for the young people who actively defended their thoughts. In the interviews with third-generation, it was observed that three out of six participants admired the youth during the 1980 coup for fighting for their beliefs, reading a lot, and having an important place for the future at that time. For example, one of the participants emphasized the importance of having the belief that one could lead to a change as:

"I mean believing in an objective and having a belief that things may change, I think this is a very nice thing." (A3)

Another participant emphasized how valuable the harmed young people were for the country in this period as:

"Because those young people, many people were executed, and I do not find that right at all. In other words, the productive people of the country, those young people were executed, the people who will develop the country were those young minds." (C3)

Similarly, another participant expressed her thoughts about young people fight for their beliefs in this period as:

"I see the young people of that period as lofty people trying to do something for humanity, trying to change the system in their country, not thinking about individuality alone, because they also think of other people in their country." (D3)

4.1.8.4. Curiosity About The Coup Period - "Let me learn."

From each interview with the third generation, the participants stated that they were curious about the 1980 coup period and that they read about this period, asked questions to their family elders, and wanted to get more information.

According to what the third-generation participants told in their interviews, the memories shared with third-generation by second-generation regarding what happened during the 1980 coup period and the consideration as the importance of these memories by the third-generation participants emerges as an indication of curiosity that emerged about this period. For example, D3, one of the third generation participants, stated about this:

"There are stories before and after September 12th; that is when my mother has college times. We used to talk especially about the pre-coup period." (D3)

Another participant explained that he thought together what he learned by himself and what his father had told him as:

"My father tells it because he loves to tell about those times, you always say "oh yes" after what I read, and you establish a connection in your head, saying, "My father told me something like that too" or something." (E3)

In addition, another participant explained that he thought of what his father had told him in the university environment and imagined what he could experience as:

"When I went to school, I remembered what my father went through, what he told me about those years; I would think, "What kind of student life would I have if I were a student back then? Would I have participated in the protests, or would I remain silent? " I would be thinking." (F3)

Four of the six participants from the third generation interviewed stated that they tried to improve themselves as their curiosity about the 1980 coup period increased after sharing with them by the upper generations. For example, one of these participants stated:

"At that time, when we talked about these, I also read by myself so that I could learn a little bit more, there is a book called "Abim Deniz", a book with the memories of his siblings, it was a good book with news, interviews, letters in it." (B3)

Similarly, Another participant explained that in addition to the education at school, she preferred to improve herself on the issues she was curious about the 1980 coup period as:

"Because at our school, "32. Gün Belgeselleri" was started to be watched. Then I wondered, that is why I watched them by myself. I learned that period by watching them." (C3)

Another participant explained his curiosity about this period as:

"So, of course, you are interested; what they lived. There is such an effect. You say, "Let me see, let me learn", it arouses such curiosity." (E3)

F3, one of the third generation participants, explained that what his father shared with him affected his curiosity regarding the issues related to the 1980 coup period as:

"Especially my father said, "Always know your history, your culture, the past of your country, and this moment." For that style

of approach and because it also has my interest in such things, also 1980 coup and 1960 coup, I became very interested, and I always read books about those, I watch something, and I did some researches." (F3)

In addition, third-generation participants E3 and F3 emphasized that they had difficulty internalizing the memories conveyed to them about the 1980 coup period and that the reality of the events was challenging for them. These participants stated:

"Also, when my father told me what he has gone through, I could not imagine in my mind first. Especially when I was younger, "what is the coup?", "What is right-left?", "What is torture?", "What is police interrogation?" When things that I do not know were told, they were like a movie scene for me." (E3)

" What happened back then sounds different. On the one hand, I can never imagine that university life was spent with such weapons, with the murder of their friends; so many people were thrown into prison and then disappeared or constantly tortured. I cannot imagine, especially emotionally." (F3)

Although, E3 and F3 stated that they were able to feel more empathy for the experiences experienced by people during the 1980 coup period, after their work to improve themselves about this period and that this affected them more emotionally. E3 and F3 explained this as:

"You can feel sorry for the people there or rejoice on behalf of the survivors when you investigate some events." (E3)

"I always wanted to go deeper, learn more about that period. All that was told made me very curious; I remember that I wrote my feelings about these events even when I was younger; I remember writing down what I felt while reading, how I was affected by what I read." (F3)

4.2. THEMES BETWEEN GENERATIONS

As a result of the interviews made with 16 participants from three generations about the 1980 coup period, it was observed that the generations had common experiences within their own generations; additionally, according to the interviews, common themes stood out with the intergenerational transfers as a result of the sharing of the upper generations within the family.

Table 2. Themes between generations

THEMES BETWEEN GENERATIONS	
Intergenerational Transmission of Coping Mechanisms	Acting With Caution
	Common Hobbies
	Closing Up
	Using Humor
	Intrafamilial Support Mechanism
	Social Support Mechanism
	Thinking About Old Difficulties
Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Styles	Being A Protective Parent
	Raising The Children As Aware Individuals
	Being A Libertarian Parent
Intergenerational Transmission of Political View	

4.2.1. Intergenerational Transmission of Coping Mechanisms

In the interviews conducted with three generations, it was observed that similar coping mechanisms were used across generations. As a result of the interviews with a total of 16 participants from three generations, it has been observed that 13 people have a common coping mechanism with at least one person in their family.

4.2.1.1. Acting With Caution

According to B2, one of the second-generation participants, she stated that the "acting with caution" behavior, which is the coping mechanism they used during the 1980 coup period, may have been transferred to the third generation.

"But of course, because we are cautious, she may be acting cautiously in some things, for example." (B2)

According to the third-generation member of the B family, similarly to B2, it has been observed that the "acting with caution" coping mechanism has an important place. B3 stated that if she had experienced the 1980 coup period, she would approach the situation in the same way as its upper generation.

"Also, I would not want to meet people that I do not know much; I would have paid more attention if I lived in that period. I mean, you do not know how much it can affect who can take you to where, so I think I would try to live quiet." (B3)

4.2.1.2. Common Hobbies

In the interviews with the second and third generation members of the F family, it was observed that the common hobbies used as a coping mechanism within the family turned into a ritual both within the family and individually and became intergenerational coping mechanisms in the face of difficulties. The second-generation participant of the F family stated:

"For example, we used to go to concerts with children before this pandemic. That is why we have concert nights, just like a ritual, and the cinema is the same. These are the coping methods that I always use at that time. Especially sharing concerts with children, this is the reason why we go together. Because of this sharing, their daily life was quite relieved. So as a reflection of my coping methods from that time, they may also internalize it and use it as a relaxation method. It may be something I have transmitted to them, both to open their vision and to comfort them." (F2)

F3, the third generation participant of this family, explained their common hobbies as:

"So there is definitely a partnership, I think, with my father's coping methods, mine, here are concerts, cinemas, I have always grown up like that, that is, with his coping methods. I went to concerts with him, went to cinemas, I went to theaters, I always grew up for culture and art like this... One of the best things that I love doing right now is going to a concert; I always feel good this way." (F3)

4.2.1.3. Closing Up

In the interviews conducted separately with three generations, it was concluded that the first and second generations of the A family, the second and third generations of the E family, and the first and third generations of the D family used the "closing up" coping mechanism against difficulties. First and second-generation participants of family A explained this situation as:

"So why should I upset them too? Their mother is crying, of course, they will be upset. I have always been smiling, but when I am alone, it would be a lie if I say I do not get upset." (A1)

"I have spent that period by closing-up, I react like that to the difficulties." (A2)

E3, the third generation participant from the E family, explained that he has similarities with his father in this regard as:

"I do not share much; I do not prefer to share. When I am on my own, I do the classic distractions, like watching something or reading something. However, I have to be alone; this is my priority... We may be similar in that regard, actually. I do not know very much that my father told someone about a problem that he is going through. " (E3)

The first and third-generation participants of the D family likewise explained that they preferred to be alone when dealing with difficulties:

"I always stand on my own feet. I do not talk about my problems; I overcome my difficulties by myself, calmly. I do not share it with anyone. I do not talk too much about it." (D1)

"When I have difficulty, I do nothing like telling people outside and bothering them, but I have a difficulty, an anxiety inside me." (D3)

4.2.1.4. Using Humor

Another coping mechanism that salient in the separate interviews with the E family was the laugh of the participants while talking about the negative issues regarding the 1980 coup period, as follows:

"Of course, it is not easy, so after three and a half weeks of being tortured in a tiny cell in the basement (Laughs)." (E2)

"So when I look at the actions taken, there had been a tense environment in the family (laughs), and some serious decisions have been made." (E3)

4.2.1.5. Intrafamilial Support Mechanism

According to the second and third generations of the C family, the family support mechanism is used as a common coping mechanism used for both generations, and the participants in the interviews emphasize it as:

"Actually, we tried to get through that period by talking about the same things every day, "When will it end; when will we achieve prosperity; Was it the right decision, the coup, the lockdown; How patient can people be?" (C2)

"Today, in the same way, the current difficulties are being dealt with in the same way by getting help from the family, trying to solve them within the family and supporting each other." (C3)

4.2.1.6. Social Support Mechanism

The second and third-generation members of the F family emphasized the importance of overcoming difficulties together and stated that they used the social support mechanism as a coping method in times of difficulty as:

"Music, meeting of friends, according to the things of that time, we were trying to get through with these kinds of things, so as much as we could... In other words, we were trying to pull ourselves out when we entered the house with friends from that political environment, the environment inside and outside the school, with different things." (F2)

"It is good for me to meet and talk with my closest friend in the difficulties I am experiencing." (F3)

4.2.1.7. Thinking About Old Difficulties

According to the shares of the first and second generations of the C family, in the interviews, they motivate themselves by thinking about difficulties they have overcome before. These two participants, from different generations of the C family, stated that they used this common coping mechanism as:

"Everyone has problems in their lives, nobody's life is straight. We have seen them." (C1)

"When I had difficulties, "You overcame everything, what days you went through, you coped with everything. Everything that will be even more beautiful, these are temporary troubles, and everything has taught. What have we achieved, and we will leave them behind. " I comfort myself with this way." (C2)

4.2.2. Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Styles

In the interviews conducted with three generations separately, it was observed that experiences experienced during the 1980 coup period were effective on parenting styles. It was observed that the parenting styles shaped in this period showed similarities in the lower generations by transferring them between

generations. As a result of the interviews, it has been observed that there are different forms of transference to lower generations within families according to the experiences of upper generations, so in the results, intergenerational transfer of parenting styles differs according to the experiences of upper generations. Accordingly, the super-ordinate theme of "Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Styles" is detailed with subthemes of "Being A Protective Parent", "Raising The Children As Aware Individuals" and "Being A Libertarian Parent".

4.2.2.1. Being A Protective Parent

In the interviews with six families, it was observed that the protective parenting experience played a significant role for the 1980 coup period and emphasized by many participants; the transmission of protective parenting patterns between the second and third generations of the D, E, and F families have stood out. In separate interviews, the second-generation participants talked about their experiences with the 1980 coup period in these three families. They mentioned that this process affected their parenting to be more protective, and the third generation participants emphasized that their parenthood would be affected similarly to their parents if they had experienced the period of the 1980 coup. For example, the second and third-generation participants of the D family made the following statements about this situation:

"After we heard about the torture of in those prisons after that coup, this time we started raising our children apolitically, to protect them. Because I was afraid that it would hurt them too, one day such a thing would happen, and they would be damaged." (D2)

"I was terrified for my children. I am too protective of my loved ones in case something bad will happen to them. I used to be like that to my children at that time." (D3)

In addition, although E and F families can only be interviewed with the second and third generations, according to the shares of the second and third-generation participants, it was concluded that the first generation displayed protective parenting behaviors in this period, and the protective parenting pattern

was transferred between three generations. For example, E3, the third generation participant of the E family, explained the parenting style adopted by his grandfather during this period as:

"As a result of some of the actions my grandfather took at that time, my father was saved, maybe the situations that were only on the initiative of my father could have been worse, the situation of my father could have gone to more serious points, but with my grandfather's decision, he went abroad and went to study. Moreover, my father had a completely different life after that."
(E3)

E2, the second-generation participant of the E family, similarly described his parenthood as:

"In terms of parenting, I see in myself similar things that I got from my mother and father. When I think about the impact of that period, I always try to keep my children away from actional politics. I can say that." (E2)

In addition, the third generation participant of this family, E3, explained that he would adopt a similar attitude to his grandfather as follows:

"Now, if I were a parent at that time, and if I had children who were "interested in these things, I would probably take an attitude like my grandfather, I would immediately take my child out of there and take him away for a while." (E3)

F2, another second-generation participant, described the parenting style adopted by his parents during this period as follows:

"...but the environment is so tense, and as I said, guns go off every day; my parents did not send me home because the hotel was much safer; they were very anxious. "You will not stay at home overnight; you will stay at the hotel." they said... My parents had such anxious days that they even said, "Stop school, come, do not do it. Then you can go again. ", their anxiety level has brought them to say this." (F2)

Later, he explained his parenting as:

"I advised them to defend their ideas as thoughts as much as possible, but not to take them to the stage of action, that is, "Okay express your opinion, but if things turn into an action, do not engage in that action if you have the opportunity." In order to protect them, I have always advised them not to take part in such protests, especially when there are acts of violence." (F2)

The third-generation participant of the same family explained that he could adopt a parenting style similar to F2 as:

"But on the other hand, I would also be a very worried person; "What is he doing? Is he good?" I would think about these. Because there were very few communication tools at that time, so there was no mobile phone. I would not be able to reach my child whenever I want, you know, it is very easy for us now. However, if I had lived then, I would have been more curious. Anxiety, fear, I would have lived them quite a lot. I would try to protect them as much as I could..." (F3)

4.2.2.2. Raising The Children As Aware Individuals

In addition to the intergenerational transmission of the protective parenting pattern, especially the second and third-generation families E and F emphasized that they both want to protect their children and give importance to raising them as aware individuals. For example, the second and third-generation participants of the E family made the following statements about this situation:

"I talked about these subjects with my children sometimes. It is not like sitting down and lecturing, especially on these issues, but for example, there was the "Hatırla Sevgili" TV series years ago, when the September 12th episodes were released; for example, I intervened a lot. I said, "Look, they are saying something here, but it was more, it was like this is" we have talked back then a lot." (E2)

"I would like my children to be knowledgeable about social and political issues and to have a high level of awareness, but I might not want them to be active in terms of action. I mean, I would not want them to be very active in the protests, but I wish them would know what is happening." (E3)

In addition, the second and third-generation participants of the F family also stated:

"It was as if I had encouraged my children a little secretly, not to say encouragement but I wanted them to learn; let them know what happened in those times, that people were not guilty either; I wanted them to learn that what happened in Turkey's recent history; I wanted to make them know that those people who killed were not guilty; I wanted them to understand well what they want to do." (F2)

"On the other hand, I never wanted my child to be apolitical, or to be "not interested in these issues, just do not get involved in anything". Because it was not such a period at all, and I really did not want it, so I would want my child was interested in these issues." (F3)

4.2.2.3. Being A Libertarian Parent

As a result of the interviews conducted as mentioned above, it has been observed that creating a libertarian family structure as a reflection of what happened during the 1980 coup period has a vital role for the second-generation participants. The most significant example of this is that A1, the first generation participant of the A family, is too restrictive, as well as A2 is careful to raise her child in a liberal environment, and A3 has statements about the similarity of her future parenting with the second generation.

"For example, we did not allow them to do some things just because something would happen to them, because something would happen to the children... However, when we let it, we let it

in our fear. Our eyes are on the road until they come back, that is until they return. You cannot be comfortable." (A1)

"Children are not very interested in actional politics, but I would be too afraid if it were too extreme. But they went to Gezi Parkı Protests at that time, and we also went." (A2)

"I would be protective. I would not want to include my own family and children either. However, I mean believing in an objective and believing that things may change; I think this is a very nice thing. For example, why would I deter my child if one believes in making the world or Turkey a better place with this idea? I do not think deterring is a right thing in this case." (A3)

4.2.3. Intergenerational Transmission of Political View

In the interviews with three generations about the 1980 coup period, it was observed that the first generation participants did not like to talk about this period and politics and did not feel comfortable talking about these issues. For example, the first generation participant of the A family stated:

"We kept our children a little out of all these issues and politics. I don't like to talk about these." (A1)

The first generation participant in the B family who participated in the study emphasized:

"No, no-no. Since my husband was a military officer anyway, such topics were not discussed at all... That is why we were out of politics as a family..." (B1)

The first generation participant of the C family explained:

"Young people need to learn how to save the country, how to be a good child, how to be a good citizen; we need to awaken these feelings, teach them and raise them. Otherwise, I think there is no need to explain these coups or something." (C1)

Finally, the first generation participant of the D family shared her thoughts as:

"I was already at home, there were children, and I was always interested in them. I was not interested in politics then. My husband was more interested in politics... And I would say to my daughter, "Enough is enough for God's sake to speak now." because she talks a lot, I pulled myself off from these issues; I do not like to talk too much... I still do not like to listen to such politics and talk.." (D1)

Accordingly, it has been noticed that the intergenerational transmission of political views has a more significant influence on the third generation due to what the second generation experienced and learned during the 1980 coup period. As a result of the interviews, it has been observed that there are similarities between the political approach of second-generation and third-generation.

Participants D2, E2, and F2 expressed their interest in politics during the 1980 coup period, and in the interviews, it was observed that these participants were still interested in politics. With this in mind, it has been observed that third-generation participants D3, E3, and F3, who are the children of these participants, are more interested in politics and the 1980 coup period than other third-generation participants. For example, the second and third-generation participants of the D family made the following statements about this situation:

"After we heard about the torture of in those prisons after that coup, this time we started raising our children apolitically, to protect them. Because I was afraid that it would hurt them too, one day such a thing would happen, and they would be damaged. However, I tried to teach and explain to my children how much a military coup could damage our homeland. Of course, it is not possible for them not to be affected by what I told; they learned something, became interested especially D3." (D2)

"I see the young people of that period as lofty people trying to do something for humanity, trying to change the system in their country, not thinking about individuality alone, because they also think of other people in their country." (D3)

Participants of the second and third generation of the E family stated:

"I also influenced the children by talking at home; For example, I liked that Z. (E3's sister) called herself a "genetic Marxist" after the exam, so I impressed my children with what I talked to and defended at home." (E2)

"My father tells it because he loves to tell about those times, you always say "oh yes" after what I read, and you establish a connection in your head, saying, "My father told me something like that too" or something." (E3)

Finally, participants of the second and third generation of the F family emphasized:

"It was as if I had encouraged my children a little secretly, not to say encouragement but I wanted them to learn; let them know what happened in those times, that people were not guilty either; I wanted them to learn that what happened in Turkey's recent history; I wanted to make them know that those people who killed were not guilty; I wanted them to understand well what they want to do." (F2)

"Especially my father said, "Always know your history, your culture, the past of your country, and this moment." For that style of approach and because it also has my interest in such things, also 1980 coup and 1960 coup, I became very interested, and I always read books about those, I watch something, and I did some researches." (F3)

Contrary to these participants, A2 from the second generation stated that they preferred to stay away from politics during the 1980 coup period; similarly, in the interviews, it was observed that participant from the third generation A3 was not related to politics.

"So there were so many events that we would rather not be outside, and they would not allow it anyway; school-home, that is it." (A2)

"It seems like a danger to express your opinion; it has become more dangerous to really attach to something, to do something for the sake of something or this country." (A3)

Due to the atmosphere of fear during the 1980 coup period, B2 and C2 from the second generation stated that they mostly remained silent or they prefer to share their political views within the family; explained themselves as:

"I do not want to read political books on the ferry; I do not prefer to read a book that will express my political view in a crowded environment. Maybe it might be in our subconscious back then because there are classifications such as banned books and political books at home." (B2)

"Being quiet, not to talk too much, not to give much information, actually it is not nice to be silenced in a place, not to be yourself. But we were afraid." (C2)

Accordingly, as a result of the interviews, it was observed that B3 and C3 from the third generation felt more comfortable sharing their political views within the family or saving for themselves. These participants stated:

"I do not like to talk about such topics next to my age group, ...so talking in the family is like a safe zone. I do not like to comment, and people love to talk without knowing anything." (B3)

"Because at our school, "32. Gün Belgeselleri" was started to be watched. Then I wondered, that is why I watched them by myself. I learned that period by watching them. Apart from that, we do not talk like that in the family." (C3)

5. DISCUSSION

1980 coup is a period that marked the Turkish political history as well as it has affected every segment of society and has left its traces in different ways. As mentioned before, during the 1980 coup, many people lost their lives due to differences in thought, were exposed to psychological and physical torture, and

many people had to witness the traumatic events experienced by their relatives. Therefore, it is inevitable to expect that this period significantly impacted families for many generations. This study aimed to deeply examine the experiences of the first and second generations, which experienced the 1980 coup period and examine the beliefs of the third generation about the impact of this period. As the result of the study, it was concluded that there are many common and divergent experiences across generations and genders.

As a result of the interviews, it was observed that different backgrounds and lifestyles affected the coup experiences, especially for the first and second-generation participants. As Peter Levine (2006) and Charles Figley (2012) mentioned, it is supported by this research that traumatic experiences differ from person to person due to the person's age, life experiences, culture, religious beliefs, and socioeconomic status. For example, in this study, it was observed that the profession of individuals at that time, especially those who were military relatives, had different experiences during this period and interpreted the 1980 coup differently. Those who were students in this period had many different experiences. As a result of the interviews, it was concluded that the participants who were military relatives stayed away from the chaotic environment on the street, and especially the second-generation participants who were military relatives were kept away from politics. It was observed that these families had stricter limits on speaking politics within the family than others, and this was reflected in their attitudes in the interviews. In addition, the participants, who were students during the 1980 coup period, stated that they witnessed the events much more closely and experienced some events in their sharings in the interviews. Considering the fact that students played an active role in the protests during the 1980 coup period, the findings that the participants who were students in this period witnessed the events and had different experiences are significant. In addition to the events witnessed, these participants also witnessed the difficult experiences of their friends during this period, and they also expressed these experiences in the interviews.

Another point that draws attention in the interviews with the participants is the effect of gender on the experiences. In this finding, the impression that female participants were more hesitant to talk about politics than male participants, the shorter interviews with female participants than the interviews with male participants revealed that gender difference was an important factor in the study.

In order to explain more deeply, the following sections will include more detailed information on common themes, different themes, and gender differences in the experiences of generations.

5.1. Common Themes of The Generations

In the interviews, all first-generation, second-generation, and third-generation participants described this period as a traumatic period, even if they were not directly affected by what happened during the 1980 military coup. According to the statements of the participants, some of them had to witness the difficulties of their relatives; some of them witnessed the traumatic experiences of their friends, some of them were negatively affected by the martial law practices they experienced, and some of them have been exposed to psychological or physical violence. Although the third-generation participants did not experience this period, they stated that the experience of such traumatic events in the history of Turkey and their family history had an impact on them. All these experiences have inevitably caused people to feel unsafe in their daily lives and look to the future more desperately; it also caused young people to feel more hopeless and insecure due to past events. It was concluded that the challenging conditions experienced by the first and second-generations during this period led to the need for security and the need for the sense of predictability of the future, as Ronnie Janoff-Bulman (1992) also stated. According to Janoff-Bulman (1992), difficult experiences weaken one's sense of self-worth, the need for security, and the need for predictability of the future. As a result of the research, one of the super-ordinate themes is "Living in Fear", both first and second-generation participants made statements supporting this finding in the interviews.

Similarly, although the third generation participants did not experience the 1980 coup period, it was concluded that the feelings of security and predictability for the future were damaged due to the information conveyed to them by the upper generations, the compelling experiences both experienced and witnessed within the family and the unspoken and taboo experiences within the family. As a result of previous studies, it has been emphasized that the parents' attitude after the traumas is very effective for the children to build a trustworthy worldview (Cohen, 2009; Rosenfeld et al., 2005, as cited in Figley, 2012). Accordingly, as a result of this research, it is significant that three generations, including the third generation, had a damaged sense of security after what happened during the 1980 coup period.

Tak Yan Lee et al., (2012), in their article "Resilience as a Positive Youth Development Construct: A Conceptual Review" emphasized the importance of internal and external resources while coping with the life-threatening difficult social conditions and distressing life situations as protective factors; these resources may help to counter the effects of the risk factors. In support of this, in the present study, the first and second-generation participants stated that they used their personal coping mechanisms while dealing with the difficulties they experienced during the 1980 coup period and struggled together with the difficulties. Participants emphasized many times during the interviews how savior the coping mechanisms they used in this process were for them in that period.

Similarly, third-generation participants stated that they adopted these mechanisms as ways of dealing with difficulties in their daily lives. The themes of "Personal Coping Mechanisms" and "Struggling With The Difficulties Together", which emerged as the common themes of generations as a result of the present study, support each other with the previous researches, which emphasize the importance of internal and external sources. Also, according to Charles Figley (2012), social support mechanism is one of the most crucial strategies needed while coping with post-traumatic experiences. Although Figley's (2012) explanation and the "Struggling With The Difficulties Together" theme that emerged as a result of the research supports each other, as a result of the present

study, it was not concluded that Figley's (2012) explanation that giving support to another one also plays a vital role for one's own welfare. Participants made no explanation that supporting others during this period was beneficial because it was good for them; it was concluded that this coping mechanism is good for them because it fosters a sense of unity. While the participants did not make a statement that supporting others makes them feel good, they emphasized that it was beneficial for them to have the same difficulties and to be able to share and talk about the difficult days and experiences with each other.

As a result of the present study, it has been observed that the "Intrafamilial Support Mechanisms" has an important place when dealing with difficulties and is one of the common themes for participants from three generations. Participants emphasized that these restrictive conditions of the 1980 coup period can be overcome more easily when the family supported each other, shared the experiences within the family, and the presence of family members can be felt. In addition, the third generation participants emphasized the importance of the upper generation's support to each other in the family during this difficult period; for example, as C3 stated that "Today, in the same way as they supported each other at that time, the current difficulties are being dealt with in the same way by getting help from the family, trying to solve them within the family and supporting each other." Similar to this common theme as a result of the research, Froma Walsh (2007) emphasized in her article "Traumatic Loss and Major Disasters: Strengthening Family and Community Resilience" that especially in childhood, having a loving and supportive family structure increases resilience and is an essential external resource and provides protective features for individuals in the face of difficulties. In addition, as mentioned before, according to Figley (2012), Rosenfeld et al. (2005) and Cohen's (2009) studies, the attitude of family members against difficulties and communication within the family was stated as an important factor for individuals; this theme validates itself as a result of both literature and this research.

As a result of the sharings of the participants, it was concluded that they were able to achieve a stable life after the chaotic period experienced during the

1980 military coup with the coping mechanisms that they had used. Considering that the chaotic process experienced before the 1980 coup was a challenging process for individuals from all segments of the society, entering a stable process in this period was observed as a situation that everyone needed. This resulted in the theme "From Chaos To Stability", which is especially common for first and second-generation participants. At this point, the explanation emphasized in the literature that individuals need coping mechanisms in order to stabilize their emotions and lives, also provide them with a space of comfort after traumas should be taken into consideration (Folkman & Moskowitzs, 2004; Littleton et al., 2007; Updegraff & Taylor, 2000). According to other studies conducted with three generations, it was concluded that the severity of the difficulties experienced by the first-generation participants and the recovery processes are essential factors. The fact that they live with significant influences has varied. For this reason, when compared to other trauma studies conducted with three generations, some first-generation and second-generation participants stated that the effects of this period decreased over time, while others stated that they still felt the same effects. At this point, the fact that people who have experienced trauma at different levels participated in the research distinguishes the present research from other trauma studies. However, it was explained to what extent the participants were affected by this period in the earlier sections.

Froma Walsh (2007), Richard G. Tedeschi, and Lawrence G. Calhoun (1995, as cited in Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004) emphasized the transformative power of suffering by referencing the early ideas and writings of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and early Christians, some teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. In addition, as a result of the research, it was concluded that the participants experienced "Power Of The Acceptance" as a common theme as a result of the difficulties they experienced, and it contained spiritual dynamics, especially for the first and second-generation as Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) mentioned. Additionally to the resilience in "Post-traumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence" (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004), "Post-Traumatic Growth" was explained as increased personal power, increased

appreciation for life, changing priorities, more meaningful relationships, and more prosperous existential life. Supportively, the participants emphasized that no matter how hard they suffered after the difficult experiences, they could see the benefits of these situations, and it was concluded that the participants could integrate these gains into the further process of their lives. As a result of the present study, it was observed that the first and second-generation participants detailed the feeling of maturity after the difficulties they experienced; the result was considered as the common theme of "Post-Traumatic Growth" supported each other with what Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) emphasized. Considering the themes of resilience and post-traumatic growth that emerged as a result of the research, the use of coping mechanisms, which is especially family support mechanisms; having open communication within the family, generating problem-solving skills with the supports of the family members, and having shared beliefs with them provided significant benefits in reducing the effects of this period, which is one of the important results of the research and also compatible with the literature (Walsh, 2007). An important question of the research, the observation of how families are affected after trauma, is that after the experiences of the second-generation, there are efforts to establish more unified family structures, and they try to establish a relationship with their children in this way. The second-generation participants emphasized that they did not get enough support from their parents regarding the difficulties they experienced during this period and stated that they felt its lack. That is why these participants stated that they tried to create autonomous, libertarian, but independent relationships in their nuclear families in order to overcome the deficiencies they felt during the 1980 coup period. This finding reveals the transformative side of their difficulties, which is also emphasized in the studies about post-traumatic growth in the literature as the transformative side of the traumatic events (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995, as cited in Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004).

In the research, it was concluded that some experiences experienced by first-generation and second-generation participants during the 1980 coup period

were more persistent than others and were remembered in a more detailed way by these participants and held a place in their minds; on the other hand, it was observed that the reminders of these experiences triggered the participants. As mentioned before, it was concluded that the perception of the experiences and severity of the experiences changed according to the living conditions of some participants, and it was concluded that these reminders more triggered the participants with more severe experiences participants remember their experiences in a more detailed way. As a result, "Living Memories" a common theme for the first and second-generation participants, emerged. In addition to the result of the study, supportively, in their publication about the intergenerational transmission of trauma caused by the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia, Field and colleagues (2013) stated that individuals who have had traumatic experiences could activate the symptoms of trauma with the reminders of their past experiences, intense fear, and vulnerability.

Another theme that emerged from the research is "Marks Left by The Experiences", the sub-theme of this theme, "Marks On The Family" can be discussed as the common theme of generations. After the interviews, as Braga and colleagues (2012) also stated, it was concluded that not sharing the difficult experiences experienced harms the next generations more. The second and third-generation participants stated that there should be open communication and sharing within the family; they stated that it would be much better for them to have open communication with the first generation about what happened at that time, and it would make them much stronger against difficulties emphasized it. According to the study "Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma and Resilience: A Qualitative Study With Brazilian Offspring of Holocaust Survivors" (Braga et al., 2012), the more traumatic experiences are hidden in the family, causes more destruction and transmission between generations, and the more they leave a mark on the family. In addition, Evan Imber-Black (n.d. 1993, 1998, in press, as cited in Deslypere & Rober, 2018), who examines this situation with a systemic perspective, stated that the secrets in the family affect the family dynamics, that dyads, triads, and secret alliances have been established, therefore

the closeness of the family members' relations are affected by this situation and consequently the compelling experiences that were not shared within the family leave their marks on the family dynamics. In the present study, it was concluded that the fact that the elders did not share the compelling experiences experienced during the 1980 coup period within the family was experienced more compelling by the lower generations. In addition, Froma Walsh (2007) also emphasized the importance of open communication between family members to strengthen the protective features of the family and contribute to the resilience of the individuals. At this point, it is crucial to consider the theme of "Creating A Libertarian Family Structure", which is especially common for second and third-generation participants, which is one of the sub-themes of the "Shaped Parenthood According to The Experiences" super-ordinate theme. As stated above, Walsh (2007) and Braga and colleagues (2012) emphasized the importance of sharing the difficult experiences of the past with open communication within the family; similarly, the second and third-generation participants emphasized that the experiences in the family should be shared and that they give importance to a more liberal family structure together with the experiences.

As mentioned before, the 1980 coup era was a dangerous period for society; due to many people being harmed during this period, individuals' worries about their loved ones increased. Similarly, as a result of the interviews, it was observed that all participants have a common sensitivity to protect their loved ones; what happened during the 1980 coup caused first-generation participants to worry about their children, the second generation to worry about both their children and their parents, and the third generation to worry about their parents. This situation has revealed the "Protecting Loved Ones" theme, which is the common theme of the generations. Fran Klein-Parker (1988, as cited in Kellermann, 2001) mentioned that traumatized families could isolate themselves at the pathological level, parents become completely dependent on their children due to difficult experiences, and that children live by focusing on the well-being of their parents. Although this situation was not observed in the families interviewed, they emphasized that they worry about family members and attach

importance to protecting their loved ones while talking about the 1980 coup period in all generations. It was not observed that parents were dependent on children in families who had difficulties.

Considering the common themes of the generations as a result of the research, the transmission of intergenerational coping mechanisms stands out. As Kliewer et al. (1994, as cited in Power, 2004) suggested that children's appraisals of a threat and the coping styles may vary according to their parents' attitudes through modeling, through coaching, and through contextual paths, which are the learned and enacted coping behaviors from the family context. Also, in this study, it was observed that the participants used similar coping strategies across generations against difficulties. This finding as a result of the present study supports the use of similar coping mechanisms in the face of difficulties by parents and children examined in many studies, as mentioned by Thomas G. Power (2004) in his article " Stress and Coping in Childhood: The Parents' Role"; it has been observed that different generations within the family cope with difficulties by integrating similar coping mechanisms into their lives and encourage each other in this regard. However, in the present study, it was not concluded that the coping mechanisms mentioned by Power (2004) differ according to gender. It was concluded that gender does not play a distinctive role in the common use of coping mechanisms according to the sharings of the participants.

When the literature is reviewed, it was emphasized in the studies conducted by Boracas & Boracas (1980), Davidson (1992), Kestenberg (1980), Russell (1974), and Trossman (1968) that individuals who were exposed to trauma became over protective parents and parents who overly invested in their children due to their anxiety (Marazyan, 2016). As a result of the research, one of the common themes of generations has emerged as "Intergenerational Transmission of The Parenting Styles". According to the present study results, it was observed that there was a transfer in the sense of parenting style, especially from second-generation participants to third-generation participants. It was observed that the first-generation adopted the protective parenting pattern due to

their difficult experiences, and it was concluded that they also transferred to the second-generation, and this generation transferred this pattern to the lower generation. In addition, according to Abigail Gewirtz et al. (2008, as cited in Figley, 2012), traumatized parents may oscillate between overly restrictive parenting patterns and overly permissive behaviors in their parenting; in the present study, it was observed that second-generation and third-generation participants had similar difficulties regarding the level of attitudes towards their children. As a result of the present study, it was concluded that the second and third-generation participants used to establish a libertarian family structure to find the middle point and tried to raise their children as aware individuals. It was observed that the parenting styles adopted by individuals from these generations are based on encouraging their children to be free-spoken, having a voice in the family, and creating a libertarian environment to express their opinions.

As a result of the present study, it was observed that another common theme transferred between generations is the political view. The finding that the perspective of politics is established within the learning process framework needs to be associated with the learning process in childhood (Uysal, 1981, as cited in Aydın & Özbek, 2004). The exchange of political information between mother, father, and child in the family increases the likelihood that the chosen party is a political party supported by the parents, as well as the children choosing a political party at a young age (Karakoç, 2000 as cited in Aydın & Özbek, 2004). In addition, effects such as varying levels of anxiety, denial, depression, rage and anger, grief, fear, hopelessness, and feelings of shame left on people by the political pressure that developed after collective traumas affected the political attitudes of people and caused them to be reflected on the next generations (Karcher, 2017). In this respect, the family conveys certain decision-making patterns through concrete relationships within the family and influences social values and norms (Uysal, 1981, as cited in Aydın & Özbek, 2004). The common theme of the generations, "Intergenerational Transmission of Political View" that emerged as a result of the present study, supports the finding that the family has socio-political importance as a basis for both the election process and the political

view (Uysal, 1981, as cited in Aydın & Özbek, 2004). As a result of the present study, the participants' attitudes from the lower generation towards politics are similar to those of the upper generations; in addition, the participants clearly stated that they were impressed by the discourse of the upper generations on these issues.

5.2. Different Themes Across The Generations

As a result of the interviews, it was concluded that the first and second-generation participants who experienced the 1980 coup period felt deeply fear because they were exposed to the chaotic process of this period. It was noteworthy that there were situations in which the first and second-generation participants who had experienced this period had to be quiet due to the fear they experienced. In addition to the participants' statements, it was observed in the researches about the 1980 coup period that individuals remained silent against the events experienced due to the fear experienced in society (Dinçer, 2011). Besides, unlike the first and second-generations, it has been observed that the third-generation is more fearless in showing their reactions to the events experienced; looking at the three generations, it was concluded that as the generations progress, individuals are encouraged to speak openly. For this reason, the theme of "Being Quiet Because of The Fear", as well as the "Speaking Up" theme for the third-generation, emerged different from the first and second-generations, as a result of the research. As can be seen in the study conducted by Maria da Paz Campos Lima and Antonio Martí'n Artiles (2013) on the attitudes of European youth in social movements, it was also observed that young people have started to be heard more in politics and social issues in recent years.

According to the present study results, it was concluded that different generations had some losses among themselves and within their families during the 1980 coup period. As a result of the interviews, the second-generation participants emphasized that they or their peers had to give up on many things during the 1980 coup period; thus, the theme of "Renounce" emerged, which is one of the different themes across the generations. This finding obtained as a

result of the research also supports the idea that Levine (2006) mentioned that individuals are affected by traumas in different ways according to various variables like age, socioeconomic statuses and that those individuals encounter different results. As a result of the research, another piece that the second-generation participants lost during the 1980 coup period, unlike other generations, emerges as their individuality. Since the loss of the individuality of the second-generation participants is due to the loss of the libertarian environment in the family, it is discussed under the sub-theme "Lost Pieces In the Family". Due to the dangerous environment experienced during the 1980 coup period, as stated before, there was a process in which individuals worried about their loved ones, and therefore especially parents displayed overprotective attitudes toward their children. As a result, children who grew up in this environment may have more difficulty in individualization. Additionally, in many studies conducted according to the literature, overprotective and over-investment attitudes of parents discourage the sense of individuation of the child (Boracas & Boracas, 1980; Kestenberg, 1980, Marazyan, 2016; Russell, 1974; Trossman, 1968). Also, according to Charles Figley (2012), it is crucial that after the trauma experience, parents provide a safe place for children and become the child's most prominent supporter in physical and psychological terms; as a result of the present study, the second-generation participants clearly emphasized that they felt the lack of this support after the difficult experiences in the family.

As mentioned above, Froma Walsh (2007) emphasized that having open communication in the family and having flexible attitudes towards each other is a protective feature and mentioned its importance. Open communication in the family includes understanding each other's opinions by family members and being more open-minded towards each other. Especially when the results of the interviews with the first and second-generation participants are compared, the theme of "Increased Awareness" emerges as a different theme of the generations. As a result of the present study, unlike the first-generation participants, the second-generation participants stated that they approached young people with an open-mind as time passed and that individuals in the family behave to understand

each other. In this way, as Walsh (2007) said, individuals, emphasized that when they approach each other in this way within the family, they form stronger bonds in the face of difficulties.

The period of the 1980 coup caused people who experienced this period to associate politics and fear in their minds. For this reason, it is thought that many people became apolitical in the period after the 1980 coup and that individuals' perspective on politics did not go beyond voting; consequently, this process is believed to be a depoliticization process (Öncü, 1991). Contrary to this view, the present study concluded that especially the third-generation participants, even though they did not experience the 1980 coup period, are very interested in this period, and as stated before, it was observed that they are knowledgeable about politics and express their opinions; at this point, it has been observed that the third-generation participants approached the events in this period in a more questioning manner, applied to different sources in order to know and learn, and did not prefer to talk when they did not have sufficient knowledge.

As mentioned before, the importance of talking with children in family about the difficulties in order to build a trustworthy worldview for the children by the parents has been emphasized by many researchers (Cohen, 2009; Rosenfeld et al., 2005, as cited in Figley, 2012); considering the 1980 coup period, the socio-political events experienced in this period were experienced as traumatic situations for individuals and families. Looking at the first and second-generation participants who experienced this period, it was observed that the two generations differ in the context of the "Relationship With Politics" theme; while first-generation participants do not like to talk about politics within the family, second-generation participants normalize talking about politics within the family. In addition, it has been observed that political sharing within the family is an important dynamic that supports the family for both second and third-generation participants.

On the other hand, as one of the important results of the present research, since the first and second-generation participants experienced this period at the same time, the cohort effect of the transmission of trauma outstands as the first

and second-generation participants share similar socio-cultural experiences (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2007); but these generations experienced this period in different ways, and different contexts in their social environments, their work lives, their school lives; the reflection of these experiences on the third generation were shaped according to these differences. As a result of the transmission of first and second-generation participants' experiences, who are from the same family and experienced this period in different ways, it was concluded that there is a similarity between the third-generation and second-generation participants in the approach to the 1980 coup period. As a result of the research, it was observed that differences that developed during the transmission to the third-generation were important variables because each generation experienced the 1980 coup period in different ways, as emphasized before.

In addition, considering the findings of previous studies that intergenerational transmission is bidirectional and the interaction between child and parent is a reciprocal system (Kuczynski, 2003, as cited in De Mol et al., 2013), however, according to the present study, there is no clear conclusion that the third generation participants have an impact on the first generation. As a result of the research, although the curiosity of the third generation participants about the 1980 coup and their desire to learn more about the experiences of their elders in this period may lead the first generation to share more within the family however this period is sensitive, it was observed the third generation participants had no effect on the first-generation participants who did not feel comfortable about talking about this period within the family. Additionally, considering that the third generation participants' approach to politics is different from the first generation participants, which is another finding of the research, it is concluded that the third generation participants' approaches to politics have no effect on the first-generation participants. On the other hand, considering the attitudes of the first-generation participants, it is consistent with the studies about traumatized parents as they give more importance to protect their grandchildren and their loved ones than the desire to have open communication and sharing because of their earlier experiences and become overprotective parents (Bar-On et al., 1998; Brom, Kfir

& Dasberg, 2001, as cited in Marazyan, 2016).

5.3. Gender Differences

Gender roles have an impact on many issues in societies as well as on politics. With the influence of the family, the social environment, and the education received, girls and boys gain roles suitable for their gender, and they are expected to live according to social norms (Günay & Bener, 2011). Thus, while dealing with home and childcare, work becomes prominent for women (Powell and Greenhouse, 2010, as cited in Günay & Bener, 2011). Supportively, it has been observed in the present research that gender differences cause differences both in attitude towards politics and in the experience of social and political events during the 1980 coup period. It has been observed that the first-generation participants who have experienced the 1980 coup, who are women, do not want to comment much on politics, and they also stated that they exhibited this attitude during the 1980 coup period. These participants stated that their priorities are home and family, and this is why the socio-political events experienced remained in the background and that their husbands were mostly related to what happened. This finding obtained as a result of the present study supports the assumption that women are excluded from politics, that there is a natural difference between women and men, that women are not suitable for politics by nature, and their place in society is limited to home and family (Saygılıgil, 2018). One of the most striking points in the interviews was that it was observed that the interview durations of the first-generation female participants were much shorter compared to the other participants. Although these participants participated in the study voluntarily, they were not comfortable talking about the 1980 coup period during the interviews. As Feryal Saygılıgil (2018) emphasized, Susan Moller Okin (1979, as cited in Saygılıgil, 2018), who studied political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Kant, mentioned that the situation of women being seen outside politics is a tradition of political philosophy that assumes that all debates about rights and freedoms concern only half of the human race and ignores the existence of women and mentioned that this created a political culture shaped by this

tradition. In addition, Carol Pateman (1988, as cited in Saygılıgil, 2018) emphasized that the political sphere is built on an unnamed, unwritten gender contract and that this convention gives men their political power. As a result of the present study, when the attitudes towards politics of the first-generation women participants participating in the research and the way they shared their experiences during the 1980 coup period are taken into consideration, comparing the memories of female and male participants of the second-generation about the 1980 coup period, it was concluded that gender roles had an effect on political attitudes and it was observed that they supported these studies. As Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague (1995) point out, women are less likely to engage in political discourse because they discuss politics less with their friends and within the family (Hansen, 1997). For this reason, the fact that the female participants displayed this attitude in the interviews is in line with the results of the previous studies. In addition, considering all these, it is not surprising that the second-generation female participants played a less active role in the events of the 1980 military coup than men. On the other hand, considering the statements made by the third-generation participants about the policy, it was observed that the effect of gender difference on the approach to politics decreased over time; there was no significant difference in the approach to politics between third-generation female participants and male participants.

5.4.Clinical Implications

As a result of the interviews made for the present study, it was observed that the 1980 coup period had an impact on all three generations and these effects differed among each generation and between genders. In addition, it was concluded that the effects of the difficult experiences experienced in this period were transferred intergenerationally. Considering all these results, it is thought that the experiences experienced during the 1980 coup period are the data that should be taken into consideration for both individual clients and families during the therapy process.

Since the 1980 coup has a crucial and traumatic place in Turkey's socio-political history, it should be an issue that therapists in the therapy process should not ignore. For this reason, the therapist needs to have information about this period and have an idea about possible traumatic stories. As emphasized before, the experiences during this period caused many material and moral losses; in addition, the way individuals perceive them and how they cope with all these experiences have affected the traces left by these experiences and their transfer to younger generations. Therefore, the individuals' progress with this awareness during the therapy process will positively affect the therapy process; it will be beneficial for the emergence of traumas experienced in the family and to work on these issues if there are traumas that are not talked about.

On the other hand, considering the Family Genogram Interview (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985; McGoldrick, Gerson, & Petry, 2008), which is developed in order to examine the nuclear family and extended family relationships and nodal events in the family more deeply in the therapy process, that includes information about at least three generations, it is thought that the period of the 1980 coup has an essential place because this period should be examined as a significant life event for the first and second-generation and should be investigate the possible impacts of this period on the third-generation by the therapist. In addition, as a result of the research, it was found that gender differences were also influential on the experiences experienced during the 1980 military coup; therefore, gender roles should be considered as a variable in the use of the genogram in the therapy process, and it should be taken into account that this variable plays an important role when dealing with socio-political events.

As another result of the research, it was concluded that the traumatic and challenging experiences in the family are healthier to share by establishing open communication with the lower generations; as Lotem Giladi and Terece S. Bell (2013) also emphasized the decrease of the secondary trauma with the open-communication within the family; for this reason, it is thought that it is crucial for the therapist to play a supportive role in encouraging families and sharing difficult experiences in the family. At this point, the therapist can provide support for

rewriting the traumatic experience by using narrative therapy methods while bringing family members together; stress is reduced, and the sense of strength, unity, and support within the family is increased by creating a common story by sharing traumatic experiences and using problem-solving methods (Kiser et al., 2010).

In addition to establishing open communication within the family, one of the other vital roles of the therapist is to support the family in the therapy process in terms of possible harm that parents may cause to the individualization processes of children due to the challenging experiences they have experienced in the past.

Considering the coping mechanisms, which is another topic emphasized in the present study, individuals develop resilience in the face of their own difficult experiences; it is thought that encouraging individuals to find their own resources during the therapy process is important and improving when dealing with the difficulties.

Finally, the therapist must first consider his or her own political background; it is thought that the therapist's attitude, language, and harmony with the client's sharing are critical in terms of not being a trigger for clients and families who have had difficult experiences during the 1980 coup period; in this regard, it is thought that the individual feels understandable during the therapy process is a very important factor for the development of the therapeutic relationship and the positive progress of the therapy process.

5.5. Limitations and Further Research

This qualitative research has been conducted by interviewing six families to examine the effects of the 1980 coup on three generations and the intergenerational transmission of these effects. Although the sample size is good enough for a qualitative study, the findings are not generalizable for Turkey's population. For this reason, it is thought that conducting a quantitative research on

this subject besides the in-depth interviews will contribute to the literature to generalize the findings to the population.

One of the significant limitations of the study is that the research is a retrospective research model, and it covers the 1970-1980 period, especially the age of the first generation participants, and the age of the three generations have been difficult to comply with the criteria. In particular, it was challenging to find a first-generation male participant, and due to the aim to investigate gender differences, male participants participated in the study only as of the second and third generation. Information about the first generation was obtained from these participants. This situation affected the homogeneity of the sample of the study. Considering the finding that gender is an important factor in the experiences resulting from the research, it is recommended that the research should be conducted with a more homogeneous sample on gender differences and should examine this topic more deeply in further research.

Considering that the 1980 coup period was a traumatic period for many families and individuals in the history of Turkey, it is worth noting that people who coped better with this period and were able to develop more resilience may have agreed to participate in the study since the interviews may be a trigger for the participants. In this study, the results were evaluated regardless of the trauma level of the participants. Further research may use a quantitative trauma scale before the interview to distinguish the effects of trauma on each participant and further evaluate the participants' experiences.

Although the research was conducted in separate interviews with three generations, it deals with an important and challenging life event that has not been talked about in the family for a long time and has become taboo for some families. For this reason, after the interviews, these experiences may have been talked about in the family, it may have aroused curiosity in both the second-generation and the third-generation about the experiences that were not spoken, and these issues might have been discussed within the family. For this reason, conducting a survey to receiving feedback on this subject after all interviews for further research may provide meaningful and important results to investigate

whether the effects of the 1980 coup were discussed in the family after the interviews and the effects of the research on the family.

Another focus of the research, the impact of the 1980 coup period on parenting styles and the intergenerational transmission of parenting styles, could be explored much more deeply if the third generation was also a parent. However, as mentioned earlier, the research is retrospective, and the age scales are challenging, so the third generation participants have had to share their parenting style hypothetically.

The most significant limitation of the research being retrospective and including the period between 1970-1980 is that there are possible misremembering, forgetting, and possible disorders in memories, especially considering the age range of the first generation. Therefore, it is crucial to consider the possibility of such a situation occurring.

Considering that the research was about a socio-political period and that one of the most important characteristics of this period was the traumatic experiences due to differences of opinion, it was observed that some of the participants had difficulty expressing their thoughts. At the same time, this finding is an important piece of data for the research; the fact that the interviews are online due to the fact that the research was conducted under pandemic conditions is another limitation of the study.

Lastly, regarding the limitations of the research, the fact that Turkey has not had a stable socio-political situation throughout history and the participants' witnessing various socio-political events after the 1980 coup period led the participants to talk about different events that have happened in the history of Turkey.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Bilgilendirilmiş Onam Formu

Araştırmayı Destekleyen Kurum:	İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
Araştırmanın Adı:	Üç Kuşak İçin Ortak Tema Analizi: 1980 Darbesi Deneyimlerinin Kuşaklar Arası Aktarımı
Araştırmacının Adı:	Sırma Ülgen
Araştırmanın Danışmanı:	Yudum Söylemez

Bu araştırma, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi **Sırma Ülgen** tarafından, **Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yudum Söylemez** danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Bu araştırmanın amacı, 1980 Darbesi sürecinde yaşanan deneyimlerin kuşaklar arası aktarımı ve her kuşak için bu aktarımların nasıl deneyimlendiğine dair ortak temaların incelenmesidir. Araştırma sonucunda **deneyimlenen olayların kuşaktan kuşağa nasıl aktarılacağı ve aile sistemi içerisinde kuşaklar öncesinde yaşanan olayların günlük hayatta nasıl ortaya çıktığına dair bilgilerin** sağlanması beklenmektedir.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde, yaklaşık **60** dakika sürecek bir görüşmeye katılmanız beklenecektir. Bu görüşmede, **1980 Darbesi sürecinde yaşanan deneyimlerin bıraktığı izler** konusundaki düşüncelerinizi ve gözlemlerinizi öğrenmek için sizden bazı sorulara yanıt vermeniz istenecektir. Yanıtlarınız, sonraki analizlerde kullanılmak üzere ses kaydına alınacaktır.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmakta ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas alınmaktadır. Verdiğiniz tüm bilgiler gizli tutulacaktır. Ses kayıtları araştırma süresince yalnızca araştırmacının ve danışmanının erişimi olan bir harici bellekte muhafaza edilecek, araştırma sona erdiğinde silinecektir. Araştırma bulgularının sunumu ve raporlamasında kişi isimleri kullanılmayacak, elde edilen bilgiler toplu olarak değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır.

Bu arařtırmaya katılmak tamamen isteęe baęlıdır. Bu grüşmeye katılmanın, olumsuz bir etki yaratması beklenmemektedir. Ancak grüşme sırasında yanıt vermek istemediđiniz, size kendinizi rahatsız hissettiren sorular olursa bu soruları yanıtlamadan geebilirsiniz. Grüşme sırasında dilediđiniz zaman kaydın durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Grüşme bařlamadan nce, grüşme sırasında veya sonrasında dilediđiniz zaman soru sorabilirsiniz. Katılmayı kabul ettiđiniz takdirde alıřmanın herhangi bir ařamasında herhangi bir sebep gstermeden arařtırmadan ekilme hakkına sahipsiniz. Arařtırmadan ekildiđiniz durumda verdiđiniz bilgiler deęerlendirmeye alınmayacaktır.

Grüşmenizin sonuları, arařtırma sonlandırılmadan nce gzden geirmeniz iin sizinle mail yoluyla paylařılacak ve geri bildiriminiz doęrultusunda gerekli deęiřiklikler yapılacaktır. Burada ama, sizin grüşlerinizin ve deneyimlerinizin en doęru řekilde anlařılmasını saęlamaktır.

Arařtırmayla ilgili bilgi almak, soru sormak veya yorumlarınızı paylařmak isterseniz, arařtırmacı **Sırma lgen** ile **sirma.ulgen@hotmail.com** adresinden iletiřime geebilirsiniz.

Bu alıřmaya tamamen gnll olarak katılıyorum. Bana anlatıları ve yukarıdaki aıklamaları anladım. alıřmaya katılmayı ve verdiđim bilgilerin bilimsel amalı yayınlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı Adı- Soyadı:	
Tarih:	

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions For The First-Generation

1. 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile ilgili deneyimlerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?

Bu deneyim sizin hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi? (Olumlu/olumsuz)

2. 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile ilgili en çarpıcı anınız nedir?

- Bu anıyı düşünmek size nasıl hissettiriyor?
- Hangi sıklıkla bu anıyı düşünürsünüz veya aklınıza gelir?
- Aile içerisinde bu anı hakkında konuşur musunuz? Eğer konuşuyorsanız, bu anı hakkında nasıl paylaşımlarda bulunursunuz?

3. Bu süreci bir ebeveyn olarak deneyimlemek nasıldı?

- 1980 darbesi sizin ebeveynliğinizi nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
- 1980 darbesi çocuklarınızı nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
- Sizce 1980 darbesi çocuklarınızın ebeveynliğini nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
- Sizce torunlarınız 1980 darbesini deneyimlememiş olmalarına rağmen şuan hayatlarında bu dönemin izlerini taşıyorlar mıdır? Taşıdıklarını düşünüyorsanız nasıl taşıyorlar?

4. Günlük hayatınızı düşündüğünüzde, karşılaştığınız zorluklara karşı tutumunuz nedir?

- 1980 darbesinde yaşadığınız zorluklarla baş etmenizin, hayatınızdaki diğer zorluklarla başa çıkma biçiminizi etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?
- Bu dönemdeki deneyimlerinizin, çocuğunuzun hayattaki zorluklarla başa çıkma biçimi üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Bu dönemdeki deneyimlerinizin, torununuzun hayattaki zorluklarla başa çıkma biçimi üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Interview Questions For The Second-Generation

1. 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile ilgili deneyimlerinizden bahseder misiniz?

Bu deneyim sizin hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi? (Olumlu/olumsuz)

2. 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile ilgili en çarpıcı anınız nedir?

- Bu anıyı düşünmek size nasıl hissettiriyor?
- Hangi sıklıkla bu anıyı düşünürsünüz veya aklınıza gelir?
- Aile içerisinde bu anı hakkında konuşur musunuz? Eğer konuşuyorsanız, bu anı hakkında nasıl paylaşımlarda bulunursunuz?

3. Bu süreci bir çocuk/genç olarak deneyimlemek nasıldı?

- 1980 darbesi sizin ebeveynliğinizi nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
- 1980 darbesi çocuklarınızı nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
- 1980 darbesinin çocuğunuzun ebeveynliğini etkileyebileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? Eğer düşünüyorsanız, nasıl ve hangi şekillerde etkileyebileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?
- Sizce çocuğunuz 1980 darbesini deneyimlememiş olmalarına rağmen şuan hayatlarında bu dönemin izlerini taşıyorlar mıdır? Taşıdıklarını düşünüyorsanız nasıl taşıyorlar?

4. 1980 darbesinde anne ve babanızın yaşadığı zorluklarla baş etmelerinin hayattaki zorluklarla başa çıkma biçimlerini etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?

- Günlük hayatınızı düşündüğünüzde, karşılaştığınız zorluklara karşı sizin tutumunuz nedir?
- Bu dönemdeki deneyimlerinizin zorluklarla baş etme biçiminiz üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Bu dönemdeki deneyimlerinizin, çocuğunuzun hayattaki zorluklarla başa çıkma biçimi üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Interview Questions For The Third Generation

1. **12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile ilgili size aktarılan en çarpıcı anınız nedir?**
 - Bu anıyı düşünmek size nasıl hissettiriyor?
 - Hangi sıklıkla bu anıyı düşünürsünüz veya aklınıza gelir?

2. **Bu dönemi hiç deneyimlememiş olmanıza rağmen hayatınızda izleri olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?**
 - Kendinizi ebeveyn olarak hayal ettiğinizde 1980 darbesinin sizin ebeveynliğinize bir etkisi olabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? Nasıl?
 - Size göre 1980 darbesi ebeveynlerinizin ebeveynliğini nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?
 - Size göre 1980 darbesi iki üst jenerasyonunuzun ebeveynliğini nasıl etkilemiş olabilir?

3. **1980 darbesinde yaşadıkları zorluklarla baş etmenin iki üst kuşağınızın hayattaki zorluklarla baş etme biçimlerini etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?**
 - Bu dönemin ebeveynlerinizin hayattaki zorluklarla başa çıkma biçimleri üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
 - Günlük hayatınızı düşündüğünüzde, karşılaştığımız zorluklara karşı tutumunuz nedir?
 - Bu durumun sizin zorluklarla baş etme biçiminiz üzerinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Appendix C: Demographic Form

- **Yaşınız:**
- **Cinsiyetiniz:**
- **Doğum Yeriniz:**
- **Hayatınızın büyük bir kısmını nerede yaşayarak geçirdiniz?**
- **Mesleğiniz:**
- **Eğitim durumu:**
 - İlkokul
 - Ortaokul
 - Lise
 - Lisans
 - Yüksek Lisans
 - Doktora
 - Diğer (Belirtiniz)
- **Medeni Durum:**
 - Evli
 - Bekar
 - Eşini Kaybetmiş
 - Boşanmış
 - Diğer (_____)
- **Dini İnanç:**
 - Müslümanlık
 - Hristiyanlık
 - Musevilik
 - Yok
 - Diğer (_____)
- **12 Eylül 1980 Darbesi döneminde herhangi bir ceza mahkumiyetine maruz kaldınız mı?**
 - Evet

ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL

Ethics Board Approval is available in the printed version of this dissertation.