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**PHYSICAL TRAINING AND SPORTS: ON THE WAY OF
CONSTRUCTING THE NEW IDEAL WOMANHOOD IN EARLY
REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY (1923-1945)**

MASTER THESIS

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ABSTRACT

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MA in Cultural Studies

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This master thesis aims to examine physical training and sports policies and discourses as part of the social policies that emerged with the new governmentality policies in the transition period from the late Ottoman era to the early Republican period in Turkey. The definition of a new and ideal citizen was changed during the early Republican era, which symbolized a rupture from the late Ottoman period. Accordingly, the creation of a new and ideal womanhood, which is frequently neglected in the literature, is one of the main topics of the thesis. Based on the hegemonic discourses in mainstream sports magazines of the early Republican period (1923-45), this master thesis investigates the question of how the proper and ideal woman in the formation process of modern nation state was constructed. In this period, physical training and sports were seen as an important tool for the health and wellness of the entire population rather than individual goals. In this direction, physical training and sports policies were used as an ideological instrument for both the quantity and quality of the population as well as for the continuity and the legitimacy of the new regime. During this period, the participation of men and women as a citizen in the formation of nation-state took place in different ways. In this regard, whether physical training policies/discourses were successful or not will be discussed in this thesis.

Keywords: physical training, sports, modernity, governmentality, the new ideal woman, youth

ÖZ

BEDEN TERBİYESİ VE SPOR: ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRKİYE'SİNDE YENİ VE İDEAL KADINLIĞIN İNŞASI (1923-1945)

Yavuzarslan, Ozan

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Bu yüksek lisans tezi, geç Osmanlı döneminden Türkiye'de erken Cumhuriyet dönemine geçiş döneminde yeni yönetimsellik politikaları ile ortaya çıkan sosyal politikaların bir parçası olarak beden eğitimi ve spor politikalarını ve söylemlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yeni ve ideal vatandaşın tanımı, geç Osmanlı dönemi ile bir kırılmayı da simgeleyen erken Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca bir değişime uğramıştır. Buna göre, literatürde sıklıkla ihmal edilen yeni ve ideal bir kadınlığın inşa edilme süreci tezin ana konularından birini oluşturmaktadır. Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi (1923-45) ana akım spor dergilerindeki egemen söylemlere dayanarak, bu tez, modern ulus devletin oluşum sürecinde makbul ve ideal kadının nasıl inşa edildiği sorusunu araştırmaktadır. Bu dönemde beden eğitimi ve spor, bireysel hedeflerden ziyade tüm nüfusun sağlığı ve refahı için önemli bir araç olarak görülmüştür. Bu doğrultuda beden eğitimi ve spor politikaları, toplumun sağlığı ve yeni rejimin sürekliliği ve meşruiyeti için ideolojik bir araç olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu dönemde, ulus-devletin inşa sürecine vatandaş ve özne olarak erkek ve kadınların katılımı da farklı şekillerde gerçekleşmiştir. Bu bağlamda beden eğitimi politikalarının / söylemlerinin ne derecede başarılı olup olmadığı da bu tezde tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: beden eğitimi, spor, modernite, yönetimsellik, yeni ve ideal kadın, gençlik

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CHAPTER I

1. Introduction

“It is the sports that is worthy of the Turkish revolution and the most helpful to the progress”¹.

Physical training and sports have an important place in the construction of national identities and in the modernization process of nation-states. Therefore, the study of the history of physical training and sports is important in terms of showing how the nation states were constructed around which political arguments/ principles and how they were transformed over time. In this context, my main goal in this master thesis is to reconcile different disciplines such as history, gender studies, sociology and media that provide a comprehensive understanding about the historical construction of ideal citizenship especially for women during the early Republican period in Turkey. In this way, I aim at creating an inter-disciplinary text in order to show the historical formation of physical training and sports, and its impact on the construction of the new ideal womanhood as a collective identity through an analysis of social policies in the early Turkish Republican period between 1923 and 1945. In sum, my goal is to discuss the place of physical training and sports as the component of social policies related with modernity, nationality, citizenship and gender in the early Republican period in Turkey.

I will especially focus on gendered aspects of physical training and sports policies and discourses. Although I specifically choose the period between 1923 and 1945, I will also explain the physical training and sports in the scope of bio-politics in the late Ottoman period in which the modernization process already started. The fact that physical training and sports policies as the component of social policies gained an importance with the formation of the new regime also pointed to a new type of

¹ Halit Bayraktaroğlu, “Sporda Vahdet ve Tesanüt”, Türk Spor, no.221 (1933), s.3.

governmentality. When we think of the spirit of time in early Republican Turkey, the population was devastated due to long-lasting wars. In such a context, youth as a population category became a symbol of the future gained importance in terms of defending the nation. Thus, it is not surprising that physical training and sports policies were produced to make young people healthy and strong for both national defense and development. The following chapters will show that physical training and sports policies which targeted mostly youth were produced to show how modern and developed the new regime was. The main point here is that while targeting young people all together, the state specifically defined young men as the protector of the nation. As Hobsbawm (1992) stated that nationalism mostly focused on men as the subject of the nation. In the context of nationality and citizenship, Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) also pointed out that the acceptance of women and men as citizens during the formation process of nation-state was shaped by different requirements and that women experienced inclusion / exclusion in different ways compared to men. In this regard, my main point is to show how women have been governed as ideal and proper (makbul) citizens through the discourses of physical training and sports during the early Republican period in Turkey.

In order to be specific, I focus especially on physical training and sports as an ideological apparatus to transform young masses into healthy, strong and docile bodies. Based on my research, the rationale behind the physical training policies was different for women. While men were trained to defend the nation, women were expected to reproduce healthy generations for the future of the nation. The precondition of having robust and healthy generations was women' being healthy and strong via physical training and sports activities. Besides their reproductive functions, identities and the appearance of the women were also important as they were considered as both the products and the signifiers of the quality and progressiveness of the nation (Kandiyoti, 1997, p.122). That is why women were encouraged to attend international Olympics and beauty contests as the symbols of national modernity and national development of the new regime. In the context of the early Republican social policies in Turkey, women's physical training was important in terms of symbolizing

both modernization and westernization and a rupture from the Ottoman period and the Ottoman woman.

Besides the ideal womanhood, in the context of this study, youth was a theme in the formation process of modern nation-state. As Lüküslü (2009) stated in her book, *Türkiye’de Gençlik Miti*, youth was just a transition period between childhood and adulthood as the product of modernity, urbanization and industrial society.² For example, Philippe Aries stated that, in *Centuries of Childhood* (1973), that there was no childhood category in medieval Europe because children portrayed as adults were expected work and get married earlier than today. In this context, in an environment where childhood does not exist as a social category, youth pointing to the period between childhood and adulthood cannot exist. This clearly shows that the emergence of youth as a social category was based on the emergence of modern industrial society. As stated by Lüküslü (2009), industrial society, unlike traditional societies, has created a life cycle based on work that was actually adult-oriented and sexist (male-dominant). This cycle consists of three stages: the youth period that is preparation for working life, the adulthood formed on the work and the old age period when the individual cannot work any more. Although modern industrial society is an adult-centered society, the importance of youth stems from the fact that they are the adults and citizens of the future. Young people symbolize the future of society and therefore their physical and intellectual education becomes important.

Youth plays a double role in the formation of modern nation states. On the one hand, youth as an important tool constructed by nation-states symbolizes the human force and the society of the future. On the other hand, youth is considered as one of the important actors who build new societies during the emergence of nation states. In other words, youth has played an important role both in the formation of nation-states and 20th century ideologies, and thus young people positioned both as a constructed category and as one of the main actors of newly established societies. Accordingly, the border between being subject and object was ambiguous in the

² Lüküslü claims that youth is dynamic and heterogeneous category besides being a social category. That is why, it can change over time in different conditions. For more information, the book includes youth categories in different terms of the Republic: 1923-50, 1950-80 and 1980-present).

formation of youth category. The participation of young women who belongs to youth category in the formation process of nation-state was different from young men. While modernization rhetoric mostly targeted young men, young women were supposed to be as the manager of the house. As Wishnitzer (2010, p.26) stated that especially after 1908, childrearing and house managing became a national duty for young women as the mothers of the nation. That is why it is essential to combine youth and gender together in this study. Accordingly, Lüküslü coined the concept "myth of youth" which was a political mission attributed to young men to be the guardian of the nation. In a similar vein, I suggest a new concept as "myth of womanhood" that expressed the role and national duty of young women in the formation process of early Republican regime to become a proper (makbul) citizen.

In some chapters, I follow a linear historical discourse to interpret grand historical narratives from a new perspective. I mainly used Foucauldian perspective while analysing and revealing the power relations and motives behind the production of physical training policies and argued that these policies work as ideological instruments to govern both individuals and population during the formation process of the Republic. Theoretically speaking, Foucault's distinction between anatomo-politics and bio-politics is quite effective to question how individuals and the population were both affected by physical training policies and discourses. Another point made Foucauldian perspective useful that it leads us to see the roots of historical processes and thus it gives an opportunity to produce different perspectives. Accordingly, I will reveal the historical formation process of physical training policies and discuss the gendered aspect of new type of ideal citizenship in the early Republican period.

For this thesis, I have used official documents, reports and mainstream sports magazines on the subject. Although I included the discourses of women who participated in the international beauty contests in the fourth chapter, I mostly used the quotations of state officials, bureaucrats and physical training experts. This situation has emerged not because I neglect the personal views of women, but due to lack of available resources in archives. I mainly used mainstream sports magazines of the period to cover the hegemonic discourses made mostly by men. The

alphabetical list of the magazines that I used throughout this study: *Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor (1939-1942)*, *Kırmızı-Beyaz (1937-1948)*, *Spor Alemi (1920-1928)*, *Spor Postası (1934-1936)*, *Top (1934-1935)*, *Türkspor (1929-1934)*, *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi (1936-1938)*. In addition, this master thesis does not claim to give a chronological history of sports and physical training policies produced during the early Republican period. Although there are historical data in some chapters, the point is to combine and analyse history within the spirit of time³ which was especially including the attempts for modernization, westernization and being a powerful nation.

The most difficult part of this study emerged during the research process. Although there are some studies about the history of sports in Turkey, the absence of first-hand testimonies and related archival material discuss in physical training and sports policies in both late Ottoman and early Republican periods has become an obstacle in the research process. Kurthan Fişek⁴ explained this situation with the fact that the documents related to physical training and sports were not worth being kept in archives. That is why there are no regular sports club archives and museums, but only newspapers and magazines remained as the primary source for this study.

Despite of the lack of personal narrations and archival material, this thesis will try to show the motives of the power elites, intellectuals and experts in the formation process of physical training and sports and the construction of the new ideal in the early Republican period. I should note that this master thesis does not claim to make a comprehensive comparison between Kemalist physical training and sports policies and those carried out by authoritarian regimes in another countries during the interwar period constructed for similar purposes. However, some examples emerged in the same period in different countries such as Germany, Italy and Russia will be cited in the following chapters.

In the second chapter, I will adopt a critical historical narration and discuss the short history of physical training and sports and the institutionalization process both in the

³ Throughout the thesis, when I say the spirit of time, I mean the social, economic and political aspects of the period.

⁴ Kurthan Fişek, *Devlet Politikası ve Toplumsal Yapıyla İlişkileri Açısından Spor Yönetimi – Dünya’da – Türkiye’de* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983), s.8-9.

late Ottoman and Early Republican periods. I use Fişek's categorization to explain different terms in sports history, and moreover I limited the term between 1923 and 1945. I end the early Republican period with the end of the WWII. Also, 1945 was the year of the end of the Law for Physical Training Obligation in practice. As we will see in the second and third chapters, the state made physical training and sports obligatory for all citizens in 1938 by the effect of the WWII. In such a context, physical training and sports were intensively emphasized to become prepared for the possible threats against the nation. However, after the war, the field of physical training and sports took its current form with the establishment of the Ministry of Youth and Sports in 1946.

In the third chapter, I will explain Foucault's concept of biopolitics, which constitutes the theoretical framework of the thesis, and discuss how this concept has become concrete in the physical training and sports policies produced in the late Ottoman and early Republican period. Modern physical training programs, as the integral part of body politics, evolved in the axe where regulatory and disciplinary intervention mechanisms intersected. Particularly by employing Foucault's anatomo-politics and bio-politics concepts I will argue that modern physical training has become a power technology that dealt with both individual body and population, and therefore has had both disciplinary and regulatory effects. Physical training programs, as I will discuss later, aimed at improving the general health status of the target group, increasing their productivity, and protecting them from harmful habits. Physical training, on the other hand, aimed to develop the skills of individuals who made up population by disciplining them to increase the efficiency in the economic and social realms. Therefore, the historical and sociological value of physical training lied in its use as a bio-power strategy for the production of docile and productive bodies for the nation.

In the fourth chapter, I explain how the hegemonic discourses in the field of physical training with the emergence of a new type of governmentality, constructed the new ideal woman of the new regime. Especially in this chapter, I use the mainstream sports magazines of the period. I also mention some of the policies implemented in the process of inclusion of women in physical training but I especially limited the

chapter's framework with an analysis of discursive construction. Based on discourses, the main emphasis of physical training was on reproductive function and beauty of women as the symbol of national development, progress and modernity. As different from other chapters, the narrations of some sportswoman who attended beauty contests of the period are cited to give a clue about what some women were thinking about the effects of physical training and sports on their bodies and identities.

In the last chapter, I discuss that in early Republican period physical training and sports policies were an important part of the project of creating a new citizen envisioned by political elites. Ş. Kaya defined this new citizen as follows: "*The new citizen of our regime is a well-rounded, strong, brave, defender of his/her right and idea, joyful and serious citizen*" (Üstel, 2004, p.126). Physical training was considered as a social policy element rather than an entertainment tool for individual. Thus, physical training and sports became a tool that enabled the intervention of the new regime in the social field. However, I discuss that in the field of physical training, the expected results could not be obtained in parallel with other social policies such as hygiene and basic education. Due to infrastructural, financial and ideological problems, the aim of physical training policies could not be embraced by the society.

In conclusion, the modest aim of this thesis is not only to present the data obtained based on various archive and literature studies in a descriptive manner, but also to analyze the process of physical training and sports policies and the historical background related to this process. Based on this thesis, although the female body was tried to be idealized with the hegemonic patriarchal discourses produced in the field of physical training and sports via mainstream sports magazines, the idea of a new ideal womanhood remained just as an ideal in minds due to the lack of appropriate policies rather than discourses.

CHAPTER II

2. Historical Analysis of Physical Training and Sports in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Era

2.1. A Critical Stance

It is necessary to make an historical description in order to answer the question of how we can analyze the emergence and development of modern physical training and sports as an ideological and political project articulated with the concepts of modernity and formation of nation-state in relation with the emergence of modern power.

In this and following chapters, rather than the classical history approach that deals with social change processes as cumulative, linear and predictable, I refer to the Foucauldian historical analysis method that deals with history as a process of “fragmented pattern of transformations” (Andrews, 1993, s.149). What I mean is that we should reconsider physical training and sports policies within the discourses of governmentality and modernity in early Republican period. In other words, we need to think of the spirit of time in both late Ottoman and early Republican period in order to understand the motivation behind physical training and sports policies. We can consider the historical analysis as a multi-layered field to understand and criticize the past and the present, rather than predicting the future in different phases (Dean, 1994, p.76). I think Foucault's main concern was to apply historical analysis to reveal existing power relations and to see the possibilities of resistance.

If we move from Foucault, who emphasizes that the social formation containing fragmented power fields is constructed discursively and through material practices, it becomes possible to consider the physical training and sports as a power struggle field. According to Foucault, the effect of regulatory power is not only to build a homogeneous subject position or area, but also to expand the subject area through the variety of positionalities (Rabinow, 1991, p.10).

The most important object of power in the field of physical training and sports is the body. We should consider these bodies as individual and social bodies. According to Foucault, while the body is conceptualized as the field of modern subjectivation techniques, the concept of bio-power is related to the analysis of techniques and methods applied on the economic and political forces of the body. Despite their mutual interaction, the tension between the political and economic forces of the body results from their influence in their involvement in the social construction process. If we consider physical training and sports policies as the part of body politics, the body as a productive force is tried to be governed and disciplined by regulations and discourses (Foucault, 1976, p.155). As I explained Foucault's perspective in the second chapter detailed, I will not elaborate further here. However, I should point that when I say we should see bodies as individual and social, I mean that the body politics is developed on basis of anatomo-politics and bio-politics. While the first one dealt with the body individually, the second considered the body as related with the population.⁵

In the groundbreaking book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault reveals that the methods of knowing and controlling the individual as person created disciplined bodies because the body is useful only if it will be productive and docile. Foucault points out that by the conceptualization of disciplining technologies, the power applied on the body produces new knowledge of the human body. The aim of this information is to be able to recognize and shape the body with its all aspects and features in order to meet the double need, that is, on the verge of modernity, docility and productivity.⁶

Based on criticisms to his earlier writings, Foucault develops the theory of governmentality or the art of governing (Foucault, 1988). According to Rose, Foucault's concept of governing could be used in two senses, whose origins extend to governmental technique and governmental rationality. The first one is more related to the concept of *will to govern*. In this sense, this explains the strategies, techniques, principles and goals that individuals benefited to direct their own

⁵ Jean Harvey ve Robert Sparks, "The Politics of the Body in the Context of Modernity", *Quest*, no. 43/2, s.169.

⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of Prison*, New York: Penguin Books, 1977, s.138.

behaviors and others' actions. The second draws the attention to the problem of governing. Here, questions, such as how good governing should be, who should be governed, how governing can be legitimized and who should govern, are addressed. In this context, governmentality does not only include the political aspect. On the one hand, it implies the regulations of issues related to a particular territory and population, and on the other hand, the separation of action areas that are suitable for different forms of authority (Rose, 1993, p.288). Therefore, one of the main issues is how different social spaces, such as the family, the state, the education, are formed in relation to each other but as separate areas.

In this regard, if we move from the conceptual framework offered by Foucault, we can examine the emergence of modern physical training and sports as an important part of the process of modernization and the formation of modern power techniques.⁷

The emergence of modern physical training and sports cannot be thought as independent of the social and political spirit of time of the West especially in the 19th century. Emergence of industrial capitalism and new production techniques, collapse of empires and formation of strong nation-states led to the emergence of modern physical training and sports as for disciplining and controlling both individuals and population in an effective way (Akin, 2004, p.125)

2.3. Physical Training and Sports History in the Late Ottoman Period

In the late Ottoman and early Republican period, physical training and sports were organized at the intersection of the bio-politics that considers human as species- a part of population and the anatomo-politics that considers human as individual. This distinction will be discussed in the bio-politics chapter as well. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, physical training and sports in a modern sense were intensely emphasized. In this period, two names stood out among the experts and practitioners

⁷ Betül Yazar, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Geçiş Süreci ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Modern Sporun Kuruluşu, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2014 Güz (21), s.304.

of body training: Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) and Rıza Tevfik.⁸ Selim Sırrı⁹ was the important figure in the field of physical training in both periods. He had been in Europe and he was quite active in the production of physical training policies.

In the late Ottoman period, physical training and sports was not admired due to the daily habits, prohibitions and traditions. As Akın (2004, p.50) stated, it was tried to be respected to the physical activity by the initiatives of these two pioneers, especially Selim Sırrı. Physical training and sports was considered as one of the initiatives of the 2nd Constitutional Era as a practice that inspired the idea of physical mobility, health, vitality and progress as the indicator of modernity. In the late Ottoman period, developments and policies related to physical training and sports followed the course of development in the West (Üstel, 2004, p.76).

Modern physical training was first emerged in military schools in the Ottoman Empire. Beginning in the first half of the 1860s, simple physical movements and combat sports teaching entered in the curricula of military schools.¹⁰ Gymnastics lessons were made compulsory for all students with the 23rd article of Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (General Education Law) which was the first comprehensive legal text aiming at organizing and modernizing general education in the capital and provinces in 1869.¹¹ The aim of these lessons was to correct posture and maintain general health. Towards the 1870s, some civil schools started gymnastics classes as compulsory courses by calling it riyazet-ı bedeniye (physical training). According to the general acceptance, the pioneer of these schools was the first practitioner of many innovations, Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray High School). Mekteb-i Sultani tried to spread the new sport understanding related to modernity, not only through the physical training activities in schools, but also through the demonstrations of the

⁸ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 1978.

⁹ Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) was an active figure in both late Ottoman and early Republican period in Turkey. As he had been in Sweden, he was closer to understanding of Swedish gymnastics. This point is essential as the distinction between both Swedish and German gymnastics produced the contradictive policies in the field of physical training and sports (through mass and individual sports). Thanks to his understanding, Tarcan also struggled to include women in physical training and sports activities.

¹⁰ Faik R. Unat, *Türk Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış*, (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), s.137.

¹¹ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), s.93.

public training activities in the school. These activities primarily attracted the attention of non-Muslim students and then eventually became widespread among Muslim students.¹²

It was another important step in the last period of the empire that the Aşiret Mektepleri (tribal schools), which were opened in 1892 to educate the children of the tribal members, included the "foot practice" (ayak talimi) lessons in the training programs in order to ensure and maintain the tribal affiliation of the East. According to Selim Sırrı, who taught here, students in these schools learned to take care of their body health and to be disciplined thanks to the foot practice lessons.¹³

Although the period of II. Abdülhamit was considered as the era of the reign (istibdat devri), the increase in the importance given to the physical culture, the participation of Ottoman athletes in some international competitions for the first time and the establishment of sports clubs showed the value given by the Sultan to physical activities and sports.¹⁴ For example, Mekteb-i Sultani, which was under the protection of the Sultan, pioneered many sports events. In addition, clubs such as the current Beşiktaş Gymnastics Club (1903), Galatasaray (1903), Fenerbahçe (1907) were established in this period.¹⁵ However, during this period when all kinds of collective practices were considered dangerous, sports activities that brought together many people at the same time were carried out under control of the authority.

The new period, which started with the declaration of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, was a process in which the freedoms and new initiatives were brought to the agenda in the field of sports activities. The state started to address the issue of physical training and sports within the framework of a planned program. In addition, new sports clubs emerged with the efforts of the wealthy class. In the first decades

¹² Atif Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Spor*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995) s.346.

¹³ Selim Sırrı Tarcan, *Canlı Tarihler / Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1946), s.28.

¹⁴ Cem Atabeyoğlu, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Spor", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 6, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), s.356.

¹⁵ Vala Somalı, *Türk Sporunda 75 Yıl, Beşiktaş Spor Tarihi 1903-1978* (İstanbul: Beka Basımevi, 1978), s.7.

of the 20th century, sports clubs started to organize competitions among themselves for the first time.

These attempts to gather, Istanbul Football Association (1903-1910), Istanbul Football Clubs League (1910-1914), Friday League (1913-1915), Friday Union (1915-1919), Union of Turkish Training (1919-1923), Sunday League (1920-1922), sports clubs under league organizations (Yarar, 1999, p.27). Fişek described the Istanbul Football Association as the first federative organization. He said that thanks to this association, the clubs were subject to a planned and scheduled arrangement instead of meeting without a program (Fişek, 1983, p.125). Such organizations, which practiced sports for purposes such as physical health, competition and leisure activities, left their place to organizations that applied physical training with militarist tendencies before the First World War. It is possible to say that physical training and sports gained a military tendency especially with the Balkan wars. Seeing how agile, healthy, and militarily capable of Greek and Bulgarian soldiers were, the Ottoman bureaucrats realized that their soldiers were militarily weak and unprepared for possible threats (Akın, 2004, p.132). For this reason, children aged 12-17 were directed to scouting for military preparation and those aged 17 and older were accepted into Ottoman Strength Association. This association was the first paramilitary organization at that time. The ones studying in public schools were obliged to attend this association, but it was not compulsory for minorities and private school students.¹⁶ We can define the aim of this association as to develop preparedness for the defense of the nation.

In addition to men's physical training, one of the important physical training experts, Selim Sırrı Tarcan also struggled for including women in physical training. We will see the perspective of Tarcan about women's physical training in the last chapter, but shortly Tarcan saw physical training necessary for women's health and reproductive functions to raise healthy and strong children. When Tarcan came back from Sweden, he was assigned to be an inspector but physical training was just taught in Galatasaray at that time. It was not even being mentioned at schools for girls. As

¹⁶ Zafer Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakkinin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri", Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi-Beşeri Bilimler 7 (1979), s.105.

stated by Tarcan, he succeeded to give physical training lessons to girls by the permission of the chief religious official (Şeyhülislam) but he also complained about the insufficient conditions of schools: lack of proper sports clothes, equipment and sports field.¹⁷ However, he did not stop struggling for women's physical training. We will see his efforts for modernization and development of the nation in the fourth chapter.

The development of physical training and sports in a modern sense coincided with the modernization process that started in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, physical training and sports abandoned the traditional understanding that considered physical training as a type of activity that was implemented just for the training of young soldiers to attend the war. It started to turn into a disciplinary technique for the purpose of health and education of the population with the training of the body within educational institutions.

2.4. Physical Training and Sports Policies in Early Republican Era

The foundation of the Republic in 1923 could mean a break with the Ottoman past especially in terms of the governmental structure of the state. However, it is possible to find a strong continuity especially in social, economic and cultural life between the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. As a component of social and cultural life, physical training and sports also continued in terms of ideals, physical infrastructure, and even the main actors existing in physical cultural life. The basic principles shaping the ideas of the Unionists' about body discipline and those of the Republicans were largely similar.

The modernization process started first in educational institutions in the late Ottoman period showed itself in physical training and sports activities in schools. The main development in the early Republican period was a nation-state based institutionalization process in the field of physical training and sports (Yarar, 2009, p.307). Physical training was an effective way for the state to raise healthy and

¹⁷ Tarcan, Hatıralarım, s. 51-52.

productive citizens and to symbolize national unity in the international field. After the establishment of the Republic, Ottoman Olympic Association repealed itself and replaced with Turkey's National Olympic Committee by the efforts of Selim Sırrı Tarcan. The first Olympic Games to which the Republic of Turkey was officially invited realized in Paris in 1924 (Çapan, 1999, p.108).

As Fişek stated, I find useful dividing terms based on different organizations in order to understand the mindset of the physical training and sports in early Republican period. Fişek divided the management of physical training and sports during early Republican era into four stages. The first one was Union of Physical Training Association (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı Dönemi) between 1922- 1936. The feature of this term was attending of Turkish athletes to international sports competitions for the first time. After that, between 1936 and 1938, it was the term of Turkish Sports Association (Türkiye Spor Kurumu). This period was characterized with the direct interventions of the state in early Republican Turkey by the effects of German and Italian examples. The third term started with the beginning of the Second World War and the name of term was General Directorate of Physical Training (Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü). It is possible to see the reflection of tension of the war on physical training and sports policies in terms of especially with militaristic tendencies. The last term started and lasted until today with the foundation of Ministry of Youth and Sports. As a result of the relief after the war term, mass sports and intense military trainings for all youth were ended. Sports management started to take its current form (Fişek, 1983, p.351-355).

Most of the sports clubs functioning in the early Republican period were established during the Constitutional period. In fact, the projects of the founding elites of the Republic on physical training and sports regulations were even weaker than the Constitutional Era in the first years (Yarar, 2014, p.308). İsmet İnönü stated his expectations from physical training and sports in 1923:

“Physical training will have many benefits for Turkish youth. Both the army and all young people will have good health thanks to physical training, and will

serve the homeland. Physical training will be a good agent to save the youth from bad habits.”¹⁸

The first and most important step towards the institutionalization of sports was the establishment of Union of Physical Training Association as an administrative body in 1922. Many of Union top executives were familiar with power elites of the period. At the first congress of the Union in 1924, giving chief title to Atatürk and honorary chief title to İnönü was one of the obvious indicators of the institution's close relationship with the state. The Union, which previously organized the schedule of the matches between the clubs and the referees, became the only agent that coordinated all sports matters at the national level with the end of the war of Independence and the emergence of Ankara government as the only authority.¹⁹

With the activities of this Union, the sports activities spread throughout the country and the number of sports branches increased such as athletics, wrestling, weightlifting, riding and boxing. In addition, applications for membership to international federations increased. Translating international rules and regulations into Turkish, executing small organizations and raising people who knew these sports formed the infrastructure of diversity aimed at sports.

Akın (2004, p.58) states that considering the functions of the Union, it was correct to claim that it was just the executer of official policies of the state on physical training realm under the regime of authoritarian single party. Thus, the practices and policies of the Union were under the influence of political elites who produced state policies and managed the budget.

In the 1930s, the interest in sports increased. It was the result of the clarification of the goals expected from sports and the emergence of a national sports policy. Fişek (1983, p.346) stated that during these years, financial subsidies for physical training and sports were increased, new programs were established and propaganda campaigns that encouraged people to do sports accelerated. This revival in the 1930s found its expression in ideological debates concentrated around the Turkish History

¹⁸ “Türk Sporculuğunun İnkişafı İçin İsmet Paşa Hazretlerinin Vaadleri”, Spor Alemi, no.8, 1923, s.45.

¹⁹ Kurthan Fişek, 100 Soruda Türk Spor Tarihi (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1985), s.120.

Thesis. According to this discussion, Turks were named as the creators of many sports branches and the sports word was first used by them.²⁰

In the 1930s, beyond financial and governmental support, power elites and intellectuals were searching for a new model to accelerate the development of physical training and sport. The reason for that was the Union was not sufficient enough to support and promote physical training and athletes, as claimed by several sports writers.²¹ In this regard, Turkish government invited the physical training experts from Germany, to prepare reports about the current situation of physical training field. Carl Diem was among the experts, who was invited to prepare the comprehensive report about the education system, conditions of schools and youth organizations and the curriculum. After his examination through nation-wide, Diem prepared a detailed report consisted of 11 chapters.²² In this report, he mostly emphasized the ways of physical training and sports for young people. The report formed the ground for the Law for Physical Training Obligation in 1938. Diem proposed for an establishment of a separate organization for young people. If we think of the political climate of Germany and Italy in 1930s, it is possible to say that the aim of the separate organization was to become prepared for the national defense.

There was a significant change in terms of sports management specifically in 1936. At the 8th congress of the Union in 1936, it was decided to change the name of the Union to the Turkish Sports Association (hereafter TSA). What was more important than the change of the name was that the fact that TSA's relationship with the ruler party (CHP) became stronger (Akın, 2004, p.72). In other words, the institutional change increased state authority over physical training and sports more than before. I can claim that the transformation from the Union to TSA can be interpreted as a change aiming to increase the efficiency of the physical training field in order to reach the expected ideals as soon as possible. In this regard, during the TSA period, there

²⁰ Büşra Ersanlı Bahar, *İktidar ve Tarih- Türkiye’de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)* (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1992) s.76.

²¹ Ahmet Fetgeri, “Memleket Sporu Neden Terakki Etmiyor?”, *Türk Spor*, no.1, 1929, s.4.

²² Ekrem Akömer, “Prof. Dr. Carl Diem”, *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no.254, 1963, s.15.

was an increase in the number of sports programs, organizations and sports facilities. For example, the construction of the country's first stadium was completed in this period and opened in 1936 in Ankara.²³

What is more, the Gazi Training Institute started to admit its first female students in 1936. This was important because women could now specialize in any sports branch they wanted and they could be trainers afterwards. In the same year, two Turkish female athletes, Halet Çambel and Suat Aşeni attended the Olympic games held in Berlin by the request of Atatürk. Even though they were not in first ranks, we can interpret this as an opportunity to show how modern and developed the new regime was (Cantek and Yazar, 2009, p.36).

After two-year trial between 1936 and 1938, when the process, which started with the evaluation of Diem's report, combined with the obligation to cope with the emergency caused by the Second World War, all activities related to physical training were decided to be gathered under a common roof connected to the Prime Ministry. Accordingly, the General Directorate of Physical Training was established in 1938. Existing federations were abolished immediately after the establishment of GDPT. We can count some names such as Adnan Menderes and Burhan Felek among the advisory board members of the Directorate that actually might give some clues about the orientation of new official policies. The reason was that although there were more competent sportsmen in the country, retired soldiers and Adnan Menderes who believed the importance of central authority in physical training field were preferred as the advisory members. During this period, subjects such as discipline, upgrading the physical abilities of all youth, and preparation for national defense came to the fore. Sports was re-defined as something: *"...increases the strength and health of the body...It teaches obedience to power.. Sports is a practice done for the nation..."*²⁴

²³ Behçet Kemal Çağlar, "En Büyük Bayram", Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi, no.19, 1936, s.5.

²⁴ Ahmet Emin Yalman, Sporda Açılan Yeni Çığır, Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor, 1937, s.26.

During the period of Second World War, we can think of physical training and sports together with military practice because the youth were now expected to be ready to defend the country morally and physically according to understanding at that period.

Within the framework of the Law for Physical Training in 1938, a new practice called Body Training Obligation emerged in order to gain basic military skills to the public, especially young people, and to prepare them for the defense of the country (Akin, 2004, p.81). Article 4th of the Law for Physical Training obliged young people to join youth groups or clubs in their leisure time and to participate in physical training activities.²⁵ In addition to their bodies, their behaviors, habits and leisure time were reorganized under state control.

Based on article 13 of the Law, the existing sports clubs must change their names to youth clubs. All youth clubs were required to be subject to a military hierarchy. Otherwise, it was not possible to engage in sports activities officially. By this arrangement, sports clubs were re-defined in terms of their duties and responsibilities and they were reduced to the local branches of a youth organization.²⁶ In addition, there was an obligation that every man between the ages 12 and 45 and every woman between 12 and 30 had to attend physical training activities in youth clubs. In his conversation with journalists in 1939, Cemil Taner, by addressing the clubs, described their new task as it follows:

“The club administrations are the commanders of the youth army. First of all, we want to form the clubs that were established for pleasure previously in a way that will be beneficial for the nation... After that, you will take the responsibility of youth entrusted by the state.”²⁷

Physical training activities were divided into two parts as compulsory and non-compulsory (Yarar, 2014, p.313). Compulsory ones were swimming, scouting, skiing and one of gymnastics, athletics, volleyball or basketball. Non-compulsory ones were football, wrestling, box etc. While football that was not appreciated as a team sport was kept in the second group, other team sports were in the first group as they

²⁵ Celal Dinçer, “Beden Terbiyesi Direktörlüğü Niçin Teşekkür Etti, Maksudı ve Gayesi Nedir?, Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor, no.11, 1939, s22.

²⁶ Celal Dinçer, s.24.

²⁷ Kırmızı-Beyaz, no.94, 1939, s.7

increased the feeling of solidarity between players. Shortly, I can claim that the aim of physical training and sports policies was to prepare all youth for any possible threat for the nation. Accordingly, while individual sports were discouraged, team sports and gymnastics for both men and women were encouraged to be strong, healthy and robust as expected.

Physical training obligation was initially considered appropriate for men aged between 18 and 20. In the provinces that were important in terms of national defense, men aged between 15 and 17 were also obliged to attend physical training. 470 youth clubs and 689 youth groups were founded nationwide in order to train all youth.²⁸ However, because of the working conditions of young people, the tiring training practices and the unpredictable weather conditions, the Physical Training Obligation did not achieve the desired success. That is why The General Directorate took some measures to increase participation in physical training. For example, in order to facilitate the training of youth, clubs and trainers were instructed to arrange their training hours on suitable days and times for the young people. In addition, the clubs were advised to make the training more joyful and attractive by lessening military training. However, despite all these measures, problems related to participation in physical training activities could not be resolved. The Physical Training Obligation was performed until 1945 until the war ended but it would be cancelled by the Constitution 1961 as it was violating the 'personal rights' section of the constitution.²⁹ As a result, despite of intense state intervention, physical training and sports policies did not appear as a basic activity in daily lives of individuals.

In the following chapter, I will focus on explaining Foucault's concept of bio-politics, which constitutes the theoretical framework of the thesis. Furthermore, another point will be how the concept of bio-politics became visible in the physical training policies and discourses produced in the late Ottoman and early Republican period in Turkey between 1923 and 1945.

²⁸ TC Maarif Vekilliği Umum Müdürlüğü, XX. Cumhuriyet Yılında Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor (Ankara: Çankaya Matbaası, 1943),s.75.

²⁹ Kurthan Fişek, Spor Yönetimi, s.390.

3. Governing Population, Disciplining Lives: Physical Training and Sports in Turkey between 1923 and 1945

3.1. Theoretical Framework

The way to deconstruct grand narratives can be possible by addressing to the historical process of early Republican physical training and sports policies in the context of a broader concept of modernity. In this way, physical training and sports can be considered as an integral part of social and political policies that emerged during the formation of the modern nation-state.

Kemalist-Mercantilist economic mentality, which based on the view that the most important variable of economic welfare was the size of the population, the capacity of the existing labor force, became widespread in Europe since the 17th century. This understanding revealed a disciplining governmentality focused on the appropriate power techniques to control bodies. This type of governmentality, which was a combination of various disciplining technologies, encompassed practices such as classifying individual bodies, reshaping them for different purposes, keeping them under surveillance and punishing them if necessary.³⁰ The process of disciplining includes the process of improving the body's abilities and making it work rationally and efficiently like a machine. While Foucault is problematizing the power concentrating on the body as a pole of knowledge/ power spiral, he calls the disciplining technologies as anatomo-politics of human body. The object of these technologies is the human body as an individual.

From the 19th century onwards, a new power technology emerged, which did not exclude the first one, on the contrary, benefited from it and operated in different ways. Unlike disciplines, the object of this new technology was not the individual

³⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of Prison* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977).

bodies, but human beings as species. While disciplines concentrated on the individual's body, regulatory controls took into account human's body as a collective structure and focused on the whole population. While the object of anatomo-politics was the individual body, the subject of this system, which Foucault called bio-politics, was the population.³¹ Therefore, the subject of this new power technology was population-related processes such as birth, death, reproduction, and longevity that formed the intervention basis of bio-politics through the 19th century. Bio-politics aimed at controlling population related issues as well as classifying data in order to produce new methods for disciplining.

The emergence of bio-politics also led to the emergence of a new type of governmentality towards the population. The population problem emerged as an unprecedented phenomenon with the increase in population since the 18th century, the commercialization of agricultural production, the rise of modern industries and urbanization. In this regard, a new art of governing emerged in order to cope with population issues.³²

With the new type of governmentality in the process of modernity, bio-politics and anatomo-politics became technologies using different techniques for this common purpose. While the aim of anatomo-politics of the body is to deal with individuals, bio-politics aims at regulating the population. We should underline that these two intervention mechanisms were different, but complementary to each other.³³ In many cases, disciplining mechanisms for the body of individual (anatomo-politics) and regulatory mechanisms for the population (bio-politics) are articulated with each other.³⁴ If we think in the context of new type of governmentality which emerged with modernity, anatomo-politics and bio-politics are the most rational ways to govern both individual and population (omnes et singulatim) at the same time. While

³¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol.1 An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 138.

³² Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller (der.), *The Foucault Effect- Studies in Governmentality içinde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-91.

³³ Jean Harvey ve Robert Sparks, "The Politics of the Body in the Context of Modernity", *Quest*, no. 43/2, 169.

³⁴ Michel Foucault, *Toplumu Savunmak Gerekir*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 256.

disciplining technologies individualize bodies, regulatory technologies govern masses of individuals.

Compared to pre-modern period, intervention of power to public sphere increases its governing capacity and control techniques in the process of modernity. Foucault's basic critique of modernity is also concentrated here. According to Foucault, total institutions such as schools, prisons, factories, military facilities etc. all under the name of modernity and progress have employed many disciplinary mechanisms and have led to the emergence of the governmental authority, bureaucracy and social control.³⁵ The new type of governmentality that emerged with the formation of the modern nation states has to develop a new information system as well as all institutions and practices that ensure and protect the social, economic and demographic development of the population. In order for the population to be governed efficiently, those in power should collect information systematically about the population, record and evaluate it rationally.³⁶ However, this new information system or statistics also served as the disciplinary tool through various institutions. The rise of such rationality did not lead to the questioning of power relations as the enlightenment philosophy claimed, but just the opposite, it largely legitimized it.

3.2. Bio-politics in early Republican Turkey

Body politics that covered physical training and sports policies was a part of the formation process of modern state. Since 19th century, the body has been the object of state intervention so body and its policies have become the problematic of the modern state in this context.³⁷ According to Foucault's conceptualization, physical training policies as part of body politics were produced on the basis of anatomo-politics and bio-politics. In this context, we can say that physical training policies, one the one hand, dealt with public health and productivity of population, but on the

³⁵ Colin James ve Roy Porter (der.), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body* (Londra & New York: Routledge, 1994), 5.

³⁶ Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: an Introduction", *The Foucault Effect içinde* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1991), 21.

³⁷ Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and society: Explorations in Social Theory*, (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1984), 55.

other hand, led to the disciplining and controlling of individuals. Thus, they played an important role in terms of producing ideal and docile citizens for the future of modern nation-states.

As I stated above, Ottoman rulers in the late period had started to discuss population issues³⁸ in the scope of bio-politics to take them under control as well as early Republican administrators. The early Republican government intensively worked both ideologically and practically to develop and implement policies aimed at improving public health, national efficiency, reproduction, and educating the population on these issues.

The first examples of discourse on public health and social solidarity appeared in principle documents of the Kemalist leadership. In June 1923, public health in the 9th, issue of the 5th article of *"Nine Principles" (Dokuz Umde)* prepared for the election stated that: *"General health and social welfare institutions will be improved and increased, and protective laws will be made for the employees"*.³⁹ The population issues occupied a more central place in the 1927 program of the ruler party. The party underlined the importance of the census and promised that the policies towards population would be one of the most important fields of activity.

In the context of the Ottoman/early Turkish Republic, the distinctive aspect of the new type of governmentality which emerged since in the mid of 19th century was all about policies focused on economy.⁴⁰ The population was an important tool for economic development and national defense. According to power elites, healthy population was the only way to form a nation not only militarily, but also economically strong.⁴¹ In this regard, through the formation of modern nation-state,

³⁸ As a component of the population, education of the youth became an important task for the Ottoman Empire, which saw the importance given to the education of the youth in the West and aimed to stop its collapse. Actually, since the term of Selim 3rd, efforts to change the traditional education system were encountered in the Ottoman Empire. Mahmut the 2nd opened the first secular schools during his period. However, the prevalence of modern educational institutions began with the Tanzimat period.

³⁹ Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri 4, (İstanbul Maarif Matbaası, 1972), 490.

⁴⁰ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality-Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Londra: Sage Publications, 1999), 21.

⁴¹ Yaşar Nabi, "Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye", *Ülkü*, no.79 (Eylül 1939), 35.

public health was seen essential to increase the labor force for production and for the defense of the nation. The opening speech of İsmet İnönü supported this belief:

“Since the first years of Republic, it has been observed that the issue of sanitation in the country has found itself a place in the state programs...In this life, the population has created the basis of economic, social life and of everything as much as the defense of the country.”⁴²

Fundamental changes were realized during the first years of the regime to produce strong and healthy generations. Especially, General Public Health Law (Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu) in 1930 was quite comprehensive in terms of public health. The law reflected the goal of the regime in order to govern and control the population with rational ways such as statistics, health science and bureaucracy. Its content covered from child health to epidemics, from school health to youth health.⁴³ This law also showed the important transformation from medical treatment to sanitation. The aim was to decrease the numbers of patients against epidemics and unpredictable disasters that might affect the wellness of the nation. The point was actually not curing or treating, but to prevent diseases and to get prepared for the future by the help of modern science. In this regard, it is possible to say that the object of medicine shifted from individuals to population in the early Republican period.⁴⁴

Creating a healthy generation and promoting birth rates in the shortest time became matters of progress and legitimacy for the Republican elites. Underlining their efforts in issues such as child death and epidemics became a way for Kemalists to compare themselves with the recent Ottoman period. For this reason, the underdevelopment of the sanitary structure and the ignorance of the Ottoman administrators were underlined. For example, during the General Public Health Law discussions in 1930, Refik Saydam, the Deputy of Sanitary, emphasized how the health vision of the new regime was different from the one in the past:

⁴² Rıdvan Ege, Türkiye'nin Sağlık Hizmetleri ve İsmet Paşa (Ankara: İnönü Vakfı, 1992).

⁴³ Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, Türk İnkılabı Dersleri (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Talebe Cemiyeti Neşriyatı 2, 1935).

⁴⁴ “Cumhuriyet Sağlık, Bakım ve Yardım İşleri”, Ülkü, no.9, 1933, 255.

*“The sanitary affairs were not efficient until the beginning of our National Struggle; it owes its efficiency to the Republic. Some policies and regulations... that each of them protects our citizens were produced against the neglect and compensation of the centuries”.*⁴⁵

In the early Republican period, healthy parents were seen as the essential component of the healthy population. That is why, both men and women were supposed to be strong and healthy as the parents of future potential citizens. If we look from the feminist perspective, the problem here is that most of the time, women’s bodies, behaviors, habits and lives in both private and public spheres became a discussion ground for the men. Women were supposed raise their babies according to the national values of the regime, and thus they were also supposed to receive moral, intellectual and physical training to transform regime’s values to future generations. While large families were encouraged by subsistence allowances, those who were single or married without children were subjected to tax in this period.⁴⁶

3.3. Bio-Politics and Physical Training and Sports Policies in Early Republican Period

Physical training and sports gained an importance as they were the effective means for the restoration of the health of the individual and of the nation simultaneously in the most economical way. When we look at the emergence of physical training policies in Turkey, sports and physical training policies became concrete in the framework of Unionists during the Constitutional term. On the eve of the WWI, the urgent concerns related to the war preparedness together with the impact of rising Turkish nationalism created a military-dominated physical culture. However, the basic elements of this movement were composed not only of para-military training in the use of weapons and the drawing of maps, but were also of more fundamental matters, like improving the general health and reinforcing the physical and mental alertness. With these intensions, by following the developments in the West in physical education, prominent organizations founded in those years.

⁴⁵ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Yeni Hayat*, İstanbul, 2017, s.147

⁴⁶ Pınar Öztamur, “Defining a Population: Women and Children in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1950. 2003.

A group of middle-class military and civil intellectuals established the Turkish Strength Association as the most efficient and influential of the associations in 1913. This association aimed to mobilize the Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) youth and raise healthy and strong soldiers with the effect of the defeats of the wars (especially Balkan wars).⁴⁷ Accordingly, as only Muslim Turks were affected by that, all Ottoman citizens were charged with the defense of the nation. The aim of the association was to end ignorance about epidemics, to inform citizens about basic hygiene and thus to empower the population. In order to achieve this goal, the association would not only organize physical and military training programs but also would make propaganda to prevent epidemics, distribute free quinine against malaria, establish vaccine dormitories, prepare exemplary villages and city plans for a healthy environment and cultivate forests.⁴⁸ The TSA continued until 1931, when the People's Houses (Halkevleri) were replaced with it.

The Union and Progress supported the idea of establishing associations where young people could better be organized. For this reason, von Hoff, who was experienced in German organizations, was invited to the country. The assistant position of von Hoff was undertaken by Mustafa Asım Bey and Selim Sırrı Tarcan, who would be one of the most important physical training figures of the early Republic to be established in the near future. Accordingly, The Robust Association (Gürbüz Derneği) was formed for young people between the ages of twelve and seventeen, and the Vigorous Association (Diñç Derneği) was formed for those aged between 17 and above.⁴⁹ All youth, Muslim or non-Muslim, with Ottoman nationality, was obliged to attend these associations.

The concerns shaping the physical training and sports field in the late Ottoman period continued in the early Republican years as well. The regulation published by the Union of Turkish Physical Training (1923) revealed this continuity in terms of essential

⁴⁷ Zafer Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakki'nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri", Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi-Beşeri Bilimler 7 (1979), 102.

⁴⁸ Yiğit Akın, Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2004, s.95.

⁴⁹ Zafer Toprak, "2. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri", Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Ansiklopedisi, 2. Cilt, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1985, s.535.

functions expected from physical training and sports. The first part of the Regulation of Turkish Strength Association in which it explained the aim was repeated exactly in the first part of Union of Physical Training Regulation (hereafter UTPT); the situation worsened according to the founders of UTPT:

*“...within ten years, our nation was subjected to huge efforts due to famines, wars and epidemics which went hand in hand to ruin it. ... Now, when we look around, the first need is the reinforcement of our nation, the improvement of public health and increase in birth rates”.*⁵⁰

The emphasis on which the primary function of physical training and sports was to improve public health showed parallelism with the discourses of the founders of the new regime. For example, in 1926, Atatürk stated that he wanted to raise healthy and robust children and he gave the responsibility to officials to produce the necessary policies and regulations.⁵¹

Young people were supposed to stay away from bad habits, questioning hegemonic values of the new regime. In addition, they were expected to get prepared for future threats to save the nation. The critical point here is that mostly young men were targeted for physical training to save the nation. While they were supposed to be strong and robust physically and mentally to be a proper citizen, young women were recognized only by their reproductive functions as the mothers of tomorrow. As I specifically point out in the following chapter, physical training was seen essential for women to give birth to strong and healthy children. In this context, we can consider physical training policies as the political and modern project of the new regime at least at the level of discourse.

Articulation of physical training and sports policies to public health was not unique to Turkey. Turkish officials were influenced by the efforts of the Soviets. The initial conditions of the Soviets, where the Bolsheviks came to power, were very similar to those of Anatolia. Thus, the effort spent by the Bolsheviks to overcome the problems related to public health were carefully observed, admired and taken as models by the Kemalists. Actually, the Bolsheviks exerted great effort to recover from the ravages

⁵⁰ Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı Teşkilat ve Nizamat-ı Umumiye, (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, 1923).

⁵¹ Cem Atabeyoğlu, Atatürk ve Spor (İstanbul: Hisarbank Kültür Yayınları, 1981), s. 155.

of war and revolution, backward sanitary conditions, and ignorance. They sought a new approach toward health and recreation, which they called physical culture.⁵² Physical culture was to embrace health, physical education, competitive sports and, even civil defense and artistic expression. Physical culture in the Soviet understanding of the term is concerned not with record breaking, but with people's physical health. It is an integral part of the Cultural Revolution and therefore has personal and social hygiene as its major objective, teaching people to use the natural forces of nature.

Only 10% of the population was literate and there were only 72 secondary schools and 23 high schools in the 1923-24 school year in the early Republican period.⁵³ In addition, after Balkan Wars, WWI and the war of Independence, the agricultural economy of Turkey was not well. While only 16.4% of the population was living in cities, the rest lived in rural areas.⁵⁴ That is why physical training and sports formed the core of social policies in order to raise strong and healthy generations. As the situation was the same, the efforts and policies of the Soviets were highly followed by the officials. In addition, individual success was not important compared to public health in Russia. That is why, rather than competitive sports such as football⁵⁵ or wrestling; sports such as gymnastics, running, swimming that improved health and strengthened the body of individuals were preferred in Turkey by the effect of the Soviets.

In the early Republican period, education was the most prominent field to implement physical training and sports policies. There was a strong belief that physical training aimed at improving student's health and rehabilitating those with physical problems. In Turkey, especially with the efforts of the pioneer of Swedish gymnastics, Selim Sırrı Tarcan, physical training and sports were developed from the beginning in a more

⁵² James Riordan, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in (eds.) Jim Riordan and no. 9 Arnd Krüger, *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century* (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), p. 53.

⁵³ M. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, s.235.

⁵⁴ F.C. Shorter, "The Crisis of Population Knowledge in Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Bahar 1995, s.18.

⁵⁵ Football was seen as an competitive sports in the early Republican period (until the regulation in 1951 by Turkish Football Federation). That is way, young people were not encouraged to play football, but basketball, volleyball or gymnastics.

therapeutic way. According to Selim Sirri, the articulation of Swedish gymnastics to school programs based on the preliminary acceptance that, it could solve minor physical problems and contribute to the health of students:

“Physical training and sports is the way to complete the human body’s development. The primary purpose of this way is to improve wellness and to increase quality of life”.⁵⁶

Tarcan’s perspective also showed that he believed in the wellness of whole population and importance of inclusion of everyone including women in physical training and sports.⁵⁷

Selim Sirri Tarcan's book, *Physical Education, Play, Gymnastics, Sports*, which aimed at reorganizing the physical training lessons in the early Republican period was regarded as the main source for many years. Some parts of the book were devoted to the methods of correct posture, to prevent of hunchbacks and to keep shoulders upright. In his another book for physical training of teachers in 1926 he stated that the most important outcome of the physical training was the improvement of health. He asked the teachers to teach the students health, harmony, body proportion and morality by following a path from simple to complex in movements, and only allow older children to participate in sports competitions.⁵⁸ In this regard, Selim Sirri Tarcan was articulating official policies to the education system, and making physical training and sports more scientific and comprehensive.

During the first years of the Republic, the need to include physical training in schools for teachers was emphasized. For this purpose, the “Secondary Trainer School” (Orta Muallim Mektebi) opened in Konya in 1925 and moved to Ankara in the 1927-1928 school year and its name was changed as “Gazi Secondary Trainer School and Training Institute” (Gazi Orta Muallim Mektebi ve Terbiye Enstitüsü”. In addition, physical training center and sports facility were built near the Institute to open a physical training branch within the Institute (Türkmen, 2013, p.737). When the Physical Training branch of the Gazi Training Institute was opened, the names such as

⁵⁶ Selim Sirri (Tarcan), *Beden Terbiyesi, Oyun, Jimnastik, Spor* (İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1932), 5.

⁵⁷ We will see his efforts for women in the following chapter.

⁵⁸ Selim Sirri (Tarcan), *Muallimlere Terbiye-I Bedeniye Rehberi* (İstanbul, Milli Matbaa, 1926), s.7.

Nizamettin Kırşan, Vildan Aşır Savaşır and Zehra Alagöz who had previously studied abroad and worked in various schools joined the teaching staff. Besides these names, Kurt Dainas as an expert physical trainer was brought to work in the Institute. The institute also started to train women in 1936.

The Ministry of Education had a negative view of sports, which were viewed as harmful for students and physical education. According to the sports officials of education, without reaching a certain level of strength, sports would damage the development of children and discourage them from doing other exercises. To avoid the physical and mental injury of the students, the Ministry of Education promulgated an important decree to prevent students from joining sports clubs. In this historical document, the Ministry gave two reasons for the prohibition: educational objections (terbiyevi mahzurlar) and the growing rivalry between the students who played in different sport clubs.⁵⁹ Together with this decree, a regulation was proclaimed to establish the Student Sport Groups (Talebe Spor Yurdu), which organized the physical culture practices of the students. Although the sport historians interpret this decree as a restriction of sports by the state⁶⁰, this decree was a clear indication that the state saw competitive sports as an obstacle to proper physical development and that the growing rivalry between the students threatened the ultimate goal of the idea of collecting the youth in the same organization. In the following years, especially after the mid-thirties, the sports clubs ignored this decree and accepted student memberships. But in 1938, when the Law for Physical Education was proclaimed, as a first duty, the General Directorate sent a circular to the sports clubs and reminded them of this prohibition.⁶¹ This is a clear indication of the continuity between the different “periods” of sports administration.

The ban on the participation of students in sports clubs formed a controversy base between official physical training policies and competitive sports. Although official

⁵⁹ “Mektepliler Klüplerde Spor Yapamayacaklar”, Türkspor, no.41 (10 July 1930), pp.6-7.

⁶⁰ Ergun Hiçyılmaz, Türk Sporunun Yapısal Analizi (İstanbul, n.p., 1974), pp. 3-4.

⁶¹ Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü, “Spor Klüplerinin Ordu ve Okul Dışında Kurulacağı Cihetle Kimlerin Ne Suretle Spor Klüplerine İntisap Edecekleri Hakkında Tamim”, no. 20 (26 December 1938), in (eds.) Nafiz Ergeneli and Nuri Tuna, Beden Terbiyesi Mevzuat (Ankara: Alaattin Kırıl Basımevi, 1941), p. 429.

policies and regulations were mostly supported, there was also some remarks on how the sports activities were misunderstood:

*“All these young people; if they had attended to the sports branches they were wondering about, they would not have been exposed to body disasters that made people laugh. While investigating the reasons for this, we see that physical training lessons were not given scientifically young people. Unfortunately, physical training means not only shaking arms and legs, but also understanding what it is for. As it has not been practiced in our country until today, the youth does not grasp completely the meaning of sports...They have a body does not fit the ideal pattern”.*⁶²

While students were prohibited to join sports clubs in the beginning of the 1930s, they all were obliged to attend youth clubs with the Law for Physical Training Obligation in 1938 (Yücel, 1993, p.56). We can interpret this as a contradiction caused by the attempts to keep all social areas under control. Youth clubs were established to encourage young people to engage in mass sports with a sense of solidarity for their nations rather than sports clubs directing young people to competitive individual sports. Youth clubs, where the same standards and rules applied, had been considered important for the physical training of all young people in the same way and conditions.

Especially during the interwar period, by the means of mass media the government aimed to educate the population about the benefits of physical exercises and importance of hygiene. However, according to Ministry of Health and Internal Affairs, there was a distinction between physical training and sports. While the former was for strength and health, the latter was to defeat others. That is why, while sports could be practiced a few times a week, physical training could be done everyday.⁶³ In this context, also People’s Houses (Halkevleri) considered especially gymnastics as the basis of modern health and the most essential tool of the daily life. According to their regulation, gymnastics movements have a great importance for individuals to be physically and mentally healthy as the part of the nation.⁶⁴

⁶² D. Remzi, “Beden Terbiyesi ve Hakiki Spor”, Spor Postası, no.20, (25 Ağustos 1934), s.5.

⁶³ Sıhhat ve İctimai Muavenet Vekaleti, Beden Terbiyesi ve Halk Sağlığı (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1941), s.7.

⁶⁴ CHP Halkevleri Öğreneği, (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935),14.

3.5. Physical Training and Sports for Masses, not for Individuals

The early Republican years were a period in which the responsibility of the individual to protect his/her own health for the nation turned into a national mission. Based on this solidarist ideological perspective, individuals were seen as an organic part of the whole nation, and the fact that each part needed to be strong that made whole population strong.⁶⁵ We can claim that this understanding may find a place in Durkheim's functionalist point of view. Accordingly, all the individuals were related to the nation or vice versa. Thus, they needed to develop their intellectual and physical aspects such as health, strength and endurance in order to contribute to the nation.

There were different opinions in the early Republican period about physical training and sports. On the one hand, physical activities were considered as for fun and personal pleasure to shape the body individually, but on the other hand, the state discourse was constructed on the idea of physical training activities as responsibility of all citizens to the nation. That is why in the framework of bio-politics, especially young individuals as potential citizens were expected to shape their bodies based on the ideal pattern of the period by attending physical training activities on a regular basis. For example, according to an important sports writer Ahmet Fetgeri:

“When a person harms his/her body, it affects not only him/herself, but also his/her community, race and nation. Young people who do not care about their health and strength by not doing physical exercises should always remember that their actions influence the fate of the nation!”⁶⁶

In this context, it was essential to think about the scope of physical training and sports policies related with the degree of general public health. Hegemonic official discourses were supporting collective sports and activities that were beneficial for the whole nation, but not just for individual benefit. For example, Burhan Asaf

⁶⁵ Dr. Demir Ali, “Türk'ün Sağlığı, Türkiye'nin Sağlamlılığıdır”, İnkılap, no.6, (1933), s.42.

⁶⁶ Ahmet Fetgeri, “Her Genç Spor Yapmalıdır”, Türk Spor, no.85, (14 Mayıs 1931), s.5

criticized the existing sports policies in the first issue of *Ülkü* magazine and complained that Turkish sports became an ornamental object:

“We want sports for the nation. We don’t want individuals in the first rank. We want hundreds of thousands of robust and healthy citizens internalized the values of the regime”.⁶⁷

The discussions in the process of discharge of the Union of Physical Training that was the first term of Turkish sports history were shaped around this issue, and the criticisms were concentrated on the point that UPT did not follow the state policies. The 8th congress, in which UPT replaced with Turkish Sports Association, reflected the conflict between two different understandings. Many people, including Şükrü Saraçoğlu, claimed that the movements that a few people could practice would be acrobatics but not sports. *“Sports include simple movements that anyone can do. Sports will find its true meaning when it is done by everyone in this country”*.⁶⁸ The most important difference that separated the TSA period from the UPT period in the discourse level was that the understanding of sports for the masses was tried to be placed in the whole sports system. Turkish sports focused on the development of all national forces, not on the training of new champions.⁶⁹

The Law for Physical Training, enacted in 1938, constituted an important breaking point in the implementation of the understanding of sports for the mass. In the discussion of this law in the Council, Celal Bayar focused especially on this point:

“We do not want sports to raise the professional champion, but for the nation. Our sports school are the part of our national culture. The great aim is to raise the Turkish citizen physically and mentally healthy, robust and beautiful”.⁷⁰

In this regard, what expected from physical training was not only the case of winning competitions but also ensuring the physical and moral development of the youth.

The disagreements on implementation of policies and regulations intensely affected the future of development line of physical training and sports. Especially, after the II

⁶⁷ Burhan Asaf, “Spor Telakkimiz”, *Ülkü*, no.1, 1933, s.75.

⁶⁸ “Spor Kongresi Bir Çok Yeni Kararlar İttihaz Etti”, *Top*, 1936, s.4.

⁶⁹ Behçet Kemal Çağlar, “Birimiz Hepimiz, Hepimiz Birimiz İçin”, *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi*, no.7, 1936, s.3.

⁷⁰ Nasuhi Baydar, “Başbakanın Beyanatı”, *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi*, no.72, 1937, s.3.

World War term, strict policies on individual sports and the idea of physical training as a national mission for both women and men diminished.⁷¹ Although, the early Republican regime tried to use physical training and sports as a tool for national mission, with the foundation of Ministry of Youth and Sports in 1946, the understanding of physical training and sports has entered into a new period, which has still continued until today.

3.6. Eugenics Context

Eugenic is a concept that represents efforts to apply hereditary rules to control the reproduction of mankind. Eugenics idea assumes that the most qualified members of the society can transfer their features to another generation. In an ideological historical background where the population emerged as a central phenomenon for nation states, the reflections of new type of governmentality can be seen in the idea of eugenics.

Measures to be applied according to eugenic laws are generally classified as positive and negative. In positive eugenics, despite of the undeniable importance of heredity, the heredity process and the conditions in which this process takes place can be interfered with. Positive eugenics, in general, includes elements that encourage the reproduction of high quality aspects of society. Eugenics, in Turkey, based on the presupposition that the population can be changed and fixed not only numerically, but also qualitatively. An unhealthy population cannot contribute to the economic development process, but also negatively affect social order and national wealth.⁷²

The synthesis developed by the Nazis from eugenics, sports and physical training affected the Kemalist political and intellectual elite. According to the Nazis, it was among the positive eugenic measures to focus on physical training in education policy, to increase the financing for physical training and to spread the practices throughout the country. In the first half of the 1930s, especially in Turkish sports,

⁷¹ Yiğit Akın, "Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar", İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2004, s.126.

⁷² Mazhar Osman, "Nüfus Bereketinin Arefesindeyiz" s.5.

when the German influence increased, physical training and sports field started to contain more eugenist elements. During the 1930s, Nazi Germany exported its physical culture system to allied countries through students and physical training experts. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, not only sports experts came from Germany to examine and improve the physical training conditions, but also Turkish students were sent to Germany for physical training.⁷³ For example, Sadi Irmak, one of those who were sent to Germany, had the idea that physical training and sports should be applied to rehabilitate the weak members of the generation when he returned. According to Sadi Irmak, prerequisite for establishing the German model of physical culture, Turkey had to develop a national sports policy and implement this policy under the government's absolute authority.⁷⁴ This view later resonated among sports managers and political elite, and similar concerns led to the enactment of the Law for Physical Training and the establishment of the General Directorate of Physical Training in 1938. According to General Directorate of Physical Training, physical training and sports was a tool for public health to protect youth from various illnesses, to strengthen the race and to ensure that the generation was healthy and robust rather than a tool for pleasure and enjoyment of youth. However, in the early Republican period, physical training and the relationship between sports and eugenics appeared in women's relation with physical training and sports. In the following chapter, we will see effects of physical training on constructing an ideal woman during the early Republican Turkey.

⁷³ Nevzad Ayas, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948) s. 356.

⁷⁴ Sadi Irmak, *Milletlerin Tereddi ve İstifası* (Ankara: CHP Konferansları Serisi Kitap:12, 1940), s.34.

CHAPTER IV

4. The New Regime, The New Ideal: Construction of the Ideal Womanhood in early Republican Turkey

In this chapter, I focus on the effects of modern physical training policies and mostly discourses of power elites and intellectuals on the production of ideal woman in the early Republican period in Turkey. My main motivation is to answer the question of how ideal and modern young woman of the new regime was constructed through official policies and hegemonic discourses. I mainly choose to focus on the construction process of new womanhood because as Hobsbawm (1992) states, nationalism mostly focuses on man as the subject of the nation, and therefore policies and regulations mostly target (young) men as the protector of the country. However, in this chapter, I prefer focusing on young women considered as the tomorrow's mothers. I also emphasized the youth category as Üstel (2004) states, youth was considered as the future of the nation, and thus physical training policies were mostly directed to them both in late Ottoman and early Republican period.

I find useful to mention about the formation of youth and generation shortly in order to understand why youth was particularly articulated with modernity and nation-state in early Republican period. It is actually clear when we think about both late Ottoman and early Republican periods that power elites preferred to modernize and idealize education system in order to maintain their status quo. That is why, as Lüküslü stated (2008, p.48), youth was considered as a social category that should be kept under control and discipline. The concept of social category is important here because I claim that youth as a social category is the product of modernity. In other words, it is constructed with the emergence of modernity. As Lüküslü (2008) defines, youth is just a transition process from childhood to adulthood. However, according to Philippe Aries' book (1960), *Centuries of Childhood*, there was no childhood category in middle ages because children were expected to work and marry earlier than today. In this regard, the transition process from childhood to adulthood was

shorter and ambiguous than today. Yet, as a result of modernity which is the child of double revolutions –French and Industrial- (Hobsbawm, 1962), new concepts such as nation, citizenship, private property and new institutions emerged. If we think of the late Ottoman period, as Wishnitzer (2010, p.9) stated in the context of modernity transition from “medrese” to modern “mektep” where the same age group is in the same class created also the concept of generation. There are two basic points: the first one is that modern schools made possible to train young masses in the same institution so education gained an importance to make them internalized hegemonic values. Another point is that youth was evaluated from the perspective of efficiency, such as people working as the ultimate production force of the society. In this context, the relationship between modernity, education and formation of nation-state will give us a comprehensive understanding about the construction of what the new ideal was for young women.

As Akin (2004, p. 15) states, modern education was used as an instrument for modernization and legitimization process in the early Republican period. Here, we can also mention about Althusser in order to understand the importance of education as an ideological apparatus for the new regime. Althusser points about two different apparatuses used by the state in order to maintain their legitimacy and consent of the majority.⁷⁵ The first one is repressive apparatus of the state such as police and army. The latter is called ideological apparatus such as family, communication, education. According to Althusser, these apparatuses are complementary for each other. If the first one does not work, the second one can be used together. What I claim that education was an important ideological apparatus for the early Republican regime in order to internalize its norms and values and also to legitimize itself. Similarly, Lüküslü and Dinçşahin also claims that education played an important role in the legitimacy of the authoritarian regimes like in Italy and Germany in 1930s.⁷⁶

In addition to education, mass media was also used as a tool to construct the body and identity of the youth, especially of the new ideal woman. We will see below that

⁷⁵ Louise Althusser, “İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları”, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1994, s.33).

⁷⁶ Demet Lüküslü, Şakir Dinçşahin, “Selim Sırrı Tarcan ve Beden Eğitimi”, Bilgi ve Bellek, no.9, 2011, s. 46).

I mainly focused on discourses in sports magazines in order to see the what was expected from the new woman. I need to point out in the beginning that there was an ideal woman in minds based on discourses, but when it comes to daily life, it is controversial to say whether this ideal was realized or not.

As a theoretical framework, the Foucauldian perspective is useful in order to explain and historicize the construction process of the new woman through modern physical training policies and discourses which was articulated with modernization project of the new regime. As Foucault argues that physical training and related discourses in order to construct strong and healthy bodies were the political project of the new regime.⁷⁷

In his article on 'governmentality', Foucault states that the concerns of governments expanded from the simple components of "*sovereignty on territory and property*" to include the complex relations of "*men and the things*". These relationships include "*the wealth resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc. men in their relation to that of other kind of things, customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking etc. and lastly, accidents and misfortunes such as famine, epidemics, death etc.*" (Foucault, pp. 93-94). In order to describe these relationships in a political context, Foucault uses the concept "bio-politics". Bio-politics is basically about the administration of life, particularly at the level of populations. Physical training and sports is related with the power/ knowledge complex exercised on the body in the context of modernity. Foucault describes how power is concentrated on the body and how bodies are subjected to social control and intervention aimed at managing them. According to Foucault, this power/knowledge complex emerged around two complementary poles. One of the poles is called anatomic-politics of the body. In this regard, disciplining and controlling the bodies of individuals is important. The second pole points to bio-politics that deals with whole population in terms of health, longevity and birth rates. Emergence of bio-politics dealing with population also refers to emergence of a new type of governmentality (1995, p.138). The health, welfare, improvement of the conditions,

⁷⁷ M. Foucault, *Hapishanenin Doğuşu*, çev. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, Ankara, İmge Kitabevi, 2000, s. 62-63.

prosperity and happiness of the population constitute the realm of this new type. Accordingly, especially young women as youth category were given high importance in order to govern and control the health, birth and death of the population, and thus the nation. That is why, in order for the future and wellness of the nation, bodies of young women were tried to be constructed through physical training and sports designed by the regime. Governmentality itself used by Foucault becomes a science, the science of managing the welfare of the population. It is to administer the lives of others in the light of conceptions of what is good, healthy, ideal, virtuous, efficient or profitable (Rose and Miller, 2010, p.273).

In this context, the early Republican regime used technologies, policies and knowledge of experts to produce the new ideal and proper woman of the new regime. Especially in the period from 1930 to 1945, sports and physical training were used as a tool to design how ideal women of the new regime should be in the line with the process of the formation of modern nation-state. Women were seen as today's young girls and the mothers of future generations.

We can discuss about Foucault's bio-politics concept and what kind of citizens were being expected in this framework by using the famous concept of eugenics gained its popularity in Hitler Germany in the 1930s. Although it is possible to extend the origins of the idea of eugenics to Ancient Greek, which can be defined as the whole of activities aimed at increasing the number of people seen as fit and eliminating the ones who are seen as unfit. However, especially with the beginning of 20th century, eugenics policies, which was articulated to the concept of formation of nation state and modernization policies, have found a place itself in the policies of many countries, especially authoritarian and fascist regimes. In the 1930s, as İnanç states, eugenics started to be discussed in Turkey as well. Especially the General Health Law (Umumi Hıfzıssıha Kanunu) can be considered as the beginning of eugenics policies.⁷⁸ In addition, as I mentioned in the first chapter, in 1936, Union of Physical Training Association was replaced with Turkish Sports Association which was the component

⁷⁸ Gül İnanç, "Bir Memleket Davası: Beden Terbiyesi", *Toplumsal Tarih*, 14 (1995), s.60.

of the state. This change was considered as the trial of state intervention increased especially in 1930s with the effect of physical training policies produced in Germany to construct Hitler youth. As Akin (2004, p.56) states power elites of the new regime was impressed by policies of Germany, and thus they invited Carl Diem who was a famous sports administrator in Germany to examine the conditions of schools, organizations and curriculum in Turkey.

After especially WWI, the quantity and quality of the population were being addressed in many countries. In Turkey, the decline of the population after the WWI and with the effect of the war of Independence, economic crisis emerged in the 1930s with the high demand for labor force. When all these processes overlap with the relationship between the population and national power, the population was expected to increase in terms of quantity and quality. Under these conditions, eugenics policies emerged as instruments that can ensure an increase in numbers, and make national development and modernization happen.

It is possible to state that eugenics spread to a great extent due to its division of two endpoints of the spectrum: what is seen as fit is encouraged and supported to proliferate and what is seen as unfit, as just the opposite, was exposed to policies that discourage and prevent them of getting increased of their numbers. The problem here is that the distinction of the two concepts- fit and unfit- is ambiguous and blurred and cannot be thought as independent of power relationships. Modernity brings dichotomies, categories and standardization, but it stigmatizes who are not in the category of standards as outsiders. The point that who will be included in population and who will not. It might be easier to talk about the idea of 'survival of the fittest' or social constructions, but these ideas get us to deadpoints. That is why, why it is essential to look at actors who make decisions and other agents as hegemonic discourses and mass media of the period that can give us a comprehensive understanding about the construction of the proper and ideal woman citizen.

After the foundation of the Republic, with the new type of governmentality, the situation of the population gained an importance. The first purpose of physical

training and sports was to increase the quality of population and to produce strong and healthy citizens for the sake of the nation. In this context, in order to produce policies and regulations, the knowledge of the experts was important. The first expert comes to mind when we think is Selim Sırrı Tarcan. Selim Sırrı Tarcan was a quite active intellectual in both late Ottoman and early Republican period. He was sent to Sweden by the Empire to receive physical training education.⁷⁹ I need to point that, as Lüküslü and Dinçşahin discussed, Selim Sırrı was more closer to German gymnastics approach before going to Sweden. However, after he came back from Sweden, he was internalized the idea of "sports for all". I discussed this in the bio-politics chapter, but I point that sports for all perspective directed him to include women in physical training as well. The second point he learned in Sweden was that physical training policies should focus on public health, harmony and physical balance rather than eugenics understanding that emphasized the idea of survival of the fittest especially in Nazi Germany. As Selim Sırrı Tarcan was close to Swedish gymnastics, he struggled to include women in physical training. In this regard, he contacted to Einar Nerman who was the manager of Swedish Gymnastics Institute where Selim Sırrı studied before. He asked Nerman to send an expert to train women. Nerman sent her own daughter, Inge Nerman, as the expert and she stayed in Turkey during four years and raised women as physical trainers.⁸⁰ Between the years between 1927 and 1930, 63 young women graduated as physical trainers (Özbay, 1996, p.70).

On the other hand, we will see in the discourses of the period below, the main purpose of training women was to shape and discipline their bodies to give birth to strong and robust children for the nation. I think even though Selim Sırrı was agreed with the values of new regime based on his discourses we will see below, he was an important figure in terms of including women in physical training activities.

Another point about Selim Sırrı is that he also wanted women to take part in Zeybek dance. As Arzu Öztürkmen states, in *Türkiye'de Folklor and Milliyetçilik* (1998), Selim Sırrı Tarcan emphasized the representative dimension of folk dance in the eye of

⁷⁹ C. Atabeyoğlu, Kurucumuz Selim Sırrı Tarcan, İstanbul, Türkiye Olimpiyat Komitesi Yayınları, 2000, s.24.

⁸⁰ Demet Lüküslü, Şakir Dinçşahin, "Selim Sırrı Tarcan ve Beden Eğitimi", Bilgi ve Bellek, no.9, 2011, s. 46-9.

other countries. It should also be remembered that folk dance is articulated to the formation process of the modern nation state. In this regard, Selim Sırrı adapted the figures for women as well and the new type called as Tarcan Zeybeği in public.⁸¹ Tarcan Zeybeği firstly presented in Teaching School for Girls in İzmir in 1925 to Atatürk. It was appreciated by Atatürk and considered as a contribution to modernization process of the new regime. In this context, as the expression of Tarcan, Atatürk stated that “We can now say to Europeans that we have a perfect dance”.⁸² This also showed the attempts of the new regime for modernization and westernization.

Towards WWII, the aim of physical training and sports was articulated with militaristic views. Turkish Sports Association was in charge to organize all physical education policies and organizations as a component of the government. After two-year trial, in 1938, TSA was replaced with General Directorate of Physical Training (Yarar, 2014, p. 308). In this regard, 1938 can be considered as a symbol of changing the direction of physical training as into military training to be prepared for a possible war. In this context, Physical Training Obligation (Beden Terbiyesi Mükellefiyeti) through Physical Training Law should be mentioned. Based on Physical Training Law, all men between the ages of 12 and 45 and all women between the ages of 12 and 30 had to participate in physical training exercises.⁸³ In addition, they had to practice for four hours a week in a youth club. The organizations were also obliged to change their names into youth club just like in Germany in 1930s.⁸⁴ However, this was not realized due to the lack of

⁸¹ “Dans bir gezintiyle başlıyor. Zeybek vakarlı, ağır, arkadaşı kızın ardı sıra yürüyor ve dansın birinci figüründe kadına vücudunun güzel biçimini, tavır ve hareketlerinin ahengini gösteriyor. Kadın da aynı hareketleri birlikte yapıyor. Üçüncü figürde kadın güneş gibi mihveri etrafında dönerken, erkek bir dünya gibi hem kendi mihveri etrafında, hem de güneşin etrafında dönerek dans ediyor. Yine bir gezintiden sonra zeybek, dördüncü figürde, kadının elinden tutup ileri ve geri birlikte hopluyorlar. Son figürde, karşılıklı, müziğin ahengine ayak uydurup diz çökerlerken erkek kadının dizini öpüyor ve bir gezinti ile dans bitiyor.”

⁸² Tarcan, Hatıralarım, s.55-56. “Artık Avrupalılara, bizim de mükemmel bir raksımız var, diyebiliriz ve bu oyunu salonlarımızda, müsamerelerimizde oynayabiliriz. Zeybek Dansı her içtimai salonda kadınla beraber oynanabilir ve oynanmalıdır.”

⁸³ I could not find an official document, but preferring only this age interval might be related to the reproductive functions of women.

⁸⁴ G. İnanç, “Bir Memleket Davası: Beden Terbiyesi”, Toplumsal Tarih (14), Şubat 1995, s.60.

essential physical and financial conditions.⁸⁵ The participation was also very low.⁸⁶ Considering the lack of participation, the obligation was changed between 1-4 hours by additional decree 2-17301 in 1942. As the participation was still low, criminal sanctions were mentioned in 1945. All these campaigns and criminal proceedings ended after the end of the WWII and the emergence of multi-party system.⁸⁷

Although physical training policies did not work well, the necessity of physical training for ideal women continued in a discourse level in mostly mainstream sports magazines of the period. Kaya (1938) states that "the ideal woman of the Kemalist regime" was consisting of these features: being well rounded, strong, thoughtful, brave, defend her rights and ideas, but not marginal and questioning the values of the regime. In order to succeed and to produce this type of individual, it was quite necessary to train them morally, mentally and physically as well. In that sense, there was no distinction between body and mind. Both body and mind must be healthy and strong.⁸⁸ When considering this period intersecting with westernization and modernization attempts, it becomes easier to comprehend what triggered these policies and discourses.

⁸⁵ N. Baba, "Bir Beden Terbiyesi Enstitüsü Esasları", *Ülkü*, 91, 1940.

⁸⁶ According to the Law for Physical Training Obligation, although it was accepted that all women between the ages of 12 and 30 were obliged to participate in physical training activities, but women were also excluded from this obligation by the 1941 decree.

(Beden terbiyesi ve spor mükellefiyetlerinden kız ve kadınların istisnası hakkında Kararname, 1941, 30-18-1-2 / Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı).

⁸⁷ İnanç, *Bir Memleket Davası*, s.62.

⁸⁸ Although I focused on the construction of the ideal woman citizen through physical training within the scope of this thesis, the training of individuals' minds in line with the values of the new regime was also important to be an acceptable citizen. Kemalists believed that the transformation of 'the people' into 'citizens' was an important phase in the nation-building process. In their eyes, 'the people' were simple and ignorant; they were bound by traditions and religion, and unaware of the requirements of a modern life based on rational, secular and national principles. The people were in need of a national discipline and a national consciousness to achieve the level of maturity citizenship required. The unity of body and mind required the mind to transform the body into a new cultural being by purging its inappropriate, 'uncivilized' features. Kemalists expressed their mission of transformation as 'enlightening the people', 'bringing the civilization down to the people' and 'training the people'. Bkz. Ayça Alemdaroğlu, *Politics of the Body and Eugenic Discourse in Early Republican Turkey*, *Body & Society*, Vol. 11(3): 61-76, 2005.

4.1. The New and Ideal Woman as the Tomorrow's Mother in a Discourse Level

According to Ahmet Fetgeri, the shortest way of making population strong and healthy was to reinforce women to join physical training *"because one of the greatest truths confirmed by the whole world is that robust children could be born by robust mothers"*.⁸⁹ Therefore, in the early Republican years, especially sportswomen were encouraged to have more children due to being strong and healthy. For example, according to Mehmet Şemsi, *"sportswomen either have no children or have few children. This is especially common for women. It is strictly important for healthy people as sportswomen to have more children for the sake of the race. If strong and beautiful people do not have children, then the nation will not have a strong and healthy generation in the future"*.⁹⁰

The inclusion of the effort to encourage birth and increase the population with healthy children adds to the importance of women's preparation for motherhood in these body policies. In the fight against infant mortality, physical training and sports were seen as an instrument to reduce infant mortality attributed to mothers' robustness. As a matter of fact, it is emphasized that the child of a qualified, strong and healthy mother will be strong and alive, considering the effect of inheritance, and as a result, the country will be filled with strong and healthy personalities.⁹¹ In short, the woman who cannot be a soldier contributes to the "defense of the homeland" and "the strengthening of the homeland" by raising the robust soldiers of the future (Osman, 1939). From this point of view, while young men were recognized for defending their homeland, young women were expected to raise strong and healthy potential citizens for their nation in order to become a proper citizen.

⁸⁹ Ahmet Fetgeri, "Kadınlar ve Spor", Türk Spor, no. 62 (4 Aralık 1930), 4-5.

⁹⁰ Dr. Mehmet Şemsi, "Terbiyenin Biyolojik Temelleri- Beden Terbiyesini Takdirde İfrat ve Kızlarımızın Tahsil Meselesi", Hakimiyet-i Milliye (14 Ağustos 1933), 3, aktaran Ünver (2001), 100.

⁹¹ The importance of robust and healthy children in the early Republican period also showed itself in the magazines published for children. *Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu* magazine published between the years 1926 and 1935 was one of these magazines. The magazine included information on child care, child health and ideal body measures, especially by targeting adults since the 1930s. In fact, robust child contests were organized by the magazine. Thanks to these competitions, the bodies of Turkish children from all over the country were idealized and the idea of an imaginary nation was constructed through these ideal bodies. In addition, the faces, physical characteristics and the names of these children were announced to the public by the mapping technique.

The new regime as the constructive and protector aimed at forming a structure that has both modern and traditional values. In this regard, the new ideal woman was essential in this process. That is why, we can claim that rather than being a subject, the new woman become the object symbolizing the ideals of the regime.⁹² As a matter of fact, as Göle claims, women were the means of both modernization project and nationalist ideology, and thus their visibility in public sphere reflected the transformation of the country in a modern sense (2014, p.90).

The new regime constructed the new type of woman through mostly with her motherhood identity and valued young young girls having potential to become a mother in some day. Accordingly, the shape of their bodies with sports and physical training was important in shaping the next generation. In *Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* magazine, we can see the similar view that can support the claim above. While sports and physical training was considered *“as the daily issue of the young girls who will bring the Turkish lineage to the world”*, young girls' bodies were symbolized for the future of the nation by reminding them that *“these young girls will give birth to the steel body, strong but willed generation for the homeland”*.⁹³

Although young women were encouraged to be in public sphere and received a good education, they were also expected to be modest as an ideal citizen. Although women entered the public sphere, they remained within the traditional values of the patriarchal system.

*The new woman of the republic was a hero with a double burden on work and family. She criticized the apparent sexuality of the Western woman. She was an honest, **sexless** weapon friend. **First of all, she was a loyal wife and mother.** She was her husband's companion and friend in social activities. **She was the invisible monument of honor and endurance behind every successful man.**⁹⁴*

⁹² Leyla Neyzi. Object or Subject? The Paradox of "Youth" in Turkey. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 2001), pp. 411-432.

⁹³ *Haftadan Haftaya*, *Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, no.56, 1939, s.56.

⁹⁴ A. Kadioğlu, *“Cinselliğin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları”*, 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler, İstanbul Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, s.85. (vurgular bana ait.)

“Cumhuriyetin yeni kadını, iş ve aile çifte yükünü omuzlamış bir kahramandı. O, namuslu, cinsiyetsiz bir silah arkadaşıydı. Her şeyden önce sadık bir eş ve anneydi. Özverili, şefkatli, alçakgönüllüydü. Kocasının yoldaşı ve arkadaşı, sosyal faaliyetlerdeki eşiydi. Her başarılı erkeğin arkasındaki görünmez namus ve tahammül abidesiydi”.

Despite of efforts for reaching modernity, traditional moral norms and gender roles have been maintained. As Sancar (2012) states that founding fathers of the regime, in this point, raised their daughters in a way surrounded by moral norms, especially in terms of honor and traditional gender values. Therefore, the new order has not created any change in terms of the continuation of patriarchal power. According to Üstel (2004), the old with the new; traditional and sexist norms and values have been articulated with national, secular ideas and new gender patterns. In this process, women were supposed to be visible in public sphere to some extent, but being visible led to more control at the same time.

Even inclusion of young women in Youth Organization projects in 1930s was due to their reproductive functions. For example, according to Kanok, women should join the youth organizations because:

*"The mother of tomorrow's generation, whom we will entrust the entire country to her hands, can only be a cheerful, energetic young girl who knows how to walk, run, jump. She hates to carry a cluster of tangled hair behind her, and paint her lips and nails. There is no point for her in showing off untimely. She is a sportswoman who enjoys only the sun, clean air and beauty of nature. Her life passes naturally and plainly until she becomes a mother. We are obliged to create these types of young girls with strong body who hates unnecessary show offs."*⁹⁵

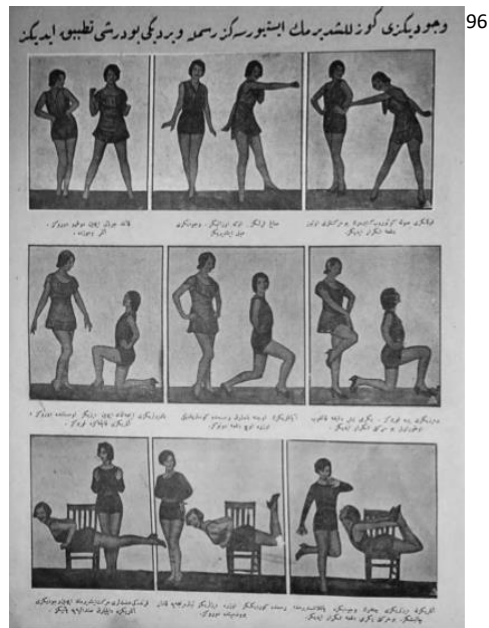
In this regard, what was expected from the ideal woman that she put aside her 'feminine characteristics' as a gender-free sportswoman in the public sports and physical training activities.

The strong male/ weak female dichotomy, which was frequently mentioned, provides a basis for the need to develop the woman's body physically, it emphasizes the understanding the woman's dealing with 'light sports' due to her 'weakness'. Based on the fact that men and women were biologically different, the understanding that

⁹⁵ İ. Kanok, Genç Kızlar ve Spor, *Spor Postası*, 2(64), 1935, s.5.

"...Bütün memleketi ellerine emanet edeceğimiz yarınki neslin anası ancak ve her şeyden evvel yürümesini, koşmasını, zıplamasını bilen, neşeli, dipdiri bir genç kız olabilir. O, arkasında kirli yapağı gibi bir küme dolaşık saç taşımaktan dudak ve tırnak boyamaktan nefret eder. Onun için vakitsiz gösterişlerin hiçbir manası yoktur. O yalnız ve yalnız güneşten, temiz havadan tabiatın güzelliklerinden zevk alan bir sporcudur. Ta ana oluncaya kadar onun hayatı tabii ve sade bir suretle geçer. Bir takım boş gösterişlerden nefret eden sağlam vücutlu bu genç kız tiplerini bir an önce yaratmak mecburiyetindeyiz".

they should do different sports also shows itself in the legal regulations: *“Personal or community sports activities were prohibited between female students and male students in any way”* (Yaşar, 1939). However, even though the basic training movements that men and women must do were the same, only some of the movements were considered suitable for women. These were tennis, volleyball, riding and rhythmic gymnastics which were considered as light sports. We will see the related discourse below, but women were supposed to practice only light sports in order not to gain masculine features and to protect their reproductive functions. It was suggested that rhythmic gymnastics would attract the attention of women. This fact was important because the rhythmic gymnastics with music in the background was not seen as suitable for the nature of the man. Instead, the stronger movements were considered appropriate for men, but the main concern was about the ‘feminization of man’ (Baba, 1993).



Physical training and sports were considered that it made women more complete and more healthy. The point is that women were weak by their nature compared to men and physical training had a complementary function for their bodies. It was also important in terms of the woman's ability to fully fulfill her life tasks. It was emphasized that women can only be successful in life when they are strong, brave

⁹⁶ Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kadınına fiziksel güzellik için beden eğitimi önerileri, Resimli Ay, C.5, 1928, s.21.

and cheerful, and they can only achieve it through physical training. In this respect, physical training was seen as a tool that gives women properties such as health, strength, sacrifice and courage. This perspective was also shared by Selim Sırrı in his book:

*“Women's physical training needs are higher than men's. **Strong mothers raise strong children.** Turkish femininity is the way we will follow for it, in one of the speeches of Atatürk: “Turkish woman should be the most intelligent, most virtuous and dignified woman in the world. **The duty of the Turkish woman is to raise a generation capable of defending the homeland**”. Here we are preparing a Turkish woman who will raise the generations to defend the homeland”.*⁹⁷



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In the early Republican period, the emphasis on swimming and sea sports was higher, and the reason was that the swimsuit used for swimming and sea sports that showed the body of the woman neat and agile in fact corresponded to the image of a modern woman who got rid of veil and sheet as in Ottoman period. We can also claim that bodies of women were also exposed to male gaze which decides who was fit and modern enough based on masculine norms of the period. Emphasis was also placed

⁹⁷ Selim Sırrı (Tarcan), *Beden Terbiyesi Oyun-Jimnastik-Spor*, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1932, s.430 (vurgular bana ait).

“Kadınların beden terbiyesine ihtiyacı erkeklerden fazladır. Kuvvetli analar kuvvetli analar yetiştirir. Türk kadınılığının itilas için takip edeceğimiz yolu Büyük Gazi nutuklarından birinde şu sözlerle gösteriyor: “Türk kadını dünyanın en münevver ve en vakur kadını olmalıdır. Türk kadınının vazifesi vatani müdafaaya kadir bir nesil yetiştirmektir”. İşte biz de vatani müdafaaya kadir nesiller yetiştirecek Türk kadını hazırlıyoruz”.

⁹⁸ Spor Postası, sayı 39, 1935, sayı 22, 1934, sayı 18, 1934)

on the fact that women should avoid the competition based on the assumption that they were emotionally unstable (Erzin, 1939). In short, there is this view that woman should do sports, show her body, but leave the field of struggle and competition to men.

The point that attracts attention during this period was that some women also accepted the ideal woman image of the Republic. An interview with Fazilet Hanım, the equestrian champion of the period (1932-1934), might help us to understand to what extent women internalized the roles that were assigned to them:

*“Our ladies, even my generation, did not grow up by doing sports, and our mothers did not know what sports were, so they could teach us too. Therefore, we are not able to stand next to men in this field. ... I am not convinced that a woman can do sports as much as a man and surpass a man on my own account. The creation of women is not suitable for this. First of all, a woman has a home, children and people she will be busy with”.*⁹⁹

4.2. Governing the Bodies of Young Girls

When the woman does sports, the necessity of avoiding certain behaviors is often expressed and the female body and behavior are tried to be taken under control. At the beginning, the woman should not forget her gender-specific roles while doing sports. That is, women should do sports without compromising their femininity. At this point, as for men to stay away from sports that might give them feminine traits, it was stated for women to avoid sports that may give them masculine traits, and thus dichotomy between masculinity and femininity produced by patriarchy has been maintained.

“Women's gymnastics should be in a way that will give the body health, and harmony and elegance to movements... Women should avoid exercises that make them masculine. For example, it is not permissible for women to wrestle

⁹⁹ Bayanlarımız ve Spor, Top Mecmuası, 2(27), 1935, s.19.

“Bizim bayanlarımız, hatta benim neslim bile spor yaparak büyümedi, annelerimiz spor nedir bilmezlerdi ki bize de öğretsinler. Onun için bu sahada erkeklerin yanında yer alamıyoruz. ... Bir kere ben kendi hesabıma bir kadının bir erkek kadar ve bir erkeği geçecek kadar spor yapabileceğine kani değilim. Evvela kadının yaradılışı bünyesi buna müsaid değildir. Bir kadının her şeyden evvel evi, çocukları ve meşgul olacağı insanları vardır”.

or box. Remember that the woman who looks like a man is as ugly as the man who looks like a woman".¹⁰⁰

In cases men and women join physical training together, the behavior and clothing of women were restricted, but not men's. The woman was expected to be natural and plain not to distract men's attention. It seems problematic because on the one hand, there was a view that swimsuit was showing women as more modern and agile, but on the other hand, when it comes to be together with men, swimsuit or similar clothing was not proper to wear. Thus, there was no consistency about the governing of women's bodies in the public sphere. Related discourse below also emphasizes that situation:

"...However, our girls should come to this new field, where they will work together with their crawling athlete boyfriends, by carrying the natural colors of their lips and faces, and with their simple and abundant clothes on their backs. Because they can only gain the honorable respect and appreciation of the society by showing the ability and strength of the young woman raised by the new regime"¹⁰¹

What women should do as producers of "future generations" before and after becoming a mother was also another discussion point in the early Republican period. Besides giving birth, women were supposed to meet the needs of the child correctly. In addition, women's health is largely associated with child health, giving women information on how to protect their health before and after birth. As part of maintaining health, besides nutritional recommendations before birth, actions to be avoided or performed were frequently mentioned. In this regard, women were supposed to practice for their particular muscles such as chest and stomach to become a strong mother:

"The purpose of the body movements in the young girl is to make the woman especially a woman who is capable of maternity, to be the guardian of the race and beauty. To do this, it is necessary to work specifically for the chest, the diaphragme and belly muscles."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ S.S. Tarcan, Spor Pedagojisi, İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1943, s.52.

¹⁰¹ K.İ. Genç Kızlarımız ve Spor. Spor Postası. Sayı 37. 1934.

¹⁰² Selim Sırrı Tarcan, Beden Terbiyesi Oyun-Jimnastik-Spor, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1932, s.94.

4.3. Divisions among Women

During idealization process, there was a distinction among women. It typically manifested itself within the framework of the peasant / urban women distinction.¹⁰³ The peasant woman, who was working in the field or garden, was naturally doing sports regularly. The only problem was the training of the mind of women living in rural areas because they were not receiving education to internalize the new regime's values. The situation was perceived as vice versa for women living in the urban. Their modern lives caused them to move away from the ideal body, while underlining that the situation in question affected the "image" of the country in a negative way:

"Even though the recent revolutions have played a strong role in Turkish femininity, it is the classic type for the Turkish woman in east," a chubby baby lying on a cedar." Let's leave the reasons for this and the wrong propaganda case. ... " (Fetgeri, 1932).¹⁰⁴

Apart from the distinction and comparison above, image of western women was also idealized in the early Republican period. The question was how close or far Turkish women were to ideal Western women. So much so that modern nations were portrayed as nations that discovered the importance of physical training and sports and include women in this. In Western countries, women were directed to physical training and sports from a young age and reached the high goal she wanted to achieve in this way (Osman,1939). In contrast, Turkish women were portrayed as someone who was not doing sports enough. Therefore, women who lived away from physical training was presented as weak and unhealthy and not beautiful:

If I say that the original beauty of the Turkish woman that challenges the whole world is vanished today, would I be wrong? Turkish women lose their

¹⁰³ In *Ankara* novel written by Yakup Kadri in 1934, a similar distinction was made over women living in Ankara and İstanbul. Selma Hanım who was born and raised in İstanbul, and educated and slim was perceived as a stranger by the women she met in Ankara. Another character in the novel, Cemile, who was considered to be overweight according to the ideal measures of the period, thought that it was not important to have a body which was not ideal although she took French and dance lessons. Therefore, Cemile were directed to riding which was thought to be beneficial for her body.

¹⁰⁴ *"Son zamanlarda yapılan devrimler de, Türk kadınılığı kuvvetli rol oynamış olmasına rağmen, garpta, Türk kadını için klasik tip, "bir sedir üzerine uzanmış tombul bir bebek"tir... Bunun sebeplerini ve yanlış propaganda olmuş davasını bırakalım. Birçok şehirlilerimiz gerçekten buna layıktır... "*

*beauty day by day. She is either too fat or too weak. Sports is necessary not to get overweight and movement is essential not to be weak and sluggish.*¹⁰⁵

Women's doing sports were important for the nation's modern representation against other countries, as well as for their own beauty. In the newspapers and magazines of the period, it was presented that young girls around the world were engaged in sports like men, European women worked in all areas of sports, and Turkish women were also encouraged to take part in sports fields like European fellows.¹⁰⁶ It was supported by narratives that sports were the means of society and civilization:

*"Sports were the best provider for the strenght, health and training of the nation. All modern societies accepted this truth and adopted it as a principle. ... These civilized countries, which act with great intention, have made women an active athlete like men today".*¹⁰⁷

Means of communication were also used to show the West as an ideal. How cinema artists were including sports in their lives and its reflection on the "beauty" were frequently mentioned. In this frame, photographs of famous female film actors were published in magazines while doing sports.

¹⁰⁵ N. S. Coşkun, Kadınlarımız ve Spor, *Spor Postası*, 36, 1934, p.16.

"Türk kadınının bütün dünyaya meydan okuyan orijinal güzelliğinin bugün yerinde yeller estiğini söylesem bilmem hata etmiş olur muyum? Türk kadını güzelliğini anbean kaybetmektedir. Hemen umumiyet itibariyle ya çok şişman ya da çok zayıf. Fazla şişmanlamamak için spor yapmak, zayıf ve halsiz kalmamak için de bedeni hareket lazımdır".

¹⁰⁶ Kadın ve Spor, *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi*, 2, 1936, p.13; Kadın ve Spor ve Türk kızları spor sizi bekliyor, *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi*, 12, 1936, p.15.

¹⁰⁷ Kadınların da Spor Yapması Lazım, *Türkspor*, 1(30), 1930, p.21.

"Halk kuvvetini, halk sıhhatini ve halk terbiyesini en iyi temin eden spordur. Bu hakikati bugün bütün medeni cemiyetler teslim etmiş ve kendilerine umde yapmış bulunmaktadır. ... Bu gayeyle hareket eden medeni memleketler bugün kadını da erkek gibi faal bir sporcu haline getirmişlerdir".



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4.4. Construction of Beauty in Early Republican Era

As in other modernization attempts in history, shapes, appearance, contours and other visual culture elements were inseparable parts of the Kemalist Revolution. Kemalist ideologues, bureaucrats, and other governmental elites exerted enormous effort to transform the appearance of the country, the people, and even themselves. According to Bozdoğan, during the 1930s, this modernist visual culture was officially produced, supervised and circulated.¹⁰⁹ Like revolutions in such areas as dressing and the introduction of the hat, the transformation of the fine arts and architectural revolution, physical culture, including sports, physical training and folk dances were evaluated as an inevitable part of this drastic change in the appearance of the country. Among other benefits in improving the average health and capability of the population, physical training and sports were developed as effective means and an obvious visual symbol of the historical rupture from the Ottoman past. One can argue that sporting activities, which carried both a modernist tone and a sense of harmony (individual and national), became attractive to the governmental elites. The regime's official publications of external propaganda displayed a great number of photographs

¹⁰⁸ Sinema, *Türk Spor*, no 19, 1932, s.21 (*Sporcu sinema yıldızları artık bildiğimiz hareketlerden zevk almaz oldular. Değme cambazlara parmak ısirtacak hareketlerle meşgul oluyorlar.*)

¹⁰⁹ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi, 2002), p.74.

which show mass physical exercises in a geometric certainty, consisting of exemplary citizens who stand in complete subordination in front of their leadership ready to execute any demanding task in harmony with the indefinite mass of others.



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In Republican Turkey, sports and regular physical training carried strong resonances on individual matters like individual health and beauty in line with the issues of collective hygiene and public health. Beauty was generally defined by the educators as one of the ultimate goals for the human being. According to İsmail Hakkı Baltacıođlu, a prominent pedagogue and educator, general physical training had to be based on three principle aims: health, utility, and beauty. The physical exercises that were necessary for the whole nation were those that maintained health, usefulness and beauty.¹¹¹

In the early Republican period, physical training and sports was associated with beauty as well as with women's reproductive functions. Beauty contests were promoted by political elites for ideological and political reasons.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Young girls doing exercise for May 19th ceremony.

¹¹¹ İsmail Hakkı Baltacıođlu, "Bir Spor Őuuru İstiyoruz", *Yeni Adam*, no.68, 1935, p.15.

¹¹² Pınar Öztamur, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Güzellik Yarışmaları ve Feminin Kadın Kimliğinin Kuruluşu", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.99 (Mart 2002)



Specifically, Kandiyoti states that the identities and the appearance of women were important because they were considered as both, the products and the signifiers of the quality and progressiveness of the society (Kandiyoti, 1997, p.122). In an article in this period, we can see how the perception of beauty in Western countries was justified: *“Beauty is not a shame, on the contrary, it is something that the whole world wants and desires. Modern countries are working hard to shape the bodies of girls, especially with gymnastics”*.¹¹⁴

The winners of the competitions were equipped and presented with ideal features that were desired by the regime. Physical training and sports was seen as the most essential way in order to reach to ideal shape. For example, Mübeccel Namık, who won the first beauty contest in 1930, owed her beauty to physical exercise on a regular basis. According to an article in the Turkish Sports magazine, Mübeccel Namık was doing sports such as volleyball, swimming and cycling since an early age.¹¹⁵ According to Mübeccel Namık, *“sports would make people more beautiful than clothes and makeup”*.¹¹⁶

Naşide Saffet, who was also a physical trainer, won the second beauty contest. Similarly, it was emphasized that Selma Hanım, the winner of the third beauty contest, was an active sportswoman and a member of Fenerbahçe Club. Like Mübeccel Namık, Selma Hanım's favorite sports were volleyball, cycling and swimming. It was not surprising that Keriman Halis, the world beauty queen, was also an sportswoman practicing volleyball, tennis and swimming. According to the magazines of the period,

¹¹³ Keriman Halis Ece in the middle as the first Turkish winner of the international beauty contest in Belgium.

¹¹⁴ Y. Nadi, *Güzellik ayıp bir şey değildir*, *Cumhuriyet*, 1930, 1.

¹¹⁵ *“Sporcu Kraliçemiz”*, *Türk Spor*, no.17 (23 Ocak 1930), 8-9.

¹¹⁶ *“Sporun Yeni Zaferi”*, *Türk Spor*, no. 16 (1 Ocak 1930), 2.

Keriman Halis owed this victory in the beauty contest to her perfect body, which was shaped by physical training and sports.¹¹⁷ In her conversation, Keriman Halis also stated that she was wearing a red dress with a white ribbon on it in order to introduce the colors of the flag as the daughter of the nation.¹¹⁸



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Özdemir points about the victory of Kerime Halis at the Miss World competition of 1932 that it was important for Atatürk to demonstrate the beauty of Turkish women because their appearance seemed to reflect the high racial status of the Turks and should represent a modernized Turkey.¹²⁰ Thus, the Turkish authorities created, adopted and tried to popularize an image of the Turkish woman which signified modernity and was acknowledged in Western countries.

Based on discourses of women in magazines, I need to point that all of women were practicing “light” sports as the new regime suggested. This common belief was not only expressed on the pages of popular sports magazines, but also in the official publications of the Ministry of Health, women were advised not to do sports as often as men.¹²¹ We can also see the same perspective in the book of Selim Sırrı Tarcan who was the expert and intellectual in the field of physical training in both late

¹¹⁷ “Güzellik Sahasında Dünya Rekoru Kazandı- Güzel Türk Kızı”, *Türk Spor*, no.148 (6 Ağustos 1932), 6-7.

¹¹⁸ “Dünya Güzelimiz ve Spor”, *Türk Spor*, no.149 (13 Ağustos 1932), 6.

¹¹⁹ May 19, 1938, *Güzelliğin Temeli Sağlıktır*, demonstration of girls in Gazi Physical Training Institute.

¹²⁰ B. Pınar Özdemir, ‘Building a “Modern” and “Western” Image: Miss Turkey Beauty Contests from 1929 to 1933’, *Public Relations Review* 42 (2016), 759–765.

¹²¹ *Sihhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti, Beden Terbiyesi ve Halk Sağlığı* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1941), 13.

Ottoman and early Republican periods: *"It is not proper for women to wrestle or box. It should not be forgotten that men look like woman is as ugly as women look like men"*.¹²²

However, there were some women who did not prefer to do light sports as well. In 1936, two women boxers (box was not among light sports) stated their perspective that while women were active in all areas, why sports should be an exception for this (Akşam, August 1). It is also good to see women doing sports which was considered as not proper for them in mainstream media. In addition, this situation also shows the heterogeneity of both womanhood and youth. There might be different youth worlds and different type of womanhoods in the same period as well.

Based on Ana magazine (1939), an extension of the ideal perception of beauty was that the female body appeared only in form within certain dimensions. Accordingly, women's bodies that were outside of this form were tried to be adapted to the ideal size and to obtain a standard image. The way followed at this point is to ensure that weak women gained weight and women who are overweight lost weight. So much so that the woman's body measures became meaningful within the body's beauty and body health. In this context, another topic mentioned in order to bring the female body closer to the ideal dimensions was the diet lists. The main purpose of these lists, that indicated which foods to eat and how much to eat within a long program, was to make women 'happy', "to ensure that they get healthy by eating less and better by getting used to it, even though they will be hungry on the first day."¹²³

¹²² Selim Sırrı Tarcan, Spor Pedagojisi, İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1943, s.51.

¹²³ Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor, sayı 21, Mart 1934, s.7.

BUGÜNÜN TENASÜP ÖLÇÜLERİ				
		1 m 50	1 m 60	1 m 70
	Ağırlık	41 kg 500	51 kg 500	60 kg.
Göğüs	Üstten	75	81	87,5
	Orta'an	76	85	92
	Altan	68	76	80,5
Bel	Bel	52,5	58	65
	Kalça	66,5	71	82
	Sırt	81	90	91
Oylu'c	Diz üstü	48,5	54	51
	Diz	34	39	36
Bacak	Baldır altı	28	30	29,5
	Baldır	32,5	32 1/4	31,5
	Bilek	18,5	21	21
	Boyun	29	32	31
	Yumruk	13	14 1/4	14 3/4
	Üst bilek	21	24	26,5
	Alt bilek	21	22	23

Between 1930 and 1945, the new regime struggled to dominate the female body by trying to construct the ideal woman of the new regime. Thus, physical training and sports policies and discourses through mass media were very effective in revealing what the new ideal was. Unlike the republic's "modern new woman" discourse in the public sphere, women's bodies were tried to be disciplined for the future of the nation and the quality of the population during the formation process of the Republic.

I can claim that as men were attributed to political mission to defense the nation in both late Ottoman and early Republican periods, women were also expected to live for a mission that I define it as *myth of womanhood*. Lüküslü (2008) points in her book, *Türkiye'de Gençlik Miti*, that youth was burdened with an important responsibility to protect the nation. She calls this mission as *myth of youth* in her book. In this regard, women were trained physically and mentally to be healthy and strong as the tomorrow's mother in the early Republican era. So, if we accept it as a national mission as stated in discourses as well. I call this mission as *myth of womanhood*. If women internalize the myth, they can be considered as more proper citizens as the potential mothers of the nation. In other words, although women need to internalize the ideals of the new regime in the process of being recognized as the ideal citizen and thus the subject, they are also subjected to the ideals of the

regime.¹²⁴ As a result, the most prominent features were shape of the body, beauty and fertility of women in physical training and sports discourses by constructing the new ideal woman of the new regime. The proper woman citizen should represent a healthy and robust nation and be able to reproduce healthy children, but also be suitable to the beauty understanding of the modern Western world.

To conclude, I need to point that despite of late Ottoman feminist movement, in the early Republican period, women were silenced with official discourses which stated that women were given all essential rights as equal citizens in public sphere, so there was no need for feminism anymore, but we will see that women will find the cracks and this time they will react in the streets in 1970s in any way.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Here I try to explain the paradox of being both a subject and subjected at the same time that Foucault also discussed.

¹²⁵ Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012.

5. Conclusion

Physical training and sports policies in the early Republican period in Turkey were an important part of the project of creating a new ideal citizen envisioned by the political elites. This project mainly aimed at instilling citizens with new ideas and behaviors that were allegedly unrelated with the old, recreating relations with the society in a new level, and gaining a sense of loyalty to the state and nation. In this manner, the late Ottoman period under the Union and Progress Association (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) rule and early Kemalist era marked a distinctive attitude towards physical training as an ideological variable and emphasized its potential for shaping a new type of man capable of fulfilling the historical mission of saving the Empire and founding a new and prosperous state, respectively, for the Unionists and for the Kemalists. Sport and the achievement of creating descendants with good physical capabilities reflected the interest of the restoration of national dignity, which was considered to have been lost, and for the construction of a new society.

In this thesis, it was shown that sport and physical training had particular social significance in Turkish society during the early Republican era. This significance was mostly caused by the recognition of sports and physical training as components of social policy. Beyond the entertainment function of these physical training activities, they were transformed in the hands of the governmental elites into valuable means of intervention into the social field.

Although political elites seriously took physical training and sports into account, their policies were ineffective to shape and regulate the bodies of the youth. There were several reasons for this issue: financial, institutional and administrative problems, ideological background and disagreements among power elites about the direction

of physical training field.¹²⁶ For example, a significant part of the budget allocated to physical training was devoted to the building of large sports complexes, rather than promoting regular training and sports activities. However, the development of physical training and sports depended on the development of institutions to train physical trainers, the establishment of youth clubs and the organization of regular sports activities rather than building huge sports facilities. Moreover, it is not even possible to suggest that a big success was achieved in the construction of sports complexes.¹²⁷

The training of physical training instructors was one of the most serious problems. The numbers were dramatic: for example, in the discussion of the annual report of the GDPE (Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü), Cemil Taner argued that until that time (May 1941) a total of 483 youth clubs and 454 village groups had been established and 88,153 young people had been taken under the obligation. However, there were only thirty instructors, one for approximately 2,450 people.¹²⁸ In 1944, it was only 346 for 120,000 conscripted men for the obligation and for the few hundred thousand students.

The obligation of physical training according to the Law for Physical Training was probably the area in which the weakness of the infrastructure for the applications of projects appeared most obviously. In 1944, the Ministry of Education conducted a questionnaire on the applicability conditions of the obligation for physical training. When the results came from the provinces, a committee was organized and prepared a report. According to this report, in the winter, the obligation could never be applied because of the lack of indoor facilities or even in summer because of the lack of a sufficient number of instructors.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ I focus on the different terms and implementations in the first two decades of the Republic in the second chapter and I show the controversion among political elites and sports managers in the field of competitive and mass sports field in the third chapter.

¹²⁷ Mustafa Keten, *Türkiye’de Spor* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1974), s.51.

¹²⁸ Cemil Taner, “Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü 1941 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu Layihası ve Bütçe Encümeni Mazbatası”, *Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre.6, içtima.2, Cild.18* (30 May 1941), p.366.

¹²⁹ Hasan Ali Yücel, *Milli Eğitimle ilgili Söylev ve Demeçler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), p.227.

If physical deficiencies were one side of the coin, legislative deficiencies were the other. It was usually argued that although there was a Law that made physical exercise obligatory, it did not include sanctions for those who did not attend the sessions. Because people could not be forced, the training could not be applied as an obligation. In the Republican archives there are numerous documents expressing the complaints of the governors about the lack of “obligatory tools”. It was only “possible” in 1945, to introduce a legislative measure covering the “deserters” with a decision by the Supreme Court.¹³⁰

Kemalist physical training policies faced harsh criticism within the political elites. These criticisms can be mainly collected in two groups: The first group focused on the fact that it was impossible to implement a common and effective model due to the administrative structure of physical training and sports. Sports organizations focused on, for example, on the showy appearance of the youth (wasteful expenditure for the uniforms), the obsession of the sports organization on ornamented stadiums, the lack of the war games for the male students and first-aid training for the female students, or disorder within the organization.¹³¹ Sometimes, the applied methods of physical training were criticized as well. Nüzhet Baba, for example, argued that Swedish gymnastics were sometimes staid and unexciting, and this system did not attach any value to the individual.¹³² Criticisms in this direction have mainly adopted the norms of the Kemalist physical education project, but came from those who found their practice incomplete or inefficient for various reasons.

The second group of criticisms were directed not only to the shortcomings or inadequacies of the project but to its existence. For example, Hasan Ali Yücel claimed that the Law for Physical Training had a democratic aspect but the regulation and other legislation related to it were highly authoritative. His proposal was to revise the regulation to make the sports more attractive and leave it to the free will of the people (1993, p.282).

¹³⁰ Kurthan Fişek, *Spor Yönetimi*, p.328.

¹³¹ Osman Şevki Uludağ, “Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü 1941 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu”, TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Cild 25, 1942, s.246.

¹³² N. Baba, “Bize En Uygun Sistem: Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor”, *Ülkü*, no.86,1940.

Beyond these structural obstacles to the development of the physical training and sports project, there were ideological disagreements in terms of the aims and implementations. Many intellectuals opposed the idea of promoting elite sports and training elite sportsmen in order to attain international success. For many of them, this was not conducive to a unified youth as it isolated sports people, who became purely interested in their own personal achievements. This makes them concentrate on their own abilities rather than on the good of the nation. However, on the other side, there was an obsession for achievement and record-breaking in sports. Despite the emphasis on teamwork and solidarity between the members of the team, sporting contests were usually based on competition even at the school level. This specialization in sports strongly promoted individualistic tendencies, and prepared conditions which were far removed from the idea of extensive solidarity and unity among the whole youth. This contradiction between the importance attributed to championships and mass participation in sports remained unresolved until the end of the period, and in a way, competitive sports paved the way for formal physical training policies not to be embraced.

Infrastructural problems, physical deficiencies, disagreements among political elites prevented the conveying of the messages to the society in the early Republican period. The goals of the physical training as a national project did not find supporters among the youth and were often seen as a requirement of formality. However, physical training policies and discourses are important for us to understand the early Republican period in Turkey and the construction of the ideal citizen, whether successful or not.

When I first became interested in the concepts of youth and gender, I was in the second grade in bachelor. It was an important moment for me to read in Sociology of Youth class that concepts of youth and generation were the product of modernity and industrial society. From this moment, I started to combine what I learned and applied it in different fields. Accordingly, I started with the generational analysis of a novel- *Alında Mavi Kuşlar*, and then continued with the analysis of the magazines such as *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921) which was the most long-lasting magazine of the late Ottoman feminist movement and *Feminist* magazine (1987-1990) which was

one of the examples of alternative media during the second wave of feminist movement in Turkey.

Governing of the body in the process of nation-building and modernization was a gendered process (Mayer, 2000). Since the beginning of Turkish modernization in the 19th century, the female body was the focus of political controversies. Women's increasing public visibility and changing clothing style was seen as a sign of changing morality and emerged as a significant political issue. The Kemalist elites considered introduced comprehensive reforms in women's positions in society: the education of girls became mandatory; the participation of women in the labour force was encouraged; polygamy was abolished. However, despite these developments, the nationalist discourse still imposed on women the duty of enlightened motherhood and rationalized housekeeping, which provided the ultimate justification for their education (Kandiyoti, 1997). In this sense, the Kemalist regime had a double discourse on women. As Yeşim Arat explains:

While the state encouraged increasing involvement by a group of elite women in public life, it gave a different message to a large number of 'other' women: they were expected to contribute to the process of modernization not by becoming elite women professionals but being housewives, bringing 'order', 'discipline' and 'rationality' to homemaking in the private realm. (1997, p. 100)

As many cases of nationalism, Turkish nationalism regulated men and women in different ways, by emphasizing a moral code that mobilizes men to become its guardians and women to become its biological and symbolic reproducers (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Although my primary focus point is the construction process of the ideal women citizen, I divided the thesis into three sections, apart from introduction and conclusion, and tried to convey the historical context in which this process took place. In the first chapter, instead of providing a chronological historical data I aimed at giving fragmented parts of history by combining with the spirit of the period. Accordingly, I discussed the short history of physical training and sports in both late Ottoman and early Republican period. Based on the different periodization offered by Kurthan Fişek, I discussed the institutionalization process in physical training field and its relationship within the period.

In the following chapter, I proposed a new alternative perspective by using Foucault's concept of biopolitics, which constitutes the theoretical framework of the thesis, and explained how this concept became visible in the physical training and sports policies produced in the late Ottoman and early Republican period. As new type of governmentality required new governing techniques and technologies, physical training and sports became an effective tool of the state to maintain the continuity of the regime by legitimizing it. In this chapter, I followed how the mindset of officials, sports managers and experts changed in a decade and how these changes affected the related policies and discourses. The subtitles I assigned for different contents made it easier to follow the historical continuities and ruptures in physical training and sports field.

In the following chapter, the main point was how dominant discourses in physical training and sports field shaped the construction process of the new ideal womanhood. Women recognized especially by their reproductive functions and beauties were considered as the symbol of modernity and progress of the nation. In this context, I gave place to discourses of sports managers, officials and experts to understand why physical training was so necessary for women. By analyzing the mainstream sports magazines and journals, I claimed that these discourses strengthened the hegemonic male control over the woman. One of the most frequent arguments in the sections of sports magazines devoted to women was that women were less powerful than men by their nature. Therefore, women should engage in light sports such as tennis and swimming, and protect their bodies from heavy sports and competition against the possibility of harming their reproductive functions. From this point of view, the acceptance of women as ideal citizens in the formation process of nation-state was subject to certain conditions, and physical training and sports were used as an important discursive tool in this field.

This thesis, which aimed to go beyond the grand narratives and to look at discourses and policies with a new perspective, aimed to discuss the founding figures of the physical training and sports field in the early Republican years. It also attempted to discuss the role of physical training and sports, the ideological and political references attributed to them. What is more, in this thesis, I tried to reflect what expected from

women as ideal citizens by referring to physical training and sports discourses emerged in the early Republican period under the name of modernization and national development.

To conclude, in the path of this thesis, I can suggest that the construction process of youth and womanhood of different countries in the context of physical training and sports can be discussed critically and historically in future studies. It might be interesting to see how the concepts of citizenship and ideal womanhood are perceived through non-Western modernization process in different countries.



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