

**Constructing and Mobilizing the “Nation” through Sports:
State, Physical Education and Nationalism under the Young Turk Rule
(1908-1918)**

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They [the Young Turks] not only changed the political system but they also attempted to refashion society by borrowing more freely from the West than ever before. They introduced competitive sport and, for the first time, an Ottoman team of two athletes participated in the Olympic games in Stockholm in 1912. Soccer, however, became very popular and clubs such as Galatasaray began to thrive as they do even in the 1990s. Boys were introduced to scouting and Lord Baden-Powell sent instructors to help with the organisation of the training of the troops.¹

¹ Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 31.

Introduction

I) Literature Review and the Aims of the Study:

The main purpose of the present thesis is to evaluate the Turkish nation-building process in the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire in its last decade. I will focus on a particular aspect of this phenomenon, the use of gymnastics and physical education in the construction as well as in the mobilization of the Turkish ‘nation’.

The Young Turk rule between the years of 1908-1918 witnessed a process in which the Ottoman Empire became more ethnically homogenous than it had never been before.¹ This process which was the result of the demographic and geographic changes, not only determined the policies of the ruling party *İttihad ve Terakki* (Committee of Union and Progress; CUP) ideologically but also their utilization of various state apparatuses with the aim of transforming and changing social order varying from the family to the economy.² This penetration of the state into different institutions of the Ottoman society was an important step in the transformation of the art of government from sovereignty to a new form of *governmentality*.

In this respect Michael Foucault’s influential essay on “governmentality” will be the point of departure by which he meant the respective policies of the modern-state based on disciplining of the individuals; on the level of population, he named this *bio-politics*, in order to use this new resource of ‘population’ more effectively.³ Following this logic I will claim that the Ottoman state constantly altered its policies on its population during the 19th century

¹ Çağlar Keyder, “The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy,” *New Left Review* I/115 (May-June 1979):3-7.

² For the development of “national” economy under Young Turk rule, the basic text: Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Milli İktisat”* (“National Economy” in Turkey) (1908-1918), (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982) and for the development of the idea of the “new” and “national” family, see: same author, “The Family, Feminism and the State During the Young Turk Period: 1908-1918,” *Varia Turcica* 13 (1991): 441-452.

³ Michael Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality : With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-104.

and after, a phenomenon which is labeled as the Turkish experience of modernization⁴ was that of this new form of *governmentality*. Our topic, the physical education will be evaluated in this respect which was crucial to the application of ‘*bio-power*’ and ‘disciplinary technologies’.⁵

This period of modernization is called *Tanzimat-i Hayriye* (Auspicious Re-Order) which takes its name from the edict of *Gulhane Hatt-i Humayunu* of 1839⁶ and is closely associated with the establishment of “the order of law”, centralization and bureaucratization followed by the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) with his ‘autocratic modernization’.⁷ The Revolution of 1908 and eventually the *coup d’etat* by CUP leaders in 1913 established the basis of today’s modern republic of Turkey. This period of three quarters of a century witnessed a massive attempt of changing the social order with the basic goal of the state to penetrate deeper into the society with various and ever-continuing *reforms*. The most important of these reforms were the introduction of citizenship as a political category with the citizenship law of 1869 and the introduction of universal franchise by the revolution of 1908. In the relevant literature, the concept of Ottoman citizenship is mostly considered in ideological terms, basically, an attempt to create a common ‘Ottoman’ citizenship, thus to prevent the Empire from falling apart. However my claim in this paper is that citizenship is more than just categorical rights and obligations but it is a dialectical relationship between the state and its “citizens”. Membership is reconstructed along with the fundamental rebuilding of the “modern-state” within which it is implemented. It is a way of integrating the population into the emerging nation-state by various means, hence the so-called reforms of modernization. In the following pages I will show how the concept of citizenship is closely

⁴ One of the basic texts on Turkish modernization, see: Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, with an introduction by Feroz Ahmad, (London: Hurst & Co., 1998).

⁵ D.L. Andrews, “Desperately seeking Michel: Foucault, Genealogy and Critical Sport Sociology,” *Sociology of Sport Journal* 10, No. 2 (1993): 148-167.

⁶ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

⁷ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire: 1876-1909*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

associated with nation-building project especially through the emphasis on the duty of defending the country.

This theme of building up citizens for the ‘defense of the country’ is the basis of another dimension of my thesis, the construction of masculinity with regard to the concept of citizenship. The relationship between masculinity, politics and war⁸, and particularly the role of middle-class values and nationalistic ideologies, has been discussed by various scholars. According to these scholars, modern masculinity, a ‘standard view of a man’ is closely associated with the two aspects of this thesis. First, physical education was considered to be an essential part of modern masculinity throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries; thus a proper study of physical education in Ottoman/Turkish context will provide the construction of modern Turkish masculinity from a specific perspective⁹. Second, and more important, I will focus on the masculine project of the construction of the nation and its relation to war. I will examine physical education’s association to citizenship, war and masculinity.¹⁰ Many works have been produced related to gender aspect of national identity and citizenship, mostly by feminist historians.¹¹ In this context the studies of Karen Hagemann on masculinity and war on post Napoleonic Germany provide methodological paths regarding the association between gendered nationhood, citizenship and war.¹² In the context of this thesis, this means the construction of the “ideal-male Turkish citizen” during the Balkan and First World Wars.

⁸ Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, ed., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

⁹ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Linda K. Berger, “May All Our Citizens Be Soldiers and All Our Soldiers Citizens: The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation,” in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics and Social Theory*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, (Bollman Place, Maryland, 1990), 89-103.

¹¹ Ann Curthoys, “Feminism, Citizenship and National Identity,” *Feminist Review*, No. 44 (Summer, 1993): 19-38; Nira Yuval-Davis, “The ‘Multi-Layered Citizen’: Citizenship in The Age of ‘Glocalization’, ” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, No.1 (June 1999): 119–136; Ida Blom, “Feminism and Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century: A Cross-Cultural Perspective,” *Journal of Women History* 7, No. 4 (1995 Winter): 82-94.

¹² Karen Hagemann, “The German Heroes: The Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in 19th Century Germany,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War*, ed. Stefan Dudink and others, 116-136; Karen Hagemann, “Of ‘Manly Valor’ and ‘German Honor’: Nation, War, and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising Against Napoleon,” *Central European History* 30, No.2 (1997): 187-220.

The present study will examine how physical education and gymnastics fit into this picture during the Young Turk rule (1908-1918) and how they became one of the most important tools to create citizens of a Turkish nation. Therefore the study will concentrate on the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a nation-state and its policies on citizenship from this particular aspect.¹³ I contend that physical education and sports, contrary to their commercialization in contemporary market economies, was first of all meant to *construct* a nation throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries,¹⁴ and the late Ottoman Empire was no exception. However what gave the Ottoman case its peculiarity was the sense of *decadence* which existed in a discursive level in other countries in Western or Central Europe, accompanied the Turkish nation building process more urgently due the losses of great amount of territories in the Balkan Peninsula since the last quarter of the 19th century. And with the last blow of Balkan Wars of 1912 and the Empire's western border became more or less the present borders of Republic of Turkey. More importantly, as mentioned above, this change in geographical boundaries were reflected in the shift in the ideological boundaries of the ruling elite and intelligentsia.¹⁵ Besides these, the Ottoman ruling elite had to face the challenge of taking various measures in a relatively short period of time, particularly between and during Balkan Wars and World War I (1912-1918), thus this short but vital period will constitute the focus of the thesis. However, despite the claim of peculiarity, similar cases on physical education such as III French Republic¹⁶, II German Empire¹⁷, The British Empire¹⁸

¹³ Füsun Üstel, 'Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde, II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi (In the pursuit of the 'desired citizen' civic knowledge from II. Constitution to today), (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

¹⁴ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 127-160.

¹⁵ Tanıl Bora, "Turkish National Identity, Turkish Nationalism and The Balkan Peninsula," in *Balkans: A Mirror of the International Order*, ed. Gunay Goksu Ozdogan, Kemali Saybaşılı, (Istanbul: Eren, 1995), 102-120.

¹⁶ For the development of sports in France, see: Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1981); also works of Eugen Weber are informative in this respect: Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle France: Opium of the Classes?," *The American Historical Review* 76, No. 1 (Feb., 1971): 70-98 and the same author, "Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of Organized Sport in France," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, No. 2 (1970): 3-26. For the establishment of the youth clubs by the

or even the Czech ‘independist’ movement¹⁹ will be examined briefly in a chapter in order to deepen the analyses of gymnastic movement in the Ottoman/Turkish case by providing different insights, pointing commonalities and differences.

This approach will be a weakness as well as a strength since very little has been written on this topic, these comparative cases will help me adapt the basic questions to the socio-political particularities of my case. This study examines the history of physical education and sports which generally has a low historiographic status²⁰ in the Ottoman/Turkish case and elsewhere. The history of physical education and sports are divided into two different sections and constitute a battle-ground between the “amateur” and the “academic” historians.²¹ The same problem is valid for the history of sports in the late Ottoman Empire, as the works on this subject are either on the histories of prominent sports (football) clubs²² or on sports generally in the Ottoman Empire without much reference to the context of modernity and modernization.²³ Unfortunately, there are few works which place the history of sports in the context of Ottoman/Turkish “modernization”.²⁴ One exception is

French state and their use for paramilitary purposes, see: Ted W. Margadant, “Primary Schools and Youth Groups in Pre-War Paris: Les “Petites A’s,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, No. 2 (Apr. 1978): 323-336.

¹⁷ For the history of sports in Germany see: Christiane Eisenberg, *English Sports und Dutsche Bürger: eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 1800-1939*, (Aerborn : Schöningh, 1999).

¹⁸ The following books which are edited by J.A. Mangan are consisting of the texts on history of sports in Europe particularly in England and France: J.A. Mangan, ed., *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, (London: Frank Cass, 1996); J. A. Mangan, ed., *Sport in Europe : Politics, Class, Gender*, (London: Frank Cass, 1999); J.A. Mangan, ed., *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons*, (London: Frank Cass, 2003). Patrick F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire: 1880-1935*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

¹⁹ The most updated book on Czech nationalism and its association to mass gymnastics is the following: Claire E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

²⁰ Steven A. Riess, “The New Sport History,” *Reviews in American History* 18, No. 3 (Sep., 1990): 311-325.

²¹ For the trends in the use of history of sport by “academic” historians and purposes, see: Allen Guttmann, “Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, No. 3 (2003): 363-375.

²² Altan Tanrikulu, *Fenerbahçe Tarihi: Efsaneleriyle, Kahramanlarıyla, Rakamlarıyla* (History of Fenerbahçe: its legends, heroes and numbers), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2002) and B.Tuncay, *Galatasaray Tarihi: Avrupa Zaferleriyle, Unutulmaz Yıldızlarıyla* (History of Galatasaray: its victories in Europe, its memorable stars), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003) can be given as examples of this kind of studies.

²³ The following works emphasize the “eternal character” of the Turkish nation for making sports: Âtîf Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Spor* (Sports in the Ottoman State), (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995); Doğan Yıldız, *Çağlarboyu Türkler'de Spor* (Sports among Turks throughout centuries), (İstanbul: Telebasım, 2002) are two examples of this sort of work.

²⁴ As an example for a study that considers sports as an agent for ‘modernization’ of the Turkish society, see: Cem Atabeyoğlu, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Spor (Sports from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic),” in

the study of Yigit Akın which deals with the association between *governmentality* and *body politics* of the Turkish Republic and physical education in the early Turkish Republic (1923-1945).²⁵ Akın's study is a pioneering work, but it lacks empirical data to support his arguments on the association between governmentality and physical education in this particular context.²⁶ It also fails to construct a convincing history of sports in the late Ottoman Empire.²⁷ This present work will fill these lacunae; it will re-construct the early history of physical education and sports in Ottoman Turkey in its last decades and conceptualize this history in the context of the creation of the "ideal masculine citizen".

II) Organization of the Thesis:

After introduction, chapter 1 will briefly discuss the history of Young Turk rule with specific attention to their 'nationalism' and its 'modernizing' aspect. As an outcome of this discussion I will introduce the theoretical framework of the thesis, Michel Foucault's *governmentality* and *bio-politics* of the Young Turk governments.

Chapter 2 will elaborate on the ideological background of the period and pay specific attention to four themes. First, it will pay attention to the growing importance of science in the 19th century and Social-Darwinism as a part of this "scientification" of society; second it will discuss briefly the ideas of solidarité and corporatism as the dominant political-economic forces in the Ottoman Empire. Third it will examine the importance of the universal conscription and the spread of the idea of *levee en masse* (nation-in-arms) from revolutionary

Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, (Encyclopedia of Turkey from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic), ed. Murat Belge, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1474-1518.

²⁵ Yigit Akın, "*Gülbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*" *Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* ("Robust and tough children" physical education and sports in the Early Republic), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004) and the same author, "Ana Hatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor Politikaları (The main lines of the policies of physical education and sports in the Republican Period)," *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 103 (2005): 53-92.

²⁶ For a criticism on this work as well as the other narratives of history of sports in late Ottoman Empire, see: Yasar Tolga Cora, "II. Meşrutiyet'te Beden Terbiyesi; '*Milli Jimnastik*' Adlı Kitap Üzerine Notlar (Physical education in the II. Constitutional period and notes on the book entitled '*National Gymnastics*')," *Müteferrika* 29, (2006/1, summer): 177-192.

²⁷ For instance, Yigit Akın admits that there is a lack of studies in many aspects of history of sports in late Ottoman Empire and asks for a synthetic study for the history of Boy Scouting under Young Turk rule. Yigit Akın, "*Gülbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*," 133.

France to other parts of the world. Finally, it will touch upon the importance of physical education in the construction of modern masculinity.

Chapter 3 will discuss the spread of gymnastics from Germany to other parts of the world in the framework of what sociologist John W. Meyer calls as *exogenous cultural construction of the nation-state*.²⁸ It will elaborate on the German (*Turnen*), Zionist (*Muskeljuden*), Czech (*Sokol*) and British (Boy-Scouting) cases since especially Turnen, Sokol and Boy-Scouts had considerable effects in the development of physical education in Ottoman Empire. The subsequent chapters will be the core of the thesis and will discuss the development of physical education in the late Ottoman Empire.

The core of the thesis is designed in three parts; first I will analyze the discourse of a sport journal named *İdman* (gymnastics), which was published between 1913 and 1914.²⁹ I will examine the “national identity” imposed by *İdman* on two folds. First I will analyze “national identity” as the self understanding as a male ‘Turk’. In that part I will focus on the construction of the “patriotic-heroic masculine citizen” through physical education in the context of Balkan Wars. And I will examine the social-Darwinist overtones that were prevalent in these columns.³⁰ Subsequently I will briefly discuss the women gymnastics in the journal and the role attributed to women through it. Second I will discuss another level of “national identity” as constructed *vis á vis* the ‘others’. In that section I will examine the role of sports in the rendering of the certain elements of the Ottoman society the ‘others’ in the construction of the *groupness* of the ‘Turkish’ nation.

²⁸ John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, Francisco O. Ramirez, “World Society and the Nation-State,” *American Journal of Sociology* 103, No. 1 (July 1997): 144-181.

²⁹ Unfortunately a systematic study on sport Ottoman/Turkish sport journalism does not exist, one of the pioneering works is Zafer Toprak, “Türkiye’de Sporun Tarihi - Spor Alemi Dergisi ve Türkiye’de İdman (The history of sports in Turkey: The magazine of *Spor Alemi* and gymnastics in Turkey),” *Tombak*, No. 20 (Summer 1998): 4-9. Concerning sport journalism the following articles are providing me the theoretical as well as methodological questions: Robert H. MacDonald, “Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys’ Magazines, 1892-1914,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, No.3 (Jul., 1989): 519-539; M. Tervo, “Nationalism, Sports and Gender in Finnish Sport Journalism in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Gender, Place and Culture* 8, No.4 (2001): 357-353.

³⁰ The most comprehensive work on the Ottoman intellectual’s attitude towards social-Darwinism, see: Atilla Dogan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (Ottoman intellectuals and social Darwinism), (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

In chapter 5 I will concentrate on the emergence of Boy-Scouting in the Ottoman Empire. The subject of boy scouting is one of the few subjects that have been studied sufficiently, particularly on the context of British Empire. These studies are particularly on the question of whether the Boy-Scout organization was promoting “character-building” or whether it was for military training and functioned as a paramilitary agent.³¹ In this chapter first I will give a brief history of the movement in Ottoman Empire and show its paramilitary nature under the policies of CUP.³² Then I will examine the association between the boy-scouts and the idea of “citizen building”. I will move beyond the discussion on the character building aspect of the movement and concentrate on its association with corporatism which was the dominant political-economy idea of the period. Third, I will briefly discuss the importance of pedagogies and practical knowledge as legitimizing forces behind the movement and examine a story on a “natural scout”. This story will show us how the militaristic, social aspects of the movement and pedagogy were intermingled.

In chapter 6 I will examine the gymnastic festivals which were began to be held in this period. It is well known that public festivals are one of the most important elements in the construction of a common “national-consciousness” or, they were one of the, in the famous phrase of Hobsbawn, “invented traditions”.³³ In this chapter I will scrutinize this specific kind of “invented tradition”. First I will use the theories of Michel Foucault on “disciplinary technologies” with the purpose of understanding the *body-politics* of the Young Turk state

³¹ For this debate, see: Allen Warren, “Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and the Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920,” *The English Historical Review* 101, No. 399 (Apr., 1986): 376-398.

John Springhall, “Baden Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?,” *The English Historical Review* 102, No. 405 (Oct., 1987): 934-942.

³² Zafer Toprak, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri (Paramilitary youth organizations in the II. Constitutional Period)” in *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Murat Belge, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), pp. 531-536; Z. Toprak, “İttihat ve Terakki’nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri (Paramilitary youth organizations of Committee of Union and Progress),” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi* VII (1979): 95-113; Z. Toprak, “Cumhuriyet Arifesi Türkiye’de İzicilik (Boy-Scouting in the Eve of Republican Turkey)” *Tombak*, No. 25 (April 1999): 71-81 and the same author, “II. Mesrutiyet’ten Mütareke Yıllarına: Türkiye’de İziciliğin İlk Evresi (From the years of II. Constitution to the Armistice: The First phase of Boy Scouting),” *Tombak*, No. 24 (February 1999): 19-27.

³³ There is a developed literature on the importance of public festivals and their importance on the construction of communal consciousness; the best work up to now is Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

behind the mass gymnastics festivals. I will extend his theory by examining mass gymnastics under communist regimes³⁴ and by using the ideas of George L. Mosse on the importance of gymnastic festivals in the “nationalization of masses” in Germany.³⁵ These works will help me to pose theoretical questions in order to comprehend the importance of the sport festivals under the Young Turk rule. I will show that these festivals not only created “docile” bodies of the gymnasts but also represented an ideal society through their cohesion and were one of the means in the nationalization of the masses.

In the conclusion of the thesis I will outline the main findings of the thesis. I will briefly discuss the different connotations of ‘being strong’ as conceived by CUP and the place of physical education among them. I will look at the origins of the legend of CUP from a very specific angle of physical education and I pointed out the importance of the CUP rule in the period for the successive nation state and how they are felt even in the contemporary Turkey.

³⁴ Peter Roubal, “Politics of Gymnastics: Mass Gymnastic Displays under Communism in Central and Eastern Europe,” *Body & Society* 9, No. 2 (2003): 1-25.

³⁵ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

Chapter I) Historical and Theoretical Framework: Young Turk Rule (1908-1918): From Empire to Nation and its ‘Governmentality’

I) Historical Framework: The Young Turk Rule (1908-1918):

Almost all the well-known books on Ottoman-Turkish history describe the period of Young Turk rule under the aforementioned title “from empire to nation”.¹ The Young Turk rule which lasted for almost ten years from the revolution of 1908 to the defeat at the end of the World War I in late 1918 was identified with their policies to ‘nationalize’ the empire. However as the Young Turks were far from a unified group of people their policies were also far from unified whole. According to Erik Zürcher, a famous historian of *modern* Turkey, the leaders of the Young Turks were: “ideologically eclectic and their common denominator was a shared set of attitudes rather than a common set of programme. Important element in this set of attitudes were nationalism, a positivist belief in the value of objective scientific truth, a great (and somewhat naïve) faith in the power of education in the spread of the central state as the prime mover in society and a certain activism, a belief in change, in progress, which contrasted sharply with the cautious conservatism prevailing in the *Hamidian* era”²

The belief of Young Turks in progress and change was omnipresent and it was even present in the name of their political party: Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The rule of CUP was described as a centralized one which tried to penetrate into almost every aspect of social life from economy to family during this ten years period.³ However this rule was not

¹ For instance see: Feroz Ahmad, “From Empire to Nation,” in *The Making of Modern Turkey*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 31-51; Roderick H. Davidson, “From Empire to Republic,” in *Turkey: A Short History*, (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1988), 109-127.

² Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (I.B. Tauris, 2004), 132. However the studies show that *Hamidian* Era was not conservative as it has been always depicted. It is much more appropriate to call the *Hamidian* Era as an example of “autocratic modernization”, for the development of this argument see: Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire: 1876-1909*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

³ For the nationalization of the ‘economy’ in this period see the seminal work: Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Milli İktisat” (“National Economy” in Turkey) (1908-1918)*, (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982); and for the ‘new family’

uncontested and it was challenged by the palace as a backlash for a return to the monarchy in April 1909 (known as ‘31st of March Incident’) and by different political powers who created a front against the unionists known as ‘liberals’ (first in the name of *Ahrar Firkasi* [Liberal Party] and later under the name of *Hurriyet ve Itilaf Firkasi* [Freedom and Accord Party]). The CUP was able to consolidate its power as the *governing power* only after January 1913 when the Young Turk leader, Enver Pasa conducted a *coup d’etat* which resulted in the death of the Minister of War and its power reached the peak when the reformist but not-unionist Prime-Minister Mahmud Sevket *Paşa* was assassinated in the summer of the same year. After this event, the *dictatorial triumvirate* of the three *paşas*, Enver, Cemal and Talat, was established the ministers of War, Navy and Interior Affairs respectively and it lasted until the end of the WWI.⁴

During the rule of CUP, the Ottoman Empire witnessed two catastrophic wars: the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913 and World War I from 1914 to 1918. As a result of the first one, the Ottoman rule in the Balkan Peninsula ended after more than five hundred years of rule. The territories of the empire in Europe were restricted to a strip on the Balkans for protecting straits and Istanbul after June 1913.⁵ This disastrous defeat of the Ottomans against the armies of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro not only shifted the boundaries of the empire from Central and Eastern Europe to its very periphery but also resulted in a change in the ideologies of the ruling elite.⁶ The flow of Muslim refugees from these territories⁷ and the remaining of the Arabian Peninsula as the only imperial lands outside Anatolia resulted in a change from the political dream of Ottomanism to Turkish Nationalism and Islamism. Turkish nationalism in the core of the empire, now Anatolia, remained the only source for

the same author, “The Family, Feminism and the State during the Young Turk Period: 1908-1918,” in *Varia Turcica* 13 (1991): 441-452.

⁴ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 93-131.

⁵ Roderick H. Davidson, *Turkey: A Short History*, 114.

⁶ Tanıl Bora, “Turkish National Identity, Turkish Nationalism and The Balkan Peninsula,” in *Balkans: A Mirror of the International Order*, ed. Gunay Goksu, Ozdogan, Kemali Saybaşılı, (Istanbul: Eren, 1995), 102-120; Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*, (London: Arnold, 2001), 71-97.

⁷ Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*, (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1995).

‘identification’ particularly after the so called the Arab Revolt in 1917 when Arabs united with British forces and fought against the Ottoman army.⁸

If these were the failed policies of the CUP to avoid the disintegration of the imperial territories, there was one more problem for its leading cadre to deal with: the non-Muslim communities of the Empire. It is known that the CUP tried to integrate the non-Muslim communities (most notably Greeks, Armenians and Jews) into the imperial rule but it was unsuccessful with the exception of Jews.⁹ The problem of integrating Greeks was only solved in a population exchange following the war between ‘Greeks’ and ‘Turks’ in 1921 and 1922. In this population exchange 900.000 Orthodox and 400.000 Muslim people on both sides with exceptions of the ones living in Constantinople and West Thrace moved from their respective countries.¹⁰ However the Armenians of the Empire had a much worse fate than the Greeks had and during the ‘deportations’ of spring and summer of 1915 around one million Armenians lost their lives, in one of the most tragic events of the twentieth century.¹¹ According to Davidson these changes in the Ottoman society during the ten years of CUP rule “contributed to the institutional, ideological and social development that underlay the emergence of the *modern Turkish nation* and the Turkish republic [emphasis mine].”¹²

⁸ For the Islamist policies of the CUP and its attempts to integrate the Arabian lands and to gain their loyalty see: Hasan Kayal, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire: 1908-1918*, (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1997)

⁹ Feroz Ahmed, “Unionist Relations with The Greek, Armenian, and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1914,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York : Holmes & Meier, 1982), 401-434.

¹⁰ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 164.

¹¹ There is a huge literature on the *Armenian Genocide* and for one of the most important works, see: Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*, (London : Macmillan, 1992).

¹² Roderick H. Davidson, *Turkey: A Short History*, 109.

II) The ‘Nationalism’ of the Young Turks and its *Modernity*:

The studies on the Turkish nationalism under Young Turk rule focused on the transformation of the “community into a nation”.¹³ They either concentrated on what Benedict Anderson calls the “official nationalism” of the empire¹⁴ or studied Turkish nationalism as a response to the nationalisms of the ‘others’ of the empire. In this view the emergence of the Turkish nationalism was depicted as a direct response and a state policy to the mentioned nationalisms of communities of the Balkans and to the Christian communities of Anatolia.¹⁵ Some scholars focused on the ‘nationalist’ intellectuals of the period and most prominently on Ziya Gökalp, the “official” ideologue of Turkish nationalism even after his death in 1924.¹⁶ Some other studies have focused on the literary sources such as books and ‘nationalist’ journals. In the first case, they emphasized the formation of a culture based national-identity through the war propaganda books published during the CUP era and particularly during WWI¹⁷ whereas in the latter case the “nationalist” journals have been evaluated on the basis of their authors as Ottoman Turks or Turks from Russia and their different perceptions of “Turkish nationalism.”¹⁸

I claim that these theses attempted to understand Turkish nationalism as “an especially appropriate form of political behavior in the context of the modern state and the modern state

¹³ This is the typical idea concerning the formation of Turkish nation, see the chapter in the seminal book of Bernard Lewis, “Community and Nation” in *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1968), 323-361.

¹⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991), 83-112.

¹⁵ For an example of such an approach see: Roderick Davison, “Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response,” in *Nationalism in a Non-National State: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. William W. Haddad and William Ochsenwald, (Ohio State University Press, 1977), 25-56.

¹⁶ Urel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, (London: Luzac and Company, 1950).

¹⁷ Erol Köroğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı, 1914-1918: Propagandadan Millî Kimlik İnşasına*, (From propaganda to national identity construction: Turkish literature and the First World War, 1914-1918), (İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

¹⁸ Arai, Masami, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, (Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1992).

system.”¹⁹ But they lacked a crucial point in doing so since they did place this project in larger context of *modernizing* Turkish society while constructing it.

III) Theoretical Framework: ‘Governmentality’ and Modernity of State Rule:

This modernizing nature of nationalism of some [“non-Western”] countries has been first discussed by John Plamenatz in his essay entitled “Two Types of Nationalism.” In that essay Plamenatz discusses and compares the nature of the ‘Western’ and other (Slavic, Asian, African) nationalisms. For the latter case, Plamenatz states:

Drawn gradually, as a result of the diffusion among them of the western ideas and practices, into a practice, into a civilization alien to them, they have to re-equip themselves culturally, to transform themselves. In their efforts to assert themselves as equals in a civilization not of their own making, they have had, as it were, to make themselves anew, to create national identities for themselves...there was an awareness also the skills, ideas and customs acquired from their ancestors were inadequate, if they were to raise themselves to the level of the peoples who, by the standards of the civilization into which they were drawn, were more advanced than they were.²⁰

This view has been discussed and criticized by various scholars²¹ and sub-altern historian Partha Chatterjee is among many others who had discussed this essay extensively in his work on “nationalist thought”.²² Chatterjee criticizes Plamenatz’s essay on the basis of its liberal-rationalist dilemma as it constructs a dichotomy between the ‘pure’ type of the West and a ‘special’ deviant one (of the East) whose deviancy is explained *sociologically*, as stages for its political development to ‘freedom’.²³ However according to Chatterjee the “nationalist thought” limits our understanding of the history of nationalism to the boundaries of Enlightenment and to its rationality.²⁴ In other words he searches for the “possibilities that

¹⁹ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 1.

²⁰ John Plamenatz, “Two Types of Nationalism,” in *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. Eugene Kamenka, (London: E. Arnold, 1976), 30.

²¹ Roger Brubaker, “Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism,” in *National Self-Determination and Secession*, ed. Margaret Moore, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 233-286.

²² Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?*, (London, U.K. : Zed Books, 1986), 5-53.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

had been repressed in the course of these movements That is where many of the new possibilities opened up: Were there alternative ways of thinking about a modern state?”²⁵

Here I try to bring a new dimension to Chatterjee’s critique to Plamenatz’s division between the two kinds of nationalisms. Plamenatz concludes his essay by stating: “These new rulers who demand so much of their peoples are in the same ways more oppressive than the old rulers were, precisely because they try to reach deeper in their minds. But they see themselves as liberators and not as oppressors, and their subjects to some extent accept them as such.”²⁶ I agree with this argument that nationalism is a [positive] force in the sense of freeing people from their former [repressive] bounds and made them free and equal citizens. However it is exactly that ‘freedom’ that *also* places them under *disciplinary* power structures since “power is exercised only over free subjects and only insofar as they are free... [and] freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power.”²⁷ Here the concept of *governmentality* by Michel Foucault is path opening. As I have mentioned in the introduction section above the Young Turk rule after 1908 represented a new *art of government* based on its concern with the *population* it ruled and the physical education was a tactic related to this concern. According to Foucault governmentality is:

in contrast to sovereignty, government has its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.; and the means that the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act whether directly through large scale campaigns, or *indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the awareness of the people*, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc...²⁸

²⁵ Partha Chatterjee, “Towards a Postcolonial Modernity,” interview by Nermeen Shaikh, *Asia Source*, [available at http://www.asiasource.org/news/special_reports/chatterjee_print.html, (23/05/2007)].

²⁶ John Plamenatz, “Two Types of Nationalism,” 36.

²⁷ Michael Foucault, “Afterword: The Subject and the Power” in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics with an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* ed. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), 221.

²⁸ Michael Foucault, ‘Governmentality’ in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 100.

Foucault's studies on the body reveal these techniques which are crucial for us to understand the nature of physical education and its relation to this *governmentality*. According to Foucault there were two kinds of disciplinary power, first one was *anatomo-politics of human body* which was "centered on the body as a machine and its disciplining, the optimization of capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration of efficient and economic controls". Whereas the second one, the *regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population* "focused on the species of body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and morality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary".²⁹

Therefore physical education emerges at the point where these two kinds of disciplinary powers coincide. Through physical education we see the disciplining of the body as an individual and optimizing its capacities to work more *efficiently* and the identification of the social body, population and 'nation' with these efficient bodies and being strong and healthy in general. Physical education emerges as a "discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise."³⁰

The ideal of 'freedom' and 'equal' citizenship needs specific attention since it allows a cultural process of 'subject-ification' in the *Foucaultian* sense of the word which refers to the sense of making and being made by the power relations that provide schemes of discipline besides surveillance, control, and administration.³¹ This *governmentality* of the state, but not restricted to state, includes civil institutions, and tries to represent itself as a *unified, homogeneous whole* which is "paradoxically attained through a process of individualization

²⁹ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 139.

³⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (New York: Wintage/Random House, 1979), p. 170 quoted in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, eds., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics...*, 156.

³¹ Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *Current Anthropology* 37, No. 5 (Dec., 1996): 737.

whereby people are constructed in definitive and specific ways as citizens-taxpayers, workers, consumers, and welfare-dependents”³² and in our case (masculine and patriotic) soldier-citizens.³³

A very specific ‘discipline’ and *subjectification* of the citizens, namely the ‘nationalization’ of the bodies of Turkish male citizens through physical education under Young Turk rule is the subject of this paper. Throughout the study, first I will examine a sport journal published in the period entitled *Idman* to have an idea of this *subjectification*. After that I will focus on the emergence of the Boy-Scout organization and mass-gymnastic festivals under the Young-Turk rule to look into this *subjectification* and how it intermingled with the mentioned *governmentality* and *disciplinary technologies*.

Before doing so I will focus on the ideological currents behind the development of physical education which go hand in hand with the implantation of these disciplines. After doing so I will focus briefly the history of physical education in different countries in Europe and discuss its spread to Ottoman Empire in the framework of what sociologist John W. Meyer calls as *exogenous cultural construction of the nation-state*.³⁴

³² *Ibid.*, 738.

³³ Soldier-citizen as a category of ‘citizenship’ is a crucial step in the ‘democratization’ and spread of citizenship to other classes other than the privileged ones. see: Engin F. Isin, “Who is the New Citizen? Towards a Genealogy,” *Citizenship Studies* 1, No.1 (1997): 121.

³⁴ John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, Francisco O. Ramirez, “World Society and the Nation-State,” *American Journal of Sociology* 103, No. 1 (July 1997): 144-181.

Chapter II) Intellectual Currents behind the Development of Physical Education

I) The Century of Science and ‘Racial’ Struggle:

Throughout the nineteenth century first the physical sciences, than life-sciences and lastly the social sciences underwent radical changes, both ideologically and institutionally.¹ What is important in these changes concerning our purpose was the affect of these changes on the definition of the self through various scientific and medical discourses. In this transformation the legacies on body and mind of the other gained scientific legitimacy and get rid of its religious rhetoric. The definition of the ‘normal’ was particularly utilized in the strengthening of the middle class boundaries against various others who were mentally ‘abnormal’ and/or racially thus inherently weak.² The next step in the “scientification” of the society was the concerns of public health those varied from fight against diseases and epidemics to the exclusion of the ‘weak’ elements of the society.³ *Bodies*, as I will discuss in detail below were one of the targets of this ‘scientification’ especially in relation to Social-Darwinism.

The other ideology (or science) of the 19th century was social-Darwinism, again a term which encompassed many camps and totally polarized world views from feminism to patriarchy, from militarism to pacifism, from socialism to capitalism etc. under a single roof. Social-Darwinism was reflecting a world view governed by the belief that ‘everything in nature is the result of fixed laws’, a world view that claimed the evolution through natural selection made by the struggle for existence acting upon the minute was the main element of human history. The natural selection however was not restricted to human biology and

¹ Kathryn M. Olesko, “The Century of Science,” in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe: 1789-1914*, ed. Stefan Berger, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 334.

² *Ibid.*, 336-337.

³ *Ibid.*, 339.

included mental and social aspects of human existence.⁴ These mental and social aspects unsurprisingly coincided with what was defined as the social ills, the *degeneration* as labeled by scientific/medical discourses of the time. Social-Darwinism also discovered the antidotes to the ills which were diagnosed by it at the same time. *Eugenics* the way of improving the ‘racial’ quality of the population was one of the main solutions that social-Darwinist thinkers proposed. Eugenics was either *negative* thus prohibiting the breeding of the inferior elements in the society or *positive* which encourages the breeding of higher elements of the population.⁵

Among the Ottoman intellectuals social-Darwinism received particular attraction in daily politics, under the discourse of the “survival of the state”. Social-Darwinism, as a way of thought, first began to be utilized in the debates of positivist or materialist Ottoman intellectuals, after the 1870s. Second, it was employed in the political sphere to argue that the weak groups (i.e. weak states) will disappear if they are not able to defend themselves.⁶ According to some Ottoman intellectuals, being “strong” was the only way of not being defeated in the “struggle” and consequently they argued that the survival of the state in the international arena depended on having a *strong* nation, and a *strong* army.⁷ Also, as Sükrü Hanioglu suggests social Darwinism gained even more importance when the CUP transformed itself from an intellectual movement to a political one. Since they left grand theories about social change and adapted social-Darwinism as a way to cope with the problems of daily politics⁸ which are again seen through glasses of social-Darwinism.

The Ottoman intellectuals of the period emphasized training the body (*beden terbiyesi/idman*) as a mean for “the survival of the state” and to prevent *degeneration* which

⁴ Mike Hawkins, “Social Darwinism and Race,” in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe: 1789-1914*, ed. Stefan Berger, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 225.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

⁶ Hasan Ünder, “Türkiye’de Sosyal Darwinizm Düşüncesi (The Idea of Social Darwinism in Turkey),” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey: nationalism), ed. Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 428-429.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 430-432.

⁸ M. Sükrü Hanioglu, *Preperation for a Revolution, The Young Turks: 1902-1908*, (Oxford University Press: 2001), 290-292.

was also observed among the French intellectuals of the period.⁹ This survival will be through quantitative and qualitative development of the population. The CUP rule witnessed the first eugenics projects which were inherited by the Republic. They aimed to create “national development” through the creation of “national bodies.”¹⁰ The physical education is a part of this project since it is one of the means in the making of these “national bodies” docile. I will examine this phenomenon more deeply in the coming chapter on the sports journal *Idman*.

II) Solidarité and Corporatism:

Solidarity as a concept is invented by French sociologist Emile Durkheim, and developed in his influential study entitled “The division of Labor in Society” (1893).¹¹ According to one scholar, solidarity is “the feeling of reciprocal sympathy and responsibility among members of a group which promotes mutual support.”¹² Solidarism was primarily a politic-economic and a social system which was believed to be a mid-way, economically, between, liberalism and socialism, without touching upon free entrepreneurship and private property but also trying to “relieve the pains” of wild-capitalism. The second dimension of solidarism was social one that a division of labor in society would build an “era of occupations” (*meslek devri*) where a classless society will be created and based on this division.¹³ But there lied a paradox at the heart of solidarité. On the one hand it promoted unity, responsibility for others and most importantly feeling togetherness. However, on the other it exhibited itself in antagonism to other groups, often not compromising. Solidarité, the “official ideology of the Third French Republic”¹⁴ was also very prominent among the

⁹ Robert A Nye, “Degeneration, Neurasthenia and the Culture of Sport in Belle Époque France,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1982): 51-68.

¹⁰ Ayca Alemdaroglu, Ojeni Dusuncesi (Idea of eugenics), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey: nationalism), ed. Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 414-421.

¹¹ Lawrence Wilde, “The Concept of Solidarity: Emerging from the Theoretical Shadows?” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9, No.1 (2007): 171.

¹² *Ibid.*, 171-172.

¹³ Zafer Toprak, “İkinci Meşrutiyet’te Solidarist Düşünce: Halkçılık (Solidarist thought in the period of Second Constitution: populism),” *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 1 (Spring 1977): 95-101.

¹⁴ J. E. S. Hayward, “The Official Social Philosophy of the French Third Republic: Léon Bourgeois and Solidarism”, *International Review of Social History*, 6 (1961): 19-48.

Turkish intellectuals of the period particularly promoted by the well known Turkish nationalist and ideologist Ziya Gökalp.¹⁵ However this issue of *solidarité* (*tesanüd*) was a rather complex problem among Ottoman intellectuals since it went hand in hand with the theme of being enterprising (*müteşebbis*).

Although it seems to be inconsistent to promote [individual] enterprising and [social] corporatism and *solidarité* at the same time, it gains a meaning when we think of the absence of “native”, Muslim/Turk bourgeoisie and attempts of CUP to create it. Speaking in political-economic terms, CUP leaders were not able to create their “national economy” (*milli iktisat*) with the non-Muslim bourgeoisie who were seen not only as members of a bourgeoisie who will defeat bureaucracy but also as a group who blocks the attempts of bureaucracy to recreate traditional system of classes and as supporters of imperial powers. Therefore, the support to Muslim/Turk bourgeoisie who was still a weak potential, became the fundamental part of the project of CUP leaders.¹⁶ As a result, the Muslim/Turk elements of the society were encouraged to enterprising under the name of “national economy” and “economic awakening.”¹⁷ We will turn back to themes of enterprising and *solidarité* once more when I examine the mergence of boy-scouting since they stand as one of the major themes of movement.

III) Universal Conscription (*Levée en masse*):

The *Levée en masse* (the people in arms/ *millet-i müselleha*) is a phenomenon emerged after the French Revolution, in order to defend the country and the Revolution. *Levée en masse* became a new way of legitimizing the state power and the national identity by replacing the privileges of *ancient regime* by growing popular participation. In the century following the revolution, there emerged an intimate connection between national identity,

¹⁵ Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye’de Korporatizm* (Ziya Gokalp, Kemalizm and corporatism in Turkey), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989), 18-19.

¹⁶ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (State and Class in Turkey), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 92-95.

¹⁷ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Milli İktisat”* (“National Economy” in Turkey) (1908-1918), (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982), 57.

political legitimacy and military capacity.¹⁸ All around the world, the states in Europe, Japan, Egypt and Ottoman Empire, tried to increase their military power by universal conscription either voluntarily or and for the most of the time, forcefully.¹⁹ In this process, the states defined their enemies, to mobilize their people against it; dependent on the political context and time, varying from the “tyranny” in French, to the nationalism of Balkan states which were trying to separate from the Ottoman Empire.

The main components of “total wars” of the 19th century; men, women, children and old men now evolved into the part of “civic front” or the “back front” with the World War I. During this period, the military instruction followed by universal service was supplied by the patriotic education of the youth:

Let us teach our children that to defend the fatherland is not a burden but a duty, a duty like that of defending ones’ family and home that, in consequence, is close, direct, and personal, the performance of which no one has the right to avoid.²⁰

The steps followed by the Ottoman Empire in order to create a nation in arms, had similarities with its European counterparts but in a slower pace. After 1908, Young Turks had the necessity to define the role of the ‘citizens’.

A study of the books prepared for school children’s’ education of citizenry knowledge shows us that the definition of the citizenry role had three bases: obedience, military service and paying taxes.²¹ These books share similar statements to the one quoted above such as: “to love and defend the country is one of the sacred missions ordered by the Holy Islam” or

¹⁸ John Horne, “Defining the Enemy, War, Law, and the *Levée en masse* from 1870 to 1945,” in *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, ed. Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 100-123.

¹⁹ Erik Jan Zürcher, “Zorunlu Askerlik ve Direniş: Tarihi Çerçeve (Conscription and Resistance: the Historical Context),” in *Devletin Silahlanması, Ortadoğu’da ve Orta Asya’da Zorunlu Askerlik* (Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia) (1775-1925) ed. Eric Jan Zürcher, trans. Mehmed Tanju Akad, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 2-22.

²⁰ Charles de Freycinet, *La Guerre en Province pendant le siège de Paris*, (Paris, 1871), 359, quoted in John Horne, *Defining the Enemy...*, 111.

²¹ Füsun Üstel, “Makbul Vatandaş”ın Peşinde, *II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (In the pursuit of the ‘desired citizen’ civic knowledge from II. Constitution to today), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 83.

stating the clear idea of *Levée en masse* by saying “all the Ottomans of age twenty whether rich or poor are soldiers”.²²

Ottoman government passed the law of universal conscription in 1909. However the theme of loosing land and antagonist nationalisms became an important component of this process especially reaching its peak point during the Balkan Wars. After this war, the multi-ethnic components of the empire became more “un-trustful” and potential “traitors”. The law of universal conscription of 1909 including the non-Muslim citizens became even more useless.

Besides this law, the Ottoman army changed its structure, the system which was influenced from Prussian *Landwehr* system, was introduced in 1843. According to that system the army was dividing the forces of the army into three as standing (*Nizamiye*), reserve conscript (*ihitiyat*) and militia (*redif*). In 1912 the *redifs* were decided to be dissolved and this was postponed until 1914 due to Balkan Wars.²³ The idea behind these changes was to prepare whole ‘nation’ for war.

These were all the parts of the CUP’s project to create an “Ottoman armed nation” in which every Ottoman citizen was ready to sacrifice himself for the nation. If the increasing role of military in politics under Young Turk rule was an element in this process the other was the paramilitary organizations of CUP.²⁴ The establishment of Boy-Scouting and the dissolution of the *redif* is striking and as I will demonstrate it was no coincidence.

²² *Ibid.*, 87. The ambiguity definition of citizenship, and its rights as well as its obligations are reflected in these quotations from two different sources as the former one make emphasis on the Islamic character of the state, on the contrary the latter puts emphasis on the unity of Ottomans, including non-Muslims.

²³ Erik Jan Zürcher, “The Ottoman Conscription System, 1844–1914,” *International Review of Social History*, 43 (1998): 437-449.

²⁴ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preperation for a Revolution*, 294-295.

IV) Construction of Modern Masculinity:

The last intellectual current that I will highlight here is the role of physical education in the construction of modern masculinity. In other words how “the ideals of manliness are part of the nationalist ideology”²⁵ and physical education was seen as a mean in this process of building a national stereotype.

George Mosse claims that although the male stereotype remained intact in spite of the structural changes in modern society, masculinity is transformed when traditional values of the middle class are threatened. In this transformation male body conceived as a symbol of the needs of the society, mainly order and progress as well as the middle class virtues such as honor.²⁶ The modern masculinity contained a whole series of attributes that reflected both social realities and hope for the future. These attributes were mainly physical and moral virtues and their related visual perceptions. Thus the shape of the body was perceived as the outward protectorate of the virtue. The excavations and discoveries on Ancient Greek and their ideological reflections in the 19th century Europe resulted in the ultimate ideal of masculinity: the Ancient Greek male beauty and the moral virtues that were attributed to it.²⁷

Gymnastics was perceived as the basic way to reach this ideal masculinity since it was developing the physical virtues of a man which also show his moral virtues.²⁸ But the building up the body and the development of the soul was not the only aspect in development of masculinity as it included more. The promotion of a heroic masculinity was one of the most important outcomes of the relation between physical education, militarism and nationalism. In

²⁵ George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 7-9.

²⁶ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-39.

²⁸ Anthony Synnott, “Tomb, Temple, Machine and Self: The Social Construction of the Body,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, No.1 (Mar., 1992): 93-94.

this relation the ideals of heroism, sacrifice and death were associated with manliness and physical education since the latter got more militarized towards the WWI.²⁹

Physical education as training to war has an important aspect of the creation of masculinity since it promoted the ideal of *levee en masse* which “sought to turn coercive institution of conscription into an internalized duty of the citizen to serve the nation as a soldier”.³⁰ This link is crucial to understand the role of physical education in nation building since in the Ottoman Turkey, similar to its contemporary Iran “to rescue and rebuilding of the *vatan* (homeland) and *mellat* (nation) were the tasks for a new masculine patriot citizenry.”³¹

Before moving to the case of Ottoman Empire I will examine the relationship between nation building and physical education in Europe in the coming chapter. After a brief general introduction to the topic I will look at the main gymnastic movements of the period: German *Turnen*, Zionist *Muskeljuden*, Czech *Sokol* and the British Boy-Scout movements.

²⁹ A. Synnott, “Tomb, Temple, Machine and Self...,” 50; J. A. Mangan, “Duty unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism,” in *Tribal Identities, Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. J.A. Mangan, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 12.

³⁰ John Horne, “Masculinity in Politics and War in the age of Nation-States and World Wars, 1850-1950,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hageman and John Tosh, (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 31.

³¹ Joanna de Groot, “Brothers of the Iranian race’: Manhood, Nationhood, and Modernity in Iran c. 1870-1914,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War*, eds. Stefan Dudink and others, 144.

Chapter III) A Brief History of Physical Education in Europe

I) A General Overview:

Modern physical education had spread to variety of contexts after its emergence in continental Europe in the middle of the 19th century. The basic reason lying behind this phenomenon was the utilization of the physical education as a mean for military-fitness and as a way to stop ‘degeneration’ of the society besides many other themes as explained above.

This spread of physical education to a wide range of contexts can be explained in the framework of what sociologist John W. Meyer calls as *exogenous cultural construction of the nation-state*.¹ According to Meyer, this cultural construction “makes it easy and ‘natural’ for standard sociopolitical forms to arise in a society. Models and measures of national goals are readily available and morally compelling. Also available are model social problems, defined as the failure to realize these goals that make it easy to identify and decry failures.”² In this framework nation-states around the world show great isomorphism in their structures and policies and they undertake *structuration* in standardized ways since these models are not strongly attached to local circumstances. Therefore it is observed that “nation states and organizations may have distinct and complex histories, but they all have expanded structurally in similar ways in the same historical period”.³ I contend that, as I stated above, physical education in Europe and its spread to other countries was one of the means not only to, using George Mosse’s terms, “nationalize the masses”⁴ thus represent itself as a ‘unified whole’ but also to “individualize” the people under disciplinary technologies.

¹ John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, Francisco O. Ramirez, “World Society and the Nation-State,” *American Journal of Sociology* 103, No. 1 (July 1997), 144-181.

² *Ibid.*, 151.

³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1991), particularly chapter 6: “Organizations Take a Hand,” 127-160.

“Training for what?” was the question asked by Eugen Weber, in his influential discussion of development of sport in France.⁵ In his article he separated sports into two distinctive forms: the German and the Anglo-Saxon models of training the body. Both of them emphasize the importance of freedom, of voluntary emulation and pleasure offered by physical exercise and most importantly both of them tried to canalize the energies of youth into social ends. However, their social ends were much more different than each other. German gymnastics tried to create a national consciousness and aimed to diffuse to whole nation and to serve for state, English sports emphasized on the individual, on team work rather than abstract collectivities, hence they are conceived as elitist.⁶ In France and in many other countries English sports were disliked and remained in the hands of privileged classes whereas the “German-type” gymnastics were supported by the states who were trying to impose nationalism to their citizens and mobilize them. The paradoxical point in this situation was that, while France was trying to mobilize her citizens against the horrific enemy, the Germans, via adapting the gymnastics invented by them.⁷ Other states such as Norway and Denmark created their “own” type of gymnastics or adapted a type which was distinctive from the “Anglo-Saxon” type with the shared aim of promoting their fatherland by creating patriots.⁸ The emphasis that was given to gymnastics in the Scandinavian world was at top in Sweden and the Swedish gymnastics (known as *Lingian* system) was only second to *Turnen* gymnastics of Germany in its diffusion to other parts of the world. However the goal behind

⁵ Eugen Weber, “Gymnastic and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle-France: Opium of Classes?” *The American Historical Review* 76, No.1 (Feb., 1971): 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

⁷ Richard Holt, “Contrasting Nationalisms: Sport, Militarism and the Unitary State in Britain and France before 1914,” in *Tribal Identities, Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. J. A. Mangan, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 39-40.

⁸ Henning Eichberg, “Nationalism and Culture of the Body: the Politization of ‘Popular’ Gymnastics in Nineteenth-Century Denmark” in *Tribal Identities, Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. J. A. Mangan, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 108-124; Matti Goksoyr, “Phases and Functions of Nationalism: Norway’s Utilization of International Sport in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries” both in *Tribal Identities, Nationalism*, ed. J.A. Mangan, 125-146.

the Swedish gymnastics was not different than any other forms of physical education since it contributed to military training and seek to “create a distinct Swedish national identity”.⁹

II) Germany and *Turnen* Gymnastics:

Turnen gymnastics was the direct outcome of German *Körperkultur*, the physical culture. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founder of *Turnen* had the aim of “preparing young people in mind and body for the struggle for liberation and pave the way for German unity.”¹⁰ In 1811, Jahn led his students out of the classroom into the woods therefore he set up his *Turnplatz* in the fields near Berlin where he constructed a milieu with towers, ropes and platforms and many adventurous pupils followed him. However, Jahn was too much egalitarian for the reactionary regimes and after the Congress of Vienna; his disobedient behaviors resulted in his imprisoned, and outlaw of *Turnen*. When the ban lifted in 1842 and after the separation from the radical *Turner* after the 1848 Revolution, the remaining part of the *Turnen* had a much more a conservative outlook and became nationalist supporters of German Empire especially after the defeat of Germans in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. At this stage of *Turnen* movement, the gymnastics became an indoor activity and had much more militaristic position especially to discipline youths and make them obedient to authority. This opportunity to use the energies of youth through military discipline as a combination of obedience and nationalism is welcomed by many European states. In the second half of the century, *Turnen* spread to Western and Southern Europe, primarily to France but also had a voice in Italy, Belgium, northern Switzerland and Scandinavian world.¹¹ The gymnastic movement of Jahn was a precedent to modern German nationalism although he never aimed

⁹ Alan Bairner, “Sporting Nationalism for Beginners: Sport and Nationalism in Sweden,” in *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 146.

¹⁰ F. Hertz, “Friedrich Ludwig Jahn,” in *Sport and International Relations*, ed. Benjamin Lowe, David B. Kanin, Andrew Strenk, (Champaign. Ill. : Stipes Pub. Co., 1978), 36.

¹¹ Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires, Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 141-156.

the form it took at the end.¹² However Jahn's gymnastics meant more than this. He aimed to create *the ideal man* through gymnastics. This man would be: "chaste, pure, capable, fearless, truthful and ready to bear arms."¹³ Jahn's gymnastics fostered athleticism and solidarity as opposed to team sports and competition. Turnen movement, in George Mosse's words: "not only meant to form healthy and beautiful bodies that would express a proper morality but were designed in fact to create new Germans."¹⁴

The greatest impact of *Turnen* was on the Zionist project of *Muskeljuden* and Slavic gymnastic movement in Eastern Europe where Czechs, Slovaks and Poles adapted *Turnen* in their struggle for national independence and founded the *Sokol* (Falcon) organization.

III) The Zionist *Muskeljuden* Movement:

Muskeljuden was a Zionist project for the creation of a specific kind of "New Jew" fostered by Max Nordau, the founding father of political Zionism with Theodor Herzl.¹⁵ In 1892 Nordau published a book entitled *Entartung* (Degeneration) which was a response and an antidote to what he saw as the social, clinical and moral ills of his society.¹⁶ In this proposal, although the Jews were not mentioned as a category of the abnormal, they were implicitly degenerated as they were city-dwellers and over-refined intellectuals who lost their taste for productive works. And the remedy was to recapture the dignity of the Jews who *should* have deep chests, powerfully built bodies and be keen-eyed men.¹⁷ This process of regenerating the Jews would be through physical education which in the end not only would

¹² F. Hertz, "Friedrich Ludwig Jahn," 41.

¹³ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁵ Anita Shapira, "The Origins of the Myth of the 'New Jew': The Zionist Variety," in *The Fate of the European Jews, 1939-1945: Continuity or Contingency?*, ed. Jonathan Frankel, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 253-268.

¹⁶ George L. Mosse, "Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, No. 4 (Oct. 1992): 565-566.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 567.

overcome the above-mentioned stereotype of the *new Jew* but also complete his place on earth.¹⁸

Nordau first publicized his idea of *Muskeljuden* in the Second World Zionist Congress in 1898 and then elaborated it in the *Judische Turnerzeitung* the journal of the Jewish National Gymnastic Association in the following years. Initially in 1898, Nordau stated the following:

Gymnastics and physical training are exceedingly important for us Jews, whose greatest deficit has been and is a lack of discipline...nature has endowed us with the spiritual qualities required for the athletic achievements of an extraordinary quality. All we lack is muscle, and that can be developed with the aid of physical exercise... The more Jews achieve in the various branches of sport, the greater will be their self-confidence and self-respect.¹⁹

In the articles published in *Judische Turnerzeitung* Nordau convoluted his idea of *muskeljuden* and unsurprisingly accepted that the Jews' body as stunted but had an "inherent aptitude for gymnastics".²⁰ Therefore the most plausible explanation for the invention of the *muskeljuden* was accepting it as one of the antidotes to what Nordau saw as *degeneracy*. However this project was more than a response to this perception since *muskeljuden* is above all modern and Zionist. It aimed to conquer Palestine and prepare a nation for it.²¹ *The people* of this nation would be the ones who were manly disciplined as stated in Nordau's speech in 1898. Through this discipline the Jew would learn the lost ideals and the moral principles. The emphasis on discipline and morality were the realities of the *fin de siècle* Europe, the discipline of the individual and through the individual the formation of a disciplined 'nation' was a phenomenon of the post-*Jahn* era of the German gymnastics whereas the moral virtues were the ones that were identified as European middle class ideals of masculinity.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 568.

¹⁹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Corrected Edition (1996), "Maccabi World Union."

²⁰ George L. Mosse, "Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew," 569.

²¹ Todd Samuel Presner, "Clear Heads, Solid Stomachs, and Hard Muscles: Max Nordau and the Aesthetics of Jewish Regeneration," *Modernism/Modernity* 10, No.2 (April 2003), p. 281.

IV) Czech *Sokols*:

The other important movement that was influenced by Turnen to a large extent was *Sokol* Movement. It was founded in 1862 by a Czech historian Miroslav Tyr and the merchant Jind R. Feugner with the objective of building up a nationalist movement through organized and widespread gymnastic exercise.²² Despite the fact that, Czechs used German *Turnen* to reveal from the “Germanism” imposed upon them like in the case of France, the *Sokol* movement took a much more nationalist and separatist form, against the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires and spread out to other East European countries such as Poland, Slovenia, Serbia and Bulgaria throughout the remaining century. Russia attempted to use *Sokol* organizations in his pan-Slavic imperial goals against rival monarchies until he realized the potential danger of such a movement on his multi-ethnic subjects and banned *Sokol* until 1917 with an exception of the years 1905 and 1906. Nevertheless, the pan-Slavic initiatives of *Sokol* among the Czechs and especially Bulgarians became crucial in their independence movements.²³ The motto of Tyr explained the aim of *Sokol* movement: “*He* who is a Czech is a *Sokol*” [emphasis mine].²⁴ To be precise, as one historian had put aptly, in *Sokol* Movement: “physical fitness and gymnastic exercise were utilized in order to train disciplined, alert and vigorous individuals, to instill them an awareness of their nationality, thus create a strong and conscious nation.”²⁵

²² For a detailed history of Sokol Movement see: Clarie E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

²³ Wojciech Liponski, “Sport in the Slavic World before Communism: Cultural Traditions and National Functions,” in *Sport in Europe, Politics, Class, Gender*, ed. J. A. Mangan, (London: Frnak Cass, 1999), 218-221.

²⁴ For an early account of the history of Sokols, see: L. Jandacek, “The Sokol Movement in Czechoslovakia,” in *Sport and International Relations*, eds. Benjamin Lowe and others, 63.

²⁵ Paul Vysny, *Neo-Slavism and the Czechs, 1898-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 23-24.

V) English Boy-Scout Movement:

Turnen and *Sokol* can be considered as the precursors of the gymnastic movements in Ottoman Empire but still we need a third dimension to include in this frame, the Anglo-Saxon boy-scout organizations and their diffusion.

In the above mentioned gymnastic movements English sports were dismissed due to their elitist characters and implementation of imperial ideals to high class youth.²⁶ In other words they were disliked and not promoted by ‘nationalist sportsmen’ due to their competitive characters. However English boy-scout organizations undertook functions similar to those abovementioned gymnastic movements and fulfilled the role of creating military preparedness and character building of the males.

Organization for training youth existed in Anglo-Saxon world since the end of 19th century when the first *Boys’ Brigade* was founded by 1880s by William Alexander Smith in Scotland. The aim of this organization was to capture especially working-class boys into Church-oriented activities by using military discipline, organization, uniform and symbolism for boys over twelve.²⁷ However Boy-Scouting did not spread up until 1908 when General Baden-Powell founded Boy-Scouts after his personal experiences in the Boer War. Powell also wrote a source-book *Scouting for Boys*, in which he paid emphasis on ideals of citizenship and patriotism to defend the Empire. In short period of time, Boy Scouting evolved into a mass movement and gained the attention of military and political elites. In December 1909 a Boy Scouting Governing Council is set up and Boy Scouting became a paramilitary youth organization with 100,298 members in 1910.²⁸ In 1910 boy scouting

²⁶ Richard Holt, “Contrasting Nationalisms: Sport, Militarism and the Unitary State in Britain and France before 1914,” 44.

²⁷ Paul Wilkinson, “English Youth Movements, 1908-1930,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, No. 2 (April, 1969): 4-5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

spread to America and The Boy Scouts of America was founded in February 1910 and Girl Scouting in 1912 following the English case.²⁹

What was also important in Powell's vision of Boy-Scouting was the tension between citizen building and paramilitary aspects embodied in the movement. Historians debated on this issue and preferred to put emphasis on either aspect of the movement rather than seeking for reconciliation. For instance, historian Allen Warren who was in the defense of the former theme, stated that what is accused of being militaristic (i.e. emphasis on duty, obedience) is complicated and needs to be analyzed in the context period. According to the author, the teachings of Powell gave the priority to the citizen training aspect of scouting rather than the militaristic and the religious ones. The emphasis on "individualism" in Powell's works, according to Warren, is the basic element of citizen-training imagined by scouting. And as he puts somewhere else the major of the Powell's Boy-Scouting was the development of *manly character* with specific emphasis to outdoor activities and practical knowledge, concern for personal health as well as for individual and national fitness, and was highly individualistic.³⁰

However we also observe that some historians put emphasis on the paramilitary aspect of Boy-Scouting. It is argued that Powell's ideas about military fitness through boy-scouting were observed before the Boy-Scout Movement and as early as 1904 when he inspected Boys' Brigade in Glasgow.³¹ Along this line, historian John Springhall claims the opposite of the ideas about the 'character building' aspect of Boy-Scouting and states that Baden Powell's organization's main goal was to prepare youth for the war. The author asserts that Powell's goal was a "nation" of military efficiency and "character formation" was a mean. Therefore according to him the "context" in which scouting emerged was militarism and preparing future generations for war. Similarly it is argued by a historian, well before this debate, that

²⁹ Elizabeth R. Pendry and Hugh Hartshorne, *Organizations for Youth, Leisure Time and Character Building Procedures*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Com., 1935), 11-41.

³⁰ Allen Warren, "Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting, and the Development of Manly Character," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America: 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walwin, (Manchester University Press, 1987), 200-204

³¹ Michael Rosenthal, "Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme," *Journal of Contemporary History* 15, No. 4 (Oct., 1980): 603-617.

the Woodcraft Movement organized and led by Ernest Thompson Seton in America was different than its contemporary Boy-Scout Movement in England. Although these organizations are practically similar their ideological background; their respective aims of promoting the outdoor life and citizen/soldier training were greatly different. Thus it is claimed that Woodcraft Movement influenced the other youth movements in England that were founded by scout leaders who were dissatisfied with the over militaristic tone of Boy-Scouting.³² In a response essay to Warren's article, historian Anne Summers criticizes the tendency in the literature to assimilate boy-scouting in a monolithic conceptual framework of 'militarism' and 'social control' but she makes the following conclusion: "adolescent boys and girls were indeed being prepared to respond in an uncritical, and even in an enthusiastic manner, to the outbreak of war in 1914."³³

In the chapter on Ottoman Boy-Scouting I will examine the emergence of this organization in Ottoman context and try to understand the over-mentioned tension between citizen building and militaristic aspects of the Ottoman boy-scouting. However before doing so I will focus on the formation of "national identity" through physical education. Since it is argued that "models [in our case physical education] specify standard forms for the cultural depiction of national identity".³⁴

In the coming chapter, a sports journal entitled *Idman* (gymnastics) will be studied in its role in the construction of Turkish "national identity". I will also scrutinize the ideal of the "new masculine patriot citizen" through physical education discuss the roles that were assigned to 'Turkish' men and women especially in the context of Balkan Wars. I will focus on the association between these roles and social-Darwinism in the articles that appeared in *Idman*. Lastly I will examine the function of sports in construction of Turks as a 'group'.

³² Brian Morris, "Ernest Thompson Seton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, No. 2 (1970): 183-194.

³³ Anne Summers, "Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren," *The English Historical Review* 102, No. 405 (Oct., 1987): 947.

³⁴ John W. Meyer and others, "World Society and the Nation-State," 158.

Chapter IV) National-Identification Through Physical Education: The Journal *Idman* (1913-1914)

I) Physical Education and “National-Identification” in Late Ottoman Empire:

In the previous chapters I have examined the role of physical education in the ‘nation-building’ processes of certain European states. Along this line, this chapter contributes to this literature on sports and politics by emphasizing the commonalities between European states and the Ottoman Empire as well as pointing to some particularities of the latter. Hence, I will examine a discursive re-production of a heroic, masculine Turk through the articles of the sport journal entitled *Idman* (sports, physical education) which was published for a year between 1913 and 1914. However before doing so I will address some problems in the mentioned literature and hence make my aim more clear.

In most of the studies on the role of sports in the nation-building processes the word ‘national-identity’ is used as an over-arching concept encompassing almost everything related to the topic. One of the reasons for this problem emerges from the ambiguous use of the term ‘national identity’. The term refers to two different levels of meaning, first as “‘individuals’ sense of the self as national” and second as “identity of the collective whole in relation to others of the like kind”.¹ However in the literature on “nationalism” and sports these different levels of meaning are usually mixed together if not confused.² Therefore in this chapter, in order to avoid any more complications which already exist in the word ‘identity’ and its different connotations I will use the word ‘identification’ and ‘categorization’ since they are

¹ Katherine Verdery, “Whither ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’ ?” *Daedalus*, (Summer 1993): 40.

² As an example to such a work: see John S. Hunter, “Flying the Flag: Identities, the Nation, and Sport,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 10 (2003): 409-425. In this work Hunter distinguishes two kinds of ‘national identity’ as ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ones. For the former case he gives the example of a British citizen who supports UK and is against divisions such as English and Scottish. His other example is the Sven-Goran Erikson, the ex-coach of the English national football team, whom Hunter defines as: “He may *feel* English in most defining moments. However he cannot *be* English more than a temporal dimension; he is Swedish and, in all probability, will remain so.” *Ibid.*, 415.

procedural active terms and “invite us to specify the agents that do the identifying”.³ In our case, the ‘identifier’, the journal *Idman* will be evaluated on the one hand by its role in the creation of Turk as a male citizen of the Turkish nation (self-understanding as national) and on the other by its identification of the Turkish ‘nation’ *vis-à-vis* the ‘others’.

II) Physical Education and Building the *Heroic* Males of the ‘Nation’:

In the rest of this chapter I will focus on the articles published in *Idman* and try to point out how they were used to construct a masculine, citizen-soldier Turk and had social-Darwinist overtones. I focused on the columns written by the owner of the journal Cemi Bey, by prominent sportsman of the Constitutional and early Republican periods, Burhaneddin Bey [Bruhan Felek] who was also the director of a sport club named *Anadolu* Sport Club and other important intellectuals such as Aka Gunduz, a very important author to be in the Republican period. *Idman*’s first issue appeared in the middle of the Balkan Wars in late May 1913 [Figure 1]. Cemi Bey was the author of the first article in which he stated the purposes behind the publication of *Idman*: “to support the youth who is interested in ‘physical education...the primary work that can save our country’”.⁴

To start with social-Darwinism, this kind of thinking as mentioned above was prevalent in the columns of *Idman*. A column written by Aka Gunduz about the publication of *Idman* states his aim to raise his son *Dogan* (Falcon) according to rules of survival in life. Aka Gunduz says, “I am making my son get used to [it], when I sent him to school and if someone dares to insult him, he will contest. Do you know if he is beaten in these fights...?”⁵ The implicit idea of struggle for life that appears in Gunduz’s piece finds a more explicit expression in the articles of Burhaneddin Bey. In the first of two successive articles entitled “Weak Race”, he claims that there can not be a better example for a weak race than the

³ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond Identity,” *Theory and Society* 29, No.1 (Feb., 2000): 14.

⁴ Cemi, “Bir Kaç Söz (Few Words),” *Idman*, (15 Mayıs 329 [28 May 1913]), 1.

⁵ Aka Gündüz, “Fikirce ‘Idman’cı Cemi Bey’e (In Thought: to ‘Gymnast’ Cemi Bey),” *Idman*, (15 Mayıs 329 [28 May 1913]), 2-3.

‘Ottomans’. The author says: “Weak race, weak body, and as a result of this weak comprehension and as its result lack of mental power, immorality, non-determinacy and etc.” Burhaneddin Bey gives two antidotes to these social ills: first one is to avoid leisure, to prohibit consumption of alcohol and smoking and the second one is physical education.⁶ He devotes his second article to this latter theme [Figure 2]. As a reply to his question in the title “Does Physical Education Strengthen the Race?” Burhaneddin Bey replies:

The nation should consist of strong *men*... The struggle for life is to capture the places of the non-functioning by functioning. The nations which consist of ‘rotted’ people are themselves ‘rotted’. Therefore I claim that this lack is a national threat... For the improvement of our nation, emphasis should be put on physical education.⁷

Another example of social-Darwinist assumptions and ‘positive’ eugenics as an antidote to social ills appears in an unsigned article entitled “Our Generation.” The author, probably Cemi Bey, comments on his observations on a tug-of-war game between some members of Ottoman Naval Force and some American sailors [Figure 3]. He makes an analogy between the game and the Balkan Wars and equates the result of the game with the “Balkan Disaster”. He condemns the lack of strong men in the Navy and continues:

Therefore we don’t have science and knowledge, we don’t have commerce and we don’t even have health. Then, how are we going to merge with other nations? Oh, the glorious Turkish ancestors, were you that poor? Yes, today all of our national existence is declaring that the contemporary Turkish generation is not the one of yesterday!⁸

After this statement the author proposes a solution, not surprisingly physical education and a law to promote this goal as well as to avoid the decay of what he called “the uncorrupted Turkish essence.”⁹

If physical education is conceived as a means to generate well-fit bodies of individuals and therefore a well-fit nation, it has an urgent target: the defense of the “motherland”. As

⁶ Burhaneddin, “Zayıf Irk I (Weak race I),” *Idman*, (1 Augustos 329 [14 August 1913]), 79-80.

⁷ Burhaneddin, “Zayıf Irk II: Terbiye-i Bedeniyye Irkı Sağlamlaştırır mı? (Weak race II: Does physical education strengthen the race?),” *Idman*, (1 Eylül 329 [14 September 1913]), 100-104.

⁸ “Neslimiz (Our generation),” *Idman*, (5 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329 [18 December 1913]), 189-190.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 190.

discussed above the defeat in Balkan Wars and the end of Ottoman rule in *Rumeli* had created a trauma in the ruling elite and resulted in a shift in their ideological boundaries.¹⁰ It is claimed that Balkan Wars created a critical view towards the society among Ottoman intellectuals who thought about the reasons of the defeat and came up with the ideas that aimed to change the society in different spheres ranging from politics to economics, and to education.¹¹ The proposal that appeared in *Idman*, the promotion of physical education should be viewed in this atmosphere. But these proposals also aimed to give ‘character’ to youth through physical education since an author of an anonymous article connects physical education, character building of future citizens and the aim of *Idman* in the following way:

To raise a physically and mentally strong generation that will save the homeland from the present disastrous situation is only possible through seeing the hidden ‘spirit’ in the articles [of *Idman*]. This spirit is to give youth a character and through this means in the whole meaning of the word to bring up perfect mass of citizens. The lack of character is the only reason for our disaster.¹²

Similarly the author of the article entitled “Physical Education Should Be Supported” blames the youth of the *Rumeli* for losing the war in a language having sexual overtones: “The huge *Rumeli* lands, the capricious girl of the motherland. [It is] now on the bloody laps of few savage nations.”¹³ If the army carried the primary responsibility for the defeat, the young men of the region were the second to it. The author continues:

The brave hearted, strong handed young men of the *Rumeli*? They are -in most apt words -women with ... feet. Their skin is yellow, their hands are on their belts, there is no light in their eyes. They had given all their power to their legs and running away. They are just running away, leaving behind those sacred lands of their ancestors, of the martyrdoms. They are fleeing without knowing that ‘love for fatherland comes from the belief’. Among the reasons that give birth to this bloodlessness, this heartlessness and this laziness, we point out

¹⁰ Tanıl Bora, “Turkish National Identity, Turkish Nationalism and The Balkan Peninsula,” in *Balkans: A Mirror of the International Order*, ed. Gunay Goksu Ozdogan, Kemali Saybaşılı, (Istanbul: Eren, 1995), 102-120.

¹¹ Yahya Akyüz, “Eğitim Alanında Aydınların Özeleştirisi ve Balkan Savaşları (Self-criticism of intellectuals in the field of education and Balkan Wars),” *Tarih ve Toplum* 38, No. 228 (December 2002): 54-58.

¹² “Keşşafılık Soğukluk Mu? (Is scouting coldness?),” *Idman*, (1 Ağustos 329 [14 August 1913]), 73-75.

¹³ “İdmançılık Himaye Edilmelidir (Physical education should be supported),” *Idman*, (28 Teşrin-i Sani 1329 [11 December 1913]), 173-174.

not making gymnastics... We wish that government will support it [physical education].¹⁴

Idman promoted not only physical strength for militaristic purposes but also identified the Turkish youth with the ‘manly’ ideals of honor, bravery and sacrifice for the fatherland. This was the construction of a ‘heroic’ masculinity which was very similar to its contemporary European examples.

III) The Women of the ‘Nation’ and Gymnastics for Women:

However this identification of young Turkish males with heroic masculine ideals can not be well comprehended without considering *Idman*’s vision of women and female gymnastics since masculinity can not be understood without considering the similarly assigned ‘roles’ to females. Two pieces appeared in *Idman* related to physical education of women, entitled “Woman Gymnastics” by Ali Seyfi Bey. The first one of these articles gives us hints of the logic and assumptions behind female gymnastics. Seyfi Bey says: “It is becoming more obvious every day that health and beauty can only be created and preserved by physical education. Although the first of these is important to both men and women the latter, the beauty and the proportions of the body is most crucial certainty for women.” According to the author, the reason behind this is no more than eugenics and the future of the race:

For the strong bodies of the race in the future, the bodies of mothers are more important than the ones of fathers. Since beauty not only facial beauty but beauty of the whole body is somewhat related to genetics, therefore mothers who have real beauty will inherit their children who will have naturally well-developed bodies.¹⁵

This ideal of having strong bodies and its relation to reproduction of coming generations was not restricted to *Idman* and was thought in the particular text books on

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹⁵ A. Seyfi, “Kadın Jimnastikleri (Woman gymnastics),” *Idman*, (23 Kanun-ı Sani 1329 [5 February 1914]), 288-291.

‘knowledge of citizenship for girls’ in the same period.¹⁶ It is important to understand this line of thought not only by seeing differentiated role models of men and women and their activities in public and private spheres respectively. This idea also represents the attachment of the women to the construction of the nation through their capacities of reproduction.¹⁷

To sum up *Idman* published many articles concerning the role of physical education ‘for the survival of the country’. The rhetoric of decadence, which was strengthened by the actual defeat at Balkan Wars, fostered a wide spectrum of problems and solutions to these problems. Social-Darwinism as the dominant ideology of the time determined the tracks of thought which created a link between the defense of the homeland, masculinity and physical education. In short the ideal citizen for the country was an able soldier.

IV) The Journal *Idman*: Identifying the Turks and the ‘others’:

If these were the identification of individual males with the Turkish nation, by specifically defining what a young male *should* be, do and look like as a Turk *Idman* also took a part in the construction of the imagined Turkish nation and developed a kind of collective self-understanding, and “groupness” through the messages it delivered.

The development of the “groupness” of a collective entity, a nation depends on categorical commonality and a sense of belonging together which could be discursively produced¹⁸ hence the pieces in *Idman* aim these. In this discursive production and reproduction of categorical commonality of being a Turk renders the non-confirming elements those “must be first rendered visible, then assimilated or eliminated...”¹⁹ In *Idman* the elements that were made visible were the foreigners and non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman society. In the first issue of *Idman*, a piece written by Ali Sami, the director of the *Galatasaray* Sport Club makes the following comments after criticizing his own players due

¹⁶ Füsun Üstel, ‘*Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde, II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (In the pursuit of the ‘desired citizen’ civic knowledge from II. Constitution to today), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 112-126.

¹⁷ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender&Nation*, (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 26-37.

¹⁸ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond Identity,” 19-21.

¹⁹ Katherine Verdery, “Whither ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’?,” 42.

to their losses against Hungarians. Ali Sami says: “after [their] return *Galatasaray* left some of its players aside and have to leave the role of safeguarding the Turkish achievements in sports to *Fenerbahce* [Figure 4]. Indeed *Fenerbahce* was the champion and proved that they are not going to give away this title which is the sign of existence of youth, back to foreigners.”²⁰ However in the following issues both *Fenerbahce* and *Galatasaray* were criticized for their lack of “national purpose” in football since they include foreigners in their squad. The author Burhaneddin Bey claims:

Although the services of the foreigners in these teams are well appreciated they are also disastrous because that team can not be a Turkish team in entirety. If it is needed to create a team consisting of Turks to represent Turkey; Germans and other foreign elements can not participate in the game.²¹

This team that represents Turkey was called a ‘national team’ in following issues. While narrating a game between some foreigners and a team consisting of Turks, the famous sportsmen of the period, Abidin Daver, calls this team as the *Turkish National Team* and asks the government to establish an institution to be responsible for its development.²²

Similarly the non-Muslim elements of the Ottoman society gain the kind of mentioned ‘visibility’ in the Turkish nation-building process. In an article entitled “Only Football?”, Turkish sportsmen were criticized for the unsuccessful results when the victory went to non-Muslims and not necessarily but usually to the Armenians. For instance in a running race where Turks were not victorious, the author gives the results as such: “And it deserves to pitied that the first was an Armenian, the runner-up was a Greek, the third was a Serb and only the fourth one was a Turk.”²³ Similarly in the same article this time commenting on the results of a bicycle race in which only one Turk had participated, the author says: “As a result, an Armenian young man won the race...He did more than this. He made his photo put in the

²⁰ Ali Sami, “Galatasaray Kulübünün Tarihçesi (History of the Galatasaray Club),” *Idman*, (15 Mayıs 1329 [28 May 1913]), 9-11.

²¹ Burhaneddin, “Terbiye-i Bedeniyye ve Spor’da Milli Gaye: Futbol [National purpose in physical education and sports],” *Idman*, (12 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329[25 December 1913]), 209-211.

²² A. D[aver], “Ayak Topu Müsabakaları [Football games],” *Idman*, (14 Nisan 1330 [27 April 1914]), 433-436.

²³ “Yalnız Ayak Topu Mu? [Only football?],” *Idman*, 23 Kanun-ı Sani 1329 [5 February 1914], 285-287.

most prestigious sports magazine of France with the title of ‘the cycling champion of Turkey’. And he had the right to do that.”²⁴

IV) Conclusion:

This chapter has the aim of understanding the nation-building process of the Turkish nation during the days of Balkan Wars and prior to WWI. I tried to examine the discursive construction of the nation and the nationals in relation to physical education and gymnastics. In doing so I also dismantled this relationship on its three axes: ideal of citizen-soldiers, social-Darwinism and a heroic masculinity for defense of the ‘nation’. I also briefly discussed the integration of the women to this project as the ‘mothers of the nation’. The chapter hence endeavored to understand the role of physical education in the formation of the ‘national-identity’ of Turks both as self-understanding as ‘national’ as well as collective identity *vis á vis* the ‘others’. In the following chapter I am going to elaborate on the Boy-Scout Movement and particularly on its establishment under the patronage of Enver Pasa in 1914 and examine the various dynamics of this project.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 287.



Figure 1: The cover of the first issue of *Idman*, (28th of May 1913)

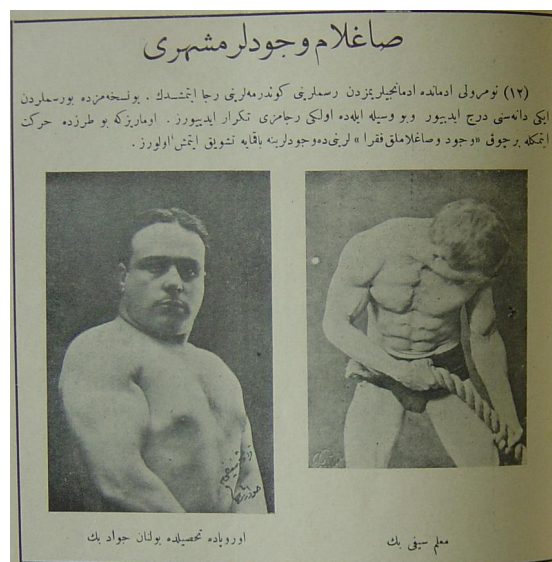


Figure 2: *Idman* published photos of the ‘desired’ bodies under the title of “*Sağlam Vücutlar Mehşeri*” (The exhibition of ‘rigid’ bodies). The man on the right, Seyfi Bey was one of the contributors of *Idman*, *Idman*, (25 December 1913), 219.



Figure 3: Tug-of-War Team of Galatasaray Sports Club, *Idman*, (6 March 1914), 329.



Figure 4: Football spread to other provinces in this time period by the efforts of sportsmen who are usually affiliated with the major sport clubs of Fenerbahce and Galatasaray. This photo is the first Football Team in Ankara which is founded by Hulusi Bey, the Governor of Ankara and the Honorary Director of Fenerbahce Sport Club, *Idman*, (12 February 1914), 304.

Chapter V) The Emergence of Boy Scouting in the Ottoman Empire

I) Introduction: Setting the Picture:

In the previous chapter I examined the discursive reproduction and the national-identification of a certain kind of citizen who is an ideal soldier-citizen and a heroic masculine Turk. In this chapter I will examine the Boy-Scout Movement in Ottoman Empire until the point that CUP utilized the movement for its militaristic purposes as well as building up citizens for the corporatist order it envisioned.

Just before the First World War, the Ottoman Empire, like its contemporaries had to face the challenges of the coming “total war”, a new concept not only for the Ottomans but also for the European states. This new concept had three discursive axes: strategy, war economy and corporatism.¹ We have at least some idea about how CUP and some Ottoman intellectuals utilized the last two concepts during WWI² and in this chapter I will focus on the first concept: the “strategy”. However I will focus on the concept of “strategy” not as mobilizing the “home front” for the needs of “fighting front” but as “the military body which was acclaimed within civilian contexts”.³ In other words, I will think over the issue of how the CUP cadres and intellectuals aimed to transform the ‘citizens into soldiers’ by using military drills and particularly the role of Boy Scout Organization (*İzci Ocağı*) in this project. However this will not be the only aim of the chapter. After I provide a brief history of the development of the movement, I will examine the association between boy-scouting and

¹ Roger Chickering, “World War I and the Theory of Total War,” in *Great War, Total War, Combat and Mobilization on The Western Front, 1914-1918*, ed. Roger Chickering and Stig Foster, (Cambridge University press), 42.

² For the “war economy” the new study of Zafer Toprak is yet the most elaborated one, Zafer Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi, Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye’de Devletçilik*, (Committee of Union and Progress and World War, war economy and étatism in Turkey) 1914-1918, (Homer Kitabevi, 2003). On corporatism see chapter III, part II on this paper.

³ Joanne Bourke, *Dismembering the Male, Mens Bodies, Britain and the Great War*, (The University of Chicago Press), particularly the chapter 4: “Inspecting,” 171-209.

corporatism as the dominant political-economy idea of the period. Third I will touch upon the role of pedagogy as a legitimizing force behind Boy-Scouting.

I will begin my chapter following a question that was posed by İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], a famous Turkish professor of pedagogy and colleague of the prominent Turkish nationalist, Ziya Gökalp in Istanbul University, during the Young Turk Era. İsmail Hakkı had attended a series of conferences in the ‘National Library’ of Izmir in the summer of 1915, one of which was entitled “What can our country expect from Boy Scouting?”⁴ I will save his answer to the question for my conclusion and make a brief review of the history of boy scouting in the Ottoman Empire.

II) History of the Ottoman Boy Scout Movement (1908-1914):

One of our main sources on the history of boy-scouting in the Ottoman Empire is a book entitled Scout’s Guide (*İzci Rehberi*) written by M. Sami, a teacher of physical education in 1915. M. Sami begins his history mentioning an article of an observer in the journal of *Say ve Tettebbu* that touched upon the virtues of boy scouting. The writer goes on to point out the earlier examples of the Boy Scouts organizations in *Dariüşşafaka*, *Galatasaray Sultanisi* and *Istanbul Sultanisi*, the most prominent high schools of the time. He informs us that, one of the deputies of the Ottoman Assembly had been sent abroad to gather information about boy scouting and after his return, an official Boy Scouts Organization was set up by Enver Paşa himself. The vice-leader of the organization was an English man named Parfitt, the former leader of the Belgian Boy Scouts. Under Mr. Parfitt’s command, scoutmasters of the abovementioned schools were recruited, and then local potential scoutmasters from provinces were trained. “One of the most important things achieved by the Boy Scouts Organization”, stated M Sami “was the translation of Powell’s book of *Boy Scouts*.”⁵

⁴ İsmail Hakkı Bey [Baltacıoğlu], “Memleketimiz İzcilikten Ne Bekleyebilir? (What can our country expect from Boy-Scouting?),” *İzmir Konferansları* (Izmir conferences), (İzmir: Selanik Matbaası, 1331), 50-69.

⁵ M. Sami, *İzci Rehberi* (Scout’s guide), (İstanbul: Zarafet Matbaası, 1331 [1915]), 23-26.

If we go back a few years to 1912, we see that boy-scouting had become a central issue in the debates of Ottoman/Turkish intellectuals especially the ones living in Europe and specifically the students living in Lausanne.⁶ In a periodical, published by Nâfi Âtuf [Kansu], the Director of Education of Province Edirne, and an important figure behind the educational policies of the future republic, issued a series of articles about the boy scouts movement in England which was flourishing in that period. These articles were gathered from the text that was presented in a conference in *Lozan Türk Yurdu* (Lausanne Turkish Homeland Association) by Fescizade İbrahim Galip. The conference had an interesting topic: “Children in the Nations Which Are Determined to Live” and he focused on Boy-Scouting in this conference. In these articles, he used the words, *pişkar* (assistant; disciple) and *karakol* (outpost; guard) as he claimed that there was no match for “scouting” in Turkish.⁷ The core idea of the article was the perfect-ness of Anglo-Saxons education and how well they prepared their youth for the future. Fescizade concluded with the wish to raise a future generation which is “brave, solid, determined and ‘fully’ Turkish”.⁸

A year later in 1913, the first organized “boy scouts” movement, named *Türk Gücü* (The Turkish Strength), was founded as a sub-branch of the nationalist organization *Türk Ocağı* (The Turkish Hearth).⁹ The main goal of the organization was to strengthen the Turkish youth through physical education and to work for public hygiene which were expressed in the slogan: “The Turk’s Strength is enough for everything!” (*Türk’ün Gücü Herşeye Yeter!*).¹⁰ *Türk Gücü* was influenced by *Sokol*, English Boy Scouts and German *Pathfinders*,

⁶ For these students and their political initiatives, see. Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği* (Turkish nationaslim in the Young Turk period), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 111-126.

⁷ Fescizade İbrahim Galip, “Yaşamaya Azm Etmiş Milletlerde Çocuklar (Children in the nations which are determined to live)” *Say ve Tettebbu*, (15 Haziran 1328 [28 June 1912]), 9-12.

⁸ Fescizade İbrahim Galip, “Yaşamaya Azm Etmiş Milletlerde Çocuklar (Children in the nations which are determined to live),” *Say ve Tettebbu*, (1 Ağustos 1328 [14 August 1912]), 13.

⁹ The most updated and comprehensive work about Türk Ocakları see: Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları* (Turkish nationalism form Empire to the nation: Turkish Hearths) (1912-1931), (İstanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 1997).

¹⁰ *Türk Gücü’nün Umumi Nizamı* (*The general by-law of Turk Gucu*), (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye, 1329 [1913]) translation in Zafer Toprak, “İttihat ve Terakki’nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri (Paramilitary youth organizations of Comittee of Union and Progress),” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. VII (1979): 101-105.

particularly from their paramilitary aspect. This organization was supported by CUP, and had relations with the mentioned above Ziya Gökalp, who had composed a “New Atilla” march for the organization.¹¹ According to some authors, thanks to its relationship with CUP, *Türk Gücü* had spread to main cities of the empire.¹² Most notably *Türk Gücü* presented the idea of the “degeneration of race” as the main argument in its declaration.¹³

During the same period an increase in interest towards *keşşaflık* (a new word for scouting) is observed in the popular magazines. For instance from the very first issue, *Idman* devoted its pages to Boy-Scouting and gave more and more pages to boy-scouting in line with the establishment of Boy-Scout Organization by April 1914 under the patronage of Enver Pasa [Figure 5].

In the first issue of *Idman*, an article entitled “Scout Fraternity” written by Ali Sükrü Bey narrates the formal history of Boy-Scouting as well as his personal accounts. Sükrü Bey had seen boy-scouts for the first time in Hamburg in 1911. His narrative on this event is informative about the introduction of boy-scouting among Ottoman Turks. Sukru Bey says:

I heard a crowd approaching. As they were behind me I could not understand who they are. I thought a kind of army. Then I realized that they are not soldiers but child soldiers. The youngest one is fourteen the oldest one is sixteen, [they are] the basis of the fearsome German army. All of them are healthy, strong, tall; their cheeks are red, all in same uniform. This strong German youth are walking like soldiers, not concerned about the rain, walking as if they are walking in nice weather.”¹⁴

Three succeeding articles by the same author followed this column in the coming issues of *Idman*. In the last one of these Sukru Bey, divides Boy-Scouts into two as ‘War-Time’ and ‘Peace-time’ Boy-Scouts. However this division does not find a sound basis and the military aspect of scouting gains prominence again merging with values of honor and

¹¹ Zafer Toprak, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri (Paramilitary youth organizations in the II. Constitutional period)” in *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Turkey from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic), ed. Murat Belge, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 532.

¹² Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği...*, 64.

¹³ Türk Gücü Heyeti, “Türk Gücü:Türk’ün Gücü Herşeye Yeter (The Turk’s strength is enough for everything),” *Türk Yurdu* 3, No. 11 (7 Mart 1329 [20 March 1913]): 337-343.

¹⁴ A. Şükrü, “Keşşaf Yoldaşlığı: Boy Scout (Scout fraternity: Boy-Scout),” *Idman*, (15 Mayıs 1329 [28 May 1913]), 5-8.

patriotism. “Do you want an example to show the non-existence of scouting [in Turkey]” asks Sukru Bey, and continues: “Look at the Balkan War; everybody knows that most of our soldiers needed only to hear ‘it is coming’ to run away...”¹⁵

Similarly *Talebe Defteri* (Student Book), a magazine for school boys, began to publish notes about scouting under the name of *Keşşafın Muhtırası* (Scout’s Notes) in the same period. These articles varied in content but generally put emphasis on moral virtues of scouting and on how to improve physical strength.¹⁶

The news and ideas about boy-scouting became more prominent and began to appear on prominent newspapers when Enver Paşa, the Minister of War, had organized the Boy-Scouts Organization in April 1914. From the newspapers we learn that the CUP deputy of Burdur, Atıf Bey who was also the head of the above-mentioned *Türk Gucu* had gone to Belgium in order to reach an agreement with Mr. Parfitte, the leader of Belgium Boy Scouts.¹⁷

[Figure 6] After their return the news about boy scouting flourished in the daily papers in full page.¹⁸ In the following month, an attempt to create a positive public opinion about scouting was evidenced.¹⁹ An interview was made with Mr. Parfitte who was dressed as a Turkish official, commented to a daily paper, on how he was welcomed in Turkey.²⁰ Then the photos of some scouting tents appeared on the first page of the prominent daily *Tanin*.²¹ The next day, the by-law of the organization was published in the other major daily chapter *İkdam*.²² Within a week, two editorials, concerning the virtues of boy scouting followed each other in

¹⁵ A. Şükrü, “Keşşafılık (Boy Scouting),” *İdman*, (1 Eylül 329 329 [14 September 1913]), 96-100.

¹⁶ “Keşşafın Muhtırası (Scout notes),” *Talebe Defteri*, (16 Kanun- Sani 1329 [29 January 1914]), 293.

¹⁷ “İzcilik Muallimi (Scouting ‘nstructor),” *İkdam* (İstanbul), 8 Nisan 1330 [21 Nisan 1914], p. 4.

¹⁸ “Boy Skavt (İzci) Teşkilatı (Boy-Scout ORganization),” *Tanin* (İstanbul), 9 Nisan 1330 [22 April 1914], p. 1-2; “İzciler Ocağı,” *İkdam*, 10 Nisan 1330 [23 April 1914], p. 1.

¹⁹ For instance, the “nationalist” periodical designed for youth, *Çocuk Dünyası*, published a special issue on boy scouting see: *Çocuk Dünyası*, “İzcilik Özel Sayısı,” (29 Mayıs 1330 [13 June 1914]). For more detail about this magazine and its index with some transcriptions, see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla, “II. Meşrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Çocuk Dünyası Dergisi (Cocuk Dunyasi magazine from the II. Constitution to the Republic) (1913-1914; 1918-1919; 1926-1927),” *Müteferrika*, No. 13 (Yaz 1998): 119-191.

²⁰ “İzcilik Yolunda: Mösyö Parfitte ile Mülakat (On the way to Boy-Scouting: interview with Mr. Parfitte),” *Tanin*, 10 Nisan 1330 [23 April 1914], p. 1.

²¹ “İzci Çadırları (Scouting tents),” *Tanin*, 13 Nisan 1330 [26 April 1914], p.1.

²² “İzcilik Ocağı’nın İç Nizamnamesi (Internal by-law of the Boy-Scout Organization),” *İkdam*, 14 Nisan 1330 [27 April 1914], p. 3.

this paper.²³ Atıf Bey also engaged in this campaigning by writing an article entitled Scouting Laws (*İzcilik Düsturları*), in which he described scouting in Belgium, and concluded with the goal of creating a strong army through scouting.²⁴ Along with these developments, Mr. Parfitte was taken into imperial service by the imperial decree in 22 May 1914 as papers claimed²⁵ a month after the *Meclis-i Vükela* (Ministerial Council) had discussed the issues about Parfitte's tenure in 19 April 1914.²⁶

Few days after the formal employment of Mr. Parfitte, on 25th of May, thirteen scout-leaders (*oymak beyi*) were graduated from the course which was possibly opened by Mr. Parfitte in the Ministry of War. In the ceremony of taking the scout oath, Enver Paşa, had delivered a short speech: "... you can judge how important your oath is Scouting will be a useful object in preparing the army. You will be pleased and motivated to be more active when you see the fruit of your work. God be with you."²⁷ The "fruit" of the work was to recruit eighty scouts per month in different districts of Istanbul, therefore creating a well-prepared army when needed.²⁸ **[Figures 7 and 8]**

The general picture about scouting became more complicated when only two weeks after the graduation of the scout leaders; a new organization, *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri* (Ottoman Strength Societies) was founded, again by the Ministry of War.²⁹ Regarding their regulations, the main difference between *İzciler Ocağı* and *Güç Dernekleri* seems to be that the former was based on voluntary membership while the latter was mandatory in all public schools. Again according to the by-law of the *Güç Dernekleri*, *İzcilik Dernekleri* (Scouting

²³ "İzcilere, Tüccara ve Erbab-ı Sanata (To Scouts, Merchants and Artizans)," *İkdam*, 18 Nisan 1330 [1 May 1914], p.1; "İzcilik Ne Mühim İşler Keşfettiriyor (Scouting is leading us to discover important things)," *İkdam*, 21 Nisan 1330 [4 May 1914], p. 1.

²⁴ (Burdur Mebusu) Atıf, "İzcilik Düsturları (Scouting laws)," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 4 May 1330 [17 May 1914], p. 4.

²⁵ "Mösyö Parfitte (Mr. Parfitte)," *Tanin*, 9 Mayıs 1330[22 May 1914], p. 4.

²⁶ *Başbakanlı Osmanlı Arşivi* (B.O.A.), MV, 1332/Ca/23 [19/April/1914], Document no: 187/57.

²⁷ "İzcilik: Oymak Beylerinin Tahlif Merasimi (Scouting: The oath ceremony of scout leaders)," *Tanin*, 13 Mayıs 1330 [26 May 1914], p.4; "Oymak Beylerinin And İçmesi (The oath of scout leaders)," *İkdam*, 13 Mayıs 1330 [26 May 1914], p. 1.

²⁸ "İzcilik Aleminde (In the scouting world)," *Tanin*, 9 Mayıs 1330 [22 May 1914], p.4.

²⁹ "Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri Hakkında Nizamname (Regulations of the Ottoman Strength Societies)," *Takvim-i Vakayi*, 25 Mayıs 1330 [7 June 1914], p. 1-2, trans. Zafer Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakki'nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri," 105-107.

Societies) became a sub-organization of *Güç Dernekleri*; with the role of recruiting boys under 17 years-old-age whereas *Güç Dernekleri* would concentrate on the recruiting of Ottomans over that age (article # 5).

This pace in the foundation of organization could be understood in relation to the changes in the conscription system of the Ottoman army in the same period as discussed above.³⁰ On 8th of June 1914, we see the first news about *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri* on the daily papers.³¹ Then the articles about the concept of *millet-i müselleha* (nation in arms), a very significant idea for the Young Turks began to be published.³² The final peak was the declaration by the Ministry of War about *Güç Dernekleri* that appeared in every daily paper. The beginning of the declaration states that the idea of citizen-soldiers and “total-war” in pre-World War period had become the official policy of many states, including the Ottoman Empire. The declaration was also a good example of what I discussed above as heroic masculinity. It is stated that:

In this era, for every nation that wants to survive, to defend the motherland, *ırz ve namus* (honor) against the enemies, there is no other way than being a *millet-i müselleha* (nation in arms) to achieve these [goals]...From now on every one will be a soldier, from now on when the *vatan* is in danger, those who have the title of being men, will not roam around on the streets, but they will get their weapons, run to defend the Ottoman honor and motherland which is entrusted to us by God...Ministry of War which is concerned with this vital issue more than anyone else, took it into its responsibility and founded the *Ottoman Strength Societies*...³³

III) The Political Economy of the Movement:

However it will be reductionism to restrict boy-scouting to military preparedness since it also aimed to provide virtuous characteristics to youth. These virtuous characteristics were, as stated in the “Scout Law”, being trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind,

³⁰ See chapter III, part III on this paper.

³¹ “İzcilik: Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri Hakkında Nizamname (Scouting: regulations of the Ottoman Strength Societies),” *Tanin*, 26 Mayıs 1330 [8 June 1914], p. 4; “İzci Ocakları, Güç Dernekleri (Boy-Scout Organization, Strength Societies),” *İkdam*, 26 Mayıs 1330 [8 June 1914], p. 1.

³² “Millet-i Müsellehaya Doğru (Towards nation-in-arms),” *Tanin*, 10 Haziran 1330 [23 June 1914], p. 3.

³³ “Güç Dernekleri (Strength Societies),” *Tanin*, 11 Haziran 1330[24 June 1914], p.4; “Güç Dernekleri,” *İkdam*, 11 Haziran 1330[24 June 1914], p. 2.

obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean and reverent.³⁴ In our case, a great emphasis on this aspect of the movement is observed even in the early articles on the topic. In 1912, Fescizade İbrahim Galip had written: “you all know, being courageous, brave, helping others, obedience to order are all among [our] greatest characteristics and sacred traditions... we [Turks] have not yet become a member of the “historical races”. A little effort, will make us, the youth and Turkish children regain their traditional characteristics.”³⁵ [Figure 9]

However Boy-Scouting was more than providing character for the youth since it aimed to bring up citizens who will be the elements of the future society. Therefore boy scouting should go hand in hand with the idea of corporatism, the dominant political economy of the period. In his *Scout's Guide*, M. Sami offered an extended answer to the question, “What is scouting?”

The aim of scouting is to make youth strong, and with moral virtues (*ahlaklı*), to make them know their motherland, to make them healthy and physically powerful, to prepare them earn their own lives wherever they are, and make them determinant and enterprising (*müteşebbis*), and also to recruit (*talim*) and educate (*terbiye*) youth under a law according to occupational education (*terbiye-i meslekiye*) and national education (*terbiye-i milliye*) to create a unified group of youth. This is one of the first aims of it [scouting]. The youth who are educated in good hands, will be the ones who will make the most sacrifice for their motherland in the future. The masses that are born out of scouting will be armies whom education and recruitment had unified, therefore they had all the military training (*terbiye-i askeriye*) before their conscription.³⁶

And similarly Atıf Bey concluded his above-mentioned article after with the following words: “...these are the goals and basis of boy scouting which will build a unified, self-sacrificing, enterprising nation, [and] an army of strong discipline and obedience.”³⁷

Besides the themes of ‘sacrifice’ and ‘military recruitment’ we have discussed at length two “moral” themes mentioned in the texts cited above are particularly interesting: obedience (*itaat*) and being enterprising (*müteşebbis/girişken*) which became crucial in the political-economy of the Ottoman society. Obedience to the orders of scout masters can be

³⁴ Elizabeth R. Pendry and Hugh Hartshorne, *Organizations for Youth*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935), 22-23.

³⁵ Fescizade İbrahim Galip, “Yaşamaya Azm Etmiş Milletlerde Çocuklar,” 12.

³⁶ M. Sami, *İzci Rehberi*, 17.

³⁷ (Burdur Mebusu) Atıf, “İzcilik Düsturları,” p. 4.

seen as a tool to accustom the youth not only to the military discipline but also to the rules and laws of the modern state and to secure the foundations of the new regime.

The emphasis on being enterprising is a more complex issue. It went hand in hand with *solidarité* (*tesanüd*) and corporatism which were the major values of Turkish political, economy in the Young-Turk period. As part of this project, private entrepreneurship (*teşebbüs-i şahsi*) entered the school curriculum in this period via text books designed for providing knowledge of citizenship (*malumat-ı medeniye*). The idea of private entrepreneurship was one of the most dominant themes in these books. Hakkı Behiç, the writer of such a book, with social-Darwinist assumptions in mind, pointed out: “Yes, being an entrepreneur (*müteşebbis*) and honest... those are the ones who deserve to live in the 20th century.”³⁸ These books put emphasis on private entrepreneurship as opposed to working as an official in state bureaucracy and represented it as a mean for the “survival of the state”.³⁹ In this atmosphere, the works on boy scouting as claimed, put emphasis on enterprising and *solidarité*. For instance, Mr. Parfitte was claiming that “the real virtue of scouting will be appreciated when an entrepreneur generation grows twenty-thirty years later.”⁴⁰ On the other side of the coin, M. Sami was thinking about cultivating the youth under the idea of “occupational educations” and similarly Atıf Bey was aiming to overcome selfishness of the youth and to build up *solidarité* among them through boy scouting.”⁴¹

Boy Scouting as mentioned above put great emphasis on both themes. The entrepreneur had become a part of “Scout Law”⁴², and *tesanüd/solidarité* was stated in the

³⁸ Hakkı Behiç, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (Civic and moral knowledge), (Dersaadet [İstanbul]: İkdâm Matbaası, 1327[1911]), 121, quoted in Füsun Üstel, ‘*Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde, II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (In the Pursuit of the ‘Desired Citizen’ Civic Knowledge from II. Constitution to Today), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 89.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 89-95.

⁴⁰ “İzcilik Yolunda: Mösyö Parfitte ile Mülakat,” p. 1.

⁴¹ (Burdur Mebusu) Atıf, “İzcilik Düsturları,” p.4.

⁴² *İzci Ocağı’nın İç Nizamnamesi* (Internal by-law of the Boy Scout Organization), (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Hayriye ve Şürekası, 1330[1914]), 20.

first article of the Boy Scouts Organization's by-law.⁴³ Moreover, *solidarité* and enterprising were embodied in the physical activities of the boy scouts themselves.

Along with the stress on the discipline in the exercises of the scouts and “obedience” to scout-leaders as a metaphor of obedience to state; the physical representation of this order and obedience gained importance. Most notably, wearing uniforms became a crucial factor in the representation of this order as an article of the by-law states: “Attention will be paid to the uniformity of clothes to present the unity of ideas and labor.”⁴⁴ However, there seemed to be deficiencies in the corporatist system of boy scouts. Even though *solidarité* was based on the idea of equality between the members of the ‘group’, there is always need for someone to be in command. This problem is first overcome by age, by placing elders in higher positions in command. Age limits were established for fulfilling certain positions; for instance one had to be eighteen to be the *kalfa* and twenty one to be the *ağa*.⁴⁵ Along this line kinship metaphors were seen in the by-law⁴⁶: “after taking the oath, *adsız* will know the organization (*ocak*) as mother, leader (*başbuğ*) as father, and all the scouts as brothers and all scouts in higher positions as elder brother.”⁴⁷ These metaphors were references to the ideal construction of the Turkish nation state in which ‘homeland’ is perceived as mother, ‘state’ as father and ‘compatriots’ as brothers and sisters of the society.

This structure allowed individual initiatives for occupation of higher positions were depended to personal achievement as well as age⁴⁸; which are parallel to the idea of individual achievement within the borders of a broader social *solidarité*. Along with these metaphors and stress on order and discipline, scouting helped the idea of *solidarité* by creating

⁴³ *Ibid*, 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 4.

⁴⁶ This metaphor of home and family which is dominant in the period appears in the ideal construction of state by Young Turks as motherland is home, citizens are children of this home and they are all brothers. Füsun Üstel, “*Makbul Vatandaş*”ın *Peşinde...*, 73-74. This metaphor is also employed by other nations such as Japan where Japans tried to create a reserve army by putting emphasis on solidarity, cooperation and equality before the emperor, “the officials and officers were like fathers, old soldiers and village elders like elder brothers and recruits and young people were like children”. See: Richard J. Smetruth, “The Creation of Imperial Military Reserve Association in Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30, No 4 (Aug., 1971): 817-818.

⁴⁷ *İzci Ocağı'nın İç Nizamnamesi*, 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

specialists, thus fostering division of labor within society. Some of the specializations that boy scouts could gain included being doctor assistant, pilot assistant, sailor, specialist on plants, cavalry, carpenter, musician, cook, technician, ironsmith, miner, photographer, tailor and shoe maker, telegrapher and etc.⁴⁹ The aim of this was to make boy scouts specialize on one of these topics, create interdependency between them and thus establish a micro-society which is based on solidarity and corporatism. We can conclude that boy scouting was a great tool for CUP leaders to recruit the youth not only as potential soldiers but also as future citizens.

IV) Pedagogy, Nature and Boy-Scouting:

Before I conclude, I have to mention the importance of pedagogy for the Young Turks and specifically for the development of the scouting-movement. According to Eric J. Zürcher, the CUP leaders had a shared set of attitudes, a set which includes “a great ‘and somewhat naïve’ faith in the power of education”.⁵⁰ Ottoman intellectuals saw education as a means for the “survival of the state”; therefore, the state had to reform education, to survive. Particularly important on this regard was the idea that education should depend not only on theoretical knowledge but also on practical one. Emrullah Efendi was the first Minister of Education during the Young Turk period, emphasized both aspects of education, the theoretical for the mind and the practical for making a living. His ideas seemed to have been reified by the Temporary Law of Primary Education (*Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kanun-ı Muvakkati*) in 1913.⁵¹ In this law, new courses were programmed for children including physical education and school plays, military education for boys and household economy and sewing for girls.⁵² [Figure 10]

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-18.

⁵⁰ Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (I.B. Tauris, 2004), 132.

⁵¹ “*Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kanun-ı Muvakkati* (The temporary law of primary education),” *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, Vol. V, (Dersaadet Matbaası, 1332[1914]), 804-823.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 808. Physical education seems to be an important component of this reform: “*Mekatib-i Vakfiye Nasıl Terakki Ediyor?* (How the Schools of the Pious Foundations are Progressing?),” *Tanin*, 12 Mayıs 1330 [25 May 1914], p. 1-2. In this news, the “old school” was pictured as a crowded, dirty place and full of boys in a dark classroom in contrast to “new school” where girls were making gymnastics in the open air. For a first hand information of how physical education is introduced in many schools, see the memoirs of Selim Sırrı [Tarcan]:

Emrullah Efendi was possibly the most influential of the intellectuals in terms of his ideas that were endeavored but there were other intellectuals. For instance, Prens Sabahaddin, an important figure in the Ottoman political arena during the period, criticized the schooling system, blaming it for serving only the purpose of recruiting officials for the state, and stressed the value of practical knowledge.⁵³ Arguments of a similar kind intensified especially after the “traumatic” defeat in the Balkan Wars and accordingly many Ottoman intellectuals blamed the schooling system for the defeat. The significance of these arguments for our study is that they legitimized boy scouting on grounds of pedagogy. For instance, in his long article Atıf Bey underlined the importance of games for education. He claimed one of the bases of boy scouting is to educate via playing games, which he described as: “Plays which we use to give our children the desired education, is similar to the bait on a fish line.”⁵⁴ We also see the same emphasis on the practical part of education in the by-law of *İzciler Ocağı* where boy-scouts were evaluated according to their practical knowledge and abilities.⁵⁵ The relation between practical education and boy scouting was illustrated in the words of M. Sami: “Scouting is not walking on mountains or for kilometers but to teach children things they will need in life in a practical manner from nature.”⁵⁶

The best example of this idea and other aspects of boy-scouting was an illustrated short story entitled *Dağlar Çocuğu, Tabii Keşşaf* (Child of Mountains, The Natural Scout) published as serials in the periodical *Talebe Defteri*.⁵⁷ The story was constituted around the child hero named Rıdvan, a Muslim shepherd, who was helping his elders protect their village

“Selim Sırrı Tarcan: Hatıralarım (Selim Sırrı Tarcan: My Memoirs)” in *Canlı Tarihler* (Living Histories), (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1946), 46-55.

⁵³ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (History of the modern thought in Turkey), (İstanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1979), 192.

⁵⁴ (Burdur Mebusu) Atıf, “İzcilik Düsturları,” p.4.

⁵⁵ *İzci Ocağı’nın İç Nizamnamesi*, 4.

⁵⁶ M. Sami, *İzci Rehberi*, 11.

⁵⁷ The illustrations used in the story were taken from a propagandate book published, named *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap* (Red-Black Book), This book was published during Balkan War probably in the summer of 1913. For further information about this book, see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla, “Bir Propaganda Kitabı: Kırmızı Siyah Kitap (A propaganda book: Red-Black Book) (1913),” *Toplumsal Tarih* 21, No. 131 (October 2004): 94-96.

from Bulgarian rebels (*komitacı*).⁵⁸ Throughout the story, Rıdvan acted as a very *brave* boy [a component of the ‘heroic’ masculinity]. He was not affected by nature (indifferent to thirst and hunger) [reflection of his determinacy] since he was accustomed to living in nature [practical knowledge];⁵⁹ he never lost himself [middle class masculinity ideal of being ‘self-control’] and always stays *obedient* to elders (he does not kill rebels himself but waits for the orders of the elders).⁶⁰ From the whole story, a boy, living in nature, was illustrated to be an example of a “good man” (can be read as “good citizen”) and a potential “good soldier”, the main goals of boy scouting, the relation that the title of the serial had suggested.

V) Conclusion: The Conference of İsmail Hakkı Bey:

In 1915, when İsmail Hakkı Bey delivered his speech in İzmir, the Boy Scout movement had evolved into a path where the double foundations of boy scouting, as recruiting soldiers and educating citizens, had given the priority to the former one. İsmail Hakkı states:

Disarmament is a dream for the 20th century. It is a necessity for every society to fight with its blood and its sword for the claim of life. The continuity of every society is determined by its agriculture, commerce, and economics and besides these on its military power. Military power is also dependent on the military service of every patriot.⁶¹

However we should not rush to claim that İsmail Hakkı was a proponent of the situation; rather, he criticized the form that boy scouting took in the Ottoman Empire. His words in the last pages of his conference text make us understand the situation and thus the emergence of the boy scouting from the point of view of an Ottoman intellectual:

In our country boy scouting emerged after a tremendous defeat. It is neither scientific, nor about health but militaristic. The country found out that that is the only way to live independently. And that is to recruit the bodies of its youth. Therefore, boy scouting took a militaristic form with its spirit, with its order and with its uniform. Nevertheless, boy scouting is a kind of education to provide all kinds of scientific, social and natural abilities and ideas. To shape boy scouting into

⁵⁸ “Dağlar Çocuğu, Tabii Keşşaf (Child of mountains, the natural scout),” *Talebe Defteri*, (24 Teşrin-i evvel 1331-1329 [6 November 1913]), 187-189.

⁵⁹ “Dağlar Çocuğu, Tabii Keşşaf IV,” *Talebe Defteri*, (5 Kanun-ı Sani 1929-1332 [18 December 1913]), 232-233.

⁶⁰ “Dağlar Çocuğu, Tabii Keşşaf III,” *Talebe Defteri*, (21 Teşrin-i sani 1329-1332 [4 December 1913]), 216-217.

⁶¹ İsmail Hakkı Bey [Baltacıoğlu], “Memleketimiz İzcilikten Ne Bekleyebilir?,” 50-51.

a kind of military movement is to understand its role insufficiently...Boy scouts will interact with the villagers, find out their brothers, carry the flag of the motherland, will speak only Turkish. Boy scouts will overcome the shortcomings like weakness and indeterminism, which have been seen in the history of the country.⁶²

To sum up this chapter, I can suggest that the creation of a nation-in-arms and soldier-citizens were the basic elements of this project particularly after Ministry of War under took the organization. However Boy-Scouting also contributed to the building up citizens not only by providing characters to them but also as preparing them for the corporatist social order. As a last point I claim that the practical knowledge that is promised by scouting was used to legitimate the movement. And by an example of a “natural scout” I illustrated the relation between the nature, ideal masculinity, citizenship, and militaristic values.

In the next chapter I am going to examine the mass gymnastic festivals as a mean for constructing the nation as well as representing its ideal order.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 69.



Figure 5: The cover of the 29th issue of *Idman*: “Enver Pasa, the Leader of the Boy-Scout Organization”, *Idman*, (4 May 1914).



Figure 6: “Mr. Parfitt, the Vice-Leader of the Boy Scout Organization”, *Idman*, (4 May 1914), 449



Figure 7: “The scouts of Galatasaray and Altınordu are saluting the Sultan during an official ceremony,” *Idman*, (27 April 1914), 444.



Figure 8: “Scouts of Istanbul High School in an official ceremony,” *Idman*, (14 May 1914), 474.



Figure 9: The emphasis on revenge and sacrifice were one the main aspects of boy-scouting: “Necmeddin Bey, a member of Galatasaray Sultanisi Boy-Scouts, will take the place of his martyred uncle, Muhtar Bey.” *Idman*, (12 February 1914), 474.



Figure 10: “The praise-worthy exercise of the students of ‘Ittihad ve Terakki Mektebi’ (Union and Progress School) in Bursa,” *Şehbal*, (28 May 1914), p.4.

Chapter VI) Mass Gymnastic Festivals under Young Turk Rule

I) Introduction:

Selim Sırrı [Tarcan], the most important sportsman of the Young Turk and Early Republican periods, visited Hungary in 1914.¹ The purpose of the visit was to participate to the meeting of International Congress of Olympic Games which was summoned in the Academy of Science, Budapest.

The last pages of his account on this visit were about a gymnastic festival to which he was invited by the president of the *Reál Gimnázium*, Professor Szekeres. Selim Sırrı's words on this occasion foreshadow the gymnastic festival that he would direct few years later and gives us a glimpse of the aims behind it:

It [the sound of the drum] is still in my ears. This sound affected two hundred children like electricity and they followed the drum. The arms, the legs were moving as if they were the organs of a common body...In ten minutes the field was full of children. Now the people in the tribunes are watching the children, the future hopes of the nation. They appreciated these children who felt like Hungarian, had Hungarian spirit and carried Hungarian blood. More than ten thousand children were moving like a beehive.²

In the following pages, I will examine the first Gymnastic Festivals (*Idman Bayramı*) in Ottoman Empire that were held under the instruction of Selim Sırrı Bey in 1916 and 1917. First I will give the theoretical background of these mass gymnastic festivals.

¹ The memoirs of this visit and Selim Sırrı's account on the education policies of the Hungarian Monarchy see: Selim Sırrı [Tarcan], *Macaristan'da Terbiye-i Etfal* [Education of children in Hungary], (Dersaadet: Şems Matbaası, 1330[1914]).

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

II) Theoretical Background of Mass Gymnastic Festivals:

Public festivals were only second to the other two *invented traditions*, the public schools and monuments all of which aimed the creation of loyalty and popular resonance of the populace in various countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.²²⁴ The Ottoman Empire after 1908 revolution was no exception to this rule: The “Ottoman National Holiday” (*Iyd-i Milli-i Osmani*) on the anniversary of the revolution and the holiday on the day of the “Opening of the National Parliament” (*Meclis-i Milli’nin Yevm-i Kusadi Bayrami*), the “Student’s Holiday” (*Mektepliler Bayrami*; first held in 1915) and “Children’s Holiday” (*Cocuklar Bayrami*; first held in 1916) were the main national holidays and festivals that were celebrated under Young Turk rule. In the relevant literature on the “national holidays” during the Young Turk period these holidays were considered as “invented traditions” to enhance the morals of the Ottomans during the war and as attempts to increase the loyalty of citizens to the new regime.²²⁵

However here I will endeavor to go beyond this view and look for how “gymnastic festivals” under Young Turk rule was a mean in the “nationalization of the masses.”²²⁶ But before doing so, I will extent my previous discussion on Foucault’s ideas on ‘disciplinary technologies’ that lies under the organizational structure of gymnastics festivals.

According to Foucault, discipline is a technique it is not an institution. The main object of this discipline is to form a “docile [body] that may be subjected, used, transformed and

²²⁴Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 263-307.

²²⁵ For a brief summary of this literature on Festivals under Young Turk rule and the argument for this view, see: Füsün Üstel, ‘*Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde, II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (In the pursuit of the ‘desired citizen’ civic knowledge from II. constitution to today), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 29 and for the best account on festivals and French Revolution regimes see: Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1988).

²²⁶ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), particularly chapter 6: “Organizations Take a Hand,” 127-160.

improved.”²²⁷ In this approach the body is analyzed in its constitutive parts as the aim is to control both the part and the body as a whole. This construction of “micro-power” is the key to disciplinary technology. In this power, the bodies are designed to work efficiently and in the creation of total docility the organization of space becomes crucial. The space is partitioned in to regular units with presences and absences. These slots enable the disciplinary power to function. By these methods “the ordering of the whole multiplicity could be successfully carried out. This control of the cell was concomitant with the order of the whole operation.”²²⁸

The studies on mass gymnastic displays under totalitarian regimes such as Communism and Fascism gives us a nuanced understanding about the working of this disciplinary technology on these displays. For instance, Peter Roubal, in his study on gymnastic displays in East and Central Europe under Communism, states: “The gymnastic displays did not produce ‘docile’ bodies to use them it produced ‘docile’ bodies to display them.”²²⁹ Roubal makes a distinction between the athletes on the field and the spectators watching them: “In the case of gymnasts the main task of the power to discipline the bodies and use them, whereas in the case of spectators the aim of the power was to discipline the minds and convince them. The ritual, with play of symbols, offered a convenient framework for the work of ‘the engineers of human souls’.”²³⁰ For us the most important aspect is the transformation of the masses into a desired community, in our

²²⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, Translated by Alan Sheridan, (New York: Wintage/Random House, 1979), 136, quoted in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics with an afterword by and an interview with Michel Foucault ed. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow*, (New York : Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), 153.

²²⁸ *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism*, ed. H. L. Dreyfus, 153-156.

²²⁹ Peter Roubal, “Politics of Gymnastics: Mass Gymnastic Displays under Communism in Central and Eastern Europe,” *Body & Society* 9, No. 2 (2003): 10.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

case to a “nation” through their ritualistic display, in the words of George Mosse: “the political liturgy of nationalism.”²³¹

According to Mosse, nationalism becomes a reality only through the liturgy it created.²³² The celebrations and festivals particularly of the gymnasts, male-choirs and sharp-shooting societies were the main actors in this liturgy and “concerned with the revival of national consciousness.”²³³ In his genealogy of gymnastic festivals from Jahn, he claims: “The creation of gymnastics was part of Jahn’s concern for meaningful national rites; for he realized that such rites meant that channeling of a chaotic crowd into a mass disciplined in part through the performance of ‘sacred acts’...Song, the martial note of trumpets, short speeches, and holy flames, all had their place as part of the gymnastic festivals. But there was no place for frivolity.”²³⁴ Therefore in the gymnastic festivals, the fusion of the rhythmic bodies into a whole “become a standard element of a totalitarian liturgy and ... of sportive expressionism”.²³⁵ In the following pages I will examine this expressionism and the desired Turkish ‘nation’ in the Gymnastic Festivals under Young Turk Rule.

III) Mass Gymnastic Festivals under Young Turk Rule:

The gymnastic festivals that I will focus on carried the name *Idman Bayrami* (literally Gymnastic Holiday). However this title was far from being an innovation since many occasions had been held under the same name in that period or sports were incorporated as a part of other celebrations. For instance in a “Flower Festival” which was held by a charity organization that aims the donations of “gentle and loyal families”, gymnastics and sport games appeared in its

²³¹ George L. Mosse, “Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism,” in *Nationalism : the Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. Eugene Kamenka, (London : E. Arnold, 1976), 38-54

²³² George L. Mosse, “Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism,” 40.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²³⁴ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses...*, 128-129.

²³⁵ John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 10-11.

programme after sorts of artistic exhibitions.²³⁶ Similarly more than a year after this occasion another “Spring Festival” was held by the “Society for National Protection” (*Mudafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*) which aimed to collect donations for the war veterans. Two major heads of the Ottoman government, Talat and Enver *Paşas* were present at this occasion. The main event in the festival was again different kinds of sports, varying from tug-of-war games to yacht races and many clubs participated in the competitions probably due to the presence of the mentioned major political figures.²³⁷ More examples can be given similar kinds of festivals in which sports were the major or one of the most important elements. In this period we also see some gymnastic and sports festivals those carry the name “Gymnastic Exhibition” (*Idman Musameresi*)²³⁸ and “Gymnastic Festival” (*Idman Bayramı*)²³⁹.

Therefore what was the innovation of these *Idman* Festivals conducted by Selim Sırrı Bey? My answer is two-fold: first the organization and gymnastics embodied the over-mentioned disciplined technologies and secondly their “political liturgy” distinguished them from these examples.

Our knowledge on the *Idman Festivals* leans on an anonymous article appeared in *Tedrisat Mecmuası* [literally: Instructions Journal] of which Selim Sırrı was one of the main contributors. The author states the aim behind the gymnastic festivals in the following words: “In Europe it is a custom that all the school children gather in the public sport fields of cities on a pre-decided day in spring... *Darulmuallimeyn* [High School for Instructors] had this festival on

²³⁶ “Kadikoy’de Cicek Bayramı (Flower festival in Kadikoy),” *İkdam*, 15 Mayıs 1332 [28 May 1916], p.2.

²³⁷ “Fenerbahçe’de Kir Eglenceleri (Field entertainments in Fenerbahçe),” *İkdam*, 5 Ağustos 1333 [5 August 1917], p.2

²³⁸ “Büyük İdman Müsameresi (Great gymnastic exhibition),” *İkdam*, 19 Mayıs 1333 [19 May 1917], p. 2.

²³⁹ “Altınordu İdman Bayramı (Altınordu gymnastic festival),” *İkdam*, 16 Haziran 1333 [16 June 1917], p.1.

the 29th of April in the field of *Ittihad* Sports Clubs not only to demonstrate the value that it gives to physical education but also to create an *Idman* Festival in our country.”²⁴⁰

The minister of public education, professors from the university, and Von Hoff Pasa the commander of the paramilitary Ottoman Youth Societies²⁴¹ were present at the festival. Three elements were crucial in these festivals: order of the gymnasts, their songs and uniforms. An instructor “who is tall and strong” was carrying the flag of *Darulmuallimeyn*. **[Figure 11]** The gymnasts of *Darulmuallimeyn* were following him and they were followed by students of prominent high schools (*Sultani*) and fifty students from each “Experimental Schools” (*Numune Mektebi*) were following their elders. Most notably the gymnasts were singing while marching. According to the author of the article, the head of these people, Rusen Esref Bey “was proud for carrying the flag ahead of this army of wisdom and blessing.”²⁴² The dresses of the gymnasts were complementing this liturgy: “the gymnasts in white shirts, black pants and red belts were marching in order.”²⁴³

The order, songs and uniforms aimed to achieve the main goal of behind the whole event: cohesion, like the one between the parts of a machine. If the communist gymnastics aimed to represent desired [communist] society and its leadership as it is argued²⁴⁴, the mass-gymnastics under the corporatist political-economy of the Young Turks tried to achieve the solidity of their ideal social order.

²⁴⁰ “İlk İdman Bayramı (First Gymnastic Festival),” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, no. 34-3 (1916), 283.

²⁴¹ *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri* (Ottoman Youth Societies) were the paramilitary organizations established in 1915 under Ministry of War. They followed the example their German counterpart, *Jungdeuschthlandbund* and directed by a German official, Von Hoff Pasa.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 283. The actual word in the text is ‘feyz’ which has different meanings: 1) An abundant blessing of God; 2) A bounteous Gift; 3) Success and advancement in profession.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 283.

²⁴⁴ Peter Roubal, “Politics of Gymnastics: Mass Gymnastic Displays...,” 3.

The achievement of this social order was dependent on the organization and disciplinary patterns of the gymnastics. Historian Henning Eichberg has identified these main patterns in examples of *Turnen* and *Sokol* gymnastics as such:

1. The exercises follow a fixed time pattern and a measure of a drill, structured by the leader.
2. They celebrate the *straight line* of body and bodies: the straight spine, symmetry of movement, geometrical position.
3. The bodies are in uniform.
4. The exercises are synthetically constructed, following a pedagogically logical scheme.
5. The leader is in command; there is no gymnastics without an instructor.
6. The relationship between practical activities and values-health, pedagogies, patriotism- is one of instrumentality: the body serving as instrument for external purposes.²⁴⁵

When we examine the gymnastic exhibitions in the *İdman* Festivals we see the same patterns. To begin with the issue of leadership and command, it is observed that Selim Sırrı Bey was the leader of the gymnasts [Figure 12]. “Be Straight! (*Hazir ol!*)”²⁴⁶ was the command of Selim Sırrı Bey and “it left an affect of an electric current on the gymnasts.”²⁴⁷ This command and its narrative are important for two reasons. First, the description of this very first command in gymnastic festivals in Budapest and Istanbul by using the same metaphor of electricity is interesting. This metaphor is the reflection of the “century of science” and its concern with

²⁴⁵ Henning Eichberg, “Nationalism and Culture of the Body: the Politization of ‘Popular’ Gymnastics in Nineteenth-Century Denmark,” in *Tribal Identities, Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. J. A. Mangan, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 114-115.

²⁴⁶ “*Hazir ol!*” is a phrase with two meanings. It means “be straight!” and “be ready!”

²⁴⁷ “İlk İdman Bayramı,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, 284.

energy and electricity as its form.²⁴⁸ Electricity is the key element here because it provides the energy for a *machine* to function. The human body (individual) is conceived as a small machine himself/herself as well as a part of a bigger machine (society) that multiple of them created together. In this scene Selim Sırrı Bey appears to be the engineer to start this engine: “with a command of Selim Sırrı Bey all the gymnasts raised their arms on the level of their chest in a speed of a machine. Then all of them began to move in a nice cohesion...”²⁴⁹

As I have mentioned above the gymnasts were in uniform (black-white-red). They were marching in a straight line and every gymnast had a predestined location on the field. There was an emphasis on being in a straight line, and the emphasis on *order* became more obvious in the second İdman Festival in 1917 [Figures 11-12] . More schools had participated in the festival and particularly “few of them were high appreciated due to their uniformity and order while marching”.²⁵⁰ An again cohesion and order were the main concerns regarding the whole scene: “They [different schools] marched in different directions...Their legs and arms were moving in cohesion.”²⁵¹

Few games were also played in the festival, one of which was tug-of-war. The narrative of the game was totally different than the one that I have examined in the chapter on the journal *İdman* [see p. 37]. In that narrative the lost of the game had represented the “degeneration of the race” but this time it demonstrated its regeneration: “It should be admitted that we have not seen such a cohesive tug-of-war game before. The way they lift the rope up from the ground, the

²⁴⁸ Kathryn M. Olesko, “The Century of Science,” in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe: 1789-1914*, ed. Stefan Berger, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 341-342.

²⁴⁹ “İlk İdman Bayramı,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, 285.

²⁵⁰ “İkinci İdman Bayramı (The second gymnastic festival),” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, (1 Haziran 1333 [1 June 1917]), 4.

²⁵¹ “İlk İdman Bayramı,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, 285.

positions of their arms and legs and their way of directing their energy into one direction were by all means wonderful.”²⁵²

The movements of the gymnasts were highly controlled and in they were following a pedagogical scheme of Swedish gymnastics. In the second *Idman* Festival, a group of gymnasts from the *Kuleli* Military Lycee had participated into the festival although they were not invited! According to the author of the article their exercises were not pedagogical gymnastics but mere show of acrobats. The *Tedrisat Mecmuasi* had published a letter of Von Hoff Pasa criticizing these exercises severely. After stating that he did not consider these exercises as gymnastics, Von Hoff Pasa stated: “our aim is not to bring up acrobats but to raise a strong nation.”²⁵³

IV) Conclusion: The Purposes of Mass Gymnastic Festivals:

So what were the external purposes of the gymnastic festivals? The ritualistic aspect of the festival and the disciplined cohesion of the exercises supporting it were the main elements of these festivals. Roubal states that the mass gymnastics were “an ideal symbolic system as the bodies, without any explicit political meaning, have the potential to represent the community and to describe its characteristics.”²⁵⁴ The *main* purpose was to create a “strong nation” as Von Hoff Paşa has stated but also to represent it. I want to direct a criticism to Roubal since he makes the following distinction between nationalist and communist gymnastics: “whereas the former were obsessed by the ideal shape of the body the latter stressed its ideal function.”²⁵⁵ However in this chapter I tried to show that the mass-gymnastics including the “nationalist ones” aimed to represent strong bodies to the spectators. The constant emphasis to solidity both as a

²⁵² “İlk İdman Bayramı,” *Tedrisat Mecmuasi*, 286.

²⁵³ Mirliva Von Hoff, “Terbiye-i Bedeniye ve Canbazlık (Physical education and acrobatics),” *Tedrisat Mecmuasi*, (1 Haziran 1333 [1 June 1917]), 7.

²⁵⁴ Peter Roubal, “Politics of Gymnastics: Mass Gymnastic Displays...,” 13.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 15.

representation in the mass gymnastics and as a narrative was a reference to desired coherent society and to its corporate economy. This liturgy was supplemented by flags around the field and by the songs of the gymnasts. They were the dreams of a society consisting of strong bodies and they *represented* its solidarity in this ritualistic atmosphere. The mass gymnastics aimed not only to infiltrate into the bodies of the gymnasts but also to penetrate into the minds of the spectators and most remarkably to ‘nationalize’ them with its liturgy. **[Figure 13]**

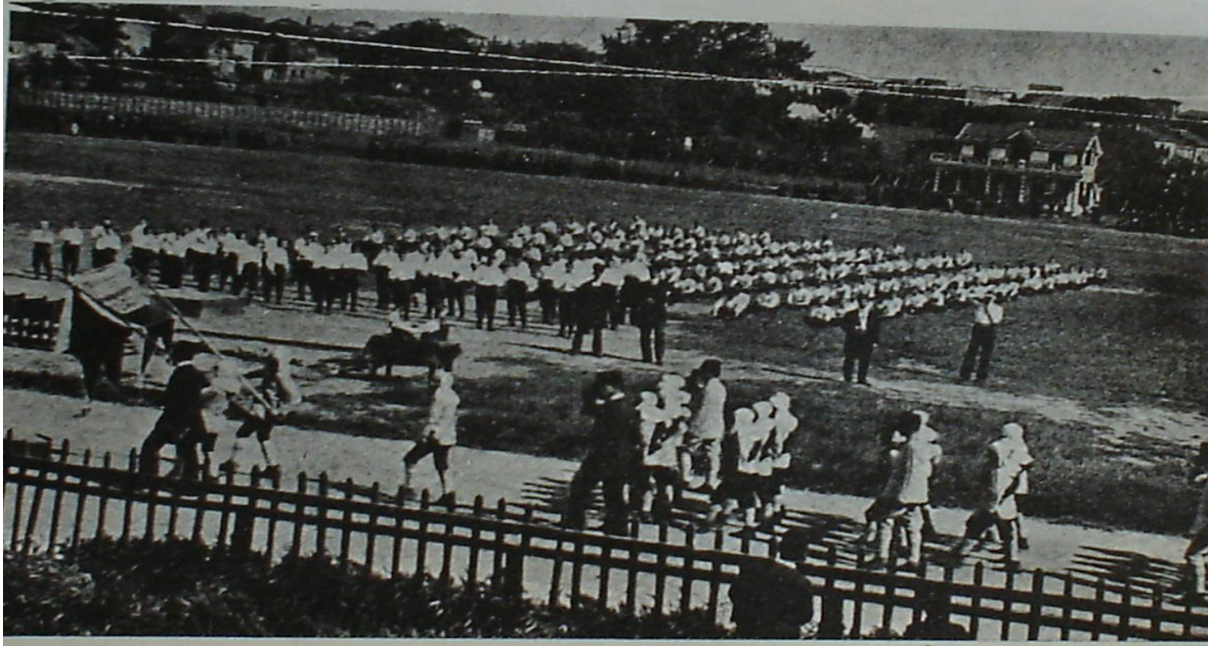


Figure 11: “The students of Darulmuallimeyn are resting before the start of First Idman Festival,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, No. 34/3 (1916).



Figure 12: “The students of *Darulmuallimeyn* are making physical exercises according to rules of Swedish gymnastics,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, No. 34/3 (1916).

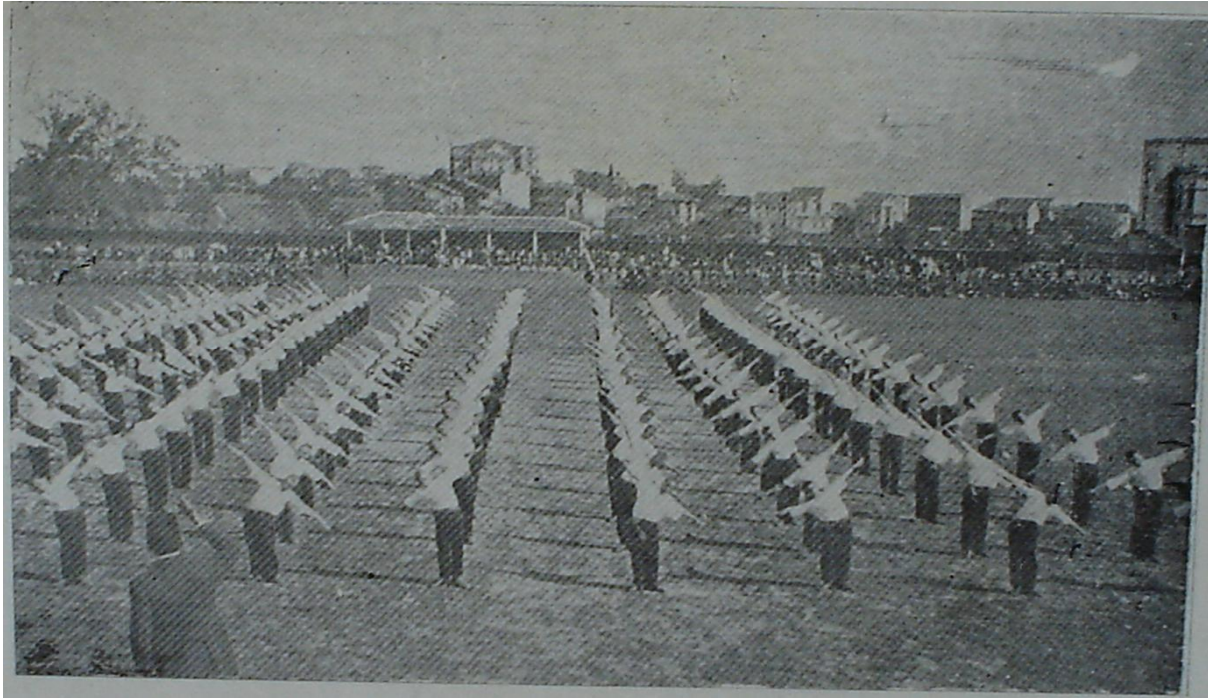


Figure 13: “A photo from the Second Idman Festival,” *Tedrisat Memcuasi*, No. 39 (1 June 1917).



Figure 14: “A photo from the Second Idman Festival,” *Tedrisat Mecmuasi*, No. 39 (1 June 1917).



Figure 15: "A photo from the Second Idman Festival," *Tedrisat Mecmuasi*, No. 39 (1 June 1917).

Conclusion: The Legend of the CUP Rule and the Role of Physical Education

The Young Turk rule was one of the most important periods in the history of Turkey. It not only witnessed intensified attempts to modernize the society but also it constructed the foundations of the Turkish modern *nation-state*. The ten years rule of *Committee of Union and Progress* marked the fate of many different ethnic groups Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, Kurds etc... and affected even the contemporary societies of these peoples. Among them Turkey is the main –willingly or unwillingly- heir of this rule and she is feeling its burden still on her shoulders. The strong rule of the state, its ever continuous attempts to centralize the country, deep adherence to “modernism” and to secularism, the political culture, its political-economy, the weight of militarism in politics and the Turkish “nationalism” in contemporary Turkey are direct legacies of this short but intense rule of CUP.

Throughout this paper I touched upon few of these topics from a very specific angle. I examined the ‘modernization’ aspects of the Young Turk rule by focusing on its policies on physical education. I argued that the rule of CUP showed great emphasis on its population and the policies on physical education in this period reflected this emphasis. I claimed that one of the most important policies on the population in this period was the introduction of citizenship which opened the population to various *disciplinary technologies* and aimed to use them as citizen-soldiers through in context of the uninterrupted series of wars from 1912 to 1922.

Within this changing *governmentality* and context of wars the CUP leaders had envisioned many solutions to cope with various problems and considered gymnastics and physical education as a solution. CUP imagined building up a society of military preparedness as well as bringing up its citizens who will defense and develop *their* country and make progress. When they looked at Europe either from within or from Istanbul, they saw that Europe achieved

many things through physical education. Most notable of these achievements was its ‘survival’ in the war of ‘*strong*s’ and the ‘*weak*s’; and CUP cadres saw empire’s decline as a sign of belonging to the second category and wanted to make her one of the ‘*strong*s’.

They conceived being ‘strong’ in a very broad way. For instance they understood it as being economically strong and did a lot to change the economical structures. They first abolished the one sided “capitulations” which gave commercial benefits to foreign capital and to their non-Muslim business partners but not to Muslims. Then they attempted to abolish almost all the members of Armenians living in Anatolia and create a Muslim-Turkish ‘native’ bourgeoisie class to enhance the development of the country.

Related to these policies, CUP conceived being ‘strong’ also as being an iron handed government. They came to rule by a revolution and they acted as revolutionaries. They abolished all the opposition, even killed ministers and ruled the country by few who were the central committee of the CUP.

In this paper I examined the CUP’s understanding of being ‘strong’ in its literary meaning, being physically strong. But this physical strength went well beyond that single meaning and carried a bag of connotations. Throughout this paper I scrutinized these other meanings and showed how these different meanings and connotations are intermingled with each other. I focused on the importance of physical education in the matrix of ‘struggle for survival’, military service, masculinity, and corporatism.

Social Darwinism was the dominant ideology behind these views and it necessitated to be ‘strong’ in this world of constant struggle. However there were other agendas in this project, most visibly the creation of the nation-in-arms and a heroic masculinity. These themes went hand in hand since an armed Ottoman nation could only be achieved successfully through the internalization of the duty of military service by the male *citizens*. The ideal masculine type of the

period was a heroic Turk who was ready to sacrifice himself for his ‘nation’ and determinant to take the revenge of his ancestors. These were the foundations of modern ‘Turkish’ masculinity as able soldiers. This legend of CUP still can be observed in the contemporary Turkey. The car convoys covered with flags and young people are sending their friends, their sons to the military service in the “soldier’s farewell” with one single rhyme: “En Buyuk Asker Bizim Asker!” (The Greatest Soldier is our Soldier).²⁵⁶

Throughout the paper I examined the relationship between state, ‘nation’ and physical education in the period in which the roots of modern Turkish society were lying. I pointed that during and after the Balkan Wars the link between physical education and military preparedness and ideal masculinity became fundamental. In the chapter 5, I examined this relationship by analyzing the discourse of the sport journal *Idman*. In that journal I spotted the construction of the Turkish “national identity” as patriots and soldiers. According to *Idman*, only physical education could have build up a strong nation of males who are ready to defend their country. I presented how the authors in *Idman* filled the bag of “national identity” with patriotic and heroic characteristics.

Idman was not the only agent outside direct CUP rule but acted in line with that rule. There were other agents most notably the gymnastic clubs whose number increased extensively in this period. One of these clubs was *Anadolu Hisari Idman Yurdu* (Anadolu Hisari Gymnastic Club) which gave a petition to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in late 1913. It aimed to get permission for expanding their activities and establishing a sharp-shooting branch. A long quotation from that petition shows the relevance of our thoughts in this paper:

²⁵⁶ Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public life in Turkey*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), 117-122.

We have seen that one of the reasons behind the disaster that we have witnessed in the last war [Balkan Wars] was the lack of adherence to physical education. Since we think of the necessity to take the revenge of these dark days and to bring up the future generations akin to their ancestors, we have established a society under the name of “Gymnastic Club” which will make the nation resistant to war and struggle, in [the district of] *Anadolu Hisari*. Besides the instruction of different kinds of physical education courses now we aim to establish a sharp-shooting society... Since the sons of the homeland will be more ready for their military service, the duty for their homeland, they will exercise the other aspects of being soldier quickly and be ready for the defense of the homeland...²⁵⁷

The paperwork between Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of War on the permit for the establishment of the branch continued until June 1914 when Minister of War, Enver Paşa allowed this enterprise and found it “a project deserving support.”²⁵⁸ The programme of the society attached to the petition attests the importance of physical education in the creation of nation-in-arms. It starts with the headline “Turk’s equipment is horse, weapon and tent!” and continues: “...today the Ottoman youth must be raised up as soldiers...Today all aspects of Ottomans are in decline and the gap between them and their great ancestors are increasing...Mixing with the rest of the word and ‘make our voice heard’ can only be achieved through a nation-in arms.” After giving the examples of Germany, France, Denmark and particularly England and explaining how they became nation-in-arms through physical education, the author claims that gymnastic and sharp shooting societies will create:

...the future generations of youth will prevent the decline in the national honor by their strong arms and legs, their bullets that always find the target and their courage and determinacy...They will enhance the status of Ottoman nation to the one it deserves. And we have to spread this organization to Anatolia... By this means the nation will be revived and the generations will be purified.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ *Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi* [B.O.A.], DH. KMS, 26/B/1332 [20 June 1914]; document no: 12/20-2.

²⁵⁸ B.O.A., DH. KMS; Tarih: 26/B/1332; document no: 12/20-1.

²⁵⁹ B.O.A., DH. KMS; Tarih: 26/B/1332; document no: 12/20-3.

A society of citizen-soldiers who are physically strong and full of courage and determinacy will lead the Ottoman state back to its 'heyday' in the past. However the Ottoman Empire was evolving into a 'nation-state'. In the chapter on the journal *Idman*, I have demonstrated how physical education and sports were important in the creation of "national identity" *vis á vis* the 'others'. The 'others' were the foreigners and particularly the non-Muslims in the Ottoman society.

An archival document on the activities of a certain Armenian club was issued only few days after the Enver Pasha's approval on the over mentioned petition and finding it "a project deserving support". The document was signed by the chief supervisor of the minister of Internal Affairs and sent to the Ministry of War.²⁶⁰ It was about the "so-called Boy-Scouting activities" of an Armenian Club in the district Kadikoy. The request was the abolishment of the club in which "students who were wearing caps and carrying flags with Armenian manuscripts on them are exercising and are even commanded in Greek". The Ministry of War was asked to ban this club and any other preparations for 'special' aims of elements of the Ottoman society. This was asked from the Ministry of War since "[it] was responsible to work against every dreadful attempt against the defense of the homeland".

This document showed the attitude of the CUP government towards non-Muslims, but there is another aspect which is as important as the former one. That the CUP officials saw Boy-Scouting as a direct agent for military training. In the chapter 6 of this paper, I have discussed this aspect of the Boy-Scout movement at length. I have examined the history of the movement and showed its paramilitary aspect throughout its evolution in the Ottoman Empire. I pursued its history until mid 1914 when CUP government established the Boy-Scout Organization and totally militarized the movement.

²⁶⁰ B.O.A., DH. MBHPS.M., 1332/Ş/5 [29 June 1914]; document no: 14/ 25.

However as I have argued in the chapter on *Idman*, physical education aimed not only military preparedness but also ‘character building’. In the boy-scout case as I have illustrated this aspect was even more complicated. Although the paramilitary aspect of the movement has been always emphasized the citizen building aspect was also present and it was *embodied* in the structure of the movement. Besides giving character to the boy-scouts for being an “ideal citizens”, it prepared them for a corporatist model of the society. Solidarité among the boy-scouts was a main tool in the movement as well as they were expected to be ‘entrepreneur’. The emphasis on these themes carried boy-scouting beyond its militaristic plans and showed its significance for the society in general. They were the future citizens and native bourgeoisie that the Turkish state will be founded upon.

In the chapter on mass gymnastic festivals, I approached to the issue of envisioning society through physical education but from a different angle. The festivals in general are considered to be the occasions in which various regimes aimed to get popular support as well as to create a feeling of ‘togetherness’. The purposes of the festivals under Young Turk rule were no exception to their contemporary European examples and sports festivals were part of this tradition. However I claimed that mass gymnastic festivals which were held in 1916 and in 1917 had further aims. First mass gymnastic festivals like all other physical exercises aimed to create able bodies. However they also represented the cohesion of the society which was created by the order that they were subject to. The actions and movements of an individual gymnast and his position on the field created a unity of action and an order. This order evolved into a liturgy as it was supplemented by songs, flags and uniforms. Under the mass gymnastic festivals the individual bodies of the gymnasts were disciplined and the aggregate of these disciplined individuals created a whole which is greater than the sum of its constituting parts. It represented

the cohesive order and the future of the society to its members who were ‘nationalized’ in the liturgy of these festivals.

The themes that I have touched upon in this paper are still keeping their prominent positions in the contemporary Turkish society. Today the secondary school children are still marching in their physical exercise courses singing the rhyme “Her Turk Asker Doğar!” (Every Turk is born as a soldier!). In the entrance of every sport complex in Turkey, the following maxim of Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the republic is written: “I like the sportsman who is intelligent, rapid and of high morality.” Every year in the 19th of May, a gymnastic festival “National Sovereignty and Youth Festival” is celebrated all over Turkey. 19th of May is significant since it is considered as the beginning of the Turkish independence war against the occupying forces in Anatolia after the WWI. It is also considered to be birthday of Atatürk since it is not known certainly. But if anything is certain that is the merge of the ‘revival of the nation’, birthday of Atatürk and the gymnastic festival of Turkish youth on the same day is not a coincidence.²⁶¹

The legends of an empire can be felt in every single nation-state heir to an empire. In this work I examined I covered a tiny portion of the legend of the Ottoman Empire on contemporary Turkey. I showed how the concept of an ‘ideal’ citizen has grown up hand in hand with militaristic values, patriotism and sacrifice. I focused on the role of physical education in this process of creating muscular citizen-soldiers under CUP rule which was *embodied* in the foundations of the contemporary Turkish nation-state.

²⁶¹ It is interesting that 25th of May was the birthday of Tito, ex-Yugoslavia’s most famous leader and a gymnastic festival has been held on that day during his rule and even after it.

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