

Sports in the Early Republican Period: The Turkish Sports Association Magazine as an Ideological Apparatus

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Abstract

During the birth of the Turkish nation-state as a republic, sports became one of the dynamics of social transformation, and physical training and sports were described as a "case" in this period. The goal of this study is to reveal the role the journal of the Turkish Sport Association in the concretization and dissemination of the ideology of the regime. The study's theoretical foundations are based on Althusser's theory of the "ideological apparatus of the state". The magazine published by this institution between 1936 and 1938 became the spokesperson of the official ideology in sports. This qualitative study, which explores the meanings and obligations attributed to sports in the Early Republic Period and the ways in which those messages were propagated throughout society, employed the descriptive analytic approach. The study reveals that sports in the magazine serve to embody and spread the official ideology through nationalism, which is one of the basic principles of the Republic; the "new woman" as the symbol of the Republic; and the relationship of the state with population-national defense, which is one of the most important problems of the state.

Keywords: Turkish Sports Association, Sports Magazine, Female Athletes, Ideological Apparatus Of The State.

Öz

Cumhuriyet'in, ulus-devletin doğuşu sürecinde spor toplumsal dönüşümün dinamiklerinden biri olmuş, bu dönemde beden terbiyesi ve spor bir "dava" olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Bu çalışma da, Cumhuriyet'in kuruluş sürecinde sporun işlevine odaklanmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda çalışmanın temel amacı, Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi'nin, rejimin ideolojisinin somutlaşmasında ve yayılmasında nasıl bir rol oynadığını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Althusser'in 'devletin ideolojik aygıtları' yaklaşımı çalışmanın kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşunun ilk yıllarında ülkedeki spor yönetimi görece özerk bir kurum olan Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı'nın idaresi altındayken, 1936 yılında Türk Spor Kurumu adını alan yapılanma Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi bünyesine katılmıştır. Bu kurum tarafından 1936-1938 yılları arasında yayımlanan dergi resmi ideolojinin spordaki sözcüsü olmuştur. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde spora yüklenen anlam ve görevlerin basın üzerinden hangi mesajlarla topluma aktarıldığı ve yayıldığını inceleyen bu nitel çalışmada betimsel analiz yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Analiz için amaçlı örneklem yöntemiyle seçilen makaleler ve görsellerden yararlanılmıştır. Çalışma, dergide sporun, Cumhuriyet'in temel prensiplerinden olan milliyetçilik, Cumhuriyet'in sembolü olan "yeni kadın" ve devletin en önemli sorunlardan olan nüfus-millî savunma ile ilişkisi üzerinden resmi ideolojinin somutlaştırılması ve yayılmasına hizmet ettiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Spor Kurumu, Spor Basını, Sporcu Kadın, Devletin Ideolojik Aygıtları.

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Introduction

Sports was implemented as one of the major dynamics of the Early Republican Period. In the early establishment process of the nation-state, sports was planned as a national field in line with the goals of reaching the level of civilized nations. Sports, recognised as “soft power” as a tool of image and reputation in the international arena today, had a special significance in terms of both creating a strong and large population and transforming this population into a nation/society, especially in the 1930s’ Turkey approaching the Great War.

Sports is one of the institutions that construct ideology within society. Sports has a significant role in the production of the discourse that constitutes the national identity-belonging, as well as in the creation of common sense, social solidarity and unity (Caldwell, 1982; Houlihan, 1997; Türkmen, 2013; Wheeler, 1978), in the construction of the social identity of women (Cantek & Yazar, 2009; Talimciler, 2006; Yazar, 2014) and Turkish modernization (Tokatlıoğlu, 2021; Zelyurt, 2013). Brian Willan also mentions that sports is important because “it provides the necessary tools to spread the hegemonic value of the community” (cited in Hobwbawn, 2013, p. 277).

Elias defines modern sport as a phenomenon peculiar to modernity. Saying that modern sport was born in England, Elias attributes this situation to the civilization process that started with the decrease in violence since the 17th century. The most important factor in the emergence of this phenomenon is the pacification of the landowners and the strengthening of the nation-state model, which monopolizes the right to use violence. The industrial revolution was instrumental in the global spread of modern sports, and by the 19th century, workers and peasants were able to participate in sports as players (cited as Çakır, 2014, p. 207-213). Thus, practiced by handful elites for centuries, sports started to become popularized as a result of capitalism in the 19th century and turned into an ideology in the real sense. Sports and physical education have been used for

“preparation for war” in the nation-state era (Fişek, 2003, p. 106) and have been an indicator of national superiority since the 19th century (Caldwell, 1982). In studies dealing with the relationship between nationalism and sports, Houlihan (1997) argues that in countries with a colonial past such as Canada and Ireland, certain sports are seen as symbols of resistance, freedom and protecting ethnic identity, and Caldwell (1982) argues that the resurgence of the Olympics at the end of the 19th century is the result of European nationalism. According to Caldwell, the sport of cricket has played a critical role in the construction of Australian nation-identity in Australia through the colony beating the colonist England at her own game. Civralı (2021) also states that baseball was invented in the United States in the 19th century to “produce Americans” from within the heterogeneous working class.

There are various studies on the ideological function of sports in Turkey, especially recently. In his study examining the ideological function of sport, Talimciler (2006) focuses on the sport-power relationships, the function of sport in capitalist production, and its role in gender construction. Cantek & Yazar (2009) investigate the press’s role in the history of modernization during the Early Republican Period (1928-1960) in connection to sports and women. The study, which examines the sports magazines of the period and the *Hürriyet* newspaper, examines the role of sports in the transformation process from the single-party regime to the multi-party regime. It reveals that sport is both the lifestyle of the new elite and a technique that enables the state to rule the people. Saying that sport is a tool that enables women to enter public sphere, the study tries to show how the masculine modernization perspective affects gender norms. In his research, Türkmen (2013) also shows, which had a liberal bent in the Early Republican Period, eventually fell under state supervision and contributed to the development of young people who uphold the foundational ideals. Yazar (2014) also critically examines the role of sports as an area and mediator of power and modernization in her study, in which she investigates the establishment of modern sports in

the Early Republic, starting from the Ottoman Empire. Eken (2020), on the other hand, carried out the first study on the Journal of the Turkish Sports Association, which is the spokesperson for the nationalization of sports. The study, which brought the journal to daylight, provides a general framework about the management structure and content of the journal.

Sports provide a public space to the media in the production of the discourse that constitutes the national identity. The media also takes an active part in the process of identity construction, shaping the national identity and rebuilding it with the bond it establishes between nationalism (Kösebalaban, 2004). This study deals with sports in the context of its ideological function and examines it through the sports press as the carrier of such ideology. The subject of the study is the Turkish Sports Association Magazine as the spokesperson of the official ideology in sports. The conceptual framework of the study is built on Althusser's theory of "ideological state apparatuses" (ISA). The main problem of the study is how the meaning and duties attributed by the regime to sports are conveyed to the public through the magazine. The study aims to reveal the function of the magazine as the carrier of the ideology during the foundation of the Republic by identifying the values attributed to sports through the themes of nationalism, "new woman", and population in the articles and photographs published in the magazine.

Conceptual Framework: Ideology and the State's Ideological Apparatus

The concept of ideology was coined by the French philosopher Destut de Tracy in 1796. The concept was produced as to reveal the origin of ideas and means the science of ideas (Heywood, 2019, p. 61). In the 19th century, Marx defined ideology as ideas that allow the ruling class to continue to exploit the lower classes. Accordingly, the ruling class of the society transfers and spreads the ideology that they create to serve their own interests to the rest of the society by using various means (Heywood, 2019, p. 61). In this respect, ideology feeds the false consciousness that prevents exploitation from being noticed (Kazancı, 2002). While Marx negates ideology as "false consciousness", Gramsci sees ideologies as "...an

effective organizing force that is psychologically 'valid', providing the ground on which people act, struggle, and become conscious of their own social conditions". "An 'organic' ideology is not false consciousness; it is an ideology appropriate to a particular stage of historical development and to a particular political moment." (Eagleton, 2015, p. 161).

Heywood (2019, p. 61) defines the controversial political concept of ideology as "a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships." Ideology explains the current power relations, envisions a future and creates the outline that will enable it to be realized through political change (p. 98). The ideas and beliefs that make up ideology "inform" the audience how the world should be viewed. These beliefs and values ensure that the dominant values are adopted by the society, making them compatible with the system or establishing a new life system (Kazancı, 2002, p. 57). Within this framework, there are various intermediaries that enable the spread of ideology. The view that mass media is one of them was put forward by Louis Althusser. Althusser (2019) expressed this view through the concept of "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISA). Accordingly, ideology is reproduced by various devices. As social formation cannot survive if it does not reproduce itself: every social formation has a dominant mode of production. In order for material production to be made and for ensuring its continuity, the conditions and forces of production, and therefore the rules of the established/sovereign order, must also be reproduced. This is made possible by ideology and the reproduction of ideology. The state has social repression institutions such as the army, police, prison and court, namely "Repressive State Apparatus", and these institutions serve to ensure the state order and authority. However, it is understood that social order cannot be achieved only by repression. Althusser, who thought that the state could not establish its dominance with only repression apparatuses, put the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISA) against these oppression devices. Repressive apparatuses operate using

physical force, while the state ideological apparatuses do such through ideology. The function of the ISA is to reproduce and instil the dominant ideology. Accordingly, family, school, religious structure (such as church), legal structure, political structure such as political parties, cultural structure (such as art, literature, sports) and mass communication tools/media are ideological apparatuses of the state. The devices of repression also make use of ideology in a secondary sense, even if they primarily use violence. In fact, all apparatuses are both repressive and ideological in varying degrees. The common goal of all ideological apparatuses is nationalism, moralism and economism.

With the second half of the 20th century, the mass communication tools/media, as the ideological apparatus of the state, has become one of the most important tools for the spread of the dominant ideology. By spreading the language and discourse produced by the media, consent to the dominant ideology is produced without use of force. In the modern world, administrators/managers need mass communication tools such as newspapers, radio and television in order to create an opinion on a certain subject within the society, to spread an idea, to build a perception about a phenomenon or to create a common judgment about a subject, institution or belief. Therefore, all kinds of tools that provide mass communication have a very significant function in this respect. These tools "...blast every citizen with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism etc. (Althusser, 2019, p. 61).

On the other hand, sports, located within the cultural structure, constitutes yet another one of the ideological devices of the state. Sports as a cultural device works like a communication device (Althusser, 2019, p. 61). In shaping or building the citizen demanded by the political system, citizens are equipped with virtues such as 'professional conscience', 'morality', 'virtue', 'renunciation', 'humility' and 'obedience' and nationalism and chauvinism, sports contributes in its own specific way. In fact, sports played the most important role in terms of chauvinism. All this is transmitted and

learned through mass media such as 'fine books' and 'movies' or, for example, in 'stadiums'.

The press played a critical role in spreading the principles and values of the Republican regime to the society. Anderson (2017, p. 20), who defined nation as an "imagined political community", also mentions that one of the most important ties that bind this imagined community together is the press (printed material). Developing as a part of the capitalization process in the context of production relations, printing technologies became one of the complements of national unity and nation-identity. The idea and consciousness of national unity was reinforced by the common language spread by these technological tools. Therefore, the press was the means by which words, common meanings, images and values were produced and disseminated.

Nationalism

In Western Europe, where the ideology of nationalism first emerged, it functioned in terms of creating a nation-state for the nation (Kışlalı, 2006, p. 134-136). It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round (Gellner, 2018, p. 138; Smith, 2017, p. 121). Smith defines nationalism as "...an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'. At this point, traditions, national symbols and ceremonies embody the basic concepts of nationalism. In other words, it transforms abstract ideology into something concrete that evokes emotional reactions in the entire community.

Gellner (2018, p. 232) also mentions that nationalism is a very distinctive type of patriotism. The main features of nationalism as a type of patriotism are "homogeneity, literacy and anonymity". The most important internal function of nation-identity within the community is the socialization of the individual as a "citizen". With a repertoire formed from common values, symbols and traditions, it is possible to establish social bonds between individuals and classes, the members of the society are reminded of their common heritage and cultural closeness, and the sense of common identity and belonging is

strengthened. Thus, the nation/society becomes a 'faith-achievement' group, able to surmount obstacles and hardships (Smith, 2017, p. 27-35).

In the first constitution of the Young Republic, the sentence "sovereignty belongs to the nation" (sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the nation), the principle that Atatürk put on the foundation of the state and first expressed in 1921, declares the sovereignty of the nation in the political system, But who is the "nation" in the 1920s? The nation is technically made up of the population. One of the things needed to transform this population into a nation is the penetration of nationalism into the population. Kemalism is an ideology that was born in revolutionary conditions and in a "backward" society. Its two main goals are "independence" and "modernisation". One of the most important ideologies in achieving these goals occurred to be "nationalism" (Kışlalı, 2006, p. 143). Nationalism was used in the mobilisation of all social groups from left to right for a common purpose during the years of the War of Independence, and united the people around the idea of "establishing a nation-state belonging to the Turks" (Karpat, 2017, p. 239).

Kemalist Biopolitics

The roots of the approach aiming for regulating the population in the name of the security and welfare of the state and its citizens go back to Antiquity. The concept of biopolitics, which expresses such approach, was born from the Greek words "bios" (life) and politics. It simply means "the politicization of life". It coincides with the beginning of the 18th century when biological existence became a modern power strategy by being included in political calculations. However, today the concept is identified with Foucault as reformulated by him and has become the most accepted form. Foucault's (2019, p. 3) concept of biopolitics explains that since the 18th century, the population has entered into the field of power's intervention. For Foucault, the objects of biopolitics are not individual human beings, but biological characteristics of people that can be measured and grouped at the population level. Thus, it is the collective body of the population, not the body of the individual, that matters for biopolitics. Biopolitics is a technology of regulative power of which object and goal is life and which

aims at the security of the whole (Foucault, 2021, p. 245-261). From this point of view, biopolitics means taking into account the facts/problems such as birth, death, health, epidemic diseases, quality of life, sexuality, reproduction, racial characteristics and eugenics by political administrations.

With the coming 19th century, the body of individuals and the population as a whole became increasingly the object of state intervention. The organicist state view, which was shaped at the beginning of the 20th century and accepted that the policy was guided by biological laws, gained a racist tendency during the German National Socialism period. However, the "biologicalization of politics" was an issue also for liberal democracies in the period between the First and Second World War (Lemke, 2022, p. 25-31). Therefore, biological knowledge has been used in policy making by both democratic systems and racist governments such as National Socialism. In this context, a strong relationship has been established between sport and population. Even if the regulations regarding sports in Germany or Italy are considered to be related to the fascist system, it is understood that in democratic countries, sports policies are reviewed with the same aim and approach, namely for a strong and healthy population (Tokathioğlu, 2021, p. 129; Türkmen, 2013, p. 737). For example, in France, the necessity of sports/physical training in basic education to prepare for military service is discussed in the parliament, and the fact that citizens are subject to physical obligations from childhood is considered a "national duty" in terms of "the future of the race" and "the safety of borders" (Vuillienin, "Physical Culture and Preparation for Military Service in France", 1937).

Therefore, one of the main issues in the establishment of the Republic is population. Mustafa Kemal drew attention to this issue in his speech at the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1923 and said, "Sirs, the population issue is the most important overtime (issue) of the nation" (TBMM Zabıt Tutanakları, 1923). In the opening speech of the Assembly in 1937, Atatürk mentions the expression, declaring, "A solid and strong generation is the leaven of the state." (TBMM Zabıt Tutanakları, 1937). Thus

the government decided to organize sports as one of the most important tools and an ideological field in raising a healthy and strong generation.

Kemalist Ideology and Sports

In the founding philosophy of the Republic, sport was identified with civilisation/modernisation. The Kemalist modernization project that guided the foundation of the Republic, aimed at reaching the level of civilization in Western countries, being a "member with equal rights of the contemporary community of nations" (Kışlalı, 2006, p. 146), the transformation of society with all its institutions (from family to state power) is the way forward on the map drawn for the nation. One of the main dynamics of this process is sports.

During the establishment of the Republic, sports was considered as one of the multipliers of the regime, and physical training/sports were described in such discourse. In this process, it is recognized that the rising totalitarian regimes in Europe of the 1930s influenced Turkey (Cantek & Yarar, 2009; Türkmen, 2013). In particular, the sports policies of Germany and the Soviet Union, have been taken as examples for the organization of sports and sports education in Turkey. Various experts were invited to Turkey for the establishment of a structure similar to the statist sports understanding in Germany. The most important of these experts is Carl Diem (Cantek & Yarar, 2009, p. 206). Diem has prepared a map-like report on the organization of sports in Turkey (Tokatlıoğlu, 2021, p. 131). In fact, in the first years of the 1920s, the regime did not have a tangible sports policy. The expectation of the state from sports had been to raise healthy and moral generations (Akın, 2019, p. 55-86). Sports was so important for the newly established state that even before the proclamation of the Republic, the Turkish Sports Associations Union (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı - TİCİ) was established as the authorized body responsible for sports in 1922. The Union, founded by the sports clubs in İstanbul, played a role in the sports management of the country until 1936. On April 23, 1923, before the Republic was declared, the Turkish Soccer

Federation was established. As the executive of the state's sports policies, TİCİ has been the mediator of the state's representation in international sports competitions and thus its recognition in the context of international politics.

In the first years of the Republic, problems such as the lack of order and discipline and physical inadequacies in the field of sports and the Great Economic Depression in 1929 - such as the transition from private entrepreneurship to statism in the field of economy - revealed the need to create a "national sports policy". The budget allocated to sports was increased, propaganda activities encouraging the public to sports were carried out, and the weight of sports in the press increased. In the mid-1930s, sports was accepted as a philosophy and a tool for the Republican regime in terms of "...the improvement of the race and youth, the defense of the homeland and the improvement of public health" (Akın, 2019, p. 63-68).

At the 8th Congress held in 1936, the regulation of TİCİ was modified and its name was changed to the Turkish Sports Association (Türk Spor Kurumu - TSA). With the new regulation, the institution directly joined the Republican People's Party (CHP) and became a "party organization" that would direct the "sports cause". This is the reflection of the state-party identification that emerged in the political conditions of the single-party period on sports management (Fişek, 2003, p. 296). The guidelines of the institution were prepared with the "revolutionary atmosphere and the spirit of discipline" (Çağlar, "The Victory of Yaşar and View of Sports, 17.8.1936). Accordingly, the qualities sought in an athlete were "strength in justice and character, high patriotism, discipline, self-sacrifice, self-control, right decision making by thinking well." ("The Duty of Turkish Youth", 6.7.1936). According to Prime Minister Celal Bayar's statement published in the magazine, the purpose of sports was "...to raise Turkish citizens as strong in terms of ideas and thoughts, strong in body and in full health, with character, robust and beautiful." (Baydar, "Declaration of the Prime Minister", 15.11.1937).

Method

The study aims to reveal the ideological function of the TSA Journal, as the spokesperson of the official ideology in sports during the foundation of the Republic. The journal is a weekly magazine published between June 26, 1936, and November 7, 1938. The main problem of the study is how the meaning and duties attributed by the regime to sports are conveyed and adopted by the public through the magazine. Althusser's concept of "Ideological State Apparatuses" constitutes the theoretical framework of the study. The study aims to examine the TSA Journal in the context of concepts of nationalism, women and population, which are the parameters of Turkish modernization project. For this purpose, descriptive analysis method, one of the qualitative research methods (Demir, 2014, p. 315), was chosen. As Strauss and Corbin suggested, there are two methods in qualitative data analysis: Descriptive analysis and content analysis. Descriptive analysis is more superficial than content analysis and is "used mostly in research where the conceptual structure of the research is clearly defined beforehand." (cited in Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013, p. 255). Direct quotations are frequently used in descriptive analysis. The purpose of this analysis method is to present the findings in a structured and interpreted form. In this study, the descriptive method was chosen because the conceptual structure was predetermined, as stated above. It is attempted to convey through examples how the fundamental axes upon which the concepts were founded are embodied in the writings. Current sports news in the magazine are excluded from the scope of the study, and political and historical articles, and images selected by using the purposeful sampling method were examined. Purposive sampling method "...allows the in-depth study of situations that are thought to have rich information." Such sampling method is useful in detecting and explaining facts and events and increases the validity of the findings by enriching the themes (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013, p. 135). In this context, how the components of the modernization ideology of the Republic were embodied and made visible in the content of the magazine is examined.

The ideology of nationalism is examined specifically through the concept/discourse of patriotism. Also, the content of the magazine is analyzed through the "new woman" model, and the population-national defense issue. In the study, the compilation of historical and scientific articles prepared by Suat Karaküçük was also used besides the magazine's collection in the National Library. Karaküçük's work contains exact copies of the articles selected from the journal and serves as a guide and helpful resource for researchers to examine the journal more easily and quickly.

Findings

Turkish Sports Association Magazine as the Spokesperson of Official Ideology in Sports

The intellectual ground for the full state control of sports and the nationalization of sports was created through the TSK Magazine in 1938. Published on Mondays between June 1936 and November 1938, the magazine was tasked with explaining the purpose of sports to the public, outlining sports policy, promoting sporting events, and preventing "aimless" efforts. The magazine "...will turn Turkish sports from being a messy effort and unproductive enthusiasm into an independent cause of Kemalism, a case of physical culture." (Çağlar, "Türk Gençliğinin Vazifesi, 6.8.1936).

Nationalism and Sports

TSA Magazine associates sports with patriotism and loyalty to the state in the context of nationalism. While it is mentioned in the magazine articles that sports are a source of pleasure and "health", the most important function is defined as patriotism. In the article titled "The Importance of Sports" (29.6.1936) written by Ali Hikmet Ayerdem, sports are defined as "authentic patriotism" because athletes will strengthen themselves and serve the development of the generation. As Gellner (2018, p. 232) states, nationalism is a very distinctive type of patriotism. Türkmen (2013, p. 737) also argues that sports policies are reviewed with the for a strong and healthy population. 'Getting married and having children at an early age, especially in order to

escape from military service in older times, prevented the bodily development of the "tall and graceful stature" and caused the "breeding of a very short generation" '. Sport was needed for the existence of strong-built generations again. Çağlar states, "It is the duty of every Turk to perform sports." ("Sports Not a Luxury, A Necessity", 7.9.1936) and "Turkish nation is obliged to perform sports" ("Obliged to Do Sports", 5.10.1936). In his article titled "It is necessary to voluntarily enroll in the ranks of sports", Çağlar explains the basic function of sports for society, namely a patriotic duty, with the following words:

Sports is for sports, yes, but sports is also for the country...Sport is a national duty. The moves of the Turkish homeland, the construction of the Turkish homeland, the development of the Turkish Nation demand health, strength, character and discipline from the youth... Being registered in the notebook of any sports club with the enthusiasm of being an active member is as sacred and beautiful as being a volunteer for a war for the homeland;... (27.7.1936).

In some articles, there are explanations that sports such as wrestling and horse riding are more suitable for the structure of the society. However, these explanations were made on the basis of the view that these sports are more favorable in terms of competitive success due to physical characteristics such as short stature and short legs (Baydar, "Why Wrestling Is a Sports Branch We Will Have The Most Success", 18.4.1938). Thus, the magazine does not mark sports (some sports) as a cultural symbol in the context of nationalism. However, there are statements of the regime in this direction. For example, in the speech of Bolu Deputy and President of Güneş Club Gürer, published in the magazine, there are mentions such as wrestling sport being born "with the Turkish existence", "it belongs only to him" and sports are "the most important" ("Mr. Cevat Abbas Gürer's Discourse", 14.3.1938). In the next issue of the magazine, Nizamettin Kırşan, one of the permanent writers of the magazine, tells the history of wrestling in his article titled "Freestyle Wrestling" (28.3.1938), referring to Gürer's article and saying that he did not have the opportunity for

"historical studies worth adding to his words". Accordingly, wrestling, which was born in central-eastern Asia, is reflected as the national sport of almost every country in the world, such as Japan, Sweden or Brazil, and even in Egypt, pre-Christian remains showing wrestlers have been found. Therefore, wrestling is not a sport invented by Turks.

On the contrary, sports is described as one of the civilizational elements of the developed West. Western sports such as swimming, tennis, flying (aviation), cycling, mountaineering, skiing were recommended, rather than sports such as wrestling and weightlifting pointed for likely success due to the physical characteristics of race. Moreover, articles that will ideally establish a bridge of international friendship were frequently published in the journal, such as "Role of Sauna in Finnish Trainings" (13.9.1937), "Discus and Javelin in Ancient Greeks" (Aşir, 15.2.1938), "Takwari, Ancestor of Hockey " (Tuna, 24.8.1936), "Sports in Neighboring Countries: Bulgaria " (18.4.1938), which describe the sports of different nations, "with high and humane purposes" (Baydar, "What is the Olympics?", 29.6.1936). In fact, the Olympic fire, which was invented by the Greeks, with whom a war to the death was fought a few years ago, is referred to as "holy fire" ("How the Holy Fire Was Lighted at the Beginning of the Olympics, 3.8.1936). Although the magazine is the spokesperson of the party, it is not willing to be the regime's exaggerated "self-confidence serum", in the words of Bora (1997, p. 61). It tries to balance its editorial policy with the discourse of power and to become a scientific sports journal. In the magazine, the people of countries from all over the world such as Poland, the USA, England, India, Japan or Germany are praised for their sportsmanship and their good qualities are highlighted. On the other hand, Bora (1997, p. 58) also mentioned that the other-image of Turkish identity is "very clearly" internal with its historical-social reality, that is, "old Turkey"/"Ottoman".

Population as Potential Soldiers, and National Defense

The magazine has become an important instrument in regulating the society in line with the official ideology. In the early years of the Early Republican period, sports were seen as a means of health and education. However, by the middle of the 1930s, it was understood that a new world war was on the way. In Turkey, which had very limited industry and economic power, the individual, as the most important economic resource and the most important weapon in war, occurred to be a very precious ore that needed to be processed. In this respect, the articles in the journal often reminded the readers how important a healthy generation is in terms of country/national defense. Falih Rifki Atay, one of the most influential journalists of the Republic, declared the importance of sports in the construction of the young state, "For our youth, stadiums are as important as schools." ("Ankara Stadium", 21.12.1936). Stadiums were not only to accommodate actives "but also propaganda events in the form of political speeches and national parades." Thus, in the 1930's, a lot of focus was placed in on sports facilities (Azizoğlu, 2019, p. 14, 41). Therefore, "Kemalists have seized the sports cause." (Çağlar, "Kemalists Seized Sports Cause", 28.4.1936).

Behçet Kemal Çağlar (Yıldırım, 2021), one of the authors of the magazine, was a revolutionary poet. Çağlar's art is for society. He, who had been close to Atatürk since his early youth, was 25 years old when he wrote the Tenth Anniversary March with his teacher, Faruk Nafiz. Since this date, Çağlar, who has entered politics, has been a true believer. His sole purpose, both in his art and in his political life, was to spread nationalism and Kemalism. In 1949, he resigned from deputation in the Parliament on the grounds that Atatürk's principles were compromised. Thus, his articles in the magazine played an important role in transferring the regime's ideal of sports to social life. As Çağlar repeats in many of his writings, he defined sports as a "patriotic duty", summarizing the regime's view of sports. Çağlar's article titled "It is necessary to voluntarily enroll in the ranks of sports" (27.7.1936) is more than encouraging youth

to sports; it is almost a declaration of mobilization: "...It is necessary to voluntarily enroll in the ranks of sports, which is one of the first stages of national protection..." Çağlar also stated that sports is a "debt" of citizenship ("Sport is a necessity, not a luxury", 7.9.1936). In his article, in which he explained that the spread of epidemic diseases such as malaria in the 19th century had serious consequences on public health and that the bodies of generations were gradually deteriorating, Çağlar mentioned, "With its yellow and scary face, malaria spread in Anatolia and caused the birth of children with bellies like drums and arms like branches." This deterioration continued, as the rebuilding process of the homeland required an indoor working style. Therefore, it was said that sport was a "vital need" for all individuals, and that the "full and efficient service that individuals will do for their homeland and for themselves" depended on this. In short, "It is the duty of every Turk to do sports." ("Sport is a necessity, not a luxury", 7.9.1936).

Therefore, sports are considered patriotic as they prepare people for "defense of the homeland" and "patriotic Turkish youth" should do sports both for their own benefit and for the "greater benefit of the homeland" (Ayerdem, "The Importance of Sports", 29.06.1936). This exactly coincides with Foucault's concept of biopolitics (2021, p. 245-261). The political administration tries to direct the health and reproduction of the population for national security and the continuation of the state. Among the sports branches that are especially recommended and attempted to be popularized were the kinds of sports that will be useful in the service of the country and defense of the country (running-jumping, mountaineering, etc.). Since such sports would develop "intellectual skills" that would help to make rapid decisions and implement them tactically and technically, doing such sports was a sign of patriotism. In addition, physical training and sports became a tool, a technology of power, that disciplined individuals and created familiarity with a sense of "duty".

Aviation sports, one of the most important elements of national defense and security, was especially encouraged in the magazine. Because "the national goal of sports is to raise an

indestructible generation and to make the homeland an invincible homeland” and “the winged generation of the Republic must breed quickly.” (Gürevi, “Winged Generation”, 13.7.1936). For this purpose, the civil aviation institution *Türkkuşu*, which would carry out sports aviation activities, was established in 1935 (Turkish Aeronautical Association, 2022). The school opened under the name *Türkkuşu* would provide glider and parachute training, which again aimed to ensure that civilians are prepared for the upcoming war. In the news of the death of “Mrs. Eribe”, the first female air martyr who received parachute training in *Türkkuşu*, it is stated that she lost her life “...for the sake of our great air cause” (“Our First Female Aviation Martyr”, 26.10.1936). While sports was defined as one of the most important ways to protect the nation, it was stated that “the sports that they do side by side or against each other, binds two British youth tightly together like their front-line mates fighting for the same rights and for the same purposes” (Çağlar, “The English Youth Owes His Spiritual Health to Sports”, 20.7. 1936), the importance of the sense of unity and solidarity created by sports among individuals was thus emphasized, and it is militarized by associating it with military service.

The magazine also published articles reminding of the importance of the sports branches of the Community Centers. The sports branches of the Community Centers played a regulatory role in terms of both giving a useful purpose to “stray excitements” and providing socialization and social unity by enabling formation of clubs. Çağlar also spoke highly of the Community Centers, which were “national and holy places” that saved sports from the “clubbing” atmosphere, and “placed them into the atmosphere of nationalism” (“Sports in the Country”, 3.8.1936). In this respect, the motto of the magazine was “One for all, all for one” (Çağlar, “One for All, All for One”, 10.8.1936).

The approach of identifying sports with patriotism is reflected in the Republican regime's promotion of mass rather than individuality in sports, and the introduction of regulations restricting individualization in sports. As a matter

of fact, with a regulation made in 1930, students in basic education were prohibited from participating in sports clubs and individual competitions outside of school (Türkmen, 2013, p. 737). It may not be said that the state's sports policy was left entirely to the autonomous administration of private sports clubs at first, but with the nationalization of sports in 1936, sports gained a more nationalistic and militaristic tone. In this respect, the importance of mass sports rather than individuality was emphasized also in the magazine (Pura, “Women and Sports”, 24.8.1936), and team sports were encouraged rather than competition between clubs and “individual” championships. Therefore, a discourse was produced that excluded individuality and competition and aimed to strengthen collectivity and massification. As a matter of fact, the 1935 program of the CHP (Republican People's Party) is also related to “militarist nationalism.” (Atalay, 2021, p. 196) Accordingly, physical education will be expanded to include schools, government agencies, and factories. As Atalay said, it is aimed to create a youth that “conserves the country's highest duty and is ready to sacrifice himself for this cause.” (p. 196). As a result, with the nationalism embedded in sports, the society was directed towards sports through the magazine, for sports to create a healthy and strong population. This healthy and large population was especially a potential source of military power. In the context of Kemalist biopolitics, sports become a tool of power that would prepare the population for national defense and war.

Citizen-women and Sports

Women are one of the fundamental elements of the Republican regime and the modernization project. The symbol of the reforms for the Kemalist revolution is the ideal woman image (Göle, 1998, p. 75). In this respect, the ‘ideal woman’ had also been recreated in the nation-state ideology (Arat, 1998, p. 87-88). The ‘citizen woman’, a scientific mother, a modern wife, holder of profession in the public sphere and provided with equality with

men in terms of legal rights, has been seen as the symbol of the Republic.

Among the many criticisms made that the place of women in the modernization project of the Republic is “state feminism” and “restricted to changes at the superstructural level”, Göle (2014, p. 75) defines Kemalism to be— perhaps – the first movement in the world to aim at the transformation of civilization through the will of the state. In this respect, the equality of genders and their visibility in the public sphere were aimed. Berktaş (1998, p. 4) pointed out that the achievement of women's rights serves a certain purpose: In the modern sense, women's rights have been accepted as a tool that reveals the national character of the new state. As an indicator of difference from Ottoman society, visibility in the public sphere is an indicator of the Republic, as opposed to women who are excluded from the public sphere therein.

Sports is an important application area in this respect. Although there are few in number, there were articles directly addressed to women in the magazine. These encourage women both because of their aspect of fertility and their being the producers of the new generation as well as a requirement of modernity, and they hold them responsible for sports. Therefore, sports are presented both for the physical health and beauty of women and as a national duty.

In the magazine, a very different discourse that is only directed towards women, as a different gender from men, has not been produced. Instead, the ideals and goals of the regime are repeated, and women are seen as citizens/individuals. “The step to be taken is the product of the best intentions: Turkish women should be modern women in every respect.” (Baydar, “Haremlik - Selamlık in Sports”, 7.3.1938). In this respect, the first Turkish female pilot Sabiha Gökçen, included on the cover art of the 2nd issue, is a very good example. “Turkish women, who have the same rights as men, have made their presence known in every field of life and have shown it to themselves through their power.” Gökçen is an example of “the talent and energy in our women”. (Pura, “Women and Sports”, 6.7.1936). Sports and physical training were defined as the “safe way” for women as well as for men in terms of achieving

strength and beauty of the body. In terms of conformity with aesthetic measures, it is often repeated that Turkish women should also be closely involved in physical training and sports, like “modern nations who discovered this secret” (Pura, “Woman and Sports”, 24.8.1936). In addition, photographs and drawings of clothing fashion for sports such as skiing and seasonal needs were also included in the magazine in order to arouse and keep alive the women's interest in sports. The magazine used many articles and photographs of body exercises that can be performed indoors such as homes in order to make the body beautiful and healthy (Kırşan, “Room Gymnastics”, 21.12.1936; “Slimming with Gymnastics”, 23.5.1938).

The magazine considers women valuable and important for their fertility and their role of producing the new generation (Pura, “Women and Sports”, 24.8.1936). As Cantek & Yazar (2009, p. 209) stated, in the early Republican period, in line with eugenicist policies, it was deemed necessary for women to perform sports for bringing to world a healthy and robust generation. In the opinion of the magazine, the bodies of young girls are so neglected that it causes concern for the “future of the generation”. In the pre-republican society, because of the segregation between men (selamlık) and women (haremlik) the women did not have the opportunity to do sports, and young girls were “squat, stocky, pale”, and “clumsy” when it came to running and jumping (Baydar, “Haremlik - Selamlık in Sports”, 7.3.1938). The magazine stated that these negative physical features could be corrected with sports and changed through sports activities such as athletics, basketball and volleyball. The fact that a woman is physically strong and alive is important in terms of “defense of the homeland”, because “... the offspring she will raise will be strong and alive.” But this point of view is valid not only for women, but also for the ideal male body; a healthy and robust population would be possible with sports. However, as it had been mentioned, “Turkish girls and Turkish women are still spectators of sports” (Pura, “Women and Sports”, 29.6.1936), it was criticized that women did not show enough interest in sports. In order to reverse this situation, the activities of female athletes were always

appreciated in the magazine and women were encouraged to participate in sports: "The daughters of mothers who grew up with veils ran, jumped, and threw, just like their brothers, in front of a crowd of more than ten thousand. Turkish girls, for you, too, a new horizon has been opened... .. Sports that will improve your own health today will be the basis of your family happiness tomorrow." (Haftacı, "A New Step in Our Sports Life", 25.4.1938).

The photographs and drawings in the magazine were also important in encouraging women to participate in sports. However, a small part of the photographs in the magazine, which respected social values, belonged to Turkish women, while the majority of them belonged to especially Western women. Turkish women were seen as spectators in sports activities such as scouting, skiing, flying, fencing, in the stadium during the 19 May celebrations, and in public areas where sportive activities are held, such as racing tracks ("Youth Prepared for the Republic Day", 18.10.1937; "The Last Year of the Turkish Bird", 26.10.1936; "Our Youth Practiced Skiing with Joy", 27.12.1937; "A Group of Fencers Working in Beyoğlu Community Center", 27.12.1937). Photographs of women from other nationalities in swimsuits and shorts were used abundantly. Thus, it was aimed to normalize doing sports in public with sports clothes (Pura, "Women and Sports", 6.7.1936; "Women's Athletics Meeting was Held in Paris Last Week", 9.8.1937).

The magazine gave encouraging messages that women could perform all kinds of sports. In the articles, it is out of question to recommend different sports branches to men and women, or to direct the genders to different areas. Cantek & Yarar (2009, p. 209) reveal that in the atmosphere of 1930, sexist social values focusing on the athlete's female body were articulated to the nationalist discourse. The magazine, which became integrated with the party in 1936, encouraged women to participate in all sports, from running to swimming, fencing, cycling,

tennis, rowing or "aviation" (Pura, "Women and Sports", 24.8.1936). Among them, it is understood that soccer was considered as a sport not suitable for women - since it is banned by the federation in Europe because it does not match with women's elegance, which had been valid for the whole world until very recently.¹

It is seen that the importance given in the 1930s to sports increased not only in Turkey but also in Western countries. For example, Stevenson (1984: 172) tells that in the 1930s, health and sports were considered as serious issues in England, and sports began to be practiced in schools and parks. Such situation was not only related to aesthetics and fashion, it was an indication that a strong and healthy population has become an important issue in the whole West in the process leading up to World War II.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the early Republican era, although sports was always under the influence of the government, from the mid-1930s it came under the direct control of the state to be organized as a national field. This study aimed to reveal the ideological function of the Turkish Sports Association Magazine, as the spokesperson of the official ideology in sports, during the foundation period of the Republic. Thus, with the Althusser's (2019) definition, the sports press is a tool that allows the government to penetrate society and transfer new values and ideals of the new state to society, i.e. the state's ideological apparatus (SIA). How the meanings and duties attributed by the regime to sports are transferred and appropriated to the public, and how the neural networks of the society are penetrated, constitute the main problem of the study. In this context, the study reveals that the magazine played an important role in the concretization and visibility of some basic components of the Republican ideology in sports. These components are nationalism, population and "Republican woman".

¹ *Women's football teams were able to participate in the Olympics for the first time in 1996.*

In the 1930s, influenced by the political atmosphere, interest in healthy and strong populations rose all over Europe. While fascist states such as Germany and Italy tended to regulate the population with racist policies, the population became a serious policy problem in democratic countries as well, and the idea of eugenics (racial breeding) affected the whole of Europe. In this respect, for the existence of a healthy and strong population, sports has been one of the factors in policy making all over the world in the period between the two world wars. In the foundation period of the Republic, sports were considered important both for an independent nation-state existence and continuity and a military issue/national security issue. In this respect, sports/physical education were used as a "biopolitics strategy" (Faucoult, 2021) in the early Republican period. As the spokesperson of the official ideology, the magazine also focused on sports such as athletics, equestrian sports, flying and mountaineering, which would be especially beneficial in the war environment and would create physical skills and capacity, and these sports were recommended to all young people, both men and women. The population, gaining health and strength and becoming larger through sports during peacetime, would be the most important resource in terms of military power in wartime. Sports is a means of training not only physically, but also mentally and morally. In this sense, sports has been attempted to be popularized as a tool that disciplined and internalized the sense of duty, increased resilience and improved organization. In general terms, it has been instrumentalized as a symbol of social benefit and civilization.

Nationalism, one of the founding principles of the Republic, was conveyed to the public as embedded in sports through the magazine. The articles in the magazine presented physical exercise and sports as civic duty, as a way of serving the country. Therefore, the messages of nationalism embedded in sports and transmitted/disseminated through the press created the feeling that individuals were members of the same community and strengthened the sense of loyalty to the nation. Importance has been attached to the prevention of "competition in sports", considered as a principle that segregated

the society, and to the massification thanks to sports rather than individualization. Although, since the mid-1930s, with the influence of authoritarian regimes on the rise in the West, the nationalist discourse in sports took on a chauvinistic and military tone (Cantek & Yarar, 2009). However, 1936-1938, when the magazine was published, covers exactly those years and it is not observed that certain sports were highlighted as a symbol of the nation in the magazine. Although sports were associated with patriotism, it cannot be said that there is a chauvinistic discourse in the magazine. There is no question of glorifying national sports, unnecessary boasting or racist rhetoric. It is clear that the magazine had a very important place in the construction of "us" in the context of serving to establish the opposition of "us and the others", which is one of the main functions of banal nationalism (Bilig, 2002). However, it still served to paint the rest of the world as "them", but only in a sense of peaceful and rational measures.

Women were one of the main building blocks of the Republic and the modernization project. In this respect, the magazine instrumentalized women in terms of both material production and symbolic production. The magazine encouraged the woman, the producer of the new generation with her fertility, to perform sports in order to keep her healthy. Therefore, sports were presented as a national duty as well as for the health and beauty of women (Yarar, 2014). However, for women, apart from being the producer of the new generation, a discourse on gender construction has not really been used. There is no question of further strengthening women's gender roles and squeezing them into these traditional roles. On the other hand, sports made women visible in the public sphere as an indicator of modernity. Women, who existed in the public sphere thanks to sports, represented and proved the egalitarian and progressive character of the Republic as citizens with equal rights with men.

As a result, TSA magazine functioned as an ideological apparatus of the state. The magazine briefly contributed to the formation of a healthy and strong population between 1936-1938, as a political and cultural field, as well as transforming this population into a nation and

individuals/citizens who adhered to the founding principles of the state. Although the military tone of the nationalist discourse increased gradually as the international atmosphere being dragged into World War II, the magazine's prudent and peaceful discourse was preserved until the last issue.

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