DEFINING THE BODY

IN THE TURKISH PHYSICAL EDUCATION SYSTEM (1969-1983)

by

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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This thesis focuses on the physical education classes during the initial Ministry of Youth and Sport period (1969-1983) in Turkey from a sociology of the body point of view. Based on a discourse analysis of primary sources and in-depth interviews with physical education teachers and students, this study argues that the founding of the Ministry reflected not only an organizational, but also a discursive shift in the way the body and physical education were defined. As physical education and the body are dynamic, malleable, and ambiguous concepts, this thesis historicizes them and investigates the meanings attached to them by different sites of meaning production. With a theoretical framework that combines social constructionism and existential phenomenology it also uncovers how the bodies in physical education classes experienced, sensed and felt themselves and their surroundings. At least six different ways the body was defined in this period are identified, which are the mindful, mechanistic, nationalist, militarized, gendered, and disabled bodies. Although some of these bodies contrast each other, they existed simultaneously. This was made possible in relation to the needs of power centers, as how physical education and the body were defined enabled these centers to control, mold, and survey the bodies according to their social, political, and economic needs.

Keywords: Physical education, body-mind relationship, body politics, social constructionism, phenomenology

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TÜRKİYE'DEKİ BEDEN EĞİTİMİ SİSTEMİNDE BEDENİN TANIMLANMASI (1969-1983)

HANDE GÜZEL

Bu tez ilk Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı dönemindeki (1969-1983) beden eğitimi derslerine beden sosyolojisi bakış açısını benimseyerek odaklanır. Birincil kaynakların söylem analizine ve beden eğitimi öğretmen ve öğrencileriyle gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine görüşmelere dayanarak Bakanlığın kurulmasının yalnızca organizasyonel değil, aynı zamanda bedenin ve beden eğitiminin tanımlanmasına dair söylemsel bir değişimi yansıttığını iddia etmektedir. Beden eğitimi ve bedenin dinamik, şekillendirilebilir ve muğlak kavramlar olmasından ötürü, bu tez bu kavramları tarihselleştirmekte ve farklı anlam üretme alanları tarafından onlara bağlı anlamları araştırmaktadır. Toplumsal inşacılık ve varoluşçu fenomenolojiyi bir araya getiren bir teorik çerçeveyle beden eğitimi derslerinde bedenlerin kendilerini ve çevrelerini nasıl deneyimledikleri, duyumsadıkları ve hissettiklerini de ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu dönemde bedenin en az altı farklı şekilde tanımlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bunlar bilinç sahibi, mekanistik, milliyetçi, askerileştirilmiş, cinsiyetçi ve sakat bedenlerdir. Bu bedenlerin bazılarının birbirleriyle çatışmasına rağmen, eşzamanlı olarak var olmuşlardır. Bu durum güç merkezlerinin ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda mümkün kılınmıştır, çünkü beden eğitimi ve bedenin nasıl tanımlandığı bu merkezlerin toplumsal, siyasi ve ekonomik gereksinimlerine göre bedenleri kontrol etmesi, şekillendirmesi ve denetlemesine olanak sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Beden eğitimi, beden-ruh/zihin ilişkisi, beden politikaları, toplumsal inşacılık, fenomenoloji

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to the memory of my father

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Contents

Author's Note

Throughout the thesis, pseudonyms have been used when quoting from in-depth interviews. The demographic overview of the interviewees can be found in Appendix C. Where a quotation has been made without formal in-text citation, it can be assumed that an interviewee has been quoted. The pseudonym of the interviewee will have been stated in the preceding sentence.

All translations from non-English sources and interviews are mine, unless otherwise stated.

1. Introduction

"If all your other grades are 5, I'm giving you a 5 as well". This sentence is the most vivid memory of my physical education experience. As a student who was not really into sports and who always stood at the very end of the height order, I was never encouraged to feel like a part of the physical education classes. As the first sentence shows, my physical education teachers did not really think that their class mattered much either, or did not find it to be equally important to other classes. At least that was my impression from ten years of experience.

Although I had a negative experience of physical education for the better part of my school life, I always assumed that everyone but me was utterly enjoying it. It was a pastime or a respite from other, academically more difficult, courses. It was a time when you could wear something other than the school uniform, where you weren't told to sit down, and it also came with the possibility to play the game of your choice towards the end of the class. It was only when I initiated this research and started asking around about people's experiences of physical education that I discovered that my assumption was wrong. Of course there were students for whom physical education classes and related ceremonies were enjoyable, and for whom physical education meant stepping outside the order. Nevertheless, many former students who had to take physical education classes had suffered from it, due to not possessing or not being able to transform into the body physical education classes idealized and for not being as talented as the other kids. This cognizance was quite novel to me and I was struck by the idea that having problems at the mathematics or language classes was commonsense knowledge, but the difficulties students were experiencing in physical education classes were unspoken of. The reason for this was that physical education was seen as one of the "trivial" courses, in the same boat as music and painting. Teachers of these trivial courses always gave higher grades and not much effort was expected from students to pass. Nevertheless, the "trivial"

argument also begat taking for granted the existence and the content of these courses. A similar case has been identified in National Security Knowledge courses, where "many of those who had taken the course in the 1980s (or the late 1970s) suggested that this course was 'not important at all'. Almost everyone remembered it as an (academically) 'easy' course that did not 'mean anything to the students'" (Altınay 2004, 142). Similar to National Security Knowledge courses, physical education is a field that should be critically studied in the social sciences despite, or because of, being taken for granted. It is deemed mundane, yet as Michel Foucault states, "the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the workings of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent" (Chomsky and Foucault 2006, 41). Therefore, in order to unpack what is deemed ordinary, I have placed physical education classes at the center of my research.

While placing physical education at the center of the research, I came to realize that this was the only course where preoccupation with the physical body preceded that with the mind. The very existence of the physical education classes hinted at the division of the mind and body both theoretically and practically, and showed that the division was indeed uneven, giving the weight of the body to a single course only. When this binary approach towards the mind and the body is combined with physical education's seemingly neutral, ordinary, and unquestioned existence, it became necessary to analyze physical education from a sociology of the body perspective. As a course whose primary material is the human body in flesh, my quest has been to look into what was done unto this body, why, and how. Through analyzing what is done to the body, it also becomes possible to dwell into the "body image", which forms the foundation of personal identity, as "nothing is more personally real than one's body; one lives in and through one's body" (Hargreaves 1987, 140). Physical education is endowed with the means to work on this real body. Nevertheless, one should also acknowledge that there is no single way of conceptualizing, defining, teaching, or learning physical education.

Nor is the body a static concept that any physical education teacher can work upon instinctively. Both physical education and the body are dynamic, malleable, and ambiguous concepts, which requires one to historicize them. Therefore, it is necessary to understand "how particular historical definitions of sport and culture become naturalized as the only (or dominant) definitions of physical activity" (Hollands 1984, 76) at a certain setting.

With the aim of developing a historicized perspective of physical education and the body, I focus specifically on the physical education discourses and rituals in the initial Ministry of Youth and Sport period (1969-1983) in Turkey, which reflects a shift in the way the body and physical education were perceived. Based on this focus, I have three research questions. The first question is, "How was physical education defined in Turkey between the years 1969 and 1983?" As I have stated above, the definition of physical education needs to be historicized. Therefore, there is a need to look at the socioeconomic and historical context in this period to study the dominant and subordinate definitions of physical education. My second question is, "How did this conceptualization of physical education shape and was shaped by the dominant conceptualization(s) of the body in that period?" The interest in the body is reflected in physical education, yet physical education itself plays an active role in the definition and redefinition of the body. Here, the dominant conceptualization of the body refers to the "invested body", the body that is subjected to social controls and interventions (Harvey and Sparks 1991). Finally, my third research question is, "How did the bodies in physical education classes experience, sense and feel themselves and their surroundings?" This question aims to find out about individual experiences by shifting the focus from the invested body to the "lived body" (Merleau-Ponty 2005).

It can be argued that the state has always been interested in the body of the individual and how the individual body related to the social and national bodies. Nevertheless, I contend that the founding of the Ministry of Youth and Sport in 1969 reflected a culmination of the

state's interest in the body. As the highest level of institutionalization an area can reach, the very establishment and existence of a ministry dedicated to solving the problems of and improving the younger population suggests that there has been a discursive shift in the way the youth and physical activity were imagined. This understanding was portrayed by the State Planning Organization, which functioned under the Prime Ministry in order to enact planned development in areas such as population, economy, education and health. The Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977) emphasized that it has not been possible to resolve the problems of youth and sport as a result of the lack of a functional coordination between different institutions. This has necessitated an institution particularly devoted to the solution of these problems from a holistic point of view (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1972, 789). The founding of the Ministry, then, would not only resolve organizational problems, but also enact a centered way of defining the body and physical education, which were seen as the means through which the aforementioned problems could be settled. The Ministry was also perceived as an opportunity to emphasize physical education that has so far been neglected under the larger educational framework (Abalı 1973, 8), which would raise citizens who are "able-bodied, enduring, energetic, ready to be useful for his/her motherland, nation and humanity; cheerful, and efficient in terms of workforce", citizens in the form that the state needs, as stated in the "Justification of the Founding of the Ministry" (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı'nın Kuruluşuna dair Gerekçe) (ibid.). Therefore, despite the state's ongoing interest in the body dating back to as early as the 19th century Ottoman Empire, this institutional change should be considered not as an organizational shift only, but also as a discursive shift. It was not only the need for an umbrella organization that led to the founding of the Ministry of Youth and Sport, but also the intention to redefine the youth and the body politic that this ministry symbolized. This of course does not mean that there are no continuities with regard to body politics when the period 1969-1983 is compared with earlier

periods. However, the fact that there are continuities in spite of the changing political, social, and economic circumstances needs to be studied as well. Both these continuities and the novel understandings of the body, physical education, and the youth are of interest to this research.

The period I am interested in ends with year 1983, marking the date when Ministry of Youth and Sport was unified with Ministry of National Education. As a result of problems in implementation and coordination in sport and physical education, as will be detailed in the Historical Background chapter, it was decided by the newly elected government in 1983 to unify the Ministries of Youth and Sport and of National Education, likening the institutional structure to the period of 1942-1960, when the General Directorate of Physical Education was subsumed under the Ministry of National Education. The year 1983 also has a political significance. Following the coup d'etat of 1980, the interim government transferred its authorities to the civilian government in this year. Therefore, by extending the period to 1983, it is possible to see the impact of the coup on physical education, and how this impact is dealt with by the new civilian government, which is reflected on the founding of the new Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport.

While it seems that I have firmly established my temporal limitations, I should also note that discursive shifts regarding the definition of the body and physical education do not happen overnight with the founding or disestablishing of an institution. Discursive transformations are felt and experienced gradually. Lack of a rigid temporal categorization was revealed by the physical education teachers and students of the period as well, as the interviews I conducted for this research displayed. This is expected, as the changes in physical education classes were not revolutionary and were sometimes implemented imperceptibly. Therefore, the transition was much smoother in experience than in physical education plans and programs, or in institutional changes. Furthermore, it should be noted that although the periodization is based on a state organization in this study, this does not lead to accepting the

conceptual hierarchy of the state. On the contrary, schools and physical education classes are in the forefront to even out the power structure by focusing mainly on micro-powers.

As I have stated above, my focus will be on physical education discourses and rituals in the specified time period. I find it necessary to specify the two elements, discourses and rituals, separately, following John Hargreaves' categorization (1986, 161-9). Physical education discourses can be defined as the theoretical influence on physical education, or the "programme of control through sustained work on the body" (ibid., 163). They are not only the discourses directly on physical education, however. The analysis of physical education revealed that physical education is not confined to the realm of education only. Many different people or groups of people have been assigned or have assigned themselves the role of "body experts". These include not only educators, but also medical doctors, soldiers, politicians, and city planners according to the State Planning Agency Physical Education and Sport Specialization Commission Meeting (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, VII). Therefore, each of these actors can be regarded as body experts in the eyes of the state. The multiplicity of body experts also creates a larger sphere of influence at and from physical education and shows that discourses on the body and education in general are in constant interaction with those on physical education. Therefore, all areas that influence and are influenced by physical education in the 1969-1983 period fall under the scope of this research.

Physical education rituals, on the other hand, constitute the very practical side of the classes. I take the concept ritual in a broader sense, meaning not only the exercises the students and the teachers undertake, but the physical education class as a whole, including the ritual of going to the locker room, giving an oral report at the beginning of the class, the temporal and spatial organization of the class, and the submission of excuse notes (Lamb 2014). Émile Durkheim defines rites as "rules of conduct that prescribe how man [*sic*] must

conduct himself with sacred things" (Durkheim 1995, 38). Rites or rituals create "moments of collective effervescence, when human beings feel themselves transformed, and are in fact transformed, through ritual doing" (Fields 1995, xli). Physical education classes can be conceptualized as moments of collective effervescence as well. Although an emotional arousal does not necessarily take place as in Durkheim's rituals, one or more likely multiple group identities are formed through collective effervescence, through which teachers and students are transformed in the way they see themselves and the world. This transformation, however, does not stay in the moment. "Collective effervescence is a momentary state, but it carries over into more prolonged effects" (Collins 2004, 36). These effects that collective effervescence creates are indeed discourses. Rituals and discourses are closely intertwined in Durkheim's theory as well. He puts forth that religious ideas are born from collective effervescence (Durkheim 1995, 220). In a similar manner, I argue that physical education and bodily discourses emanate from physical education rituals. Nevertheless, this is a reciprocal re-production, where discourses and rituals both produce and are produced by each other.

Rituals, in addition to functioning as an "effective non-discursive form of communication and therefore a strong form of control" (Hargreaves 1986, 166), also give the researcher the tools to incorporate the lived body to the discussion of physical education. Bodies may accept, reject, or reformulate the forms of control inflicted upon them. They sense, feel, and react to the ways they are imagined to be inscribed. By analyzing the rituals, as well as the discourses, it becomes possible to analyze how the body indeed lives through the discourses. Thus, I suggest that in the sociology of the body, the very activities the corporeal body undertakes are required to be taken into consideration as well, which constitute the rituals in this context.

As I have stated in my research questions, I am tracing the definitions of physical education and the body in Turkey between 1969 and 1983. However, it is not possible to talk

about a single site of meaning production (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989). Various agencies are involved in the processes of defining the body and physical education, by maintaining an inter-connection as well. Due to the multiplicity of the sites of meaning production, I am tracing multiple definitions as opposed to a single way of conceptualizing the notions above. Although there can be a dominant view of physical education and/or the body, I see it as my task to identify each of the different sites of meaning production and the power relations among them by acknowledging the hierarchical structure among these sites.

When the body and physical education between 1969 and 1983 are considered, it is possible to pinpoint five sites of meaning production. The first site is the state institutions, which mainly consist of the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the State Planning Organization. The State Planning Organization plays a significant role in physical education, as it determines, through the Five-Year Development Plans, the framework of the aims and programs of ministries. The Ministry, on the other hand, exerts a significant influence on the content and organization of the classes. The second site consists of the intellectuals who voice their views on physical education and the body. These include primarily university professors of physical education and medical doctors, who are assumed to be body experts. Civil society organizations make up the third site. Especially the 1970s were a time when educational organizations were more active and outspoken. The Physical Education Teachers Association of Turkey was among the most active organizations and published extensively on state policies regarding physical education classes. Therefore, their institutional perspective is incorporated as well. The fourth and the fifth sites are composed of people actively involved in physical education rituals: physical education teachers and students. Although physical education teachers work under the Ministry of Youth and Sport, I take teachers as a separate site of meaning production, as they carry out the classes, while the Ministry is responsible for publishing the aim and content of physical education programs. It should also be noted that

although I have identified five different sites of meaning production, this in no way means that they are mutually exclusive. For instance, there are physical education teachers who are active in civil society institutions, which can be framed under the realm of intellectuals, or under state organizations, as many of them published books in the name of the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Nevertheless, each site has its own sphere of activity and influence that necessitates a separate analysis. Based on the points of view of these various sites, my task in this project will be to study the meanings produced through analyzing their discourses, interaction, and in the case of teachers and students, how they physically experienced physical education through rituals as well.

While I focus particularly on physical education in this research, it is not possible to draw a rigorous line between physical education and sport. Physical education programs involve the teaching of many different kinds of sports, and the experiences of students lead them to or not to be involved in school sports teams, and they even determine students' involvement in physical activities in the future. Therefore, at times, there have been overlaps between sport and physical education in this research. Nevertheless, spectator sports have been largely omitted. The main reason is that physical education is part of a larger educational framework, and the idea of educating the body is its raison d'être, while play is that of sport (Hargreaves 1987, 141). Therefore, the meanings attributed to these two fields and how they are experienced cannot be assumed to be equal on all sides. For instance, the disciplining of the body in physical education is institutionally bound, whereas that in sports might be institutionally unbound as well (Bartky 1998, 36). In other words, physical education is directly linked to one or more institutions, such as the school, the Ministry of Youth and Sport, and the State Planning Organization. The body imagined in spectator sports, on the other hand, may or may not be institutionally bound, and if they are, institutions they are bound to will show differences with those in physical education. In addition, while physical

education is part of a larger educational system, being a compulsory course until the end of high school, sportive activities show a voluntary character. This difference does not mean that bodies are not defined or constructed through voluntary sporting activities. Nevertheless, physical education is a course imposed by the state and delivered by teachers, while the actors in the realm of sport include, but are not limited to, sports club managers, trainers/coaches, and international federations. The difference in the actors creates new power and knowledge relations within each realm. Furthermore, society's relationship with physical education and sport differs based on the means they access each of these fields. Moreover, on a theoretical level, culturalist critiques and consumerism have relationships with each of the fields at varying degrees. While spectator sports are shaped by consumer culture, physical education is influenced far less by consumerism. Finally, bringing together physical education and spectator sports would create practical problems while the research was being undertaken. As a result of the theoretical and practical issues that could emerge from the synthesis, I deliberately left out spectator sports and concentrated on physical education only.

When embarking on a quest to find the definitions of the body and physical education, I found it necessary to take a dual theoretical approach towards the body, parallel to the necessity to analyze both physical education discourses and rituals. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, it was necessary to formulate the body as a socially constructed concept, based on the discourses and discursive practices (re)produced by the state and the society, as the first theoretical layer. While without the social constructionist approach, it cannot be possible to deconstruct the body; this deconstruction also means the absence of the corporeal body from theory. In order to embody the sociology of the body and to reclaim its existence, existential phenomenology is introduced as the second theoretical strand. This strand enables the researcher to study what the body did, felt and sensed during physical education classes. It should also be stressed that although these two strands might seem at

odds with each other, building a bridge in between is not impractical. Through this thesis, I aspire to demonstrate that the dialectical approach can be applied to the sociology of the body and physical education sociology without falling into the trap of overweighing one of the strands against the other.

The dialectical approach showed its face also in the methodologies I conducted this research through. As will be detailed in Chapter Four, the findings of this research are based on two methods: discourse analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews. Following the dialectical theoretical approach, using dual methodology was the only means to find answers to the research questions. Discourse analysis of primary sources published in the 1969-1983 period revealed many of the discourses of physical education. These resources reflected the interests and the points of view of a variety of actors, such as state organizations, physical education teachers, politicians, intellectuals and civil society organizations. Nevertheless, written sources did not portray the experiences of teachers and students who were the actors of these classes. Therefore, interviews with teachers and students who taught or were taught physical education in the 1969-1983 period were conducted in order to draw a picture of the lived experiences and to embody the research.

Having started off to find the dominant and alternative conceptualizations of body and physical education, the research took me to the conceptualization of not only the body, but also to the mind. Based on my findings through discourse analysis and in-depth interviews, I argue that the relationship between the mind and the body has been defined according to the necessities of power centers, particularly political and economic forces. This becomes most evident in the juxtaposition of the mindful and mechanistic bodies. The mindful body has come into being through the location of the mind in the body as a result of the pressing student protests especially in the 1970s. Treating the body as the hub of the mind, politicians and intellectuals believed that disciplining the physique of students would bring about the

disciplining of their minds as well. Therefore, physical education was considered as a tool to prevent student protests. Simultaneously, however, the mechanistic body displays us that the relationship between the mind and the body was defined in complete contrast to the mindful body. This time, the mind and the body were conceptualized as separate entities, which made it possible to treat the body as a machine that can function as the workforce. This shows that discourses are not necessarily internally consistent and that there were multiple dominant definitions of the relationship between the mind and the body, and correspondingly of physical education simultaneously. These definitions, on the other hand, came to be dominant and were normalized and naturalized through other definitions of the body and physical education. Physical education curricula were developed in a way that would not threaten the existing social order. Especially in terms of socioeconomic classes, gender, and disability, physical education programs reproduced existing hierarchies and binaries. The roles students were assigned in physical education classes served as the foreshadowing of their future social roles, which was affirmative of the existing one. Therefore, although there were conflicting, even opposite perceptions towards the definition of the mind-body relationship and of physical education, alternative definitions were not produced, as the dominant ones did not disrupt the existing and normal social order. Complying with the socially accepted norms provided the opportunity for the relationship between the mind and the body to be re-defined according to what was seen necessary by power holders.

While the re-definition of the mind and the body in line with the existing social order took place, physical education classes were surrounded with lived experiences that generated inequality. This stemmed from two reasons. The first one is about the bridge between discourses and rituals. Rituals were very often designed in a way that taught students how to move or use their bodies based especially on their gender. This forced molding of the bodily movement and behavior generated negative connotations of the body. The second reason is

the lack of adequate sports facilities in many schools. Due to the lack of indoor sports halls and the lack of funds to buy new sports equipment, students' and teachers' lived time, space, and sensory experiences have resulted in unfavorable recounts of physical education classes, as opposed to those who did. Lived experiences also revealed that although the state had established dominant definitions of the relationship between the mind and the body, teachers and students strived to establish and sometimes succeeded in establishing alternative definitions, best exemplified by the gendered and disabled bodies.

The rest of this thesis is divided into seven further chapters. In Chapter Two, I draw the theoretical framework that this research takes as its basis, building on the theories in the sociology of the body. I discuss the strengths and weaknesses of social constructionism and existential phenomenology, and arrive at dialectical approach as the theoretical foundation for this study. In Chapter Three, I locate the sporting and exercising body in the literature, and focus on the sociology of sport and physical education, as well as sociology of education with a particular emphasis on physical education. I track the themes that have influenced and shaped my research and outline the main research thematically. In the following chapter, I discuss the methodologies I have employed in this study. The use of mixed methods is discussed in line with the theoretical approach I take towards the study of physical education. In Chapter Five, I initially present a historical background of the 1970s and the early 1980s, by addressing the political and economic developments of the period. The second task of this chapter is to provide the institutional framework within which sport and physical education have been managed in Turkey. I start this task from the early Republican period, and end with the unification of the Ministry of Youth and Sport with that of National Education in 1983.

With Chapter Six, I initiate my discussion of the body in Turkish physical education. This chapter is divided into six sections, each of which provides another perception towards the body and physical education in the Ministry of Youth and Sport period. In the first

section, I discuss the Mindful Body, which reflects an understanding of the mind as located in the body. The political reasons of the conceptualization of the body as such are analyzed. This conceptualization has made it possible for physical education to be seen as a tool to "correct" especially the youth. In the next section, I switch my focus to the militarized body to emphasize the continuous militarization of physical education. Embedding the militarized understanding in physical education is in line with the mindful body, as controlling the body is perceived as the means to control the mind in both. This section demonstrates that the military never ceases to exist in the classroom, physical education curricula, and in the ranks that manage physical education.

The third section entitled the Mechanistic Body illustrates a contrasting conceptualization of the mind and the body. Within the framework of this perspective, the body is defined as a distinct entity and treated as a machine that can contribute to the national economy. Following this discussion, I specifically focus on the Youth and Sports Days, also known as the May 19th ceremonies. As the perfect intersection of nationalism and physical education, the May 19th ceremonies were the time when students and teachers transmitted the bodily ideals to the audience, while at the same time the audience's gaze imposed them back on students. Nevertheless, not all students were under this influence, as many could not attend the ceremonies due to not being able to pay for the costumes. Therefore, the Youth and Sports Days reproduced economic inequalities as well. This section also explores the role of colors in the May 19th ceremonies in the experiences of students, borrowing from the phenomenology of colors. In the Gendered Body section, I discuss how genders were portrayed in physical education rituals and discourses. Although this section has a particular emphasis on the discourses surrounding and the experiences of the female body, the male body is also at the forefront as it was defined as the opposite of the former. Therefore, both bodies were formulated at the opposite ends of the same axis. I start the section with a discussion of the

perpetuation of essentialist arguments regarding genders, taking a biological view towards both girls and boys. I then move on to examining the use of space in the playground and the sports field. Added to that, I look into how physical education dictates a certain way of walking and standing like a girl; and elaborate on the invented male gaze in the sports field. Finally, I discuss the potential emancipatory effects of physical education and sports in general with regard to the gendered and the disabled body. In the Absent Body, I address the disabled body in physical education classes, and put forth that the disabled body was absent from written sources pertaining to physical education. This stance did not mean to simply ignore this body, but implied the bodily norms and ideals through exclusion. Despite this systematic absence, however, disabled bodies did exist, and teachers and students had to find their own ways to cope with the situation. The Fat Body is also examined in relation to the Absent Body, as being overweight was considered to be quite similar to the experience of disability in this period. In the penultimate chapter, I discuss the variety of implementation of physical education policies. Although state plans and curricula were uniform, it was not possible for the plans and programs to be implemented at the same level everywhere. I elaborate on these differences in relation to the distinct sensory experiences they have caused. In Conclusion, I revisit my findings and offer ways to carry this research further.

2. The Body in the Social, the Social in the Body: Theoretical Discussions on the Sociology of the Body

Starting from the end of the eighteenth century, human sciences have taken "their modern forms" and have started to be interested in "the elaboration of certain new 'technologies' for the governance of people, both developments being linked to a new philosophical conception of 'Man' a simultaneous subject and object of knowledge" (Gordon 1980, 234). The increased interest in the body is one of these modern forms. As a result of this interest with the rise of modernity, it has become necessary to study how the interest in the body is institutionalized, enacted, and systematically carried out. Physical education emerges as one of the many sites where the concern with the body is magnified. I will now outline the three main strands in sociology of studying this magnification.

Until the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, the dominant approach towards the sociology of the body was naturalistic. The naturalistic body is a biologically essentialist approach, which sees the body as a fixed natural entity. In this approach, "the capabilities and constraints define individuals, and generate the social, political and economic relations which characterize national and international patterns of living" (Shilling 1993, 41). Two of the authors from this strand are Susie Orbach and Kim Chernin, who display their naturalistic views on gender in *Fat is a Feminist Issue* (Orbach 1978) and *The Obsession: Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness* (Chernin 1981), respectively. Conceptualizing the natural as the cause and the social as the effect is theoretically problematic, especially in the case of the sociology of the body. Such an approach fails to address the impact of the society, economy, and politics on the body as well as hindering the possibility to be critical of power relations vis-à-vis the body. Although naturalistic views have been influential in introducing the body to the discussion of social relationships, it is not possible to agree with the idea that social relationships and inequalities can be reduced to a static corporeal body (ibid.).

The second strand in the sociology of the body can be framed as social constructionism, or the post-structuralist approach. If naturalistic views have brought the body into the society, then constructionists have brought the society into the body. Social constructionists share the view that bodily norms and ideals, as well as different meanings attached to different kinds of bodies are socially produced. A constructionist approach is necessary in the study of the sociology of physical education, as there are plans and programs aimed at the body through physical education classes, in addition to discourses and discursive practices pervasive in the society.

Phenomenology, the third strand in the sociological study of the body, has emerged as a reaction to social constructionism. Phenomenologists assert that social constructionist approaches are trapped in the paradox of maintaining a real concern with "the body as an actual *object* of constructing discourses", while at the same time the constructed body exists only in discourse (Shilling 1991, 663; italics in the original). To put it more simply, while the naturalistic approaches are biologically reductionist, constructionist approaches are discursively so. This understanding led phenomenologists to regard the body as an active agent, instead of a passive object. In other words, "the analytical emphasis has shifted from a concern about bodies (i.e. the problem of order and representation) to one which emerges from bodies (i.e. body use, the embodiment of social action)" (Williams and Bendelow 2002, 65).

Having briefly outlined the three basic approaches in the sociology of the body, I now turn to a more detailed discussion of social constructionism and phenomenology in relation to how they can be incorporated into this particular research.

2.1. The Promise of Social Constructionism

Social constructionism takes the view that the body is molded, limited, and invented by the society. Of course, variations do exist between what are broadly framed as social

constructionist approaches in terms of how far social constructionists perceive the body to be constructed by the society. Nevertheless, the common premise of all social constructionist views is that the body is the construction of the society. However, as will be clear in the discussion of the subsequent sections, I hold a weaker understanding of social constructionism as opposed to strong ones, as the studies in the latter camp tend to "strongly" oppose the corporeality of the body and are "always a study of something other than this body" (Vigarello 1995, 163). The strong constructionist idea that it is practices, not bodies, that exist (Frank 1990, 135) leaves no room for incorporating anything other than constructionism to the discussion.

The focus in social constructionism, rather than the body itself, is mostly on the forces that produce and/or reproduce the body. Michel Foucault argues that "one needs to study what kind of body the current society needs" (Foucault 1980, 58). When the need to study how this body is produced is added to this, one will have summarized the positioning of the body in social constructionism. Taking a social constructionist approach towards the body equips the researcher with the tools to relinquish the body from a fixated object of study and to turn it into an entity that has been molded through discourses, institutions, and practices, while also historicizing it. With this perspective, the body ceases to be "given" and taken for granted, and it becomes possible to open up a discussion about what kinds of bodies have been found (or are being found) to be the desired, ideal, or deviant body.

While researching how and why the body is constructed in a certain way at a specified setting, it also becomes clear that the construction of the body is not an isolated process. The overt and covert methods of construction and the prevailing and prevalent discourses construct other categories and relationships at the same time, such as gender, ability, and beauty. In return, these categories and relationships construct the body, forming a discursive cycle of which physical education forms a part. Physical education makes it possible to exert

an idea of the "ideal body" on students and the wider public. "The ideal body is a social construction, yet it is a construction which naturalizes social relationships and characteristics: it facilitates the process whereby physical educationists exert what is, in fact, a social control, enabling them to construct social competence and social relationships" (Hargreaves 1986, 171).

2.1.1. Michel Foucault and Social Constructionism

As Michel Foucault locates the body in the middle of power-knowledge relations (Foucault 1995, 25-8), his perspective has close ties with discussions on physical exercise. The relevance of social constructionism in general and Foucault's works in particular, for the study of physical education is evident, because through physical education, a set of bodily practices that are desired is instilled (Harvey and Sparks 1991, 170). In the rest of this section, I will provide a detailed explanation as to which concepts of Foucault can be applied to a study of the body and physical education.

Foucault identifies four technologies that human beings utilize to develop an understanding of themselves: technologies of production, of sign systems, of power, and of the self (Foucault 1988). Of these four, technologies of power and technologies of the self emerge as the most pertinent ones for a social scientific study of physical education. The technologies of power are defined by Foucault as those technologies "which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject" (ibid., 18).[1] From a Foucauldian point of view, it is not possible to talk about a single form of power. Power takes different forms at different times and institutions, although multiple forms of power can exist simultaneously. In the context of physical education, I suggest that both disciplinary power and bio-power are in effect.

[1] Other technologies are described by Foucault as follows: "(I) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification" (Foucault 1988, 18).

Disciplinary power aims to produce docile bodies, which can be "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault 1995, 136). The production of docile bodies is necessary in order to extract utility from these bodies. "Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" (Foucault 1995, 138). Physical exercise within the context of the body politic is a form of disciplinary power, as it underlines that the body is "'unfinished' at birth" (Shilling 1993, 100). Similarly for Foucault, exercise has become an essential feature in the political technology of the body, and its subjection never reaches its limit (Foucault 1995, 162).

Disciplinary power is ever present in physical education discourses and rituals. The employing of disciplinary power brings with it the division of the body into units (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, 153). This construction of a micropower, "starting from the body as object to be manipulated" (ibid.), can be clearly seen in physical education textbooks, state plans, and programs. Sport and physical education use "techniques of measuring, comparing, controlling, and disciplining, which should prepare, normalize, and improve the bodies in order to increase their utility" (Pfister 1997, 101). Therefore, disciplinary power treats the body not as a whole, but as a mechanism made up of separate parts (Sheridan 1980, 147).

While disciplinary power is ever present in physical education, bio-power is simultaneously at work. As opposed to the anatomo-politics of disciplinary power, which targets man-as-body, biopolitics aims at the man-as-species (Foucault 2003, 243). It does not deal with the individual, nor is it interested in the society. "Biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power's problem" (ibid., 245). Through physical education, it is possible to gather data regarding the fitness, ability, weight, height, and the state of health of students. Physical education becomes useful for the regulation of the population especially in terms of health. There is a widespread belief that exercise improves

both physical and mental health. Through physical education, the diseased, the disabled, the "abnormal" are perpetuated as equal threats to the society. Bio-power is a technology of normalization through which anomalies are systematically created, classified and controlled (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, 195).

In addition to technologies of power, technologies of the self are relevant for the study of the sociology of physical education, particularly starting from the late 1970s in the Turkish context. Technologies of the self are defined by Foucault as the technologies "which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault 1988, 18). Technologies of the self are pertinent for a discussion on physical exercise, because as the students are taught to educate their bodies, they employ a certain way of moving and thinking on themselves through the physical education discourses and rituals. The idea that physical education and sport are positively correlated with well-being and health (healthism) enforces these rituals to become technologies of the self. It can also be argued that physical education rituals' being turned into technologies of the self is imagined as a requirement, as fit bodies are deemed more productive. Within the framework of my thesis, technologies of the self can be established as the boundary between physical education's compulsory character and its turning into a "voluntary" everyday practice.

2.1.2. The Problems with Constructionism

Although social constructionism has a lot to offer, it has serious shortcomings as well. Most importantly, this approach treats the body as an end-product of various social forces. The body in this sense is never an active agent involved in its very own construction. Through physical education, sport, and various images of the body that we are exposed to in our daily

lives, an "active construction of our 'selves'" takes place (Cole 1993, 83). However, constructionism fails to acknowledge this. On the contrary, the body in this approach remains a passive recipient of the action played upon itself. It exists only insofar as the factors or agents that construct it exist. Furthermore, instead of overcoming the mind-body dualism, social constructionist writings emphasize the mind-side of the binary. By downplaying the corporeality of the body, power structures and discourses overrule the theories on the body.

2.2. Phenomenology: the Body Lost and Found

In the previous section, I have outlined the dialogue between social constructionism and this study. Nevertheless, this does not mean that I approach this strand uncritically. Taking a radical constructionist stance engenders ignoring the reality of the corporeal body. In order to bring the body back in, an "embodied sociology" is required (Williams and Bendelow 2002, 65). Therefore, this thesis calls for the need to introduce phenomenology into the theoretical discussion of the body.

As a reaction to the constructionist perspective of perceiving the body, sociologists taking a phenomenological stance have put into place an effort to embody sociology. As discussed above, constructionism sees the body as an object of study, yet it fails to acknowledge what this body is. In phenomenology, however, the body is more than an object. The body is a subjective being, hence, "*the body subject"* (Crossley 1995, 47; italics in the original). This kind of an approach towards the body can also be framed as "sociology *from* the body", whereas the constructionist approach can be termed as "sociology *of* the body" (Wacquant 2004, viii; italics in the original). The reason is that in social constructionism, the perspective of an observer that is on the outside is assumed, whereas phenomenology does the opposite by introducing an "insideout perspective" (Crossley 2007, 81). Therefore phenomenology fills the gap of social constructionism by positioning the body as "both perceptible and perceiving, sensible and sentient" (ibid.).

2.2.1. The Body in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology

Among different strands of phenomenology, I have determined existential phenomenology to be the key to resolve the problems in sociology of the body. Existential phenomenology inspired by Martin Heidegger places ontology before epistemology, and is interested in the *Dasein* (Being-in-the-world) of human beings. It sees its task to describe subjective human experience, where the human is an active agent in the experience. Within a discussion of existential phenomenology in relation to physical exercise, Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology provides useful insights. Merleau-Ponty gives primacy to the practical ways of being-in-the-world, the *"praxical* being-in-the-world" (Williams and Bendelow 2002, 65; italics in the original), as opposed to theoretical or abstract ways (Crossley 1995, 53). For him, how we experience the world should be redefined to such an extent that we exist and perceive the world through our body (Merleau-Ponty 2005, 239). The body is the only "subject of perception" (ibid.).

Merleau-Ponty locates subjectivity not in the mind or consciousness, but in the body. The body which makes sense of the world, does it according to the "mode and limits of the bodily 'I can'" (Young 2005, 36). The capabilities of the body determine what possibilities will come into being. This body should also be conceptualized as a unity in Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology. For Merleau-Ponty, the body does not consist of parts. "My whole body for me is not an assemblage of organs juxtaposed in space. I am in undivided possession of it" (Merleau-Ponty 2005, 112). A similar idea is conveyed through the term "body image". This image encompasses not "the straightforward result of associations established during experience, but a total awareness of my posture in the intersensory world" (ibid., 114). During the interaction of the body with its surrounding, the body is imagined as a whole and forms a meaningful unity with its surrounding "by projecting an aim toward which it moves" (Young 2005, 37).

The body's being-in-the world is attached to spatiality. It is not only a whole in-itself, but also is in unity with its surrounding and with the space. The body does not exist in space like an object does. Therefore we can talk about a spatiality of *situation*, instead of *position* (Merleau-Ponty 2005, 115; italics in the original). The body, as it performs intentional meaningful action, is in constant interaction with the space, and hence creates a situatedness of spatiality. "We must therefore avoid saying that our body is *in* space, or *in* time. It *inhabits* space and time" (ibid., 161; italics in the original). This way of thinking helps us to avoid the pitfall of conceptualizing the body as a separate entity from space.

The body in which phenomenology is interested is neither objective nor instrumental. On the contrary, phenomenology is interested in studying the very subjective experiences of the body, that is, the *lived body* (Thoburn 2008, 266). The *physical body*, on the other hand, can be the focus of only positivist natural sciences. The difference between these two bodies can be grasped further through the terms *Körper* and *Leib* (Turner 1992, 9 and 17). Unlike the English language, where the concept "body" may preclude the distinction between the physical and the lived body, some languages have two different notions, each of which refers to one of these two bodies. In German, while *Körper* refers to the objective, material, physical body, *Leib* refers to the subjective, lived body. Phenomenology is interested in *Leib*. A similar correspondence can be made with the concepts *beden* and *vücut* in Turkish. While *beden* means the torso[2], the physical body, *vücut* derives from the Arabic *mevcudiyet*, which means existence or *Dasein.*[3] Therefore, Körper and beden are parallel terms, whereas Leib and vücut form another group. It is also interesting that *beden* has been started to be used more frequently starting with the founding of the Republic of Turkey as the naming of physical education classes as *Beden Eğitimi* displays as well. Being able to stress the difference

[2] *Nişanyan Sözlük: Çağdaş Türkçenin Etmiolojisi*, s.v. "beden."
[3] *Nişanyan Sözlük: Çağdaş Türkçenin Etmiolojisi*, s.v. "vücut."

between the phenomenological body and the body that natural sciences are interested in through everyday language makes it easier for the former to be grasped.

2.2.2. Fundamental Lifeworld Themes

The lived body (corporeality) and its interaction with the lived space (spatiality) have been briefly outlined above. However, the body and space are only two of the four "fundamental lifeworld themes" or "existentials" that can be used to describe our lived experience (van Manen 1990, 101). In addition to corporeality and spatiality, lived time (temporality) and lived human relation (relationality or communality) are key concepts for making sense of lived experience in general, and of physical education in particular. Here I will briefly define these concepts and relate them to my thesis. I will also elaborate more on spatiality as an analytical concept. However, it should be noted that this distinction of themes is for analytical purposes only, as lived space, time, body and human relation interact and intersect, making their distinction blurred.

As broached above, the themes with the epithet "lived" indicate a subjective, experiential perception of the concept. In relation to that, lived space can be described as "felt space" (van Manen 1990, 102), or as phenomenal space (Young 2005, 39). Instead of how the space can be measured mathematically, or be described geographically, lived space unearths how an individual feels in relation to the space. This "feeling" emerges as a result of the body's motility (ibid.). Merleau-Ponty differentiates between an *abstract* space, based on rational criteria, and a *practical* or *lived* space, based on experience and subjectivity (Hughson and Inglis 2002, 5). In physical education classes, space plays a very important role, as how the classes will be carried out depends on the nature of the space. Although this can be thought to relate to the *abstract* space, teachers and students interact with and feel the space in different ways, according to their socioeconomic status, gender, and ability, to name a few dimensions. "Lived relations of space are generated by the capacities of the body's motion

and the intentional relations that that motion constitutes" (Young 2005, 39). Of course, lived space, as all other "lived" themes, is not independent from the abstract space. An abstract space needs to exist and be experienced so that it can be lived space. An objective space is the prerequisite for the lived space, as without objective spatiality, the body's spatiality has no meaning on its own (Merleau-Ponty 2005, 116). At the same time, however, a space comes into being insofar as it is lived.

Lived or subjective time has a relationship with clock or objective time in the same manner that lived space has with abstract space (van Manen 1990, 104). Lived time is how we subjectively make sense of the time, regardless of how it can be measured by mechanical tools. This concept is relevant for this thesis, as an opposition is created as soon as time is divided into units in the organization of class hours. The opposition is between this pre-arranged time and how this time is experienced by students and teachers.

Finally, lived other or lived human relation refers to the relation we establish with others at the mutually shared space (ibid.). Humans always interact. However, the space they interact in shapes their interaction in a significant way. Within the scope of this thesis, school grounds, locker rooms, and sports halls put their mark on how students and teachers interact with each other.

2.2.3. Shortcomings of Phenomenology

Although the existential phenomenologist approach is more useful than social constructionism in explaining bodily movement and experience, it cannot be the sole perspective in the analysis of physical education. Phenomenology tends to neglect the power relations inherent in exercising, training and educating the body. For instance, for Merleau-Ponty training is only an empowering activity (Crossley 1996, 109), which causes him to reduce bodily exercise and training to bodily enhancement in the absence of a discussion of power relations. It also fails to acknowledge that the biological givens are also transformed depending on

historical circumstances (Grosz 1994, 190). Furthermore, phenomenology, just like social constructionism, fails to overcome the mind-body dualism. While constructionism, as discussed before, stands on the side of the mind in the dualism, phenomenology takes the body-side. Therefore, combining these two strands will be required in order to leave the dualism behind and to overcome the shortcomings of both of the approaches. This opportunity will be discussed in the following section.

2.3. The Dialectical Approach

One can talk about a fourth approach towards the body, which is the "dialectical approach". Building on and being critical of both social constructionist and phenomenologist perspectives, dialectical approach offers a combination of these two. In other words, this approach brings together the strengths of social constructionism and phenomenology, as it perceives the "body as a material object located in nature, but subject to social change" (Shilling 1991, 665).[4]

Existential phenomenology is interested in studying "*what the body does*", instead of "*what is done to the body*" (Crossley 1995, 43; italics in the original). When we refer to a doing body, we are working at the level of the *lived body*. On the other hand, when we refer to a body which is the receiver of a doing, we are working at the level of the *inscribed body*. This can be laid out as the fundamental analytical distinction between social constructionist (inscribed body) and phenomenologist approaches (lived body). This, however, does not mean that a researcher or a theoretician cannot work at both of these levels at the same time. In general, Foucault emphasizes the inscribed body, whereas Merleau-Ponty's focus is the lived body (Crossley 1996, 114). Nevertheless, these two writers can be brought together both at the theoretical and practical levels, as in terms of the different bodies they are working

[4] Although I use the term "dialectical approach" here, Chris Shilling's is not the only effort to bring together social constructionism and phenomenology in order to embody the sociology of the body. "Carnal sociology of the body" (Crossley 1995) is one of them. Parallel to merging social constructionism and phenomenology, carnal sociology of the body brings together sociology of the body and carnal sociology.

with, “one side presupposes, rather than negates the other [body]” (ibid., 115). The dialectical approach draws together the two bodies by bringing the presupposed bodies to the surface.

Taking the dialectical approach means bringing together the strengths of constructionist and phenomenologist perspectives. Michel Foucault’s approach focuses on the body-power, whereas Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s emphasizes the body-subject (Crossley 1996, 101). The dialectical approach makes it possible for the researcher to look at the body both as the object of power relations and as the subject. Therefore, while acknowledging that the body is “the very basis of human subjectivity” (Crossley 1995, 44-45), it will be possible to account for the docility-utility paradigm (Foucault 1995).

The dialectical approach will allow for filling some fundamental gaps of both approaches. On the one hand, the multiplicity of responses and resistance to discourses can be acknowledged through incorporating phenomenology into constructionism. It is not possible to talk about a single discourse that affects everyone in the same way. Instead, discourses are plural and complex (Turner 2008, 150). In addition, it cannot be assumed that all people or bodies respond in the same way to a dominant or alternative discourse due to this complex nature. On the other hand, the body’s being molded by and through social practices can only be revealed through introducing a constructionist approach to phenomenology. “The body, without ceasing to be the body, is taken in hand and transformed in social practice” (Connell 1987, 83). In discussing motility and spatiality, one has to keep away from the naturalistic approach and be critical of biological attributions as they are shaped by sociohistorical circumstances as well.

Of course, combining the two strands is not as smooth as it seems. Most of the vocabulary used in relation to the body locates the researcher in one of the camps at the very start. Therefore, it is easy to look like a social constructionist with the word “power”, or like a phenomenologist as you use “embodiment” in the text. The already existing categories make

it difficult to do an analysis across boundaries. Nevertheless, some terms are helpful in overcoming binaries such as constructionism-phenomenology, or mind-body. One of these terms is "behavior". (Meaningful) behavior is a unifying concept, combining "mindfulness and embodiment" (Crossley 1995, 48). "The active body embodies meanings and ideas" (ibid.), and the behavior the body enacts displays its consciousness as well as its physical motility. Therefore, this is a term that can be used across different approaches, in order to breach the boundaries.

Just like behavior's being a concept across boundaries, "intersubjectivity" can be put to a similar use as well. Although this term is attached to phenomenology as discussed in the previous section, a broader understanding can link it to body-power as well (ibid., 58-59). "*All subjectivity is intersubjective"* (ibid., 58; italics in the original). Therefore, lived experience is shaped and determined, to an extent, through interaction. This intersubjectivity has parallels with Foucault's body-power in that power acts upon the individual through societal interaction, whether overt or covert. Therefore, intersubjectivity can help us to acknowledge both of the strands at the same time. As these examples (intersubjectivity and behavior) suggest, the terminology of the two approaches can be used to expand our understanding of the body, rather than to constrain.

Adopting the dialectical approach will be one of the major contributions of this thesis to the fields of sociology of the body, sport, and physical education. In an attempt to overcome the mind-body dualism that neither social constructionism nor phenomenology succeeds in resolving, the dialectical approach locates the mind within the body. Of course there is an increasing literature on the theoretical debates regarding the mind-body dualism and attempts to overcome this problem. Nevertheless, most of these discussions remain at the theoretical level, or when attempted to be translated to the practical level, they tend to neglect

one of the components of the dialectical approach. I will aim to prove that it is possible to accomplish this synthesis at both levels through this thesis.

The dialectical approach is useful both theoretically and practically to study physical education. I find it necessary to recognize the impact of discourses on the construction of the body. Textbooks, state planning reports, academic articles clearly display a body project to serve the needs of the nation-state. At the same time, it is of importance to introduce the lived body into the discussion. "The practical transformation of the body in the social structure (…) is not only accomplished at the level of symbolism. It has physical effects on the body; the incorporation is a material one" (Connell 1987, 87). Based on their individual characteristics, bodies form different subjectivities through physical education classes. These subjectivities also take shape in relation to the specificities of the space where the classes take place. The dialectical approach makes it possible to discuss both the impact of discourses and the relationship between the body and space, among other things, through an understanding of the invested/inscribed and the lived body at the same time.

In this chapter, I have presented the evolution of the sociology of the body theoretically, and have drawn the framework of the theoretical debate within which this research is located. In the following chapter, I will move on to empirical debates in the literature. I will focus particularly on sociology of physical education and sport, while maintaining the connection to the sociology of the body.

3. The Body in the Literature

Having outlined the main debates on the sociology of the body in Chapter 2, I narrow down my focus in this literature review, and provide the evolution of the literature on physical education and sport, keeping the sociology of the body in mind. Although we could talk about a coherent body of literature on the sociology of physical education and sport, I preferred to divide the literature that informed this thesis into six sections for analytical purposes based on the focus of the research. Among these, the body politic and the modern body literature focus on the roles physical education and sport have been assigned in the modern times and for political purposes. The gendered body is devoted another section due to the relative abundance of the literature and the impact it has inflicted upon this research. Building on the existential phenomenological debates in the Theoretical Framework, the corporeal body literature vis-à-vis physical exercise is reviewed as well. Moving away from the sociology of the body, the body in the curriculum reviews the literature with a sociology of education point of view. Finally, the literature on the commodification of the body provides themes that can be used to carry this research further. Although I divided the literature thematically, it should be kept in mind that the sections are not mutually exclusive, and studies have sometimes been referenced more than once as they belong to more than one section or category. This is inevitable, as the lines between disciplines and sub-disciplines are blurred. Following the review, I also talk about the gaps in the literature that I try to fill through this study.

Parallel to the shifts in the theoretical orientations in the sociology of the body, sociology of physical education and of sport have witnessed an increase in the literature especially starting from the 1980s. Although I use the terms physical education and sport, physical activity is termed in myriad ways by different authors. The most frequent ones of these terms are sport, physical education, physical activity, physical exercise, and leisure. Although this thesis focuses on physical education classes, I have reviewed and used the

wider literature on physical exercise, or on any of the terms listed above. This stems from several facts. First of all, sociology of physical education is yet to develop, and is informed by the sociology of sport and physical exercise in general. Secondly, not all authors differentiate between different terms for physical exercise, and some subsume physical education under sport. Therefore, I benefit from the literature pertaining to movement and exercise in general. In addition, as physical education is part of a larger educational system, curriculum studies literature falls under the review as well.

3.1. The Body Politic

The body has always been a valuable tool for power groups to discipline, punish, examine, survey, and control people. Physical education and sport, alongside their other functions, have been utilized for the political control of the body. The literature that focuses on this aspect of the body has been one of the most proliferous sub-disciplines due to its having both a local and a universal character at the same time. In this section, I will outline the works that have set it as their task to analyze the body politic.

Theoretical debates about how to analyze the body politic in physical education and sport have been a significant starting point in this discipline. Discussions have usually revolved around the impact of body theoreticians on the sociology of sport and physical education. Some of the literature on the intersection of especially Foucault and sport and physical education sociology has aimed to employ Foucauldian terminology into the sub-discipline (Andrews 1993, Markula-Denison and Pringle 2006, Rail and Harvey 1995). On the other hand, critics of Foucault in terms of the body politic vis-à-vis sport and physical education have been influential in moving the debates on the relationship between politics and the body forward as well (Heikkala 1993, Vigarello 1995).

When sociohistorical research on the body politic is taken into consideration, nationalism emerges as one of the most recurrent themes. Authors who have investigated the

national body have concentrated on how the body has been historically and systematically used as a tool to reach national goals. Among these, achieving or pretending to achieve an able, strong body that complies with the ideals of the nation prevailed (Brownell 1995, Morris 2004). The emphasis on nationalism was especially stronger at historical junctures, such as the founding of a new nation-state. At such turning points, the aim has been the construction of the 'new man' through physical education and sport (Akın 2003).

Not unrelated to nationalism, physical education and sport's relationship with economy has been on the agenda of sociologists as well. Physical exercise has been used as a means to improve productivity (Gleyse, et al. 2002). This need by economic forces has also been conjoined with other ideologies such as militarism and nationalism (Kirk and Spiller 1994). Other authors have focused on the place of physical education in the larger education system, and how this positioning has been used for economic gains (W. F. Connell 1980).

The body politic has also shaped identities and subjectivities. Depending on the political conditions, multiple femininities and masculinities have been defined (Pfister 1997, Pfister and Reese 1995, Rupp 1977). The relationship between the body politic and socioeconomic class has been another identity that was addressed frequently, based on the works of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1978, Bourdieu 1988). Studies that have been influenced by his theoretical framework have addressed the politics of the body in relation to class (Gruneau 1983), and have employed the term "physical capital" to address the capital that is accumulated through physical exercise, and to which students with privileges have easier access (Shilling 1991).

Influential research on the dialogue between state formation, economic development and the civilizing process has also focused on the body and sports (Elias and Dunning 1985). However, although many studies addressed the political management of the body in relation to the emergence of the modern state, authors have also argued that the power nexus is not

centered on the state only. Instead, the state needs to be conceptualized as just another center of power (Harvey and Sparks 1991). My research aims to acknowledge this situation. Although the state emerges as one of the indispensable focus points to analyze physical education, recognizing that there are multiple sites of meaning production (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989) prevents this thesis from taking a state-centered approach.

3.2. The Modern Body

This section reviews the literature that addresses diverse modern bodies that emerge as the body politic sweeps into the everyday life. Research on the modern body includes the re-definition of childhood and adulthood, how certain bodies were normalized, scientization of physical education, the preoccupation with health, and the evolution of modern sports.

As we trace how the modern body was constructed through time (Broekhoff 1972), it becomes evident that the periods of the life cycle have been re-defined as well (Burrows 2000). With modernity, the child has been deemed deficient, and had to come to an awareness of its body in order to enter adulthood. This awareness could be reached only through physical education. However, this understanding changed through time, and the body started to be regarded as "unfinished" (Shilling 1993) at all stages of the life cycle. This provided the ground for the legitimization of the necessity of physical exercise at all ages.

The modern period set it as its task to construct the normal body (Davis 2006). Physical education has been assigned the role of the space where the norms of the body are perpetuated. The fat body is demeaned (Gard 2004), the disabled body is ignored or excluded (Fitzgerald 2006), and the gender norms are established (Cole 1993). In line with the perpetuation of certain bodily norms, a scientific way of body management rose to the surface with modernity (Andrews 1993, J. Hargreaves 1986). The emphasis on science has been reflected onto physical education as well, leading to a modern science of physical education that determines "new norms of human performance" (Whitson and Macintosh 1990).

Through physical education, it has been possible to discipline the body in a way that could be applied to a standard working day (Freund 1988). The modern workday demanded the workers to adjust themselves according to working hours and days, and the division of time had to be strict. Physical education classes were divided and organized in a similar fashion, where every timeframe was assigned a certain task that had to be completed in that period (Hargreaves 1986). The internalization of this discipline made the transition from the schooled body to the working body easy.

The relationship between public health and physical education or sport was one of the major novelties that entered our lives with the onset of modernity. Preoccupation with citizens' health was the characteristic of the modern and postmodern periods. This preoccupation intensified as liberal and neoliberal policies pervaded the economy. As the sick body was a burden to the state, every body was now seen as potentially sick (Crawford 1980), and physical exercise was regarded as the means to reduce this burden and not to activate the potential (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989). By posing health as an individual responsibility, the emphasis on physically active lives has increased tremendously (Sparks 1985) with an effort to reduce health costs (Howell 1991). In a similar vein, the fit body is exalted as the ideal body through media (Glassner 1989), and fitness is readily associated with health (Peiro Velert and Devis Devis 1995, Stein 1982), which causes paradoxes as people turn to hazardous practices in order to achieve the desired look (Zanker and Gard 2010).

The modern understanding of the body brought about modern sports, and modern ways to discipline the body of the sportsperson as well. Cyborg narratives of athletes suggest a novel relationship sportspeople have developed with their bodies (Butryn 2003). This cyborg-like disciplining of the body, however, was not limited to physical exercise, and extended to dieting (Johns 1996). On the other hand, modern sports also paved the way for alternative femininities to be displayed. Sports that were previously attributed only to

muscular men were now terrains for discussions on empowerment, sexuality, and physicality as well as disciplinization (Theberge 1991).

3.3. The Gendered Body

If we are to draw a timeline of the evolution of the gendered body in the sociology of sport and physical education, it can be stated that the first studies have focused on the domination of the sports field by men, and the exclusion of women therefrom. It was in the late 1970s and the early 1980s that the relationship between gender and physical education/sport started to be analyzed. Authors questioned the idea that girls are physically inferior to boys (Dyer 1982, Ferris 1979). However, early studies did not question the roles attributed to genders through physical education and sport, and instead focused on the lower participation rates of girls in physical education classes and women in competitive sports through especially quantitative surveys (Griffin 1983, Lee, et al. 1999). These studies highlighted the differences between genders, and looked for solutions by adapting the curricula. Instead of questioning the categories of genders, the authors took them for granted and aimed to suggest ways to develop curricula using these categories as given.

Following the inclusion-exclusion debate, construction of gender roles through physical education and sport has been placed in the center of discussions in relation to power relations (Trangbæk 1997). How physical education curricula and competitive sports have historically been used to ascribe gender roles started to be discussed (Müller 1999). The social and media discourse on female athletes and sportswomen were on the agenda as well (Messner 1988, Duncan and Hasbrook 1988, MacNeill 1988). The discussions of these studies revolved around the media coverage of sportswomen and the empowering aspects of sports for women.

Especially in relation to competitive sports and gender, there were two camps of thoughts. Some authors advocated women's having their own leagues and teams in sports,

such as women's basketball or football. This stemmed from the idea that sport is an emancipatory practice (Hartsock 1985) and these categories are a remedy to the lower participation rates of girls and women in physical education and sport. The other camp, however, stressed that separate sports teams and leagues for genders is a further segregationist practice that fosters the argument that girls are fragile, weak, and less capable of being involved in physical activities and that confirms the male monopoly over that particular sport (Hargreaves 1986).

Following the discussions on constructionism and parallel to the developments in the feminist theory, social constructionist studies did not only question the construction of femininity, but also masculinity (Messner 1992, Wellard 2009). The shift to a discussion of masculinity made it possible not only to deconstruct the discourses revolving around the construction of masculine behavior at the sports field, but also to realize that men and women cannot and should not be treated as homogeneous categories in general and when their relationship with sport and physical education is considered (Connell 1990). Therefore, research prevailed that concentrated on individual experiences of physical exercise, which focused particularly on the relationship of gender with class, race and ethnicity (Bramham 2003, Foley 1990). More recently, studies that take gender into its center vis-à-vis sport and physical education have started to focus on non-heterosexual students and teachers (Clarke 2004, Plummer 1999). Studies on the experiences of homosexual, transsexual and transvestite individuals vis-à-vis sport and physical education were informed by previous discussions surrounding the female empowerment and the construction of gender roles through physical exercise.

Informed and molded by the debates on the sociology of the body and gender, the literature on the gendered body in sport and physical education evolved from discussion on differences to construction of gender roles, heterogeneity of gender categories and

individualized experiences. Further research that has not been covered above in detail includes studies on female body-building (Schulze 1990) and discussions on the relationship between religion, gender, and sport (Jennifer Hargreaves 2007, Zaman 1997). I aim to contribute to this growing literature by addressing the gendered body in Turkish physical education system between 1969 and 1983.

3.4. The Corporeal Body

Debates around the sociology of the body have been recently enriched by the introduction of embodiment into the picture. As sociology of sport and physical education are largely informed by the developments in the sociology of the body, studies that theoretically adopt existential phenomenology and that employ phenomenological methodology have proliferated. In this section, I will review the literature in sport and physical education sociology that take corporeality into their center.

Phenomenology has been used to analyze a variety of sports within sport sociology. As each sports branch or game provides a distinctive experience in terms of the lived body, space, time, and other, research in each branch has provided novel valuable insights to the field. Among these sports branches are soccer (Hughson and Inglis 2002), boxing (Wacquant 2004), running (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014a), and climbing (Chisholm 2008). As many of the sports branches are included in physical education curricula, this research has impacted the phenomenological research in the sociology of physical education as well.

In addition to the developments in the sociology of sport, existential phenomenology drawing from Merleau-Ponty's writings has had an impact on the research in the sociology of physical education as well. Theoretical discussions about how to incorporate embodiment in the sociology of physical education (Stolz 2013) have been taken a step further by their application through the employment of phenomenological methodology (Kollen 1981). Phenomenological research on physical education has also focused on more particular issues,

such as finding methods to improve students' learning processes (Standal and Engelsrud 2013), increasing student engagement and success (Thorburn 2008), and discussing the experiences of special populations in physical education classes (Connolly 1995).

Phenomenological research has been very often interested in gender. While the naturalistic approach to gender is rejected by phenomenologists, it is also argued that each gender senses and experiences its world differently, even if it stems from the construction of the genders. Building on this, studies have especially looked into the female body's sensory experiences (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014a). Furthermore, the analyses of the inhibited experience of the female body with the world by taking a Merleau-Pontian approach have been influential in gender research as well (Young 2005). However, other authors have argued that the analysis of different Beings-in-the-world should not take the male body as the reference (Chisholm 2008). The female way of sensing the body may instead be emancipatory rather than limiting the bodily movement.

Although phenomenological research has usually fed on narratives from in-depth interviews or conversations, a new methodological approach has recently been introduced to sport studies. Instead of building on second-person accounts in terms of lived experiences, researchers are directing the arrow at themselves, and are analyzing their own sensory experiences (Allen-Collinson 2012, Wacquant 2004). This method is named as autoethnography or autophenomenography, and offers a new way of studying the lived body. Through an introspective analysis of emotions and bodily movement, the researcher assumes both the role of the subject and the object of the study. This method opens the way for new methodological and theoretical debates especially through the problems and solutions it brings to the topic of the researcher's bias.

3.5. The Body in the Curriculum

As physical education is part of the larger educational system, the literature on the sociology of physical education written from a sociology of education point of view needs to be reviewed as well. Shifting our focus from the sociology of the body, texts from the sociology of education perspective have given more place to policy and curriculum development, and teacher education as well as identity formation through physical education and the impact of identities on this class. In addition to these, space will be devoted to the methodological developments in physical education research as well.

By taking a larger perspective towards education, many physical education researchers have focused on policy making processes (Penney and Evans 1999). This type of research, as a matter of fact, has usually remained at the local level, rather than being translated into a universal model. Building on education policies, physical education researchers have also focused on curriculum development based on various aspects that the authors believed should be in the forefront in physical education classes, or should be critically analyzed. Among these, the relationship between health and physical education is the most widely discussed topic (Burrows and Wright 2001, Kirk and Colquhoun 1989, Peiro Velert and Devis Devis 1995).

In addition to developing the curriculum, the education of physical education teachers has been on the agenda. Research in this area has questioned the effectiveness of teacher education at the university level (Demers 1997), whether the education teachers receive can challenge their preconceptions in general (Dodds and Placek 1993), or the existing gender norms (Brown and Evans 2004, Rich 2001). Teacher education is given special emphasis as through verbal and non-verbal communication, teachers transmit their ideas to students. This generational transfer of discourses is another ring of the construction chain.

One of the emphases of physical education research has been the impact of identities. The identities whose relationship with physical education has been researched include class, gender, ethnicity, disability, age, and sexuality (Evans and Davies 2006). Particular emphasis has been given to special populations' experiences with physical education (Connolly 1995), construction of masculinities (Sherlock 1987), and the multiplicity of identities (Cole 1993). Further research in this realm includes debates on the dialogue between popular culture and physical education and how they benefit from and feed each other (Kirk 1998).

Physical education research has shown significant improvement in terms of the methodologies used. While previous research employed quantitative methodologies, the trend has been towards qualitative methods. More recently, sociology of physical education started to use phenomenology to investigate learning and teaching processes by taking the actors of physical education classes to its center, as explained in the Corporeal Body section. An analysis of the discourses used in the classroom is used to offer new ways of communication (Prain and Hickey 1995), as well as ethnographies of physical education classes which give the opportunity for authors to draw many of their arguments from their observations from inside the physical education classes. Although these observations would be complementary to my research as well, the period I am concerned in prevents me from physically being in the classes to observe. Nevertheless, I attempted to close this gap by interviewing teachers and students as will be detailed in the Methodology section.

3.6. Commodification of the Body

Although this thesis does not address the commodification of the body, the growing literature in this sub-discipline needs to be paid attention. Especially in the recent years, with rapid changes in the way bodies are imagined and in the means through which the imagined bodies are conveyed, the literature on the commodification of the body has gained even more significance. In addition to this significance, the literature on the commodification of the body

vis-à-vis sport is included here for future research that this thesis may lead to, and also to draw a fuller picture of sociology of sport and physical education.

Commodification of the body is closely related to the emergence of the modern body. With the onset of modernity, mass consumption has entered our lives, as "the necessary other of mass production" (Loy, Andrews and Rinehart 1993, 80). Consumerism, in return, has led to the commodification of sport and the exercising body (Alt 1983) and to debates revolving around the value of sporting activity as it is subsumed to the marketplace logic (Sewart 1987). The modern commodification of the body also demands the individualization of discourses. Issues related to health, beauty, and fitness are served as personal problems, rather than public (Ingham 1985). Not being able to comply with the bodily norms, on the other hand, is presented as the lack of self-discipline and self-control (Yumul 2012).

As explained in the Modern Body section, the modern understanding of the body redefines the phases of life. This redefinition has taken a different form with the commodification of the body. Ageing started to be despised, while youth is eulogized. However, youth is defined in a particular way as well. Only the body which exercises, diets, and with a smooth and elastic skin is regarded as the young body (Turner 1999). Especially through advertisements, individuals are encouraged to start a fight with old age, a fight that only the producers can win. This new understanding of the body brings together cosmetics, fitness, and dieting together in order to create the desired body image (Featherstone 1982). Due to this constructed clash between youth and old age, there has been a significant increase in the literature on the ageing body as well (Featherstone and Hepworth 2005, Featherstone and Wernick 1995).

With technological developments in the recent years, it has become easier to inflict self-control on the body, intensifying the impact of technologies of the self on the body (Foucault 1988). These new technologies, such as phone applications, make it possible to

constantly self-check the amount of calorie intake, the pulse, the blood pressure, and the calorie spent through exercise (Lupton 2012). As a result, a new "technological habitus" is formed (Freund 2004), which determines and is determined by the bodily behavior. Although the preoccupation with one's own body is not novel, technology makes it possible for the technologies of the self to be inflicted more deeply and frequently.

Consumerism and commodification have given a new character to spectator sports as well (McKay and Miller 1991). On the one hand, sporting bodies have become items that can be sold on the market. Furthermore, commercial activities started to rule the sports clubs, turning the audience into customers (Moor 2007). Fans that have become customers adopt certain dress codes and gestures that reflect a certain embodiment in line with their culture, socioeconomic class, and gender (Robson 2000). On the other hand, fandom is associated with late-capitalist values, where winning and being powerful become the chief qualifications of a firm, person, or sports team (Theodoropoulou 2007). The modern way of sporting has come to be inextricably linked to consuming practices and the commodification of goods and people.

3.7. The Gap in the Literature

When the literature on the body, physical education, and sport are considered, there emerge gaps that this thesis aims to fill. Taking the existing studies as my starting point, I aim to fill the gap in the sociology of the body and physical education literature in three dimensions, which are geographical, temporal, and theoretical. Geographically speaking, physical education and sport sociology are under-researched when Turkey is considered. Within the case-studies which historicize and localize the dominant and alternative conceptualizations of physical education and/or sport in relation to other sociological concepts, research on the UK (Hargreaves 1986, 1987), Canada (Demers 1997), Australia (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989, Kirk and Spiller 1994) and socialist/communist countries such as China and USSR (Brownell

1995, Roubal 2003) are more abundant. Nevertheless, the literature on the geographical region where Turkey is located today is fairly limited. By projecting my lens to Turkish physical education system and by locating it to a wider social, historical, and political framework, I aim to contribute to the narrow literature on Turkey.

In addition to this geographical gap, a temporal gap exists as well. The existing literature on Turkish physical education system focuses mainly on the early Republican period (Akın 2003, Çağlı 2011, İnanç 1995). Although the founding of the Republic and the new institutional structures vis-à-vis the body politic need to be critically studied, research on physical education and sport should not be confined to this period only. Especially in order to make sense of today's educational structures and embodiment, studies that encompass different time periods are called for. This call is not only for the sociology of sport and physical education; sociological research on the Turkey of the 1970s and the 1980s needs to be increased in general. By concentrating on the Ministry of Youth and Sport period (1969-1983), I draw attention to the experiences of physical education teachers and students and to the dominant and alternative discourses on the body and physical education at a period that has so far been under-researched.

The third gap that this thesis aspires to fill has to do with the macro theories on the sociology of the body. As explicated in the Theoretical Framework chapter, I take a dialectical approach towards the body (Shilling 1991), which argues that the body is not merely the product of discourses, but also has a corporeal existence, which senses the world in a unique way. Although this theoretical framework has been applied to multiple case-studies, many studies fail to maintain a balance between the two theoretical strands. By using mixed methods, I attempt to keep this balance.

In this chapter, I have outlined the main literature from which I have benefited as I prepared for the thesis, conducted my fieldwork, and worked on the text. In the next section, I

will present the methods I have used in my fieldwork, which are discourse analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews. I will discuss the suitability of these methods for my thesis, in addition to the breadth of my fieldwork.

4. Methodology

I contend that the dialectical approach, which acknowledges that the body is both a product of discourses and an agent that exists, senses, and feels its Being-in-the-world, is the ideal perspective to be adopted in this research. Reflecting this dialectic, it was necessary to conduct a qualitative study through mixed methods. The first method is conducting a discourse analysis of written documents on physical education. This method made it possible to develop an understanding of how the body and physical education were viewed by multiple (groups of) actors. However, relying only on this discourse analysis would keep the body under the pillow, not showing its face. To grasp how bodies reacted and experienced the dominant and alternative discourses of the time, the voice of the actors of physical education classes had to be listened to as well. This brought me to the second method I used, which is conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews. In the remaining of this chapter, I detail the methods I used, why and how I used them, and how they were incorporated into my research.

4.1. Discourse Analysis

One of the methods I used in my research was conducting a discourse analysis of written documents related to physical education and produced between 1969 and 1983. There are multiple approaches about how to undertake discourse analysis, and the approach to be taken as a method should be determined in and through the theoretical framework one takes (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, 4). In this research, discourse analysis is intertwined with the conceptualization of the body as a social construction and as the effect of discourses from a Foucauldian point of view. Therefore, the discourse analysis I undertook is parallel to this theoretical perspective.

By taking discourse analysis informed by Foucault as my methodological approach, I set it as my task to explicate "statements that function to place a discursive frame around a particular position" (Graham 2005, 10). Here, statements are regarded not as linguistic units,

but as carriers of enunciative functions. Foucault details the link between enunciative functions and discursive formation as follows:

> To describe statements, to describe the enunciative function of which they are the bearers, to analyse the conditions in which this function operates, to cover the different domains that this function presupposes and the way in which those domains are articulated, is to undertake to uncover what might be called the discursive formation. (Foucault 2004, 129-130)

Therefore, my task was to trace the functions of statements in the written documents to unravel their "constitutive effects" as framed by Foucault. Furthermore, I paid attention to the view that "Foucault's conceptualization of discourse indispensably requires the role of historical contextualization" (Hook 2001, 542). This was essential especially in a research that investigates the sociology of the body at a specific time in history. Within this perspective, the discourse analysis "cannot remain simply *within* the text" (ibid., 543; italics in the original), and should be extended to the larger social, political, and historical context.

The primary sources that I analyzed are from a wide range. Development Plans and a special report on physical education by the State Planning Organization, and publications by the Ministry of Youth and Sport formed the documents by the state. Physical education textbooks written for teachers reflected the perspective of the Ministry and/or the scholars. Journals published by the Physical Education Teachers Association of Turkey, symposia notes, yearbooks, and newspapers were other resources that were available. Despite my attempts to emphasize the multiplicity of agents involved in the meaning production processes, however, there is an apparent hierarchy between these agents. Policy makers and state officials, as a result of their relatively higher economic and symbolic capital, are able to exert more influence on the fields of political and economic management of the body, as well as education. This shows itself also in the higher amount of written documents by state departments. This situation emerges as a limitation for my thesis. Nevertheless, I aimed to

maintain the balance especially by introducing in-depth interviews as another method to be used. As a result, the voice of the actors of physical education classes are heard at least as much as that of the state, throughout the thesis.

4.2. Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviews served two purposes in this study: to uncover how the discourses, which were brought to light through the analysis of primary sources, were reflected onto physical education classes, and to investigate how the actors of the classes sensed their Being-in-the-world, in relation to factors such as their bodily parts and functions, gender, (dis)ability, weight and height, and how they related to space and time. Especially for the latter purpose, the in-depth interviews were meticulously conducted and analyzed in accordance with the principles of phenomenological research.

First-person narratives play a crucial role in phenomenological research. As the participants tell their stories, they re-experience, and re-create them. "Lived experience first of all has a temporal structure: it can never be grasped in its immediate manifestation but only reflectively as past presence" (van Manen 1990, 36). Therefore, how participants reflect on their past through their present defines the interview. Instead of an observation of how a student or teacher moves his/her body in a given setting, how s/he related to his/her body at that setting, and how s/he relates to that relation today are significant and useful data for the researcher with an existential phenomenological framework. "Bodies are realized -not just represented but created- in the stories they tell" (Frank 1997, 52). Therefore, interviews open up a space for the researcher to enter into the world of the participant as s/he creates it through the interview itself. In short, it is important to keep in mind that "the description of an experience as it emerges in a particular context *is* the experience" (Pollio, Henley and Thompson 1997, 31; italics in the original) in a phenomenological research. Therefore, apart

from autophenomenographic studies,[5] first-person narratives are the indispensable point of departure for the researcher in phenomenology.

I conducted seventeen interviews with physical education teachers and students. The number of interviews was determined according to the principle of saturation, until no new ideas or concepts were available through interviews. Among these interviews, eight of them were with physical education teachers who actively taught physical education for at least three years in the 1969-1983 period. I maintained a gender balance by interviewing four male and four female teachers. The student interviews amounted to nine, on the other hand, with participants who partook in physical education classes for at least three years in the 1969-1983 period. The students took this class as part of their primary, middle, and/or high school curricula, and none of them pursued careers in physical education or sport. However, two students who were not actively involved in the physical education classes were included as well. These students had to watch the entire class from the side, and one had undergone a surgery that prevented her from participating, whereas another had voluntarily received a doctor's report to be exempt from the class. The views of these participants were as valuable as the other students for this research, and thus I included them in my analysis. Among the nine participants, five were female, and four were male.

I prepared two sets of questions for physical education teachers and students before the interviews, which can be found in the Appendices. However, as the interviews were semi-structured, I neither followed the order, nor limited myself to the questions I had at hand. It is a key point in phenomenological interviews not to follow a strict order, and treat the interview subject as a co-researcher, instead of a mere participant (de Castro 2003). Therefore, although all of the questions on the lists were covered according to the category of the participant, the interviews started with a question that would take them to the past, and moved on according

[5] See, for instance, Allen-Collinson, J (2013) Autoethnography as the engagement of self/other, self/culture, self/politics, selves/futures, in S Holman Jones, T E Adams & C Ellis (eds), Handbook of Autoethnography. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 281-299.

to the themes the participant chose to lay stress on. Most of the time, questions about physical education were interwoven with participants' life histories. Students' childhood stories and teachers' educational journeys were useful narratives that guided and fed the interviews in particular.

Interviews lasted from 20 minutes to 5.5 hours and were conducted from July to October 2014 in Istanbul. However, this does not mean that the research covered physical education classes in Istanbul only. The interviewees had studied or worked in a variety of cities and schools. The total number of different cities that the interviewees had worked or studied in between 1969 and 1983 is thirteen (These cities are: Ankara, Çankırı, Düzce, Giresun, İstanbul, Karaman, Kastamonu, Kayseri, Sivas, Tunceli, Yalova, Yozgat, and Zonguldak). Although this research does not have a claim to be representative of all physical education classes that took place between 1969 and 1983, it does cover a wide range of classes that were carried out at different corners of the country. Therefore, it became possible to discuss the varieties of implementation across different types of schools in different cities.

Following the full transcription of the interviews, a thematic analysis where I explored the existential lifeworld themes was undertaken. This exercise enabled me to determine the recurrent themes across interviews (Finlay 2003). While conducting the thematic analysis, it was crucial to bracket my own assumptions regarding the themes that the participants addressed. Although bracketing or reduction in phenomenology dictates that the researcher should be isolated from his/her own reality and should enter that of the respondent only (Giorgi 1997), complete bracketing is impossible (Allen-Collinson 2009, 286). Furthermore, complete bracketing would cause an unequal weighing of the two theoretical strands of this research, both of which, at least in part, feed on in-depth interviews. Therefore, like many other researchers in the field, I do not take a strong view of bracketing. Instead, I view bracketing "as an attempt to identify, acknowledge, and engage with the researcher's

existential and epistemological stance to alter those preconceived views that hinder our understanding of others (and ourselves)" (Ryba 2008, 342). In addition, throughout the thesis, I gave place to the terminology used by participants, instead of how I would name the concepts if I were the storyteller (ibid., 343). This strategy of bracketing prevented the voice of the researcher from overrunning that of the participant.

4.2.1. Researcher's Bias

The relationship established between the interviewees and the researcher during the interviews plays a vital role in the research, as it determines what kind of data the interviewee will choose to provide. Within the scope of this thesis, I believe that the assumptions of the interviewees about me have been particularly influential. First of all, all physical education teachers that I interviewed initially assumed that I was studying at a Sport Academy, or an Education Institute. They often addressed me as their colleague, with the presumption that I would graduate to become a physical education teacher. I believe that my explication that I was indeed not studying towards a degree in education had an effect on what they said, and how they said it. Some teachers attempted to test my knowledge on physical education after finding out that I was not becoming a teacher, and the interview, at some points, turned into a lesson for them to teach. Secondly, most teacher participants tended to take for granted that my aim through this research was to enhance physical education, or that I held a positive stance regarding physical education classes. Therefore, they more easily provided their comments on the necessity and significance of physical education in the interviews. Finally, being consulted on a matter related to their profession made them feel important. As most of the teachers had already retired, it was a pleasure for them to talk about their experiences, as for most people around them, their narratives were not valuable anymore. Therefore, the interviews were a chance for them to transfer their knowledge to future generations represented by me.

While teachers came with assumptions regarding my position, student participants tended not to come with a ready framework on their mind regarding my studies and profession. Therefore, the interviews were comfortable sessions for them to share their experiences regarding physical education, be it their achievements, or failures and fears. In addition, just like teachers, students felt pride in being asked about their experiences. As the topic was physical education, they were often curious about my choice of subject, as it did not seem to be that much of importance to them. This situation made them feel even more significant, as they were participants in an under-researched area.

By using mixed methods in my research, I aimed to pursue the same multidimensional approach that I held in my theoretical framework. To find answers that would satisfy both theoretical strands, and for the strands to communicate with each other, discourse analysis and in-depth interviews were undertaken. In the next chapter, I move on to drawing a historical framework which will provide a background to the definitions of the body and physical education this research intends to unravel through these methods.

5. Historical Background

5.1. The Political Atmosphere of the 1970s and the early 1980s

The period between 1969 and 1983 in Turkey can be summarized by military interventions, student movements, mass arrests, and censorship. In this section I outline a number of significant social, political, and economic events as a general background.

The 1960s, parallel to the trend in world politics, were a time when "a new left consisting of students and intellectuals" started to emerge (Zürcher 2004, 254). Especially with the impact of the events in France, Turkey witnessed a variety of debates regarding leftist politics. This did not mean, however, that the right was at rest. Militancy, ultra-nationalism, and Islam were recurring themes at this camp of politics (ibid., 256-7). Therefore, political discussions surrounding ideological polarization especially among the youth prevailed in this period. Nevertheless, the nature of these discussions in the form of movements differed from the time they started in the mid-1960s to the time they ended in 1980. Especially in the beginning of the 1970s, the structure of the student movements started to change, with the emergence of groups that engaged in armed attacks (Erel, et al. 2005, 262). It was within this context that the March 12th memorandum was announced in 1971. The Armed Forces considered the Demirel Government incapable of curbing the political tension in the society, and issued a warning addressing the Prime Minister that unless "a strong and credible government be formed that would be able to end the 'anarchy' and carry out reforms 'in a Kemalist spirit'", the army would take over power (Zürcher 2004, 258). Although this was officially only a memorandum, it was indeed a *de facto* military intervention that impacted Turkish politics significantly, starting with the new government instituted by the generals. Citizens had to wait until October 1973 to vote in free elections. Furthermore, the 1960 constitution was amended, as the new government "concluded that the

liberal constitution was a luxury for Turkey, a luxury a developing society could not afford if it desired rapid progress along the road to capitalism" (Ahmad 1993, 152).

The political effect of the coup was that "the restoration of law and order was equated with the repression of any group viewed as leftist", while "the youth organisation of the Nationalist Action Party, the so-called 'Idealist Hearths' [*Ülkü Ocakları*], began to act as vigilantes against those they identified as leftists" (Ahmad 1993, 148-9). Therefore, the intervention of the army into Turkish politics did not appease the ideological tensions in the society, but fostered it. Student protests and polarization around leftists and rightists continued, and political violence became "a fact of life" (ibid., 168-99). This caused this period to be characterized by the constant re-enactment of martial law, the closing of civil society associations, censorship and arrests (Erel, et al. 2005).

As a result of the political and social unrest, the youth emerged as a putative problem for state officials. It was not possible for order to be restored, and "liberated areas" emerged, which were under the control of one of the two political camps (Zürcher 2004, 264). Under these circumstances, the youth was to be blamed for the disorder. As a result, youth problems were addressed in the Second Five-Year Plan for the first time (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967). A book on the youth policy of the Ministry of Youth and Sport supported the idea that the youth was the reason of disorder claim as follows:

> Especially in the recent years, a very small group emerged from within the Turkish Youth, which is the most dynamic and strongest representative of the dignity of our noble nation, which will never come to an end. We have heard and experienced that this group, which in no way represents the real Turkish Youth, desires, intends and attempts to drag our national existence and happiness, national pride, dignity and honor to dreary, separationist, and dangerous situations and consequences, under the impact of some internal and external forces that have deviated from national goals and interests. (Akyol 1973, 2)

The emergence of the youth as a problem was also supported by the migration of villagers to cities, and the rapid increase in population. With the developments in industrialization, the youth population in cities increased sharply, and the State Planning Organization alleged that

this new group of inhabitants was in a void that easily led them to choosing the wrong path, which meant being involved in politics (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979).

The 1970s witnessed thirteen governments, many of which were coalitions. On the one hand was the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), led by Bülent Ecevit (1925-2006), and on the other were the rightist parties that came together as the Nationalist Front (*Milliyetçi Cephe*) to form a government, first in 1975 and second in 1977 (Erel, et al. 2005, 364, 418-9). Added to the turmoil in the internal affairs was the Cyprus crisis that put its mark on the 1970s. In 1974, Greek powers instigated a coup against Makarios III (1913-1977), the President of the Republic of Cyprus. Taking this as a sign of the domination of the island by Greece, Turkey initiated what was called a "peace operation", which resulted in taking control of 40% of Cyprus (Ahmad 1993, 164). This invasion was received with a warm welcome in Turkey, however, bolstered by the efforts to underline the alleged peaceful nature of the operation and to emphasize the heroism of the Turkish soldier (Erel, et al. 2005, 345).

The economic scene of the 1970s was not promising either. Following the coup of 1960, the economic trend in Turkey had been established as Import Substituting Industrialization (Owen and Pamuk 1999, 110). By this economic choice, the domestic market would be protected by the state (ibid., 111). Nevertheless, Import Substituting Industrialization also meant that the technological know-how and raw materials would be supplied by foreign companies when necessary (Zürcher 2004, 265-6). This dependency, coupled with the debts, and with the 1973 oil crisis in the background, led to an economic crisis (ibid., 267). The rapid increase in inflation led to an agreement with the IMF, World Bank and OECD in 1979 that would give the Turkish state credit, but expected an economic reform (ibid., 268). This economic structure echoed to the worker in terms of rising unemployment, higher inflation, and declining wages (Ahmad 1993, 168). As a solution to the economic problems, and to comply with the new agreement, significant changes in the

economic scene were initiated in 1980. The January 24th Measures (*24 Ocak Kararları*) were issued, which implied a re-structuring of the economy via increased export and liberalization of foreign trade and import (Erel, et al. 2005, 502-4). This new structure brought an end to import substituting industrialization and also caused a wave of strikes (ibid., 505).

The problems in political, social, and economic realms were followed by Turkey's second full-fledged coup d'état in September 1980. It was announced that "the armed forces had taken over political power because the state organs had stopped functioning" (Zürcher 2004, 278). All political parties had been suspended, the parliament dissolved, and a state of emergency declared (ibid.). Soon after, a non-civilian government was established. This interim government, whose ranks were filled by soldiers, ruled Turkey until 1983. Due to the promise of stability the coup offered, the reaction to the intervention was not entirely negative (Ahmad 1993, 182). Another landmark in this era was the new constitution issued in 1982 through a referendum. It was in many ways the "reversal" of the 1960 constitution, with the limits it put on freedom, and making it easier to suspend rights and liberties (Zürcher 2004, 281).

One of the the major goals of the intervention was the de-politicization of the youth, both through physical force and educational inculcation (Ahmad 1993, 184). This meant that tens of thousands of people were held in detention, many of whom were tortured, and/or got lost. Following the waves of mass arrests, the unrest stemming from ideological polarization was mitigated. The educational system also received far-reaching reforms to train apolitical and obedient students. The process left an indelible and irreversible imprint on Turkish history.

5.2. Institutionalization of Physical Education and Sport in Turkey

With this historical framework in the background, it will now be possible to look at how physical education and sport were institutionalized in this period. The institutions pertaining

to these areas were multiple and the communication between them complex. This section will address the main institutions responsible for sport and physical education, and their relationship. Although until the Ministry of Youth and Sport period physical education classes were planned and coordinated by the Ministry of National Education, the sport organizations have often been assigned or have assumed the task of developing the physique of the citizens. Furthermore, the boundary between physical education and sport is rather a blurred one. Therefore, it is necessary to track the evolution of the regulation of sport as well.

5.2.1. Institutionalization in the Early Republican Period

From 1922 to 1938, sport was not directly managed by the state. Between 1922 and 1936, the institution responsible for the organization of sport was the Union of Turkish Sports Clubs (*Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı*). This was a semi-independent association, whose initial role was organizational in matters related to sports games. However, it later evolved into an agent for improving the health of the youth population, providing opportunities for spending leisure time, and aiming to have at hand a population ready to fight (Akın 2003, 53). As the state and Republican People's Party's (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, the single-party government) interest in physical education increased, a change in institutionalization was required. In 1936, the Union of Turkish Sports Clubs changed its name to Turkish Sports Association (*Türk Spor Kurumu*), and was now subsidiary to the Republican People's Party (ibid., 63). This association would survive for two years only, but it formed the first steps of the state intervention in the field of sports.

5.2.2. The General Directorate of Physical Education

From 1938 until 1985, the sport and physical education arena was dominated by the General Directorate of Physical Education (*Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü*). This institution was formed in accordance with the Law for Physical Education. At the time of its foundation, the directorate was established as a subsidiary institution to the Prime Ministry. As it was not

under any particular ministry, the directorate took on a supra-ministry character, rendering it a rather independent institution (Fişek 1985, 155-6). Its theoretically independent character changed through time. In 1942, it was subsumed under the Ministry of National Education, but was moved back to the Prime Ministry in 1960. From 1963-1965, it was under the Ministry of State Responsible for Sport, whereas from 1969 to 1983, it was attached to the Ministry of Youth and Sport (ibid., 154-5). Finally, in 1983, it found a place for itself in the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport. Nonetheless, although the journey of the General Directorate of Physical Education revolved around ministries and the Prime Ministry throughout its history, it managed to keep its independent character, which caused conflicts with the ministries under which it functioned.

The new Directorate differentiated itself from its predecessors. It outlined its primary roles as increasing the mental and physical capabilities of the youth as a preparation for warfare, and overcoming the rivalry between sports teams (Akın 2003, 74). According to the 1938 Law for Physical Education, issues pertaining to physical education in schools were the concern of the Ministry of National Education, based on the principles set out by the Directorate. Therefore, the Ministry of National Education had to establish a Directorate of Physical Education as a bridge between the two institutions (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, 41). In addition to setting principles, the General Directorate of Physical Education had other educational missions as well. These included "improving the physical and moral capabilities of the citizens through national and revolutionary methods"[6] and "teaching to get to know, love and protect the country by means of games, gymnastics and sport" (Fişek 1985, 137). With the passing of the Law for Physical Education in 1938, youth and physical education had been intertwined, in a way that would last until today (İnanç 1995, 61).

[6] The Law for Physical Education, Law No.: 3530 Official Gazette, 16 July 1938 No. 3961, enacted 29 June 1938.

5.2.3. The End of the "Mükellefiyet"

The 1938 Law for Physical Education did not only initiate the founding of the General Directorate of Physical Education, but also brought about an obligation to do physical exercise for all Turkish citizens between the ages twelve and forty five for males, and between twelve and thirty for females (Akın 2003, 149). The main reason why this Law for the Obligation of Physical Education (*Beden Terbiyesi Mükellefiyeti*) was imposed lied in the fear from warfare. As World War II seemed imminent, the nation had to be physically and mentally prepared (Fişek 1985, 100). The exercises were to be carried out through youth clubs, four hours a day. In order for citizens to be forced to abide by the law, non-compliance with the obligation was made subject to penal sanctioning as of 1945 (ibid., 131). However, practically speaking, the obligation had already become obsolete at this date. Not only were there financial problems on the side of the state that prevented the citizens from abiding by the law, but also the end of the World War II meant for the General Directorate of Physical Education that there was no need to attempt to create an army out of non-conscripts. The obligation was finally abolished following a decision by the Constitutional Court in 1964, based on a disagreement with "Individual Rights".[7]

5.2.4. The Ministry of Youth and Sport

While the General Directorate of Physical Education continued to function until 1985, the Ministry of Youth and Sport was established in 1969 through an official communication by the Presidency. A sport historian put forth that "when we look at the structural sport hierarchy of the state, the culminating point is the founding of the Ministry of Youth and Sport in 1969. This Ministry was responsible for the physical education, sport, and leisure time activities of the youth, and aimed to enhance national health and productivity by means of sport" (Fişek 1983, 2181). This new institution was founded with hopes of solving the youth problems via

[7] Anayasa Mahkemesi. Esas No. 1963/152, Karar No. 1964/66 (Resmi Gazete, 17.3.1965, sayı 11955) [The Official Gazette, 17.3.1965, No. 11955]

new meanings attached to physical exercise. Scientization and healthism were among the ingredients of the new meanings to fulfill the responsibilities of the Ministry, in addition to undertaking to continue to encourage all citizens to be physically active. The mission of the Ministry was stated as follows:

> Addressing the main problems of youth, improving and spreading Turkish sports.
> Providing opportunities for education, social welfare, health, working, entertainment and relaxation with the participation of all national institutions.
> Raising physical education and sport teachers according to the age and bodily characteristics of all school-age youth, trainers, monitors, managers and organizers.
> Introducing, adopting and spreading the concept of "physical education and sport for health", which maintains the workforce and healthy life for citizens of all ages.
> Encouraging sport clubs to reach the level to contribute to Turkish sports by taking measures pertaining to their operation and improvement.
> Improving Turkish sports by way of international contacts. Raising the awareness of the village youth on various traditional sports branches that they can carry out in their leisure time with health, strength and joy.
> Making the necessary plans for and engaging in "scientific sport studies", which will support the research on the national anthropologic characteristics of the Turkish youth. (Bilge 1989, 197)

While this was the mission statement, a variety of other reasons were put forward about the founding of the Ministry, and a large set of responsibilities were attributed to it, parallel to these reasons. Among these, three arguments prevailed. The first one was administrative. The State Planning Organization asserted that "as a result of the annual increase in the number of schools and students, physical education and sport in schools emerged as an important problem" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, 41). Therefore, the Ministry was considered necessary to administer this increase, in addition to the rising importance of sport activities in general (Özoğuz 1975, 50). In addition to organizational functions, the Ministry was assigned two more tasks: contributing to the creation and continuation of a healthy and productive nation, and guarding the democracy and nationalism. The Ministry saw it its task to remind the nation of its traditions, and to establish the national integrity and superiority, as put forth in the Pre-project Report on the Re-Structuring of the Ministry: "Today, there is a strong and overt opposition against the democratic order. The environments

that impact or prepare the youth in this direction are effective on family traditions, education, culture, religion, environment and life habits, and they try to annihilate their value judgments" (Ertürk 1974, 15). Adnan Karaküçük (1929-2005), the Minister of Youth and Sport in the 1971-1973 period, similarly argued that his period of office was "when anarchy has surfaced the most. After the anarchistic events moved to Turkey following France, the administration of the time established this Ministry with a decision right to the purpose" (T.C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1984, 133).

Following its establishment, the General Directorate of Physical Education and the General Directorate of Credit and Dormitories Agency were subsumed under the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Furthermore, the responsibilities and the personnel pertaining to intramural tasks on physical education, and the training of physical education teachers were transferred from the Ministry of National Education to the new Ministry (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1973). Therefore, from 1970 onwards, Ministry of National Education was no longer responsible for physical education classes. In order to administer these classes, the General Directorate of Intramural Physical Education and Sport was established under the Ministry of Youth and Sport (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1977, XXXVII). Other directorates under the Ministry were the General Directorate of Youth Problems, of Scouting and Leisure Time Activities, and of Education (Sümer 1989, 50).

With the founding of the Ministry, there were three major practical actions taken in order to improve physical education classes. The main problem with the classes was concluded to be the scarcity of physical education teachers. Therefore in 1974, Youth and Sport Academies were established in order to fill this gap. The academies differed from other institutions that raised physical education teachers in that students were required to specialize in a topic of their choosing, rather than receiving courses on all fields of sports throughout the entire duration of their education. These institutions continued to function under the Ministry

until 1982, and were subsumed under different universities after this date. Of course, academies were not the only media for the training of physical education teachers. Education Institutes continued to offer physical education programs until 1979, while Higher Schools adopted a similar task through 1982 (Bilge 1989).

While multiple higher level educational institutions were assigned the role of increasing the number of physical education teachers, the existing teachers underwent trainings as well. Especially in primary schools, class teachers who had no formal training on physical education had to carry out the physical education classes, and in many cases, the teacher would choose to teach another lesson, such as literature or mathematics. Therefore, from 1971 to 1979, summer courses were opened that trained teachers on physical education from every city, according to the population density (Telli 1973, 1). Attended by 2622 teachers, these courses were the result of the collaboration between the Ministries of Youth and Sport, and of National Education (Bilge 1989, 163). The third practical step by the Ministry of Youth and Sport, on the other hand, was sending physical education teachers abroad for vocational training on different branches of sport (Gülal 1977, 102-3), and to create a faculty for the Academies. The United States of America and West Germany were among the most popular destinations, and a total of 24 people completed their postgraduate studies in these countries on behalf of the Ministry.

Despite the developments in physical education and sport under the rule of the new Ministry, it is difficult to assert that intellectuals and civil society organizations found them satisfactory. The inadequacy of the curricula and the complications in implementation were frequently articulated (Arayış 1981, Olcay 1977, 4). Furthermore, it was argued that "the government program did not have a word on the Ministry of Youth and Sport" (Baykara 1975) and that The Ministry had no constitution of its own. Added to these was the problem with the dialogue between the Ministry and other institutions. The Ministry was accused of

not cooperating enough with the Ministry of National Education (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi Yönetim Kurulu 1979, 83). In addition, ill-communication prevailed between the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the General Directorate of Physical Education. The conflict between the two organizations could never be resolved, especially as the Directorate was under the influence of private parties (Sümer 1989, 50). As a result of these complications and the problems in implementation and coordination in sport and physical education, it was decided by the newly elected government in 1983 to unify the Ministries of Youth and Sport and of National Education.

In this chapter, I aimed to provide a brief overview of the political, social, and economic outlook of the 1970s' and 1980s' Turkey. I have also traced the historical transformation of the institutions in charge of directing physical education and sport. With this historical background in mind, I will discuss the ways the body was conceptualized and perceived in this period. I have identified six perceptions to the body, each of which will be discussed separately and in detail, although they are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

6. The Body in Turkish Physical Education

This chapter will include the various ways the body was perceived within the Turkish physical education system. I have identified six perceptions towards the body, which reflect the particularities of the initial Ministry of Youth and Sport period, although continuities from the early Republican period may exist as well. Of the six ways the body was perceived, the mindful body reflects the mind's being located in the body in order for the education of the latter to be used for the disciplinization of the former. This method was quite similar to the carceral system in terms of the relationship between the mind and the body. The second perception of the body, the militarized body, followed in the footsteps of the mindful body, with a special emphasis on militarization. This special emphasis could be seen in the exercises teachers taught their students, and in one of the meanings attached to physical education, which was being ready to fight. When soldiers' filling the ranks responsible for the organization of sport and physical education is added to this, it comes as no surprise to hear that former students likened their physical education teachers to soldiers or commanders.

The third perspective, the mechanistic body points out the links between economy and the body. Being part of the industrial economic structure, bodies were considered to be machines, and methods to improve humanpower were sought. This perspective assumed that bodies were nationalists and would be willing to contribute to the national economy. The next section's focus, the May 19th ceremonies, touch exactly on this point. May 19th ceremonies, among the invented traditional days, were inextricably attached to physical education. Aiming to construct and display the nationalist body, the Youth and Sports Days reflected the aims and ideals of physical education in a nutshell.

The last two points of view on the body highlight social inequalities. The gendered body displays how the movement of both genders were constrained through physical education. Although emancipation through physical exercise was also possible, institutionally

bound and unbound discourses prepared the ground for the opposite. A similar case was true for the disabled body, as it was systematically ignored to impose the able body as the normal body. As fatness also was an outlier when bodily norms were considered, it was treated in the same way that the disabled body was.

These six sections, or six bodies do interact and intervene. Militarization and gender are inherent in the Youth and Sports Days, whereas “the gaze” cuts across many sections such as the gendered body, the disabled body, and the nationalist body. Nevertheless, for analytical purposes, and in order to be able to track the development of these themes through time, a division was necessary.

6.1. The Mindful Body: Depoliticization of the Youth

As detailed in the preceding chapter, the period between the late 1960s and the early 1980s was characterized by frequent student movements and "anarchy". The youth, in this period, was redefined "as a 'threat' to the national interest" (Neyzi 2001, 107), which led "youth problems" to be seen as one of the most urgent problems in the country. Due to the putative persistence of youth problems despite increased attention, politicians and intellectuals started to seek alternative ways to discipline and control the youth. Physical education was among these ways.

There are two main reasons why physical education was deemed useful and necessary to depoliticize the youth. The first one is the idea that the mind resides in the body and that through disciplining the latter, it will be possible to exercise power over the former. As will be explained in this section, politicians and physical education teachers argued that by disciplining the bodies of the students, they could discipline their minds and souls as well. Such an argument shows that during these years, the mind was thought to be located in the body. I use the term "the mindful body" to refer to this approach.[8] The naming of this body as such allows us to analyze the mind's relationship with not only the physical body, but also the body politic. The second reason why physical education was assigned the role to overcome the politicization of the youth was the widespread belief that if leisure time was not being filled with sportive activities, it would lead the younger generation to be involved in "harmful" activities such as politics. Both of these arguments suggested that physical education could be a way to show the "right way" to the youth.

This design by multiple power centers to depoliticize the youth via increased and improved engagement in physical activity can be described by especially one of the technologies of power: discipline. Technologies of power "determine the conduct of

[8] Please refer to Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Margaret M. Lock. "The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*: 6-41 for further discussion on the mindful body.

individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination" (Foucault 1988, 18). The power relations in the depoliticization of the youth displayed that the will to dominate stemmed from perceiving the youth as a problem and a threat to social and political norms. Discipline, on the other hand, "increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" (Foucault 1995, 138). Here, the latter effect of disciplinization was immanent. Through disciplinary techniques inscribed in physical education, obedience was the intended goal.

In the case of aiming to utilize physical education to prevent anarchy, one can talk about the "political anatomy of the human body" (Sheridan 1980, 190) being in effect. It should be noted that here it was not possible to talk about a power apparatus that was equal to the state, but micro-powers. "Through a heightened focus on sport and physical education, the state, politicians, and educators aim to normalize bodies and identities that work to undermine the development of a community and oppositional politics" (Cole 1993, 77). Schools were in this sense formalized micro-powers that formed one of the centers of the "complex networks of common citizenship" (Sheridan 1980, 217). The state formed the overall strategy of this network whose multiple centers formed the state in return.

Foucault puts forth that "the soul is the effect and instrument of a political anatomy, the soul is the prison of the body" (Foucault 1995, 30). Although in the disciplining of the body of the youth through physical education one can say that the *body* was the instrument, while the soul was the effect of political anatomy, it can be ascertained that the soul resided in the body-prison. Being the ultimate target of physical education, the soul had to be persuaded of the necessity of physically educating the body through discourses and discursive practices. The power exercised over the body was aimed at the soul (Sheridan 1980, 218) so that the discourses could be internalized and souls in the body-prisons could subject themselves to physical education.

The approach taken during this period towards the mind-body dualism was in line with phenomenology. As phenomenology underlines the need to look at mind and the body as intrinsic to each other, and suggests that the mind is located in the body, the attitude taken towards physical education vis-à-vis disciplining the mind and the soul can be said to be phenomenological. Nevertheless, a social constructionist approach is necessary to deconstruct the reasons behind taking a phenomenological stance towards the body. This paradox supports the view that one should keep an eye on both approaches towards the body as one analyzes it. To understand how and why physical education was perceived as the tool to overcome the "youth problems", I will first demonstrate how the relationship between the mind and the body was interpreted within the context of physical education. It will then be possible to move on to the disciplining of the mind through the body based on the understanding of the relationship between the two.

6.1.1. The Mind in the Body

The will to control and subjugate the mind through molding and disciplining the body stems from the idea that the mind and the body are not separated, and that the mind is located in the body. This idea is evident also in the role assigned to physical education in general. There were two approaches regarding this role in this period (1969-1983): The first one asserted that physical education is perceived as not an end-in-itself, but as a means to another end: a full-fledged education, with a strong emphasis on character development. On the other hand, the second idea held that physical education inevitably brought about an improvement in non-physical personal qualities. However, this did not follow that these qualities were more prioritized than physical development. Of these two approaches, the first one prevailed in this period.

Based on this prevalent approach, the education of the mind was aimed to be carried out through physical education classes, in addition to other subject courses. It was decided in a book to guide physical education teachers that

> in physical education, the body is a tool, whereas the aim is the education of the whole personality. In a definition that suits the aims of education, physical education means the education of being healthy, strong, happy; gaining personality, character and moral values; acculturation, socialization and citizenship. (Öztürk 1982, 1)

This line of thinking displays that physical education was attributed more than a single way of training, or disciplining the mind. It was assigned the role of developing the right personality, values that were in line with the society, and being a member of the national community. Likewise Orhan Bilgin, former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Youth and Sport argued that the physical education of the Turkish youth living in Germany was Turkey's responsibility, as the Turkish state would have to assume him/her as a Turk when the German state would deport these people (T.C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1984, 216). Their citizenship and nationalist values had to be readied through physical education. Parallel to this idea, the then General Director of Education asserted that "as the aim of using science in education and of everything is to raise the human according to a certain model, physical education activities take the biggest share in this effort" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 19-20). Therefore, physical education was explicitly set out to carve out a certain model mentally, if not physically.

As physical education was seen as the means for the mind and the soul to progress, it was perceived to be *the* class that suited this purpose by physical education teachers. Remzi calls it "the mother of all classes", because "parents and students only think of physical development when it comes to physical education. However, the body contains the mind, the soul, and the character as well. Physical education is the class for the education of the soul, personality and character. Sport is only the means to raise a good person". Other teachers such as Ayşe and İkbal are sure that physical education was superior to other classes in terms of the

improvement it enacted in character traits. Ayşe argues that "those who are successful in physical education definitely have the leadership spirit" and that "physical education allows for this spirit to be revealed". However, for Remzi, it was not only leadership qualities that were thought to be revealed through physical education. Instead, physical education was a tool to bring to light the roles that the students would play in the society in the future, such as being a leader, a laborer, or a hard-worker. Remzi believes that through physical education, it was possible to foresee these roles. Other non-physical features that physical education is said to inevitably cause an improvement in were self-confidence and being free-spirited. Physical education teachers were also recommended to evaluate these features while grading the students. Factors to consider included social and emotional maturity, sociability and assertiveness, adaptation, reasoning, responsibility, altruism, leadership and goal orientation (Selçuk 1980, 183-186). Therefore, physical education was also a means to keeping track of the improvement in the mind through the examination.

The idea that the education of the mind is intrinsic to that of the body was not only adopted by physical education teachers, but also was included in the official state discourse. A publication by the Ministry of Youth and Sport claimed that "it is not possible to dissociate the education of the development of character and physical strengths from that of the power of thinking" (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1977, XXXVII). Similarly, the General Director of Education argued that "physical education should be a means to developing the personality in coherence" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 19). By locating the mind in the body, physical education "experts" arrived at the "coherent organism principle", which consisted of both the mind and the body. Relatedly, a physical education scholar saw physical education as "the education of the whole personality based on the coherent organism principle" (Günışık 1973, 7). Based on this, it can be argued that the physical development this class could bring about was pushed into the background, and the body served as the host

or the shell of the mind only. Although this may seem to suggest that physical education was deemed unimportant, it was in fact elevated to a higher level, that of creating the ideal personality.

Physical education's being perceived as an essential tool in the education of the mind is a clear example of the capillary form of existence in terms of the mechanics of power, "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault 1980, 39). Through physical education, bodies were touched, learning processes were reached by power, and students' attitudes were meant to be changed accordingly. It should also be noted that this idea of disciplining the mind by disciplining the body strongly resembled the modern prison system. Both in the case of attempting to depoliticize the students via physical education, and in the prison system, the body is constrained, limited and shaped in order to inflict a change in the minds of the students, or prisoners. The difference between the two systems lies in the timing of the discipline. While in the prison system it is a punishment, physical education is a preemptive measure. Nevertheless, both systems of disciplinization confront the individual in a similar manner.

6.1.2. Disciplining the Youth

As the ideas above display, physical education teachers and government officers at various levels supported the argument that it was possible to educate the mind while educating the body. This idea led them to assign a new role to physical education in this period: depoliticizing the youth. A similar task was attributed to sport and physical education during the early Republican period in Turkey (Akın 2003). Preventing the youth from engaging in harmful habits (ibid., 23) and countering social deviance (ibid., 174) were among the primary roles assigned to physical activity. Nevertheless, there is not a seamless continuity between the early Republican period and the 1969-1983 period. The aim in the former was to create a

"new man" (ibid., 182), to instill nationalist values, and to establish a new relationship between the individual and the society. In the latter period, in contrast, the primary aim is to overcome a clash of ideologies by trying to divert the attention of students through engaging in physical exercise.[9]

From late 1960s onwards, the youth started to be framed as a "problem" in Turkey. Starting with the second 5-Year Plan (1968-1972), youth and sport problems found their place in the State Development Plans, due to the belief that these problems carried "a huge importance and weight for our national presence and ideals" (Akyol 1973, 1). Furthermore, "Youth Problems" were included under the heading "Society's Secure Development and Social Welfare" in this plan, displaying that youth was seen as a threat to security and social development. Similarly, the General Directorate of Physical Education frequently repeated that youth was among the most important and major problems in Turkey (Yiğitoğlu, et al. n.d., 137). Reflecting this line of thought, the Council of Higher Education in Turkey initiated a research project that would determine the breakdown of these problems. The results were published in 1975, and showed that the most prioritized youth problem was "youth organizations", with 77 points on a 100-point scale. This "problem" was followed by the problems with the education system, lack of physical education and sport facilities, and leisure activities (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu Gençlik Sorunları Araştırma Komisyonu Başkanlığı 1975, 37). The youth was, therefore, laid out as a problem that had to be solved for the society's well-being. The solution was seen in the improvement of physical education and in increasing the participation rate to physical activities.

Both politicians and intellectuals consequentially put physical education forward as the method to overcome the ideological polarization among the youth. The State Planning Organization asserted that "opportunities will be provided to save the youth's leisure time

[9] In his later work, Akın argues that physical education is attributed such a task only after the 1980s (Akın 2005, 78). Nevertheless, as the examples in this section display, this trend started as early as the late 1960s.

from activities that are ineffective and that lead to negative outcomes, and to make them use this time to gain constructive knowledge and capabilities" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 254). The leader of Nationalist Action Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) Alparslan Türkeş (1917-1997), likewise, argued that sport should be made compulsory just like military service. He saw the reason underlying the anomalies in the society and among the youth as not being engaged enough in sport (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1971d). This was parallel to his aim to create "a militant, ultra-nationalist, neo-fascist party" (Ahmad 1993, 144). Similarly, the president of Istanbul University argued that no student protests or anarchistic events would take place if there were basketball matches every day (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1971b). Other university presidents stated that sport and physical education could prevent the students' "gathering at various places" (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1972), "entering into useless arguments" (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1971a), and engaging in "harmful activities" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği 1974, 23). The presidents of Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University, Aegean University, Black Sea Technical University, Ataturk University and Ankara University all stated that in the absence of a systematic physical education at university level, it would not be possible to prevent anarchistic events.[10]

The abundance of leisure time and the "ineffective" use of it were seen as a major cause for student protests. The leisure time was calculated as follows by the state: "If we take the leisure time as one hour per day according to the definition, there are 18 million hours of leisure time in a month of people aged between 14-24, and 200 million hours in a year. The under-organization of leisure time activities directs the youth to negative and ineffective

[10] Such an agreement among these presidents of six universities may also have stemmed from the leading question of the journalist. The final question of each interview was whether they thought there was a connection between student movements and physical education. Nevertheless, the president of Middle East Technical University answered the same question, and argued that seeing sport as a cure to the student movements means not having understood these movements. This different response shows us that despite the leading question, the unanimity of the presidents is noteworthy.

activities" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 257). This leisure time was not being put to use according to the will of various state institutions and hence, Talat Akgül, former Undersecretary of Youth and Sport, General Director of Physical Education, and General Director of Youth and Sport, stated that "a mentally and physically weak and sick generation is being raised in the country. As they cannot channel their energy to leisure time activities, they kill their time with harmful movements and perverse ideological discussions." (T.C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1984, 205)

That physical education and sport were to be called for to overcome "anarchy" continued through the 1970s, until the coup d'état of 1980. The importance given to physical exercise vis-à-vis everyday politics intensified even further through the end of the 1970s, as the following quotation by the State Planning Organization displays:

> Only 2% of our students at universities and academies are involved in physical education and sportive activities. By considering the possibility that this generation can show tendency towards all kinds of movements, necessary investments should be embarked before it's too late. In the case of this ratio's not being increased, it is natural that sports arenas remain completely deserted and that the idle youth creates inevitable problems. The course of events proves this point every passing day. (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, 42)

Similar arguments were being made in the late 1960s, and as the above quote displays, although physical education was perceived to be a solution towards the ideological polarization, it was not successful in resolving the issue. However, it was still insisted that a solution could be reached through increased participation in physical exercise.

The persistence of determining physical education as a tool to depoliticize the youth brings about two points of discussion. On the one hand, physical education experts such as government bodies, physical education teachers, and university presidents determine what a particular stage in life course is and how this constructed youth should behave. Perceiving youth as a distinct stage in the life course is inextricably linked to the onset of modernity (Neyzi 2001, 114). The mental and physical state that the people attributed to this particular

stage should be in is an extension of this argument. On the other hand, the experts also determine the relationship between the body and the mind in a way that will suit this state. The body here is mindful, because this allows for it to function as the prison of the soul.

In this section, I have demonstrated a particular way of defining the relationship between the mind and the body and thus of physical education with an effort to depoliticize the youth. The attempt to discipline the mind through the body is also portrayed in the militarized body, which will be the topic of the next section. How the military is ever present in physical education both as an institution and as an idea will be discussed.

6.2. Militarization of Physical Education: The Never-Ending Strain

In order to understand the intricacy between militarism and physical education in the Turkish education system, it is necessary to identify the differences between the military, militarism and militarization. While the military is a social institution, militarism refers to "a set of ideas and structures that glorify 'practices and norms associated with militaries'" (Altınay 2004, 2). Militarization, on the other hand, is "a step-by-step process by which a person *or* a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being, on militaristic ideas" (Enloe 2000, 3; italics in the original). In the Turkish physical education system, it is possible to see the impact of all of the three concepts defined above. The military, as an institution, showed its face in the ranks soldiers fill in the Ministry of Youth and Sport. The content of physical education classes, on the other hand, was an example of both militarism and militarization. While some activities tended to glorify the military, others displayed an inalienable association between the exercises carried out in physical education classes and in the military.

Although physical education in the 1969-1983 period was characterized by the impact created by the military, militarism, and militarization, this was by no means specific to this period. One can talk about the impact of militarization on education even before the Republic was founded. However, "with the founding of the Republic, the 'education' mission given to the military, and the militarist mission given to education became clearer" (Altınay and Bora 2008, 141). This latter mission, especially, never left the Turkish educational scene. The main reason underlying this situation can be explained by "the myth of the military-nation" (Altınay 2004). Replete with a history of the invention of militarism as a natural characteristic of Turkishness, militarization has been attached to the Turkish historiography (ibid., 30). Of course, militaristic values have been continuously reproduced and exalted through a variety of occasions and events, especially with military interventions in 1960, 1971, and 1980.

Nevertheless, it comes with no surprise to observe that coups had a marginal impact on the structure and content of physical education classes. The immanence of the militarist mentality in these classes rendered it unnecessary to make an adjustment. This is evident especially in the coups of 1971 and 1980 that are covered in this thesis. Both physical education teachers and state officials agree that there is a smooth continuity between the pre- and post-coup periods in terms of physical education classes, which continued to ensure that feelings of militarism were kept alive at the social level (Emrence 2005, 95).

Although I contend that militarism and militarization never left the Turkish physical educational system, counter-arguments exist as well. Yiğit Akın argues that starting from the 1950s, a new period in Turkish physical education and sports started, which no longer had a militaristic emphasis (Akın 2005, 77). He bases his argument on the end of the "*mükellefiyet*". Although the Law for the Obligation of Physical Education was not abolished until 1964, it no longer was in practice during the 1950s. The paramilitary character that physical education was attributed due to this obligation was therefore eradicated. Although I agree with Akın on this part of the argument, the claim that due to mass warfare's coming to an end with World War II has caused de-militarization in physical education does not match my findings. As will be discussed in detail below, there was a strong militaristic character in the teaching of physical education as a result of the myth of the military-nation (Altınay 2004) explained above. Furthermore, this character is an indispensably useful tool to discipline the minds and the bodies of students and teachers, which renders it undesirable to de-militarize physical education. As Akın did not include the experiences of teachers and students in the physical education classes, he may have failed to observe the omnipresence of the military as an institution and of militarization in the educational realm. I now turn to the manifestation of militarization in the sports field that reflects this omnipresence.

6.2.1. The Military in the Sports Field

The ever-presence of the military in physical education classes manifested itself primarily in the structure and content of physical education classes. This situation was not specific to middle or high school students; at every level, they were provided with exercises or games that overtly displayed militaristic or militarizing features.

Physical education classes, at all levels, were structured in a certain way. At the beginning of every class, even before warming-up began, all students were lined up according to their height. Students had to count from one onwards to determine the class size. As Remzi explains, the numbering began with the tallest, and ended with the shortest, who, at the end, would step forward and shout: "Professor, the class 3A is ready for the lesson with 28 people!", just like the preparedness of the soldiers: "The 29th Division is ready for your orders!" (Rogan 2015, 111). This is called ordering, or giving an oral report (*tekmil vermek*), and is genuinely militaristic. Remzi describes it as his principle to have everyone ready before the class, although, he added, all teachers did this anyway: "It was my principle, everyone should be ready at the beginning of the class. The oral report should be given just like in the military. (…) When the bell rings, the sports club president lines up the classroom like soldiers". However, this lining up was traumatic for some students. Being one of the shortest students in the class, Nurcan explains her experience with height as follows: "I started to hate the height order, because all the other girls started to top me. It was advantageous to be tall. Of course, being short was a disadvantage". What seemed like bringing order to the classroom for the teachers was much more complex when lived height was considered. Through the height order, students felt that being short was an inferior situation. The height order also displayed that being tall was the desired physical characteristic. The tallest came the first in the line, symbolizing the national ideal of the healthy, able, strong and vigorous body while at

the same time marginalizing the short, disabled, weak and feeble. Nurcan's narrative of lived height signals her feeling placed at the margin.

Another level at which the presence of the military in the classroom could easily be felt was the warm-up sessions. Every class was divided into three stages: warm-up, main activity, and free time to play games. The interviews with physical education teachers revealed that this was an indispensable structure that every teacher had to follow. The same structure is addressed at various physical education textbooks (Selçuk 1980, Aslan 1979). The main activity stage depended on the subject of that day or week, and in the remaining free time, games to be played may or may not be guided by the teacher. What stayed the same was the warming-up.

The indispensable part of warming-up was order exercises (*düzen alıştırmaları/nizam temrinleri*). Annual course schedules (*yıllık ders planı*) identified order exercises as warm-up activities to be carried out throughout the year (T. C. Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı Eğitim Genel Müdürlüğü 1973). These exercises included, but were not limited to teaching the students to stand at attention and at ease, to turn (right turn, left turn, about turn), to march (at ease, quick time), close order drill, flight formation, and to salute (Yalçın 1973). All of these exercises are taught primarily in the military. Emrah was surprised during the interview that the exercises he did in the military and in physical education classes were the same: "How you move your hands and arms is just the same in the army. Attention-at ease, attention-at ease, that's what we learned in physical education as well, what these meant. That was the first thing they taught at the military too". These exercises were given utmost importance at every class, and were aimed at disciplining the student today and tomorrow, as Remzi explains: "Order exercises are necessary to discipline the children for the class, and for life. It seems ridiculous in the beginning, just like a game, but it maintains the self-discipline". Therefore, the

militaristic disciplinization of students, and hence teachers, was a larger plan which targeted taking control of the individual's life within and outwith institutions.

The strict nature that these exercises took in the military was continued in the classroom as well. For instance, while marching at ease, "speaking without permission is forbidden" (ibid., 57). The order exercises should be carried out in discipline and unity (Aslan 1979, 80), and these exercises "should be given the necessary time to prepare [the students] for the activities and to maintain the command discipline" (Selçuk 1980, 17). Concordantly, teachers' interaction with students had a military stance as well. Just like late 19th century Australia, "teachers were to pronounce the words of command in a military fashion" (Kirk and Spiller 1994, 84). The command had to be always effective and loud (Yalçın 1973, 55). Teachers such as Levent felt pride in how much they were able to discipline their students:

> Especially when I came back from the army, I must have been still under its influence. We turned the school garden into the garden of a military unit, as I made them chant [*yürüyüş kararı, koşu kararı saydırarak*] as they marched, just like in the military. Right next to us was the military recruiting office. The National Security teacher at our school was the head of this office. He envied us. One day, he ordered the soldiers under his command to do the same training we did. Our high school students set an example to soldiers.

As this narrative displays as well, the exercises in physical education, and the way they were carried out strongly resembled those in the military. This is a perfect example of militarization, as physical education classes were clearly controlled by militaristic ideas.

Within this chain of command, students associated "tough" physical education teachers with soldiers. İdil, for instance, puts forth that her "physical education teacher was horrible and despotic. That's why no one wanted to participate [in the class]. The woman used to shout a lot, really a lot. She gave a soldierly education." It is possible to define this teaching style as militaristic, as "the militarist demands nothing but regimentation and teaching by rule -the latter so attractive to the incompetent teacher" (Langdon-Davies ca. 1919, 106). However, teachers seem to enjoy and benefit from the chain of command they created as well.

Enis, İkbal and Hasan argue that physical education teachers make the best school administrators, as they are more disciplined than other teachers and are able to discipline others. This underlines the idea that there are parallels between sporting and military virtues (Bourdieu 1978, 825). Given this parallel, the naming of the physical education teacher responsible for May 19th ceremonies that will be discussed in the "Rally of Nationalism" section as the "field commander" as Levent explains, does not come as a surprise.

Other than giving an oral report and order exercises, the games recommended for physical education teachers to teach their students were also militaristic in character. This was true especially for kindergarten and primary school students. Kindergarten students were taught to walk like soldiers (Kantarcıoğlu 1977, 7). First grade students, on the other hand, were recommended several "Toy and Game Movements". One of these was acting like "toy soldiers". In this act, students were supposed to "move their arms, march, salute, fire their gun, get wounded and fall down" (Selçuk 1980, 25). Soldiers, within this context, were presented as "childhood heroes" (ibid.). Similarly, 5th grade students were recommended to play the "toy guard" (ibid., 66) and the "capture and release" games, where students needed to take their friends as hostages (ibid., 67). Another game for primary school students was "the little tank", where students, with their partners, formed a tank with their bodies (Güngör and Yalçın 1973, 84).

Teaching kindergarten and primary school students to walk, act, or behave like soldiers has serious consequences. "The body is man's [sic] first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man's first and most natural technical object, and at the same time his first technical means, is his body" (Mauss 1992, 461). Students tend to learn by imitation, using this technical means (ibid.). Imitating to be a soldier or a militaristic device defines the way to walk, or even think in a militaristic fashion.

Militarization is also a form of disciplinization and control of activity. On the one hand, “an anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour is defined” (Foucault 1995, 152) through the commands of physical education teachers about when to march, when to turn, and when to stop. Of course, it was not only in marching that certain temporal criteria applied to students in these classes. Nevertheless, militarized exercises, marching in particular, were where the anatomo-chronological schema showed its face the most. Similarly, through disciplinary control in militarized exercises, “the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body” was imposed (ibid.). This is palpable especially in the teaching of postures such as standing at attention and at ease, and in the way students were taught to salute others like soldiers. Hence, an “instrumental coding of the body” was maintained (ibid., 153), which homogenized the entire class.

Not only were soldiers and other militaristic personnel and device formed an integral part of physical education classes, but also military metaphors were used. Orhan recalls that in a football training course, curving a ball was explained in comparison with artillerymen. The trainer taught the angles for an artilleryman to shoot a military unit behind a mountain. This, he argued, was the same situation with bending the ball at the football field. This metaphor and other instances provided above are clear examples of militarism, in that they glorify ‘practices and norms associated with militaries’. Presenting the soldier as a childhood hero, or acting like a tank or a soldier easily penetrates the idea that being part of the military is an ideal practice.

In addition to physical education classes, the Youth Day ceremonies on May 19th reproduced military values and virtues as well. A more detailed analysis of these ceremonies will be provided in the next section. Here, I will cover those acts that are directly militaristic in character. For instance, Nurcan remembers that human towers were introduced to folk dances in the ceremonies. Similarly, Ayşe reminisces about how her students had enacted the

Independence War in May 19th ceremonies, where some of the students played the role of enemies. Remzi, on the other hand, gives a detailed account of how he had staged the military in a May 19th ceremony as a physical education teacher:

> Accompanied by music, a group of Turkish soldiers or citizens wander around. Foreign soldiers come in and kill the Turks with wooden rifles. With a different melody, female students form circles around the foreign soldiers and enclose them. Consequentially, the dead soldiers come alive and stand up. The Turks do gymnastic movements as they chant: 'Everything for the country!' [*Her şey vatan için!]* 'Motherland, I sacrifice my life for you!' [*Vatan sana canım feda!*]

May 19th ceremonies, therefore, openly integrated the institution of the military to the shows. By taking an active role in these ceremonies, students could easily be inculcated with military virtues and the militaristic way of fighting and defeating the enemy. Ülkü agrees that these ceremonies were militaristic and despotic in character. However, she recommends changing the way today's ceremonies are presented. In the 1970s, nevertheless, ceremonies were militaristic, because "the education style of those days was like that. During our studentship, this is how they taught us to prepare the programs". However, Levent disagrees with the opinion that May 19th ceremonies are militaristic: "There might be people who find the May 19th militaristic. What does it have to with the military? If there are similar mass ceremonies, or marching in the military, why are we militarists if we do the same at schools?" This denial of the militaristic nature of ceremonies, despite acknowledging the similarities they have, shines out as a definitive illustration of the normalization of the militarism in education, which helps the myth of the military-nation to be perpetuated.

6.2.2. Soldiers as Body Experts

In the 1969-1983 period, the military was successful in infiltrating not only the classroom, but also institutions related to physical education and sport. Going beyond militarism and militarization, it was possible to feel the presence of the military as a social and security institution through this infiltration. Of course, the participation of soldiers in various ranks related to physical activity followed that these institutions became militarized as well.

Nevertheless, the soldiers' functioning as body experts was slightly different from the military's presence in the classroom, as the former was militarization at the institutional level, whereas the latter created an impact on the curricula and syllabi.

Although Ministry officers were mostly civilians in the pre-coup period, this did not mean that soldiers were not perceived as "body experts". The Physical Education and Sport Specialization Commission issued a report in 1979 in order to discuss the problems and possible solutions in these fields. One of the members of the commission was Colonel Şeref Tunca, whereas another one was Natık Canca, Chief Inspector at the General Directorate of Security (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, V, VI). The membership of these two members at a special commission on physical education and sport openly determines armed forces as body experts. Furthermore, the report stated that "what the civilians, soldiers and educators, doctors, city planners and others" had to say about physical education and sport mattered (ibid., VII). This remark bolsters the view that soldiers deserved the same role as educators and others to discuss and to decide on matters related to physical exercise.

During the 1950s, the officers at the General Directorate of Physical Education (*Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü*) had changed from military officers to civilians. Nevertheless, this situation was reversed with the coup d'état of 1980. Unsurprisingly, Vecdi Özgül, who was appointed as the Minister of Youth and Sport following the coup, was a soldier. However, this was not the only rank in the institutions related to physical education and sport that was occupied by soldiers. Özgül appointed one retired military officer to each Youth and Sport Academy in an effort to "help with administrative issues" (Özgül 2006, 50). These officers became vice presidents in the academies. The newly appointed General Director of the Dormitory Administration (*Yurt-Kur*), which functioned under the Ministry of Youth and Sport was the former director of the Infrastructure Investment Unit at NATO, under the Ministry of National Defense (ibid., 31).

In addition to the changing of various ranks from civilian to military officers, the working of the Ministry started to take a militaristic character as well. For the inspection of the General Directorate of Physical Education, a new system was built, that took the Armed Forces as its example (ibid., 38). The affiliate institutions' performance would be analyzed and evaluated through a system of staff ride at military headquarters. As this systemic change also displays, the post-coup period witnessed more overt transformations in terms of the military's invading civilian institutions. Nevertheless, this was not specific to the 1980-1983 period, as military personnel were perceived to be body experts through Republican history, a portion of which is illustrated here.

6.2.3. Ready to Fight

Despite being to a lesser extent compared to the early Republican period, there continued to be discussions regarding the need to have an always-prepared army at hand for the possibility of the outbreak of war. This "need" could be met through physical exercise only. This idea was evident in textbooks in that the social aim of physical education was stated as "providing the necessary citizenship qualifications for war and peace" (Öztürk 1982, 2). In a similar fashion, Raşit Serdengeçti, a medical doctor who was seen as the founder of sports medicine in Turkey, argued that modern wars erupted at once. Therefore, what determined the outcome of the war would be whether the public was fit enough. This fitness, he argued, could be attained through physical education and sport (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1971c).[11]

A similar argument was made in the Specialization Commission Report. It was recommended that villagers, especially those who left the school, should be entitled to physical education. The reason behind this argumentation was that "it will be beneficial for our Military Defense that they join the ranks of our armed forces as mentally and physically developed people, when they arrive at the military age" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama

[11] It is also important to note that a medical doctor has been identified as a body expert and consulted about physical education and sport. This shows how the body has been medicalized.

Teşkilatı 1979, 43). Not only does this logic attribute a militarizing character to physical education, but also functions as a discriminatory statement in terms of both gender and geography. Women were not recommended to do physical exercise, as they could not join the military. On the other hand, categorizing villagers as those who are idle, physically inactive, and unschooled reflected the segregation between those who lived in the city and those who did not.

Although the 1960-1983 period might seem distant to the Turkish war years to the reader, normalization of military values and virtues made it possible for the threat of warfare to be displayed as omnipresent. This, in turn, reproduced militarization. Furthermore, Turkey's military intervention into Cyprus in 1974 re-introduced militaristic debates, and caused the political power to look for methods to legitimize the "peace operation" (Erel, et al. 2005, 348). Therefore, the military and militarism were never off the agenda, which affected physical education directly. This is in line with war's having become a regime of biopower. This means that "daily life and the normal functioning of power has been permeated with the threat and violence of warfare" (Hardt and Negri 2004, 13). The threat of warfare, in this context, reproduced a certain aspect of social life, that is education, pursuant to its own accord.

This section dwelled upon a particular, militaristic, way of disciplining the body. As the primary sources and narratives set out, the military as an institution existed at the heart of the sports field. Furthermore, militaristic values were exalted through the exercises while soldiers continued to assume the role of body experts. In the next section, I move on to deconstruct the mechanistic body, which stands at complete contrast to the relationship between the mind and the body we have seen until the end of this section. What this opposite relationship serves will be devoted particular attention.

6.3. The Mechanistic Body

As discussed in the Historical Background chapter, there were two important trends in Turkey between 1969 and 1983 in terms of the economy. Starting from the 1960s, the economic strategy was Import Substituting Industrialization (Keyder 1987). The state was selectively protectionist, while aiming to increase industrial production (ibid., 165). Nevertheless, "industrial expansion with a high rate of growth created ever-rising expectations which proved impossible to meet" (Ahmad 1993, 144). The second major strand that started in 1980 was the neo-liberalization of economy, initiated by the 24th of January Measures (Erel, et al. 2005, 502-4). The decision was to gradually increase export and to liberalize external trade through increased import.

Both of these economic trends put a significant pressure on industrial labor. Efficiency had to be radically increased to meet ends. As a result, physical education was perceived as a method to create a strong and efficient generation, while the physical condition of the existing workforce was aimed to be improved through the same means as well. This way of thinking, however, was not specific to this period. Especially in the early Republican period, an effort was made to utilize physical education to make the Turkish economy get on its feet after a long period of warfare (Akın 2003). Therefore, it can be asserted that the link established between physical exercise and work efficiency continued through the Republican history. Despite this continuity, however, the mechanistic body of the 1969-1983 period requires attention for several reasons. First of all, the difference in economic circumstances and systems has not radically changed the mechanistic approach to the body. This shows that there is a preconception of the body vis-à-vis economy, in spite of the reiterations that physical exercise was not successful in creating a significant increase in production, neither in the early Republican period, nor during the 1970s or 1980s. Secondly, how this body was portrayed and experienced should be critically analyzed keeping in mind the other approaches to the

body in this period in particular. This will allow us to observe and question the relationship between different perceptions of the body.

The argument that educated and fit bodies can improve the national economy is in line with the "mechanistic body" idea. This body refers to two approaches at once. The first one is equating the human body with machines, while the second one refers to bodies' being made up of parts that can be divided and controlled through this division. By treating the body not as a unit, "but as a mechanism made up of separately usable parts" (Sheridan 1980, 147), it was believed that each part could be squeezed further to gain benefit from it to develop the national economy. This mechanistic understanding of the body conflicts with the mindful body approach outlined in the first section of this chapter. While the mindful body displayed that the mind was located in the body, and that the body was controlled in order to shape the students' minds, the mechanistic body presents us a biologically reductionist view. Staying in accord with the naturalistic accounts of the body, the mechanistic body reveals an interest in physical functions only with a redefinition of the mind-body relationship where the two are mutually exclusive. Although this conflict seems to exhibit two opposing views on the body, the two approaches converge on a significant point: utilizing the body for the needs of the power holders through definitions posited by body experts. One view problematizes the politicization of youth, while the other seeks ways to overcome the underdevelopment of economy. Both, in the last instance, are integrated in the definition and implementation of physical education. The approach taken, in return, impacts how students and teachers experience physical education classes and their bodies.

6.3.1. Educating the Body for National Economy

The 1969-1983 period, in parallel with the changes in the economic system, manifested itself with the need for a workforce improved both quantitatively and qualitatively. This need was asserted all throughout this period. In the second five-year plan, humanpower was identified

as a problem and as "the most important element of development" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 145). Furthermore, the third five-year plan stressed the increased importance in planned development, as the annual 12% increase in industrialization could not be achieved (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1972, III). Similarly, the need for increased workforce was asserted in 1979 by Bülent Ecevit, then Prime Minister and president of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) as, "Turkish economy can reach its well-being only through the mobilization of production" (Erel, et al. 2005, 497). On the other hand, Kenan Evren, the Chief of Staff, the leader of the coup d'etat of 1980 and the seventh president of Turkey, stated in 1980 that the Turkish worker was characterized by his being hard-working and patriotic (ibid., 506).

This preoccupation with humanpower and production led to another consequence: assigning physical education the role of training the body to contribute to the workforce. This task was thought to be indeed intrinsic to the very essence of physical education. Physical education was defined in the Physical Education and Sport Specialization Commission Report as "the sum of activities that ensure and improve the physical and mental health of humanpower, which is the primary factor of economic, social and cultural development" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, 1). Similarly, the economic aim of physical education was determined to be "improving constructive, creative, and productive capabilities" (Günışık 1973, 10) in a physical education textbook published by the Ministry. It was not only physical education that was supposedly geared towards economic development. Education, in general, was aimed at production, as argued by a physical education teacher: "Education should essentially be oriented towards production. Education which is not aimed at production is deception" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 34). Nevertheless, physical exercise was particularly thought to be equipped with the means to directly affect the national economy. The State Planning Reports assured that sport was

directly linked to efficiency, as it was put forth that sport increased the capability of the body to work (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 163) and that sport played "a significant role in the improvement of the physical and mental health of humanpower, the basic element of socioeconomic development" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1972, 793). The same idea was reiterated by Önal Şakar, a former Minister of Youth and Sport (T.C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1984, 161). In a similar manner, Remzi asserted that "through physical education, the person acquires increased physical strength and manipulative skills. This means that s/he contributes more to production". Therefore, bodily education was given a special place when economy was considered.

While sport and physical exercise were seen as requirements for an efficient workforce by especially the Ministry and physical education teachers, physical fitness started to be perceived as the responsibility of the worker him/herself. As every Turk was deemed a nationalist by default, every worker was attributed this responsibility with their assumed willingness to develop the national economy.

> The human body is regulated according to an economic work order. A person can do 3-4 times more work if s/he is well-trained and becomes a highly efficient producer, which benefits both him/herself and the society. By not doing sports, a national loss of 60-80 billion TL originates, that could be replaced by the spare power we could produce with sport. (Türk Sporunun Raporu 1971c)

In addition to this monetary calculation of the cost of not doing physical exercise by a sports physician, a pressure was created on those who did not undertake physical exercise. While the number of people who exercised sport allegedly determined the increase in humanpower and the speed the economic development would gather (Ünlü 1977, 37), the lack of an effort by the workers to be fit would mean a deterioration of the economy. The Physical Education Teachers' Association put forth that "as citizens lose their physical fitness and humanpower with each passing day, their contribution to national production and labor decreases

significantly" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği 1974, 26). This view is in accordance with "technologies of the self". Technologies of the self are defined by Foucault as the technologies

> which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault 1988, 18)

Based on this definition, it can be asserted that physical education rituals' being turned into technologies of the self was imagined as a requirement by state personnel, physical education teachers, and other "body experts", as fit bodies were deemed more productive. Physical exercise was to evolve into a lifetime habit following the implementation of physical education classes. Once the student became the worker, it was now his/her technology of the self that would keep the economy going. These technologies were established as the boundary between physical education's compulsory character and its turning into a "voluntary" everyday practice.

6.3.2. The Body as a Machine

As efficiency was what was sought after in the human body for especially economic purposes, it was not infrequent that the body was likened to machines.[12] This likening reflected a mechanistic approach to the body, where each of the organs corresponded to a part of a machine. This body-as-machine in physical education textbooks was believed to work in an orderly fashion, which made the human body resemble "modern" machines even more: "The human body, which resembles a modern machine far from all kinds of mistakes in terms of its structure, enables the working of the organs in a healthy and organized manner" (Aslan 1979, 5). The significance of the systematic working of the "parts" in harmony was also stressed

[12] The body-as-machine metaphor dates back to Descartes' writings from the 17th century. Since then, the concept has been developed and used by theoreticians and has been criticized for its dominant position in various fields related to the sociology of the body, such as medicine and diet (Turner 1999). Physical education and sport are among these fields as well.

repeatedly: “Structurally speaking, the human body is like the systematic connection of machine parts working in a factory” (Aslan 1979, 1).

The body-as-machine concept was not only used as a metaphor; the comparison of the body to machines was also literal. The body’s “input and output requirements [were] precisely quantified mathematically” (Turner 1992, 182). For instance, an energy efficiency graph was provided by intellectuals, which compared the efficiency of the human body with that of an electric motor, steam turbine, internal combustion engine and a steam engine (Rodopman and Kumral 1986, 39), and it was argued that “the human body spends energy power, as it works like a machine” (Aslan 1979, 5). The key to balancing the input and output of energy, on the other hand, was to be maintained via physical activity, as articulated in a symposium devoted to developing humanpower through sports: “The human body resembles a machine that works with the chemical energy it obtains from a variety of sources according to its structural characteristics and the intensity of the physical exercise it undertakes” (Özker 1972, 2). Therefore, it was decided that the more intense the physical activity was, the higher the efficiency of the body would be. The energy that was being used up could be put back into its place through physical exercise only, which brought with it higher efficiency, as “training, like the assembly of a machine, is the search for the acquisition of an efficiency” (Mauss 1992, 463). Physical exercise made it possible for the human body to make up for its inferiority to machines, despite the high resemblance: “Although the physical efficiency of the human body is low when compared to modern machines, it can be increased depending on the acquired physical efficiency that can be developed through regular physical education practices” (Rodopman and Kumral 1986, 38).

In addition to body-as-machine metaphors and the energy-efficiency graphs, the mechanistic idea of the body was strengthened through descriptions that treated the body not as a whole, but as a system that was made up of parts. These parts had different functions

each, and hence had to be treated and exercised separately. An example of the division of the body into parts was presented in the Symposium for Improving Humanpower in Sport. The division was justified by the necessity to determine the person's "sport type", and the presenter recommended the determining of 91 different bodily lengths. Some examples were the length of the end of the shoulder, the nasal root, the substernal, and the diameter of the middle finger (Ataman 1972, 31-33).

Physical education lessons were also designed in a way that would complete this task by training each part of the human body separately. Specific exercises were outlined for "parts" such as the ankle, thighbone, heel, knee joint, and the hip circle (Aslan 1979, 18-9). Another author recommended training programs for the ankle, finger joints and muscles, hind leg muscles, and foreleg muscles (Ercenk 1978, 3-4). The treatment of these muscles and joints one by one happened especially during the warm-up sessions, where physical-fitness exercises (*kültürfizik hareketleri*) were fundamental. Hasan states that "physical-fitness exercises are an absolute must. They are the basis of sport. It is the warming up of all organs and muscles, starting from the ankle, reaching to the neck and the head". He further explains how he taught his students to carry out this stage:

> Little by little, springing without removing the foot from the ground, springing from the knees. Little jumps and moving the neck by turning it right and left, up and down. Shoulder circles. The flutter kicks, where your hands are parallel to the ground. Then gaining some speed, running in place, high knee runs. Butt kicks. Putting hands on the floor to do waist movements, either by opening the legs or not. Stretching by touching the floor with the tip of the hand. To the back and to the front. All of this should be done in a balanced way and in a periodic order.

In addition to this description of how to operate every small part of the body, it was also believed to be necessary to activate under-utilized parts. Remzi explains how physical education teachers succeeded in getting hold of those parts: "We make them use muscles that they wouldn't use in everyday life. I explain them that normally, you may use your arm to take, hold or pull something, but you never use the muscle to push and it gets weak and blunt.

When necessary we should use these muscles, stretch them, as they are used very infrequently". This is an example of how physical education aimed to penetrate the daily life of the student by changing the structure of the body that would not be altered if the person did not attend the class. How a person's posture should be was likewise defined through the position various parts of the body had to take:

> For a good posture, the centers of gravity of all parts of the body –feet, legs, hips, torso, shoulders, and the head- need to be on a perpendicular line. When you take a side view, these centers of gravitation are on an imaginary line that passes through the earlobe, the end of the shoulder, the hip joint center, right behind the kneecap, and through the front side of the external ankle bone. (Muallimoğlu 1977, 85)

This detailed definition of the "correct" posture, coupled with utilizing muscles and joints that would normally not be used display that physical education aimed at redefining the lives of the students and their experience of their bodies even if they had stepped out of the school. This enabled a further control on the body, and aimed to make possible a self-control inflicted on it. This control manifested itself also in the teaching of walking. A textbook stated that "students should be taught how to walk well. While walking, toes should point forward. It is better for toes to be slightly inside instead of being on the outside. If there is an extreme positioning in either of the cases, it should be particularly corrected" (ibid., 93). As this link between toes and walking displays, control is inflicted upon minute parts of the body, which is sure to affect the daily life. This detailed control also determines the outliers and aims to draw them towards what is regarded as normal by body experts.

Although the division and the control of the body through the exercises explained above were carefully selected and designed by physical education teachers and intellectuals, the students' experiences regarding these movements can be very bluntly stated as "boredom". The exercises were indeed reflected onto students as mechanical musts, which Emrah described much less enthusiastically than physical education teachers: "Hand and arm movements, lift up and down, right and left, bend and stand". Most students, including Emel,

İclal, Orhan, and Ümit, recall only that they had to open and close their arms and legs, and turn right and left. It can be debated to what extent these compulsory exercises actually infiltrated how the students used and came to understand their bodies. Nevertheless, the narratives hint at these exercises' being perceived as an obstacle to be overcome to arrive at the main course of the physical education class only.

The mechanization of the body through physical education classes was made complete through the strict division of time and the organization of tasks according to this division. Just like in Taylorism, training is a routine that is pre-designated, divided into small parts and exercised with specific time intervals (Emrence 2005). When this was added to the equation, the final outcome was that physical education "used techniques of measuring, comparing, controlling, and disciplining, which should prepare, normalize, and improve the bodies in order to increase their utility" (Pfister 1997, 101). This is a clear example of disciplinary power, which is ever present in physical education discourses and rituals. The employing of disciplinary power brings with it the division of the body into units (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, 153) as outlined above, which makes it easier for the body to be owned by all except its true owner. Whether this ownership really passed into the hands of others is of course a question mark.

The mechanization of the body in the 1969-1983 period was linked to the scientization of the body as well. "The development of mechanistic metaphors of the body seems decisive for the emergence of a scientific discourse of the body" (Turner 1992, 182), because a mechanical approach reduces the body to its biological characteristics only. The scientized understanding of physical education also fulfilled the task of concealing the presence of society and control in the body. It defined the body as the concern of natural sciences only, with a "strong tendency to regard physical education as a biological science, a science of the efficiency and rationality of physical movement and functions" (Demers 1997, 162). As a

concern of biology, the body's efficiency as workforce emerged as the instrumental approach towards the body. "Within this discourse of scientific functionalism, the moving body is depersonalized, represented as an object which obeys the laws of gravity, which generates force in its own right, and which is made up of 'systems' of muscles, bones, nerves, tendons and other specialized tissue which function in many instances independently of what people think and feel" (Kirk and Tinning 1990, 4). This functionalist view is in line with Foucault's claim that "scientific advances do not liberate the body from external control, but rather intensify the means of social regulation" (Turner 1999, 157). This is clearly seen in the further mechanization of the body through scientization.

The mechanistic body, parallel to the mindful body, was an invention to mold students' bodies according to the alleged necessities of the nation-state. Scientization went hand in hand with this approach, as sport sciences also had to comply with the standards of natural sciences "to become an instant member of the select club of the sciences" (Harvey in Demers 1997, 166). However, this mechanistic understanding of the body was experienced by students as a fast track that led to more enjoyable physical tasks only.

This section elaborated on the mechanistic body where the body was regarded as a separate entity from the mind. Body-as-machine metaphors supported this constructed relationship, reflecting the economic situation in Turkey. In the next section, I move on to a specific event in physical education, the Youth and Sports Day. This day is the ultimate point where nationalism is materialized, while at the same time bodily ideals are reproduced. Nationalism's being exalted bolsters the claims about the mechanistic body, as bodies allegedly function like machines to develop national economy.

6.4. May 19th: The Rally of Nationalism

Although nationalism is reproduced in everyday life in invisible, or "banal" ways (Billig 1995), there are moments when it becomes a spectacle. The strongest of these moments with a close association with physical education is the May 19th, Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day. Although this day is usually associated with the Turkish Republic and the Republican youth, it started to be celebrated before the foundation of the Republic. The first "Training Festival" (*İdman Bayramı*) was held in 1916 (Güven 1999, 33). Due to wars, this festival was celebrated irregularly and locally until 1928. During the following 10 years, the festival was celebrated, but not officially as the Day of the Youth. In the year 1938, May 19th was legally recognized as the "Youth and Sports Day", and it was only in 1981 that "Commemoration of Atatürk" was added to the description (ibid.).

Based on this, for the most part of the period of interest, May 19th was the day dedicated to youth and sports only. However, students who were part of the youth to whom this day was supposedly dedicated reminisce of May 19th as a "ceremony" (*tören*), instead of a "festival" (*bayram*) (Öztürkmen 1996, 30). The main reason is that rather than being a day for the youth, as Erdem calls it, it was "the physical education teachers' day". The teachers were to showcase their upbringing and training of the students, hence they attributed more significance to May 19th than the students. Levent calls it "the most exciting experience of physical education teaching". In order to showcase their teaching skills, physical education teachers pushed to the limits. Remzi explains that they selected the special kids, "as the movements were extremely difficult. We would select the most talented kids from the physical education classes, because the movements were very dangerous". Orhan recalls such a dangerous incident where three of his friends had to jump through flame circles and all had serious burns. In an attempt to demonstrate themselves, teachers turned the May 19th to less of a day for the young to celebrate. Furthermore, Enis argues that "May 19th is the festival of

the young, not of students". However, as the ceremonies were attached to schools, it included only students, rather than being inclusive of the whole younger generation. Therefore, as a result of the reduction of the day to ceremonies, and through the ceremonies' being held in association with schools, May 19th ended up discriminating against the non-student youth.

As the ownership of May 19th belonged to teachers, the ceremonies were designed and organized by them as well. The ceremonies at schools were more flexible, whereas the more prestigious ceremonies at the stadiums were organized ahead of time. The process of organization was indeed a bureaucratic procedure that involved various ranks of the state. "The General Directorate of Intramural Physical Education and Sport" that was established in 1970 was responsible for the celebration of May 19th in a more "attractive and conscious" manner (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1977, XXXVII). At the beginning of the academic year, a plenary session was held to assign a committee for each official holiday, including the Youth and Sports Day. Attendants at the district- and city-levels were determined. These physical education teachers would then prepare the program for that year, and send it to the schools in their area. They would also determine how many students were to participate at the ceremony in the stadium.

6.4.1. The Gaze of the Stadium

Especially for students, being at the ceremony in the stadium was meaningful. It evoked excitement and happiness. Teachers such as Ayşe thought their students wanted to be chosen for these ceremonies "because they wanted to be in the public eye", or as Ülkü believed, they wished to "display to others what they were successful at". All of these statements establish "the gaze" as the factor that gave meaning to these performances. On the one hand, the gaze of the audience in the stadium was what made the ceremony meaningful for the performers. On the other hand, simultaneously, ceremonies placed the students "before the gaze of

thousands of eyes and to remind [them] that [their] bodies were objects in the service of the people" (Brownell 1995, 7).

Performing at the heart of the stadium under the gaze of the people resembles Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon (Roubal 2003, 8). Of course, in the stadium, the watchtower is most definitely occupied by somebody, many bodies indeed. Nevertheless, the 360° structure of the stadiums where May 19th ceremonies were held strengthens the resemblance. Although the watchtower is located in the center in the Panopticon, there is a strong resemblance with the stadium ceremonies, as the roles of the prisoner and the watchtower are interchangeable, as will be discussed in the next paragraph. Foucault asserts that "the Panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad; in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen" (Foucault 1995, 201-2). In the case of the stadium ceremonies, the masses that watch the performance took the role of the controller at the central tower. Being part of a large crowd enabled them to be less visible, whereas the performers could easily be seen and located through the "hegemony of the gaze" (Eichberg 1995). This hegemony not only made performers feel excited or cheerful, but also disciplined them. Under the gaze of the public eye, performers thought that they shouldn't err as Emel recalls: "We were extremely excited. Everyone was looking at us. We didn't know if we would succeed in doing it [the movements] right". Knowing that they would be under the gaze of many eyes "subjected to a field of visibility", students and teachers became the principle of their own subjection (Foucault 1995, 202-3). Thus, the *idea* of the gaze caused them to discipline themselves prior to the ceremony in order to be prepared before the gaze itself.

Although the gaze of the stadium objectified the performing body, this gaze constituted an "intersubjective relationship", rather than a simple one-way objectification. In contrast to Foucault's argumentation, it should be noted that "the gaze which operationalizes

the Panoptic effect is not the gaze of the surveyor but is, in fact, the gaze of the surveyed" (Crossley 1993, 405). Merleau-Ponty's "intercorporeality" and "carnal intersubjectivity" suggest that all able humans are visible-seers (ibid., 411),[13] and both the prisoner and the controller can be said to gaze on each other. This idea becomes more tangible in the case of stadium ceremonies. While the audience's gaze was on the performers, the latter's gaze was on the stadium as well. The performer's gaze resulted in the audience's also being subject to a Panoptic power. The gaze of the performers disciplined the audience in return, by signaling the characteristics they should possess in order to claim to be a member of the same community. Youth, prowess, fitness and nationalist sentiments were some of the features that were underlined throughout these ceremonies, as will be further discussed in the next section. The gaze of the performer caused the audience to be the principle of their own subjection as well. "Gymnastics fairs themselves were an essential tool of the state in its pedagogic project of forming citizens. By their metaphoric display of the nation's strength, the fairs had the function of extending to a larger public the school's mission of forming the body politic" (Harvey and Sparks 1991, 180). This mission is partly accomplished through the gaze.

6.4.2. The Beautiful Body

As there was a continuous intersubjective interaction between the performers and the audience, and as the gaze of the performer functioned to outline the ideal citizen, the May 19th ceremonies had a significant role: to put forward the "best" performers in the stadium. These best performers, however, were selected more according to their physical characteristics, rather than their talents.

The selection of students that would perform at the stadium ceremonies differed from school to school. Some teachers preferred to complete the selection before practicing that year's movements, while others taught the movements to all of their students, and selected

[13] This emphasis on able-bodiedness does exclude the blind people from intersubjectivity, and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology is open to criticism on this front. Nevertheless, the discussion on sensory experience leads the theory in this direction.

from among them afterwards. Of course, being talented in terms of fitness, rhythm, dance, or playing instruments played a role in this selection. Nevertheless, talent was never enough, or was put aside at some circumstances. The economic factors that were involved in the selection process will be discussed in the following section. For this section's purposes, "the beautiful body" plays the major role.

The May 19th ceremonies, as a showcase of nationalism, aimed to display what the nation was like. In other words, as the day was dedicated to the youth, the performers were the symbols of the future of the nation. As it is not possible for a nation to be homogeneous in terms of the characteristics of its citizens, one can talk about the demonstration of an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006). The nation is "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (ibid., 6; italics in the original). The May 19th ceremonies were a powerful tool to create this image.

This image of the Turkish youth had strong links with the so-called "Western" appearance, reflecting the Republican obsession with Westernization. Therefore, while deciding on which students would perform in the stadium, being blond and tall were the most desired characteristics. Nurcan asserts that although she lacked the talent or training, she was selected because of her color. "When I was in the folk dance group in middle school, we performed this dance called the Rumelian Reception (*Rumeli Karşılaması*). The Ministry of Culture issued a notice stating that the girl dancing solo in the middle had to be blond. Although I was the worst, I ended up dancing solo because I was blond". This selection based on appearance was deliberately carried out by physical education teachers. Levent explains his choice of the beautiful body as follows:

> I chose the horn band from among young men of a slender and graceful build. There are many Bosnian citizens in Düzce. Bosnian girls are always pretty, and the boys are handsome. Especially the girls. I chose the drummers from among them. And the major

> of the band had to be the most beautiful and the tallest. You would be astonished, I had students next to whom Sharon Stone would be nothing.

Girls who resembled Sharon Stone, or who were even more beautiful than her, constituted the heart of the group. This discrimination was not specific to any gender, however. Boys had to be handsome and tall as well. This was valid for especially students who would be at the forefront, whereas those at the back had to fit other criteria. Levent asserts that "the performers in the forefront [were] the symbols of the rest of the school", which was the reason why they had to fit Sharon Stone-like criteria. Similarly, Orhan explains that "the guys to carry the flag and the starboard were tall, but the other gymnasts were of the same height. Especially girls, they were 1.65 or 1.68, the Turkish average". Such a spatial organization according to height reflected a balance between the ideal and the normal. "The concept of a norm, unlike that of an ideal, implies that the majority of the population must or should somehow be part of the norm" (Davis 2006, 6). Therefore, while the leading students symbolized youth and Westernness, and fulfilled the imagined national body ideal, the normal body that formed the rest of the group showed the audience the level they had to reach in order to claim to be part of the nation. Of course, neither the ideal, nor the normal body could be disabled. Hence, as in Nurcan's school, the "special classes", where the mentally disabled attended, never took part in the ceremonies. Similarly, students who were "chubby, slant-eyed, dark and weak [*kara kuru*]" would never be chosen for the ceremony. This implies that one could not draw a fine line between the normal and the ideal, and being disabled or weak meant to be neither in the ideal nor in the normal category. Furthermore, the exclusion of the "dark and weak" is in parallel with the marginalization and/or assimilation of the Kurdish population through the Turkish education system. While physical education was one of the instruments to assimilate the non-Turk population through national anthems and the militarized character of the exercises (Topaloğlu 2012, 151), not including those without a

"Western appearance" in the May 19th ceremonies displays that marginalization went hand in hand with assimilation policies.

The messages regarding the beautiful body were conveyed not only through the students, but also the physical education teachers. In year 1969, when Istanbul Technical University was running its first test broadcasts, the Youth and Sports Day was to be put on screen. During the parade at the beginning of the ceremony, a physical education teacher had to lead the march. Leman was assigned this duty despite her shorter length of service, as all the other teachers were "old, overweight, or had deformed bodies". As talent was secondary in the selection of the students, the length of service came after the beautiful body in the selection of the teachers.

Although it might be difficult to encounter texts that define the beautiful body in Turkish physical education, the Youth and Sports Day ceremonies clearly drew the framework. The beautiful body was, then, on the agenda of the "hidden curriculum". Hidden curriculum can be defined as "the elements of socialization that take place in school, but are not part of the formal curricular content" (Margolis, et al. 2001, 6). Through the hidden curriculum, it becomes possible to transmit certain norms, values, and beliefs (Giroux and Penna 1983) without making them explicit. Although we cannot talk about *the* hidden curriculum, as how the practices that constitute this curriculum are conveyed will differ from teacher to teacher (Gore 1990), it is necessary to draw attention to aspects that are not explicitly stated in the formal curricula (Bain 1990). The selection of students and teachers to exhibit their performances in the stadium implicitly transmits the "beautiful body" as the norm. Through the ceremony and through other socialization processes this norm is disseminated to the wider society.

6.4.3. Reproduction of Economic Inequalities

The Youth and Sports Day ceremonies were discriminatory not only in the sense of the beautiful body, but also in terms of economic situation. The selection of the students that would participate in the ceremonies depended on their financial situation as well. This resulted in the reproduction of socioeconomic inequalities among the students.

Finance was a factor in the selection processes, because mostly students had to pay for the dress they would wear during the ceremony. As many students could not afford this new dress, they stated that they did not want to partake in the performances. Not to "get into trouble", Ayşe asked her students whether they were willing to participate. She knew that those who were silent were experiencing financial difficulties. Physical education teachers tried their best to get the costumes at an affordable price, but it was still an extra expense for the families.

Similarly, Ümit distinguishes between "the rich" and "the wretched" (*zenginler ve sefiller*). He remarks that the teacher would ask each student whether s/he could afford the costume. Those who could not did not participate in the stadium ceremony. However, they still had to march through Beşiktaş. It was evident that those who marched on the streets were wretched, and the ones in the stadium were rich. This disparity inevitably generated a further division between students based on socioeconomic status.

National holidays were usually regarded as the moments when a "social compromise" (Öztürkmen 1996, 29) is reached, and for some students such as Ünzile, when the unity and solidarity among citizens was most strongly felt. Nevertheless, the underlining and reproduction of economic inequalities served another purpose. In contrast to "the classless society" discourse prevalent especially in the 1940s (ibid., 32), participation to this sport activity becomes locked up in "a rather limited set of class practices and beliefs" (Gruneau 1983, 144). Instead of bringing the nation together, both the beautiful body and the

underlining of economic disparities show that these ceremonies are divisive, rather than being integrative (Hargreaves 1986, 181).

6.4.4. True Colors of Nationalism

The usage of various colors was one of the most significant components of May 19th ceremonies. As the day was deemed as a festival, colors played a significant role in conveying especially nationalist messages. Performers' clothes and accessories were the main targets of displaying a particular color. The choice of colors to be displayed depended on several factors. On the one hand, the colors represented different symbols of nationalism. On the other hand, how these colors were lived give us a different perspective about relationality.

The analysis of colors in the ceremonies calls for a phenomenological framework. This framework, however, has to address phenomenology with a broader understanding than canonical texts. The reason is that these texts tend to regard color as a non-relational phenomenon, whereas I contend that not only colors should be analyzed in terms of relationality, but also that phenomenology allows for this relational approach. "Color relationalism is the view that colors are constituted in terms of relations between subjects and objects" (Cohen 2010, 13). Therefore, this view suggests that the color should not be viewed as attached to the host object only. The color comes into being through its relationship with the eye that perceives it. "Glances", on the other hand, are "isolated and momentary phenomenal presentations" (ibid., 19) that overlook this relationality. In order to reveal the colors in the ceremonies, one has to move beyond glances, and investigate the relationship between the colors and the audience, performers, and teachers.

For some students, the relationship they formed with colors was based on success. Nurcan, for instance, narrates her story of "the pink dress". For a ceremony, every student was given a color, about which they recited a poem. The "best" student, who was always the most beautiful girl in the class, would be dressed in red, and would say: "I am red for the flag. All

my dresses are red, because I love the flag". The second best student would be pink, but Nurcan was selected to be blue, the third best. She overcame her feeling of failure by making her mother sew a blue dress with pink flowers, and she accidentally recited the poem for the pink color.

Colors were problematic not only in terms of symbolizing success or failure, but also in relation to other colors. İclal talks about the trouble the white pants gave her. Both during physical education classes and ceremonies, all students had to be dressed in white, which symbolized purity and the innocence of the youth. However, white costumes also meant that the dresses had to be frequently washed, ironed, and for the shoes, dyed. Even more tragic, İclal had to participate at all the May 19th ceremonies, because failure to attend resulted in failing the class. Nevertheless, she had her period on that day, and there was a red stain on her white pants. Because the teacher thought this was only an excuse to escape the ceremony, she had to fulfill her duty despite feeling utterly embarrassed.

The choice of the colors also depended on the movement to be displayed in the stadium. Not infrequently, the students were given the task to theatrically and rhythmically reenact the Independence War (1919-1922). During a ceremony Ayşe was in charge of, students who were portraying "the enemy" were dressed in black, whereas "peace" was represented in red or orange. The contrast between black and other, bright colors demarcated the borders of enmity and peace.

When colors are analyzed in terms of their relationality to each other, to the subjects, and to other objects, it is revealed that on the one hand they are powerful symbols of nationalism, while simultaneously "the lived color" unearths how the students and teachers experience them.

In this section I have addressed a particular event in the physical education realm that brings together many of the aspects discussed in this thesis. These include but are not limited

to gender, disability, inequalities, and bodily ideals and norms. The Youth and Sports Day is not only the spectacle of nationalism, but also it harbors many of the details that have been normalized in physical education classes. In the next section, I will provide a more detailed analysis of gender in physical education that I have very briefly touched upon in this section.

6.5. The Gendered Body

The gendered body emerges as one of the most important bodies that one comes across in Turkish physical education system in the 1969-1983 period, as a result of its close interaction with all other bodies. In a way to reflect and reproduce the existing gender norms in the society, physical education classes were carried out along the lines of the male-female binary, assuming that these categories are homogeneous and mutually exclusive. Gender "is not a fact, the various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all" (Butler 2010, 190). Physical education was one of the main sites where these acts took place and came into being. "The action of gender requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation" (ibid., 191). Through the exercises intrinsic to physical education, this repetition became possible.

Among all courses, the emphasis on the "differences" between genders was primarily visible in physical education, as it is "consistently the most sex-specialized subject on the school curriculum" (Hargreaves 1986, 176). Its persistence can be seen in the Turkish context as well. In the early Republican period, girls and boys were not allowed to do sports together, and different sports were associated with different genders (Çağlı 2011). In addition, teachers who took physical education courses were mostly male (Bilge 1989, 176-7). The same gendered understanding persisted in the 1970s and 1980s. Sport academies did not admit any female students in the first year, and when they did, the number of women who graduated from these institutions was less than 20% of all graduates (ibid., 120-1).

The gendered body showed its face at many different instances in physical education classes. Particularly, sex-segregation of the class, donning the students with their future social roles assigned to them based on gender, the use of space, walking like a girl or a boy, posture,

and gaze emerged as the highlights in relation to the gendered body, all of which will be discussed in this section. It will also be made clear that "knowledge of gender becomes deeply inscribed in muscle and skeletal systems, postures, gaits and styles of movement" (Garrett 2004, 143) through physical education.

It should also be noted that alternative masculinities have been silent in this research. Particularly, no accounts about homosexuality or effeminacy were available. Although physical education "is an area where different expressions of masculinity are perpetuated by males and females, and where femininity is difficult" (Sherlock 1987, 443), alternative masculinities are also difficult. Nevertheless, through the teaching of the proper way to do sports, walk, or stand, "production of an exemplary masculinity as a *collective practice*" (Connell 1990, 86-7; italics in the original) was sustained. Therefore, alternative masculinities were sidelined by not only ignoring them, but also by illustrating how not to be one of them.

6.5.1. Soft vs. Tough: Reproduction of Essentialist Arguments

Physical education programs and the classes where these programs were being carried out were the hubs of reproducing the simplistic male vs. female dichotomy, where the former was the reference point for toughness, and the latter for softness. This perspective on gender differences followed and reproduced the existing gender relations in the society, as "physical education follows the dominant perceptions of sexual difference in the culture, and collapses the social into the biological, that is it reduces social relations to relations between things" (Hargreaves 1986, 176). By presenting a biological understanding to the body and gender, physical education curricula were based on highlighting the "necessary differences" between men and women.

The idea that girls and boys should be trained using different physical education programs was linked to the view that starting from the second level, puberty brings with it biological differences. Second level, in the realm of education, refers to grade 6 onwards.

During primary school education, which consisted of the first five years, the child was believed to be "genderless". Therefore, no differentiation between genders was necessary. Hasan narrates how he treated primary school students in physical education classes: "I never separated [the girls and the boys] in primary schools. (…) Because they were at the age of children, not yet differentiated as girls or boys. The sex is male or female, but according to their physical development, they are all children. (…) The child does not think about who is a boy or a girl". Similarly, Ülkü argues that in primary schools, physical education can be carried out coeducationally, as "in primary schools, girls develop earlier, boys are behind. Not always, but most of the time. Therefore, they can have the class together". Ülkü's argument that the class can be mixed because boys are physically less developed in the elementary school is noteworthy in that it shows that separating girls and boys in the middle school stemmed from the belief in just the opposite condition: that boys are more physically developed than girls, and that boys are better than girls in sports. It was taught to physical education teachers that starting from grade 6, physical education lessons should be carried out separately by the female and male students. Emel recalls that from 6^{th} to 8^{th} grade, she had a female physical education teacher, whereas the boys had a male teacher. Levent, on the other hand, states that as much as the number of the teachers allowed, it was preferred to divide the class. Therefore, it was only shortage of human resources that could prevent the segregation.

As students were deemed genderless at primary school level, it was not problematic for boys to learn how to dance. Eurhythmics (*rontlar*) could be studied "conjointly at the first level, where there is no gender difference" (Zorlu 1973, 127). However, "at the second level, it [eurhythmics] is necessary especially for girls. If it has to be done with boys, eurhythmics should be picked by taking characteristic features into consideration, as it is the time when the divergence between boys and girls starts" (ibid.). Therefore, from year 6 onwards, exercises that involved dance or music were associated particularly with girls, as bodies were believed

to cease to be genderless. Physical education teachers approved of this situation, as exemplified by Remzi, who argued that "you should practice rhythmic gymnastics with girls, not boys. You can do with boys as well, but girls like it more, they like dancing. It is what they are interested in". This association of dance with girls resulted from the belief that "usually, female students' movements are soft, aesthetic and rhythmic, whereas boys show characteristics of self-confidence, strength, and endurance" (Aslan 1979, 112). Based on this understanding, it was recommended that "the games to be brought to the forefront for girls should take them to rhythm and beauty, whereas for boys, the games should demand attention and skills" (Günışık 1973, 15). The result was the reproduction of the soft, beautiful, polite girl ideal, as opposed to the skillful, attentive and strong boy.

The alleged problem that boys had with dance was reflected onto the university education of physical education teachers as well. The academies, which were active between 1974 and 1982, taught their male students to play football and to wrestle, while the female students took rhythmic gymnastics and dancing classes (Bilge 1989, 201). A similar situation was present in Higher Teacher Education Schools (*Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu*) (ibid., 205-6), and Physical Education and Sport Higher Schools (*Beden Eğitimi Spor Yüksek Okulu*) (ibid., 208). As female teachers were responsible to teach female students, and male students taught the male students starting from grade 6, this education made it impossible for boys to learn to dance and girls to exercise football. As the curricula of the schools mentioned above signified the difference between the genders until at least early 1980s, this division was transferred to the next generations as well.

Not only was there a differentiation between boys and girls in terms of the assignment of rhythmic exercises and "ancestor sports", but also the exercises expected for students to complete differed as well. While boys had to do pull-ups, for instance, girls were assigned "lighter" pull-ups (Muallimoğlu 1977, 10). When they were assigned the same exercises, on

the other hand, the level of achievement expected from students was differentiated on the basis of gender. When practicing two-way sprints, for example, the perfect score for a 17-year-old female student was identified as 10.4 seconds. The same figure appeared in the table for male students, however, it was the perfect score for an 11-year-old boy (Muallimoğlu 1977, 41). Another example from a series of different targets for different genders is sit-ups. 42 sit-ups were deemed the perfect score for a 17-year-old girl, whereas the same score was not perfect even for a 10-year-old boy (ibid., 40). The difference in the types of exercises and the goals' having been set with such a wide discrepancy between boys and girls suggest that a "myth of masculinity" (Pfister 1997) was created, sustained, and reproduced. This myth supported the claim that males are stronger, more enduring and more successful in physical exercises that did not involve rhythmic gymnastics. It can also be suggested that a "myth of femininity" was invented as well, based on the softness ideal. The woman should not be as good as the man in sports, and women's being superior or equivalent to men in this regard, came as a surprise and a point of criticism directed at the state by civil society institutions: "In some branches, the female European teams are strong enough to beat our national male teams" (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği 1974, 16). Similarly, Hasan states that it can be only an individual case where a girl is more successful than a boy in sports: "In some races, a girl might run faster than all of the boys in the class. You would form a team from those students. When I built a track team at a primary school, I took the girls to the competition, because they were more successful. (…) Girls learn faster. That stems from the aesthetic nature of their bodies". This perspective suggests that although girls might have some advantages over boys, they are "naturally" expected to be weaker. This idea was reiterated by Remzi, who put forth that "of course, girls are physically weaker than boys. If there are games of equal value that will not overstrain the girls, it is better to separate them, it is better for them to play with students of their own gender". Based on all of these essentialist arguments,

the myths of femininity and masculinity that were invented and re-invented left no space for girls to be equally or more successful than boys in physical activities.

Not letting boys and girls play games together was legitimized on the grounds that boys' muscular force was greater, and on the view that they would harm their female friends if they played together. Levent tells about his point of view as follows:

> There is this game called 'Who is the King?'. Students gather in the circle in the middle of a basketball field, you [the teacher] blow the whistle, and students try to hit others with their shoulders in order to force them to leave the circle, beyond the line. S/he stands against those who hit him/her. Someone may come from the behind, and then hit you. Of course, you have to keep everyone under control, because there is a very limited space in the circle. By time, the number decreases to 3, to 4, and it becomes even more exciting. Now, it is not possible for girls to play this game with boys, because girls' endurance, their muscular force is not the same as boys. And in a game like this, at that age, boys would violently try to give girls a rough time.

The problem with this account is that boys' toughness is taken for granted, and no change is seen necessary about this. Boys' behavior and their attempts to "give girls a rough time" can be explained by the role that society gave them: being tough. As this narrative displays, this role was supported by physical education teachers as well. Instead of trying to soften boys' movements, or suggesting a different game, the solution was seen in forbidding them to play with girls.

Through physical education, it was also possible to ascribe students their future social roles. This allocation of tasks was based on strength and the ability to fight for boys, and on motherhood for girls. It was asserted that the family should cooperate with the school in the students' character development, which took the following as its basis: "Girls imitate their mothers' lives. They comb their dolls' hair, sing lullabies, aspire their cooking and sewing. (…) Boys who try to imitate the adults play soldier games, and turn towards the direction that demands strength, rapidness, and courage according to their age" (Aslan 1979, 107). A physical education program that takes as its basis the assumed mirroring of girls of their mothers, and boys of the soldiers allowed no space for taking different directions, as genders

were easily stereotyped. “Stereotyping meant that men and women were homogenized, considered not as individuals but as types. The fact that stereotyping depended upon unchanging mental images meant that there was no room for individual variations” (Mosse 1996, 6). This was further supported by games to be played in the class. The games openly inculcated the idea that women were confined to the house, and that their principal job was being a housewife. Some examples to this approach are games that involve the following instructions: “Our mother has opened the door. She is doing housework. Let’s help her” (Yağızkurt 1973, 41). “It is cleaning day at Ayşe’s. Let’s help” (ibid., 42). While women did the cleaning, men were supposed to hunt, as suggested by the “Hunting Man” game, where the hunting student assumed the role of a leader (Güngör and Yalçın 1973, 159). In a similar fashion, physical education teachers saw their classes as an opportunity to teach about social roles. Leman explains how she used physical education classes to teach her female students about motherhood:

> Your night underpants and day underpants should be separate. Why? You can’t go without saying the reason. During daytime, the uniforms’ skirts are open. They [girls] combine them with short socks, when the weather is good they don’t wear panty hoses. Dust, dirt, public toilets, the pants will definitely become dirty. When you go home, you should take those off, and even if you don’t take a shower, you should wear clean underwear. Why? You are a future mother. Not to bear a sick child, not to get women’s diseases.

As mothers-to-be, girls’ education was planned according to how they could be better at this task. The remark that “one should be very careful with girls in endurance and strength training involving equipment” (E. Zorlu 1973, 287) also suggests that fertility came first. The myth of femininity was further enlarged by including motherhood to its orbit.

6.5.2. Use of Space

How the space was organized and used by both physical education teachers and students in the 1969-1983 period was highly gendered. First of all, as discussed previously, girls and boys used different spaces designated by physical education teachers during the physical education

classes. Nevertheless, this was not the only instance where boys and girls occupied different spaces. During the free time, and during the main course in some instances, the center and the corner were reserved by male and female students, respectively.

From a phenomenological point of view, it is necessary to approach the space as the "lived space". Building on Merleau-Ponty, Elizabeth Grosz argues that "we grasp the idea of external space only through certain relations we have to our body or corporeal schema" (Grosz 1994, 90). In physical education classes, how girls view their bodies –capable/suitable for sport or not- is the landmark for how the space is lived. Grosz details how we maintain a relationship with the space through our body as follows:

> We do not grasp space directly or through our senses but through our bodily situation. Space is not understood as a series of relations between different objectively located points, points of equal value; for one thing, this flattens and neutralizes the positive contribution we ourselves make in the perception of objects. Rather, space is understood by us as a relation between these points and a central or organizing perspective which regulates perceptions so that they occupy the same perceptual field. (Grosz 1994, 90)

The positive contribution made especially by physical education students to how they perceive the space stemmed from gender's playing a significant part in the organization and distribution of space across different groups of people. As the following sections will continue to present, gender was supposed to determine how students walked, stood, or which exercises they performed. This follows that their experience of the external space was tightly attached to their bodily situation. Added to this, it can be argued that lived space was also grasped through the lived human relation, as the interaction with other individuals plays a significant role in the perception and experiencing of space. In physical education classes and in the playground, the interaction between girls and boys, and that between students and the teacher requires careful attention.

The "usual" in physical education classes was that girls would sit, and boys would play. As Levent illustrates, "Generally, boys play miniature football. Girls sit on the side, or find a corner, go to a nook, and tell their stories to each other". How boys related to the space,

or were taught to do so, was a significant element in which spaces girls found suitable to use. İkbal stresses how the boys' occupation of the space changed the way girls perceived themselves: "In mixed-sex schools, girls stand aside. [They prefer] chatting, not playing, remaining passive if possible. Boys [prefer] using the space actively. Maybe because boys are more active and because they use the 'main arterial road', girls don't find themselves active". This means that "the girl learns actively to hamper her movements" (Young 2005, 43), as she is not allowed to move where she wishes to. As a result, women fail "to make full use of the body's spatial and lateral potentialities" (Young 2005, 32). İkbal argues that "kids usually like physical education. It is only girls [that try to escape the class]. When you distribute the subject to students, give them a ball, or when they want to play freely, girls get into groups and chat. Boys play actively. Now I'm working at an all-girls school and I see that kids use their energy actively. No one sits on the side". The difference between the behavior of girls in all-girls and mixed schools is an example of how they felt excluded from the realm of sport when accompanied with boys. This, of course, should not follow that girls need to be educated separately in order to achieve their full potential in sport and/or physical education. On the contrary, the comparison helps to reveal the assumption that "sporting activity is a celebration of 'manliness'" (Hargreaves 1987, 147), where women do not belong. It is this celebration that must be overcome in order for a re-distribution of space to take place in the class, and for girls to actively choose where they belong.

How the space was distributed differed from school to school, from city to city as well. Orhan, having attended institutions both in central Anatolia (Yozgat) and Istanbul during his high school education, points out the differences between the uses of space. He recalls that

> in our class in Yozgat, there were 4 or 5 female students. They would sit in the corner. It was a sin for girls to engage in physical education. We boys did it of course. When I came to Istanbul, the class was mixed. We played volleyball and basketball together. I

> got really surprised and confused. (…) Nothing [wrong] happened and the class was in better order [than in Yozgat].

This comparison clearly demonstrates that girls' claiming the center as opposed to the corner, or their standing up instead of sitting down was not simply a choice, but a result of many factors such as the attitude of the boys and the physical education teacher. In Yozgat, the routine was girls' sitting on the side, whereas in Istanbul it was the opposite. It is of course not possible to comment on the history of this routine for these two spaces. However, the contrast is noteworthy in that it makes possible to make sense of the external factors in the occupation of the space. In other words, girls may "enjoy engaging in physical activities but it is the practices inherent in sport that deter them rather than their willingness to take part" (Wellard 2009, 77).

The gendered organization of space was not limited to physical education classes, and was reflected onto the playground as well. Ünzile states that she really liked playing football when she was a kid. However, the boys with whom she played did not approve of this, as they said, "You are a girl, why are you playing? Sit down and let the boys play! [*Kız başına ne oynuyorsun? Otur erkekler oynasın!*]". This reaction is in line with the argument that "segregation patterns in the playground stemmed from the fact that boys monopolized the main activity space to play football and excluded those girls who wished to participate. Assumptions that equate sport with masculine competence help justify and make sense of this pattern of exclusion and inclusion" (Humberstone 1990, 203). In Ünzile's case, she was deemed suitable to "sit down", while boys could claim the whole space to themselves to play football. A similar incident took place when she was watching basketball games. She remembers that a neighbor, mother to two sons, came to their house while she was watching a basketball game. Her reaction was, "Look at her! Getting excited just like a boy! As if she is in the basketball field! Are you a boy? Go sit on the side!" When these events are analyzed together, one can argue that there was a pressure on girls from both boys of their own age and

their mothers to claim the corner and to sit down when a physical activity was concerned, be it actively playing or watching. No participation was expected from girls when it came to sports. Although Ünzile was successful in brushing off the insistence to stay away from the field, the same reaction cannot be expected from all girls. This could easily result in a girl's shying away from participating in physical education classes, and claiming the corner or the side while boys were allowed to play in the center. The use of space underlined the division of children into two distinct categories: "When gender boundaries are activated, the loose aggregation 'boys and girls' consolidates into 'the boys' and 'the girls' as separate and reified groups. In the process, categories of identity that on other occasions have minimal relevance for interaction become the basis of separate collectivities" (Thorne 1993, 65). Boys' claiming the center, and girls' being confined to the side or the corner produce and reproduce the new categories of identity in the playground and on the sports field.

6.5.3. Walking Like a Girl, Standing Like a Girl

In an effort to draw the line between genders more rigidly, physical education classes also aimed to determine how students moved their bodies today and how they would move them in the future. The practice was teaching female students how to walk "like a girl". However, this practice was also a way to teach boys how not to walk. Walking like a girl meant not walking like a boy, and vice versa. Therefore, "a range of alternative forms of bodily expression [were] restricted or, in some cases, not even allowed" (Wellard 2009, 77). The dominant forms of expression, on the other hand, were made explicit by creating a contrast between the two genders on the basis of how they ought to move their bodies in public, or during ceremonies.

The correct way to walk for a girl was to use the tiptoes as the starting point. İdil narrates how much her teacher put emphasis on the correct form of walking: "We had to walk like a young lady [*genç kız*], so our teacher made us walk tiptoe-heel, tiptoe-heel. We

constantly walked like that. We had to do maybe 20 laps before each class. Really. That was the only movement our teacher showed herself. It has been imprinted on my mind so strongly that it comes out of me right now: tiptoe-heel". According to İdil, walking tiptoe-heel was the most important part for her physical education teacher, and it made up the most important part of the lesson. The fact that it was exercised before every class underlines its significance, and reminds us of Judith Butler's argument that "the action of gender requires a performance that is repeated" (Butler 2010, 191), as discussed above. Leman, in a similar manner, explains why girls and boys have different ways of walking:

> Girls are more aesthetic, there are times when they are harsh too, but not as much as boys. It is the same about how they walk. If there is a ceremony march, for instance, boys step on the whole sole, whereas girls start walking on the tiptoes. (…) Their muscle structure is different, bone structure is different. They are both human bodies, but the teacher shows exercises to make the waist thinner, or to prevent cellulitis. What does it have to do with boys? They use dumbbells to develop their shoulders.

By taking a biological view, Leman suggests that it is natural for boys and girls to walk differently, as their biological structures are different. Similar to the view that girls and boys should either practice different exercises, or aim for different targets if the exercise is the same, ways to walk differently from "the other gender" stem from emphasizing the differences, rather than the similarities between boys and girls. The contrast was laid out not only in terms of how to walk, but also how to stand at ease. Levent recounts how these two are interconnected:

> When you talk about standing at ease for girls, you slightly bend the knee inside and touch the finger here. Now they do it like men too, it's in the curriculum. Nonsense. Girls used to walk on tiptoe, right? Tiptoe on the forefront. The tiptoe touches the ground first. Now, how will I put a girl [in the ceremony] who goes like this [*he imitates clomping*], or a girl who walks like a boy? All girls should be able to do this walk.

Levent's account of the time when boys and girls used to stand at ease and at attention by positioning their bodies differently refers to the 1970s. Then, it was stated that "girls' standing at attention [should be] the same as boys, but the posture [should be] softer" (Yalçın 1973, 56). Levent's arguing against the change in the curriculum from 1970s to 2000s emanates

from the soft vs. tough argument that has been previously discussed. He further elaborates on the need to teach different ways of standing at ease as follows:

> In our daily lives, there are masculine behaviors and feminine behaviors. Do we resemble each other? (…) I am strongly against a female student's, or a woman's standing at ease coarsely, like a man. It should be more feminine, more suitable to her physique, posture, and appeal. [It is] a position, a posture, a pose. (…) Otherwise, I don't believe there is a difference between genders, in terms of human rights. (…) But in sportive stuff, in ceremonies, I see it [the difference] in competitions, all around the world.

Like many other physical education teachers, Levent does not see a problem with men and women having equal rights, but different ways of walking or standing. The latter is taken for granted, especially based on what are regarded as "international norms". Leman, for instance, asks, "If girls and boys are not different, why do we have women's basketball and men's basketball separately?". The reference values for exercises for girls and boys were grounded on international rules as well. These included shot puts, throwing the discus, javelin throw, hammer throw (E. Zorlu 1973, 285), and running distances (ibid., 293). Taking these figures as references, it became easy for physical education teachers to conclude that genders must be fundamentally different, as it was what the international platform said. This conclusion displays that women's leagues or sport associations confirm the male monopoly over the same sport (Hargreaves 1986, 177).

Girls were not only taught how to walk and stand, but also they developed a certain posture as a result of their gender. Being embarrassed of the growth of their breasts, girls tended to hide them, which was reflected on their posture and walking. Ünzile observed this trend among her friends when she was a student, and points out that "when girls' breasts start to grow, they start to slouch, which affects how they stand and walk. This continues the same throughout their adulthood". Slouching was seen as a problem by physical education teachers, who tried to correct girls' posture, as Leman illustrates:

> When the child is at the preparatory class [after 8th grade], her breasts are just growing, and she slouches, hides them. In the prep class, I do not teach the regular lesson. I sit

> with the kids before we do the exercises. I explain them what to do to stand up straight. You have to square your shoulders back, and pull your chest up. Do you know how many classes I sacrifice for this? The boys do their class fast and noisily, but I talk to the girls.

The trouble girls had with their bodies can be explained by how they relate to their physique vis-à-vis the social environment. "The important thing to investigate is not the strictly physical phenomenon, but rather the manner in which each sex projects her or his Being-in-the-world through movement" (Young 2005, 28). Therefore, while analyzing this projection, Iris Marion Young's three modalities of feminine motility that she bases on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology will be helpful. The three modalities that Young puts forth are ambiguous transcendence, inhibited intentionality and discontinuous unity with surroundings (ibid., 35). Of these three, inhibited intentionality is directly relevant to the posture girls adopted starting from their adolescence.[14] Intentionality, which is located in motility, shows us that possibilities depend on the "mode and the limits" of the body. However, the intention of feminine motility is always inhibited as a result of a self-imposed restraint (ibid.). In this case, this restraint is in the form of slouching in order to hide the breasts. It may not be the case that feminine motility is *always* inhibited. However, when the girls' failure to walk standing up straight is taken into consideration, it becomes possible to deduce that "the woman takes herself to be the *object* of the motion rather than its originator" (Young 2005, 38-9; italics in the original). Of course, while analyzing the posture of the female student, one should not establish "masculine motility as the idealized norm" (Chisholm 2008, 11). Standing upright can also be critically discussed, as "a postural norm such as uprightness ('stand up straight') has, like a direct gaze or a close haircut, the function of symbolizing a whole set of moral 'virtues' -rectitude, straightforwardness, dignity (face to face confrontation as a demand for

[14] Young explains transcendence, the first modality, as follows: "[T]he lived body as transcendence is pure fluid action" (Young 2005, 36), is open to infinite capacities, yet at the same time "all transcendence is ambiguous because the body as natural and material is immanence" (ibid.). The third modality argues that body has a unifying and synthesizing function, through which the body "unites itself with its surroundings" (ibid., 37). Nevertheless, the female body is discontinued, as part of it remains immobile in motion (ibid., 38).

respect)- and also physical ones - vigour, strength, health" (Bourdieu 1978, 835). However, it is necessary to emphasize the difference between the postures of boys and girls, which originates from the body image girls have of themselves and how they believe this image will be portrayed depending on how they walk. Therefore, instead of taking the masculine motility as the point of reference, the inhibited intentionality argument calls for an awareness of how girls relate to their own bodies.

6.5.4. The Invented Male Gaze

Girls' hiding their breasts might also be closely linked to the male gaze, as the chest becomes "the daily visible and tangible signifier of her womanliness" (Young 2005, 76), starting from adolescence. It was not only the breasts, however, that brought the gaze in. Although none of the students that I interviewed told me that she had been disturbed by the gaze of the boys, teachers believed that this was the case, and tried their best to prevent it from happening.

The male gaze was believed to emerge concurrently with the onset of adolescence. As girls entered puberty, teachers started to be wary of their relationship with boys. However, it was girls who received the warning and who should be careful not to be looked at, as Nurcan narrates: "When I was in the middle school, my gymnastics teacher said, 'You are not aware that your body is changing. Boys are looking at you as you walk. Be careful!' It was a very stern warning. From that moment on, I hated that woman and the physical education class even more". Based on this, it can be put forth that the changes in the girls' bodies were seen as problematic, and the reaction of a "proper" girl should be to adapt herself to this situation.

The male gaze invented by teachers was also a rationale they used for the continuation of single-sex education. It was asserted that girls would feel uncomfortable in the presence of boys, because they would watch them as they exercised. The solution was found in separating the class, as Ayşe recounts:

> We should separate girls and boys during physical education classes. Girls might have special conditions [menstruation]. That condition might be revealed, or if she can't do

> an exercise properly, boys may laugh. Girls have such fears. Girls are cowards; after all, they are very shy about this. If they have to do it while the boys are watching, they can't do it at all. They get worried.

This invention or the assumption of the male gaze is parallel to Jean-Paul Sartre's "look". According to Sartre, "we are not normally objects of our own awareness. (…) We 'do' and live our life and actions, rather than having them as objects of our thought" (Crossley 1993, 408). Nevertheless, the warnings made by teachers turn girls to objects of their own awareness, and aim to shape their movements in a way that will escape the gaze of the male. This situation creates a new relationship with their bodies, one that must be carefully hidden, as in the case of breasts.

6.5.5. Physical Education: Disciplinary or Emancipatory?

Although I have largely discussed the disciplinary and discriminatory accounts relating to gender, opposing views regarding the relationship between gender and sport exist. The strongest of these arguments is that women can find the opportunity to express themselves and come closer to emancipation by engaging in physical exercise. Therefore, I will devote the following space to discuss this counter argument.

The emancipatory role of physical education becomes meaningful, particularly when we note that students may respond differently to discourses. "Bodies are not inert; they function interactively and productively. They act and react" (Grosz 1994, xi). Therefore, it is expected that not all girls will respond to the physical education discourses and rituals in the same way. The same can be argued for disabled people, who may have found a new social space through physical activity. An example to this is Ünzile, who has been practicing as many sports as possible, especially since the time she became paraplegic. She feels pride in this, and stands against those who criticize her: "I told myself that I could do anything if I do not embarrass my family, if I don't harm myself or my family. That's what I told my parents as well. And that's how I lived". Ünzile's experience is an example of feeling self-confident

in life through sports. İdil, on the other hand, believes that she lacks this confidence, because she chose not to attend her physical education classes:

> I think I feel really bad [about not having attended the physical education classes]. There were a lot of times when I felt bad. First of all, I would like to have shared those things with my friends. Secondly, when I later signed up for a gym center, I found out that I could do a lot of the exercises. If I had pushed myself a little bit, I could have done them [when I was a student]. I [estranged] myself in vain.

İdil's account shows that physical education can also be a way to find out about one's body's capabilities and limits, in addition to creating a space for social sharing. Through sport, women may "develop a positive sense of 'physicality', which, in turn, can lead to the development of a positive physical identity" (Garrett 2004, 141). This brings about a sense of confidence and self-esteem as well. Furthermore, women's engagement in sport "also makes us question hegemonic gender identities, challenge the traditional gender imagery" (Hargreaves 1987, 153). However, we need to be careful when emphasizing the liberating role of physical activity. "The contradictory positioning of girls and women within sporting and physically active institutions as well as the hegemonic discourses that maintain the status of women in these institutions can have quite the opposite effect" (Garrett 2004, 141). Therefore, instead of looking at physical education from one side only, we should question how far people feel emancipated and how far they are molded and given the opportunity to relate to their bodies free from social norms.

In this section, I have referred to different ways in which the binary division of genders was manifested. Through games, exercises, the use of space, and the teaching of how to move your body according to your gender, physical education classes symbolized the gendered nature of the social arena in general. In the next section, I turn to the disabled body, another body which displays segregation through a biological point of view. Gendered and disabled bodies showed many parallels in terms of the strict divisions between the able/disabled and male/female categories, in addition to how these categories related to the

space and lived weight/height/gender. The two bodies should be collocated in thought to get a fuller understanding of the bodies in the 1969-1983 period.

6.6. The Absent Body: The Disabled Body

"Medicine is a social science, and politics
is nothing else but medicine on a large scale."
Rudolph Virchow, 1848

This section will address the positioning of the disabled body in physical education in Turkey between 1969 and 1983. During this period, the disabled body was absent from physical education discourses. Nevertheless, this neglect was more than a simple indifference. Instead of merely ignoring the disabled body, the ideal of able-bodiedness was perpetuated by contrasting it to the disabled body. Despite this ideal, however, disabled students did exist, and teachers sought ways to include them. This procedure was far from being smooth, given the limitations of the existing physical education programs and curricula.

6.6.1. Able-Bodiedness and Physical Education

I use the expression "the absent body" to refer to the neglect of disabled students in physical education particularly during the 1970s. For the most part of this period, physical education discourses and rituals were bluntly designed for able-bodied students, and it was assumed that all students were able-bodied. This idea can be explained through what Roxana Galusca terms "fictive ability". She describes this term that she has coined through a derivation of Etienne Balibar's "fictive ethnicity" as follows:

> Fictive ability as an ideology contains human bodies within a public health system, confining individuals to a coherent narrative of able bodiedness that undergirds national communities. Like other social identities, ability is a sociohistorical construction that functions to differentiate, marginalize, and control individuals under the aegis of the nation's well-being. In public parlance, however, ability is conceived as anything but a social fabrication. (Galusca 2009, 138)

For Galusca, this term has relevance for immigration policies, particularly the medical examinations that took place on Ellis Island. Nevertheless, I suggest that fictive ability is at work not only in immigration policies but also within the nation itself. It is imagined that all students are able-bodied, or that the ones that can be fully integrated to the workforce are able-bodied. Therefore, the disabled body is almost completely absent from physical

education discourses and rituals in this period in Turkey. Galusca also describes how the US nationals who visit the Ellis Island identify themselves as able-bodied, as opposed to the immigrants (ibid., 159). The same argument can be made for the physical education policy makers and teachers. Considering themselves as able-bodied, the classes are designed by these actors as sites of the reproduction of fictive ability. Although "the ideal able-bodied identity can never, once and for all, be achieved" (McRuer 2006, 304), the hierarchical power structure leads to the reproduction of fictive ability.

The emphasis on the able body and the attention drawn to the difference between the competent and the non-competent is aimed at suggesting physical education as a technology of normalization through which anomalies are systematically created, classified and controlled (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, 195). In this context, the non-competent is thought to be the deviant and possibly the delinquent, as the following quote from a textbook published in 1979 displays:

> Within the studies on physical education, it is necessary to apply movement groups that are corrective as well as educative according to a plan … The event that generates posture deformities starts with neglect in the family and at school … By affecting the neural structure, it causes the psychological behaviors below:
> - Psychological breakdown starts
> - Inferiority complex appears
> - Introverted
> - As s/he does not see the bodily structure s/he sees in others in him/herself, his/her personality and character development is affected negatively especially in puberty.
>
> As s/he will have difficulty in obeying the rules in the society, this may cause factors that may result in the underdevelopment of intelligence.
>
> As a result of the biological appearance and lack of anatomical structure, this may lead to the conclusion where the child commits a crime or a felony. (Aslan 1979, 3-4)

By neglecting the fictive nature of able-bodiedness, physical education classes continually reproduced normalizing judgments. This is evident in the charts and records that were recommended for teachers to keep track of the physical progress of the students. The State Planning Agency recommended that the physical competence of students be measured, and that special programs be applied to those who were "underdeveloped" (T. C. Başbakanlık

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 195). Through physical education, it was also possible to gather data regarding the fitness, ability, weight, height and health of students. For instance, teachers were suggested to fill out the Physical Competence Tests Chart, generated separately for boys and girls (Muallimoğlu 1977). Levent recalls this application, and how the data were stored: "There were student development files. Height, weight, etc. In addition, we had to fill out flexibility tests. Measuring how far a student could jump". These data were not only used to define the normal and abnormal, they also provided a useful source for the "government and regulation of populations" (Smart 2002, 88). Through physical education, the diseased, the disabled, the "abnormal" were perpetuated as equal threats to the society and the intervention of the medical profession was called for if physical education would fail to "correct" these underdeveloped students (Muallimoğlu 1977, 88). As these examples display, we seemingly all agree that "able-bodied identities, able-bodied perspectives are preferable and what we all, collectively, are aiming for" (McRuer 2006, 304). This imagination is termed as "compulsory able-bodiedness" by Roberta McRuer and it is one of the features in physical education discourses and rituals in this era.

The mind-body relationship was constructed over the argument that the body serves as the basis of the mind. This idea can be stated at its simplest form as, "S/he who wants to have a sound [*sağlam*] mind must have a sound body" (Öztürk 1982, "Önsöz", para.2). This statement was derived from the idea that "a sound mind" can exist only "in a sound body", which is attributed to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and its accuracy is repeated many times (Gazeteciler Cemiyeti 1981, 43, 53, 54). This idea was also more directly linked to intelligence, by scholars who reiterated John F. Kennedy's words "that intelligence and skill can only function at the peak of their capacity when the body is healthy and strong; that hardy spirits and tough minds usually inhabit sound bodies" (Karatün 1972, 153-154, Muallimoğlu 1977, 7). Similarly, a district governor stated that when students are deprived of access to

physical education classes, their intellectual education is disrupted as well (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 30). All of these statements create a simple equation: Physical education makes a sound body possible, which brings about intelligence. This perspective has two implications. On the one hand, it excludes disabled people from the realm of intelligence and intellectuality, as they do not possess a sound body. On the other hand, as the next section will make clearer, it indirectly suggests that disabled students, being deprived of their access to physical education classes, are not worthy of "improving" their bodies to create the basis of intelligence and intellectuality. Healthy education is argued to be sustained only through a healthy, robust and able body (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 59), a feature disabled students do not possess. This creates a two-fold exclusionary practice for disabled students, shutting them out of the system.

The absence of a physical education program or course aimed at disabled students should not be considered as a neglect of a specific population on the side of the state, curriculum designers, and authors. On the other hand, the very absence of a policy was a policy, aimed at disabled students. By seemingly ignoring the possibility of disabled students' participating in physical education classes, a "state of exception" (Agamben 2005) was created. Giorgio Agamben uses this term in a political and juridical context, however, disability's being presented as an exceptional case, and physical education policies' not being applied to disabled students in the same way as they apply to able-bodied students allowed this term to be used in this context as well. Disabled people were thus "banished to the 'state of exception'" (Overboe 2007, 222), through which it became easier to define the norm and to normalize ableism. "The body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body" (Foucault 1995, 26). As the disabled body was not perceived to be productive, it was not considered necessary for this body to be subjected under physical education.

It was not only intelligence that was linked to able-bodiedness, but also being a "good" member of the society. Living up to social norms was attributed only to the ideal able body, as exemplified in a physical education textbook: "A person's living according to social rules, setting an example in his/her relationships with one another, being helpful, respectful of human rights and being honest is linked to his/her being intelligent and mentally and physically healthy" (Aslan 1979, 1). This idea was adopted by physical education teachers as well, as it was suggested that individuals' being healthy is a must for a healthy society (Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri Derneği Genel Merkezi 1979, 62). Whether someone was trustworthy or not could also be understood through his/her state of health, according to the Ministry:

> A good citizen, a good person is s/he who has high work efficiency and who is beneficial to him/herself and the society. It is not possible to expect such a qualification from someone who is not healthy. Only in the person with a healthy mind and body can we see the energy to live, work and operate. 'Someone like this can be regarded as healthy, and you can trust him/her in every respect'. (Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı 1977, XXXVII)

Similarly, the State Planning Organization put forth that "the integrity and continuation of a society is maintained by healthy and law-abiding individuals" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1979, 5). These arguments indicate that through able-bodiedness, two ideals are constructed: the ideal body and the ideal social role.

Sport and physical education were given the role of constructing these ideals. Physical education was deemed not only "educational", but also "corrective" (Aslan 1979, 3). Erdem, a former student of physical education supported this idea as he claimed that "educating the body means setting a standard, a form for the human structure". Through this standardization, it was considered to be possible to attain the ideal body. Sport was perceived to be "among the main educational tools to raise a healthy and sound generation" (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1967, 192) and its main aim was stated as raising "a human who is healthy, happy, who has a personality, and is strong, which is the biggest factor in

economic development" (Ünlü 1977, 31). Based on this, the equation above can be improved by introducing the economic efficiency of the able body as the desired outcome.

6.6.2. Disability on Paper

As stated above, the focus in this period was far from the disabled body. Nevertheless, there were some references to the disabled body in physical education and sport, which mostly aimed at underlining the exclusion. For instance, a physical education program recommended that students be separated into three groups: normal, hyper-physiologic and hypo-physiologic (Sef 1978, 35), depending on the level of physical development of students. However, "sick children, those with a bodily deformation, and those in remission should not be included" in any of these groups (ibid., 38). This instance not only stresses the direct exclusion of the disabled body, but also shows that it is not enough to be non-disabled. The students are further categorized according to their physical abilities, and should be trained to reach the ideal or the normal. Another incident of exclusion that leads to the absence of the disabled body is the idea that disabled sportspeople cannot reach the required level of performance if they use one hand or one foot only. The reasoning is that only one center of the brain functions, which causes a disproportional training (Böke 1972, 13). While this is what books and "body experts" recommended, Ünzile, a paraplegic interviewee, states that after her graduation from high school, she participated in almost all sport activities that could be performed while sitting. These included, but were not limited to, basketball, volleyball, badminton, tennis, and modern dance. Nevertheless, none of these activities were recommended to disabled students during her education. Instead, teachers who would raise basketball players were suggested to recruit students with "faultless" (*arızasız*) bodies (Yalçın 1973, 210). It was not only in books and schools that this discouragement was found, however. Ünzile recalls the experiences of her friend, who was discouraged by her family about her capabilities: "I had a disabled friend in primary school. She experienced a lot of

pressure from her family. They kept saying that she couldn't do this, couldn't do that. I used to encourage her". This example shows that "disciplines of normality" (Wendell 1996, 87) were imposed also through families. The discourses in the families, schools, and textbooks reproduced each other.

Other references to the disabled body were pejorative statements. One reference made to disabled people is linked to the games recommended for physical education teachers to teach their students. The game called "Dwarves" has the following guidelines: "Hide behind the bushes, move as you lift high onto your toes, look around like them, dance, and run as you scream" (Selçuk 1980, 25). Another source lists dwarves as imaginary creatures (Günışık 1973, 12). "The blind tailor" game, on the other hand, consists of a student's trying to cut a rope while blindfolded. As the student tries to cut the rope, other students are required to say, "Now you are the blind tailor. Will you be able to cut the rope?" (ibid., 82). These two examples display that disability was portrayed either as an imagined state of being as in the case of the dwarves, or as a state of inability as in the case of the blind tailor. As games are implicit yet powerful tools to transfer knowledge onto especially young students, disability was taught to be imaginative or inability, as opposed to able-bodied people's being "real" and "able". This way of thinking fosters compulsory able-bodiedness.

The absence of the disabled body from written documents pertaining to physical education started to change towards the end of the period of interest. Starting from the early 1980s, the disabled body started to be more visible. In the 1983 Youth Commission Report with an emphasis on Youth and Sport, a chapter was devoted to the "Youth with Physical and Mental Disabilities" (T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1983). Another case in this framework was the improvement in the curriculum of the Faculties of Education. Starting from 1982, "physical education and sport for the disabled" became available as an elective course for students studying at universities to become physical education teachers (Bilge

1989, 140). Similarly, a physical education book from 1980 signaled the beginning of the recognition of disabled students in physical education classes. While grading the students, teachers were recommended to ask themselves the following questions: "Does s/he [the student] have a congenital disability? Is his/her spine crippled [*arızalı*]? Is there a disease in his/her lungs or heart?" (Selçuk 1980, 182). These questions display that some consideration is given to the possibility of attendance of disabled students to physical education classes. Nevertheless, the questions were not followed by any suggestions about how to treat, examine, or grade a disabled student. Therefore, this attempt at discursive inclusion remained limited. Other examples at the state-level were the granting of disabled people free access to sports facilities for the first time in 1983 (Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü 1983, 37) and the awarding of the prizes of disabled child swimmers at a ceremony by Vecdi Özgül, then Minister of Youth and Sport (ibid., 184). The latter event's being covered in the media and a state representative's being present implies that disabled people and their relationship with physical education and sport started to be recognized by the state.[15] Between 1980 and 1983, the Ministry was also able to reach out to the deaf and the blind to an extent, thanks to the civil organizations' connections (Özgül 2006, 43).

This turn of events was parallel to the situation in the international arena as well. It was only in 1975 that the Helsinki Final Act and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons were issued. In addition, 1981 was proclaimed the International Year of Disabled Persons (Atkins 1994, 30). Reflecting on these developments, Turkey minted golden and silver coins specially engraved for the International Year of Disabled Persons, illustrating disabled people on the obverse side of the coin (Numista.com n.d.). Of course, it is not possible to state that the relationship of disabled people with sports was approached equally with that of the able-bodied students, based on these developments. The medical model

[15] Federations for disabled sportspeople have been founded after this period, especially in the 1990s and 2000s.

prevailed in this period,[16] as it still does in many areas in Turkey. Nevertheless, it still was a point of departure for future improvements.

6.6.3. Disability in Practice

Although the disabled body was largely absent from curricula, physical education books and other documents, disabled students did of course exist. Students who were not "suitable" for physical education classes could take a certificate of exemption from a medical doctor. These certificates were an easy, practical and safe method for the state to "overcome" disability. Making disabled students exist only on the certificate saved them from the "trouble" of developing programs for people that did not seem economically, socially, or politically useful or efficient. However, teachers were willing to find a way to make disabled students participate. This created a conflicting situation for especially physical education teachers, as they were not trained for educating the body of the disabled student.

The common perspective physical education teachers had towards disabled students was to make them participate "as much as they could". As teachers did not know what activities to assign to these students, they asked them to do the same exercises as able-bodied students, but told them to stop when they felt like they were pushing too far. This happened especially with students who had a limp. Ünzile remembers such a friend who was made to run with her non-disabled friends, and she came last every time. Ülkü made her able-bodied students run 10 laps during warm-up, whereas her student with a limp was assigned 3 laps. Similarly, Orhan remembers his friends Ufuk and Ahmet, who both had limps. Although these students wanted to get a certificate of exemption for the physical education course from

[16] Briefly, the medical model sees disability merely as a biological hindrance, as opposed to the social model, which argues that "it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society" (Oliver 1996, 20). This model, then, suggests that it is not the biological differences that cause disabled people to be marginalized, but the society, discourses and/or various practices of the state.

a medical doctor, their teacher told them not to. They could participate as much as they wanted, and as long as they had "good manners", they would get the highest grade.

Physical education teachers feel pride in their attempts to include disabled students to their classes. A case narrated by İkbal, a physical education teacher, was again about a student who had a limp. For İkbal, her experience with this student "left a trace in her life". She physically helped the student to jump over the vaulting box, and was moved by his feelings of joy, enthusiasm, and success, as opposed to his fear before he was helped by the teacher. Similarly, Remzi says it is his "pride and honor" that several disabled students decided to get their certificates of exemption cancelled and participated in the classes after watching the lessons for some time.

Not all teachers directly included their disabled students to the classes. Some of them made the students take other roles in the class. Leman gave them the role of referees, assigned them presentations on the topic of the week, or made them arrange the music when necessary. Where a disabled student was not exempt from the course, but could not perform the movements, teachers evaluated them on theoretical knowledge such as field measures. In any case, they were never sent to the classroom and were made to watch the entire class from the side. "The side" was reserved for disabled students, in a similar manner that it was for girls. As Ünzile recounts, "disabled students did as much as they could, but they were usually exempt from the course. When there was something they couldn't do, they sat or stood on the side". The organization and use of space hints at the constructed able-bodied/disabled binary just like the male-female dichotomy. The body that deserved being in the center was the one that conformed to the bodily ideals only.

These stories suggest that there was a demand on both the teachers' and the disabled students' side to include all students in physical education. Teachers attempted to integrate the disabled students emotionally, and also physically. The physical support, accompanied with

emotional support might have made the students part of their cohorts. Nevertheless, absence of a program for disabled students made it difficult for the inclusion to take place. Such an approach to make disabled students directly or indirectly participate in the physical education classes can be named as "mainstreaming", where disabled students spend "part of the school day alongside non-disabled classmates in a mainstream setting" (Fitzgerald 2006, 754). Nevertheless, how far mainstreaming is appropriate for the education of disabled students is a point of discussion. Without adapting the physical education programs and curricula for disabled students, only "integration" can take place to an extent, as opposed to "inclusion". While integration refers to fitting into "the existing curricula as they are already planned by teachers" (Thomas and Smith 2009, 107), inclusion takes place only when changes are made to "various dimensions of a school's structure and practices" (Fitzgerald 2006, 755). As the disabled body was absent in writing, how far the student can exist became dependent on "the degree to which teachers adapted and modified the sports and activities typically delivered to pupils" (Thomas and Smith 2009, 106).

In addition to the problem of inclusion versus integration, disabled bodies were treated like able bodies qualitatively. Same tasks were given to both groups. Nevertheless, the "difference" showed itself quantitatively, as disabled bodies could not go "as far as" the able bodies could. Within such a framework, it is difficult to talk about having found a method to overcome exclusion. Therefore, attempts at integrating disabled students, as opposed to including them, foster the able-body as the norm. As the narratives above display, trying to fit into the existing programs cause disabled students to "bring up the rear". Therefore, it paves the way for them to "measure themselves, and perceive others measured them, against a mesomorphic ideal" (Fitzgerald 2006, 759).

6.6.4. The Fat Body

Within the framework of physical education, the fat body is neither the desired input, nor the desired output. “In schools and the military, the fat body is undesirable, inefficient and something to be ‘exchanged’ for the mesomorphic ideal (Hargreaves 1986, 170). Even further than this proposed exchange, the fat body was treated like the disabled body in the Turkish physical education system particularly during the 1970s. This was evident both in written sources by “body experts”, and also in the behavior of the physical education teachers towards their “fat” students. I contend that the agenda on the “fat body” is quite in line with the “beautiful body”, as both can be framed under the “hidden curriculum”. Although the abnormalization of the fat body can be read only between the lines, it forms another component of the national, social, sportive, and educational ideal.

As physical education and sport were assigned to produce the ideal body, the fat body was seen as their matter of concern as well. This is reflected in the following argumentation: “We are all united in the idea that fatness does not depend on a pathological reason, and that to fix the situation, intensive physical education and appropriate nutrition is urgently needed” (Sef 1978, 38). In a similar fashion, it was asserted that “‘Sport for All’ should be promoted as obesity emerges in immobile people. These people are not only prone to illness, but also are devoid of the ‘fat’s joy of life’” (Muratlı 1979, 89). Within this context, physical education was given a “symbolic status as a therapeutic institution” that can respond to the “problem” of overweight (Gard 2004, 74).

This persistence to “cure” fatness through fitness can be framed under social Darwinism. The unfit were regarded as not worthy of living and doomed to be left behind (Ünder 2008), whereas those who were physically educated would be able to win the fight and succeed. Nevertheless, although the distinction between fit and unfit allegedly rested on medical grounds, the contrast was indeed materialized at the social realm: “Wellness ideology

is far from the objective medical system its advocates purport it to be. Diet and fitness have become a new basis for invidious social comparison and social ranking. The moral universe, not merely the medical, is divided into 'the fit' and 'the unfit'" (Stein 1982, 174). An important ingredient to this moral universe was physical education classes.

The perspective that the fat body has to be transformed through physical exercise is in line with the neoliberal view of the body, which started to emerge towards the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s. The body was no more to be a liability to the state. It had to be freed from any cost it could cause. Therefore, this context has been paralleled with a new, healthist understanding of the body and of physical education. *Healthism* can be summarized as the idea that health can be achieved through individual effort and discipline (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989). In a healthist system, it is possible to talk about a shift from a mass and external control of the body to an individual, internal control (ibid.). In the context of Australia, this discursive shift caused the emergence of health-based physical education programs (ibid., 426). It is not possible to talk about such a radical shift in the Turkish context. Nevertheless, the connection between health and physical exercise started to be stressed more frequently than ever in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Books strengthening this relationship, *Yaşam Boyu Spor* (Life-long sport), *Sağlık için Spor* (Sport for health) and *Sağlıklı Yaşam için Beden Eğitimi Uygulamaları* (Physical education applications for a healthy life) were published in 1982, 1983 and 1986, respectively.

As a result of fat students' not performing at the normal or ideal level, physical education teachers and non-overweight students usually regarded them as almost disabled. For instance, Hasan said, "I have never come across a fully disabled student, but there were overweight students". This perspective led them to try methods of integration that were similar to the way they treated disabled students. Enis assumed that his "obese students couldn't do sports" and that "it was obvious that they wouldn't ever be able to". Therefore, he

gave them other responsibilities such as assigning the leadership of a group, or finding a picture related to sports to hang on the walls of the school. On the other hand, Hasan included his fat student more actively, by recruiting him to the folk dances team, despite the students' protests, saying that "he is useless, he can't get himself up". He proudly added that "three years later, that kid was on the team that won the first place".

The transition that was supposed to happen between fatness and "normality" showed itself through sweat. Orhan recalls a friend they used to call "Fat Salih [*Şişman Salih*]", who played basketball, while everyone else played volleyball. As he played, he used to "sweat really a lot. The teacher told him to bring 3-4 towels. He wiped himself constantly". This perspiration marked the beginning of Salih's transformation from fatness to "normality". This haptic and olfactory dimension underlines hard-work and progress. Sweat becomes a symbol for "mutual affirmation", as "pungency is the result of hard training, and any lack of it provides proof of lack of effort" (Hockey and Collinson 2007, 122).

Fatness also defined how a student experienced physical education classes. İdil explains her experience with fatness as follows: "I was always overweight. Therefore, I couldn't run much. I could never do much of anything. That stemmed from my weight. I always felt the need to stay back. For instance I never rode a bicycle. I still don't know how to ride one". This account of "lived weight" (Smiet 2012, 7) reflects the alienation of the fat body, and this body makes sense of the world through its fatness. The "limits of the bodily 'I can'" (Young 2005, 36) are determined through lived weight. However, the sense the fat body makes of the world is not determined by its being in an isolated manner, but through lived human relations. The motility of the body is thus limited through this relationship. İdil remembers how she had to limit her motility as follows: "There was this game where two girls would stand opposite each other with an elastic rubber band in between. Another would jump over the band. I, of course, could never play that. You had to pull the band towards your

knee. I could never do that, every part of your body would wobble on its own [*her yer ayrı oynar*]. Such things could happen on no account". As this narrative further supports, both the fat body and the disabled body are examples of how the behavior of the body is defined and limited. Nevertheless, for this limitation and definition to take place, the body need not be disabled or fat. All bodies, experiencing a level of disabledness and/or fatness, undergo a similar journey, to varying extents.

This section has located the disabled body in the physical education discourses and rituals. Through the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, some changes have been started to seen in the way the disabled body was perceived. Nevertheless, as the ideas of "compulsory able-bodiedness" and "fictive ability" continued to persist, marginalization of the disabled body did not cease to exist. Marginalization was not specific to disabled bodies, however, whoever did not comply with the national ideal had to be corrected. With this section, the chapter "The Body in Turkish Physical Education System" is concluded. In the next chapter, I will explore how physical education policies were implemented differently at different locations, and how this variety in implementation affected students' and teachers' sensory experiences.

7. Sensing Physical Education: The Variety in Implementation

As the preceding chapter displayed, there were multiple ways the body and physical education were defined in the Ministry of Youth and Sport period. The multiplicity of the ways came into being not only through the necessities of the state, or the prevalent discourses and discursive practices related to bodies of difference, but also parallel to the varieties in implementation. Although physical education curricula were pre-determined by the Ministry, it was not possible for them to be carried out thoroughly and in the same way at every school. Sport facilities of the schools were a determining factor about which topics on the curriculum could be implemented, although some teachers found ways to circumvent such problems. The variety in implementation across cities and schools determined the sensory experiences of students and teachers regarding the physical education classes. Particularly, the haptic experience with floors and sports equipment, and the relationship between the sensory experience of the weather and lived time and space were in the forefront in this period. In this chapter, I will delineate how the differences in implementation of physical education curricula affected students' and teachers' sensory experiences in terms of these two factors.

7.1. The Touch and the Haptic

Sensory experience plays a vital role in how one makes sense of not only the environment, but also him/herself. Senses are the bridges through which one relates to, and becomes one with his/her surrounding. "The senses mediate the relationship between self and society, mind and body, idea and object. *The senses are everywhere*" (Bull, et al. 2006, 5; italics in the original). The omnipresence of sensory experience[17] results in the person's relationship with his/her body to depend on the senses: "Every external perception is immediately synonymous with a certain perception of my body, just as every perception of my body is made explicit in the language of external perception" (Merleau-Ponty 2005, 239). This perception comes into

[17] Of course, one may not be able to use all of his/her senses due to an impairment. This statement refers to any kind of sensory experience, not the ability to experience them all.

being through the principle of reversibility, which corresponds to our senses' being reversible. As one touches the ball in the sports field, the ball touches back. This has particular significance in sport and physical education, as "in relation to sportspeople, such a relationship is not just with other participants but also with objects such as sports equipment and kit, and the general environment" (Allen-Collinson 2009, 283). Therefore, when physical education classes are considered, one can talk about a reversible sensory experience both with students and the teacher, and with equipment used in the class.

Touching has some particularities vis-à-vis other senses, which determine the character of the experience. First of all, while all other senses are mediated through a travel in time and space, touch is the only sense that is immediate in terms of these two dimensions (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014a, 7). This means that the external perception one acquires through touching immediately responds and provides a perception of one's body. However, at this point, it is necessary to differentiate between the touch and the haptic. Touching is easily reduced to the experience of the skin only, while senses are necessarily experienced not with a bodily part, but with the body as a whole (Merleau-Ponty 2005). The term haptic overcomes this reduction and the external-internal dualism in terms of the body:

> Even cutaneous skin sensations are irreducible simply to pressure on the skin, as it includes returns from various receptors in the skin that deal with pressure (mechanoreceptors), temperature (thermoreceptors) and pain (nociceptors). Beyond immediate skin contact the term 'haptic' is therefore applied more extensively to include internally felt bodily sensations. (Paterson 2009, 768)

Through the addition of the "internally felt bodily sensations" to the experience, one refers to three different senses within the haptic experience. These are kinaesthesia (sense of movement), proprioception (the sense of bodily position), and the vestibular system (sense of balance) (ibid., 769-770). I contend that all of these three senses were at work when physical education classes are considered. The haptic experience of students in physical education classes in the Ministry of Youth and Sport period was dominated by the characteristics of the

floor and the equipment used in the class. Maintaining a certain bodily position and balance depended on the haptic experience with surfaces of especially sports equipment, while the sense of movement built upon that with the floor where the class was carried out. Due to financial problems at schools, most students and teachers had to experience what it was like to do physical education on a concrete floor. This was also the time when they had to experience pain, as Orhan illustrates: "Everywhere was covered with earth in Kayseri, but the school garden was concrete. When we fell on the concrete, we felt so much pain". This experience that took place in Kayseri was not different from the problems experienced in Ankara, the capital city. A very similar relationship with the concrete floor is detailed by Nurcan as follows:

> Physical education classes took place mostly in the school garden. But it was not suitable for the classes. Concrete, all the way. The flat surface was concrete too, and there were smelly mats, dusty and smelly. We did the classes on them. Now, when I look back, I find them very primitive. (…) We had mats in front of the stony ground, mats that had gone sour and thin because they were old. I fell down very often, broke my arm, got sutured, and tore my muscle. It was not ergonomic or suitable for gymnastics at all.

Pain and the difficulty of conducting the physical education class were not limited to the floor as Nurcan's narrative demonstrates. It was also the poor quality and shabbiness of mats that turned the class into a disturbing session. The experience with the mats came into being not only through the haptic, but also the olfactory sensation. These two senses supported each other that created a memory with a "multi-sensorial response" (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014b, 599), pertaining particularly to mechanoreceptors and nociceptors, feeding each other. Unfortunately, painful experiences with equipment were not uncommon. Levent explains how concrete floor and mats showed similar qualities: "We had to work with primitive mats. They were made of awning, filled with cotton waste. As we rolled on them, the stuffing would accumulate at the sides, and they would feel like concrete. [Lack of] field and equipment is the disgrace of Turkey". Although lack of field and equipment was one of the major problems

that prevented curricula from being implemented, this did not apply to all schools. Especially in Istanbul, there were state schools which were relatively rich, and could afford full-fledged facilities, exemplified by the schools Emel and Ünzile attended. Nevertheless, Istanbul had its own inequalities within. As Ümit and Emrah recount, their experience with sports facilities was not different from that of the students who studied in Anatolia.

The haptic memory in the minds of students and teachers worked under the framework of contrasts. In a preceding quote, Orhan had contrasted the concrete floor to the rest of the city, which was covered with earth. Similarly, Leman makes a contrast between the two types of floors: "We had an indoor facility where we conducted the ceremonies in winter. However, as the floor was concrete, I preferred to do the class outside, unless it rained or snowed. Outside, the surface was dirt. Falling down to a dirt surface is different from falling to concrete floor". Leman's account shows that the pressure on the skin and the pain the students had to go through were closely related and determined by the type of the floor. The sense of balance needed to be kept under further control when the floor was concrete, which brought about a different sense of movement. The very act of falling, on the other hand, differed from floor to floor, thus resulting in varying senses of bodily position.

The type of the floor was an indication of not only how painful the class would be, but also how dirty the clothes would get. Dirt was significant, as students had to go back to their classroom after physical education, and they preferred to be clean. Furthermore, it was a tiring and expensive chore to do the laundry. Orhan, who studied in Kayseri, Yozgat, and Istanbul, compares the floor types on which they carried out their physical education classes, based on this situation. Despite further problems in the implementation of the curriculum in Yozgat, he draws a parallel between where they conducted the class in Yozgat and in Istanbul: "There was a plain in Yozgat, a meadowy place. The district governor's wife would take us there, and would take a chair with her. She would tell us what to do, and would sit and knit her jumper

while we played in the meadow. We wouldn't get dirty, it was just like an indoor sports hall in Istanbul". Although Orhan experienced and enjoyed his physical education classes in Istanbul, where facilities were much more improved, he was also happy to be in the meadows for the simple reason of not getting dirty. His experience of lived space of these two very distinct locations, in terms of sport facilities, demonstrates the significance of the sensory experience, this time coupled with vision as well.

As a suitable floor was the prerequisite of any physical education class, it was used as a means by authorities to get their own way in school matters as well. As physical education was not deemed important by many teachers and administrators, some teachers had to fight to conduct their class. Ayşe recounts her indirect confrontation with the school principal, who tried to sabotage the class by changing the surface on which the class would normally take place:

> When I was In Çankırı, we did the classes in the garden in summer. I had basketball hoops installed, one-legged things, like electricity poles. However, the principal of the primary school felt uncomfortable, because the children in the building got distracted. One morning, I came to the school to see that the garden was pebbled. So, I got the children lined up and told them to pick up the nearest pebble and throw it. That day, we cleaned the whole area, and had the class. Next day, the pebbles were back, and we cleaned the area again. Finally, the principal gave up, and we had our garden back for the physical education classes.

The haptic experience with the pebbles would make it unimaginable to conduct the physical education class. Knowing this, it was used as a means to hamper the class. Nevertheless, Ayşe discovered a way to circumvent this dispute, and reclaimed the territory where students could touch and feel.

7.2. Lived Space, Lived Time: Weather and Physical Education

Weather was one of the major determining factors for physical education classes, in addition and in relation to the haptic experiences detailed above. It determined whether the class would actually take place, and if it would, where it would. The reason was that many schools did not have indoor facilities that they could use when it rained or snowed. Therefore, physical

education classes were contingent upon the weather. This contingency caused time to be experienced differently by physical education teachers and students. Their lived time was based on seasonal changes and rain/snowfall, rather than being measured in months. Furthermore, physical education teachers and students sensed the weather differently as well. Due to their classes' being contingent upon weather, changes in weather were moments of "intense embodiment" (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014a) and their sensory experience was heightened when weather was considered (Allen-Collinson and Leledaki 2014), just like their feeling pain vis-à-vis the floor type as discussed above. As a result, narratives about weather were indispensable when the relationship between space and physical education was concerned. Lived time and heightened sensory experience, in return, influenced how they experienced the lived space where the classes took place.

Not being contingent upon weather was possible only when schools had built-in facilities. This also meant that there was a high chance for the curriculum to be properly applied, as Ayşe narrates: "My conditions were very good, I always worked at schools with sports halls. Therefore, I was able to fulfill the deeds in the curriculum. We were able to conduct the lessons, had good equipment, but think of all those schools that do the class in the garden. They sit in the classroom through winter". Therefore, Ayşe's and her students' lived time differed radically from that of the teachers and students at schools with less improved facilities.

For many students studying at schools without indoor facilities, time and space were experienced in a similar way. Good weather meant being outside doing sports, while bad weather meant being inside doing "something else". Erdem recalls that "when it rained, we stayed in the class, as we had no sports hall. We did some other class, or wasted the time in vain". Similarly, Orhan recounts that "in Kayseri, when it rained, our teacher would sell us out to the German teacher. 'It's raining, so practice German'. You can't do it outside after

October; it's as cold as ice. And we had no indoor facility". As these narratives show, the relationship many students established with weather, and particularly rain, was based on being inside and wasting the time away. Bad weather was determined according to whether one could teach physical education outside, and was associated mostly with rain. Emrah, however, had a different sensory experience with the weather, as being out in cold was a punishment: "Even if the weather was cold, we would go outside to play, after 5-10 minutes of warming-up. I remember our teacher punishing us out in winter, making us shiver with cold". Again, bad weather is associated with coldness, but this time, it is not rain and the unavailability of the weather for the class. Instead, the relationship with the weather is associated with the haptic experience with cold, and the end it served.

Although rain was associated with not exercising by many students, some teachers found a means to teach the class, even when they were confined in the classroom. Hasan gives examples of how he made use of the time in such cases:

> You can do physical education without making any bodily movement. For instance, I used to draw circles on the blackboard, just like the darts today. I'd number them, and split the class into two groups. Eyes closed, whatever number the student touches, gains that point. I played the game of attention, the sleep game, the buzz game. I would invent games that would increase their love for physical education.

Hasan exemplifies another way of implementing the physical education curriculum. Although he was not able to follow the directions exactly, he aimed to circumvent the structural problems via providing education through other means. Another solution found by physical education teachers was to teach the classes in alternative spaces. As a result of the outside-inside problem, corridors became popular places to conduct physical education classes. Instead of their role as a passageway between classrooms and a place to chat for students and teachers in between lectures, corridors assumed a new task of hosting physical education classes. Emel recalls her classes in corridors, but mentions that they did indeed have a sports hall downstairs, "but everyone found it difficult to go there. So we did the classes in the

corridors". Of course, teaching the lesson in the corridors limited the topics that could be covered as well, as Levent explains: "In Kastamonu, we sometimes had to the classes in the corridors. The only exercises we could do in the corridors were the ones on the mats and with the vaulting box". As classrooms were filled with students having other classes, the noise had to be kept down. Furthermore, the limited dimensions of corridors did not allow for games to be played with balls either. This would mean that the curriculum had to be arranged according to the weather. In another school, Levent had to make such an arrangement, as the alternative of the garden was the basement: "During the first 1.5 or 2 months, we did the class outside. Then, it would start to get colder, but it didn't prevent us from carrying out the class outside, unless there was snow or mud. Even when it snowed, we went out to play dodge ball in the form of snowball. When we couldn't go outside, we did the class in the basement. Then, we did the gymnastics, we played ball games when we could go out". As Levent illustrates, the curriculum could serve only as a guide for the teachers. One had to mold and re-design it according to the resources, and of course, the weather.

Even when there was no rain, and the weather allowed for teaching the lesson outside, this did not necessarily mean that the class could be carried out easily. The gaze of the passersby was deemed problematic by many officials, and the solution was found in "going inside". Ülkü recounts the conflict as follows:

> Despite being in Kars, a cold climate, I did the classes in the garden as far as possible. I never forget my first year. I went out to the garden, and we were warming up with the students. Running, fitness exercises. The school was right in front of the police office and the district national education directorate. All young people, passersby leaned on the wall and started watching us. The audience increased, increased, and increased. Then they told me that the principal was calling for me. He told me to look at the wall and take the class inside. 'I can't help it. It happens', I said. He replied, 'They called from the national education directorate as well'. I insisted, 'Alright, but I will do this. I will teach this class as long as I am here, and I will go out whenever the weather is convenient. They will look at us for one day or two, and then they will give up'. The principal stopped and said, 'Go ahead but I don't know how this will end'. I continued the classes, and the people at the wall indeed disappeared after 10 or 15 days. They faded away.

Quite similar to Ayşe's conflict with the principal, Ülkü was confronted with multiple officials and ordered to change her space. Nevertheless, the class's experience with lived space influenced the passersby as well, and they normalized the garden's being utilized as a space for physical exercise as a result of relationality. Sensory experience was tied with lived space, time and human relation.

The variety in implementation of the curricula was of course not restricted to the haptic and the weather. Nevertheless, these two dimensions were the most prominent for the participants of this study. Further research on the varieties can be conducted with larger samples including all types of schools, and with a comparison and contrast between the city and the village, and among various districts of the city.

With this chapter, I conclude my discussion regarding how the body and physical education were perceived by different sites of meaning production. In the next and final chapter, I will review my findings and offer new ways to carry this research to a further point.

8. Conclusion

This study is set out to discover the way the body and physical education were defined in the initial Ministry of Youth and Sport period. As a school subject that is taken for granted and naturalized, I contend that physical education has to be critically studied to particularly understand its implications on the body and how the body images have an impact on physical education in return. To unfold this relationship, I ask three research questions, which are intricately related. I look for an answer to "How was physical education defined in Turkey between the years 1969 and 1983?". As I am interested in the body in physical education classes, the second question is "How did this conceptualization of physical education shape and was shaped by the dominant conceptualization(s) of the body in that period?". Finally, it is necessary to understand how the bodies that were molded by these dominant definitions experienced during the classes. Therefore, the third research question is "How did the bodies in physical education classes experience, sense and feel themselves and their surroundings?".

The discourse analysis of primary sources and semi-structured in-depth interviews reveal that there are at least six different ways bodies were perceived in the 1969-1983 period. First of all, the body of the student and relatedly the teacher was seen as the hub of the mind. Although this perspective seemed to overcome the mind-body dualism, this definition of the relationship between the mind and the body paved the way for aiming to discipline the mind through disciplining the body. A similar understanding of disciplinization could also be grasped by the militarized body. Physical education classes continued to highly resemble military drills, and it was possible to feel the institution of military both in the discourses and rituals. Nevertheless, the third way the body was perceived was at complete contrast with the mindful and militarized bodies. The mechanistic body stemmed from imagining the body as a machine made up of individual parts. Physical education could meticulously work on these parts one by one, and this work could be translated into the workforce through the bodies of

the students. The need to foster national economy as well as setting out the national ideals of the body were materialized through the May 19th ceremonies. While contrasting definitions of physical education were being implemented, it was curious to discover that alternative conceptualizations of physical education were almost non-existent. The reason behind this was that the social order was not disrupted through the dominant conceptualizations. The gendered and disabled bodies shed light on the reproduction of existing norms of gender and able-bodiedness. Social roles in this regard were not re-defined but affirmed as binaries such as male-female and able-bodied-disabled were further strengthened through physical education classes. As a result, it was possible to employ conflicting definitions of physical education.

The bodies that were surrounded with multiple yet contradictory conceptualizations of physical education, on the other hand, reacted in varying ways depending on their bodily characteristics, schools, and their attendance to physical education classes. Nevertheless, the most prevailing way the experience of physical education was explained was endowed with those that generated inequality. Students' sensory experience of the floors and the equipment where the classes took place, or the ways girls had to adopt a posture and walk are some examples of this inequality. Added to these, how lived time, space, height and weight have been experienced shows similar characteristics as well.

This thesis ran the risk of overplaying state as the ultimate site of meaning production. As the Ministry of Youth and Sport is a state institution and as many of the written documents were published through the Ministry, there is a heavy influence of state documents in the discourse analysis. Nevertheless, I aimed to overcome this limitation by including other actors (teachers and students) and institutions (civil society organizations and schools) into the discussion. However, it should also be kept in mind that there is an apparent hierarchy between institutions and actors in physical education. Policy makers and state officials, as a

result of their relatively higher economic and symbolic capital, are able to exert more influence on the fields of political and economic management of the body, as well as education. Throughout the thesis, I kept this in mind and attempted at an analysis that considers this imbalance.

Through this study, I also aimed to show that it is possible to study the invested and the lived bodies simultaneously. Although not all chapters are balanced in terms of its theoretical influence, the discourses effected on the body are analyzed in relation to how the bodies experienced these discourses in return. Although existential phenomenology's application on physical education and sociology is relatively new as well, I contend that the task of combining social constructionism with this strand is even more compelling, as without corporeality what is socially constructed remains in theory, while without the discussion of discourses, the body may be a whole with its surrounding, but remains isolated from social factors. Therefore, in order to acknowledge both, the lived body as it lives in the discourse has been my object of analysis.

The dialectical approach can also be used as a means to improve physical education policies. Although my task in this thesis has not been to study today's physical education and nor is it to have a direct impact on education policies, the experiences of teachers and students should be a starting point to rethink why physical education is needed, what ends it serves, what unseen and unforeseen circumstances occur, and what implications it has on the body. It can then be possible to change education from a top-down framework within which the actors are confined to one that can be re-defined form within. For such an action to be taken, not only studies that address the physical education classes of today, but also historical research will be found instructive.

Physical education calls for more research especially in the realm of sociology. By liberating ourselves from an insistence to study only the changes in the early Republican

period, education policies and how they have shaped the social, national, and the individual body need to be investigated. For research that will focus on the physical education of today, there will be further opportunities in terms of methodology. Participant observation and ethnography will definitely feed the research. For studies that will be have a historical dimension, different avenues appear. For instance, a study on the photographs taken during physical education classes would reveal interesting and significant details. Although I have made use of photographs as well, I did not undertake a systematic analysis of these sources. Photographs could be analyzed in conjunction with the daily and yearly plans that teachers had to prepare before teaching the class. These were hand-written and hand-drawn, and reflected the varieties in implementation of the curricula as well. By uncovering available but unused data, new perspectives on physical education can be revealed.

Physical education is just another area where bodily ideals and norms are manifested. As this research has located physical education in the sociology of the body, I would like to draw attention to other possibilities to unravel the distribution and perpetuation of a certain body image. Disability studies, fashion studies, and medical sociology are some of the other areas that should be focused on especially in Turkey. It would be very compelling to connect these different areas through lived experiences and discourses to untangle the webs that build up the body as we know it. I hope I have located one of the knots in this complex network through the study of physical education.

In an age when fit buildings are being raised and when bodies can be self-monitored through mobile devices, it becomes even more necessary to study the sociology of the body. The relationship we establish with our bodies is never independent from our physical surroundings, nor is it detached from dominant and alternative discourses on the body. The unraveling of the complex interplays between our body and its physical and social environment is one of the most powerful means to challenge bodily ideals and norms.

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Appendix A: Question List for Physical Education Teachers

Personal Information

1. At which school/s did you teach and when?
2. Which classes did you teach? (Which grade?)
3. How did you decide to become a physical education teacher?

General Questions Regarding Physical Education

4. Why do you think physical education courses are necessary and/or important?
5. How much do you think physical education was cared for by students and teachers in relation to other courses at school?
6. What do you think about the physical education policies between 1969 and 1983? What were some strong and weak points?
7. How many hours of physical education per week were the students taught? Do you think this was enough? Why or why not?

Questions Regarding the Content and Flow of the Lessons

8. To what extent was it possible to teach the lessons in accordance with the plans and programs designated by the Ministry of Youth and Sport?
9. Did you keep any records of the students (weight, height, etc) to trace their progress? If says yes, what was being recorded? Was this task assigned by an authority?
10. Where did you teach the lessons? (Ask separately for summer and winter) What were some of the strengths and weaknesses of these locations? How did you use these locations during the lesson?
11. Can you tell me about the flow of a standard lesson in general terms?
12. How did you arrange the flow of the lesson? How did you manage the time?
13. Did everyone attend the classes? If says no, what were the reasons why the students did not attend the classes, even if this was a rare occasion?
14. How did you display the exercises to be taught in that lesson to the students? Which exercises and sportive games (basketball, volleyball etc.) came to the forefront? Why were these exercises and games important or necessary?
15. Was each student able to perform the exercises as you wished? If says no, what kind of a difference did you observe between which groups? What kind of a method did you follow for the exercises to be performed better?
16. Were there students in the class that you thought were more capable or talented than others? Did these students play a different role than others during the lesson?

17. Were boys and girls being taught separately? Was there a different program for different genders in terms of the movements, exercises and sportive activities? What would be the best program according to you?
18. Did you have a physically or mentally disabled student in your class? If says yes, could these students participate in the physical education classes? If says yes, how did you include these students to the class? If says no, what did these students do while you were teaching the class?
19. How did you conduct the exams? Did the students' academic standing in other courses play a role in grading?
20. How did you choose from among your students for national ceremonies such as April 23rd or May 19th? Why do you think it was important and/or necessary for gymnastic showcases to be displayed in these ceremonies?
21. Which one mattered most for you: individual successes or bringing all of the students to the same level?
22. How would you evaluate the behavior and reactions of students towards your lessons in general?

Question List for Physical Education Teachers-Turkish Version

Beden Eğitimi Öğretmenleri için Soru Formu

Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Hangi okulda/okullarda, hangi yıllarda öğretmenlik yaptınız?
2. Kaçıncı sınıflara ders verdiniz?
3. Beden Eğitimi öğretmeni olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz?

Beden Eğitimine dair Genel Sorular

4. Sizce Beden Eğitimi dersi neden gereklidir ve/veya önemlidir?
5. Okuldaki diğer derslere göre Beden Eğitimi öğrenciler ve öğretmenler tarafından ne kadar önemseniyordu?
6. O dönemki beden eğitimi politikaları hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? Eksiklikler ya da doğru yapılanlar nelerdi?
7. Sınıfların Beden Eğitimi ders saati sayısı haftalık ne kadardı? Sizce bu yeterli miydi? Neden?

Derslerin İçeriği ve İşleyişine dair Sorular

8. Dersin içeriğini Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı tarafından belirlenen plan ve programlara uygun yürütmek ne kadar mümkündü?
9. Öğrencilerin gelişimini takip etmek amacıyla boy ya da kilo gibi bilgilerine dair kayıtlar tutuluyor muydu? Evet derse, neler kayıt altına alınıyordu? Bu bilgilerin kayıt altına alınması bir zorunluluk muydu?
10. Dersleri nerede işliyordunuz? (Yaz ve kış için ayrı ayrı sorulacak) Bu mekânların derse olumlu ya da olumsuz etkileri nelerdi? Bu mekânları ders sırasında nasıl kullanıyordunuz?
11. Derslerin işleyişini genel hatlarıyla anlatabilir misiniz?
12. Dersin akışını nasıl ayarlıyordunuz, zamanı nasıl kullanıyordunuz?
13. Derse herkes katılıyor muydu? Hayır derse, derse ara sıra da olsa katılmayan öğrencilerin sebepleri nelerdi?
14. Derste yapılacak uygulamaları öğrencilere nasıl gösteriyordunuz? Hangi hareketler ve oyunlar (basketbol, voleybol vb.) ön plana çıkıyordu? Bu hareketler ve oyunlar neden önemli/gerekliydi?
15. Her öğrenci hareketleri ve oyunları istenildiği gibi yerine uygulayabiliyor muydu? Hayır derse, kimler arasında nasıl bir farklılık gözlemlediniz? Hareketlerin daha iyi yapılabilmesi için nasıl bir yöntem izliyordunuz?
16. Derslerde daha yetenekli olduğunu düşündüğünüz öğrenciler var mıydı? Bu öğrenciler derste diğerlerinden farklı bir rol oynar mıydı?

17. Derslerde kız ve erkek öğrencilerin eğitimi beraber mi yoksa ayrı mı yapılıyordu? Yapılan hareket, alıştırma ve sportif faaliyetlerde cinsiyete göre farklı bir program uygulanıyor muydu? Sizce nasıl bir program uygulanması en doğru olurdu?
18. Derslerinizde bedensel ya da zihinsel engelli bir öğrenci var mıydı? Evet derse, bu öğrenci(ler) Beden Eğitimi dersine katılabiliyor muydu? Evet derse, bu öğrencileri derse nasıl dâhil ettiniz? Hayır derse, sizin dersiniz sırasında bu öğrenciler neler yapıyordu?
19. Dersin sınavını nasıl yapıyordunuz? Değerlendirmenizde öğrencilerin diğer derslerindeki başarı durumu etkili oluyor muydu?
20. 23 Nisan, 19 Mayıs gibi törenlerde görevli olmak üzere öğrencileriniz arasından nasıl bir seçim yapardınız? Sizce bu törenlerde jimnastik gösterilerinin yapılması neden önemli/gerekliydi?
21. Sizin için öğrencilerin spordaki kişisel başarıları mı daha önemliydi, yoksa tüm öğrencileri aynı seviyeye getirebilmek mi?
22. Genel olarak öğrencilerinizin dersinize karşı olan davranış ve tutumlarını nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

Appendix B: Question List for Students

Personal Information

1. Which school/s did you attend?
2. How many hours of physical education per week were you taught? (To be asked separately for kindergarten, primary school, middle school and high school)

General Questions Regarding Physical Education

3. What did physical education lessons mean for you? Why do you think physical education was an obligated course in the curriculum?
4. How much did you attend the classes? How willing were you as you participated in the lesson? Why didn't you attend when you didn't?
5. How was the attendance and participation of your classmates? Wat were the reasons why some of them did not participate in the lesson?

Questions Regarding the Content and Flow of the Lessons

6. Where did you have the lessons? (Ask separately for summer and winter) How appropriate were these locations for the lessons?
7. Can you tell me about the flow of a standard lesson in general terms?
8. What kind of exercises did you undertake in your lessons? Can you tell me the ones you remember in a detailed manner?
9. What kind of games did you play in your lessons? Can you tell me the ones you remember in a detailed manner?
10. Were there any exercises/games you were unable to perform? If says yes, how did you feel when your performance did not fulfill your teacher's expectations? Was there anybody in your classroom who you think could not perform well? What did their difference make you think?
11. Were there students in the class that you thought were more capable or talented than others? Did these students play a different role than others during the lesson?
12. Were boys and girls being taught separately? Was there a different program for different genders in terms of the movements, exercises and sportive activities? What would be the best program according to you?
13. Did you have a physically or mentally disabled student in your class? If says yes, could these students participate in the physical education classes? If says yes, how did these students be included in the class? If says no, what did these students do during the lesson?
14. How was the examination carried out?
15. Did you perform in ceremonies such as the April 23rd or May 19th? If says yes, did you voluntarily participate or were you selected by your teachers? How was the

process of preparation for these ceremonies? What kind of tasks did you carry out during these ceremonies? How did you feel during the ceremonies?

Question List for Students-Turkish Version

Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Hangi yıllarda hangi okullarda okudunuz?
2. Haftada kaç saat Beden Eğitimi dersiniz vardı? (Anaokulu, ilkokul, ortaokul ve lise için ayrı ayrı sorulacak)

Genel Sorular

3. Beden Eğitimi dersi sizin için ne ifade ediyordu? Sizce müfredatta neden bu ders zorunlu olarak yer almış olabilir?
4. Derse ne kadar katılıyordunuz? Katılırken ne kadar istekliydiniz? Katılmadığınız zamanlarda hangi sebeplerden dolayı katılmıyordunuz?
5. Sınıf arkadaşlarınız derse ne kadar katılıyordu? Katılmayanların sebepleri nelerdi?

Derslerin İçeriği ve İşleyişine dair Sorular

6. Dersi nerede yapıyordunuz? (yaz ve kış için ayrı ayrı sorulacak) Bu mekanlar ders için ne kadar uygundu?
7. Sıradan bir dersin işleyişini ana hatlarıyla anlatabilir misiniz?
8. Derslerde ne tür hareketler yapıyordunuz? Hatırladıklarınızı detaylı olarak anlatabilir misiniz?
9. Derslerde hangi sporları yapıyordunuz? Hatırladıklarınızı detaylı olarak anlatabilir misiniz?
10. Yapamadığınız hareketler/sporlar var mıydı? Evet derse, herhangi bir hareketi öğretmeninizin istediği şekilde yerine getiremediğinizde neler hissediyordunuz? Sınıf arkadaşlarınız arasında hareketleri/sporları yapamadığını belirgin olarak fark ettiğiniz birisi/birileri var mıydı? Bu farklılık size neler düşündürdü?
11. Derslerde daha yetenekli olduğunu düşündüğünüz öğrenciler var mıydı? Bu öğrenciler derste diğerlerinden farklı bir rol oynar mıydı?
12. Derslerde kız ve erkek öğrencilerin eğitimi beraber mi yoksa ayrı mı yapılıyordu? Yapılan hareket, alıştırma ve sportif faaliyetlerde cinsiyete göre farklı bir program uygulanıyor muydu? Sizce nasıl bir program uygulanması en doğru olurdu?
13. Derslerinizde bedensel ya da zihinsel engelli bir öğrenci var mıydı? Evet derse, bu öğrenci(ler) Beden Eğitimi dersine katılabiliyor muydu? Evet derse, bu öğrencileri derse nasıl dâhil oluyordu? Hayır derse, ders sırasında bu öğrenciler neler yapıyordu?
14. Dersin sınavı nasıl yapılıyordu?
15. 23 Nisan ve 19 Mayıs gibi törenlerde yer aldınız mı? Evet derse, katılmayı kendiniz mi istediniz yoksa öğretmenleriniz tarafından mı yönlendirildiniz? Bu törenler öncesinde nasıl bir hazırlık sürecinden geçtiniz? Törenler sırasında ne tür görevler üstlendiniz? Törenler sırasında neler hissettiniz?

Appendix C: Demographic Overview of Participants

Overview of Physical Education Teachers			
Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Years Physical Education was taught***	**Cities where the Teacher worked***
Ayşe	Female	1972-1983	Çankırı and İstanbul
Enis	Male	1969-1974	Sivas
Hasan	Male	1969-1983	İstanbul
İkbal	Female	1980-1983	Düzce
Leman	Female	1969-1983	Zonguldak
Levent	Male	1976-1983	Kastamonu and Düzce
Remzi	Male	1980-1983	Düzce and İstanbul
Ülkü	Female	1969-1983	Yalova and İstanbul

Overview of Students			
Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Years Students took Physical Education***	**Cities where the Students studied***
Emel	Female	1969-1979	İstanbul
Emrah	Male	1969-1977	Tunceli and İstanbul
Erdem	Male	1969-1972	Giresun
İclal	Female	1980-1983	Karaman
İdil	Female	1970-1982	İstanbul
Nurcan	Female	1978-1983	Ankara
Orhan	Male	1969-1975	Yozgat, İstanbul, and Kayseri
Ümit	Male	1973-1980	İstanbul
Ünzile	Female	1976-1983	İstanbul

*Years worked or studied refer to those years that fall within the rule of the first Ministry of Youth and Sport (1969-1983). Cities refer to the cities where the students studied or where the teachers worked during these years.