HISTORY OF THE SILENT REVOLUTION IN WOMEN’S VOLLEYBALL IN TURKEY WHERE CONFUSION PREVAILS BETWEEN EASTERNIZATION AND WESTERNIZATION

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Abstract. Previous studies have discussed that religious beliefs, traditions and social barriers seriously constrain women’s participation in physical activity and sports. In Turkey, however, although there are no restrictions against the participation of women in either physical activities or sports in the legal sense, it has been reported in many scientific research-projects conducted that certain segments of the society have a negative attitude against sports. The aim of this study was to determine the history of the women’s volleyball in Turkey where confusion prevails between Easternization and Westernization. In this connection, the paper reports on how women’s volleyball has undergone a successful silent revolution and become internationally successful by overcoming religious and traditional barriers. In conclusion, the international successes of the Turkish Women’s Volleyball in spite of its short history, has not emerged as a result of a generally widespread and institutionalized volleyball culture in the country. Ever since volleyball has emerged in Turkey, it has attained permanent success with the extraordinary contributions of the Istanbul teams with large budgets, teams owned by state organizations, company teams and individuals like Selim Sırrı Tarcan, Sabbıha Rifat Erayman and members of the Eczacıbaşı family who were devoted supporters of sports, especially women’s volleyball.

Keywords: Easternization; Westernization; Turkey; Volleyball; Women

Introduction

Sports have been used as a vehicle of self-expression by individuals at various levels almost in all societies ever since the advent of the Modern Olympics in 1896 [1]. While sports are phenomena generally accepted by every segment of the society in the western societies, major restrictions are encountered, especially in the Near Eastern geographies [2]. Religious beliefs, traditions and social barriers seriously constrain women’s participation in physical activity and sports [3]. In this connection, it has been reported that the participation of women in social life is restricted by law or unwritten social rules in many Near Eastern countries [4]. The situation varies from country to country, from rural to urban areas, and depends on the impact of Islamic resurgence, secularism, nationalism, Westernization and socialism. Physical education is officially compulsory in schools but, partly due to traditional attitudes and lack of facilities for segregation of the sexes, often neglected in practice [3].

In Turkey, however, although there are no restrictions against the participation of women in either physical activities or sports in the legal sense, it has been reported in many scientific research-projects conducted that certain segments of the society have a negative attitude against sports [5,6]. One of the main handicaps before women’s engaging in sports in Turkey, as it is in all the Islamic countries as well, is the acceptance of the attire, designated for a specific branch of sports which are worn by women performing sports and creating a perception of nakedness from time to time, as a major sin or shame by a significant segment of the society. The performance of a sport by a female athlete, who wears a hijab (a head covering worn in public by some Muslim women) in her daily life due to her faith, in half-naked form is an act that will definitely encounter a strong social reaction. The subject of the form of dress and the hijab alone has been reported as a major barrier against conservative Muslim women’s taking part in sports in literature [4,7].

Analysis of participation in individual sports and the international success attained in Turkey, shows that a consistent success has been achieved in sports branches like wrestling, boxing and weightlifting, especially by male athletes. These sports branches have been an integral component of the military basic trainings which have continued in their primitive form in the Turkish and Islamic countries for centuries [8,9]. It may be thought that the traditional loyalty to these sports branches rooted in the past may explain the high rate of participation in Turkey and the successes in international scale.

Analysis of team sports indisputably shows that women’s volleyball is the most successful team sport of the country. However, even the uniform worn by a female volleyball player is considered as a major sin that would constitute a reason to go to hell, by a large segment of the society that cannot be regarded as in significant and even watching volleyball is considered a big sin, let alone playing it. That women’s volleyball is the most successful team sports among tens of sports branches—with a past of only 50-60 years—
of Turkey’s history, in spite of the confusion between Easternization and Westernization that prevails in the country is the main subject of this article.

The Confusion between Easternization and Westernization in Turkey

After surviving nearly 600 years, the Ottoman State has entered a period of rapid decline after the 1800s, with the effects of the French Revolution in 1789 as well, and it has stayed out of, and fallen behind the West, failing to keep in step with the philosophical, political and economic developments required by the age [10-12]. In order to relieve itself from the difficult state it had fallen into in the eighteenth century, the Empire has decided to leave its traditional attitude aside and undertake change. Ideas of “catching up with the ‘West’, being Western” for the purpose of the West, failing to keep in step with the philosophical, political and economic developments required by the age. As nearly all of the parties in political power since 1940s, during which the transition into the multi-party system took place, actually believed in and restored its former strength [13]. It is also known that the Ottoman Empire is not in favor of change resembling the West, especially in the areas of culture and social life. In this sense, most of the applications similar to those in the West have been realized in the military. It is stated that the purpose here was to strengthen the army with Westernization applications and enable the State to regain its former strength without delay [13]. Westernization applications carried out with the purpose of rescuing the Ottoman Empire have failed to attain this goal, the Ottoman Empire has been abolished and Republic of Turkey has been established in its place following the World War I. The Republic of Turkey established after the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, ruled according Islamic Law, and began to be ruled by examples adapted from Europe in terms of a constitutional regime [13]. However, the Westernization process which began with the republican form of government was rather different than the Westernization trend that has come into being in the Ottoman Empire. The Westernization in the Ottoman Empire was a military and political concept aimed at stopping the decline of the Empire and it did not bear any aspects that directly affected the life style of the people. On the other hand, the Westernization current that had begun with the establishing of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, bore radical changes such as secular government rule, a constitutional regime, dress code renovation, shifting to the Latin alphabet, changing of the calendar system and measurement units and especially the equality of women and men before the constitution and granting the right to vote and to run for office to women [14].

However, the reflection and acceptance of the abrupt and sharp alteration made in the country’s form of rule and its acceptance by the public at a large scale is a process which is still not completed. The people who were used to be ruled by legal sanctions for a period of 600 years during the Ottoman Empire have suffered difficulties and continue to do so with regard to adapting to this new form of rule. In the late years of the Ottoman Empire certain arrangements have been undertaken in the rule of government with the Tanzimat (Imperial Edict of Gülhane; the political reforms of Sultan Abdulmecid in 1839 and the period following) for the purpose of the Westernization and modernization [15]. During this period, the Ottoman Empire has taken a step away from a government system belonging to the Middle Ages, towards a contemporary state organization in the legal sense [16]. Most of the arrangements have been in the military area in the Tanzimat period. After these problems had been resolved to a small extent, applications related to other areas have also gained emphasis during the Tanzimat. The Tanzimat period is a highly significant period, the effect of which on education, sports and other areas continue up to the present [17]. However, in spite of these Westernization and Modernization efforts, which have begun with the Tanzimat and have gained momentum during the republican period and continue at the present, many people, especially in the central rural and eastern regions of Turkey, see themselves rather distant to the concept of Westernization, with the effect of religious rituals and feudal structure [18]. As nearly all of the parties in political power since 1940s, during which the transition into the multi-party system took place, actually believed in Easternization and made conservative declarations on political campaigns but displayed Western attitudes only in appearance, is a distinct proof that the Turkish society is in a serious dilemma between Westernization and Easternization [19].

The Function of Sports in the Ottoman Empire

Together with Westernization, current interactions in the area of the sports have also taken place in the Ottoman Empire. However, these interactions have been used as an orientation towards the development of
military training rather than social activities contributing to people’s daily lives. When we analyze the organizational structure of sports in the Ottoman State, we see that this has been applied for the purpose of war training rather than a conscious social activity. Therefore, sports education within the Ottoman State has taken its place not as curricula in the educational institutions, but as a part of the military training curricula in military schools [17].

In this sense, institutions where sports education was offered have remained limited to the military training-instruction intuitions, palace training-instruction institutions and the Tekkes (dervish lodges) providing public training [17]. As was the case in other Turkish States in History, war related activities such as wrestling, hunting, marksmanship, archery, horsemanship, swordsmanship, weightlifting, use of iron clubs and mace (in battle) and jeered are those that stand out [20]. Sports, performed in the form of competitions, such as wrestling, horsemanship, jeered and archery, have become traditionalized and transformed into sports of our forefathers. Especially in the magnificent periods of the Ottoman State, wrestling, archery, horsemanship and jeered games are noted as activities of military origin supported by the Palace and Padishahs (Sultans of the Ottoman Empire) [21].

In conclusion, sports activities could never become phenomena responding to the social needs of civilian people, and sports activities have remained as a part of military training in the Ottoman Empire.

**Perspectives on Sports Following after the Declaration of the Republic of Turkey**

The Westernization movement which has begun with the Tanzimat has become one of the principles accepted by the republic as well, within the form of framework drawn up by Atatürk (founder of the Republic of Turkey), in the Turkish society [22]. Many of the Westernization activities realized in the area of sports especially in the final years of the Ottoman Empire are noted not as social phenomena but as those completely aimed at supporting military activities. In this connection, it was not possible to even talk about women’s participation in sports activities at the time, when the Ottoman Empire was ruled by Muslim Religious Law [23]. Whereas, it is noted that modern sports have emerged in Great Britain and the United States during the Industrial Revolution process. The difference between modern sports and pre-modern or traditional sports during the process going from the nineteenth to twentieth century; is the fact that sports has been limited by rules and numerical measurements, abstracted from war purposes and religion, and the fact that it has overcome sexual inequality by making participation in sports possible also for women and not exclusively for man [24]. Rationalization of sports has made the emergence of exclusive bureaucratic sports organizations setting forth the rules, organizing competitive activities and designing their own policies, possible.

As a result of the positive developments after declaration of the republican regime, the participation of the Turkish women in all social activities and sports nationwide has shown an increase every year since then. With the progress in social, economic, cultural and many other areas and the rise in the economic situation, career status, educational levels have led to women’s increasing preference of sports activities as a spare time activity [25,26].

However, this increase in women’s moving towards sports has led to a rather low increase in rural, central and eastern regions of the country. Serious differences are noticed between people who see themselves as Western and Modern and those conservative people who fell closer to the Eastern culture in terms of the world view and life styles. This dilemma felt in social and political life is also felt in the area of sports. In Turkey, while participation in sports is accepted as a perfectly natural social phenomenon for a segment of the people, another segment stands seriously against participation in sports due to their religious beliefs and traditions. This opposition becomes extremely keen when it comes to the participation of women in sports. As it is the case in many Islamic countries, it is observed that there are serious hindrances also in Turkey on this matter today and it is noted that women’s participation in sports is viewed as shameful or sinful.

**Brief History of Women in Sports and the Barriers Encountered in Republican Turkey**

The Westernization and Easternization conflict in the social and political areas which has begun as of the late years of the Ottoman Empire and continued up to the present after the declaration of the Republic of the Turkey, shows itself rather clearly in the areas of physical activity and sports. A certain segment of the people in Turkey accepts participation in sports as a perfectly natural life style. These individuals are those people who undertake sports activities, watch sports competitions, guide their children towards physical activities and accept this as a normal part of their daily lives and those who take part in sportive activities due to the universal benefits of sports, as reported in numerous studies [11,27].
On the other hand, a notable segment of the society seriously opposes participation in sports with the effect of religious beliefs and traditions. These opposing stands become extremely keen in Turkey when it comes to women's participation in sports. As it is the case in many Islamic countries, we observe that there are serious hindrances in this regard in Turkey as well. Although there has been an increase in the number of female athletes in Islamic countries in the last decade, Muslim women still form a small minority among the competitors in international sport events such as the Olympic Games. In many Islamic countries, numerous girls and women do not have access to physical activities and/or physical education [6].

Although the resistance against women's taking part in sports in Turkey is not as severe as that in other Islamic countries, deep contradictions in the social perspectives have brought up the revolution experienced in women's volleyball especially in the last 50-60 years in Turkey as a matter which is worth analysis. Because, in spite of this deep contradiction, an analysis of the history of the Turkish Republic shows that women's volleyball is the most successful team sport among all men's and women's team sports combined. Furthermore, analyses of the successes attained at the club and national team levels reveal that the successes attained by the women's volleyball teams are greater than those attained by all the other team sport branches [28-35].

**YMCA’s and YWCA’s Activities in Turkey and Turks’ First Encounter with Volleyball of American Origin**

YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association) has defined the main objective of its establishment as follows: In 1844 twelve young men led by George Williams founded the first YMCA in London, England. Their objective was the improvement of the spiritual condition of the young men engaged in houses of business, by the formation of Bible classes, family and social prayer meetings, mutual improvement societies, or any other spiritual agency [36]. As may be understood from its own definition, the objective of the organization was to create solidarity among Christian young men and to train them within the framework of certain principles. At the same time, YMCA had also undertaken a mission like spreading Christianity in various parts of the world and to have the Christian young men become ideal individuals socially in accordance with certain principles as well [37]. In line with these objectives, although the difficulties in operating in a Muslim country have stalled the activities of YMCA and YWCA (Young Women’s Christian Association) from time to time, the social and sportive activities of these institutions have drawn the interest of the educated and secular Muslims in time [38].

Volleyball was invented in the U.S.A. in 1895 by an American named William Morgan. Morgan has developed this game as a YMCA trainer in order to get the people to do sports. He has combined certain aspects of basketball, baseball, tennis and handball, in order to create a sport that would require less physical contact than basketball, and called it Mintonette. YMCA has led the spreading of this sport throughout the world, which was named volleyball later on. Canada, China, Japan, India, Mexico, South America, European and African countries are those countries where volleyball has rapidly spread out in the 1990s [39].

Volleyball has been brought to Turkey for the first time in 1919 by the YMCA member Dr. Gilbert Deaver. Dr. Deaver has worked as the YMCA Director in Istanbul between 1919 and 1925. The volleyball competitions that were initiated in the sport in the said association’s field house in the Çarsıkapı area have drawn the interest of the Istanbul citizens and have found demand. At the same time, Selim Sırrı Tarcan who was a physical education instructor at the Erkek Muallim Mektebi (Teachers Training School for Men) located in the Çağaloğlu area has shown interest in the volleyball played at the YMCA and he has taught this sport to his students. Teachers who were trained by Selim Sırrı Tarcan between 1920 and 1924 have taken this sport to the various locations in the country where they were appointed as volleyball instructors and have contributed to its spreading [28].

**History of Women’s Volleyball in Turkey and Its Silent Revolution**

The adventure of women’s volleyball in Turkey has commenced with the activities of YMCA and YWCA in Turkey as was the case in men’s volleyball [38]. However, women’s volleyball played in Christian schools, like men’s volleyball, in the 1920s could not become widespread among people due to the religious and social barriers before women’s engagement in sport [28]. Separating women’s volleyball into two periods, namely, the pre-1958 and post-1958 periods, may be a more appropriate approach. Up to 1958, the date when the TVF (Turkish Volleyball Federation) has been established, the game was played mainly in Istanbul and its vicinity in the form of city championships and interschool competitions [29]. As of 1920s sports club in Istanbul have begun to open women’s volleyball branches. The first women’s volleyball teams established in Turkey were Galatasaray Sports Club Women’s Volleyball Team and Fenerbahce Sports Club
Women’s Volleyball Team. Galatasaray club has established its women’s volleyball team in 1922 and Fenerbahçe club in 1927 [29].

A well-known man of sports, Selim Sırri Tarcan, mentioned above, who has taken up volleyball seriously as a clean sport game that developed physical skills, which he saw and played while he took part in the YMCA sportive activities, and began to teach it to his students. The physical education instructors, who had graduated from teachers training school mentioned earlier, have also spread this sport at schools in Istanbul. Schools where volleyball has been played for the first time were Kabataş Lycée, Vefa Lycée, Pertevniyal Lycée, Galatasaray College, İstiklal Lycée, Haydarpaşa Lycée and Istanbul Lycée for Girls. The first women’s national volleyball team could be established in the 1950s and played its first game against Romania in the International Istanbul Tournament [28].

In the years following the establishment of the TVF in 1958, the foundations of the successes of the women’s volleyball teams in the international scene, which have continued consistently up to the present, were laid. Although clubs like Enka Sport Club, Beşiktaş Sport Club, Emlakbank Sport Club, Arçelik Sport Club and Ankara Pazarları Sport Club have attained degrees, once each, in international competitions; however, they have failed to continue their successful performances with consistency. During the sixty-year period from 1958 until the present, we see that these four clubs have dominated the scene and possess nearly all the success attained at international scale. These are, namely, Galatasaray Sport Club, Fenerbahçe Sport Club, Eczacıbaşı Sport Club, Vakıfbank Sport Club, Güneş Sigorta Sport Club women’s volleyball teams. The national women’s volleyball teams have also attained international success in different age groups in parallel with those attained by club teams [29].


The foundations of Eczacıbaşı Sports Club were laid in 1950s with the football, tennis tournaments and certain sports activities held under the auspices of the Eczacıbaşı Pharmaceutical Company. These sportive activities have attained a professional status with the establishing of the Eczacıbaşı Sports Club by Dr. Nejat Eczacıbaşı and Şakir Eczacıbaşı in 1966 [42]. Dr. Nejat Eczacıbaşı has defined the founding objective of the club in his book entitled “Kuşaktan Kuşağa” as follows:

... Whereas, let alone the amateurish efforts, even the institutions carrying out sports at professional level were unable to attain international standards; athletes could not move up to levels at the quality demanded by the age. Şakir Eczacıbaşı talked about some of his thoughts regarding sports in 1966; it could be discerned form these thoughts that Eczacıbaşı could play a pioneering role in this area as well. I supported his thoughts with all my sincerity. The problem was arising not due to the Turkish youth’s lack of ability; it was arising due to the inadequacies and shortcomings of the environment. We believed that we would become successful if we brought knowledge and disciplined work together with adequate opportunities and facilities. Eczacıbaşı Sports Club has emerged in 1966 in the light of these thoughts and objectives … [43].

The club has become a member of the TVF in 1967. It has raised the most esteemed athletes in Turkish sports history, especially in the areas of volleyball, basketball, and table tennis. Eczacıbaşı Women’s
Volleyball Team joined the Istanbul League in 1968 and it became the Istanbul Champion in the 1969-70 season. Beginning with the 1972-73 season, it has become the Champion of Turkey for seventeen consecutive seasons and broken a record at the professional level and has won a total of twenty-eight Turkish Championships. In addition, the team has received the Presidential Cup three times, Turkey Cup eight times and the Super Cup twice. In international tournaments, Eczacıbaşı Women’s Volleyball Team has brought the first European Championship Cup to Turkey with the European Cup Winners Cup it had won in the 1998-99 season, became the European Champions League Champion and the World Clubs Champion in 2014-15 season. Moreover, Eczacıbaşı Women’s Volleyball Team took fourth place in the European Champions Cup in the 1983-84 season, second place in the 1992-93 season European CEV Cup, and became the champion in the European Cup Winners’ Cup without losing any games, in the 1998-99 season. It took the third place in the Champions Cup in the 1999-2000 season, fourth place in the European Champions League in 2001-02 season, third place in the European Top Teams Cup in the 2004-05 season, fourth places in the European Champions League in the 2008-09 and 2013-14 seasons, won the Championship in the 2014-15 season European Champions League and received the championship Cup in the World Champions Cup held in the same year [42,44].

Eczacıbaşı women volleyball players who have made the voice of Turkish sports heard in the international area, by attaining the second place in the one hundredth anniversary of Atatürk’s birth, in 1980, were declared as “Atatürk’s Girls” by the Turkish press and broadcasting organization [44].


A Remarkable Story
One of the most interesting events in world volleyball history is the story of a female volleyball player Sabiha Rifat Gürayman, and her struggle for existence in the volleyball sport environment is a story which we find worth sharing here. In the history of Fenerbahçe Women’s Volleyball an unprecedented and rather interesting event has occurred in 1929. A women athlete Sabiha Rifat Gürayman who played in the Fenerbahçe Men’s Volleyball Team has performed as the captain of the men’s volleyball team and where this team has become the champion in the 1928-29 season, has perhaps achieved a first in the history of world volleyball [29]. In an article written on Sabiha Rifat Gürayman, who was also the first female mechanical engineer of Turkey, with an M.S. degree, the subject is covered as follows:

For her Fenerbahçe was the initial point of “firsts”. In the years between 1927 and 1929 she has not only played on the Women’s Volleyball Team, but also on the Fenerbahçe Men’s Volleyball Team and more interesting than that, she has performed as the captain of the Men’s Volleyball Team. While taking her place in history as a women player who played with men, she has continued her work with two-three practices a day in order to be able to compete with the Male Players. Sabiha Gürayman, whose nickname was “flying fingers”, has rescued the men’s team when they were short of one player and this shortage was remedied by her. She was the first female athlete who experienced a championship with a men’s team [47].

A newspaper published at the time has relayed the event to its readers as follows:

Fenerbahçe Men’s Volleyball Team which has won the first place in the İstanbul League has participated in this year’s competition with certain changes. In the meantime, the Fenerbahçe Ladies’ Team Captain, Lady Gürayman has joined the team. We congratulate Fenerbahçe for the innovation it has brought to volleyball by forming a mixed team (composed of men and women) in an official competition for the first time in the sport history of our country [48].

While the tracks of the Ottoman Empire on social life were rather fresh in the country ruled by Islamic Law until recent years, this attitude displayed by Sabiha Rifat Gürayman may be considered as a highly significant event.
Although women’s encounter with volleyball has occurred in the 1920s in Turkey, women’s volleyball could not be fully widespread through the country in spite of the 90 years since then. It is noted that the teams that have carried women’s volleyball in the country to international success however, are the teams of the central and western regions, especially led by Istanbul teams. On the other hand, we can also see that the athletes forming the Turkish National Teams are totally composed of players of these teams.

The Turkish national volleyball teams are ranked within the top ten among other World teams and among the first five in Europe for years. The junior national women’s teams however, have also won World and European championships. Furthermore, club teams have displayed highly successful international performances throughout the history of the country in recent years. The TVF which has been established in 1958 and become autonomous in 2005 has produced infrastructure projects of wide scope within the revolution of women’s volleyball since the time it was established [49]. However, we see that people who identify themselves as secular, modern and western have taken part in these projects. The possibility of widespread application of these infrastructure projects in the central and eastern regions of Turkey, where a more conservative style of life is practiced, does not arise. Analysis of the distribution of the Turkish First, Second and Third League teams according to regions clearly displays this inequality. It is noted that, even today, every one of the twelve teams competing in the Turkish Women’s First League are teams of the western provinces and Ankara, with Istanbul teams being in the majority, similarly, upon analyzing the distribution of the teams in the second league by province, we see that teams in the West and Midwest regions constitute the majority [50]. On the other hand, we also note that the teams that have been established in the east and competing in the upper leagues however, have been established by personal efforts and are also made up of players transferred from teams that are based in the western region. It has been observed that these teams which cannot undertake infrastructure operations in their own regions either drop down to the lower leagues or are closed down.

Final Considerations

In conclusion, the international successes of the Turkish Women’s Volleyball in spite of its short history, has not emerged as a result of a generally widespread and institutionalized volleyball culture in the country. Ever since volleyball has emerged in Turkey, it has attained permanent success with the extraordinary contributions of the Istanbul teams with large budgets, teams owned by state organizations, company teams and individuals like Selim Şirri Tærçan, Sabbiha Rifat Gürayman and members of the Eczacıbaşı family who were devoted supporters of sports, especially women’s volleyball. Infrastructure activities need to continue without interruption in order to ensure this type of large scale successes. As of the first day volleyball was played in Turkey however, the girls of families identifying themselves as secular, modern and western have displayed consistent participation in the infrastructure. The participation of girls from families identifying themselves as opposed to westernization or as conservative, in these infrastructure activities, is almost nil. The attaining of such major international successes in a sports branch which was deprived of widespread participation in the country overall, can only be explained by the extensive contributions and special efforts on an institutional basis and the widespread participation of the social segments identifying themselves as secular, modern and western. Sabiha Rifat Gurayman’s episode in 1929 has become a highly valuable source of inspiration for the struggle of all female athletes and female volleyball players with regard to participation during the history of Turkish sports. The struggle for existence she has displayed, in spite of all the social pressures, may be considered as the starting point and the essential source of motivation for the Turkish women’s volleyball which persists in the present. The description of the philosophical contradiction in the Turkish society undertaken in this article shows itself with regard to the subject of Sabiha Rifat Gurayman as well. While she was one of the most important heroes of Turkish sports and women’s volleyball for some, she was conceived as a culprit who had broken the religious rules. Women’s volleyball in Turkey has come to the present days under these circumstances and has undersigned a silent revolution which any national women’s volleyball team of a Muslim country has not been able to realize so far, or perhaps, will never be able to realize in the future.

Notes on Contributor
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