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To cite this article: Asli D. A. Tasci & Aydin Ayhan (2005) Leisure during war: the case of Gallipoli (The Dardanelles War of 1915 in WWI), World Leisure Journal, 47:4, 2-11, DOI: [10.1080/04419057.2005.9674411](https://doi.org/10.1080/04419057.2005.9674411)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/04419057.2005.9674411>



Published online: 11 Mar 2011.



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# Leisure during war: the case of Gallipoli (The Dardanelles War of 1915 in WWI)

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## Abstract

Leisure has been a phenomenon throughout history. However, there are some constraints that keep people from engaging in meaningful and beneficial leisure pursuits. One needs to be free of personal, physical and social constraints to be able to experience leisure. As conceptualised by Khaldun and Maslow, there are more basic needs that human beings need to attain before pursuing leisure needs: leisure would not be of concern unless these needs were met. War, as a phenomenon in human life in the past and present, poses several special and severe constraints, especially fear of safety and security that can keep people away from leisure. However, there is evidence that, even during war time, people still pursue leisure. Leisure experiences during the Dardanelles War of 1915 are displayed as a case in point. To this end, various books with relevant historical and social content are reviewed and photographs (pictorial displays) are presented from these books as well as other photographs from this period. The most significant result is the intriguing question the findings leave about leisure's supposed hierarchical position that is usually postulated to come after basic needs. Detailed interpretation and implications for modern societies are explored.

**Keywords:** *leisure at war, hierarchy of needs, leisure needs, the Dardanelles War*

\* \* \*

## Theoretical Framework

Leisure, "permission to do as one pleases at one's own pace, to participate in an activity of one's own choice, and to abandon the activity at will", is conceived as residual time, as well as an activity and a state of mind. Formal studies of leisure try to make distinction among different concepts related with what people do in their free time; these concepts are recreation, leisure and play. Although the distinctions between leisure, recreation and play are fuzzy to most researchers, recreation is conceived to be more organised, goal oriented and action-based while leisure could take any form of pursuits (Courdes & Ibrahim

2003). Aristotle clarified this distinction through a hierarchy of leisure pursuits: amusement, recreation and contemplation. According to his conception, amusement is the lowest level of leisure, which is pursued by people of lower statuses while contemplation is the highest form of leisure, which is the act of higher-level people such as philosophers and royalty. Leisure (*schole*), time free from the necessity of labour, was defined as a requirement for rulers by the ancient philosophers (Courdes & Ibrahim 2003). By its nature, leisure has connotations of free time, joy, fun and vanity; thus, old puritan societies did not value leisure as a human need, even frowned upon leisure

and its ramifications; they thought of it as unnecessary vanity that people should even be beware of (Courdes & Ibrahim 2003). Similarly, the original Islamic paradigm does not tolerate leisure as a human need and teaches avoidance of leisure as much as possible by indulging in work and prayer. Islamic teachings such as "Work like you will never die and pray like you will die tomorrow" and "neither God nor people like those who are not doing anything" show that material or religious indulgence is preferred over free time indulgence in Islam.

Despite conservative religious teachings against leisure pursuits, leisure was recognised as a human need early on in history. Ibn Khaldun, a 14<sup>th</sup> century Arab (Tunisian) historian and philosopher of history (1332 -1406) envisioned leisure related needs as the highest level coming after more basic needs such as bodily appetites and safety, and social needs such as affiliation and superiority (Courdes & Ibrahim 2003). Similarly, Abraham Maslow, a 20<sup>th</sup> Century American psychologist (1908-1970) related leisure to the highest level of human needs, self-actualisation, coming after physiological, safety, social and esteem needs (Maslow 1970). Leisure is accepted as a human right by the United Nations who adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10 1948. Article 24 of this declaration asserts that, "Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay".

Today, leisure is recognised as a necessity for all walks of life in modern democratic societies, where all members of the society are ruled by the same normative code (law); every single person in the society is supposed to be able to use some kind of leisure services, regardless of age, sex, colour, creed, or status (Courdes & Ibrahim 2003; Edginton, et al. 1995; Goodale & Witt 1991; Jewell 1997). It is commonly accepted that leisure is beneficial for both the individual and society due to its physiological, psychological, social and economic benefits. It is a catalyst for the betterment of the individual and the society by providing individuals with the sense of satisfaction through revitalisation or

refreshment, and bodily health and strength, and by promoting physiological and psychological and economic well-being, and betterment of the individual and the society (Goodale & Witt 1991). "The proper use of leisure can help tighten spiritual bonds, encourage high codes of ethics and morals, help heal and rehabilitate the ill and the handicapped, and even add to our material wealth...art, science, philosophy and literature have derived from the fruitful use of leisure time and have in turn given rise to new material and immaterial aspects of culture which have set in motion social changes of great moment... the direction of a civilization is shaped largely by the extent and uses of leisure, rather than by what people do when they work" (Jewell 1997, p.2-9). Leisure is "a vehicle for contentment and happiness...a basis for culture...a way of personal growth and social attainment of the "good life" (Goodale & Witt 1991, p. 11-18).

Leisure has been a phenomenon throughout history, even during times of conservative religious rule. However, there are some constraints that keep people from engaging in meaningful and beneficial leisure pursuits. One needs to be free of personal, physical and social constraints to be able to experience leisure. As conceptualised by Khaldun and Maslow, there are more basic needs that human beings need to attain before pursuing leisure needs; leisure would not be of concern unless these needs were not met. In other words, if one is hungry, or has a fear of safety and security, he/she will attempt to satisfy these needs first. There are other factors that can hinder leisure pursuits; some of these constraints are old age, health problems, lack of money, lack of time, lack of knowledge and interest and negative attitudes towards leisure (Courdes & Ibrahim 2003; Goodale & Witt 1991).

War, as a phenomenon in human life in the past and present, imposes severe constraints that can keep people away from leisure, especially fear of safety and security. However, there is evidence that even during war time people still pursue leisure. People experiencing leisure even during times when humanity incurs great material and human life losses makes one question the proposed hierarchical

position of leisure needs, usually coming after all other needs. Therefore, documentation of leisure during war has particular significance. However, this aspect has usually been overlooked by researchers and academicians and there is a lack of literature on leisure during war which has been a phenomenon even during the modern days of this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Therefore, the aim of this study is to fill this void in the literature by analysing leisure experiences during the Dardanelles War of 1915, one of the bloodiest front lines of World War I (Churnside 2004; Spartacus Educational 2004). However, there is evidence that both public and soldiers were experiencing leisure during this time.

The Dardanelles War of 1915 was the Ottoman Empire's defence battle against a British-French attempt to capture the Straits of Dardanelles during WWI (see Figure 1 for the location of the Straits of Dardanelles). The Gallipoli Peninsula, on the European land of Turkey, witnessed some of the fiercest fights ever; five nationalities having some of the bloodiest fights in their histories.

- August 1914: preparations for the war started.
- December 1914: British started bombing
- 19<sup>th</sup> February 1915: battle started
- 18<sup>th</sup> March 1915: the great offensive of the Entente Powers, 18 big cruisers along with other destroyers and submarines, 506 cannonballs. Result: naval war not effective, Australia and New Zealand Army Corp. (ANZAC) from Australia, New Zealand and Canada joined the battle
- 25<sup>th</sup> April 1915: British, French and ANZAC land and naval forces land 70,000 soldiers supported by 109 military ships and 308 vehicle ships, continued May, June, July.
- November 1915: decision to stop offence
- 9<sup>th</sup> January 1916: last forces withdrawn.

Though varying at different times, usually between 150,000 and 300,000 soldiers fought at Gallipoli, the battle continued for 259 days, from April 1915 to January 1916, resulting in the deaths of 300.000 soldiers of the offensive forces and 250.000 Turkish sol-

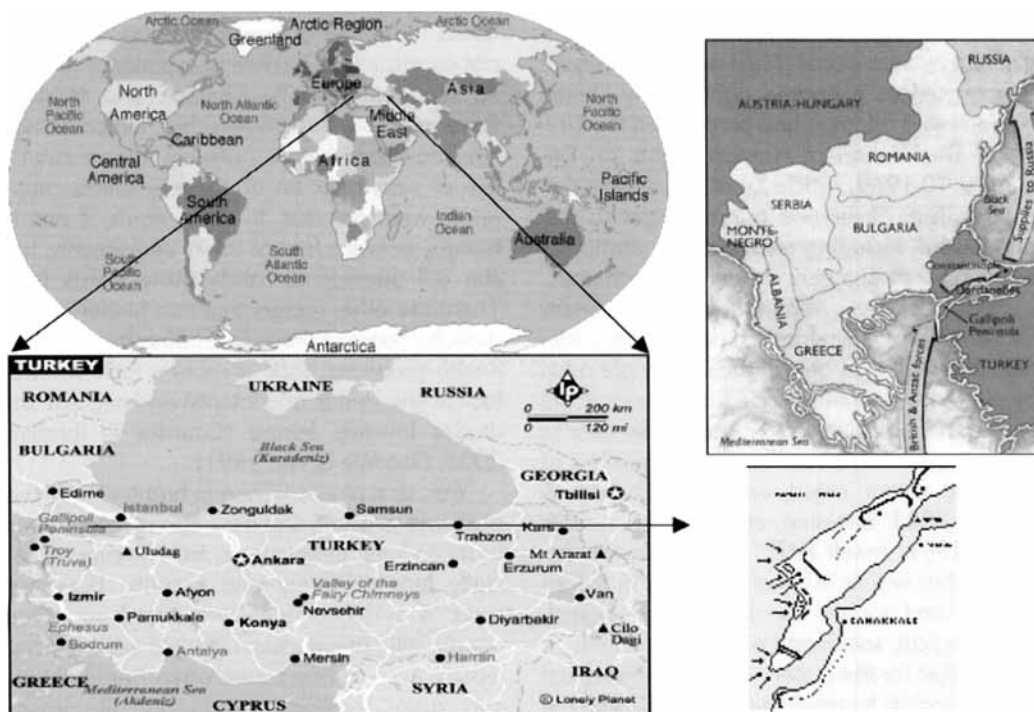


Figure 1. The location of Dardanelles

diers, as well as huge economic losses on both sides. The land was covered with human bodies, turning into white bones in time and making the area look like a cotton field at first sight. Today bones are still discovered even without any deliberate searching. Today, the Straits of Dardanelles is a great tourist attraction having 27 sites belonging to the Dardanelles War of 1915, including memorials and graveyards for allied and Turkish forces as well as monuments. In order to save the traces and memories of this great military event, the Straits of Dardanelles was turned into a National Park in 1973.

## **Methods**

To explore leisure experiences during Gallipoli, various books of historical, social, anecdotal content are reviewed, and photographs (pictorial displays) from these books as well as other photographs from this period are examined. In other words, pictorial frameworks as well as textual descriptions are analysed. Images are examined using frame analysis, "a method of study of the images of pictured people reflected in the pose contrived by the photographer. Elements of the pose (such as the relative positioning of the actors or facial expressions) form the 'display' that informs the viewer about the social identity, mood, and intent of those portrayed, and simultaneously educates the viewer regarding acceptable behaviors and relationships for her or himself" (Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz 1993, p. 32). This study investigates latent (i.e. facial expressions, gestures) and manifest (i.e. roles, activities) characteristics delineating the roles and meanings associated with these depictions. Textual descriptions are analysed using content analysis, examination of "a class of social artifacts, typically written documents... (such as) books, magazines, poems, newspapers, songs, paintings, speeches, letters, laws, and constitutions, as well as any components or collections thereof" (Babbie 1998, p. 308-309). In the context of war, fighting can be considered as the 'work' part of the work-leisure duo. Thus, times of no fighting and activities indulged in during these times are analysed to identify leisure pursuits.

## **Findings**

Frame analysis and content analysis of pictorial and textual descriptions belonging to the time and place of Gallipoli revealed that the basic needs of all parties involved were grossly endangered as can be observed in the following personal accounts:

Sometimes the Turkish troops were starving and it is said they would lick the traces of sauce they found inside cans of food discarded by the British and Anzac troops (Churnside 2004).

Vere Harmsworth, letter to Vyvan Harmsworth while at Gallipoli (17th July, 1915): We have spent four days in the fire trench. We had only a few casualties. We were put there just after a big attack which had partially failed and the ground between our trench and the Turks were strewn with bodies. It strikes me that they will be there for a long time. In this heat the body and face turn quite black in less than 24 hours and the smell is terrific. The flies – which are myriad – also add to the general discomfort (Spartacus Educational 2004).

Sir Ian Hamilton, official report of the Gallipoli landings that took place on 25th April (May, 1915): Up to the very last moment it appeared as if the landing was to be unopposed. But a tornado of fire swept over the beach, the incoming boats, and the collier. The Dublin Fusiliers and the naval boats' crews suffered exceedingly heavy losses while still in the boats. About 1,000 men left the collier, and of these nearly half had been killed or wounded before they could reach the cover afforded by the steep, sandy bank at the top of the beach (Spartacus Educational 2004).

Hundreds, even thousands of (Turkish) soldiers didn't have a shirt on; due to the lack of socks and shoes, they were wrapping their feet with rags. Those sand sacks sent from Istanbul were being used as clothing instead of for trench openings... they didn't have kaput, so in November and December, when the heat was subzero, there were casualties due to freezing... they didn't have much food stocks. Famine was ubiquitous.

Often, they reduced the portions ... Food preparation was very primitive, they didn't have Sahara kitchens... the food, which was mostly lapa, rice cooked with sheep meat, vegetables and few pieces of meat, would get cold when reached to the soldiers at the trenches after a long transfer through trenches... social facilities that German soldiers were used to were not available at Gallipoli... The number of sick was high and military hospitals were jammed... The soil which was covered with green in spring turned into a desert now... the flies due to trash and dead bodies were huge in number... water sources, which were few, were either dried or polluted... Thus, all conditions for infectious diseases were present (Muhlman 1998, p. 111-113).

For soldiers, training for war and walking were the primary leisure activities until the ground battle started in 25 April 1915 (Culcu 1997, p. 40). They were being prepared for fighting at night, which they were not used to but became professional in later on (Sanders 1968, p. 67). The time of officers was fully utilised training the soldiers (Sanders 1968, p. 82); in this, besides military training, other matters were being taught for the psychological preparation of the soldiers. On some special nights such as Fridays and holy days they were preached to and prepared for being martyrs (Culcu 1997, p. 70). On days of no ground battles, soldiers were told religious as well as love stories such as "Kerem and Asli" and "Leyla and Mecnun" (Incesu 2001, p. 313); in every troop, there were usually storyteller soldiers, sometimes telling these stories by using a musical instrument, sometimes as a drama, sometimes as a comedy and sometimes followed by religious teachings.

There was a hierarchy between the leisure activities of the soldiers and officers. Officers were walking around to control the damage and give directives to take maintenance actions (Culcu 1997, p. 85). They were writing daily reports about their own and the enemy's conditions, counting soldiers and military resources, which took a lot of time (Culcu 1997, p. 119-120). Writing letters to the families of the dead, inspecting the letters written by sol-

diers before mailing, and responding to the letters from family and friends were also officers' free time activities (Culcu 1997, p. 85). They were playing games behind the trenches; the most popular game was 'tavla' (backgammon) (Guralp 1957 p. 27), a still popular game throughout Turkey. Other games such as chess and checkers were popular among officers (Muhlman 1998). They were drinking tea (Culcu 1997, p. 68), drinking coffee and smoking cigars (Adil 2001, p. 166), and smoking 'nargile' (pipe) when available (Ilgar and Ugurlu 2003, p. 567). Writing diaries and memorial notebooks while drinking coffee and tea was also popular (Culcu 1997, p. 61) Some of these notebooks were published later on.

As can be seen in Figure 2, during daytime, soldiers were spending their time by sitting or sleeping in trenches (Mustafa 2002, p. 54). At nights, soldiers and officers were reading newspapers in their underground rooms lighted with petroleum lamps; these



Figure 2. Turkish soldiers waiting in trenches



Figure 3. Turkish soldiers sitting and talking

newspapers were brought from Istanbul and were usually two weeks old (Culcu 1997, p. 70, 78, 96, 117). Officers had book reading groups; they were taking turns in reading books to stay awake; some of these books were '1001 Night Stories', 'Monon Lesko', 'Rafael', books of Alexander Dumas, 'Bandits', 'Pol and Virgin' and 'Iron Mask' (Adil 2001, P. 129). One of the popular books among German soldiers in Turkish trenches was Zobelitz's 'Kriegsfahrten eines Johannister'. Officers were planning for the next day, and chatting afterwards if they didn't get a 'battle command' for the next day. During the day, soldiers were sitting and chatting while officers were trying to assess their needs and desires (see Figure 3); officers tried to get to know their soldiers real well and establish a strong bonding, which facilitated directing soldiers as they wanted even during the most difficult times.

During bombing, which lasted about 6-8 hours sometimes, they just waited and prayed. Between battles, soldiers were caring for the lightly wounded and doing maintenance on their guns (Conk 2002, p. 141). Every soldier had a first-aid kit including basic remedial material sewn inside of their uniforms (Mustafa 2002, p. 48). Most of the soldiers were illiterate; those who were literate were writing and reading their friends' letters. They were singing ballads, mostly accompanied with popular folklore instruments brought by soldiers such as 'baglama' (an instrument with three double strings), 'cura' (three-stringed lute), 'kemane', 'gusli or kaval' (pipe), and 'zurna' (pipe); anonymous songs were being sung in chorus, usually followed by folk dances (Culcu 1997, p. 234). Among popular songs were 'Koroğlu', 'Ihtiyatlar silah catmış', 'Havada bulut yok', 'Genc Osman', 'Sivastopol onunde'. Soldiers were playing a different version of checkers with 8 black and 8 white stones and another simple game played with 3 stones on the ground wherever they sat. The performances of those who were good players were watched by the other soldiers and competitions were organised among troops.

There were about 500 German soldiers, functioning as bombers, machine gunmen and technicians in the Turkish lines. They were

in great difficulties too; they could not receive any letters from home, knew nothing about their families and home country. They had nothing other than their friends and the feeling of duty: "We are here for Germany", to keep them going. They were shining their boots at night, sharpening their knives and waiting as well as singing (Clemens 1936, p. 312-313, 247). A popular song among them was:

"Haltet aus, haltet aus  
Lasset hoch die Fahnen wehn  
Es sind die alten Schwerter noch  
Noch leben wir, noch sind wir da, noch..."

The biggest problem at the front lines was lack of sleep; fighting without sleeping for two or three days was very damaging for soldiers (Culcu 1997, p.63). Officers were having worse sleep problems although they were trying to have their soldiers sleep: officers were constantly drinking coffee to keep themselves awake (Clemens 1936, p.181). The Turkish leader, Ataturk, talks about staying sleepless on three consecutive days in his memoirs. Thus, when soldiers were withdrawn from the front lines, they were sleeping as much as they wanted (Gucuyener 2003, p. 180). Cleaning their clothes and getting rid of nits were also common activities among the soldiers taken behind (Conk 2002, p. 141; Culcu 1997, p. 126-129). The rest and relaxation behind the lines did not last longer than a day. Soldiers were taken into intense training the next day, which was accompanied with singing and dancing. Folklore shows and competitions were organised and neighbouring troops were invited (Guralp 1957, p.59). Behind the lines, there was constant training of new soldiers, sometimes younger and sometimes older than standard since there was constant destruction of the fighting soldiers. This training usually took two or three months, but sometimes did not last longer than two weeks.

The most popular recreational sport was "gures" (wrestling); each troop had its wrestler soldiers who was a source of pride for fellow soldiers. Running and rope pulling were also popular sports among soldiers (see Figure 4); sport performances were organised in a festival atmosphere, including music and dance



Figure 4. Turkish soldiers playing rope pulling

performances, usually followed by a feast for officers coming from other troops, and preaching by the troop "imam" (Conk 2002, p. 140). Troop bands would usually accompany these feasts (Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı 1993, p. 257-258). During the latter days of the war, these feasts became shorter due to memorials for dead officers (Ataturk 1998).

Outdoor plays were common behind the lines; theatre was used to both educate soldiers using the visual aids (see Figure 5) as well as entertain them by performing folk tales, folk dances and ballads (Mustafa 2002, p.65). Theatre was used for education since soldiers were usually illiterate and communication problems were common among groups



Figure 5. Outdoor theatre performance by Turkish soldiers

with different accents. Thus, theatres were used to educate in an entertaining manner. This way soldiers were getting relief from the psychological stress of war. The themes of plays were usually daily matters, national and international matters, and the comical or dramatic consequences of not obeying the rules and commands.

Talented soldiers were doing handicrafts in their free time using unexploded bullets and olive tree branches, and making pen and tobacco boxes, playthings, pen holders and other crafts (Mustafa 2002, p. 125). This turned into an entertainment for soldiers, and the finished products were given to friends and commanders as gifts or were sold in return for small sums (Culcu 1997, p. 106-139).

The regular public, especially in Istanbul (the capital then), forgot about entertainment during war. The whole nation was called to join and volunteer their time in newly developed associations; this call specifically stated that sitting in cafes or walking in the streets without any purpose and gossiping were treason to the country and everybody should spend their free time in the defence of the country (Karasi Gazetesi, 20 July 1914). All men able to hold a gun were drafted into the military, thus, streets and boulevards were used for military training (see Figure 6). The public of Istanbul was not drafted but still trained for a potential attack from Russia (Conk 2002). In addition, the public was volunteering to care for wounded soldiers in schools, churches and even prisons. Non-profit organisations such as Hilal-i Ahmer (Red Crescent), Mudafayı Milliye, Donanma Cemiyetleri and their women's groups were playing active roles in curing the wounded as well as organising continuous festivals to boost the morale of the public throughout the country. The birthday and inauguration day of the Padişah and other days of national and religious significance were celebrated in an unusual manner (Conk 2002). These associations were also organising outdoor plays for the public. Young boys were being educated for military duty by these associations and directed to volunteer in cultural activities afterwards (Karasi Gazetesi, 15 November 1915).





**Figure 6. Military training of residents in the streets of Istanbul**

To keep the public attitude positive, local governments were organising special events and festivals; for example, an 'Independence Day' was celebrated throughout the country; this was the day of getting rid of the capitulations (Karasi Gazetesi 27 July 1915). The day of establishment of the Ottoman Empire was celebrated with special care that year (Karasi Gazetesi, 17 December 1915). Government was supporting theatres and movies that were didactic in nature (Karasi Gazetesi, 5 July 1915). Shows were mostly about exciting events in the war, and the negative effects of war were being relieved through sensual effects (Karasi Gazetesi, 26 July 1915). Cinema was new in Anatolia, so it was very effective in attracting public attention. Cinema technology and anything shown were increasing the admiration felt by the Turkish public towards Germans (Karasi Gazetesi, 24 August 1915). The public were usually waiting for letters from their sons. The mail service was slow but working. When a family received a letter from a son, neighbours would gather in the house, the letter would be read again and again so that other families could get clues about the lives of their own sons. Military offices were receiving news about dead soldiers daily; so families would come to these offices and pray while waiting for the latest news. The cafes that men usually attended were empty; most were closed due to lack of customers. The open ones were frequented by the old who read newspapers and commented on the news based on their own experiences of war.

Horse racing, camel wrestling and 'cirit', a traditional Turkish sport played with horses

and sticks, were popular amusement events for the general public until all horses and camels were collected for military purposes. Most of the mosques were turned into warehouses for military goods and resources. The public were using one corner of the mosques to conduct their daily prayer and to pray for victory. They were mostly gathering and spending their time around train stations to get news from those returning home and news from the telegraph which was situated at train stations. The whole community was gathering to see the newly drafted soldiers off. It was a tradition (and still is) that new soldiers would perform traditional folk dances accompanied with 'davul-zurna' (drum and pipe). Families of the soldiers would be in a celebrating mood on those days. They were happy to hear of their sons becoming wounded and celebrating; they were sad to hear about their sons' death but were not dramatic about their sorrow.

Public volunteering and donation were widespread all over the country; anything that could be utilised by the military was being donated voluntarily. Special events were organised to enhance the positive mood in public while collecting these donations. Locally established women's clubs, which were usually headed by an elder opinion leader woman, were organising occasional gatherings where all women were getting involved in producing goods for soldiers by knitting and sewing. Preparing clothing for soldiers was a primary duty for women in general (Karasi Gazetesi, 14 December 1915). Aside from war, the public was also fighting with natural disasters. The red grasshopper problem drew the public to the edge of starvation (Karasi Gazetesi, 1 March 1916). Because of the cessation of agriculture between 1914 and 1919, cotton in bedding was being used to produce clothing for soldiers. Praying was the most effective cure for everyone.

Wounded soldiers were visited by authorities occasionally, and these days were treated as special events (see Figure 7). The public was also visiting wounded soldiers regularly when the weather permitted (Incesu 2001, p. 347). Bringing presents for the wounded and chatting with them, writing letters to their families, were popular free time activities.



قطعه سرای حلال امرخسته خانه‌ی بالیجه‌سند، مجروحان از بلز [اوتلو پوستورازی]

Figure 7. A special day of visiting the wounded Turkish soldiers at a hospital

British and French soldiers as well as Russian ship personnel who were captured and taken to camps in Balıkesir, Bursa, Adapazarı, Cankiri, and Konya were treated well; they were able to stroll in the streets (see Figure 8)



Figure 8. British and French captives strolling in the streets in Balıkesir escorted by Turkish officers



Figure 9. French captives playing 'uzun esek' (long donkey)



Figure 10. Russian captives performing a boxing-like activity

and take daily excursions to historical sites in the company of Turkish officers. They were indulging in recreational activities such as sunbathing and playing chess. The French played 'uzun esek' (long donkey, see Figure 9) and Russians liked performing a sport similar to boxing (see Figure 10). They had a holiday-like experience in these camps until the war ended.

### Conclusions & Implications

Frame analysis and content analysis of pictorial and textual descriptions belonging to the time and place of Gallipoli reveal four distinctive groups of people in the context of leisure: Turkish public, Turkish soldiers, multinational soldiers and multinational captives. Although all these groups had their most basic needs constrained at times, they still had leisure experiences shaped by different conditions as well as purposes. Universal forms of leisure as well as culturally shaped forms of leisure were identified.

During the bloody Gallipoli war, the time of both public and soldiers was used for defending the country. However, efforts to minimise the biological and psychological effects of war were significant considering the conditions in those days. The leisure time pursuits of people during war seem to be more about preparing for war rather than enjoying themselves; however, it still had the function of helping the public to keep their physiological and psychological integrity. Public authorities were successful in conducting leisure time activities to keep the public attitude positive. Also, despite

the harsh conditions of those days and the pressing constraints on the most basic needs for food, water, sleep, clothing and safety, both soldiers and public were indulging in leisure activities as conditions allowed. This is a finding that makes one question the hierarchical priority of leisure as a human need, presumably aroused only when all other needs are satisfied. If this proposition was true, then leisure would not be a pursuit in times when basic needs were not being fulfilled for days and sometimes months.

This study is by no means a comprehensive analysis of the literature or pictures pertaining to the war of the Dardanelles. Future studies on this topic could reinforce the findings of this study or reveal different findings. Similar studies can also be conducted about other wars of the same nation as well as different nations to establish the common grounds of leisure between different cultures. As a final note,

In the early 1950's Turkish troops fought alongside their former British and Australian enemies in the Korean conflict and throughout the long years of Cold War tension Turkey stood guard on NATO's vulnerable southern flank. Political alignments change, enemies become friends, old soldiers fade away and life goes on. Perhaps at the end of the day the only real comrades-in-arms are the dead. On the overgrown, silent battlefields of Gallipoli may they rest in peace – together (Churnside 2004).

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT:**

We owe special thanks to Mr. Sadrettin Tasci for kindly extending his effort, which helped this research endeavour in several ways.

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