

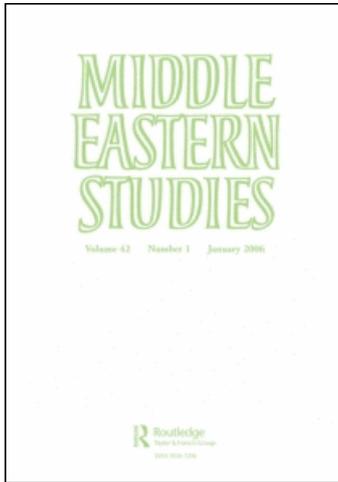
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# The Struggle over Turkish Village Coffeehouses (1923–45)

SERDAR ÖZTÜRK

When, in 1923, the Turkish Republic was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, coffeehouses had become a well-established feature of social life. The first coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire date from the mid-sixteenth century, and since then the institution had spread from İstanbul to other cities and to the countryside.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning, coffeehouses had been male public spaces that enabled the transgression of power configurations. They bridged social divisions by bringing together men of all social levels and lifestyles, offering ordinary people the opportunity to experience a way of life, outside the bazaar and the mosque, in a place whose boundaries had not been defined by one's duties to the family and God (Allah).<sup>2</sup> And this social interaction encouraged discussion and subversive criticism of those in power. As was the case in other countries, the authorities always felt uncomfortable about the coffeehouses' subversive potential.<sup>3</sup> Ottoman attempts to fully control or prohibit coffee houses persistently failed, however.

By 1923 Turkey knew three basic types of coffeehouses: neighbourhood, literary and village. *Neighbourhood coffeehouses*, located on the narrow streets of cities, were the most common kind and catered to an urban population. *Literary coffeehouses*, which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, catered to 'wealthier and well-educated segments of the population'.<sup>4</sup> *Village coffeehouses* were gathering places in villages where men could go to talk to each other, play cards, drink tea or coffee. Here the literate minority could also read newspapers or a type of book known as chapbooks.<sup>5</sup> All three types of coffeehouses were constructs of a male dominated society and were for men only. It was an unwritten social rule that women did not go to coffeehouses. Homes, village fountains and the countryside where women worked were the places where they also met and socialized.<sup>6</sup>

According to Brian Beeley, village coffeehouses first appeared in some villages during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and spread more rapidly after the establishment of the Republic.<sup>7</sup> Writing in 1970, he notes that they resembled 'the general store in much of the rural United States or the pub in the British neighbourhood structure'.<sup>8</sup> Coffeehouses were communication centres where village men could talk to each other on many topics. They were places where villagers could socialize and literate people could read newspapers or chapbooks to illiterate villagers. Some listened to the radio while others preferred to play cards, and all men in villages, whether educated or not, rich or poor, could participate in these activities. Village coffeehouses also served as an office and a commercial base for

many villagers. A city official coming to villages to collect taxes, for example, contacted villagers at coffeehouses and men met there to discuss business. In the academic journal *Yurt ve Dünya*, Hüseyin Avni explained:

Many people think village coffeehouses are places of laziness where villagers spend their time playing card games in vain, and some believe this view is exaggerated. We assume village coffeehouses are places that are a kind of undeveloped stock exchange in which villagers get together, those coming to a village drop by, to buy and sell.<sup>9</sup>

Coffeehouses not only filled the pragmatic needs of commerce, they also filled the basic human need for social communication. An anonymous Turkish aphorism has it that

The heart neither desires coffee nor the coffeehouse.  
The heart is after talk; the coffee is just a pretext.

In the words of Michael E. Meeker: 'Despite the name commonly applied to them, the coffeehouses were not places where one went to drink a good or bad cup of coffee.'<sup>10</sup> As such they were also places of social and democratic decision making. In the early Republican years coffeehouses also functioned as 'social clubs', central gathering places, and communication centres, where issues of common concern were discussed and informal decisions reached.<sup>11</sup> Writing in 1939, Turkish intellectual İsmail Hakkı Tonguç also emphasized that village coffeehouses were like assembly rooms or Parliament where people discussed village matters. They were, therefore, democratic places which offered opportunities for both young and old men who wanted to participate in the discussion.<sup>12</sup>

In 1941, an unsigned article entitled 'Village Coffeehouses' read: 'A village coffeehouse sometimes is a senate, sometimes a public assembly, and sometimes a place where people have a heart-to-heart talk with each other.' Defenders claimed that critics do not understand that village coffeehouses met a societal need. At a village coffeehouse:

[I]mportant village matters are sometimes decided. Sometimes a meeting is held to discuss what help can be given when a villager encounters a disaster. It is a place where villagers can discuss with each other what to do and how they can overcome difficulties which the village faces. A bored villager consoles himself on a village chair, his coffeehouse listens to his first cry when his field is attacked by rats, and a father whose child is sick runs to the village coffeehouse to see what he can do and to share his grief with others ... At a village coffeehouse everything is talked about: sickness, debts, crop prices, family problems, politics, governmental decrees, agriculture, vineyards and orchards and so on.<sup>13</sup>

This article examines the struggle between the new Turkish Republic and the public over village coffeehouses from 1923 to 1945. It discusses the government's attempts to close village coffeehouses, to find new uses for them, to establish alternative institutions to them, and finally to attempt to prohibit the building of new

ones. A central question is how this policy should be explained: was political repression the main cause, as one would expect at first sight, or were there been other, and perhaps more pressing reasons as well?<sup>14</sup>

During its first three years the new Turkish Republic made no attempt to prohibit village coffeehouses. In 1926, however, Yusuf Bey, a deputy from the province of Denizli in west-central Turkey, submitted a motion to the Turkish Grand National Assembly to close all village coffeehouses, claiming that they caused people to waste their money gambling and playing cards and that villagers had to steal to pay their debts. Yusuf Bey claimed that villagers in the villages of the districts of Çal and Bağlan of the province of Denizli were spending their time in coffeehouses instead of working on their land. According to his motion, most villages of Turkey had several coffeehouses where villagers were gambling late into the night and destroying their health. The result, he claimed, was a decline in Turkey's economy and in villagers' morality.<sup>15</sup> The Grand National Assembly, however, did not discuss or vote on the proposed legislation. There are several possible explanations for this.

The first is related to a rebellion, known as the Sheikh Said Rebellion, which broke out in February 1925 in eastern Anatolia. There may have been an element of Kurdish nationalism in this uprising, but those taking part in it were both Kurdish and religious. It is not always easy, therefore, to distinguish or separate these two motivations among the rebels.<sup>16</sup> In response to the rebellion, in 1925 the Turkish Assembly passed a special act entitled the Act for the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sükun*), which gave the government virtually absolute powers for the next two years. The Act was renewed in 1927 and remained in force until 1929, enabling the government to enact legislation from 1925 to 1929 which altered the political and legal landscape of Turkey. Armed with such powers, which were enforced through special courts known as Independence Tribunals (*Istikal Mahkemesi*), rebels were effectively silenced. Some were sentenced to death by the tribunals and were executed.<sup>17</sup>

The Maintenance of Order Act also closed all dervish monasteries. These were religious gathering and ceremonial places in almost all Turkish villages, towns, and cities. According to Feroz Ahmad the monasteries 'represented popular, folk Islam and, therefore, had greater influence on the Muslim masses than the orthodox Islam of the establishment'.<sup>18</sup> Secularism was one of the distinguishing principals of the new Turkish state, and it was logical, therefore, for the state to target dervishes, not because they were religious *per se*, but because they were opposed to the policy of state secularism. It cannot be overlooked, however, that some dervish monasteries, especially those in Kurdish areas of the country were also viewed by the government as possible centres or breeding grounds for Kurdish nationalism. In contrast to dervish monasteries, however, village coffeehouses were secular gathering places where villagers met to talk, play cards, read newspapers, or simply sit quietly.<sup>19</sup> Village coffeehouses, therefore, were simply not considered a threat; and even though the government had the power to close them, it made no attempt to do so.

A second possible reason that Yusuf Bey's motion to close village coffeehouses failed was that the information he submitted about the number of villages coffeehouses was wrong. Although the motion claimed that all villages in Turkey

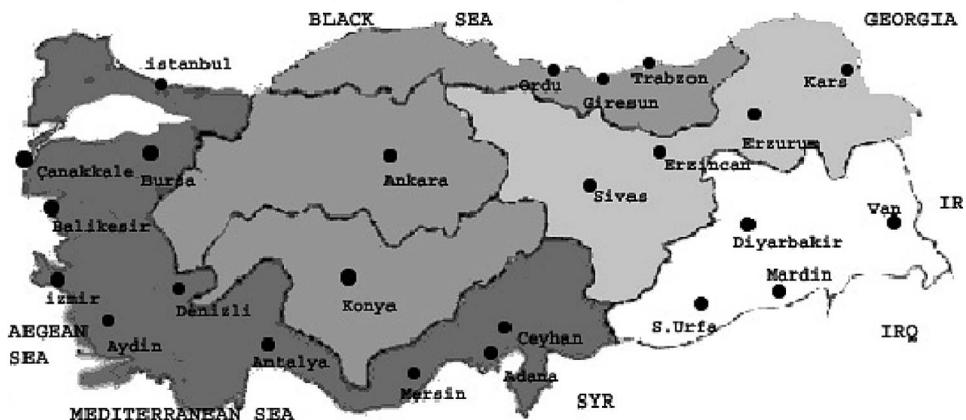
had several coffeehouses, there is no evidence that this was true. Statistics do not exist for the number of village coffeehouses before 1945; however, data gathered by the Institute of State Statistics in 1945 shows that in 1945 only 13 per cent of Turkey's more than 40,000 villages had coffeehouses.<sup>20</sup> Many Turkish villages had no coffeehouses at all. Moreover, in 1945 the dispersal of existing village coffeehouses throughout the country was unequal. The 1945 statistics indicate that in that year there were many village coffeehouses in the Aegean region, where Yusuf Bey's examples of Çağ and Bağlan were located, and both in the Mediterranean and Black Sea coastal areas, but that there were few coffeehouses in central and eastern Turkey<sup>21</sup> (see Figure 1). It is possible, of course, that there were actually more coffeehouses in 1923 than in 1945 and that they existed in many villages, but there is no evidence to support this.

It is more probable that since there were relatively few village coffeehouses in all of Turkey the members of the National Assembly were not convinced that they were a threat and the deputies were more concerned with more important issues of the new nation.

A third possible reason for the lack of action by the Grand National Assembly might have been related to the government's economic policies. During the period 1923–29 the Turkish government's economic policies were liberal and non-interventionist. The agricultural economy was relatively robust and crop export prices increased greatly.<sup>22</sup> Lawmakers may, therefore, not have been inclined to interfere in private commercial economic activity of any kind, including those of coffeehouses. Here and in later years coffeehouses, therefore, reflected the economic, social and cultural developments of the country.

A final reason for the failure of Yusuf Bey's attempts might have been that deputies in the National Assembly were aware of the ineffectiveness of the previous coffeehouse bans during the Ottoman Empire. Although under the Maintenance of Order Act the National Assembly had the power to close all village coffeehouses, the deputies' recognition of the earlier unsuccessful attempts during the Ottoman

**Figure 1.** Village coffeehouses in Turkey for 1945. *Note:* Map prepared using statistics compiled in 1945, showing the geographical divisions of the country in 1945. Darker areas indicate areas with higher concentrations of village coffeehouses in 1945.



Empire may have induced them not to vote on Yusuf Bey's motion. His action is the only known evidence of a direct attempt by anyone in the new government to close village coffeehouses until 1933.

Although Yusuf Bey's direct attempt failed, there were other, 'indirect' attempts by the government to limit and change both neighbourhood and village coffeehouses. These attempts involved using them for other purposes or converting them into centres for educational activities. Among the first of these was the use of village coffeehouses for literacy classes. In 1928 the Turkish Republic undertook a massive revision of the Turkish language by adopting the western, Latin alphabet. This change required a major re-educating of the literate population as well as a serious attempt to teach the largely illiterate general public to read and write. Statistics for 1927 show that the literacy rate in small villages in Turkey was not much higher than 5 per cent and only about 30 per cent in Turkish cities.<sup>23</sup>

As part of its educational programme the government set up national schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) in every available location. President Atatürk encouraged the use of both village and neighbourhood coffeehouses to teach literacy<sup>24</sup> and Prime Minister İsmet İnönü and the Turkish Grand National Assembly carried out Atatürk's wishes.<sup>25</sup> Teachers and even some deputies of the National Assembly were employed to teach reading and writing in coffeehouses. Village and neighbourhood coffeehouses, however, were not used solely for literacy instruction. The government realized that they also offered a good opportunity for it to communicate its ideas and reform policies to the public. In September 1928, for example, a lecture entitled 'Nations of the World' was given in a neighbourhood coffeehouse in the province of Giresun by Giresun deputy Musa Kazım Efendi<sup>26</sup> as part of an attempt to educate the public about the world outside of Turkey. Some coffeehouse owners also appealed to their city governments for lectures to be given in their coffeehouses,<sup>27</sup> possibly because it was good for business. This use of coffeehouses for education was a new teaching method for the populace. Although the primary governmental goal was education it cannot be overlooked that it was also introducing a new use of coffeehouses and discouraging their traditional image and activities.

Another indirect governmental approach of the same period was the use of village coffeehouses as part of a programme known as Public Reading Rooms (PRRs). The establishment of universal public education had started in Turkey in 1929 with national schools for children.<sup>28</sup> Bill Williamson writes that in 1929 'a National Schools Law passed aimed at wiping out illiteracy. The law aimed to set up reading rooms or classrooms in every village and required all citizens between the ages of fifteen and forty-five to attend'.<sup>29</sup> The following year an Establishment Regulation was passed which required the opening of PRRs in cities and villages throughout the country to be used in the fight against illiteracy. In addition to education, however, PRRs had another function, i.e. to attract people away from coffeehouses. In the Establishment Regulation, this hidden purpose was revealed in the regulation's use of the phrase 'saving the clientele of coffeehouses',<sup>30</sup> and although the regulation did not specify 'village' coffeehouses, it was accepted to have meant both neighbourhood and village coffeehouses.

The first implementation of the 1930 Establishment Regulation organizing neighbourhood coffeehouses as PRRs took place in the neighbourhood coffeehouses of Ankara. Neighbourhood coffeehouses were not closed, but each had a required corner designated as a reading and discussion area.<sup>31</sup>

In 1932, the Ministry of National Education also asked people not to use coffeehouses, but to meet in PRRs to read and listen to government information and educational programs on the radio.<sup>32</sup> Radios, which began transmission in Turkey in 1927, were placed in PRRs to attract villagers and were seen by the government as an important tool in educating the population. Throughout the early Republican Period radio was one of the most effective forms of mass communication to the largely illiterate Turkish public.<sup>33</sup> It was also important to government and political leaders because they could use it to educate large numbers of people about technical and agricultural issues as well as influence them about political ideology.<sup>34</sup> The government also emphasized its policy of PRRs vs. village coffeehouses in its publications. One 1935 example, read: 'the number of villages having reading rooms is gradually increasing. These reading rooms, which are illuminated and full of useful activities, attract villagers from village coffeehouses and are an example for villagers of how a space can be useful, despite its simplicity'.<sup>35</sup>

Although the emphasis during this period was on the reorganization of neighbourhood coffeehouses in urban areas, it is possible that some village coffeehouses were also reorganised as PRRs. The information that does exist comes primarily from newspapers of the period. Later attempts to use PRRs will be discussed below.

In 1932, the Turkish national government also began a new phase of public education by establishing what were known as People's Houses (*Halk Evleri*), which were built in most cities. People's Houses were large multifunctional buildings with auditoriums and meeting rooms to accommodate hundreds of persons for public lectures and cultural events. They were major centres for activities in a city and province. They were also ideological and cultural extensions of the governing Republican People's Party and offered literacy classes and information on a wide range of technical, agricultural, health, and social topics. Among the projects of People's Houses was the establishment of 'reading days' in both village and neighbourhood coffeehouses. The regulation establishing People's Houses included instructions which read:

There should be reading days in coffeehouses in convenient seasons and on specified occasions. On these days a person who has an ability to read orderly and who is assigned from the People's House is to get a book approved by the Party to read. With this aim a library branch of a People's House can provide assigned people to read, who are going to villages and towns away from People's House locations.<sup>36</sup>

Since the vast majority of the public at the time was illiterate, the activity of reading books aloud to groups was practised by some People's Houses in both neighbourhood and village coffeehouses. On these occasions illiterate men could gather there to listen to books being read aloud on practical and cultural subjects as well as to those on approved political topics. The principles of the Republican People's Party included such concepts as nationalism, populism, and secularism so the books understandably advocated these principles.

In 1933 the People's House in the province of Adana on the southern coast of Turkey was the first People's House to use neighbourhood coffeehouses for educational purposes.<sup>37</sup> Rather than reading books aloud, however, it held meetings for city residents and villagers coming to the city or to stay overnight. During the winter months of 1933, for example, 2500 people attended 12 conferences in large neighbourhood coffeehouses for the purpose of increasing citizens' understanding of health, law and the Turkish revolution.<sup>38</sup>

In 1933, the National Ministry of Education also issued a decree based on its claim that village men were wasting their evenings, especially during the winter months, in what it termed 'meeting places'. The decree instructed village teachers to read and explain Atatürk's book *Nutuk*, which told the story of the War for Turkish Independence (1919–22) and events up to 1927 so that villagers would understand 'why the Turkish revolution was important and how it was accomplished'. According to the decree this was to be done in 'places where peasants get together'.<sup>39</sup> It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that village coffeehouses in Adana and other provinces were among the places used for this purpose.

In 1935, the Ankara People's House followed Adana's example and began reading campaigns in Ankara's neighbourhood coffeehouses, but this was not initially done in village coffeehouses. Members read books aloud and gave lectures only to villagers who were visiting the city to shop or were staying overnight. Topics being read aloud in 1935 and 1936 included information on tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and the importance of saving money. These activities in large, comfortable coffeehouses also gave Ankara People's House members an opportunity to reach large numbers of villagers at one time.<sup>40</sup>

In 1938, however, the Ankara People's House expanded its programme to reading books in village coffeehouses themselves.<sup>41</sup> It also stated that its goal for 1939 was to establish libraries in both coffeehouses and village rooms<sup>42</sup> in 30 villages and over the next three years to set up libraries in 140 villages. The criteria for choosing villages were their size and their having a head teacher.<sup>43</sup> *The Yeşil Mamak Kahvesi*, a coffeehouse in the Ankara village of Mamak, was the first village coffeehouse to receive such a library when young members of the Ankara People's House set up a bookcase, donated books, showed educational films and gave a lecture to the villagers of Mamak about the importance of reading books and having a library.<sup>44</sup>

After 1938, at least some additional people's houses carried on educational activities in villages. In 1939 members of the Antalya People's House visited the Antalya village of Yeniköy and explained to villagers how to increase the productivity of their crops, how to reforest the land and what would be useful for them to read.<sup>45</sup> In the later 1930s and early 1940s the practice by People's Houses of organizing village coffeehouses for public literacy education spread across the country to many provinces as far apart as Artvin in the north-east and Edirne on the western border with Bulgaria. During this time, the Edirne People's House, for example, sent educational brochures about the importance of reading to coffeehouses in 1300 villages, to be read to villagers or displayed on walls.<sup>46</sup>

The practice of using the interaction between People's Houses and village coffeehouses was continued with varying levels of success until at least 1945. During the Second World War the Ankara People's House continued to set up reading corners in village coffeehouses,<sup>47</sup> and by 1942, it had donated libraries to 51 villages

of the province of Ankara. In 1942 People's Houses in many cities were still using village and neighbourhood coffeehouses as classrooms for an hour each day,<sup>48</sup> but they were also still being used as coffeehouses.

Toward the end of the Second World War, however, efforts by People's Houses to organize coffeehouses as educational centres declined and many People's Houses gave up the activities which they had begun before the war. Ankara People's House attempted to reorganize coffeehouses between January 1944 and May 1945, and a few others tried unsuccessfully to follow its example; and by the end of 1945 most of the People's Houses had abandoned their efforts at co-opting village and neighbourhood coffeehouses.<sup>49</sup>

Although Yusuf Beg's 1926 attempt to have the Grand National Assembly close village coffeehouses had failed, beginning in the 1930s there were ongoing discussions about the issue in the press. In his book *Anadolu Notları*, a well-known novelist of the time, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, commented that from at least the early 1930s discussions about coffeehouse closings had been taking place. Güntekin pointed out that many intellectuals and bureaucrats advocated that coffeehouses, especially village ones, should be closed.<sup>50</sup> There was also continuing criticism in the northern province of Giresun where the local newspaper, *Yeşil Giresun*, claimed that village coffeehouses were centres of indolent people.<sup>51</sup> The popular newspaper *Yeni Köroğlu*, which had one of the largest circulations in Turkey, also incorrectly argued in an overstated editorial that unless coffeehouses were closed, men in villages would gossip and become lazy, thereby leaving only women to work in the vineyards and orchards. The editorial asked the government to solve this problem.<sup>52</sup> Arguments for and against coffeehouses reached a highpoint in 1933 when the provincial governor of Giresun closed all of the village coffeehouses in the province.<sup>53</sup> In an article entitled 'Whatever the Government Does is Good', a local journalist named Nuri Ahmet commented on the governor's actions:

Brother villager . . . our governor of the province has closed village coffeehouses. This means you will no longer sit idly in these places until [late at] night while work is neglected. Maybe at first you are angry with this decree, but in reality it is for your benefit. Sitting in a village coffeehouse means wasting your time, losing your money and ruining your vineyards and orchards. That the coffeehouses in villages will be closed is very good. I will say it again, . . . whatever the government does is for your benefit and wealth.<sup>54</sup>

Ömer Türkmen claimed in *Ülkü*, the nationally distributed official government magazine of the Ankara People's House, that during ten months of the year villagers spent their time in coffeehouses and had the Giresun governor not closed them, villagers would soon have been living in poverty. According to Türkmen, villagers should return to their jobs and everyone would be happy.<sup>55</sup>

Not everyone, however, supported the closing of the village coffeehouses. In the early 1930s novelist Reşat Nuri Güntekin was fiercely opposed to their closing, claiming that they were unique places where people got together to talk and socialize. If village coffeehouses were closed, he argued, the men of Turkey would be left no place to go to express their ideas and feelings about daily life. According to him, the argument against coffeehouses was based on a false assumption. The increased

number of coffeehouses was not the *cause* of unemployment, he said, but rather was the *result* of it. He explained that villagers who had little or no work had nothing else to do but to go to coffeehouses to socialize.<sup>56</sup>

The struggle over village coffeehouse closings in Giresun, however, did not last very long. Just as prohibitions on coffeehouses by the Ottoman Empire for political reasons had been ineffective, so too were those by the new Turkish government, although as will be discussed new closures had additional reasons as well. The villagers of Giresun, however, simply ignored the closing orders and illegally reopened coffeehouses without confrontation. Their disregard for authority, however, was followed by a new governmental order. This time it did not come from the governor of Giresun, but from the prime minister of Turkey. In August of 1935 Prime Minister İsmet İnönü was on an economic fact-finding tour of the eastern and northern regions of the country when he gave a speech in the province of Giresun ordering all village coffeehouses in the province to be closed and a new type of gathering place called 'sports clubs' to be established. (Sports clubs will be discussed below.) A letter sent to İnönü by Giresun's governor on 3 February 1936 indicated that the new order had been dutifully put into effect.

During the eastern journeys you honoured our city and gave a lecture in the People's House here in which you ordered that the game places and coffeehouses of Giresun, in particular those of villages, were to be closed and sports clubs opened instead.

This order was immediately carried out and coffeehouses in the villages were closed down and sports clubs took the place of them. First your order was performed in the villages having primary schools and up to this time in the sixteen villages whose names are mentioned below. Sports clubs have opened and are still being opened in the rest of the villages. A commission under the Director of Culture was formed to deal with this work.<sup>57</sup>

The closing of the village coffeehouses of the province of Giresun raises two questions. The first is 'Were they the only ones closed?' Although we have very little information about other provinces, we do know that even though the Giresun closures may have been the most publicized, there were attempts in at least two other provinces (these will be mentioned below).<sup>58</sup>

Prime Ministry Republican Archives in Ankara. This research uncovered references related to closures to only a few other provinces, but this does not mean that such closures did not occur elsewhere or that information about them does not exist either in other documents or newspapers in the Turkish National Archive or in collections of local newspapers of the time.

The second question is 'Why were they closed?' In the Ottoman Empire the main reason for coffeehouse closings had been the political 'transgression of boundaries'.<sup>59</sup> However, the fact that in the early days of the new Turkish Republic only village coffeehouses were closed could perhaps be seen as an indication that transgression of boundaries was not the real reason for their closing. If it had been, then neighbourhood and literary coffeehouses in cities would also have been closed because they had a more socially diverse heterogeneous clientele while village coffeehouses had a basically rural, homogeneous one. Prime Minister İnönü had

visited many other cities on his tour of the east and north. Why then was his 1935 ban applied only to the village coffeehouses of Giresun and not to those of other cities?

It might be claimed that Giresun had too many coffeehouses. The numbers of both neighbourhood and village coffeehouses was one of the main issues discussed in the Giresun press in the 1930s. It was argued that the numbers should be decreased because if there were more coffeehouses, more people would visit them. Any claim based on the number of village coffeehouses, however, probably had no validity. As noted earlier, no statistics exist for this period, but statistics do show that in 1945 the villages of Trabzon, which İnönü had also visited on his 1935 trip, had twice as many coffeehouses as those of Giresun. If we assume that the relative number of coffeehouses were the same in 1935 as in 1945, then in 1935 the villages of Giresun did not have more coffeehouses than those of the north-central city of Trabzon.<sup>60</sup> Only the village coffeehouses of Giresun, however, were closed. This suggests that the number of village coffeehouses was not the principal reason for the 1935 bannings in the villages of Giresun. A reason for the Giresun closings might have been a national government project called 'modern coffeehouses', which began in January 1935 with the purpose of reducing the number of neighbourhood coffeehouses and encouraging the building of larger, more comfortable multifunctional ones.<sup>61</sup> These were to be built in larger cities with the hope that they would attract villagers, but there were also plans for modern coffeehouses eventually to be built in some villages. The project was proposed eight months before İnönü ordered the closing of the village coffeehouses of Giresun. The Giresun closures, therefore, might have been a part of this project and İnönü might have given his order because he thought there were too many village coffeehouses in Giresun. The modern coffeehouse project, however, did not require that all coffeehouses in a city or village be closed. It only required *some* of them to be closed. More importantly, four months before İnönü's visit to Giresun, the project was cancelled because of the cost.<sup>62</sup> İnönü's closing of all village coffeehouses in Giresun, therefore, could not have been a part of the project.

The actual motive for attempting to close the village coffeehouses of Giresun was economic. The economic policy of the Turkish Republican regime from 1923 to 1929 had been non-interventionist and 'built on the hope that private enterprise would develop the country'.<sup>63</sup> By the early 1930s, however, this policy collapsed in large part because of a major worldwide economic crisis which was reflected in the 1929 US stock market crash and the Great Depression and which directly affected Turkish exports and trade balances. In response to this crisis, after 1931 the government introduced a new economic policy of 'etatism', which involved the state taking direct firm control of the economy.<sup>64</sup> One factor in this policy was an attempt to control coffeehouses. Prior to 1929, therefore, the beliefs, criticisms and concerns about village and urban coffeehouses by various segments of society and the government may have been real, but not compelling. After 1929, however, village coffeehouses were more likely not to have been specifically targeted, but seen as part of an overall national programme of *etatism*. The earlier criticisms, however, may have also added weight to the argument for their closing.

Turkey was the world's largest producers of hazelnuts and the world economic crisis resulted in a sharp decrease in the price of hazelnuts and other Turkish crops.<sup>65</sup> One of the consequences of this drop was increased unemployment and a major

slowing down of its economy. Within Turkey, one of the primary locations for hazelnuts was Giresun.<sup>66</sup> Columnist Nuri Ahmet wrote in the Giresun local newspaper *Yeşil Giresun*, 'When we say "hazelnut", it reminds us of Giresun. Turkey gets more than half of its hazelnut harvest from Giresun.'<sup>67</sup> This importance was emphasized not only in local newspapers such as *Yeşil Giresun*, but in the national press as well. The national daily government newspaper *Ulus* took up the matter in 1935, the same year that İnönü issued his closing order. In an unsigned article headed 'Utilizing Our Hazelnuts' the newspaper pointed out the importance of hazelnuts as a major source of income for Turkey.<sup>68</sup> This importance was further emphasized in the First National Hazelnut Congress organized that same year.<sup>69</sup> A decree passed by the Congress argued that every possible measure should be used to get villagers to work more and increase the hazelnut harvest.<sup>70</sup> There were also other indications in the press of the time that economics was the real motive for the village coffeehouse closures. *Yeşil Giresun* not only commented about village coffeehouses having a bad effect on villagers, but started an active campaign against village coffeehouses on moral rather than economic grounds. The moral argument, however, was actually an economic one. Coffeehouses were 'bad', said the newspaper, because they made people lazy. The argument was that coffeehouses were 'bad', but if one asked, 'Why?' the underlying reasons given were 'economic'.

This relation between low hazelnut production and village coffeehouses became one of the most important topics in the press both before and after the coffeehouse closures of 1933 and 1935. In 1930, for example, an article entitled 'Your Hazelnuts and You' argued that gambling and laziness in coffeehouses should end and the income gained from hazelnuts should be saved instead of being gambled away or spent recklessly.<sup>71</sup> In 1932 an article entitled 'Unemployment and Lack of Money' complained that unemployed and penniless villagers tried to make money by gambling in village coffeehouses, and were wasting money which was necessary to feed themselves and their families.<sup>72</sup>

A month after the first coffeehouse ban in February 1933 columnist Nuri Ahmet advised villagers not to reopen coffeehouses because they reduced agricultural productivity. In an article entitled 'Let's Increase Productivity' he advised villagers what they should do:

Now that coffeehouses are closed, what you must do is this: Make an effort to harvest much. Instead of one kilogram of hazelnuts you should harvest five kilograms. Then you will enjoy yourself in every respect. Sitting in coffeehouses is both a crime and shameful. For heaven's sake, what a terrible situation for a farmer to spend time in a coffeehouse. Summer, autumn, winter, spring. Every season means work for a farmer. So, work harder than before. Make a lot of money! Then spend time enjoying yourself at your home. Brother villager, it is time to work.<sup>73</sup>

Ahmet's wording 'spend time enjoying yourself at your home' also suggested that a villager's home was a better place than a coffeehouse for villagers to gather.

In his 1935 speech Prime Minister İnönü had decreed that sports clubs were to be opened in place of village coffeehouses in Giresun's villages. 'Villagers', he said, 'are addicted to coffeehouses and consequently to gambling and laziness . . . It is necessary

to set up sports clubs in every village ... Encourage villagers to practise sports so that they will give up using coffeehouses.<sup>74</sup> His comments, however, were not motivated so much by morality as by economics. In the early Republican era, coffeehouses were considered the antithesis of sport clubs and the activities that took place in them were viewed as evil or immoral. Young and old were reminded that they should avoid coffeehouses by becoming involved in sporting activities. Yiğit Akın has rightly argued that sports clubs and sporting activities were eulogized as the proper gathering places for the 'ideal' Turkish youth. The establishment of sports clubs, therefore, was encouraged at the expense of coffeehouses and sporting activities were praised as the 'ideal' activity for Turkish villagers.<sup>75</sup>

*Yeşil Giresun* columnist Hami Çınar wrote that village sports clubs were a kind of school for villagers where they could improve their minds and bodies. He argued that villagers could gather there to exercise under the leadership of members of the Giresun People's House. There they could improve their strength and health by engaging in sports such as running, mountain climbing, swimming, or wrestling; or they could relax and drink tea, read newspapers or listen to radios provided by the Giresun governor to attract villagers.<sup>76</sup> A well-known Turkish physical fitness authority, Selim Sırrı Tarcan, asserted that 'most of the villagers were clumsy, cumbersome and lazy'.<sup>77</sup>

The government, therefore, hoped that physical education would improve both villagers' physical strength and their desire to work, resulting in economic benefits to both individuals and the state. The idea of sports clubs was part of the government's policy to encourage and improve the health, physical strength, and efficiency of villagers so that both they and the country would be more agriculturally productive. This was of the utmost importance to the Turkish government, which believed that villagers were wasting their time in village coffeehouses.

The sports club alternative to Giresun village coffeehouses, however, was unsuccessful. Just seven months after the decree by Prime Minister İnönü an article in *Yeşil Giresun* reported that coffeehouses in some villages were open and the *gendarme* had submitted written reports about coffeehouses to the governor of Giresun.<sup>78</sup> In 1936, criticism of village sports clubs themselves also began. In April it was reported that there were over 50 such clubs in the villages of Giresun,<sup>79</sup> but these were often actually used as coffeehouses. *Yeşil Giresun* columnist Avnişen Özden complained that village sports clubs were not fulfilling their purpose and that the sport competitions held among village sports clubs 'were not well organized'.<sup>80</sup> Another local journalist, Mehmet Tuncay, wrote that villagers had started gambling in sports clubs. In an editorial entitled 'Two Matters' he claimed that some village coffeehouses had reopened and that villagers were playing cards in both coffeehouses and sports clubs.<sup>81</sup> The editorial encouraged the governor of Giresun to intervene in the situation and not to allow village coffeehouses to reopen. As a result of these accusations an ordinary army captain named Mustafa Tiryaki gave an order banning all card games, whether for gambling or not, in all places in Giresun. The order charged that villagers had turned sports clubs back into coffeehouses.<sup>82</sup> It was clear that just as the public had converted barbershops into coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire, soon after the 1935 order villagers in Giresun's villages began quietly using the new sports clubs as coffeehouses. Mustafa Tiryaki's ban on card games, however, was also ineffective, and two months after the order the governor of Giresun himself issued a new decree banning all card games. In this decree the use of

the term 'village coffeehouses' clearly showed that the ban on coffeehouses and card playing had been broken.<sup>83</sup> Despite criticism of the reopening of village coffeehouses and the intervention of the governor, no further attempt was made to close them. As will be discussed below, the attempts at coffeehouse closures and the related establishment of sports clubs were simply ignored by men in the Giresun villages. Once again, attempts by the government had failed.

Although the 1933 and 1935 Giresun closures were probably the first and therefore the most publicized and controversial, they were not completely isolated events. At least two other similar attempts are known to have taken place, and research may reveal others. After the village coffeehouses of the province of Giresun were closed in 1935 an unknown correspondent for the national newspaper *Tan* put forward a radical recommendation that 'All village coffeehouses should be closed and PRRs should be organized as gathering places for villagers'.<sup>84</sup> The anonymous writer encouraged the government to close all village coffeehouses in the Republic. That same year it was also reported in the local newspaper *Yeni Mersin* that in many villages of Tarsus, a cotton production district in the southern province of Mersin, coffeehouses had been closed by Hıfzı Ege, the head of the district of Tarsus. The article did not give any details as to how many village coffeehouses were closed, why Hıfzı Ege made the decision, or if any alternative gathering places were suggested for villagers after the ban's implementation.<sup>85</sup> Nor is it known what actually happened immediately after the ban was imposed.

Similarly, in 1936 *some* village coffeehouses were closed in the district of Ceyhan in the province of Adana, a cotton production centre near Tarsus. In this case, Ceyhan's head official decreed that all coffeehouses in the small villages of Ceyhan which were not at major crossroads were to be closed. Villages which were located at crossroads where travellers often stopped to rest or eat, however, were permitted to have one coffeehouse.<sup>86</sup> The reasons given by the head officials of the districts of Tarsus and Ceyhan for the closures were the same as those given in Giresun in 1933 and 1935, that is, villagers were visiting coffeehouses instead of working in their fields. This time, however, the crop was not hazelnuts, but the important export crop of cotton.<sup>87</sup> However, as will be seen, these attempts ultimately failed when villagers continued to reopen old coffeehouses or start new ones without incident or confrontation. In 1940, for example, not only were village coffeehouses in Giresun still open; but according to observations in the magazine *Aksu*, their numbers had increased significantly.<sup>88</sup> Although there may be other examples of attempted closures, these were the only ones found during research. If the policy of closing was national, however, it is reasonable to assume that others existed, especially in potentially economically productive regions.

Although village coffeehouses are not known to have actually been closed except in Giresun, Tarsus and Ceyhan, beginning in the mid-1930s the government also continued to use PRRs for literacy and as an indirect means of closing or discouraging traditional uses of neighbourhood and village coffeehouses. Writing about villages in the western Anatolian province of Adapazarı, the newspaper *Son Posta* reported in 1937:

[I]n fact many coffeehouses in the villages of Adapazarı are being organized as reading rooms, and villages now have reading houses. Various books,

newspapers, magazines are available for the populace and children ... [T]he head official of Kayabaşı sub-district, İhsan Kılıç visited Kayal village and upon the requests of villagers he converted a coffeehouse owned by the First World War veteran Cemal into a reading room and immediately a signboard inscribed 'Reading Room' was hung up on the door of the coffeehouse.<sup>89</sup>

Although the village coffeehouses in Adapazarı may, indeed, have been transformed into PRRs, government statistics for 1939 show PRRs in only one village.<sup>90</sup> This may mean that those village coffeehouses which were officially converted into PRRs were soon quietly reopened by villagers as village coffeehouses and, therefore, were not recorded.

As a result of the government's continued inability to enforce its policies, in 1939 it began 'a less harsh policy' (*daha esnek politika*), a new approach which moved from attempting to close existing village coffeehouses to simply denying permission for new ones to be opened. The fact that the public continued to prefer using coffeehouses rather than PRRs may have been the reason for the new policy. A few examples may serve to illustrate this fresh attempt.

The first occurred on 20 March 1939 in the villages of Sındırgı, a district of the western city of Balıkesir, when the head of the district forbade the opening of new village coffeehouses. This order did not affect existing village coffeehouses, but instead encouraged the opening of new PRRs and village rooms as alternatives to them.<sup>91</sup> There was, however, no reference in the order to the specific number of existing coffeehouses that could remain open. A second example took place in 1940 in the province of Bursa in the Marmara Sea region of western Anatolia. The Bursa governor, Refik Koraltan, ordered that although no new village coffeehouses could be opened in the villages of Bursa, existing coffeehouses would not be closed. The motive behind this decree was the same as in previous attempts: the belief that villagers were not working enough in their fields because they were sitting in coffeehouses and playing cards.<sup>92</sup> A third instance occurred in the developed southern province of Mersin on the Mediterranean coast when in 1943 Mersin governor Tevfik Sırrı Gür issued an order prohibiting the opening of new village coffeehouses and encouraging new PRRs, but not closing existing coffeehouses.<sup>93</sup> A final example was in 1944 when the governor of the province of Aydın, in west-central Turkey, put forward a project for the development of villages. As a part of the project, he issued a decree that no new coffeehouses could be opened in the villages of the province, but said nothing about the closing or opening of other village coffeehouses. The opening of PRRs as alternative gathering places, however, was encouraged in this decree.<sup>94</sup>

All of these attempts to substitute PRRs for coffeehouses, however, failed because villagers simply ignored the decrees and continued to patronize coffeehouses. The result was that village coffeehouses continued to exist and be built. In Sındırgı, for example, the opening of new coffeehouses had been forbidden in 1939, but a 1944 news article stated that 'Many coffeehouses are opening in the villages of Sındırgı'.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, the 1940 order in Bursa had banned new village coffeehouses, yet a 1941 publication by the Office of Village Issues of Bursa reported that new village coffeehouses were still being built. It even asked the governor not to close the existing coffeehouses, but to make them more comfortable.<sup>96</sup> In the province of Mersin, in

spite of official decrees forbidding new village coffeehouses, they continued to be opened. According to local newspaper articles, in 1943 33 per cent of the villages in Mersin had coffeehouses<sup>97</sup> and, in 1944 there were 80 coffeehouses in the Tarsus villages of Mersin.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, it was reported in the same year that 61 per cent of the villages of Aydın also had coffeehouses.<sup>99</sup>

In addition to these failed attempts, during the Second World War the earlier 1936 bans on village coffeehouses in villages of the Adana district of Ceyhan had also been ignored, and according to local newspapers, even the district's small villages had coffeehouses.<sup>100</sup> In 1941 a local correspondent named Mehmet Selçuk pointed out that the ban of 1936 had been ignored by villagers in Ceyhan. According to him, all village coffeehouses were open and people were using them not only to waste time in idle conversation, but also to play cards. Selçuk called on the governor of Adana to close village coffeehouses as had been ordered in 1936.<sup>101</sup> The request, however, was met with a possibly unexpected response. Instead of ordering the coffeehouses to be closed, the new governor ordered PRRs to be opened to attract village coffeehouse patrons. His plan called for PRRs to be built in 15 villages and for them to contain national and local newspapers and magazines as well as radios for patrons to listen to lectures about topics such as agriculture and technical developments.<sup>102</sup>

Both the national government and local governments continued to encourage the use of PRRs as alternative gathering places into the Second World War, but sociologist Behice Boran has noted that during the period villagers in some western Anatolian cities still preferred using coffeehouses instead of PRRs. Some PRRs were even closed and locked because they were not used.<sup>103</sup> By 1945 the attempts at a less harsh policy had also failed.

The reason that the Turkish state was unsuccessful in banning village coffeehouse can be partially explained by understanding it as a failure of the social control process. In discussing the role of power in society, Michael Mann distinguishes the *despotic power* of the state elite (i.e., the range of actions which the elite is empowered to undertake without institutionalized negotiation with civil society groups), and the *infrastructural power* as the 'the institutional capacity of a central state, despotic or not, to penetrate its territories and logistically implement decisions'.<sup>104</sup> One of the most important elements of this power is the ability to deploy resources and people rapidly by means of transportation and communication.<sup>105</sup> While the young Turkish Republican state had some despotic power, it lacked the infrastructure to reach all of its villages, i.e. to penetrate society and regulate social relationships.

The successful use of power by the state in the social control process involves not only 'logistical techniques', but also the people's active or passive acceptance of official policies. There has also to be some degree of consent, leading to some form of hegemony in the Gramscian sense. Social control is, therefore, not a one-sided process. Villagers were not passive recipients of the prohibitions on coffeehouses. They resisted and violated them, because the state did not understand their social and practical functions. The fact that village coffeehouses played an important social role in villages was a major reason for the breaking of laws by villagers. Their behaviour was an example of what James Scott terms 'everyday forms of resistance',<sup>106</sup> which is the real basis for classical forms of resistance and politics. Everyday forms of resistance need little or no planning because they make use of implicit understandings and informal societal networks which result in people

challenging the state's authority in everyday life and conveying their desires, demands and complaints in many informal and anonymous ways. These often represent a form of individual self-help and involve forms of resistance which usually avoid any direct, symbolic confrontation with authority.<sup>107</sup>

In a nutshell, 'according to Scott, the calm and stable political life in the domain of legal-political relations and the lack of their political organization with well-defined aims do not mean necessarily that the people are passive object under the full hegemony of the rulers'.<sup>108</sup> This study is another example that people are not passive objects under the full hegemony of their rulers. Rather, these people resisted the state's attempts to influence the uses of village coffeehouses and, thereby, to control their lives. The resistance of the villagers shows that they did not behave according to a consciousness imposed by the state, but according to their life situations and interests. Peasants resorted to illegal actions that they considered as legitimate to be used against this injustice. In this respect, 'there was a discrepancy between the actions classified by the law of the elite as legitimate and the actions called legitimate by the peasants'.<sup>109</sup>

## Notes

1. D. Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700–1922*, Trans. A. Berktaş (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), p.233; S. Türkoglu, 'The Traditional Turkish Coffee', *SkyLife* (October 1996), pp.8–12.
2. E. Işın, 'A Social History of Coffee and Coffeehouses', in S. Özpallabıyıklar (ed.), *Coffee, Pleasures Hidden in A Bean* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2001), p.25.
3. Historians have given much attention to the role of coffeehouses in English political life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See for example J. Barrell, 'Coffee-House Politicians', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.34, No.2 (2004), pp.206–32; H. Berry, 'An Early Coffee House Periodical and Its Readers: *The Athenian Mercury*, 1691–1697', *London Journal*, Vol.25, No.1 (2000), pp.14–33; S.B. Dobranski, "Where Men of Differing Judgements Croud": Milton and the Culture of the Coffee Houses', *Seventeenth Century*, Vol.9, No.1 (1994), pp.35–56; M. Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004); and J. Money, 'Taverns, Coffee Houses and Clubs', *Historical Journal*, Vol.14, No.1 (1971), pp.15–47. Coffeehouses had played a major role during the French Revolution, for example. See, e.g., H. Cunow, 'Pariser Kaffeehausleben während der grossen Französischen Revolution', *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol.41-1 (1923), pp.413–18; and W.S. Haine, *The World of the Paris Café. Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University, 1996).
4. C. Kırılı, 'The Struggle Over the Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780–1845' (Ph.D., Binghamton University, 2000), p.7.
5. Topics in chapbooks included romance, acts of heroism and rebellions against landlords. Folk stories in chapbooks were also sometimes told by a minstrel, who sang or told the story accompanied by a stringed musical instrument called a *saz*. Folk story telling has always been one of the favourite entertainments of Anatolian coffeehouses both during the Ottoman Empire and early Republic. For a detailed study of chapbooks see P.N. Boratav, *Halk Hikayeleri ve Halk Hikayeciliği* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946); O. Spies, *Türk Halk Kitapları*, Trans. B. Gönül (İstanbul: Eminönü Halkevi Neşriyatı, 1946); İ. Başgöz, 'Turkish Folk Stories about the Lives of Minstrels', *The Journal of American Folklore*, No.258 (1952), pp.331–9.
6. Some comparative observations on the gendered geography of private and public spheres in the Mediterranean and the Near East can be found in E.R. Wolf, 'Society and Symbols in Latin Europe and in the Islamic Near East', *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol.42, No.3 (1969), pp.287–301; and in R.R. Reiter, 'Men and Women in the South of France: Public and Private Domains', in R.R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp.252–82.

7. B.W. Beeley 'The Turkish Village Coffeehouse as a Social Institution', *Geographical Review* (October 1970), p.476.
8. Ibid., p.482.
9. H. Avni, 'Köy Bakkalları ve Kahveleri', *Yurt ve Dünya*, Vol.13 (1941), p.11.
10. M.E. Meeker, *Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p.352.
11. K.H. Karpat, *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.132.
12. I.H. Tonguç, *Canlandırılacak Köy* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1939), p.69.
13. 'Köy Kahveleri', *Köye Doğru*, Vol.17 (1941), p.3.
14. Neighbourhood coffeehouses are mentioned when useful, but the focus is upon village coffeehouses as a discussion of neighbourhood and literary coffeehouse uses is too large and complex to include here. There is very little information about any type of coffeehouse during the early Republic of Turkey (1923–45) but more recent work by François Georgeon ('Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde İstanbul Kahvehaneleri', in H. Desmet-Gregoire and F. Georgeon (eds.), *Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* (Ankara: Yapı Kredi, 1999), p.80) and Uğur Kömeçoğlu ('Historical and Sociological Approach to Public Space: The Case of Muslim/Islamic Coffeehouses in Turkey' (Ph.D., Boğaziçi University, 2001)) has touched upon the subject and Serdar Öztürk ('Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Asri Kahvehaneler', *Toplumsal Tarih*, No.126 (2004), pp.84–9) has investigated aspects of it. These studies, however, are neither about village coffeehouses nor detailed examinations of other types. Although Georgeon's study does not deal with village coffeehouses, it does speculate that during the first part of the Republic coffeehouses declined, suggesting that they lost their importance and popularity with the public. According to him when the capital was moved from İstanbul to Ankara in 1923 there occurred a decrease in İstanbul's importance as well as a decline in the importance of neighbourhood coffeehouses. It was in İstanbul's neighbourhood coffeehouses that such traditional activities as Turkish shadow theatre (*karagöz*) and the art of storytelling and mimicry called *meddah* had been performed. When the capital was moved, however, these Ottoman traditions began to disappear.
15. Republic of Turkey General Directorate of Prime Ministry State Archives-Office of Republican Archives (hereafter PRA), Catalogue No: 030..10.1.0./ 8.46..24., 30 December 1926.
16. There are two opposing views of the rebellion in 1925. One view claims that the rebellion, which is known the 'Sheikh Said Rebellion', had both nationalist and religious components. Martin van Bruinessen was the first scholar to address this view (M. van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: On the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan*. Published Ph.D. Dissertation (Utrecht: Ryksuniversiteit, 1978). Some Turkish writers also favour this view. According to them, religious factors may have predominated over the nationalist one. See U. Mumcu, *Kurt-Islam Ayaklanması, 1919–1925* (Ankara: Tekin Yayınevi, 1992); Y. Kalafat, *Şark Meselesi Işığında Şeyh Said Olayı, Karakteri, Dönemindeki İç ve Dış Olaylar* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları). Others take the opposite view. According to them, nationalist motivations were more important than religious ones. See R. Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion: 1880–1925* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); E. Aybars, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (İzmir: İleri, 1994); M. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981); M. Bayrak, *Kürtler ve Ulusal Demokratik Mücadeleleri* (Ankara: Özge, 1993).
17. F. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.58. See also Ş.S. Aydemir, *Tek Adam: Mustafa Kemal-3* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1966), pp.237 and 497; M. Sadıq, *The Turkish Revolution and the Indian Freedom Movement* (New Delhi, Macmillan India, 1997), pp.128–9.
18. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, pp.79–80.
19. 'Küllük Beyannamesi', *Küllük*, Vol.1 (1940), p.1.
20. *Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü* [The Premiership Statistics General Directorate, hereafter PSGD], *Köyler İstatistiği 1945 Anket* (Ankara: Sakarya Basımevi, 1948), p.476.
21. Ibid., pp.122–3.
22. E. Akçetin, 'Anatolian Peasants in the Great Depression 1929–1933', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol.23 (2000), pp.84–5.
23. B. Williamson, *Education and Social Change in Egypt and Turkey* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1987), p.95.
24. Ibid., p. 118. Regarding education in Turkey, also see: S.J. Shaw and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985), Vol.II, pp.385–8.

25. B. Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), p.277.
26. 'Giresun Panoraması', *Yeşil Giresun*, 10 January 1929, p.1.
27. N. Ahmet, 'Kurslara Dair', *Yeşil Giresun*, 27 September 1928, p.1.
28. İ. Başgöz and H. Wilson, *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Milli Eğitim ve Atatürk* (Ankara: Ajans Türk Matbaacılık, 1968), p.118.
29. Williamson, *Education and Social Change*, p. 97.
30. 'Okuma Odaları Talimatnamesi', *Akşam*, 17 January 1930, p.3.
31. Türk Ocakları, *Türk Ocakları Merkez, Murakabe, İlim ve Sanat Heyetlerinin 1931 Fevkalade Kurultayına Arzedilen Raporlar ve Bilançolar* (Ankara, 1931), p.4.
32. 'Okuma Odaları', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 15 January 1932, p.2.
33. In 1935 the literacy rate in Turkish cities was about 40 per cent. In small villages this rate was about 10 per cent. Of the total population 81 per cent lived in rural areas in 1935. See *TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri* [Turkish Grand National Assembly Report] Period: 6, Meeting: 1, Vol.10 (Ankara, 1940), p.98. Literacy improved slowly, but steadily. Nevertheless disparities in literacy between urban and rural dwellers and between men and women continued. See Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman*, p.387.
34. A general study regarding the development of radio in modern Turkey can be found in U. Kocabaşoğlu, *TRT Öncesi Dönemde Radyonun Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Türk Siyasal Hayatı İçindeki Yeri* (Ph.D., Ankara, 1978). A survey about radio and television can also be found in M.T. Öngören, 'Radio and Television in Turkey', in R. Günsel and M. Kortepeter (eds.), *The Transformation of Turkish Culture* (Princeton: Kingston Press, 1986), pp.179-96.
35. CHP, *1935 Halkevleri, 103 Halkevi Geçen Yıllarda Nasıl Çalıştı* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935), p.125.
36. CHF, *Halkevleri Teşkilatı, İdare ve Mesai Talimatnamesi* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1932), p.19.
37. Adana Halkevi, *Adana Halkevi* (Adana: Ulus Basımevi, 1938), p.19. The Adana People's House is the only People's House for which documentation was found about educational activities in neighbourhood coffeehouses between 1933 and 1935.
38. *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.
39. 'Köylerde Toplantılar Yapılacak', *Son Posta*, 24 December 1933, p.3.
40. Ankara Halkevi, *Ankara Halkevi Bir Yıl İçinde 300.000 Yurttaşı Çatısı Altında Topladı* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935-36), p.41.
41. 'Köy Odalarında Kütüphane Olacak', *Babalık*, 29 September 1938, p.1.
42. Village rooms were similar to coffeehouses, but whereas coffeehouses were commercial, village rooms were not. There were two kinds of village rooms. The first type was basically a government meeting room where the village council met to discuss village issues. This type of village room was set up as a requirement of the National Village Law of 1924. The second type was sponsored by notable persons in a village. By establishing a village room a person increased his prestige and influence over villagers and also enjoyed being recognized by them as generous. Villagers behaved respectfully toward persons who established village rooms. A person who opened a village room determined the rules of the room such as when to speak, where to sit, who was to read a chapbook or newspaper. As in village coffeehouses only men were allowed to participate. Villagers could not play cards in village rooms. Young people (usually over 15) had to listen carefully while older persons were talking or reading. For detailed studies see: Beeley, 'The Turkish Village Coffeehouse as a Social Institution', pp.475-93; P. Stirling, *Turkish Village* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965); *Mediha Esenal, Geç Kalmış Kitap: 1940'lı Yıllarda Anadolu Köylerinden Araştırmalar ve Yaşadığım Çevreden İzlenimler* (İstanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık, 1999).
43. 'Çok Mükemmel Bir Hareket: Ankara Kahvehanelerine Kütüphane Konuluyor', *Türk Sözü*, 26 October 1938, p.1.
44. 'Ankara Halkevi Köylere Eczacı Dolapları Dağıttıyor', *Ulus*, 6 December 1938, p.1.
45. 'Antalya Halkevi'nin Yeniköy Gezisi', *Türk Akdeniz*, Vol.14 (1939), pp.11-13.
46. PRA, Catalogue No: 490 01/832 285 2., 2 March 1940.
47. Ankara Halkevi, *Ankara Halkevine Bir Yıl İçinde 635.501 Yurddaş Gelmiştir* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1941), p.47.
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