DOI: 10.33431/belgi.977560



Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article

LİLO LİNKE'İN "ALLAH DETHRONED" ADLI ESERİNDE SAMSUN HALKEVİ VE FAALİYETLERİ

SAMSUN PEOPLE'S HOUSE AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE WORK OF LILO LINKE "ALLAH DETHRONED"

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Geliş Tarihi/Received:02.08.2021

Kabul Tarihi/Accepted:20.05.2022

KUŞ, Ayşegül, (2022), "Samsun People's House And Its Activities In The Work Of Lilo Linke "Allah Dethroned", Belgi dergisi, s.24, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayını, Yaz 2022/II, ss. 93-111.

Abstract

After the victory of the Independence war, Turkish Republic was founded, a great number of reforms were made in political, social, cultural and economic fields under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for both the Turkish nation's taking their place among the modern societies and also creating a national consciousness of the people. Considerable importance was given to education so as to have people adopt the reforms. In this regard, the schools having been inherited from the Ottoman State were modernized and educational programs were renewed. In addition, in 1932 the People's Houses, which could be described as widespread institutions, were constructed in 14 provinces including Samsun. Naturally, in the construction of the People's Houses, the role of some political, economic, social and cultural developments of the period cannot be overlooked. It is possible to see it in the cultural, artistic, economic and educational functions that People's Houses executed. However, it should be noted that People's Houses actually can be considered as the product of the politics of creating a modern and secular society. In addition to several needs of the Turkish society, between 1932 to 1951, it is obvious that they played a major role in transfering the reforms to people as well. Through the People's Houses, it was intended to base Atatürk's principles and reforms on a strong ground, to establish national culture and bridge between Turkish intellectuals and people and in this way, to create a productive society having common concerns and ideals. With the foundation of the People's Houses, some important developments were made in the field of culture and education and several journals and books were published in order to inform and educate people about every subject. People's Houses, which have had an important place in our recent history have attracted the attention of many local and foreign researchers as well. During her visit in Samsun, Lilo Linke also showed interest in People's Houses and narrated significant information related to them. This study is based on Lilo Linke's observations and research during her visit in Samsun in 1935. Using her travelogues, the purpose of the study is to handle and evaluate Samsun Poeple's House and its activities and thus in the context of People's Houses shed some light on the history of Samsun.

Keywords: Lilo Linke, traveler, People's Houses, Samsun People's House and its activities

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Öz

Bağımsızlık savasının kazanılmasının ardından Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devleti kurulmus, hem Türk milletinin çağdaş ve modern toplumlar arasındaki yerini alması hem de halkta ulusal bir bilinc olusturmak icin Mustafa Kemal Atatürk önderliğinde siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik alanlarda pek çok reform yapılmıştır. Reformların halka benimsetilmesinde, eğitime önemli işlevler yüklenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı'dan devralınan okullar modernize edilmiş, eğitim programları yenilenmiştir. Bununla da kalınmamış, 1932 yılında, Samsun'nun da içinde bulunduğu 14 ilde, yaygın eğitim kurumu olarak nitelendirebileceğimiz Halkevleri insa edilmistir. Halk evlerinin insa edilmesinde, elbette dönemin kimi siyasi, ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel gelismelerinin rolü yadsınamaz. Bunu, Halkevlerinin üstlendiği, kültürel, sanatsal, ekonomik, eğitsel vb. islevlerde acıkca görmek olasıdır. Ancak özde Halkevleri, Cumhurivetin cağdas ve laik bir toplum varatma politikalarının bir ürünü olarak düsünülebilir. Halkevlerinin kurulduğu 1932 yılından kapatıldığı 1951 yılına kadar, Türk toplumunun pek çok ihtiyacı yanında, yeniliklerin halka taşınmasında da etkili olduğu açıktır. Zira Halkevleri vasıtasıyla toplumda Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarının sağlam bir temele oturtulması, milli kültürün insası, Türk aydını ile halk arasında köprü kurulması ile ortak kaygıları ve ülküleri olan üretici bir toplum yaratılması hedeflenmiştir. Halkevlerinin kurulması ile birlikte kültür ve eğitim alanında önemli atılımlar yapılmış ve Halkevleri tarafından, halkı her konuda eğitmek ve bilgilendirmek icin bircok dergi ve kitap yayınlanmıştır. Yakın tarihimizde önemli bir yere sahip olan Halkevleri, yerli ve yabancı pek çok araştırıcının ilgisini çekmiştir. Lilo Linke de Türkiye'yi ziyareti sırasında Halkevleriyle ilgilenmiş, bu konuda kayda değer bilgiler aktarmıştır. İste bu çalışma, Lilo Linke'nin 1935 yılında Samsun ziyareti sırasında Samsun Halkevine dair gözlem ve incelemelerine dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanı amacı, onun gezi notlarından yola cıkarak, Samsun Halkevi ve faaliyetlerini ele almak, değerlendirmek ve Halkevleri bağlamında Samsun tarihine ışık tutmaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Lilo Linke, seyyah, Halkevleri, Samsun Halkevi ve Faaliyetleri.

1-INTRODUCTION

After the Ottoman Empire had collapsed, on the wreckage of her was a new state founded and a new philosophy was adopted. Following the victory of Turkish Independence War and some of the diplomatic developments, it was the time to modernize the country. Therefore, some important reforms were made in social, cultural and economic fields. However, the Great Depression, which broke out in the year of 1929 deeply affected the world including Turkey as well, a newly-found state. Moreover, it was assumed that the new reforms coud not reach the public as sufficiently as possible. ¹ In fact, It is possible to divide the period that starts with the declaration of Turkish Republic, the period of Atatürk into two: the former one lies from the declaration of Republic to 1928, which lasted for five years and it is denominated as the foundation period of the new state and the regime. During this period on one hand, some old and traditional institutions were abolished, on the other hand, it was intended to institutionalize the Republican regime. The latter one covers the years between 1928 and 1938 when some social and political reforms were made; in other words, the rooting and the establishment of the Republic.²

In the first nine years after the establishment of Turkish Republic and in 1930s, some important revolutionary attempts were made in order to realize the nationalisation and secularisation in the field of culture towards the national union such as the acceptance of the new Turkish Alphabet (1928), the National Schools (Millet Mektepleri) (1928), the Public Orators' Institution of the Republican People's Party (CHP Halk Hatipleri Teşkilatı) (1931), the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu) (1931), People's Houses (Halkevleri) (1932), the Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) (1932), the Faculty of Language History and Geography (Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi) (1936) and People's Rooms (Halkodaları) (1939–40).³ In this context, Atatürk, who gave priority to populism (halkçılık), nationalism (millivetcilik) and secularism (laiklik), aimed to create a new understanding based on the thesis of history and and language. Thus, during his period, the national foundations of Turkish culture were laid down.⁴ In this respect, the Turkish case seems to be largely in line with the trends in the world. As the founders of a newly established nation state, the republican elite seemed eager to rapidly transform the society into a modern nation. For this purpose, the education of people, the majority of whom lived in villages and who were illiterate, was considered as one of the serious problems of Turkey. In addition, formal education alone seemed incapable of realising such a transformation within a short time. The republican elite, however, desired to get rapid results as they aimed to catch up with the Western civilization by bridging the gap. Kilinc asserts that in spite of the the rapid introduction of several political, legal, economic, and social reforms throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, the majority of people in Turkey remained reluctant, and occasionally became resistant to support the reforms and the values of the new regime. Moreover, he states that a series of events, such as the short-lived Liberal Party experience in 1930, and the Menemen incident in the following months, along with

¹ Anıl Çeçen, Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumu Halkevleri, Cumhuriyet Kitapları, İstanbul 2000, p. 77.

² Çeçen, age, p. 316-317.

³ Sefa Şimşek, "People's Houses" as a Nationwide Project for Ideological Mobilization in Early Republican Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2005, p. 71; Suna Kili, *Atatürk Devrimi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara, 1998, p. 195.

⁴ Nihat Atabay, "Cumhuriyet Kültürü", Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, S. 43, 2009, p. 455-465.

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the negative effects of the Great Depression, etc. made it clear that the reforms had not taken root in society to the extent as wished yet.⁵

Aydın in his study argues that when the Kemalist ruling elite seriously started to handle the problem of social control, they sought a model with which they could actualise their future ideals of social transformation in the society. However, the existent institutions of education, primarily Turkish Hearths were gradually being discredited by the Republican People's Party. Republican Poeple's Party leaders, especially by Recep Peker on the ground that these institutions were not adequate to meet the educational needs of the Republic. Furthermore, several alleged links between the Free Party and the Turkish Hearths were used as evidence for the inevitability of this institution's closure.⁶ Contrary to this claim, it should be noted that considering the insufficient and unpleasant conditions of 1930's in terms of communication and transportation facilities, it is inevitable to give higher importance to the People's Houses in order to provide national unity, to reach the masses to tell about about the cultural values, to raise the moral values of the society as well. In this regard, Güz asserts that some great challenges were experienced on the way to the foundation of the Republic and it was thought that the People's Houses had great responsibilities to make the victory more permanent. Therefore, it has been regarded as highly important to educate people. Taking into account the insufficient conditions and facilities in Turkey in terms of having access to books, information, news, and so on, it becomes apparent that the People's Houses and the journals having been published compensated for the lack of these facilities.⁷ Furthermore, the People's Houses were also considered as such places where intellectuals and people should gather and bridge the

⁵ Volkan Kılınç, " 'Diciplining ' Turkish People Through the People's Houses: A Discursive Reading of the Ülkü Magazine (1933-1950)", İstanbul Şehir University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished M.A, 2017, p. 2.

⁶ Ertan Aydın, "The Pecularities of Turkish Revolutionary Ideology in the the 1930s: the Ülkü Version of Kemalism, 1933-1936", Bilkent University, The Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Unpublished Ph.d, Ankara 2003, p. 91. The Turkish Hearths, established by 190 medicine students in 1911, opened several branches all aorund the country. They organised lectures, theater performances, concerts, foreign language and accountancy courses and published various books and journals. When the activities of the People's Houses are compared with those carried out by the Hearths, it is clearly seen that the Poeple's House continued the actitivities carried out by the Hearths. See. İbrahim Karaer, Türk Ocakları (1912-1931), Türk Yurdu, Ankara 1992, p. 21-23. The Hearths worked in harmony with "İttihat and Terakki" during the First World War and took side with the Ankara government during the period of National Independence War and they were also supported by the Cumhuriyet Halk Firkasi after the Republic was founded. In 1927 when the party congress was held, they were accepted to be the institute under the control of the party. Despite the good relations with Cumhuriyet Halk Firkasi, after the the incidence of Serbest Cumhuriyet Firkasi, their relations broke down. As a result of it, the chairman of the Turkish Hearths, Hamdullah Suphi Tanriöver was invited to Çankaya in January 1931. At this convention, Vasif Çinar, the member of the Turkish Hearth said that the Hearths are not needed any more with the rationale that the party already carry out the activities of the Hearths. Then Reşit Galip and Celal Bayar supported him as well. Thus, at the convention dated as 10th April 1931 the Turkish Hearths decided to join the party. At an extraordinary convention held in May 1931, it was approved of the dissolution of the "Ocaks and was decided to transfer its property to People's Republican Party. See. Kemal Karpat, "The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communication in Turkey: 1931-1951", Die Welt des Islam, New Series, Vol.15, 1/4, 1974, p. 3; İbrahim Erdal, Halkevlerinin Kuruluşu, Yapısı ve Yozgat Halkevi, 1932-1951, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara 2013, p 31; Mahmut Goloğlu, Tek Partili Cumhuriyet (1931-1938), Ankara 1974, p. 7-10; Nurettin Güz, "Kültür Ocakları Olarak Halkevleri ve Halkevleri Dergileri", Tüm Yönleriyle Medya ve İletişim, Der. M. Işık, A. Erdem, Eğitim Kitabevi Yayını, Konya, 2008, p. 70; Nurcan Toksoy, Halkevleri, Bir Kültürel Kalkınma Modeli Olarak Halkevleri, Orion Kitabevi, Ankara 2007, p. 25, Serafettin Zeyrek, Türkiye'de Halkevleri ve Halkodaları (1932-1951), Anı Yayınları, Ankara 2006, p. 14-15; Ahmet Cemil Ertunç, Cumhuriyetin Tarihi Yasadıklarımızın Dünü-Bugünü, Pınar Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 285; Yavuz Özdemir ve Elif Aktaş, "Halkevleri (1932'den 1951'e)", A.Ü.Türkiyat Arastırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, 45, 2011, p. 241.

⁷ Güz, agm, p. 65-95.

gap that became wider between them, and between the urban and rural population. In this respect, the peasantist ideology and activities in the People's Houses were perceived as the key to bridge the gap.⁸

As has been mentioned above, after the abolition of the Turkish Hearths, the People's Houses were established in 1932 with the cultural and political aim of educating people in accordance with the nationalist, secularist and populist ideas of the new Republic. Specifically, they aimed to establish and reinforce a national culture based on Turkish folklore, teach the Republican principles, increase the very low literacy rates in Turkey and also improve the living standards of the people.⁹ After the dissolution of the Liberal Party in November 1930, Atatürk took a three-month trip in order to come together with people in every walk of life and to discover the reasons of the popular discontent. Karpat refers to the fact that most part of the Republic's policy after 1930 was based upon the lesson taught by the Liberal Party that political, social and economic measures unless accompanied by deeper economic and social measures are not possible to be sustainable. Therefore, the People's Houses should be seen as the instruments of the new development policy envisaged by Atatürk after 1930.¹⁰. The People's Houses were placed under the Republican Party's Secretary General. Meanwhile by 1931 the Party had established itself firmly in power as a one-party system, and all the activities of them were directed from the top through the Secretary General.¹¹

This study is based on the personal impressions of a German journalist, Lilo Linke in her work titled as "Allah Dethorned: A modern Journey through Modern Turkey", published in London in 1937. The purpose is to handle and evaluate the travel notes of the traveler regarding the People's House in Samsun and its activities and thus make some contributions to the literature. Before discussing the travel accounts of Lilo Linke, it is thought that it will be much better to give some information regarding the traveler. Lilo Linke was born in a region where the working class lived in eastern part of Berlin on 31st October 1906. Her father was working for the Prussian government as a map maker on the eastern border of the country. She became the founder member of both Berlin Young Democrats in 1925 and Radical Democrat Party in 1930. She made a trip to London in 1931 and there met the author, Margaret Storm Jameson. Two years after that trip she received an invitation from that author and settled down in England. Linke, who was an author and journalist, became a well-known figure both by the English speaking world and the nations who speak other languages. In her works she generally handled the subjects

⁸ M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey", Middle Eastern Studies , Vol. 34, No.4, p.70.

⁹ Behçet Kemal Yeşilbursa, "The People's Houses as a Model of Non-Formal Education in Turkey (1932-1951)", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı*, S. 25, 2018, p.3; Erdal, a.g.e, p. 42-46.

¹⁰ Karpat, agm, p.59; Gönül Türkan Demir, Halkevlerinin Eğitim Tarihimizdeki Yeri ve Çankırı Halkevi, Berikan Yayınevi, Ankara 2018, p. 47.

¹¹ Yeşilbursa, agm, p.5. For instance, the People's House in Ankara, the central organisation, was under the direct authority of the Secretary General. The heads of the Houses were appointed by the Republican Party provincial chairmen, not elected by Houses members. The buildings of the Houses were provided via the Republican Party, which also acquired the property donated to the Houses. The funds for the Houses were supplied through the Republican Party budget, which in turn acquired them from the state budget. Between 1932 and 1950, 27,366,750 liras were allocated to the Houses from the state budget, about a fifth of which remained in the party treasury. Thus, the Republican Party had effectively established its control over the Houses. See. Karpat, agm, p.59; Yeşilbursa, agm, p.5.

related to economy, politics, media, wars, consumption, industrialisation, environment, health, family, social gender, religion, and so on. She witnessed and experienced the First World War, November Revolution, modernisation realised under the leadership of Atatürk, the fascism in Europe and England, the rise of Nazism in Germany and the Second World War. She died of heart attack when she was flying from Athens to London in 1963.¹²

2- LINKE'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE IN SAMSUN

When People's Houses were established on 19th February 1932, 14 People's Houses started to carry out activities among which there have been Afyon, Ankara, Aydın, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eminönü, Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya, Malatya and Samsun. Through the course of time, the number of the People's Houses in Samsun increased. For instance, in 1948, their number became eight and the number of the Public rooms 89. ¹³ In addition, when the People's House in Samsun was opened, the people displayed great willingness and happines and along with the governor, the notables and many people joined the opening ceremony.¹⁴ It was intended to reach even to the remoter parts in order that people could have an access to every sort of knowledge. In this regard, People's Houses were opened in Bafra, Çarşamba, Havza, Vezirköprü, Kavak, Lâdik, Terme, Alaçam. Thus, the information exchange continued between People's House in Samsun and the ones in small towns.¹⁵

When Linke visited Samsun, she also made a visit to People's House and narrated her impressions related to it. In this regard, she says that it is surprising to witness the valuable things carried out by People's House in Samsun. To her, only three men and a young woman were able to turn a number of little rooms of the People's House into the cultural centre of the whole town. More importantly, there was rarely no one whose life was not touched by the activities of the People's House, even though nearly every fortieth (?) person was the member of it. It is understood that as a foreigner coming from a different culture she seems affected by the positive influence and the role of the People's House in Samsun that exercised over the people and the society in the town.

The traveler goes on to give more accounts regarding People's Houses and says that they are open to every one, there is no age-limit to be able to attend these places, no distinctions are made between men and women. For instance, shoe menders, pharmacists, the girls working in the factories, the illiterate, and so on are as welcome as the head master from the high school. However, whereas the illiterate can join as they like, the head master is obliged to take an active part, for behind the People's House is the Republican Party, which is the only political party in existence and it plays such a major role that it can not be defied by those in the higher scale in the society. As has been pointed out by Linke, the People's House in Samsun carried out a great number of activities with 12 See. Anita Judith Ogurlu, Lilo Linke: A 'Spirit of Insubordination' Autobiography as Emancipatory Pedagogy; A Turkish Case Study, Unpublished Phd., Humanities and Cultural Studies, Birkbeck College, University of London, 2016, p.7-34.

¹³ Alper Gülbay, "Halkevlerinin Taşradaki Yansımalarına Bir Örnek: Samsun Halkevi ve 19 Mayıs Dergisi", Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, XVIII/37 2018, p. 608.

¹⁴ Halil Aktaş, *Samsun Halkevi (1932- 1951)*, Gazi Osman Paşa Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Tokat 2015, p.8.

¹⁵ Aktaş, a.g.t, p. 108.

its branches in order to spread and teach Turkish Revolution from the first day on when it was opened. As is mentioned by Linke, the Republican Party by-laws of 1939 (article 142) demanded that deputies deal with and support the Houses. The Ministry of Education also issued a special letter authorizing school teachers and officials to join the organization. The Secretary General instructed the party leaders to publicize the Houses and to raise the interest of the youth. Gradually, the responsibility for activity in the Houses was placed on school teachers, who were considered the most important instruments of the reform, capable of fulfilling the Houses' broad educational-emancipation goals.¹⁶ Moreover, the obligatory active part in the People's House is closely related to the fact that intellectualshere as in the example of the head master- played a substantial role in the construction of the Revolutionary ideology. In other words, there was a division of labor between political authorities and intellectuals, and higly importance was assigned to their activities for the construction of the collective identity in the society.¹⁷

3- THE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED BY THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE IN SAMSUN

In Linke's accounts about the People's House in Samsun, it is seen that as she was deeply influenced by it, she decided to visit it again on her own so as to obtain more information about the activities conducted there. Firstly, she mentions that she did not have any difficulty finding the house and then she describes it as a place where there is a big Atatürk's head and its door is always open for people. During her visit to the House the first person she meets is a young music master. She makes a conversation with the music master related to his job in order to learn more about the House. Firstly, she makes him some compliments not only due to his great attention he paid to his job but also the eagerness of his students. She adds that they had been doing practice for the autumn concert and the house had a proper orchestra with flutes and saxophones, a military band and a big choir. In addition, she gives more details as to the activities carried out by the music teacher. Then the music teacher tells her that he was actually a school master and the conducting and music lessons are the activities carried out in his leisure time.¹⁸ During her visit, Linke also witnesses a violin lesson given to a child of an eight-year-old child. When the school master offered her to meet the child, she willingly accepts it and talks to him.

She narrates her meeting with the child as follows:

The boy was waiting in the music room. He was rather tall with a mass of thick black hair, tidily cut and brushed, ahigh energetic forehead and bushy eyebrows. Appraisingly he looked at me out of his deep-set eyes. 'What is your name?' I asked him Turkish. He buried his hands in the pockets of his short trousers. 'Ömer' and yours?' I told him and he proceeded with the interview: 'where do you come from? What are you doing here? Where are your parents? 'My father died a little while ago'. At once he changed his tone and became extremely polite.' I share your grief. May he rest in light. I have no parents. The Halk Evi took me. You might find somebody, too'.¹⁹

¹⁶ Karpat, agm, p.59.

¹⁷ Aydın, agt, p. 98.

¹⁸ Lilo Linke, Allah Dethroned, London 1937, p. 169-170.

¹⁹ Linke, age, p. 170.

From the interview given above, it is seen that the People's House in Samsun does not only conduct some musical activities but also as in the example of Ömer, an eightyear child here, provides protection, shelter and education for the children who lost their parents. Having been deeply influenced by the interview she had with Ömer, she proceeds to give more accounts regarding him. To her, he is the real proud of the Samsun People's House and he sets the first example in this form. He is a successful child and if he goes on like that he will be sent to secondary school and later to university. Linke stresses the fact that in the long future Turkey will suffer from a shortage of doctors, teachers and lawyers. Therefore, to be trained for the job a person is suited for, in the certainity of finding a place waiting seems like a fairy tale to her.²⁰ She also states that with such brilliant future before him, he might be confident. When looked at her accounts regarding the activities in the house, she seems amazed and likens them to a fairy tale in that the House manages to realize very challenging things for the society. The traveler also adds that Ömer is not the only child under the care of the House, but the only adopted one. She says that the House had a special committee to support poor children, whose parents or wardens are given some legal, financial and educational advice, especially if they are the victims of the Independence War. As has been narrated by the traveler, the citizen that the new Republic mostly needed is the one who is modern and who can grasp and adopt the notions of reforms and principles of Atatürk. That's why some institutions such as the Nation Schools, Turkish Historical Society, Turkish Language Society, People's Houses and People's Rooms were opened in order that the new state could develop in concert with this ideal citizen.²¹ Linke's accounts pertaining to Ömer here are related to the activities carried out by the Social Assistance section whose main purpose is to awaken affection and compassion and cooperation among people. More importantly, it was aimed to protect and assist the children in need.²² For instance, in 1934 the Social Assistance section established a committee in order to make contribution to the development of the country and discover the prodigies. As a result of efforts made by the committee, the child named as Hüseyin Yılmaz, who is an orphan and the most hardworking one of his class was accepted as the adopted child of the People's House. In addition, the section planned to give some valuable presents to the children who graduate ranking first in class.23

Yeşilbursa states that the activities of the People's Houses- as in the example of the House in Samsun here- were divided roughly into four groups: Language and Literature,

²⁰ Linke, age, p.170.

²¹ Özdemir ve Aktaş, agm, p.242.

²² Sultan Civci, Halkevleri ve İzmir Halkevi'nin faaliyetleri:(1932-1951), Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Eskişehir 2013, p. 57;

Gözde Tekin, Trakya Halkevleri ve Halkevi Dergileri Üzerine Bir İnceleme, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Halk Bilimi Anabilim Dalı Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara 2014, p. 42-44; Esma Taşçı, *Eskişehir Halkevi*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitütüsü Tarih Ana Bilim Dalı, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kütahya 2105, p.35; Ülkü Ulukaya, *Halkevlerinin Halk Eğitimindeki Etkin Rolü*, İnönü Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü İlköğretim Ana Bilim Dalı, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisnas Tezi, Malatya 2015, p. 42.

²³ Gülbay, agm, p. 613. In the same year Social Assistance section held 19 meetings and 65 members participated in these meetings. It has 121 female and 574 male members. In a year 22 people in need were supported and they were aided 174.50 liras and some food and clothes. They also provided the poor students with some bookstand, the people who asked for the help of Social section were given medical treatment. In 1936, it continued to give meals to the poor children. For example, 30 poor children were provided with regular lunch. See. Gülbay, agm, p. 613.

Sport, Social Services and Education. In addition, each section had to follow the principles. As in Linke's accounts related to music, it is under the group of Language and Literature. When compared with painting, music received less interest, but day by day the interest in music grew. For instance, the Ankara People's House housed a trained choir, which performed new compositions. Remarkable interest in western music was also displayed, and some lectures were planned to be arranged on this subject. The performance of short musical plays, written by the members of the People's Houses, was also regarded as a great success.²⁴ Simsek also points out that the musical activities at the Houses were generally conducted in two ways. One was to simply adopt and teach various kinds of western music. The second one was based on the practice of Turkish folk music, military and heroic songs, and national anthems using western musical instruments.²⁵ In fact, People's Houses contained nine sections: Language and Literature, Fine Arts²⁶, Drama, Sports, Social Assistance, Classes and Courses, Library and Publications, Village Development and History and Museum. In turn, each activity section was divided into some sub-branches depending on the membership and available leadership. Of these sections, the first, second, seventh, eighth, and ninth were considered the most important.²⁷ Besides, it should be noted that through these branches the People's Houses conducted their activities which are aimed to educate society in several fields such as culture, education, economy, sports and so on. They tried to do their best so as to reach and embrace all people- women, men, the old and the young.²⁸

Linke seems to have spent a great deal of time for a few days in the little place where the House was in order to observe the activities carried out there. During that time, she also had the opportunity to talk to the president of the House, who was a lawyer and could come to the House only in the evenings like most of the committee members.²⁹ In addition, all the work done there was unpaid and voluntary and from five o'clock onwards every room in the House was filled with people. In her work, she also gives the copy of a timetable she prepared herself, which exactly shows what sort of acitivities were being conducted. The copy of the week's timetable is as follows:³⁰

²⁴ Yeşilbursa, agm, p. 10.

²⁵ Şimşek, agm, p. 85; Civci, agt, p. 55;

²⁶ The Fine Arts section focused on musical activities and in this context 12 concerts were held and the piano and violin lessons were given per week, some national anthems were taught to the young people and painting lessons were given and some painting exhibitions were organised. In addition, the formation of the jazz team and choir activities were being conducted as well. See. *Halkevlerinin 1934 Senesi Faaliyetleri Raporlari*, 1935, p. 103-104.

²⁷ The heads of the Houses were appointed by the Republican Party provincial chairmen instead of being elected by House members. The Executive Board of each House, elected for two years, was composed of the heads of those activity sections having more than ten members. The Board members and the heads of the activity sections were also the members of the Party and each of the section had its own administrative board consisting of five people if the membership was over fifty. See. Karpat, agm, p. 60; Çeçen, age, Çeçen, age, p. 105-109. 28 *C.H.F. Halkevleri Talimatnamesi*, Yeni Mersin Matbaası, Mersin 1933, p. 3.

²⁹ In her work, Linke says that she went to Turkey in March 1935. Even though she states that the president of the House in that year was a lawyer, in another study on the People's House in Samsun, the president of the House in the year 1935 was Ertuğrul Baykal, who was a dentist working for the State Railways and in 1936 Mümtaz Arkayın, who was also a dentist, was elected as the president of the House. See. Gülbay, agm, p. 609. 30 Linke, age, p. 171-172.

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Women's needle work class	Turkish history Group	Various committee meetings	Military band practice	Orchestra practice	Sports clubs	Lectures
Football club meeting	Choir practicing	Women's dressmaking class	Reading and writing class	Free medical advice	Language classes (English, French, German)	Concerts
Drama group	Party members meeting	Chamber music class	Girl's gymnasium group	Village group meeting		Conferences
Reading and writing class for adults	Book- binding and handicrafts class	Turkish Language and art group	Museum and exhibiton committee			
Free legal advice						

When the timetable examined, it is seen that there seems to be a wide range classes so that they can appeal to all people. As has been pointed out by Karpat above, the lessons are given in line with nine sections (Language and Literature, Fine Arts, Drama, Sports, Social Assistance, Classes and Courses, Library and Publications, Village Development and History and Museum). However, it is seen that when compared with the number of other lessons given in the House more importance is placed on the classes and courses such as women's needle work class, reading and writing class, language classes (English, French, German), book-binding and handicrafts class and the music lessons such as choir practicing, military band practicing and orchestra practicing because the main purpose of People's Houses is to raise the knowledge and the culture of the people, educate and train them in accordance with the spirit of the time and age, to increase the number of the educated people in different fields and so on. Therefore, within the framework of a planned program it was decided to divide the activities into nine sections so that the people could benefit from them at the most. In other words, this section aims to educate local people in various subjects such as history, natural sciences, foreign languages, accounting, and handcrafts and so on. As is seen here, it not only organizes courses to teach illiterate people how to read and write, but also it works in coordination with other educational institutions and courses offered by municipalities.³¹ For instance, in 1936, it is understood that in the language courses having been opened by the People's House in Samsun there were 74 students who attended the courses and the House also opened a nation class in Samsun prison and in the classes opened in Kıran and Mevrek villages 85 people were taught how to read and write as well.³²

In People's Houses music is under the section of Fine Arts. First, this branch aims to discover and assist some talented artists and amateurs to improve their personal skills in music, painting, sculpture, and architecture and so on. Second, it organizes some exhibitions and concerts at nights for local people. Third, the branch intends to fuse

31 Kılıç, agt, p. 31.

^{32 19} Mayıs Dergisi, Mart 1936, p. 31.

traditional Turkish music with modern music. Fourth, it seeks to increase the number of people interested in fine arts, to improve aesthetic senses and tastes of local people by opening courses where available. Lastly, the branch teaches people how to sing national anthems and songs, and collects and records lyrics and notes of local folk songs as well.³³ In the timetable given above, it is also seen that some sport activities are included such as football club meeting, girl's gymnasium group and sports clubs because it is asserted that sports is considered to be an indispensable part of education and discipline of the youth and the nation. Therefore, these branches should awaken interest among the Turkish youth and people for sports. In addition, sports branches should always take into consideration the fact that realization of the national ideals requires all sports and physical activities to be in line with the scientific laws and methods. Thus, they should assist national and local sports clubs to observe these methods. They should also encourage young people to join these clubs. Sports activities not only strengthen the body, improve people's mental health, but also help build self-control. Therefore, sports branches should encourage the involvement of local people in sports such as gymnastics, cycling, swimming, wrestling, boxing, hunting, fishing, and so on.³⁴ In this regard, in the 19 May People's House journal, Kökten places greater emphasis on the fact that in the concerts held there should be more national songs so that people can develop a musical taste and interest towards the Western music.35

The next thing that Linke touches on is the village group, one of the nine branches of the People's Houses. It is highly important to have the new regime adopted by the society, especially its being adopted by the villagers. Therefore, the efforts to increase and modernise the population soon after the war and in other words, the notion of the modernisation of the rural areas were among the most important subjects on the agenda of the young Republic.³⁶ Moreover, the interest of the new regime from 1923 to 1930 did not go beyond the discourse "the villager is the master of the nation". In fact, the interest towards the village and the villagers started in 1930's. Undoubtedly, it stemmed from the concern to consolidate its political background. In addition, three in four people lived in the village, which means that when the Turkish Republic was founded, 80 percent of the population lived in the rural areas. In other words, the population to whom the

35 19 Mayıs Dergisi, Şubat 1936, p. 19.

³³ Kiliç, agt, p. 29-30. In 19 May People's House publication, some information has been given as to the activities conducted by each section. For instance, in the music branch classes of the violin and the piano there have been 36 women, 59 men, all of whom are 95. Moreover, six concerts were held in a year. On average 300 people participated in the concerts, which means that there have been 1800 audience. A short trip were made in Bafra and a concert was held for 800 audience. Moreover, the art branch opened an exhibition and in this exhibition 350 paintings were displayed and the exhibition was visited by 800 people. See. *19 Mayis Dergisi*, Mart 1936, p. 30. In his article titled as "On the Way to National Music" Kökten states that when compared with the others, music seems to be the least develeped one in the country. Some great efforts have been made to develop it but it has not been achieved yet. Referring to Atatürk, he advises that what Atatük says regarding the importance of music for a nation should be born in mind and people should continue to work in line with what Atatürk says. See. *19 Mayıs Dergisi*, jilk Kanun 1935, p. 15.

³⁴ Kiliç, agt, p. 30. Since the People's House in Samsun is not large enough to hold all the sections, the sports branch conducts its activities in a different building. When looked at the 19 Mayis People's House publication, it is seen that in 1936 six football clubs in the town were taken under the protection of the People's House. Moreover, through the sports branch of the House, the sportsmen were financially aided at the amount of nearly 1000 Liras. Having had spent 11000 Liras it also gave a financial support for a place where the wrestlers could do training and a stadium to be built. See. *19 Mayis Dergisi*, Mart 1936, p. 30.

³⁶ Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Köycülük Tartışmaları ve Numune Köyler", *Belleten*, C. LXXXIII, S.297, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2019, p.730.

Republican values to be transfered was made up of the villagers. ³⁷ Including the speech of Atatürk, in most of the speeches, how education plays a major role in development of the rural areas was considerably emphasized.³⁸

During her visit to the House what attracted Linke's interest most was the meeting with the village group. To her, the members in the village group were not peasants as she first thought. However, they consisted of men and women, some of whom are under the age of 20 and work for villages and with the villagers. When she visited the House, four of them had just returned from a few days' tour into the southern part of Samsun. As has been pointed out by Linke, in following the programme, the particular branch for the villages started peasant education and mainly concentrated on the improvement of rural culture by promoting artistic and craftsmanship activities into the village with the participants working together from villages and towns. The branches worked on the obstacles in the village life in order to change the rural built environment in a modern sense. Thus, the Village Affairs branches of People's Houses organized several excursions that examined how to create a strong bond between urban and rural people who were not only geographically distant from each other, but also culturally and socially disconnected.³⁹ In addition, one of the most important aims of these village visits was to bridge the gap between the city intellectuals and the people. The visits were intended to allow both the intellectuals and the peasants to become better acquainted, as previously they had been separated culturally and geographically. To put it more clearly, the basic duty of the Peasantist Divisions was to develop villages in terms of social, medical and aesthetic aspects and also establish mutual respect and solidarity with the poeple dwelling in towns. In order to do so, it is essential that the members of the Peasantist Divisions should go to the villages, give theatrical performances there and do anything that could enlighten and educate the peasants. Thus, some villages were chosen as models for the nearby villages. The overall aim of all these, it was claimed, was to create prosperous and educated Turkish peasants. 40

Linke says that when she visited the House, they were just discussing and making an evaluation of what they experienced during the tour. However, Linke states that although she was eager to listen to their experiences about the tour, they were not so willing to talk to her. Due to the fact that a foreigner like her is generally met with suspicion in these lands, she advises the foreigners to use their eyes more than their ears if they want to collect more information and adds the fact that a person who does not know the language is less important than is feared. Then she goes on to narrate what she was able to learn from the members of the village group related to their recent tour around Samsun.⁴¹ It is known that the activities of the People's Houses and People's rooms were

³⁷ M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Türkiye'de Köycülük", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, C. II, (der.) Tanıl Bora, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2001, p. 285; Emre Kongar, *İmparatorluktan Günümüze Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul 1997, p. 397

³⁸ Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayını, Ankara 2006, p. 318.

³⁹ Çeçen, age, p. 127.

⁴⁰ Çeçen, age, p. 123, 162.

⁴¹ Linke, age, p.172.

conducted in order to get in touch with the villagers or the invitation of the villagers to the meetings held in the People's Houses.⁴²

The traveler starts to give some accounts regarding the members of the village group who reported about their tour.⁴³ The first one is a seventeen-year-old high-school student, who is very tall and speaks eloquently, the second one is a middle-aged woman, who is primary school teacher, and very neatly dressed in a black suit and has got dark and smooth hair with an insignificant face; the third one is a young dentist who was working with his father and asked to have a few days off from him to go on this tour; lastly a rich old man who does not have a particular occupation, own an old car in which they all traveled around. Then she goes into more details as to the activities conducted by the village group, referring to the reports made by the members aforementioned. First, she describes how these tours are organised by the House. To her, such sort of tours had been made for years, even before the House was established in Samsun and the members have these tours in turn. They also arrange them in line with their varying holidays. Therefore, the reports are not only limited to the reports of these four members, but also cover the work having been done before.⁴⁴ Such sort of village visits also offered both parties practical guidance. Experts in several fields gave advice to the peasants on topics such as how to increase the agricultural productivity, how to market the products, how to establish producer co-operatives and so on.45

In her work, Linke also touches on the activities of the members of the village group one by one. She narrates the speech of the teacher, Sabiha, saying that she talked very quietly reading some notes she took during the tour from a black copy book. The best persons who collaborate with them are the village teachers, who are young and dynamic and also the House gives higher importance to keeping in touch with these teachers and provides them support through some new ideas and materials. According to the report, due to some reasons, in five villages there have been no schools and these teachers give some voluntary classes for people who do not know how to read and write. For instance, last winter the number of the persons they taught is nearly 600 people (men, women and children) in total. ⁴⁶ As is mentioned here, the village teachers are the members on whom Poeple's Houses depended most. In this sense, people are advised to listen to their advice because they will lead them in the best way. Furthermore, villagers are recommended to ask for the opinion of the village teachers when they need to ask anything else and if they do so, they can overcome the difficulties they face.⁴⁷ From these accounts it is seen that the House in Samsun gives priority to the activities and the tasks in the villages around Samsun in order to reach places where there are no schools and makes great efforts to teach the illiterate in collaboration with the village teachers who voluntarily give lessons.

⁴² Fahriye Emgili, "Halkevlerinin Köy ve Köycülük Faaliyetleri", *Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi*, S. 8 2021, p. 204. (pp.195-226).

⁴³ For instance, in 1935 when Lilo Linke visited Samsun, the professions of the members of the village group is as follows: five lawyers, seven doctors, eight teachers, nine merchants, 133 workers, 142 farmers, from fine arts two persons. See. Aktaş agt, p. 90.

⁴⁴ Linke, age, p.172.

⁴⁵ Karaömerlioğlu, agm, p. 71. For more information see. Fay Kirby. *Tiirkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, Tarihçi Kitabevi Ankara, 1962.

⁴⁶ Linke, age, p. 173.

⁴⁷ Sait Coşkun, "Köyküye Kısa Öğütler", 19 Mayıs Dergisi, Şubat 1936, p. 24.

The Village groups as in the example here endeavoured to teach the illiterate how to read-write via Courses and Classes branch.⁴⁸ In this sense, it is seen that the village branch in Samsun is one of the ones which worked very hard so as to reach all people in the rural areas. For instance, the People's House in Samsun between 1932-1939, delivered nearly 1000 acacia seedlings, more than 5000 vine stem and some nursery trees from Amasya. Besides these, chicken eggs of high quality, tobacco seddling that can grow earlier than usual and the seedling named as "Paris green" were delivered free of charge as well.⁴⁹

In her speech, the teacher also talked about the positive effect of the wall newspapers published for the villagers. In this regard, she mentions that the villagers showed more interest in the photographs than the explanatory articles. For example, the photograph of the cotton factory in Kayseri and that of the Çoban Mehmet, who is the wrestling champion and the national hero, greatly impressed them. However, the two posters made the greatest effect and caused the most discussion when compared with the others. In accordance with these accounts, it should be added that one of the publications that People's Houses used in order to inform and increase the awareness of the villagers is "Yurt newspaper", which was issued every fortnight. The village branches in the People's Houses made some special efforts to send this newspaper to the villages to be read.⁵⁰ Linke narrates the positive effect of the Wall newspapers on the villagers as follows:

Nothing had caused so much discussion as the two posters on the air warfare of the future- one showing the Turkish peasant and his family helplessly slaughtered by the bombs of the enemy and the other showing him looking up from his work in the fields and waving happily to the Turkish aeroplanes which circle reassuringly over his head. They had never seen an aeroplane in all their lives, many not even heard of it, and Bayan Sabiha had arranged little meetings and told them as much as she knew herself, especially about the government's efforts to increase their at present negligible air force.⁵¹

The second person to speak is the high school student who took some notes during the tour. Linko states that his duty is to inform the villagers about the existence of some institutions which can help them in their daily life such as hospitals, law courts, schools, the various committees of the People's Party and the People's Houses. He gave a detailed report related to the activities conducted in three villages such as holding special mother's conferences, telling them about free medical treatment not only for themselves but also for their children. In addition, he reported an incidence they experienced in Havza, in which a little girl had her leg broken and had taken her straight to the hospital and they also came across a man suffering from a veneral disease and rejected the orders of seeing a doctor and did not got to a doctor for regular treatment. Upon this, they warned him that he would be fetched by the gendarme if he did not go to the doctor within the next

⁴⁸ Civci, agt, p. 59. Furthermore, this branch had difficulty having access to the villages in rural parts of the country due to some unpleasant conditions. In order to resolve some of these problems teachers living in the villages were accepted as the natural members and in collaboration with them they sought to find solutions to some of these problems and they also gave them every support in order that the teachers could succeed in educating villagers. See. Civci, agt, p. 59.

⁴⁹ Aktaş, agt, p. 87.

⁵⁰ Halkevleri (1932-1935) 103 Halkevi Geçen Yıllarda Nasıl Çalıştı, Halkevleri Yayını, Ankara, 1935, p.126.

⁵¹ Linke, age, p. 173.

week and they also told the village headman (Muhtar) to keep an eye on him.⁵² Besides these, the boy was also responsible for the work of registration in villages, especially the registration of all people born under the old regime which had never carried out regular census and had not adopted a policy to give people a family name. In this sense, he tells an interesting and a funny incidence he experienced in one of the villages as to the ignorance of the villagers:

I had told the muhtar of Sarıköy to call the villagers with their birth certificates to the village hall. Well, there were about two hundred people in all, and we went straight ahead, it didn't take us more than half an hour to deal with most of them. Among the last in the room was an old peasant, I guessed him to be about eighty. He came up and salaamed and gave me his document, and I was just going to thank him and dismiss him again when I saw the date of his birth put down somewhere about 1890. 'Bana bak babacığım' I said to him. 'There must be something wrong. With how many years have you been blessed?' 'How Can I know' he asked in a miserable voice and scratched his head. And from the way he behaved I gathered that he didn't tell? me the whole truth. And really after a while he confessed that he had given his Son's certificate. I argued with him for a long time, but he couldn't understand that he was not allowed to do such a thing and he asked me at last in anger: 'What does it matter? There's no difference. Aren't they all given out by the Government?'⁵³

After the boy talked about his notes taken during the tour, the dentist and the old man started to talk and they said that they carried on the efforts of the Government to improve the methods of cultivation in the villages and they added that through the lectures, pamphletes, posters and mouth-to mouth advice the villagers should be taught how to use systematic and scientific methods in cultivation and not leave their fields as to the mercy and care of Allah. They also stated that the Government had given some special credits and helped the villagers to pay their debts to the tobacco merchants who often had the harvest three years in advance. Therefore, not only the People's Party but also the People's House act with caution that things should not get back to that bad state. In addition, the traveler focuses on the fact that even though these two persons do not consider what they did was worth talking about, she thinks that they managed to do a great job, such as planting cotton, sun flowers and trees with their help and advice, the modernization of poultry farms just during the last few days, and so on. Even though Linke pays compliments to the activities conducted by the village group in the People's House, referring to Fay Kirby and Tütengil, Karaömerlioğlu argues that the village visits of the People's Houses failed, for the people who took part in visits are 'foreign tourists or travelers who try to discover the dark corners of Africa'. Moreover, the village visits did not go beyond the 'picnics' of intellectuals in summertime. To him, that even their goals were not achived except for the fact that they were able to collect some anthropological

⁵² Linke, age, p. 174.

⁵³ Linke, age, p.174-175. Through the activities conducted by the People's Houses, especially Ülkü, the magazine published by the Ankara People's House, played a major role. For instance, via "Ülkü" the intellectuals of that period in their articles drew the attention to the negative and unpleasant conditions of the villagers and seeking for solutions they tried to find an answer to the question of how the awareness of the villagers should be increased. See. Emgili, agm, p. 198.

and cultural information about the rural parts of Turkey. The focus of peasantist activities of the People's Houses was mostly limited to the cultural field. It was argued that raising the consciousness of Turkey's peasants would solve all their problems. More importantly, although a radical change was essential in social and economic relations, the People's Houses were content merely with changing the peasants' outlook. It was evident that these efforts were bound to fail from the outset.⁵⁴

After she listened to all the reports by the members of the village group, the chairman of the House told her that they couldn't show her something very interesting, but another group is going on a tour within fifteen days and if she is still in Samsun, she can again join the meeting with them. However, Linke narrates that during following months she saw a good number of the People's Houses and they all work with the same system and she thinks that in a few years' time, they will spread to all towns in Turkey.⁵⁵

4- CONCLUSION

People's Houses having been founded as "a culture place" soon after the Turkish Hearths were closed were intended to educate people in line with the nationalist, secularist and populist ideas of the young Turkish Republic. Their major purpose was to create a national identity based on Turkish folklore, teach the Republican principles, raise the very low literacy rates among common people and improve the socio-economic lives of the people. However, in some studies some criticisms have been directed towards People's Houses in that they were established in order to propagate Kemalist ideology and they have not been able to achieve their goals set at the beginning. Despite such claims related to People's Houses, when the accounts of Linke are evaluated, it is seen that she seems deeply affected by the activities conducted by the House in Samsun and she emphasizes the fact that the House do miracles with the great efforts of the members of the House. Especially, the meeting she had with the members of the Village group indicates that as a foreigner she pays compliments to the voluntary activities such as teaching reading and writing to the illiterate, giving lectures on different subjects in order to increase knowledge and awareness of ordinary people in order to bridge the gap between the intellectuals, state and the villagers, to help them adopt the principles and the reforms of the new regime.

What makes Linke's accounts more valuable for us is that she seems to have closely observed the activities carried in Samsun People's House in detail and have taken some notes; because when his work "Allah Dethroned" examined, it is seen that she displayed close interest in the Turkish Revolution and the reforms put into effect after the Republic was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In this sense, at the beginning of her book, she gives the reader the principal dates in the history of modern

⁵⁴ Karaömerlioğlu, agm, p. 72. Similarly, Karpat states that by trial and error the Houses gradually began to play the great educational role for which they had been created. However, the close relationship with the Republican Party and the government still restricted their freedom and hindered their expansion. The Houses' reliance on government, due to Turkey's special conditions, was justifiable to some extent, but not to the extent of exercising a rigid political control. This, in fact, deepened the gap between government and people, which the Houses were originally intended to eliminate. The rigorous power of the bureaucracy and its arbitrary use of the Houses, especially in small towns, coupled with their disdain of the common people, gradually turned the latter away from these institutions and left them without support. See. Karpat, agm, p. 66. 55 Linke, age, p.174-175.

Turkey. Moreover, it should be noted that she especially gives special importance to the meeting with the Village group and highlights its activities conducted in the villages around Samsun. From her accounts, it is understood that the members of Village group endeavour to reach the people dwelling in villages and focus on the main problems in all walks of life and finding solutions to them so that villagers can develop an intimate relationship with the town and increase their awareness and adapt themselves to the modern world in every aspect. Naturally, these Houses might have failed to realize all the goals set at the outset, but it can be claimed that they played a functionary and important role in social, cultural and economic life of modern Turkey.

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