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NON ECONOMIC AND OTHER FACTORS
IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF
EASTERN TURKEY

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A THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
ENGLAND.

SUBMITTED BY

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July, 1970

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study has been the beneficiary of many discussions both in Durham and Turkey and a product of extensive readings over the years. The conducive atmosphere of the Geography Department at Durham University, its seminars and library facilities contributed in many ways to the construction of this study.

However I am in particular the beneficiary of many suggestions and contributions made by Professor H. Bowen-Jones, Director of the Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies, who over a period of two years, as my adviser, has patiently explained and discussed the complex problems and the dynamics of rural development in the peasant societies of the Middle East and Turkey. I have benefited especially from his great deal of practical experience in the Middle East and Turkey and his interests in, and emphasis on, interdisciplinary approach to economic problems will always remain a guiding light in my future academic endeavours. If this study fails to reflect his help, the fault is mine.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the following study and research work is to analyse and appraise the interconnection between the economic basis of peasants' livelihood and the indigenous environmental conditions in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. This concern with the causal relationship between the socio-cultural, economic and physical environment and the basic nature of peasants' existence serves to supply relevant answers to these questions:

- What are the crucial socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental factors which have adversely affected the economic development of eastern rural Turkey? Particularly, as these pervasive forces have significant influences on market-oriented patterns of economic behaviour.
- To what extent are there conflicts between peasants' values, customs and institutions and the values and attitudes which are essential for market-oriented economic change? That is, how compatible are the integral social and cultural milieux to other environmental conditions with the most productive uses of both peasants' talents and material resources. Is there a climate for the constructive participation of the economically-motivated peasants in marketing pursuit, with a 'sense of gain', positive incentives and conscious enthusiasm for a new economic order of functional specificity, mobility and capability of adopting innovative economic changes and infusion of an industrial culture?
- Finally, this study also attempts to formulate some complex of practices and policy guide-lines in constructing a workable strategy of

action on the basis of insight gained from the field of study in the peasant societies under study and observation. These policy proposals will include alternative methods of policy implementation in order to enhance peasants' preparedness to change with minimum cultural distress and tension, and finding ways and means to elicit active co-operation among the peasants by stimulating and facilitating the operation of indigenous forces so as to create sufficient internal motivation to initiate peasants' meaningful involvement in their development schemes and decision making process. The central theme of these policy guidelines then, is that, the process of economic change must be established on an indigenous base, and should become institutionalised within the peasant societies if the process of economic development is to become cumulative and long-lasting. It cannot simply be injected from outside.

* * *

Any realistic and meaningful approach into the devising of appropriate rural development programmes requires a clear insight, and fuller understanding of the indigenous socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental conditions within which the rural economic development and marketing activity unfold. For, economic development, as some economists are prone to visualize, is not a purely technical phenomenon expressed in terms of changes in capital, labour or the availability of foreign aid. The process of economic development is only a small aspect of general social development of peasant people and requires attention to the process as much as to the end results. Because, it is not merely higher level of output of goods or technical skills to

which peasant people aspire, but also the finding of positive opportunities for the fulfillment of long-felt aspirations. This implies minimal non-economic barriers and a conducive climate for those with the 'will to progress' and 'will to economize'; a greater degree of social and cultural tolerance to innovation and also satisfactory conditions for an institutional structure of agricultural production. These considerations eventually lead us into the whole nexus of socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental conditions that are prevailing in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.

Questions arise of how far and how quickly could the subsistence-bound peasant societies be transformed into market-oriented societies; by what methods or techniques depend on the extent to which environmental conditions are congenial for such developments, particularly, since these environmental forces influence productive efficiency, factor mobility, land use conditions, pervade the economic order, affect predictability and probability and the consequences of any economic action, as well as motivations and values; perception and cognition of economic opportunities. Therefore, in order to define a workable and meaningful unit of analysis and to identify the sources of problems and to determine probably tendencies of the peasants to act in specified ways under specified conditions, one must get behind and unravel some of the responsible causal factors which characterize peasants' attitudes and find expression in their daily lives. To accomplish these objectives, we need to know the organisation of peasants' social and economic structure; their leaders; cultural and economic milieu; their basic values, institutions and aspirations; their economic horizons and their underlying tensions

and trends to change. How peasants live and work in a physical and socio-cultural environment is then the focal point of this study.

* * *

The most up to date studies and research work carried out in various under-developed countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia and other evidence reinforce the fact that, any realistic appraisal of economic development needs require a careful insight and thorough understanding of man's existence and his environment. However, a careful study, of the environmental conditions would also reveal the fact that, behind the homogeneous image of internationally shared traits of environmental back-wardness and poverty, there are complex heterogenous cultural forces which explain the distinctive origin and the orientation, values and motivations of their people. Consequently, in few cases will the causes of backwardness or the requirements of economic change be quite the same. The impression that Professor Galbraith carried away from India was that, "We can no longer have one diagnosis of the causes of underdevelopment. Rather, we must have the particular diagnosis which fits the particular society."

* * *

The peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, like others encountered in the Middle East, are homogenous in their outward features, but heterogeneous in their socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental conditions. To be sure, they are relatively small and semi-isolated, economically autonomous to scarcely distinguishable from their immediate physical surroundings. The impression that one

gets from these rural settlements is that of a vast mosaic of sparsely populated oases, with varying degrees of contact with the outside world, and with populations ranging in size from a few hundred to a few thousand persons. Some of these peasant societies with relative locational proximity to town and reasonable resource endowment and adequate means of transportation have succeeded in absorbing market culture and have shown a greater capacity to respond to income-promoting opportunities created by the infusion of a 'sense of cash' and 'economic knowledge' propelled by the growing interchange with urban markets. However, there remains a significant number of self-sufficient peasant societies which have largely remained tradition-bound in their social and economic features and resisting the infusion of market-oriented urban culture and generally failing to take up the challenge presented by the exchange economy. For all the practical reasons, the majority of these peasant societies have remained outside the national economic and social system of marketing orbit and from any point of view most of their people have not yet become part of the so-called Ataturk's Republican revolution. The evidence so far indicates that behind these familiar characteristics of peasants' poverty or traditional privatism (ignorance, immobility, isolation), there are certain critical environmental factors which have been acting in mutually reinforcing and interrelated ways in blocking the growth promoting external modernisation efforts. Therefore, the question of whether 'a climate of progress' can be created in peasant societies or the compatibility of the development programmes with the indigenous culture could only be understood by finding out the basic appeals

through which peasant people could be made to go along with the programmes.

This study may be considered a preliminary approach to what we know and what we have yet to learn about the environmental conditions of the peasant societies and the interrelationships between peasants' environment and the basic nature of their existence.

* * *

In this thesis the reader will come across some repetition of statements and ideas. Some of this unavoidably results from the examination of a complex situation from several different but inter-related viewpoints. The author apologises for other repetitiousness which partly results from language problems.

THE SCOPE AND INQUIRY OF THE STUDY

A. In examining the causality between the rural environmental conditions and the peasants' existence, it is useful at the outset to have in mind a portrait or an overview of basic factors and conditions characterising the region's geographical status. To this end, a brief statistical survey of the region's physical environmental conditions, topographical status, climatic conditions, etc, has been made in order to show, how these pervasive factors shape and influence the character and indeed interact with the socio-economic and cultural milieu of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey.

Also, a related and significant appraisal of the population status of the region is made including facts of the urban-rural population, degree of urbanisation and industrialisation, as well as the characteristics of population movements in and out of the region are analysed along side the published official reports and available statistical data, set against the background of the general environmental conditions.

B. A careful study of the environmental conditions in Eastern Turkey will also reveal the fact that, lack of homogeneity in socio-economic and cultural pattern in these heterogeneous societies does not permit us to construct an image of a homogenous environmental tableau. Eastern rural Turkey is a society of villages with plural cultures and with varying degrees of levels of economic achievements and various levels of contact with modern technology and media-exposure. Bearing these considerations in mind and to

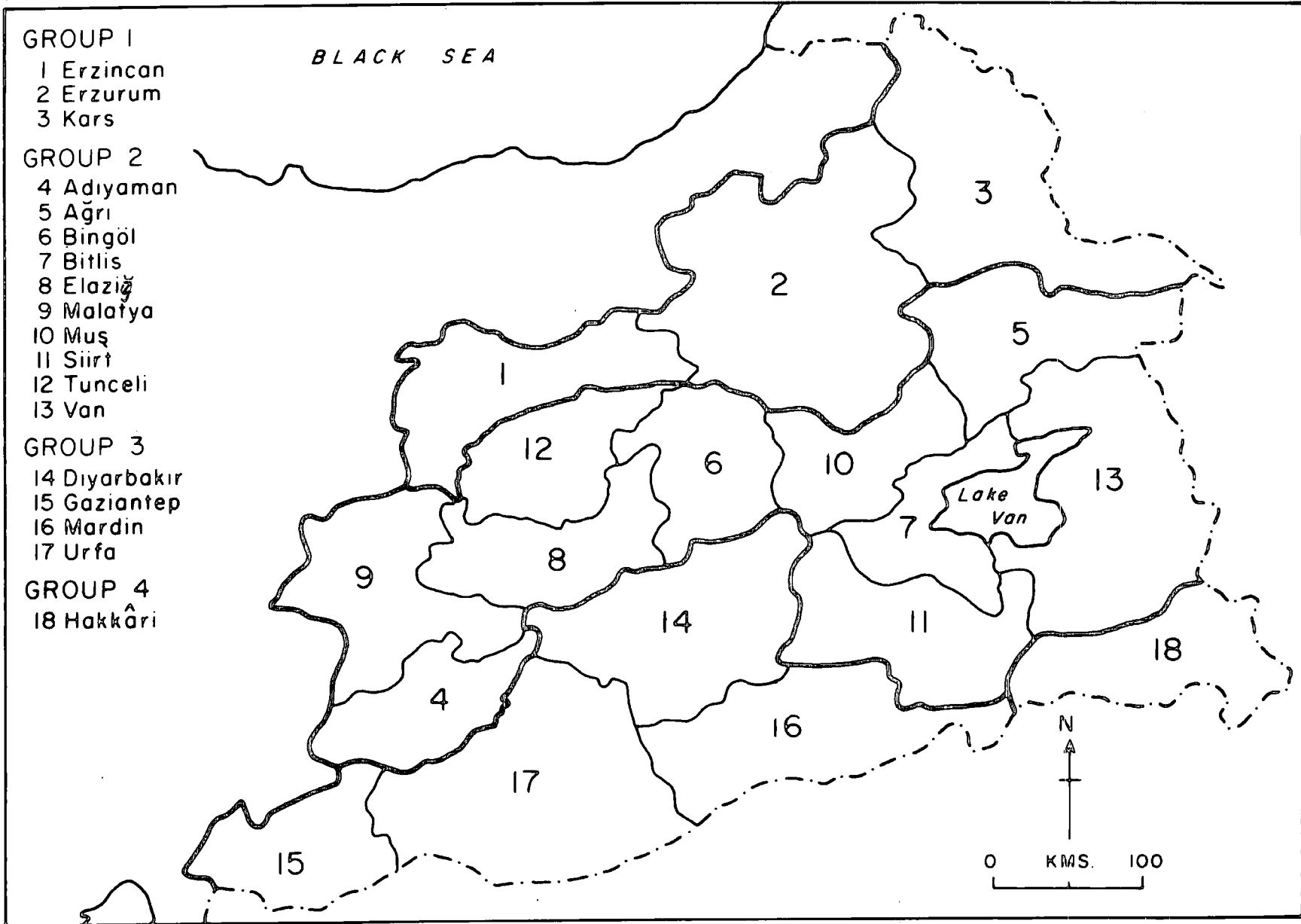
achieve the major objective of this study of appraising realistically the complex causality between the distinctive environmental conditions and different levels of economic progress and to formulate a meaningful and workable strategy of agricultural development programmes, 18 eastern provinces are included in the present study.* These 18 provinces are then distinguished in four groups in terms of variations in their level and type of economic activities and on the basis of their distinctive cultural histories and social processes. The intention of this approach is to give a further insight and much needed perspective to the understanding of the problems of the nature of variation in their level of economic achievement and distinctive environmental conditions.

Finally within each of the four main groups, peasant societies are classified on the basis of their accessibility to markets, degree of their preparedness to change and other socio-cultural and economic environmental characteristics.

*There are considerable variations of opinions concerning what or which provinces are to be included in Eastern Turkey. A conference on Eastern Turkey held by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce reflects these variations:

1. Ibrahim Aksöz, Doğu Anadolu'da Ziraat Faktörleri Anasındaki İlişkiler. pp. 315-358 (13 Provinces)
2. Rusen Keles, Şehirleşme Politikamız ve Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi pp. 239-263 (17 provinces)
3. H.S. Kendir, Doğu Anadolu'nun Kalkınmasında Hayvancılığın Terisi. pp. 180-187 (19 provinces)
4. İzmir Ticaret Odası, Polarize Bölgeler Seçimi ve Aranan Şartlar pp. 113-160 (14 provinces)
5. Uzeyir Eren, Doğu Bölgesi Hayvancılığının Ekonomik Bütünü pp. 11-26 (12 provinces)
6. 1. Besikci, Doğu Anadolu'nun Bütünü. E. Yayınları, 1969 p. 23. (18 provinces)

EASTERN TURKEY-PROVINCES & PROVINCIAL GROUPS



Thus our typology distinguishes the following groups and provinces:

- Group I. Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars.
- Group II. Adiyaman, Agri, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazig Malatya, Mus, Siirt, Tunceli, Van.
- Group III. Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Mardin, Urfa.
- Group IV. Hakkari.

The first two groups are distinguished on the basis of their semi-feudal social structure; general prevalence of low-powered peasant farming and tribal-natured livestock industry. The third group is distinguished by the manifold systems and features of defective agrarian structure e. g. , feudal structure of economic and social life, concentration of ownership and control of land use, control of markets and control of credit. In the fourth group, Hakkari, being one of the least-developed provinces in Turkey, displays the characteristic of an undisturbed residue of medieval economy, a highly tradition-bound social system that separates it from the rest of the country.

PART 1.

The scope of inquiry into the 'Traditional and Institutional Environmental conditions' takes a hard look at the social values and non- economic environmental characteristics in order to allow perspective and furnish a proving ground for the differential rates of economic achievement in various peasant societies. The cultural study leads us to the analysis of the complex causal relationship between the socio-cultural environmental forces, and

the contemporary economic way of life of peasant people. It is evident that a thorough understanding of the interconnection between peasants' existence and his socio-cultural environment is essential in order to diagnose the reasons why economic development has not taken root in various peasant societies; further, to what extent, non-economic factors are responsible for the absence of change.

Part II examines the whole nexus of technological and financial features of agricultural production in order to bring perspective into the proceeding discussion on the defects of agrarian structures. The focal points of this study are, among others:

- Organisation of credit and source of financing (institutional and non-institutional markets) in the agricultural economy of Eastern Turkey.
- Capital deficiencies in terms of purchased production inputs and body of knowledge possessed by the agricultural population. The survey of capital endowment leads us to the analysis of the various negative factors interacting with each other in circular relationships which perpetuate capital deficiencies and which in turn cause low level of agricultural productivity and low accessibility to marketing.
- 'Transport and transportation system' examines the causality between rudimentary transport system and the low level of social and economic development and how they reinforce market imperfections; factor immobility; self sufficiency; functional diffusion and economic ignorance and the absence of adequate flow of goods and services to and from urban places.

The discussion in Part II also serves to emphasize the interconnection between economic and non-economic features of environmental backwardness and links these features with the manifold systems and features of agrarian structure.

Part III examines the whole institutional framework of agricultural production which prevail in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. The focal point of this exhaustive analysis is to unravel how agrarian institutions interact endlessly with the indigenous cultural setting from which they derive their characteristics and defects, and which in turn perpetuate inefficiency of production and marketing.

Part III also examines the issues and problems of live stock production in the region and emphasises the importance of livestock industry in the area. Proposals are made for development policies in terms of the co-ordination of various policy programmes designed for the improvement of livestock production.

Part IV examines the relationship between peasants' attitudes and their preparedness to change on the basis of interviews and insights gained during the field study in the selected peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. The study distinguishes three basic types of villages -

1. Market ignoring (traditional) peasant societies;
2. Market seeking (transitional) peasant societies;
3. Market recognizing (market directedness) adapted from an ingenious typology of John F. Kolars.⁽¹⁾

(1) Appears in four studies on the Economic Development of Turkey. Frederick C, Shorter (Co-Author and Editor) John F. Kolars, D. A. Rustow, Oktay Yenil, (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. , 1967) p. 69

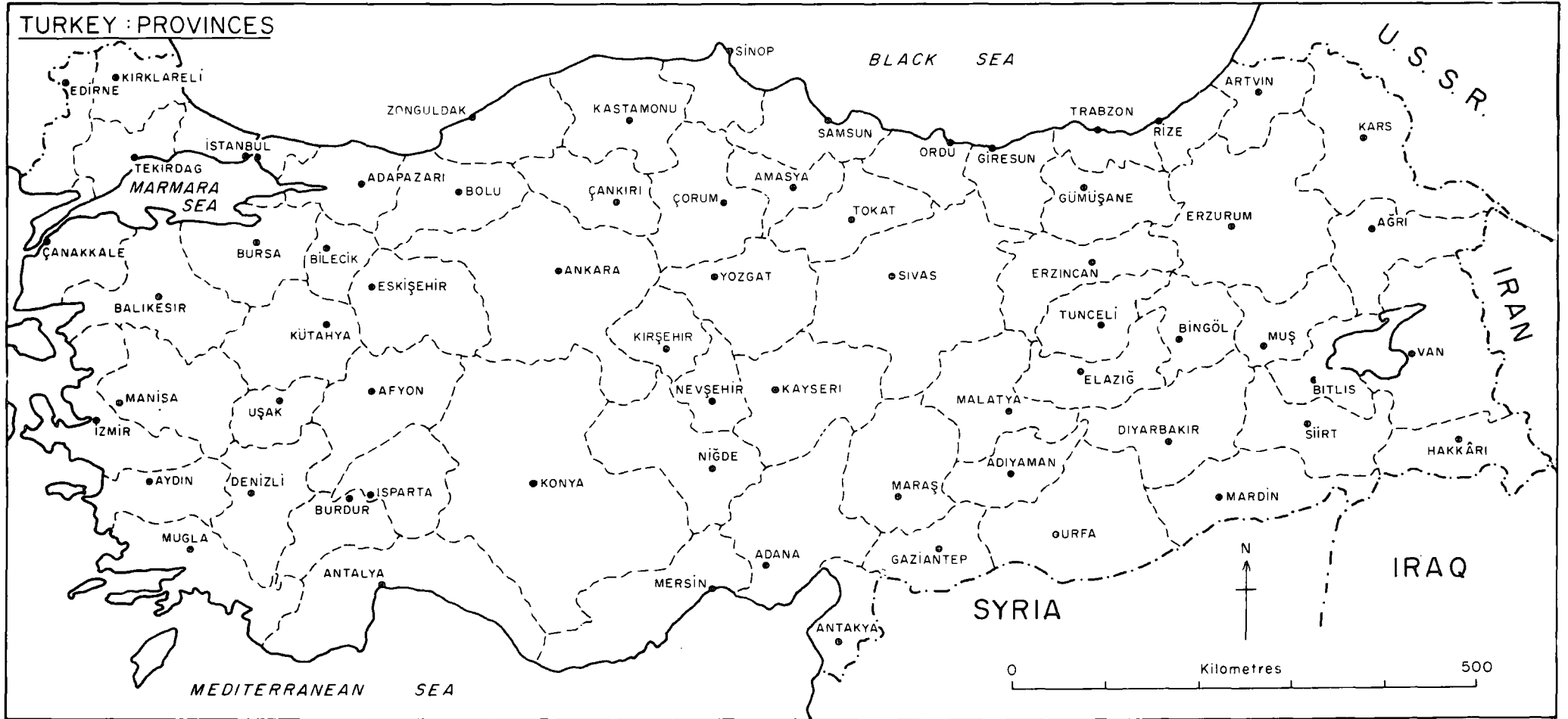
The purpose of the study, among others, are:

- i. to identify sources of problem areas;
- ii. to determine probable tendencies of the peasants to act in specified ways under specified conditions;
- iii. to analyse specific responsible factors behind peasants' attitudes;
- iv. to become familiarized with the actual environmental conditions.

Part V emphasizes the need for realistic policy programmes which suit particular peasant societies' indigenous base and implemented within the framework of the rural development policy objectives. The discussion first suggest various possible strategy of action and throws light on the causal connection between economic and non-economic requirements of development process. These general determinants of development furnish a framework of analysis and enable us to specify particular policy of action wuited to specific characteristics, problems and objectives of various types of peasant societies which are currently undergoing different patterns of development process and have different local resource bases and are experiencing different degree of contact with modern technology. Part V also concentrates on the long-range policy requirements that are involved in the transformation of the tradition-bound peasant societies into modern and progressive communities and appreciates the need for trial and continuing study.

PROLOGUE

TURKEY : PROVINCES



THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

An Overview of Basic Factors and Conditions

A. Geographical Status

Eastern Turkey lies at the eastern end of the Anatolian peninsula and is bounded by the Soviet Union and Iran in the North East; Iraq in the South East and Syria in the South. The region comprises 18 provinces with a population of approximately 5.903 million in 1965 (18.8% of Turkey) and an area of 220.775 square kilometers, constituting an area about 29.9% of Turkey with the base running east central to south east and the apex terminating at the Iranian and Russian border. (See the Map).

1. Topographical Status

Any realistic appraisal of the socio-cultural and economic environmental conditions of eastern Turkey requires a brief description of its physical environmental conditions which greatly shapes the character of the region's economy, its social climate and its heterogenous cultural features.

The entire region is fundamentally mountainous with widely fractured elevated plateaus averaging between 1200 meters and 1950 meters above sea level. High and low plateaus are broken by mountains, hills and gorges created by various types of geological action, mostly related to the first and second period of geological age. The faulted and broken topographical features of the region are largely due to tectonic action and volcanic eruptions of times past and the contents of rocks characterize their volcanic origin. The high and low lying accidented plains form the basis of the region's economic character. The high plains of Kars and the surrounding rolling plateaus in the North East are highly suitable for livestock production and the raising of cattle and sheep is one of the principal occupations in the area. With the exception of some accidented

EASTERN TURKEY-RELIEF

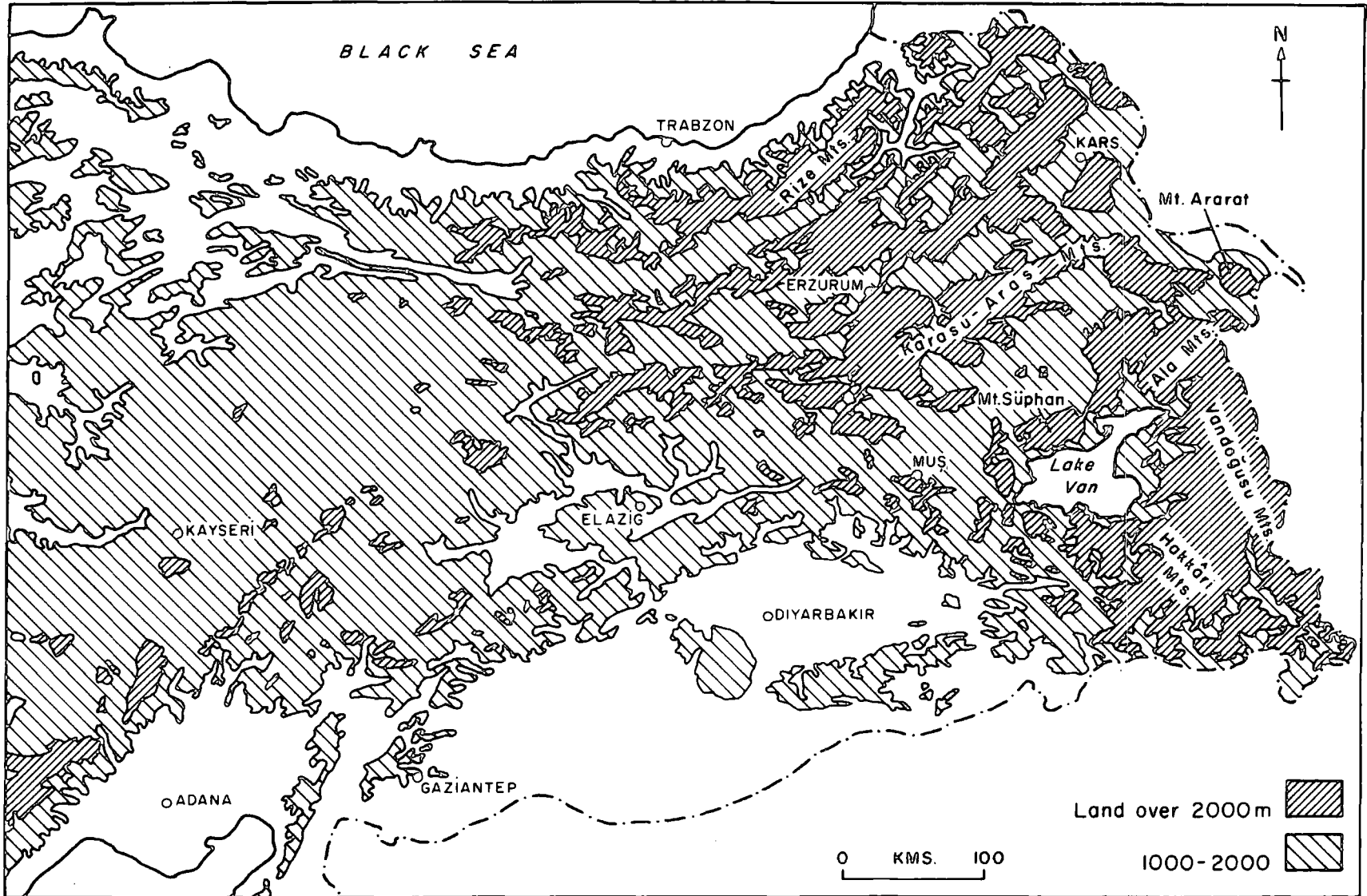


TABLE 2
TOPOGRAPHY

Province	Total Area Donum (1/10 hectone)	Mountainous Donum (1/10 hectone)	%	High Plateau Donum (1/10 hectone)	%	Plains Donum (1/10 hectone)	%	Rolling 1/10 hectone	%
AGRI	8,840,684	3,227,421	36.5	242,755	2.8	2,063,405	23.3	3,307,103	37.4
BINGOL	7,788,193	6,490,158	83.3	208,733	2.7	182,969	2.3	906,333	11.7
BITLIS	5,605,162	3,979,229	71.0	168,920	3.0	582,417	10.4	874,746	15.6
ERZINCAN	10,397,137	6,199,456	59.6	563,015	5.4	893,806	8.6	274,860	26.4
ERZURUM	22,046,175	14,055,156	63.7	2,907,535	13.2	654,991	3.0	4,428,493	20.1
GAZI ANTEP	7,441,705	3,860,486	51.9	164,534	2.2	1,932,341	26.9	1,484,344	19.0
HAKKARI	9,112,900	7,890,611	86.6	258,910	2.8	188,270	2.1	687,155	7.5
MARDIN	11,451,008	6,019,442	52.6	188,156	1.6	2,813,605	24.6	2,429,805	21.2
MUS	6,913,289	2,415,255	34.9	191,853	2.8	1,880,621	27.2	2,425,560	35.1
SIIRT	10,649,576	8,060,137	75.7	180,615	1.7	298,796	2.8	2,110,028	19.8
TUNCELI	6,551,228	4,582,183	69.9	181,374	2.8	340,947	5.2	1,446,724	22.1
VAN	15,736,766	8,400,653	53.4	886,826	5.6	2,157,107	13.7	4,292,180	27.3

Note: The area of lakes, province and district centres are excluded in the total.

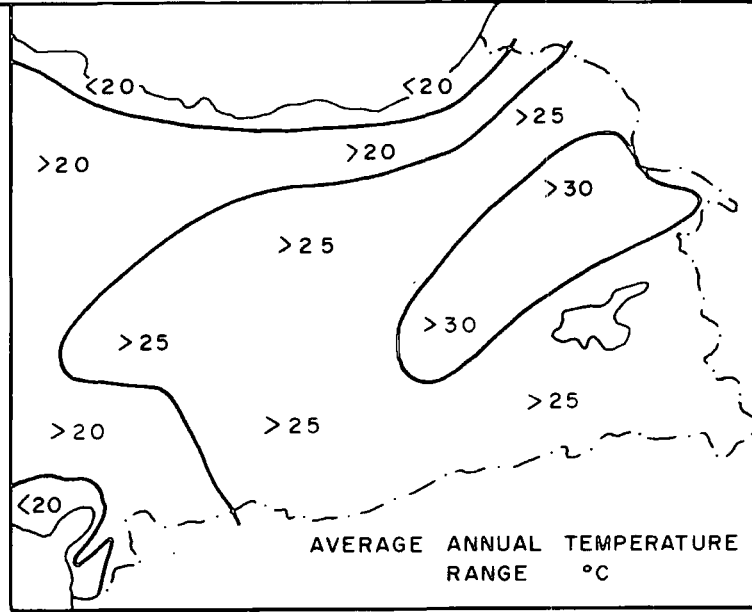
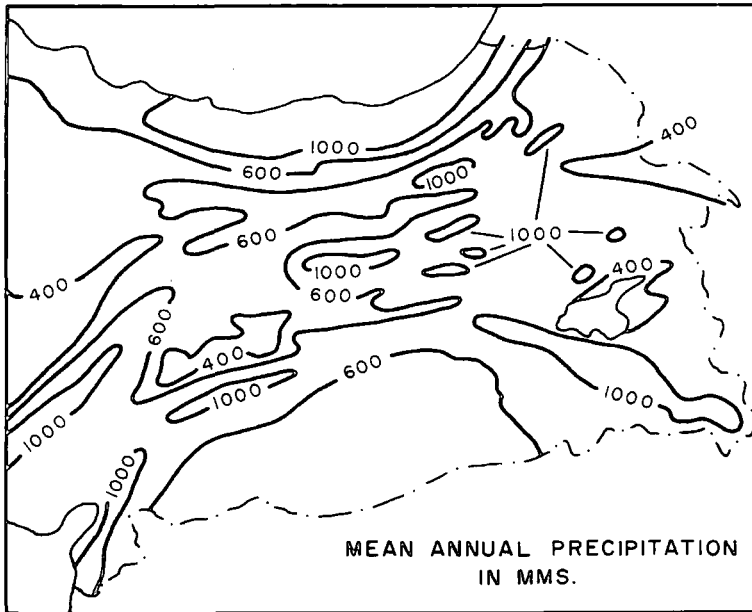
Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Village Inventory Studies, Table no. 2/2

plains in Iğdir and Erzincan Ovasi which have favourable microclimatic conditions, the remote south east and the greater part of the rolling uplands between Erzurum and Hakkari are rarely suitable for cultivation of crops due to the dominantly calcareous soil parent material, inferior organic content of the soils, and low germination periods. Only a relatively narrow belt of plains in Pasinler, Erzurum, Erzincan and Elazığ permit the cultivation of winter crops but to a large extent are more suitable as natural pastures for animals. The Karasu river forms a low-lying alluvial plain in Mus, Akcam and Azakpur area, lying north east of Mus have rich alluvial plains where there has been in recent years a rapid extension of cultivation with the help of irrigation and modern machinery. The remaining south eastern region stretching from Gaziantep to Hakkari is mostly steppe or plateau and the terrain highly susceptible to erosion. With the exception of Gaziantep and thinly scattered fertile valleys in the area, inhabitants are engaged in dry farming and also raise herds of sheep and goats.

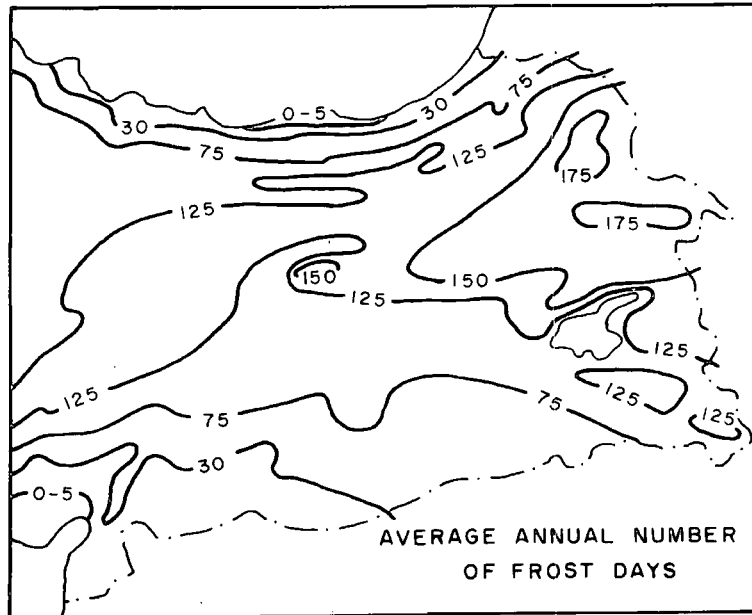
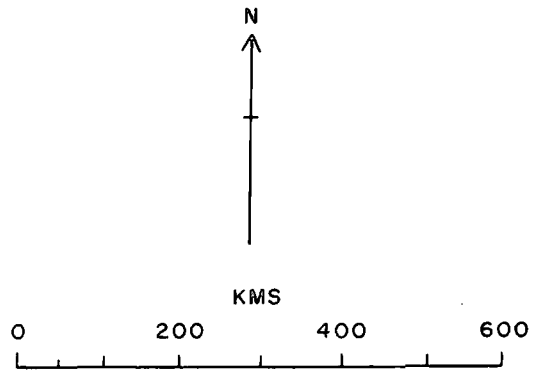
The numerous economic obstacles created by harsh physical environmental conditions and irregular configuration of the land have also perpetuated the low level of communication and backward transportation which have, in turn, aggravated the socio-cultural environmental backwardness of the region. With notable exceptions, there is virtually no all-season system of transport across the rugged interior of Eastern Turkey.

2. Climate

As the meteorological data on Table I show, generally very cold and lengthy winters and semi-humid inland climate dominate the region. The severity of winters is aggravated by the fact that the region lies under a high pressure system formed in the area during winter, which is also reinforced by the effect of high pressure extending from Siberia. The mean temperature of winter varies inversely with the elevation.



EASTERN TURKEY - CLIMATE



The year to year fluctuations due to unstable weather conditions largely influence production by hampering soil and plant development and thus adversely affecting the livelihood of the inhabitants. The reason for the strong influence of weather conditions on agricultural production is due to generally lack of irrigation and primitive methods of fallow tillage which perpetuates complete dependence on rainfall.

Although the climate of the region is characterized by extreme cold and hot weather conditions, there are pockets of micro-climate where favourable natural conditions permit cotton production. (Igdir Ovasi).

a. Temperature: As Table I shows temperatures in the region average between -5°C and -13°C in winter; and $+20^{\circ}\text{C}$ to $+30^{\circ}\text{C}$ in summer.

The lowest temperature recorded in the region is -43.2°C and the hottest is $+34.5^{\circ}\text{C}$. The number of days with frost vary between 113 and 182 days during winter. In general, spring is confined to the month of May and summers are cool and very short. In consequence the germination cycle is very short. (Table I).

b. Rainfall: Since the region is cut off from the moist Black Sea winds by mountains, the precipitation is very light and varies with the character of the physical environment. The lowest rainfall averages from 210 mm. in Erzurum and 290.7 mm. in Erzincan (Table I). The temperature in winter is just below freezing and consequently snow lies deep in the region for a period, varying from a low 62 days (Erzincan) to a high 153 days (Sarikamis). On the low plains, the depth of snow averages from 0.50 to 1.50 meters and on the high plateaus and hills varies from 4 to 6 meters. Melting snows in spring periodically loosen surface soil, and steep slopes and inorganic soils cause the rapid loss of surface and sub-surface moisture.

The main rivers in the region, Kars Çayı, Aras Nehri, Murat Suyu and Karasu follow depressions or gorges and do not easily permit irrigation. Van Lake, which covers an area of 3,764 square kilometers is permeated with soda and is of little use except for water transportation. Euphrates and

Tigris rise in Eastern Turkey fed from the snows of the mountains, flow south and enter Iraq. Keban dam which is being built could contribute greatly to flood control, irrigation and electric power.

B. Population Status

1. According to 1965 Population Census figures, the population of Eastern Turkey is 5,903 million averaging about 28 persons per square kilometer, as against 41 per square kilometer in Turkey. The density of population varies

Population Status:

	Population (000)	Area (sq. kilometers)	Density km ²
Eastern Turkey (18 Provinces)	5.903	220.775	28
Turkey	31.392	774.810	41
East/Turkey (%)	18.8	29.9	

Source: S.I.S. 1965 Population Census.
For further details see Table III

largely with the character of the terrain. In the upland plains of the mountainous zone stretching from North East to South East, the population density per square kilometer varies from 33 in Kars, 22 in Agri to a low 9 in Hakkari (Table III). In the more arid interior the thinly scattered inhabitants are mostly nomadic tribes who raise sheep and goats and periodically take their livestock into high plateaus in search of summer pasture. Eastern Turkey, as the following figures show, has always been sparsely inhabited and

Population Density in Turkey and Eastern Turkey
(per km²)
1940 - 1965

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>
Eastern Turkey	14	15	18	21	24	28
Turkey	23	24	27	31	36	41

Source: S.I.S. 1940-1965 Population Census

unfavourable environmental conditions have made the region a principal source of migrants to towns and cities and to the rest of the country.

TABLE III
POPULATION, AREA, POPULATION DENSITY
1965

PROVINCE	Population (000)	Area (km ²)	Population Density
Erzincan	259	11,903	21
Erzurum	628	25,066	25
Kars	607	18,557	33
Agri	248	11,376	22
Tunceli	155	7,774	20
Bingol	151	8,125	18
Mus	200	8,196	24
Bitlis	154	6,707	22
Van	268	19,069	14
Adiyaman	268	7,614	35
Malatya	453	12,313	37
Elaziz	323	9,151	35
Siirt	266	11,003	24
13 Province Total	3,980	156,874	26
Gaziantep	512	7,642	66
Urfa	452	18,584	24
Diyarbakir	477	15,354	30
Mardin	398	12,760	31
4 Province Total	1,838	54,340	38
Hakkari	84	9,521	9
18 Province Total	5,903	220,735	28
TURKEY	31,391	774,810	41
EAST/TURKEY	18.8	29.9	

Source: State Institute of Statistics
1965 Population Census

Table IV - Source: S.I.S., Population Census Figures, 1945 & 1965

URBAN - RURAL POPULATION OF EASTERN TURKEY, RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH											
PROVINCE	TOTAL POPULATION			URBAN POPULATION			RURAL POPULATION			POPULATION DENSITY per km's	
	1945 (000)	1965 (000)	Increase %	1945 (000)	1965 (000)	Increase %	1945 (000)	1965 (000)	Increase %	1945	1965
Erzincan	172	259	51	22	58	164	150	201	34	16	21
Erzurum	396	628	60	68	152	124	328	476	45	16	25
Kars	381	607	60	62	118	90	319	489	53	21	33
Agri	134	248	85	20	54	170	114	194	70	11	22
Tunceli	90	155	72	10	24	140	80	131	64	11	20
Bingol	75	151	100	5	21	320	71	130	84	9	18
Mus	83	200	144	10	33	230	73	167	115	10	24
Bitlis	72	154	106	17	44	160	55	110	100	11	22
Van	126	268	108	26	61	135	100	207	106	7	14
Adiyaman	-	268	-	-	52	-	-	216	-	-	35
Malatya	429	721	70	83	199	140	336	522	55	22	37
Elaziz	198	328	93	52	106	104	146	217	50	21	35
Siirt	134	266	101	29	76	160	105	190	86	12	24
13 Province Total Average	2.291	3.980	74	408	946	140	1.883	3.034	63	14	26
Gaziantep	290	512	80	104	245	141	186	267	70	34	66
Urfa	264	452	71	74	151	103	190	301	60	13	24
Diyarbakir	250	477	91	63	163	160	187	314	70	17	30
Mardin	234	398	69	64	90	100	188	308	61	20	31
4 Province T.A	1.038	1.839	77	287	649	128	751	1.190	61	21	38
Hakkari	36	84	130	5	14	180	31	70	126	4	9
18 Province Total Average	3.365	5.903	76	700	1.690	130	2.665	4.294	61	15	28
Turkey	18.790	31.392	61	4.687	10.806	130	14.193	21.586	51	24	41

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Although no reliable vital statistics are available, in Eastern Turkey, about 54.6% of the region's population are under the age of 20, as against 49.5% in Turkey. Similarly, the age group below 25 years of age comprises 63.6% of the region's total population as against 57.8% in Turkey.⁽¹⁾ The 'bottom heavy' age structure of population has resulted in a large number of dependent children per adult and disguised or open rural unemployment.

2. Population increase: Even under the present unfavourable environmental conditions and inadequate natural resources, the rate of population growth in Eastern Turkey seems to have been one of the highest in Turkey:

Population and Population Growth

1945-1965

	(in '000) General Population		Increase %	(in '000) Urban Population		Increase %	('000) Rural Population		Incr- ease %
	1945	1965		1945	1965		1945	1965	
	Eastern Turkey (18 Provinces) average	3.365		5.903	76		700	1.690	
Turkey	18.790	31.392	61	4.687	10.806	130	14.193	21.586	51

Source: S.I.S. Population Census Figures 1945-1965.
See Table IV for further details

While the population of Turkey increased at a rate of 61% between the years of 1940 and 1965, the rate of population growth in the East during the same period was 76%.

(1)

Quoted from a Report prepared by Izmir Ticaret Odasi, Polarize Bolge Secimi ve Aranan Southar Sant Lan. Izmir, 1966 appears in T.T.O. ve S.O. Ibid, p. 121-2.

3. Rural-Urban Population: The distinction between rural and urban population indicates that, the majority of the population lives in rural areas and that the major occupations in the region is agriculture and animal husbandry:

Rural and Urban Population
1965

	Total Population	Urban Population	%	Rural Population	%
Eastern Turkey (18 Provinces)	5.903	1.609	27.2	4.294	72.8
Turkey	31.392	10.806	34	21.586	65.5

Source: S.I.S. Population Census Figures

Note: See Table IV for further details

a. Rural Population: The high percentage of rural population in Eastern Turkey and the large percentage contribution of agriculture to regional income show the dependence on agricultural production. The type of settlement is village or hamlet and it is here that 72.8% of the region's population live and cultivate the surrounding land or herd animals.

Type and Number of Rural Settlements

		%	Distribution of population %
No. of villages	9.436	48.7	73.5
Sub-villages and Hamlets	9.970	51.3	26.5
Total	19.406	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Inventory Studies Table: 47
Also see Table VI

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Popu- lation	251 - 500		501 - 1000		1001 - 2000		2000 or more		Total no. of Villages	Total Popu- lation ('000)
			No. of Villages	Popu- lation	No. of Villages	Popu- lation	No. of Villages	Popu- lation	No. of Villages	Popu- lation		
Erzincan	290	36	158	75	96	64	12	15	3	15	559	201
Erzurum	287	48	427	156	268	182	48	61	9	29	1039	476
Kars	117	21	227	91	299	61	11	14	9	21	764	489
Agri	213	33	184	70	95	211	112	145	-	-	544	194
Tunceli	184	29	225	86	43	28	2	2	1	2	414	131
Bingol	99	15	132	47	88	61	6	7	-	-	325	130
Mus	90	15	162	62	94	64	19	24	1	2	253	110
Bitlis	83	15	92	37	67	46	11	12	-	-	366	167
Van	202	34	241	94	89	58	12	19	1	2	546	207
Adiyaman	16	2	114	44	175	120	28	35	6	15	339	216
Elazig	222	38	252	89	96	65	13	16	4	9	511	217
Malatya	98	18	214	80	140	100	41	55	18	53	587	306
Siirt	149	23	193	70	117	80	9	12	2	5	469	190
13 Province Total	2050	327	2621	1001	1667	1140	324	417	54	149	6716	3034
%	31.8	10.8	38.7	32.7	29.9	37.7	4.8	13.9	0.8	4.9	100.0	100.0
Gaziantep	200	30	186	70	138	98	40	47	8	22	572	267
Urfa	217	32	212	78	158	107	53	65	4	19	644	301
Diyarbakir	124	27	291	108	221	148	26	33	1	3	663	314
Mardin	359	41	152	90	147	101	43	60	2	16	708	308
4 Province Total	900	125	841	346	664	454	162	205	20	60	2587	1190
%	35.2	10.5	32.6	29.1	25.3	38.1	6.4	17.2	0.7	5.1	100.0	100.0
Hakkari	27	5	48	18	48	32	9	13	1	2	133	70
18 Province Total	2977	457	3510	1365	2379	1626	495	635	75	211	9436	4294

SOURCE: S.I.S. 1965 Population Census Figures

PROVINCE	No. of Village	Sub-Settlements	No. of villages plus sub-settlements	Total No. of families ('000)	No. of families living in the sub-settlement	Ratio of families in the sub-settlement to general no. of families
Erzincan	559	383	942	46	5	7.5
Erzurum	1,039	454	1,493	90	11	12.2
Kars	764	164	928	92	8	7.5
Agri	544	259	803	32	4	12.8
Tunceli	414	1,048	1,462	27	11	40.0
Bingol	325	684	1,009	27	11	40.0
Mus	366	216	582	31	3	9.7
Bitlis	253	365	618	19	5	26.0
Van	546	373	919	31	5	16.1
Adiyaman	339	777	1,116	43	12	30.0
Malatya	570	811	1,381	60	21	35.0
Elazig	587	627	1,214	41	10	25.0
Siirt	469	636	1,105	38	11	30.0
Total of 13 Provinces	6,716	6,597	13,313	550	117	21.2
Gaziantep	572	255	827	51	7	13.6
Diyarbakir	663	895	1,558	55	27	53.0
Urfa	644	1,570	2,214	58	34	60.0
Mardin	708	402	1,110	59	8	13.5
Total of 4 Provinces	2,587	3,122	5,709	223	76	34.1
Hakkari	133	251	384	15	7	46.0
Total of 18 Provinces	9,436	9,970	19,406	788	200	26.5

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Summary of Village Inventory Studies, Table:47

AS these data indicate, although village type of settlement constitutes 48.7% of the peasant societies and approximately 73.5% of the families inhabit in these villages, whereas hamlets and sub-villages comprise 51.3% of the settlements, and the number of peasant families living in such communities comprise 26.5% of the total rural population. The size and type of rural settlements are the direct reflection of the natural environmental conditions, e.g. climate, topography, fertility, socio-economic structure and locational proximity to the urban places. (See Tables V, VI VII). In the fertile valleys, villages are populous and close to each other, in the less favourable mountainous areas, villages are widely scattered, self-sufficient and sparsely populated. In those peasant societies where semi-feudal socio-economic structure is paramount and absentee ownership is common, types of settlements strongly reflect the characteristic of the agrarian structure.

Population Groups and Size of Population of Villages

Population Size	1-250	251-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2000 or more	Total
No. of Villages	2,977	3,510	2,379	495	75	9,436
%	31.5	37.7	25.3	14.7	4.9	100.0
Total Population ('000')	457	1,365	1,626	635	211	4,294
%	10.5	31.7	38.2	5.3	0.8	100.0

Source: S.I.S. Population Census 1965.

The majority of the hamlets, however, are inhabited by semi-nomads who raise goats and sheep and periodically leave their winter settlements in search of summer pastures.

b. Urban Population: The urban population in the 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey comprises 27.2% of the total population of the region, as against 34.5% in Turkey. When compared with the degree of urbanization in the other regions of Turkey, with the exception of Black Sea region, Eastern

Turkey has the lowest urban population in the country.

Degree of Urbanization in Turkey					
(% of population living in towns with population of 10,000 or more)					
Regions	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
Marmara	36.2	36.5	41.8	43.3	47.0
Mediterranean	21.9	21.7	25.8	31.6	34.4
Aegean	22.7	24.1	26.9	30.3	31.2
Central	16.5	19.9	23.3	24.8	30.0
Black Sea	7.2	7.1	9.1	11.4	13.5
<u>East</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>10.6</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>17.2</u>
Turkey	18.3	18.5	22.1	25.1	28.2

Source: Dr. Rusen Keles, *Sehirlesme Politikamiz ve Dogu Anadolu Bolgesi*
T.T.O. and S.O. Ankara 1967 p. 240

As the above Table shows, the percentage of population living in towns, with more than 10,000 population in Eastern Turkey is 17.2%, as against 28.2% in Turkey. Similarly, while the rate of urbanization in Turkey has increased from 18.5% in 1950 to 28.2% in 1965, the rate of increase in Eastern Turkey has been from 10.6% to 17.2%.

From the sociological point of view, the majority of the small towns in Eastern Turkey are merely a physical expansion of urban-directed villages although economically they are involved in manufacturing and service production rather than agriculture. Many of the inhabitants maintain a sense of identity through their common point of village origin and lands and land rentals become a supplementary source of income. As the data on population groups and size of towns shows, 77% of the towns have less than 5,000 population which comprise 43.4% of the urban population, while towns

with populations varying from 5,001 to 10,000 comprise approximately 11.5% of the towns with a population of 40.2% of the total urban population. The pattern of life in the small towns has been essentially a mixture of urban and rural life. Only in large urban places like,

Population Groups and Size of Towns

	5000	5001 - 10000	10000 or more	Total
No. of Towns	106	16	16	138
%	77.0	11.5	11.5	100.0
Total Population	303	128	267	698
%	43.4	18.4	40.2	100.0

Source: S.I.S. Population Census

Erzurum, Kars, Malatya, Elaziz G. Antep or Diyarbakir with populations averaging 100,000 that the pattern of life has become urbanized.

c. Population movements and type of urbanization: All the available information and expert opinion and other demographical indications point on the one hand to a very strong migration from the country to the large urban centers in the region and on the other, to a correspondingly high percentage of population movement from Eastern Turkey to other urban centers or Turkey.

The long established pattern of population movement is from village to towns which provide a landing place for peasant migrants. However, to a large extent, the principal part of the migrants are from small eastern towns who leave the region to seek employment in other large urban places of Turkey. According to a study conducted on the population structure of Turkey in terms of birth of origin, 10.7% of the inhabitants of large cities were migrants from Eastern Turkey. The percentage of migrants of eastern origin in the total population of various large cities

are as follows:

The Percentage of Immigrants of Eastern Origin in Various Urban Centers of Turkey	
Istanbul	27.4%
Ankara	24.7%
Adana	12.5%
Izmir	5.6%
Gaziantep	4.2%
Eskisehir	2.0%
Konya	1.3%
Kayseri	1.2%
Bursa	1.1%
	100.0%

Source: Dr. R. Keles. Ibid p. 246

The principal cause of migration from Eastern region to the rest of the urban centers in Turkey in recent years strongly points to the fact that the low degree of urbanization and industrialization in the region cannot offer gainful employment to the bulk of the immigrants. As the following Table shows, the degree of industrialization in Eastern Turkey is extremely below the national average. Although the population of the region is

TABLE 7

	Degree of Industrialization			
	<u>Public</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No. of Workers</u>
East	26	75	101	17,038
Turkey	257	2775	3012	326,000
East/Turkey (%)	10	2.7	3	5

Source: S.I.S. Industrial Census, Manufacturing Industry, 1964, p. 299, 419, 535

18.8% of Turkey's total, the number of business establishments is only 3% of Turkey's total and only 5% of the work force is gainfully employed by the manufacturing industry. The disguised unemployment coupled with relatively declining economic opportunities and absence of alternative employment outlets for channelizing a part of the excess labour supply away into industrial occupations have forced the eastern people to seek employment far from home. The most striking consequences of this enforced migration to urban places are exemplified by makeshift huts (Gece Kondu) surrounding urban centers where people live under extreme unhygienic conditions.

On the other hand the rapid influx of tractors in the East has also aggravated the population movement particularly among landless workers and tenants who were driven off the land.

Rate of Increase in the Number of Tractors					
No. of Tractors	1965	% increase	1966	% increase	1967
In the East	3,594	45%	5,237	24.1%	6,494
In Turkey	54,668	19%	65,103	15.1%	74,982
Source: S.I.S. 1965, 1966, 1967 Summary of Agricultural Statistics					

However, the most striking evidence has been that a much higher proportion of these migrants consist principally of young men or the active population leaving the very young and the old, especially women behind. With the increasing loss of active population to urban places, the remaining rural population struggles to balance its meager needs and meager efforts.

PART I

NON-ECONOMIC FACTORS

TRADITIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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PART I

TRADITIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

1. SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES AND MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS:

In the majority of the peasant societies of the Middle East, notably in Eastern rural Turkey, the average peasant's horizon is bounded by his physical environment, regulated by the agricultural seasons, undeclared but continually realized kinship ties and sometimes by government regulations. Behind the facade of huddled mudbrick signs of habitations and a large degree of self-sufficiency which has traditionally characterized the peasant economy, the character of each peasant society is conditioned by the nature of its socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental conditions.*

There is sufficiently convincing evidence to reveal that, in many of these semi-isolated, economically backward and tradition-bound peasant societies of the Middle East, particularly in Eastern Turkey, the indigenous cultural values and the guiding forces of the institutional environmental conditions are generally not compatible with the requirements of economic change. Unlike their 'market seeking' and 'market recognizing' counterparts, the 'market ignoring' peasant societies, with their roots implanted in the relicts of their early traditions, stubbornly cautious and predominantly pre-occupied with a hand-to-mouth 'way of economic

*Environmental conditions, apart from the build up of social overhead capital, are to be understood as, physical characteristic of the terrain, natural environment: social make up: institutional structure, moral order and the overall social, cultural and economic climate which pervade social and economic milieu and find expression in the total framework of man's existence.

life' and the preservation of statusquo. Apathy, acceptance of poverty as an 'unalterable fate', pre-occupation with non-economic affairs, attachment of low value to work, reluctance to plan ahead due to perceptual and motivational barriers, passive conception of time are some of the many characteristics of these societies. An output increasing innovation may be resisted because of the fear that its secondary and tertiary consequences might have unexpected or unfavorable repercussions on their traditional expectations, kinship relations or the vestiges of deep-rooted moral order and institutional values.

----- Moral order, or values in general, as used in this context, refer to norms and standards of collective judgement concerning what is desirable. Individual's standard of value, as acquired as a member of society, consists essentially of the accepted ways by which the individual chooses or avoids certain type of voluntary action in established ways and within limits prescribed by his society. Values also determine one's relationship to his physical and social environment. How one ranks and weighs certain pattern of action depends how his culture develops his capacity to do so. And "proper" or "right" ways are merely institutional values and motivational pattern.

Institutions, in this context are patterns of folkways, mores, ideals and social customs and accepted norms of village life, family or religious life. Man see with their eyes as well as with their ideals, and the ideology of an institution gives meaning and purpose to the act of an individual and rests fundamentally in the habits of people. Institutions, as indicated, do change but only when the circumstances giving rise to them undergo marked changes. Different set of circumstances may necessiate a process of mental adaptation where the forces of acculturation and new forms of relationships may no longer tolerate old institutions and customary values.

In these semi-isolated, tradition-bound societies, peasants are usually not receptive to the application of tested knowledge in their economic lives, because they are not culturally oriented on a rational basis to live in an environment governed by causality, hard work and economic pursuit.* The routinized way of their rural existence and its trends, with few exceptions, have changed little over the decades and to a very great extent, are regulated by a peculiar mixture of religious values, cultural and social institutions which are in essence unsuited to initiate positive responses to innovation or economic development. These commonly shared traits of cultural values and attitudes, e.g. anticipated resignation, lack of future orientation are summarily expressed in their village sayings, "why struggle against fate," "if god wills"; "we depend upon Heaven for food" which generally imply their submission to the concept of pre-destined fate. More specifically it means that peasants will accept what happens to exist rather than to attempt to change it. Or, "When there is enough to eat at home, why go and seek for work"; and "what is good enough for the father is good enough for the son" reflect their limited horizons, limited needs and limited wants, as well as their non-positive attitudes toward occupational and geographical mobility.

* The basic teaching of Eastern Culture, as so many Asian studies show, never consider man in isolation from society and never do they isolate society from nature, and place human beings in harmony with nature. Consequently, the peasants do not realize the extent to which they can make nature serve them. Primarily such cultural orientation is not favorable to economic achievement and discourages fuller utilization of both human and natural resources.

A. Conceptions of Distance, Time, Space and Property

The findings of field study during the summer of 1969, and the various studies conducted in the peasant societies in Turkey and the Middle East show that, peasants particularly in the isolated, tradition-bound communities do not ^{appreciate the value of} have an active conception to time, space and sense of wealth. Very often peasants in Eastern Turkey translate distance in concrete terms, in terms of travel by foot or other concrete distances units. For instance, when asked how far such and such village is, the reply often is: 'few cigarettes smoke', that is one is either very near to his destination or his travelling time will take him as long as it takes one to smoke few cigarettes. Muzaffer Serif, a social psychologist, who has conducted surveys dealing with the 'scope of space' 'distance and time conceptions' of the peasants, states that, they have no idea how great distances are. For instance, in Karlik village (a most isolated village in Van province) the older men believe that the province of Van in Turkey is farther away than is Galicia, which is now in Poland and in fact many times more distant than Van. The belief is due to several oldsters who served in both provinces during World War I; but they went to Galicia on the train, while they had to walk all the way to Van.⁽¹⁾ They have a vague notion of time, only in terms of references to routinized perceptions, e.g. the phases of sun or prescribed prayer times determine the time of the day, days are determined by references to market days or religious occasions - e.g. Friday, seasons by the repetitive agricultural cycles.* The majority of the peasants would

(1) Muzaffer Serif, "Differential Contact with Modern Technology in Five Turkish Villages" An Outline of Social Psychology, Revised ed. (N.Y.) Harper & Brothers, 1956 pp.692-70.

* M. Makal also discusses 'the practical means of measurement' used by peasants: "In order to discover the exact temperature of the ground, they will undress and lie upon it; or they will look at the goat's tail and deduce from that whether its going to be fine or not. To tell the time, peasants look at the mark on the doorstep of the Mosque door which faces west. If the sun has reached the mark, it is time for the mid-day prayer." →

And when the shadow of the hilltop, west of the main route to the town, falls across the road, it's the hour of afternoon prayer. When the sun sets and the red glow disappears behind the hill, then it's evening." M. Makal, A village in Anatolia Translated by W. Deedes. London Vallentine & Mitchell pp.58

not know their ages, but only by association with the events in the past e.g. when flood occurred, two planting seasons after the earthquake etc., which are mostly of natural origin. Time, in a secular sense, or organizing activities around a time-dimension is generally incomprehensible to an Average Middle Eastern Man. As A. Lewis observes, where people are accustomed to working at their own pace without clocks and have no conception of time, they will be unpunctual and work slowly and work at times that suit their convenience. (2) The casual attitudes toward industrial discipline, irregular pace of work, lack of urgency in their time allocations, all these are the relevant features of Eastern cultural orientation which does not regard time as a scarce resource nor concern itself with the future prospects. The economic implications of the passive conception of time and the lack of future orientation are demonstrably expressed in peasants' generally lack of economizing efforts: absence of saving today for future production or sacrificing present non-economic consumption spendings for the good of tomorrow, allocation of leisure time or economizing in the use of time for possible future economic ends (*)⁶ It is

(2) A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth, Homewood III. Richard D. Irwin Inc., 1955.

(*)⁶ In fact, active conception of time or scheduling of activities against time are not practiced in government business and other circles dealing with public affairs. For instance, it is virtually accepted code of conduct for government officials at lower levels, who are in daily contact with the public, to tell the petitioners to come the next day, although both the officials and applicants are aware the fact that the next day will not be potentially any better than the previous day. Trains and other means of transport are always behind their schedules. Construction projects, business deliveries and similar undertakings never fulfill their commitments on time. As a matter of fact, time has never been considered a scarce element since non-economic attitudes always dominated the long-term economic considerations. The tireless and repetitively mentioned words in conversations, like "Allah Kerim" gives a peculiar sense of optimism, inner security and freedom from anxiety and a sense of defense against future uncertainties which primarily means that one should not burden oneself with plans, forecasts, when the future is always in the Hands of Allah.

likely that peasants who are traditionally conditioned to produce and work for the satisfaction of their mere subsistence needs, may regard this form of economic behavior as normal or rational as judged on institutional grounds. Having been conditioned in ways appropriate to their customary work habits and subsistence orientated pattern of productive efficiency, peasants may not perceive or recognize market opportunities or better utilization of their resources or time, even if this extends only to the allocation or mobilization of their own labour. As the interview findings, during the field study and the subsequent observations revealed, peasants seemed to be unwilling to repair their crooked mudridden village trails or to restore their own schools or ancient houses, even to spend their own idletime or talents to weave rugs to furnish their utmost simple homes or to sell them in the markets to meet their emergency needs. In those peasant societies which had relatively close contact with urban places, peasants seemed to be more eager to acquire the end results or the fruits of urban culture while resisting the attitudes which have made these fruits or progress possible. Professor Bowen-Jones has also observed in Jordan, how peasants would exert themselves to serve their own traditional values and how they spent a good deal of their spare time for non-economic ends, yet would refuse to do work in the rural development schemes designed for their own interest unless they are paid wages to do so. (*)⁷ As will be analysed later, the failure of technical assistance

(*)⁷ Professor Bowen-Jones. Soil and Land Potential Survey of the Highlands of the North West Jordan. University of Durham FAO/1968 Department of Geography.

schemes in the form of 'self-help' programmes are largely due to the fact that peasants do not perceive the causal relationship between an efficient utilization of time, which they do not value and the possibilities of increasing their means of livelihood which they do value. Primarily this means that institutional values and cultural environment do not provide the necessary link to bridge the gap between a better means of livelihood which peasants are growingly aware of and the underlying effort required in terms of evaluation of their spare time in order to fulfill their growing needs. Thus institutional barriers do not convey or translate the necessary information on the potential value of time and effort or the probable consequences of their efficiency.*8

*8 A real life-story which seems to reflect how some poor people prefer leisure to material comfort, take life more easily and enjoy simple living rather than to struggle for a higher living goes like this: Once an American millionaire during his visit to Latin American country with his yacht, notices that almost everyday for a week, a half-sleepy, half-hungry looking poor man sits in his small boat, fishing. In the end, the millionaire asks the poor man, 'Why don't you go and do a decent job?' The poor man says, 'So what?' Then the millionaire says that he was once poor too. But he worked and saved and invested and made so much money that now he could travel on his yacht and come here and enjoy fishing. The poor man looks bewildered and then says: 'Si Semor, but I am fishing too'!!

Non Economic Values and Behavioral Patterns

Another characteristic feature of the peasants' mind is their general concern with concrete rather than abstract ideas and a general rejection of intellectual logic. Their reasoning is guided by concrete realities or analogies, intuition - *Giyas* - something that has happened in the past, something to be adjusted to the effect that the traditional society does not aim at the domination over the course of natural environmental forces but maintain a harmony with nature. The general incapability of the peasants to understand abstract matters such as risk taking, portfolio investment, insurance policy, contract means that all these are all pure abstractions for the peasant mind. Consequently these goals are never sought after and often are looked upon with distrust and suspicion. Because peasant people in Turkey and in various peasant societies of the Middle East see the world only through personal relationships and the intrinsic pattern of prescribed behavior which discourages the individual from associating himself with a wider circle of impersonal, anonymous relationships. There is no climate for imaginative and constructive involvement in productive enterprising, no future orientation or tolerance for risk-taking which characterize the type of behavior required for the adoption of innovation or economic development. Moreover, there is a general fear, which is close to xenophobia regarding the motives of outsiders fear of being taken advantage of as a threat to their cultural unity and economic security. This fear is exemplified by the response of the Turkish Lycee students to the statement "People can be trusted". Twenty-nine percent disagreed completely and another 29 percent disagreed slightly, while only 7 percent agreed completely. One consequence is said to be the reluctance to invest in another man's enterprise, or conversely, of the enterprise owner to accept outside financial participation. Also both of these have unfavorable implications for the sale

of securities and the development of a capital market.⁽³⁾ In addition marketing pursuits are held in low esteem in the occupational value structure and are usually reserved for marginal groups, e.g. Black Sea people in the East, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians in urban centers of Western Turkey whose status are low in the social prestige scale. (See the section Cultural Dualism.)

Knowledge of Economic Opportunities: Conception of Property

The implications of the negative and offsetting role of the adverse institutions for agricultural incentives, marketing prospects and productive efficiency are clearly exemplified by the fact that peasants in the semi-isolated, market-ignoring peasant societies still regard their lands, livestock, even their poultry in the concrete sense of property and bound to them with a deep sentimental attachment. Those who are familiar with peasants' conception of property will know that, they are bound to their possessions for what they are, rather than for their strict economic uses or performances or market accessibility. For instance, land is considered essentially a corporeal property whose physical merit is to provide the bare necessities of life. And there are no such concepts like 'yield per acre' or 'annual net return'. The size of one's land gives prestige but not necessarily the annual yield, or its potentially intermediate quantity whose exchange value reflect its market access. It is regarded as an asset or an incorporeal property, only in those urban directed or market-oriented peasant societies.*⁹ In the semi-

(3) These survey findings and interpretations appear in the 'Turkish Administrator'. Edited by J. Hopper, R. Levin. Public Administration Division U.S.A.I.D. Ankara p.141

*⁹ Correlatively, with the changing conception of property, due to the growing contact with urban markets and increasing infusion of market culture and concepts such as contract, incorporeal property, exchangeable asset value etc. Some of the small land-holding peasants began to pledge their lands for debt in Eastern Turkey. The consumption of the so-called 'the intangible value of the land' has often resulted in the loss of their land. See the section at the end of this discussion.

isolated and tradition bound peasant societies on the other hand, every piece of soil, and livestock have lingering memories that give pride but without economic pleasure because of their declining generosity. Consequently when a peasant has to sell his animals, often under hardship and necessity is in a different position than a merchant or a buyer whose sole motive and interest is in the market value and whose appropriate metric is money. But such a transaction for a peasant his family is a loss of a tangible possession with identities and personalities.*¹⁰ Accordingly, peasants would rarely forsake their village communities, their lands and animals when ever there happens to be a reseasonable chance of maintenance of minimum subsistence needs.

Attitudes Towards Wealth

Another striking feature regarding peasant's cultural horizon is exemplified in their notion of wealth. The conception of wealth is directly correlated with peasants' cultural environmental conditions and their traditional privatism: isolation, economic ignorance and immobility. For instance in the tradition-bound peasant societies which have little or no contact with money economy, peasants' so called "scale of wealth" is very fixed at both extremes. For instance Muzaffer Serif

*10 Many illustrative, often touching examples can be given all of which indicate the deep-seated sentimental attachment to one's livestock. Often told, how "the members of a peasant family watched the sale of their cows with tears in their eyes." Not long ago, a truck kills a number of sheep on a highway crossing in Van province. Although the truckowner accepts to compensate for the loss of animals and offers reasonable sum of cash. Yet the shepherd continues to cry and say, "they were my children. I knew them one by one, how can I endure my misery without them". Appears in Göçebe Alikan Aşireti, Dr. Beşikçi Doğan Yayınevi Ankara, 1969. p.254.

has found that the greatest sum of money one could actually conceive of is about \$80 for women and around \$800 for men in the isolated villages. In the most advanced villages, which have a high degree of contact with modern technology, imagination has soared to \$5,000⁽⁴⁾

Even in those market recognizing peasant societies, the relation between man and his possessions show typical variations. Notably those peasants who are gradually acquiring a new concept of possession, continue to seek for a direct and personal satisfaction in the ownership of a tractor or technical equipment. A tractor, for instance, becomes so much a part of the owner, a status symbol which he inscribed on it his name along with 'Maşallah' amulets to protect it from envy or evil eyes. Often the personal satisfaction is derived not so much from the tractor's indirect value as a factor contributing to productivity, but often its size, like the number of livestock or size of his land.** One can see tractors on highways carrying peasants, or

(4) Muzaffer Serif, Ibid, Also appears in 'The Turkish Administrator' edited by J.R. Hopper and R. Levin. p.175 And Professor D. Lerner's Book 'The passing of Traditional Society' Collier-MacMillan Ltd. London 1958 pp 11 - 135

* An Anatolian anecdote, though an extreme one, exemplifies the narrow perception and limited imagination of the mountain peasants in Eastern Turkey. The anecdote goes like this: Two shepherds try to find out the relative position on the intensity of desire of each other:

I Shepherd: "If you were a King, what would you like to eat?"

II Shepherd: "I would eat plenty of spring onions." "How about you?"

I Shepherd: "You left nothing for me!"

** See livestock section.

parked in front of the local branches of Agricultural banks, even barber shops in town centers in the East.

Correlatively, a large sum of money is also spent during ceremonial occasions such as wedding or circumcision festivities, particularly by those who have acquired wealth only recently.** A substantial portion of these conspicuous expenditures is made to acquire prestige and to prove to the community that the long sought after "Aga" status has been attained. The next step is probably to visit Mecca and to become Haci in order to be respected and institutionalized and to acquire a leading role in the community.

Further Remarks:

However, due to the increasing contact with market forces and infusion of pecuniary culture, some peasant societies have acquired a 'sense of cash' and thus the possession of land or livestock and conception of property have taken on a different character under the influence of new market values, concepts. Correlatively, ownership of livestock and land became equivalent to economic opportunity, whose potential value or efficient use could now be transformed into cash, pledged for debt or permit incentives and opportunities for marketing. Nevertheless, as will be analyzed later, unsatisfactory sets of circumstances and environmental backwardness, coupled with lack of specialization absence of marketing and other co-operative institutions, these reinforced by inhibitive perceptual and motivational obstacles, have largely obscured a more efficient utilization of potential marketing benefits. In consequence, some of those peasants studied who had only recently come in contact with all the products of urban origin

** See p. 140; and 157-59.

for the first time, had not had the patience to wait for a rational transformation of their production opportunities into market opportunities, by disposing of the product of their land. Instead, their rising aspirations reinforced by media exposure largely outrun their achievements and rising expectations, (which have increased geometrically if not logarithmically) outruning their productive accomplishments (which seemed to be increasing arithmetically). In consequence, some peasants, either willingly or unwillingly made contracts for debt, by pledging their lands for cash or urban-originated goods. Thus rising expectations and debts without attendant increase in their productive capacity have resulted in the loss of land-production opportunity and hence market opportunity, which was bound to land and bringing despair in terms of rising frustrations and a quality of unfulfillment.

...

2. THE UNFAVORABLE AFFECTS OF ADVERSE INSTITUTIONS WHICH DISTORT THE DIRECT CALCULATIONS OF COSTS AND BENEFITS AND CREATE DISCONTINUITY BETWEEN PRODUCTION AND MARKETING:

The Extended Family

The logical point of inquiry into the environmental forces that exert unfavorable effect on economic incentives and create perceptual and motivational bottlenecks are the basic characteristics of the extended family system which is sometimes called the welfare system of poor peasant people.

The extended family system which characterizes the joint family structure is based on an intricate system of mutually shared rights and reciprocal obligations. In this tradition-bound system, economic relationships are predetermined. It is basically non-individualistic, intrinsic and its central theme is the maintenance of economic security among its members. The members of a joint family, often encompassing several generations of near and distant relatives, may claim and receive the right of support and economic security from the economic returns and wealth - increasing activities of the other family members, regardless of their individual contributions to the pool. In return for these benefits and traditional expectations, each member is expected to share his earnings and the fruits of his endeavor with the rest of the family. When, for instance, a member finds the means and the opportunity to start a remunerative business of his own and achieves a degree of material success, through his own individual effort and risk-taking he soon finds out that his increased earnings attract a flood of claims from close or distant relatives, depriving him of the necessary conditions for expansion of his business or of the incentives to seek alternative economic goals or more remunerative employment. There is, indeed comparatively little chance for the 'self-made man' in the peasant societies of eastern rural Turkey, since individual

peasants cannot expect even to aspire to an ample life which additional income or additional effort might bring nor to have the possibilities of moving upward on the economic ladder. Moreover since ownership is often not individual but collective and agricultural production which is bound to land is held by the family, freedom to contract, individualism and the possibility of building one's own economic base or search for self-betterment would be nil. Thus, even if the individual peasant perceives and recognizes the material gain from an extra effort, he cannot free himself from the shadow and the claims of his group. The unfavorable influences exerted by the reciprocity of relationships are further reinforced by the fact that, although the individual bears all the costs associated with his economic pursuit, e.g. risk taking, investing his time and money etc. such costs usually are not borne by the group since 'they are not essential to the individual's support and security' which are anyhow accorded to him with or without his private endeavor.⁽⁵⁾ Yet there is no such differentiation in the sharing of the fruits of individual's material gain by the members of his family. In other words investment risk-taking is not shared by the group but the rewards of success are. Consequently, the more there are traditional expectations for one's individual earnings, the less would there be economically motivated productive pursuits due to the 'discontinuity' or 'differentiation' between the cost-bearing responsible initiator - (the individual)

(5) Charles Wolf Jr. 'Institutions and Economic Development, in Studies in Economic Development, Okum and Richardson. Holt Rinehart and Winston. 1964. p.354

and those who reap the benefits (the members of the extended family). For this reason neither the notion of gain, nor the actual sense of output increasing effort, nor the possibility of psychological or actual mobility induced the peasants to develop a pioneering spirit that characterize achievement oriented pattern of market behavior. And, as long as the customary practices of mutual obligations prevails and kinship ties make such traditional expectations honorable or proper form of behavior, in short, if the socio-cultural environmental conditions are not conducive to individual's 'will to progress' or 'freedom to manoever, the economically motivated individuals will be deprived of their determination and desire to grind forth towards economic pursuits, even though they may have adequate abilities to recognize and exploit economic opportunities. Thus, the aspiration of the individual to safeguard his individual economic interest or to get on is continually frustrated due to the absence of private property and economic individualism*¹¹ or by the fact that such behavioral pattern is considered deviant and unethical to the spirit of family loyalty or accepted norm of social behavior.

*11 By economic individualism is meant, freedom of mobility, voluntary agreement, freedom to handle one's own affairs, relatively free from tradition or community demands to stay within fixed or predetermined limits of activity. It also refers to freedom of the individual to change his social status or his occupation, freedom to hire resources or enter trades in competition with others. It also means ability to experiment and to determine one's own destiny.

The existing low levels of economic activity and functional diffusion and concomitant poverty in the market ignoring peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, aside from non-congenial physical and other environmental conditions, are largely perpetuated by the extended family system which minimize the importance of economic rationality, specialization or economic incentives since it does not accord reward to the responsible individual in accordance to his material achievement. Consequently, there is little compulsion to venture out into a wider or more differentiated world. There will be no open avenues for those who might have a flair for economically motivated imagination, since there are no outlets for what their imaginations would led them to do, and no possibility of behaving independently, or assuming personal responsibility for the outcome of their actions. Those who venture to the unknown are, with notably exceptions are torn from their primary groups, "pushed" by poverty rather than "pulled" into alternative occupations.

Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Mobility

In the tradition-bound market-ignoring peasant societies, peasants see their world only through human relations. One of the obstacles to social and geographical mobility in the East is the sentimental attachment to one's home, kinship group, familiar environment or one's accustomed way of life, which give plenty of reasons not to leave. In fact, the sad songs of the Anatolian peasants and the popular poems that one hears throughout rural Turkey cry these sentiments and nostalgia. Yet the economic consequences of immobility or being sentimentally tied to one's village may sometimes be even more tragic in terms of Land/population ratio which is revealed in land hunger, ecological deterioration, narrowing down of income base and eventual cultivation of marginal or grazing lands*. →

* All the evidence from Eastern Turkey indicates that those isolated peasant societies located on barren hill-lands with extremely poor natural endowment, are literally not suited for agricultural improvement within the limits of present circumstances. Although their hardships are extreme, yet the striking fact is that a higher proportion of these peasant societies have a higher than average rate of population growth and include large younger age groups, which means there are too many mouths to feed.

See. Dr. Ruşen Keleş, Şehirleşme Politikamız ve Doğu Anadolu T.T.O. ve S.O. Ankara 1967. pp 239-260

Peasants who occasionally leave their homes in search for employment return home after earning 'enough' money and do not respond to income incentives. Some economists argue that wage increases may have relatively little appeal to peasants who find their major satisfaction chiefly in traditional rewards e.g. security and customary expectations. The so-called 'backward-bending supply curve of labour' is said to be a product of cultural and psychological factors operative in poor peasant societies and may be more influential than wage rates in determining the supply of labour, either in the form of additional workers or in the form of additional hours of work from the individual labourer.⁽⁶⁾ Thus 'irrationality' of native labourers unresponsive to wage offers often turns out to be the 'rationality' of potential workers in a situation where goods and services have traditionally been secured through familial production barter, mutual aid, and where there is a limited development of a community market. Money is no incentive if there is nothing within the effective range of demand that money will buy.⁽⁷⁾ On the other hand T.S. Simey argues that some prefer more leisure, they are not educated to appreciate a higher standard of living and would rather take life more easily than add to their material comfort.⁽⁸⁾ Finally, as A. Lewis

(6) S. Rottenberg, "Income and Leisure in an Underdeveloped Economy", *Journal of Political Economy*, LX No. 2, 101 (April 1952)

(7) W.E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labour*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1951 p.302

(8) T.S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies*, The Clarendon Press Oxford, 1946 p.133-134

Finally as A. Lewis points out, "when one relies on a wide circle of relations for support, one is less likely to leave his home by taking up jobs somewhere else, one is less likely to make great efforts. It is probably not without significance that extended family systems and rapid economic growth go seldom together".⁽⁹⁾

(9) A. Lewis Theory of Economic Growth,
Allen and Unwin Ltd., London (1955) p.50

It is also argued that the security system of the joint family institution encourages high birth rate. One common arrangement to facilitate the control of the joint household is the requirement of the newly married couple to live with parents usually on the husband's side, or the family tends to dwell close to and be under the surveillance of the in-laws. Furthermore, it is not simply a matter of dwelling arrangements and social control but also a matter of social solidarity (A. Lewis Ibid p.90) The joint household and the composite family often function as an economic unit. One result is that the economic cost of rearing children does not fall directly on the parents to the same extent that it does where the nuclear family is a more independent unit. The age at marriage can be quite young because under joint household conditions, there is no necessary implication that the husband must be "able to support wife and the family" The extended family outlook is one of "poor and happy but dependent", instead of "rich and satisfied without heirs and relations". A marriage represents not only an alliance with another strong family line but also an essential means of expanding one's own line. The necessity of getting one's children married may indeed be viewed as a religious and moral obligation. (See A. Lewis, Ibid p.91) Thus extended family and high fertility go hand in hand.

3. NON-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING AND BARRIERS TO MARKETING PURSUITS

Agricultural progress and marketing activity do not occur in isolation. Any realistic approach to the problems of agricultural development and for that matter, market-oriented activity should consider the extent to which the socio-cultural, economic and physical environmental conditions of the peasant people are conducive to the successful accomplishment of the developmental objectives. If economic development and achievement - oriented market activities* are viewed as a multi-dimension of a whole series of interrelated activities and interdependent factors, then it becomes apparent that, in order to have some internal consistency in the pattern of agricultural development, the diverse impact of the environmental factors should be critically scrutinized to unravel some of the dynamics and problems of the rural development in the peasant societies of the Middle East and notably Eastern Turkey.

* In general, the term of marketing in its narrow sense refers to that voluntary act of exchange or trade which involves persons or objects, time and place. However, in a broader economic development sense, which is used in the present study, marketing refers to the process whereby the people of a country, region or village come to utilize their available resources to bring about a sustained increase in their incomes, in the production or distribution of goods and services. It also reflects a taste of material life and improved adjustment of humans to a widely differentiated and heterogenous environment and incentives for alternative economic activities for the achievement oriented behavior that characterize national market attitudes also presupposes the willingness and aptitude of the individual or individuals to determine their own destiny and act of economic life.

The act of marketing and achievement-oriented pattern of market behavior are not an end in itself but rather are a means to other objectives such as improved consumption habits, acquisition of material gain and reasonable chance to improve one's economic status. Indeed, the achievement of these economic and social goals may not even materialize until the traditional market ignoring attitudes, age-long production and consumption habits and the pattern of social and economic institutions undergo marked changes. The act of marketing requires a flexible and 'adaptable' social structure and value system which assign importance to material accomplishments and change regards the achievement - oriented behavioral pattern of the individual not as a 'deviant behavior' but a factor of prime importance and necessitates a conducive climate which fosters decision-making, mobility and perception of market opportunities. Thus, from the marketing point of view, the availability of productive resources, along side social values and cultural institutions have mutually reinforcing influences on market accessibilities of the peasants. Obviously, the causal relationship between a market-oriented economic activity and the pervasive forces of the existing socio-cultural and physical environmental conditions should be the starting point of any meaningful and constructive developmental programmes. Unless there are conducive cultural values which favour innovative and growth promoting actions of individual peasants, such as geographical and occupational mobility; calculation of the costs and benefits of marketing activity, the mere presence of productive resources will not help the achievement of productive efficiency and marketing objectives. On the other hand, resourcefulness or the perception or recognition of market opportunities, even under a favourable cultural climate, may not give their material benefits unless completed by the availability of resources and unless there is a sufficient economic foundation to build on. The

cultural factors which favor the active pursuit of wealth and market behavior will also favor the fuller utilization and mobilization of resources since all these 'growth promoting' factors are interdependent and interact endlessly with each other, from which they derive and which in turn they reinforce.

* * * *

Because agricultural development and the association increase in marketing activity are vital and weigh so heavily in the livelihood of the whole peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, one may well expect that the initial thrust of a take-off for an improved agricultural production or a spur to marketing effort should have occurred or been recognized in the agricultural sector. Yet, it is precisely here that the 'growth promoting' type of behavior, e.g. adoption of innovation, industrial behavior, agronomy or market-oriented type of action are either devalued or opposed by the indigenous cultural forces and social values retained from an earlier era. There is considerable evidence in these market ignoring peasant societies which indicate that, the cultural cadre and the integral social and economic milieu have remained non-individualistic and tradition-bound; And that, the new forms of 'acquisitive culture' arising from increasing invasion of market forces and accompanying complex value systems and material goals have come into direct conflict with the established moral values and social order. This is so because the basic forms of behavioral pattern associated with the propulsive and innovative nature of marketing, such as success measured in terms of material gain, universalism rather than particularism, achieved status versus ascribed status, are not institutionalized, and consequently "constitute a breach of the existing order and which is either contrary to, or at least not positively weighted in the hierarchy of the existing social

values." (10) The field study and research work conducted among the various peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, particularly in those semi-isolated market ignoring communities showed that social values and cultural milieu retained from their 'ancestral traditions' do not give away easily. Even in many cases, the institutional environmental conditions have dampened or minimized motivations and incentives for agricultural improvement and initiative for market pursuits. Their cultural environment is not generative since it does not permit variability in the choice of economic alternatives, shows no tolerance for unhampered search for new knowledge and does not assign prestige or reward for material achievement. The communal value structure has never regarded curiosity, know-how and ingenuity or changeability as virtuous or approved forms of human conduct. Nor does it regard the individual as a factor of prime importance. 'The predominance of individualism in a society is a mark of its decline', so says the ageless Anatolian proverb. Or, 'In the bodies, there is multiplicity'; In the hearts there is unity, "There is no individual but community". The individuals, who do not conform to the collective consciousness and act contrary to accepted modes of social and economic behavior feel the weight of the sanctionary forces, through either disapproval of his actions or by reaping the fruits of his efforts through the system of mutual dependence of the extended family. Primarily this means that, individual peasants with appropriate skills and pioneering spirit for market-oriented type of activity will become insensitive to market incentives, partly because of the perceptual and motivational bottlenecks

(10) Bert F. Hoselitz, 'Sociological Approach to Economic Development'. Also appears in Okun and Richardson, 'Studies in Economic Development' Holt Rinehart and Winston, N.Y. Jan. 1964 p.345.

created by deterrent cultural values which adversely affect his freedom of choice, economic aspirations and practice of economic individualism. These environmental conditions naturally do not postulate desirous, seeking, acquisitive behavior that characterize market-oriented patterns of action. And so long as the traditional environmental conditions remain in operation, few peasants will have sufficient motivation to become involved in wealth promoting economic activity, or acquire a sense of gain, effort or curiosity which guide personal behavior in a participant, market-oriented society. Given the existing non-economic socio-cultural environmental influences and the 'laid down' rules for accepted mode of social and economic behavior the individual peasants will have little incentive or motivation to try the "unbeaten path". Experimental attitudes in a custom-bound environment; independence or individualistic mode of behavior in the midst of a joint family system which is embodied in mutual reliance; material pursuit or 'sense of cash' in a world of asceticism that has embraced the Islamic gospels of self-denial all constitute a breach of the existing moral order and considered deviant behavior.* Aman who had been brought up in a cultural environment which is dominated by inner-worldly ascetic values will generally be less motivated to maximize gain through marketing, will show less desire to exploit these opportunities. Even though people may have latent abilities, they lack the appropriate motivations and initiative, simply because 'the economically motivated market behavior' has not been a part of the peasant society's value structure.

* The most grievous fault among the Islamic people of traditional societies, is 'to want to acquire'. And those who say 'This is enough' are always content.
See Section on Religion.

The critical influences that values and institutions exert on the motivational pattern and the economic lives of the tradition-bound peasant societies must be scrutinized in order to discover what pervasive forces influence economic behavior or market values and what institutional sanctions exercise control over the individual's mode of behavior which impel him to choose or avoid this or that type of voluntary action.

One of the adverse aspects of the cultural environment which offset market behavior is that, cultural values may rationalize some motivational patterns which are in essence contrary to wealth-increasing market behavior or idea of gain, effort or inquisitiveness. If, for instance, institutional values place emphasis on ascribed status, leisure or religion by ranking and weighting them higher in the prestige scale of the social ordering relative to wealth, thrift, workmanship, acquisition of knowledge or marketing skills, then peasants may not respond to the new set of choices, simply because such behavioral pattern or acquisitiveness is devalued and is not positively weighted in the hierarchy of the existing communal value structure.* For instance, a survey among Turkish Lycee students shows that, business and trade ranked low, and such 'administrative functions associated with the preservation of the status quo, such as the army, the bureaucracy, and the religious establishment, together with land holding, often ranked higher in the scale of values than do economically productive and technical occupations essential for economic growth such as commerce, industry and finance, agronomy or science'.** Other survey findings reveal the occupational values or

* See Charles Wolf Jr. 'Institutions and Economic Development' Appears in Okun and Richardson, Ibid. p.361

** See Edwin J. Cohn, 'Social and Cultural Factors Affecting the emergence and Functioning of Innovators! In the 'Turkish Administrator' Ibid p.226.

the 'Prestige Rank of Selected Occupational Positions':***

<u>Rank Order</u>	<u>Position</u>
1.	Provincial Governor
2.	National Legislator
3.	Engineer
4.	General (Army)
5.	Doctor
6.	Judge
7.	Diplomat
8.	Proffesor
9.	Big Businessman
10.	Chief Department. Administrator
11.	Lawyer

Another survey finding among the members of a nomadic Kurdish Tribe in Eastern Turkey shows the following results:**

Who do you Consider as the Most Prestigious Person in the Bitlis Provincial Area:

	<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
- The Commander of the Army Division	11	29.7
- Sheikh's son	1	2.7
- Governor	13	35.1
- A Senator	1	2.7
- A Grazing Land Owner	7	18.9
- A Sheikh	3	8.1
TOTAL	37	100.0

*** See A.T.J. Matthews, 'Emergent Turkish Administrators' in the 'Turkish Administrator' Ibid. p.226

On the other hand M.H. Sufi of Pakistan says that 'in the context of Pakistan social values, manual work of any kind is considered derogatory to a man's dignity and social status.' Appears in Land Tenure, Ed. by Parsons Penn & Raup, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1951 p.123

** See I.Besikci, Alikan Asireti, Dogan Yayinevi 1969 p.199 SEE also the research findings on this Field Study.

Implicit in the foregoing discussion is the fact that the prevailing value structure and the socio-economic environment do not rank, reward or attach prestige to economically motivated type of behavior or any form of material pursuit. That is, the occupations which confer material reward or pecuniary opportunities simply do not fit the criteria of merit placement on the basis of religion, age, kinship, or other forms of 'ascribed status'. Moreover, when the traditional system of social valuation insures the individual with a certain degree of economic security through the reciprocal obligations of the extended kinship, there will be little motivation for the individual to respond to new economic rewards or will there be any incentive for mobility. For, under the protection of the institutional shelter, the individual will adopt the view that material achievement is not so important as a means to economic security since the latter is already linked and accorded to him by the family institution. Once this form of behavior becomes institutionally routinized and tends to become an 'accepted mode of social behavior' the peasants will have little reason to adopt or substitute unfamiliar values for the existing 'proper values'. And without this 'transplantation' or change in value structure no market opportunities will be perceived as relevant to their communally held values, nor any economic advancement will be possible. Consequently productive efficiency will remain low, and both human and physical resources will be

misutilized or underutilized*.

Again, the problem of rural development of the peasant societies could be visualized as a matter of involvement of the peasants in their own development. The key element is the 'human conduct' itself. If the environmental conditions and value system favor acquisition of knowledge and innovation, initiates mobility and risk taking, approves the desire for economizing, permits the perception and cognition of opportunities and assures the economically motivated individuals that efforts and rewards are linked and accords social recognition and prestige to the individuals, then the indigenous base for achievement-oriented human conduct will be favorable for economic change. In contrast an unfavorable cultural climate may hamper motivations and aspirations of the individual by limiting the possibilities of mobility. 'will to economize' enterprising spirit by assigning little importance to material accomplishment.

* A relevant and highly significant interpretation of a traditional society is made by Hsiao-Tung Fei: 'In Chinese traditional society the intelligentsia have been a class without technical knowledge. They monopolized authority based on the wisdom of the past, spent time on literature, and tried to express themselves through art. This indicates that, in the traditional scheme, the vested interests had no wish to improve production but thought only of privilege. Their main task was the perpetuation of established norms in order to set up a guide for conventional wisdom and behavior. A man who sees the world only through human relations is inclined to be conservative because in human relations the end is always mutual adjustment. And an adjusted equilibrium can only be founded on a stable and unchanging relation between man and nature. They viewed the world humanistically. Lacking technical knowledge, they could not appreciate technical progress. And they saw no reason to wish to change man's relation to man.' Hsiao-Tung Fei, *China's Gentry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953 p.74). The above interpretations is also true for the traditional peasant societies in the Middle East.

Institutional environment may also influence market incentives and agricultural productivity by creating 'motivational' and 'perceptual' obstacles. As a consequence of the persistent interaction between 'absence of knowledge' and 'absence of change' peasants cannot perceive or appreciate the presence of market opportunities. It is a commonly accepted law of perception that the 'institutions act upon the perceiver as well as upon what is to be perceived. And that the perceiver systematically overlooks what he considers extraneous and irrelevant.* The absence of cognition and curiosity go together with the absence of knowledge. The key formula is the alteration of the individual's perception through education, communication and infusion of economic knowledge.

* Charles Wolf Jr. 'Institutions and Economic Development. Ibid. p.359

4. ABSENCE OF KNOWLEDGE: ABSENCE OF CHANGE FUNCTIONAL DIFFUSION
AND MONOCULTURE

The reciprocal relationship between absence of change and absence of knowledge of the peasant people in the rural Middle East and Turkey is generally exemplified by the inability of the peasants to overcome the scarcity of natural resources or the fuller utilization of their resources . Particular manifestations of these are:

(a) General lack of "adaptability" or "susceptibility" to price and income stimuli; lack of understanding of comparative cost or comparative advantage principle;

(b) A functionally diffused method of production due to lack of knowledge of market opportunities, which is in turn associated with extremely low degree of specialization;

(c) The twin growths of lack of future orientation and lack of compulsion.

What usually strikes observers in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, is the existence of an undifferentiated type of economic activity where the performance of economically relevant tasks are typically diffused. Peasants usually do everything from producing their crops, handling illness, to building their homes. It is difficult for any family member to acquire skills in depth and their resources tend to be underutilized or misutilized in part/^{since} production methods and organization or techniques have changed little over the generations. The technological problems confronting the peasants living at the margin of subsistence are the ageless agricultural methods which are basically primitive and uneconomical in this context. The customary practice of peasant families of taking care of everything on their own, without distinct lines of functions, spreads responsibilities in a way which

Prevents specialization which requires the allocation of economic roles according to the individual skills. The main instrument of production apart from land and few animals is human labor. To learn any skills involved in the traditional farming does not require formal education but merely observation of the elders and practice what they are asked to do. Due to the absence of a pattern of functional specificity, the dominance of an undefined collective-oriented pattern of mutual responsibilities and functions, even though family members work hard and long hours, their level of output is very often just enough for a hand-to-mouth economic performance. Output, as A. Lewis states, usually grows not because people are working harder, or longer but because they are working more productively, by applying more knowledge and gaining more skills and experiences which growth-promoting activities require. Instead of filling job requirements adequately by qualified individuals in the family-owned farm organizations, the extended family regulates economic relations on the basis of ascription rather than merit or achievement. With notable exceptions of some of the market recognizing villages, which have a relatively higher degree of openness to the outside world and are close to marketing orbits, in the majority of the market ignoring traditional peasant societies, the level of output per acre is extremely low and the level of output per rural population is much lower since self-sufficiency close to subsistence minimum characterizes their level of economic performances. Inefficient production techniques coupled with resistance to change perpetuates low level of productivity, which in turn precludes the possibilities of any substantial margin for marketing or saving, and thus contributes to the low degree of effective market demand. Correlatively, where the margin of surplus is slender,; the incentive for marketing or accumulation of saving for investment would also be undetermined simply because joint household needs act

as a sponge absorbing whatever saving is remained. Moreover, as the generosity of the natural resources decline and output averages close to a mere subsistence needs of the peasants, it becomes more difficult for the peasant families to weather even a short-term crisis. Consequently, either grazing lands are put under cultivation or attempts are made to get the highest possible yields from the soil, which further leads to ecological deterioration. (All the indications from the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey show that fallow cycles are decreasing due to the worsening of land/population ratio. Consequently, soil has lost its organic content and moisture and has been gradually turning into semi-desert barren lands. Poor livestock quality and productivity are also common sights in these peasant societies. These mutually reinforcing unfavorable conditions, in turn have intensified the vicious circle of poverty: the growing needs of a growing human and animal population on one hand and the steadily declining per capita food production on the other).

While peasant farmers on one plane tend to diversify crops and other production elements in order to meet traditional subsistence requirements, on another plane one finds very heavy concentration of effort in the production of one or two staple commodities - usually foodstuffs. It is this latter concentration which is referred to here as 'monoculture'. In most of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey, there is scarcely any indication of crop change since early Ottoman days. Although farming methods as well as the character and customs of the family system may differ in accordance with different physical environmental conditions, yet the range of crops in these areas still remain the same and unchanged, the residues of their ageless cultural past. Climatic differences and differences in soil fertility have certain bearings on the

peasants' social and economic lives, yet under their non-economic cultural climate, there has been little, if any motivation or incentive for adopting alternative types of economic activity which potentially exist. A. Lewis, among others, argue that the practice of monoculture and the tradition of one-sided economic activity may cause biological imbalances, showing itself in soil exhaustion or in the spread of pests and disease. 'Some farmers even if they try to prevent soil exhaustion by having a suitable crop rotation and mixed farming, may not be able to discourage the adoption of monoculture by the neighbouring farmers and thus the dangers of pest and disease to which this practice might give rise. ⁽¹¹⁾ And, for most of the tradition-bound farmers, who have been persistently practicing the pattern of monoculture may not change their customary practices even if price variations may require or justify to do so, because, the greater part of the agricultural output is still intended to meet the food demands of their family; consequently, price variations may not even be noticed.*

(11) A. Lewis, 'The Theory of Economic Growth' (Homewood, Ill: Richard D Irwin, Inc. 1955)

* First of all most of the required changes in methods or technical improvements are long-term and large scale and therefore they lie outside the small farmer's time horizon and financial reach. Secondly if he is a tenant the share or rent taken by the landlords who in turn makes, little or no contribution to the improvement of land, will eventually leave the subsistent small farmer with no incentive to introduce improvement or undertake costly innovation. See pp 172-77. Thirdly although there is no evidence to suggest that any attempt by an individual farmer who wishes to try new or diverse crop of high economic return would be sanctioned by the rest of the community, there are strong reasons to indicate that the traditional practice of referring to the wishes and views of village elders on such matters would certainly render such innovative decision less possible. Another consequence might be that the fear of failure of the new crop and the accompanying loss of face, might also be a strong deterrent against change for those peasant people who are well-rooted in their communities. Finally, As Baran observes, 'It becomes more understandable however, if one realizes how vitally the failure of a harmless-looking change in agricultural methods can affect the peasants who live at the margin of subsistence.'

In the majority of the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, ox-drawn plow and hoe agriculture characterize the rural technology. (See the section on Capital Deficiency) The major part of the crop is raised with primitive tools, requiring many hands, including child labor, since all their peasant farming activities require raw human energy. The unfavorable topographical conditions and smallness of holdings of the majority of peasants also contribute to the deficiencies in technology. Not only their incomes are small and precarious, but their small holdings cannot utilize them fully. In the mountainous Eastern Turkey, peasants cultivate the steep hill slopes which render the use of tractors or modern equipment infeasible. Since the terrain is so dissected that it is difficult, if not impossible to operate modern machinery. Occasional floods and rainfall carry away the surface soil down valleys and slopes exposing surrounding land to the danger of further erosion. There are peasants so poor that they have neither oxen nor horses, nor any means to alleviate natural hazards. Some eye witnesses claim seeing families in some peasant societies of Eastern Turkey carrying soil in baskets from the valleys back to the rocky terrain in order to build soil and prepare some grounds for next year's cultivation. Ambitious attempts for land reforms frequently hardly make sense because the increasing exhaustion of land technical deficiencies and growing population pressures, leave little scope for agricultural improvement, let alone land reform. It is far too much to expect from these poor peasants to utilize their resources fully or to try new methods since peasants lack the economic foundation and security neither have they the patience to wait for the results of slow long-term improvements which these far-sighted social and economic considerations necessitate. Since they are conditioned to exist and concern themselves with day-to-day affairs, the concept of 'future return' is also absent. Their time horizon is short and there is no future

orientation*. There are also no institutions to foster the formation of productive capital for future production. Because, as social scientists have shown, 'where the concept of future is absent, there is lack of compulsion.' Their motto is 'plant' and 'pray' and their attitudes toward the future is well summarized in Mohammed's Hadith: 'Be satisfied with what Allah has given thee and thou shalt be richest of all'.

Because of these aspects of the overall nexus of environmental backwardness, it is indeed unthinkable to consider solutions to rural problems in technical terms alone. When new forms of productive activity in various rural areas of the Middle East and Turkey are considered, one must include the entire cultural and social milieu and other physical and economic environmental conditions in which market-oriented activities are assumed to be pre-dominant. As it stands, the argument that 'opening up of new village roads accompanied by increasing influence of the propulsive market forces have facilitated and stimulated the diffusion of an industrial culture at village level' and that government sponsored development schemes have 'caught hold and have become an engine^e of growth by engaging peasants in this new and complex interdependent economy' are not very convincing. Basic to this way of thinking is the implicit assumption that, first, forces outside the rural economy can implant, create and maintain a sustained growth of foreseeable end within the peasant society in accordance with the will and desires of initiating forces. Secondly, it presupposes that the indigenous forces are ready to respond and enter a dialogue with external forces or even exist like a 'stock of raw materials which can be drawn upon at will' and can be linked to the calculated growth promoting policies of the external forces. One way of adjusting to this fact is that there is a

* As Jean Herbert observes, 'the absence of anxiety even under the shadow of famine did not build granaries and did not calculate from one year to the next. The love of old age pensions and insurance policies is absolutely incomprehensible to almost the whole of Traditional Asia. Jean Herbert An Introduction to Asia. p.182

vast differences between initiating a development and sustaining it. Without adequate internal motivation the initial stimuli of governmental efforts cannot serve as a substitute for the indigenous forces, nor they could become cumulative and long-lasting.

5. NON-MATERIAL CULTURAL ORIENTATION VALUE PATTERNS AND

'WILL TO ECONOMIZE'

Implicit in the foregoing discussion, the concentration of population on agriculture over the years and the low amount of land per worker has become a major limitation to productivity. The low ratio of land per worker could possibly be overcome by greater use of capital, better techniques of production or more efficient organization. But peasant societies innately suffer on these counts. Peasant agriculture which is also characterized by the extended family system has been confronted with the restraint of land/population ratio which prevents it from effective utilization of scarce resources. Moreover the peasants' surplus or income is too small to permit them to undertake expenses which might help to purchase production inputs necessary to increase the yield. They are more or less entrapped in a vicious circle of poverty; They cannot increase their income because they have no capital or large enough land to produce over and above their needs. They cannot acquire the necessary capital because they have so small income*.

However, the most significant obstacles to saving and capital formation, from the cultural point of view, are the cultural institutions and social values expressed in the form of family relations, communal obligations and religious duties which adversely affects the propensity to save and the mobilization of these savings for production purposes. They do so, for instance by (a) draining savings into economically non-productive channels; (b) discouraging savings through social pressure. For instance, the custom of pooling of the incomes of productive members of the clan or family leave little

* For more detailed discussions see section on Capital Deficiency. pp 143.

or no margin for investment. This customary practice in some respect come into direct conflict with the productive motives of the individual;

(c) restricting alternative uses of savings, or by favoring current consumption rather than future production in terms of economizing through curtailment of present consumption.

(a) The most relevant elements of socio-cultural practices which drain savings are the social calls on the accumulated savings for dowry or for various ceremonial and social purposes such as: staging long and expensive weddings*, funerals; honoring religious occasions, by pilgrimage to Mecca, offering their finest specimens of their crops and animals to religious leaders; building costly and ornate mosques; conspicuous consumption for social prestige considerations, all of which lead to economic misutilization of potentially economically productive savings.**

(b) The institutional patterns and relationships in the joint family system, the tribal structure and mutual obligations put pressure on the savings of the active members of the family and act like a sponge.***

* Sometimes due to the customary obligations of giving bride's family, animals or money or gold and so forth for 'bride price' there are cases where even Agas are financially go into debt. This practice is expressed in this village saying, "the bride's family never send their daughter with an empty hand." To overcome this financial burden, in various peasant societies 'girl kidnapping' or 'marriage by capture' has become a regular practice. Usually this type of marriage is essentially practiced with the agreement of the couple and then the parents of each party are reconciled. Often bloodshed is common. Another outlet to escape expensive dowries is called 'sisters exchange' where two brothers marry two sisters. See Dr. N. Erdentug. A village in Elaziz. Ankara 1959 p.32-36.

** Although Muslims are bound to spend only a fraction of their wealth for the fulfillment of their religious duties in regard to pilgrimage to Mecca, it is a common fact that very often debts are incurred or lands are mortgaged, livestock is sold in order to go to Mecca since 'Hacis' have immense prestige in their communities.

*** Dr. Erdentug, in her study on the social structure of a Turkish village in Elaziz province, states that the interests, the responsibilities and the duties imposed upon the relatives for their kinsmen and their children are numerous and heavy. They take care of the children, help them in their marriages, even meeting all the needs of the close and distant families up to the extent of cultivating their land and collecting and harvesting their crops. Many of the active members who have gone to urban places are obliged to send money and even support all members and accomodate them if they go to towns. One of the important kinship obligations is to support financially the newly married couples. Ibid. p.26, 27, 28.

(c) At the same time, in the extended family system, consumption, production and saving are not separated from the family. Specifically, the major decisions on economic matters are made by family elders on a basis of family, rather than individual needs or performances. The authoritarian nature of the extended family demands conformity to a prescribed pattern of behavior, where members resign themselves to accepting group loyalties and with leadership also vested among elders who make the majority of the decisions regarding the allocation of time, saving and wealth, the economically productive members feel insensitive to income incentives and show unwillingness to exert themselves for the sake of increasing their incomes, due to the cultural and family influences that play upon his choice of economic action*

In summary, then the inherited backwardness of a non-material cultural orientation never gives the family members the stimuli or the confidence needed for economic advancement. In consequence, individuals lack initiative and pioneering spirit to embark on unbeaten paths or the incentives to seek out and seize economic opportunities. The perceptual and motivational barriers of cultural environment have also distinctly inhibiting

* Some economists argue that the authoritarian nature of the community life, village and family life could provide better grounds for initial take-off, since the chief or the family leader, due to his immense decision-making power is in a position to enforce measures which growth requires. The chief can enforce education, or the use of better seeds, or pattern of land use or set pace for adoption of other innovations. However the matter of truth is that, very often it is the village elders or the chiefs' resistance that has to be overcome. These traditional leaders have strong anchorage in the status quo and are indifferent if not hostile to innovations. It is a status system, accordingly less flexible than a society based on achievement or performance. The inherited backwardness of various peasant societies may be said to be largely due to the conservatism of family elders who are not only unsuited to initiate change but also never gave the inspiring young members the opportunity or the stimuli to enter productive pursuits.

effect on mobility, saving and risk-taking. As long as the security needs of individual peasants are more easily acquired by mutual reliance, they become soft and lose the ability to realize their potential productivity or lack the necessary zeal and motivation for independence. The peasants accept what happens to exist rather than attempt to change it. And this attitude of dependence and passivity is further exemplified by the fact that, peasants look to the government and local authorities to take major responsibilities for solving problems facing their communities which they could themselves perform through self-help schemes. However, there seem to be no 'performance group' which could demonstrate the effects of additional effort or self-help. No one in the peasant societies has before them the picture of peasants climbing up the ladder to a better life, no youngsters have ever been taught the discipline of hard and conscientious performance, the virtue of thrift, or economic efficiency. The security blanket of the kinship ties have already been discussed; As noted also by Hoselitz⁽¹²⁾ and Hellenier⁽¹³⁾ the cumulative effect of the forces mentioned in this section is to discourage the appearance of any will to economize.

(12) B.F. Hoselitz, *Non-Economic Barriers to Economic Development*, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, March 1952, p 93

(13) K.F. Hellenier, *Moral Conditions for Economic Growth*, *Journal of Economic History*, XI No.2 97-116 (Spring 1951)

6. RELIGIOUS VALUES, MODES OF THOUGHT ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATIONS

Religious values pervade the conomic milieu of the tradition-bound peasant societies in a number of dimensions, e.g. attitudes toward innovations, saving, land use pattern, economic efficiency, modes of market behavior and consumption and of course the orientation of the rural way of life. In those semi-isolated communities of the Middle East, and particular Eastern-Turkey,, the predominance of religion as a way of saalavation is reinforced by environmental backwardness, both social and unfavorable natural conditions. Its influence, reinforced by limited economic resources and widespread illiteracy have aggravated a spirit of acquiescence whereby religious bound peasant people continue to see the world, their physical and social existence as a divine revelation of Allah.* They therefore, often lack adaptability to changing discourages deviant behavior and has adverse implications for economic achievement through material pursuit. For many of the religion-bound peasant societies of the Middle East act and elaborate their daily activities according to a static set of spiritual values and moral conduct, which embrace every aspect of peasants' social economic and political activities. The final arbiter, the Koran is accepted as a model for practicing

* It is plausible to argue that, because of the belief that, 'The Koran' has to be in Arabic according to the very words of Allah; the reinterpretations and transmittance of Koranic teachings and other Islamic Orthodoxy are largely distorted or misunderstood in its teachings and practice in rural Turkey.

the traditional virtues within which the purpose of life unfolds*

When peasants act in accordance with their cultural and religious orientation and conform with the collective consciousness and act and think in terms of religious values, their way of life becomes a mere symbolic expression of moral life. In fact religious reinterpretations of the classical Islamic thought as performed by the various spiritual leaders and their local aspirants have manipulated Islamic doctrines in such a way that their implications have often become a major obstacle to change.

* Islam, is an Arabic word^d meaning submission or acceptance of the will of Allah as revealed by himself to Mankind through Prophet Mohammed. His work^s covered with equal authority matters of worship, ritual, politics, economics and personal relationships. The term of Islam designates, therefore not only a religion but a guiding force, a community and a comprehensive way of life.'

See M. Halberm, Social Change In the Middle East. p. 89

Some authors on Islam argue that since Islam assumed that God's final truth had been fully revealed, there was, unlike Western Europe, to be no renaissance or reformation.

See M. Halberm, Ibid. p.19

Some even go so far as to declare that, 'Islam is not our property for us to offer it to others, with alterations suitable to the requirements of the market.'

Maulana Maudoodi, as quoted by J.W. Sweetman, 'Views Points in Pakistan, I, The Muslim World, April 1957 p. 115

Paul Stirling, in his 'Religious Change in Republican Turkey argues that, 'Villagers still largely see their world and their way of life their rulers their wives, even their illnesses as sent by Allah.'

See M.E. Journal, Vol 12 No. 4 Autumn 1958 pp.395-408

Islamic thought and practices remain basically unchanged. Moreover 'the idea of a golden age in the past from which Man has fallen away and to which he is exhorted to return by practicing the traditional virtues more assiduously may not be the most useful guide in a changing world'.

See Edwin J. Cohn, Social and Cultural Factors Affecting The Emergence and Functioning of Innovators. Appears in the Turkish Administrator, Edited by J.R. Hopper, R.I. levin, Ankara p.137

For, Muhammed says that the role of the believer is 'to learn from cradle to the tomb', yet, the entrusted Hocas and travelling preachers in Turkey have a quasi-instinctive dislike for adoption of secular education and a great distrust for innovative schemes that may rock the status quo. Although Koran teaches its believers to be doers not talkers and 'working is a virtue' yet these servants of Allah preach passivity and emphasize non-economic qualities and de-emphasize initiative and inquisitiveness. With notable exceptions, the sheikhs who hold religious, economic and political power in their hands and Hocas (Muslim preachers) are non-experimental in their attitudes and they are largely guided by faith and their teachings could hardly promote imagination nor aspire their followers for better husbandry. Yet their authority and influence extends to all spheres of peasants' lives.* Thus they may favor the communal property (Land and Nature are the gift of Allah), settle water and land disputes, affect the general pattern of social life, inheritance, also the proportion of the produce to be rendered by the peasants for the spiritual services. They may even exert influence on decision-making process, regarding the pattern of expenditure, the nature of the crop to be planted, allocation of time, resources and even political choices to be made by the peasants. 'These ways are right', 'It is in the Book' or 'To Allah belongs the kingdom of the Heavens and Earth' and 'Allah, not man improves man's lot, for, He determines the course of events' find expression and application in all spheres of peasants daily lives and are surely not calculated to produce

* However, it seems that there are two different perceptions and mode of life between rich or powerful sheikhs and the bulk of the rural populace. Strangely enough, for the landowning religious leaders, wealthy land holding sheikhs, Islam is conceived as an optimistic even a hedonistic religion e.g. free from anxiety and insecurity, but they preach patience, passivity and bounties of the good life in reincarnation.

innovative, achievement oriented or industrious and pioneering qualities. 'If man should be saved, he must be made to turn back from his meaningless race for material gain. Not adding things to oneself can one be happy. The true happiness lies within'.* These lines of thought and pursuit of inner peace in contrast to critical-analytical activism, foster an attitude of resignation and hamper desires to have an active interest in new ideas or material pursuit through economically advantageous form of activities e.g., marketing. It may equally be that, since religious values do not encourage achievement-oriented behavioral pattern, there tend to be fewer individuals who are willing to display their latent abilities for independence of thought and economic action or put hard work into the forefront of their values. If perception of opportunities are blocked, there will be little motivation or possibility of recognizing economic opportunities. Moreover there will be little realization of the extent to which man can make nature to serve him since cultural and religious values emphasize contrary qualities and are not directed towards economic ends.** As it is stated, 'a religious man who hopes to go to Heaven with the help of prayers will hardly waste his time in the workshop or repair his village house, will hardly build ditches or water dams when he could resort to rainprayers.' In the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey peasants resort to certain customs where, in order to assure a good crop for the next harvesting season, animals are sacrificed. People and trucks carry charms and Masallah amulets designed to guard against evil*** Often the finest specimen of their produce is

* For further details see A.K.S. Lambton, 'Landlords and Peasant in Persia Oxford University Press, Amen House, London 1953.

** M. Makal, in his 'A village in Anatolia' says: 'Our villagers are born to religion. But they show no interest in that aspect of religion which means unity, friendship, love and respect for others and so forth, in other words, in such things as lead men to righteousness and fullness of life. M. Makal, A Village In Anatolia, translated by W. Deedes, London, Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., P. 83

*** Muhtar, referring to the religious inscription in the wall of his house; "That thing on the wall you know, has got more power than the gendarmes or the troops themselves." Ibid, P.83

offered to sheikhs in order to ensure their blessings* These types of behavior indicate that peasants do not really live in a universe governed by the principles of causality and with initiative and the critical-analytical faculty. The corollary implications of these pattern of cultural orientation, spiritual values and conventional conduct in terms of mobility, inquisitiveness and receptivity to technological innovation, or the freedom of economic manoeuvre are profound. To the extent that religious wisdom dominates the rhythm of rural life, knowledge is rudimentary and where a sceticism is paramount, resources both human and natural would remain inefficiently utilized. These conditions are demonstrably expressed by the prevailing poverty and non-productive standards in the religious-bound peasant societies of the Middle East and Turkey.

When the hard core of the Asian culture is unraveled and the central theme of their religious philosophy is scrutinized, there are certain commonly shared traits of asceticism or a detached aloofness to man's economic rationality and his creativity.** Jean Herbert argues that, 'In Islam, the concept of divine ownership of the soil goes together with the

* If the Sheikh finds himself in need of something more than the assorted offerings that have been laid at his feet, he only has to send word to the district leader. The Leader of the village in question then summons his Sheikhs to a meeting, and then they disperse in fours or fives to the village around, to collect whatever may be needed. Ibid. p. 91

** A. Bonne observes that "the essence of Asian teachings is that the nature of things in this world of here is transitory and man himself in part is a transitory phenomenon. The Hindu blandly accepts the ugliness of the world around him and aims merely to attain spiritual equanimity within it. If everything runs in a circle it is now, what is the point in trying to change the present state of affairs? One merely hastens, if this be possible, the time when tomorrow becomes today."

A. Bonne Ibid. P. 265

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idea that the soil's product is necessarily a gift of Allah and has nothing to do with man's personal effort.'⁽¹⁴⁾ Islam by its emphasis on the spiritual accomplishment and suppression of desires for material pursuits in this world make secular affairs inseparable from non-secular affairs*. 'This world is the field in which the next world is cultivated' does not necessarily postulate the belief that happiness or one's well-being can be found in material gain or in desires of accumulating wealth. Jean Herbert observes that, in the religious and tradition-bound communities of Islamic people of Asia, the worst fault is 'to want to acquire.' Those who know how to say, 'This is Enough' are always content. Muhammed used to tell the muslims, "you desire the richest of this world and Allah wishes to give you the riches of the next world".⁽¹⁵⁾ By comparison to puritanic virtues which favor thriftiness, economic rationality and material rewards, Islam promises spiritual rewards, therefore austerity and religious duties, (e.g. routinized and prescribed religious rituals, prayers five times a day instead of confining prayers to on a single Friday) Are more honorable

(14) Jean Herbert, An Introduction to Asia

J. Herbert also argues that "Asia places the golden age in the past and not in the future Ibid. p.336

* In his study of Asian religions, A. Bonne concludes that 'The def- amation of material enjoyment was extended to a deprecation of worldly life as a whole, and redemption through emancipation from worldly needs or even worldly forms of existence became a supreme goal, where such eval- uations struck root, the underprivileged masses could acquiesce with the idea that fate had imposed suffering and hardship on them as transitory conditions and that it was not up to them to change them'

A. Bonne Ibid. p.265

(15) Ibid p.302 See Also A.K.S. Lambton.

since these conventional attitudes and spiritual activities would 'improve one's fortune in this life and in reincarnation* 'First, let them not become presumptuous because of their wealth and property and let them not set their hearts on these things. Let them consider these things to be as a loan and a trust in their hands and let them consider everything which exist as belonging to God. When one of them brings out seed from his storehouses, let him do so with the intention of cultivating the harvest of the next world, not of this world.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Socialization process of these teachings surely does not cultivate enterprising spirit not creative involvement in economic pursuit and may hamper the possibilities for economic and social progress of the rural life.

Islam and Islamic ethics affect the agricultural life through a variety of channels. In so far as 'mode of borrowing' is concerned, Islam has materially affected the conception and the nature of practice of borrowing. Some Islamic theologians argue that borrowing in its essential being is an obligation shouldered by the borrower, which may eventually lead to submission or surrender to the will of the creditor. However, in view of the present widespread borrowing practices of the peasants, often practiced by a religious money-lending Haci, the above

* Oriental religious teachings persuade their followers by stressing the possibility of changing one's status in the next life, not in this life. That is, those who accomplish spiritual wisdom in this world and suppress their desires for material betterment will find the true happiness and the bounties of the good life in reincarnation. The religious teachings hold that the goods of this life belong to two entirely different orders: the value of ordinary life and the values of contemplative and mystical experience. This is a duality within present existence, not a duality within this life and a future life. It is here that the values and religious teachings are directly counter to material accomplishments and to those qualities that distinguish businessmen and marketers. See John Cohen.

(16) A.K.S. Lambton.

argument is not so convincing. None the less it is a common knowledge that, in the peasant societies of the Middle East and Turkey, because the prophet forbade usury, very often the lending and borrowing parties make no mention of interest charge. Instead the interest on the loan is covered by writing down the debt much higher than it is and the actual cost of borrowing is often beyond economic advisability or even the comprehension of the borrower. Of course, the lender has recourse to the borrower's land or livestock if he fails to fulfill his contracted debt. (As often practiced in rural Eastern Turkey, the borrower may even render free labor services until his debts are repaid.)

In concluding, it may be pointed out that, Islamic ethics, as often has been said, do not postulate achievement-oriented pattern of pioneering qualities, do not encourage a progressive economic life, at least in its practice. Some authors even go so far to say that, the unfruitful tension between rural fatalism and growing population needs and the conflict between conventional wisdom and values of an exchange economy and industrial culture are not the result of misinterpretation of Islamic thought. The real cause is said to be hidden in Islam's essential nature, that, Islam is primarily a closed system without a rural basis. M. Halberstam argues that, "Orthodox Islam is an urban religion with an urban way of life and hardly any Moslem, in literature or song by word or deed admires the peasant's style of life, not even the peasant does so."⁽¹⁷⁾ Often ownership of land gives status, but working on the land does not. Viewed from the perspective of productive opportunity, for instance, it has been said that Islam-inspired inheritance laws a division of land in usufruct

(17) M. Halberstam p.81 and 89

Another author even goes so far as to say that 'Islam lies on the Middle East like a veil concealing little, shaping nothing; where Christianity brought a civilization, Islam brought but religion'.

under the same principles, have only perpetuated land fragmentation among numerous heirs who have for the most part remained tied to small diversified lots, leaving no resource base or opportunity for economic betterment nor incentives for mobility. Seen from the standpoint of rural social life, the unfavorable status of women, fear as well as respect for patriarchal authority: preservation of a religious criteria whereby individual's status is determined by (ascription) rather than on the basis of his own performance, (achievement) might be said to represent a traditional outlook of social life which encourage passivity and acceptance of an unalterable fate. Also constant search and encouragement for 'inner peace' rather than progress or reform are said to be some of the many aspects of Islamic philosophy which pervade the consciousness and attitudes of its believers.

* * * * *

Final Remarks:

In the final analysis, to minimize such contraversies regarding Islamic influences on socio-economic life, it must be admitted that it will be a misjudgement if not absurdity to take aim at religious values alone and hold them as the specifically responsible causal factors for the poor economic performance of the peasant societies in the Middle East and Turkey. It must be realized that a mutation of Islamic teachings and its influences will not bring about creative economic attitudes nor will it transform the peasant societies into modern, innovative and economic-minded communities. The fact is that human conduct and man himself are a product of a complex of conditioning forces and complex sociocultural and economic environmental conditions. Environmental conditions, both physical

and social and other underlying factors that are responsible for the present conditions of peasants' socio-economic performance should be scrutinized in order to find out how these underlying factors are specifically responsible for rural backwardness. Contemporary peasant societies can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental conditions. And the economic development of these societies greatly depends on the indigenous climate, and that, peasants must be made conscious of the problems and the need for modernization should be created within the peasant societies themselves. The cumulative growth of aspirations for social and economic betterment could only materialize when modernization efforts became a continuous and dynamic process, educational system and other set of reforms are geared into the long-felt needs of the peasants so that they could gradually become a part of peasant culture. Sad it may be, but Ataturk reforms in many of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey, has been frozen into statues where the concepts, and ideas of his reforms have not yet become a dialogue with the bulk of the populace. Peasants were not prepared to discover the essentials of his reforms and consequently there is a continual unfruitful tension between deep-rooted peasant culture and the superficial conceptions of modernity. It has long been due, however that, the basic problem confronting peasant societies in Eastern Turkey is that, their hearts are in the Eastern culture but their material aspirations are in the West, a conflict that must be resolved. In the long-run, Western industrial practices cannot be achieved without assimilating and integrating them into the Eastern cultural fabric of our Eastern people. We cannot enjoy the fruits of Western civilization for too long without acquiring and understanding the spirit, out of which they were born.

7. CULTURAL DUALISM IN THE PEASANT SOCIETIES OF EASTERN TURKEY.

The socio-economic, cultural as well as physical environmental conditions of Eastern Turkey have been a serious obstacle to a market-oriented agricultural development. The cultural environment is basically non-individualistic, intrinsic and custom-bound which does not tolerate cultural or social non-conformity, minimize rationality and economic incentives for alternative action. Within its institutional framework, the ultimate goals of social and economic activities are directed in the maintenance and strengthening of group relations, mutual dependence and the cohesion of the village life, family life. Consequently rural cultural environment is stubborn against change xenophobic in its outlook defensive against alien ideas and intolerant to wider social and cultural relations, especially in its economic dimensions. The individuals, as unconscious carriers of these cultural values, choose or avoid certain types of behavior and conform to a mode of social and economic conduct within limits prescribed by their social values.

Though the majority of peasant societies have made little advance due to the pervasive forces of their environmental backwardness, there are, however, sufficiently convincing evidence in Eastern Turkey, that the Black sea migrants have been a group of people who are keenly associated with organizing of business ventures and excelling in market activities. They are commonly called the 'jews' of Turkey for their ability to recognize market opportunities e.g. moving goods from areas where their return is lower to markets elsewhere where their return is relatively higher.

The diverse economic functions performed by the Blacksea migrants, their much envied qualities for material success and risk taking, their rational response to market incentives have distinguished them as extrinsic and often unwelcome elements in Eastern Turkey*. Contrary to the popular misconception that the Blacksea people have become 'prosperity islands' in the midst of poverty through exploitation of material opportunities in a devious way, the truth seems to be that their material achievements have not occurred spontaneously as a natural consequence of the available opportunities. Agents were needed who could perceive and recognize economic opportunities, know what to do and doing it. It is more likely that Blacksea people might be doing just that.

However, the basic question that arise in this context is: what are the underlying socio-economic and cultural factors which are responsible for the material success or the achievement-oriented pattern of behavior among the Blacksea people? Bearing these considerations in mind, the

* In many urban places of Eastern Turkey, most of the retailing and wholesaling business ventures are owned and operated by the Blacksea people. They have also a peculiar way of co-ordinating their business activities in such a way as to assure themselves a stable and growing market demands for each other's output. For instance, in Erzurum, Erzincan or Muş, while a group of Blacksea people operate restaurants, the butchers and the bakers are also Blacksea men. Construction activities in most parts of Turkey are virtually under their control. Here again, while the construction workers are of Blacksea origin, the dealers in timber cement and masonry are also traditionally of this group. In Istanbul, besides small retail business, activity, the wealthy shipowners, tobacco and hazelnut exporters are mostly business men of Blacksea origin.

second step will be to analyze, compare and contrast the culturally shared traits of the Blacksea people with the cultural values and attitudes that are to be found within and among the peasants of the rural societies of Eastern Turkey.

Blacksea Migrants in Eastern Turkey: An acquisitive minority

An individual who is not a member of a majority group in the peasant societies, in addition to his own minority group environment, has to deal with another environment: this consists of the socio-cultural environment of the majority group which is skeptical and discriminatory towards him. At best, he may be tolerated and may be given a qualified equality. At worst he is plainly unwanted, remains an undigestible element in the ascriptive social system, ranks low in prestige scale and eventually faces social isolation.* Individuals of Blacksea origin are also alien and unwelcome elements in Eastern Turkey. They are generally opposed by the existing social norms and set of cultural circumstances and are rarely assimilated by the Eastern social fabric of the Eastern people.** Socio-economic, cultural and psychological forces operative in Eastern Turkey to a large extent disfavored any possibility of assimilating the people of Blacksea origin. Since they were not

* Indeed, school teachers in the isolated and wellknit tradition-bound peasant societies of Eastern Turkey are considered carriers or pace-makers of an alien heterogenous culture, harmful to the cohesion of village social life, cultural homogeneity and security. Fears grow of the destruction of their indigeneous culture, of individualization, a weakening of group relationships and respect for the conventional wisdom of village elders. Also, the fear of loosening of the members' attitude toward family obligations are said to be one of the many reasons behind peasants' suspicious attitude toward teachers. Although they are respected for their literacy, they are rarely accepted as a part of the peasant society.

** In Erzincan and Tatvan it is true that Blacksea people have been assimilated by the existing social framework. But the growing social and economic and cultural intercourse between Blacksea people and their majority counterparts indicate that institutional values and cultural attitudes do change but only when the circumstances giving rise to them undergo marked changes.

accepted as genuine members of the Eastern peasant societies, the Blacksea people were treated as ethnically and socially marginal groups and were unable to communicate socially and culturally with their majority counterparts. However, the specific consequence of these social deprivations and discriminatory cultural and psychological forces, in fact, served to highlight their motivations and perception of material pursuit and success, which in turn compelled them to seek for genuine economic outlets. All these factors reinforced their desire to substitute economic status and security for social status. This re-orientation towards material goals and achievement of economic status in order to compensate for or counterbalance the absence of opportunities for social recognition further reinforced their incentives to embark the unbeaten path by actively pursuing material achievement. Thus, while the majority of the peasant societies were inner-directed in regard to economic life and social life, with a peculiar mixture of aspirations for social and cultural security, their minority counterparts, though handicapped by the rigid environmental conditions, were quick to seize economic opportunities and maximize their gains. That is, while the available economic opportunities did not encourage the majority to exploit these opportunities, the absence of a conducive socio-cultural environment blocked the Blacksea people from climbing the social ladder, and seems to have enhanced their desire for material achievement through fuller utilization of their resources and by responding to new opportunities created by marketing. The evidence from Eastern Turkey indicates the existence of a dual economic structure, i.e., the efficient farming and business practiced by people of Blacksea origin - "islands of prosperity"-, surrounded by traditional small and scattered

farms and business ventures making little advance, with little change in their time-hallowed methods of marketing and production. It must be admitted that a considerable part of the lack of marketing incentives displayed by the majority of Eastern Communities are due to remoteness of the markets, poor transportation and communication facilities, rigid social and market structures, lack of specialization and mobility. It is also feasible to argue that, they have not succeeded in overcoming the scarcity of natural resources by appropriate changes in their technology, social and economic organizations. Also influencing their market incentives - aside of such basic forces as motivations, habits customary values and attitudes - are ignorance of market conditions and failure to take advantage of predictable market opportunities. As marketing opportunities have limited appeal to the bulk of the Eastern Anatolian peasants, it is not surprising to any one to see wandering peddlers, even small merchant retailers from the Blacksea areas being attracted into rural market places, bartering household goods, cloth, or cutlery with local peasants for sheep wool, cheese and handwoven rugs and kilims. Some Blacksea merchants conduct their marketing practices on a larger scale either on behalf of a city or metropolitan merchant or independently by contracting the farmers' product in advance. Some claim that the Eastern people are handicapped in promoting or participating in exchange and business enterprises because of the high concentration of such rewarding business in the hands of profit conscious Blacksea people. It is further argued that they possess an economic foundation to start business which is unknown or unavailable to an average eastern individual. Some people who were interviewed during the field study went so far as to say that the economic status of Blacksea people was a sort of 'filling a vacuum' left by the Armenians who were still remembered and resented for their high level of material welfare, and their natural and intuitive talents in the art of efficiency.

While it is impossible to state precisely the exact nature of how and why the people of Blacksea origin in Eastern Turkey have indulged their skill material acquisition, there are good reasons to believe that, though they were the step-children of the social environment they lived in, their indigenous flair for work and business is largely a result of cultural conditioning and socializing process. The most motivating factors however were their determination to exert themselves to learn the appropriate skills and acquire technical knowledge in business and marketing in order to meet the challenge and hardships originating from the imperfect social and cultural environmental circumstances. What really enhanced their minority spirit for risk taking is the awareness of their socially insecure positions which made their social relationships with their majority counterparts temporary. The riskier ~~was~~ social life ~~was~~, the greater ~~was~~ their insecurity. Consequently, the awareness of their risky and insecure social existence compelled them to weld themselves together with chosen social ties and develop effective channels of communications to promote their group interests.* Having lived under considerable

* For instance, for similar reasons but under different conditions, up until 1950's the minority groups in Turkey - Armenians, Jews and Greeks were not accepted into the government or army which ranked high in social prestige scale (and for security reasons) were reserved for the native population. However, these discriminations and isolations though they sometimes produced hardships for hostility to the minority groups these factors inevitably supplied the best nourishment for their greater aggressiveness towards economic accomplishments and material pursuit: basic characteristics for entrepreneurial activity. The point however is that all this economic achievement oriented behavior flourished among minority groups and gained momentum despite negative socio-cultural environmental conditions. This is so because while the restrictions imposed on them in their joining the civil or military service and narrowed their choice of occupations, they made the best out of few alternative avenues open to them and they gradually searched for more potential economic gains from exchange and sought wider business opportunities.

risk they take life rather harder and more seriously and this in turn enhances their spirit of risk taking and innovation. The only assurance for success and security was to improve their economic lives by hard-work and efficiency and through accumulation of material wealth. Thus their voluntary efforts were to differentiate or to substitute, 'achieved economic status' for 'ascribed social status' who are embodied in ascription, functional diffusion and traditional expectations. This attitude of seeking prestige chiefly in the economic standards gradually led them to be less dependent upon their majority counterparts and sought to satisfy their egos through successful pursuit of productive accomplishments and control of wealth. The more they became conscious of the economic opportunities, the stronger their motives and risk taking spirit developed and the less necessary it became to have a conducive social environment.

The Blacksea migrants in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, contrary to their majority counterparts have also excelled themselves in the jointure of self-reliance with collective efforts of individuals, this converging towards a unifying end: the future safety and economic security, At the heart of this social togetherness lies the economic interdependence between employee and the employer, farmers of Blacksea origin and merchants of the same origin and rich and poor alike, Accordingly when an individual of Blacksea origin seeks a job, he finds his best prospects in a business establishment or a construction firm organised by his fellowmen. This positive relationship between the individual and his group is the outcome of group solidarity where each individual regards the business of his fellowmen as his own. This type of co-operation or mutual interdependence is not incidental. Their strong group ^{loyalty} and undeclared mutual obligations toward each other are firmly practiced in every sphere of economic and social life. This is so because they have no retreat, no alternative social outlets, no

conducive social climate other than their own group solidarity.

They can be very competitive and individualistic too. But the character of their individualism is not of self-seeking, self-oriented short-term interest, but one of expansive self-confidence based on their proven abilities to make rational decisions in risky situations. The quality of their perception of economic opportunities and ability to exploit them are greatly enhanced and supplemented by their mutual inter-dependence. As was indicated earlier, the division of work between and among Blacksea people is well illustrated by the fact that there is a vertical and horizontal business interrelationships among the diverse business interests owned and operated by the Blacksea people. For instance a farmer of Blacksea origin may take comfort from the fact that, the merchants in the urban places would provide credit for the purchase of production inputs on a favoured basis. He can also rely on his fellowmen's store to market his produce. In the same way, a Blacksea man who is in business distress, under certain circumstances, could rely on his fellowmen for their leverage and support until he gets back on his feet. For instance, it has been a tradition for them to reward their employees in kind or give other incentives. In some cases, a talented relative may be given capital in order to start a business. The economic characteristics of these positive relationships are reflected in and founded on their economic material success which are largely unknown to their average majority counterparts. It is this success and opportunity orientated positive characteristic of group loyalty which differentiates them from the more diffuse passive and conservative communal feelings of e/g/ extended family systems.

The peasants of Blacksea origin in Eastern Turkey who lacked the necessary social base for genuine participation in the socio-cultural life of the majority, have also developed a strong sense of thriftiness and will to economize. The instability of social relations gave little assurance that the appropriate conditions for economic gain would be permanent. Consequently they have fortified themselves with material accumulation and stressed hard work while the current economic circumstances permitted. Their village life is simple and modest, their homes are wellkept and rarely contains costly prestige items. The family photographs and painting of their walls inside their homes, reveal their strong family sentiments. They are not so religious in their outlook and are relatively free from the ascetism and other-worldly philosophy of Islamic doctrine. Though one could find exceptions to their thriftiness and modesty, their emphasis on simplicity is typically illustrated in their brief and simple wedding ceremonies. (Whereas among the relatively well-to do of Eastern Turkey, who are engaged in conspicuous consumption, such ceremonial occasions are a matter of status-symbol extravagance depending on their established social status in their communities) Generally speaking, they have succeeded in instilling into their habits and minds a rational quality of economizing and a sense of 'future orientation'. One could make logical deductions from their attitudes to work and hard bargaining pattern in their market behavior. Those who are familiar with the work habits of Blacksea people in many parts of Turkey would admit that they are extremely prompt in their work and accept business before pleasure or leisure. Their majority counterparts on the other hand, due to their limited economic aspirations, after reaching some point of material satisfaction take life more easily, preferring leisure to work and showing less willingness to venture into risky business.

The Blacksea people's desire for demonstration seems to be on the production side rather than on consumption. While a native Eastern Anatolian in praise of himself might talk about his or his forefathers' extravagance in ceremonial occasions, a Blacksea man would probably find more satisfaction in talking about the milk output of his cows, productivity of his farm land or the number of workers employed in his establishment.

The natural outcome of their industrious culture is that, though they have failed to secure high social status and honorable place among the majority of Eastern people, nevertheless their proper response to economic incentives and work, their tendency to be more easily attracted by new avenues of material advancement have all acted in mutually reinforced ways intensifying their desires to participate in or to become an integral part of economic life.

The difference between the pattern of cultural orientation of the Blacksea people and those of their majority counterparts, can be demonstrably observed in the differences in the level of their economic achievements.

8. SOME FEATURES OF COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

Another element of backwardness in Eastern Turkey appears in the form of a very rudimentary communication system. Particular manifestations of this are the persistence of a lack of social and economic knowledge and the absence of change in various tradition-bound peasant societies in the region. At a basic level, scarcity of knowledge has been instrumental to peasants' 'traditional privatism': isolation, illiteracy, immobility, absence of curiosity or economic rationality, lack of participation and self-identification. Not only there has been little change in the traditional setting, but peasants, to a large extent have remained ignorant of their resource potentials, unaware of what alternative production possibilities exist, or what skills are necessary for their adoption and what the market conditions are. Although some of the peasant societies have largely remained like islands of self-sufficiency. This is largely the outcome of a circular chain of relationships: absence of knowledge and absence of change - both intimately interrelated and feeding upon each other.

The lack of so-called 'media exposure' the various semi-isolated peasant societies of Eastern Turkey is manifested by the fact that news is still carried by word of mouth.* During the 1969 field study, it was evident that in many Kurdish speaking isolated peasant societies, the only

* It is generally observed that, Middle Eastern people in general disregard abstract symbols and signs. For instance, 'instead of pulling a bell, bus conductors shout at the top of their voices when somebody wants to get off the bus. Drivers use their hands and arms; taxi drivers keep their left hands or arms outside the car to be able to make any signs required by the traffic rules or not. The market place does not look any different in spite of the fact that the goods are displayed with labels, the habit of shouting the quality and price of the goods is evidence of their dislike of symbolic signs. For similar observations see Sabri Ulgener. A paper presented at the Turkish Social and Economic Studies Conference Board, held in Istanbul. Appears in the Turkish administrator edited by J. Hopper. p.119

available mass media, aside from few radio sets tuned in to Kurdish broadcasting Middle Eastern stations, were itinerant preachers in the mosques, It was also learned that special administrative announcements were made by tribal chiefs, Muhtar or gendarmerie. However, oral communication in the majority of the peasant societies continued to be the rule and the news is relayed by public criers (dellal) or through the medium of coffee houses, communal halls or the mosque. However as the data on Table i show, in the 9,436 villages in Eastern Turkey (excluding 9,970 subsettlements and hamlets) with a population of more than four and a quarter million of people, there are only 485 coffee houses and 336 communal halls implying deficiencies even in the traditional communication structure both in amount and character. According to Dr. Rusen Keles of Ankara University, the volume of mail passing through the post offices in Eastern Turkey is only 8.5% of the total volume of mail traffic in Turkey⁽¹⁷⁾ Moreover in those tradition-bound peasant societies in which feudal ties are still paramount and where coffee houses are sanctioned, feudal landlords' room (Aga Odasi) is the major agency for spreading news and information. Agas' rooms are primarily designed not as a milieu to enlighten peasants on economic, social and technical matters or to facilitate the diffusion of knowledge but as an instrument for social control: to shape prepare, prescribe peasants' behavior, to reinforce the Agas undisputed authority to prevent the emergence of new wants in their communities in the first place. Actually in those peasant societies where Agas' rooms prevail as the sole communication media and their influences are predominant, diffusion of market culture is rudimentary, the absence of initiative goes together with absence of curiosity and peasants resign themselves to traditional expectations and social approval.

(17) Dr. Rusen Keles, *Sehirlesme Politikamiz* T.T.O. and S.O.B. 1967 p. 249

PART I TABLE: I

Existing Public Services - Coffee House, communal Hall

Province	No. of Villages	Population (000)	No. of Coffee Houses	No. of Communal halls
ERZINCAN	559	201	42	60
ERZURUM	1039	476	63	83
KARS	764	498	23	24
AGU	544	194	8	3
TUNCELI	414	131	30	18
BINGOL	325	130	6	1
MUS	366	167	13	5
BITLIS	253	110	5	-
VAN	546	207	17	6
SIIRT	469	190	12	7
ADIYAMAN	339	216	27	7
ELAZIG	587	217	59	28
MALATYA	511	326	55	2
GAZIANTEP	572	267	63	16
URFA	644	301	16	42
DIYERBAKER	663	314	32	20
MARDIN	708	308	13	13
HAKKARI	133	70	2	1
18 Provinces	9436	4294	485	336

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Village Inventory Studies.

PART I TABLE: I

Province	No. of Villages	Population (000)	No. of Coffee Houses	No. of Communal halls
ICEL	538		344	233
ISPARTA	208		124	129
BUNDUR	209		133	125
ANTALYE	604		249	279
NIGDE	311		128	68
ANKARA	1164		188	588
Total of 6 Provinces	3034		1166	1422

PART I TABLE: 2

The Total No. of Radios in the villages

	No. of Villages	Vill. with radio	without	Radio operated by electricity	by battery	% of non Turkish speaking.	% of illiteracy general
ERZINCAN	559	538	21	185	5144	23	55
ERZURUM	1039	764	274	50	3059	17	63
KARS	764	604	160	-	2845	21	63
AGRI	544	274	260	1	663	64	74
TUNCELI	414	307	107	-	1063	43	61
BINGOL	325	165	160	-	427	69	74
MUS	366	230	136	-	649	53	76
BITLIS	253	137	116	-	309	66	76
VAN	546	395	151	-	1597	55	76
ADIYAMAN	339	229	110	-	1092	16	79
MALATYA	510	476	34	-	5585	35	60
ELAZIG	587	485	102	40	2497	40	58
SIIRT	471	259	212	-	787	91	79
Total of 13 Provinces %	6.716	4.868	1.848	275	25.961	46	70
GAZIANTEP	572	549	23	5	6250	16	63
URFA	644	410	234	-	1467	61	79
DIYARBAKER	663	323	340	11	965	69	74
MARDIN	708	381	327		1422	92	80
Total of 4 Provinces %	2.587	1.663	924	16	10.119	60	74
HAKKARI	133	97	36	-	612	61	83
Total of 18 provinces	9.436	6.628	2.818	292	36.692		
%		71	29			53.2	72

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs Table 51
S.I.S. 1960 Population Census, No. 442 page 150 - 153

PART I TABLE: 2

Summary	No. of Villages	Vill with radio %	without radio %	with radio battery	with current elect-ricity	Non-Turkish speaking %	Illeteracy
13 Prov.	6.716	4.868	1.848	25.961	276	46	70
4 Prov.	2.587	1.663	924	10.119	16	60	74
HAKKARI	133	97	36	612	-	61	83
18 Prov.	9.436	6.628	2.818	36.692	292	53.2	72

Summary of Ministry of Village Affairs Statistics.

Those peasant societies which have easy access to urban areas and have relatively better media participation or higher media exposure, display the distinctive qualities of an emerging society in which conventional attitudes e.g. passivism, immobility are gradually overcome by activism, inquisitiveness, psychological or actual mobility through the diffusion of knowledge of urban origin. However, in some of these peasant societies, growing awareness of the existence of their poverty compared to other ways of life in the towns and cities have inevitably generated more expectation rather than achievement, more frustration than fulfillment. This 'quality of unfulfillment' due to the unbalanced relationship between heightened aspirations and absence of opportunities, have created a whole array of new socio-economic and psychological problems leading to either aggression or regression, hence adding more problems.

EDUCATION, ECONOMIC VIABILITY

Most observers of the communication problems in Eastern Turkey argue that more vigorous actions are essential through the medium of educational processes so that socio-cultural environmental conditions could be transformed, new knowledge and skills could be adopted, desirability of changes could be recognized and incentives for new type of economic activities could be stimulated within the peasant societies. An efficient and practical educational programmes could break through some of the many obstacles that have limited the diffusion of knowledge in tradition-bound peasant societies. In effect investment in human resources is as important as the formation of non-human capital since the former is the major factor to social and economic change and major instrument in facilitating the adoption of innovation and promoting a congenial climate for economic achievement.* It is therefore necessary to allocate effort and capital to improve the quality of peasants as productive agents and raise the

* See Leo J. Fenske, Dogu Turkiye de Ziraat ve Problemleri Hakkinda Bir Inceleme T.T.O ve S.O. Seminau, Ankara 1967 pp 161 166
Dr. Saban Karatas, Dogu Anadolu Nun Kalkinmasinda ve Ziraatte Entellektual Yatirim, Ibid pp 212 225

level of communication system. The economic benefits of increase² education in rural sector is said to match if not exceed the gains in social terms. Lester R. Brown, who has studied the educational structure and agricultural output level in sixty developing countries, has found that there was indeed an increasingly positive correlation between increase in the level of literacy and increase in the rate of output growth per acre:

<u>No. of Countries</u>	<u>Degree of Literacy</u>	<u>Average Increase of output per acre (per annum)</u>
24	below 50%	0.17%
13	15% - 80%	1.12%
23	above 80%	1.43%

Source: Lester R. Brown, Population Growth, Food Needs and Production.
Development Digest, October 1965 p.80

In the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, as the data show below the level of literacy is extremely low. The most striking fact however

LEVEL OF LITERACY

(Above 6 years of Age)

Eastern Turkey	<u>General</u>		<u>City</u>		<u>Village</u>	
	<u>literacy</u>	<u>illiteracy</u>	<u>literacy</u>	<u>illiteracy</u>	<u>literacy</u>	<u>illiteracy</u>
Average of 18 Provinces	28%	72%	52%	48%	21%	79%
Turkey (average)	48.7%	51.3%	66.9%	31.1%	38.5%	61.5%

Source: S.I.S. 1965 Population Census p. xxxiii, xl
For further details see Table 3

PART I TABLE 3

The % of literates among the Age group 6 and above groups in the East (1965)

	GENERAL		CITY		VILLAGE		% non Turkish speaking
	% literacy	% illiteracy	% literacy	% illiteracy	% literacy	% illiteracy	
ERZINCAN	45	55	72	28	37	63	23
ERZURUM	37	63	61	39	28	72	17
KARS	37	63	60	40	31	69	21
AGRI	26	74	62	38	18	82	64
TUNCELI	39	61	66	34	33	67	43
BINGOL	26	74	50	50	22	78	69
MUS	24	76	51	49	18	82	53
BITLIS	24	76	46	54	14	86	56
VAN	24	76	50	50	15	85	55
ADIYAMAN	21	79	38	62	17	83	16
MALATYA	40	60	57	43	38	62	35
SIIRT	21	79	41	59	12	88	91
Average of 12 Provin.	30	70	54	46	24	76	46
GAZIANTEP	37	63	48	52	27	73	16
URFA	21	79	36	64	14	86	61
DIYARBAKIR	26	74	48	52	14	86	69
MARDIN	20	80	42	58	13	87	92
Average of 4 provin.	26	74	43	57	17	83	60
HAKKARI	17	83	49	51	10	90	61
Average of 18 Provin.	28	72	52	48	21	79	53.2
Turkish Average	48.7	51.3	66.9	33.1	38.5	61.5	

Source: 1965 General population Census, S. XXXIII, XL

* SIS 1960 Population Census, No. 442 p.150-153

Summary	GENERAL		CITY		VILLAGE	
	literate	illiterate	literate	illiterate	literate	illiterate
13 prov.	30	70	54	46	24	76
4 prov.	26	74	43	57	17	83
HAKKARI	17	83	49	51	10	90
<hr/>						
18 Prov.	30	70	52	48	21	79
<hr/>						
TURKEY	48.7	51.3	69.9	33.1	38.5	61.5

Summary of village affairs.

PART I TABLE:4

Percentage of Illiteracy and Number of Villages with
and without schools

Name of the Province	No. of Villages Without School	No. of Villages with School	Percentage of Illiteracy
ERZURUM	397	529	72
DIYARBAKIR	342	269	86
MARDIN	321	237	87
AGRI	273	184	82
SIIRT	264	176	88
URFA	245	288	86
VAN	245	191	86
KARS	224	516	69
ELAZIZ	221	287	58
GAZIANTEP	199	285	73
MUS	188	146	82
ERZINCAN	134	368	63
GUMLISHANE	114	350	73
TUNCELI	114	246	67
BINGOL	96	204	78
BITLIS	68	193	82
HAKKARI	63	74	90
TOTAL	3508	4489	79%

Source: 1. Turkiye Iktisat Gazetesi, November 1964

* S.I.S. 1965 Po'ulation Census p. XXXLLL, XL

is that, although 72.8% of the total population constitute rural population, the level of literacy in the rural sector is only 21%. Also there seems to be a close correlation between degree of urbanization (27.2%) and degree of literacy (28%) which further indicates the extremely low level of education in the peasant societies of the region. Furthermore, the percentage of villages without schools in the East is 62.3% as against 44.2% in Turkey.* The level of literacy in the region is 20.7% below the national average.

All the statistical data and further comparative analysis indicate the existence of dualism in the level of education and social and economic advance as between Eastern Turkey and the rest of the country. Not only has there been little growth in the diffusion of knowledge in the East, as compared to the rest of Turkey, but a real dualism in fact prevails

* The number of students enrolled in Lycee in Eastern Turkey is only 7.3% of national average. Further, the highest percentage of failure, according to the results of University Entrance Examinations, is among the candidates from Eastern Turkey. R. Keles Ibid p. 248

One of the main causal factors for the relatively low level of regional income is said to be the low level of sanitary conditions reinforced by rudimentary sanitary services. As the data show below:

BASIC SERVICES IN EASTERN TURKEY

	Turkey (Ave) per prov. per 10.000 population	54 Prov. (Ave) per prov. per 10.000 populat.	East. Turkey (ave.) 13 prov per 10.000 popl.	East Turkey Ave. of 54 prov. = 100 - 33			
Hospital bed	795	17.78	913	18.74	302	8.85	33
Physician	166	3.72	197	4.03	38	1.37]	19
Pharmacy	26	0.59	32	0.65	4	0.17	12
Dentist	27	0.61	33	0.67	5	0.19	16
Nurse	71	1.58	82	1.69	23	0.83	28
Midwife	61	1.36	68	1.40	31	1.12	45
Sanitary Officer	86	1.92	89	1.83	71	2.56	79

Source S.I.S. Statistical Annuals. Pub. No. 490 1963. As the last volume show, the average number of beds, physicians, pharmacist, dentist and midwives (assuming the average for the remaining 54 provinces in Turkey as 100) are 70-80% lower in Eastern Turkey.

within the region itself. For instance the non-Turkish speaking population in the various provinces of Eastern Turkey, e.g. Urfa, Diyarbakir Bitlis Mus 62.6%; Mardin, Siirt, Hakkari 81.3%, Kars, Elaziz, Tunceli 22-23% and Van 55%*, aside from their environmental backwardness, seem to be lacking opportunities for group improvement and consequently have less confidence in their social and economic progress through participation in the regional development schemes. A considerable number of kurkish speaking peasant societies in Eastern Turkey still hold to their traditional privatism with little or no media exposure, Both the means and the desire for social and economic betterment must be provided if these minorities are to become part of the nation.

On the other hand, the gulf between Eastern Turkey and the rest of Turkey in the form of media exposure, geographical mobility and interpersonal relationship further indicate the backwardness of the region.

As the following data indicates the dualism that exist between different regions in Turkey, and the degree of communication in Eastern Turkey are the evidences of the features of the unfavorable socio-cultural, economic and physical environmental conditions that perpetuates backwardness of the peasants in Eastern Anatolia.

However, no contrast within the region is more sharp than that between urban and rural life. So^{me} Urban areas in the East, e.g. Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Elaziz, etc have become islands of development surrounded by poor peasant societies. With notable exceptions, these peasant societies which are in direct, daily contact with towns and cities have merely

* See Table 3 for the percentage of non-Turkish speaking population in Eastern Turkey. See Also: Gulden Kazgan, Dogu Anadolu Uzerinde Arastirma. Istanbul Iktisat Fakultesi Mecmuasi Cilt 24, 1963-64 pp. 120-144

THE DEGREE OF MEDIA EXPOSURE, GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE PEASANT POPULACE IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS OF TURKEY

REGION	Mass Media Degree of Exposure	Geographical mobility	Interpersonal Relationship
	%	%	%
AEGEAN	48	38	43
NORTH-CENTRAL	35	34	44
MARMARA	41	55	46
MEDITERRANEAN	30	51	28
<u>NORTH EAST</u>	21	27	34
<u>SOUTH EAST</u>	10	28	14
BLACK SEA	32	36	32
<u>EAST CENTRAL</u>	21	36	37
SOUTH CENTRAL	44	39	39
TURKEY	32	38	36

Source: Doçent Dr. Rusen Keles, Şehirleşme Politikamız ve Dogu Anadolu Bolgesi T.T.O. S.O. Birliđi, 1967 p. 249

become more biased toward an 'urban way of life' with little educative effect, often to the neglect of the indigenous requirements for rural advance. In these peasant societies, in fact, absentee landlordship is growing rapidly. Some peasants maintain loose identity with their villages and grow vegetables to supplement their wages while other peasants are making the transition to an easier and more attractive town or city life rather than remain in a schoolless and waterless villages*. On

* Peter Suzuki has observed similar transitions in the peasant societies of Western Turkey. See Peter Suzuki, 'Village Solidarity among Turkish Peasants Undergoing Urbanization'

Science, Vol. 132 No. 3431 Sept. 1960 pp. 891 John F. Kolars call such villages as 'Shadow villages'. Kolars, Ibid. p.69.

On the other hand, K. Karpas argues that, 'once familiarity with the new urban environment is established and job security is assured, such shadow villages may be dissipated. Ibid. 69

the other hand, in those semi-isolated and widely scattered villages where communication is possible only by courtesy of weather conditions and they have remained undisturbed. Not only has there been a meager diffusion of technical knowledge in improving production, but the knowledge of public relations has also been rudimentary. The educational policy whose purpose was to 'surppress ignorance' has created a bare literacy, promoting little imagination, nor desire for innovation. And the quality of peasants as productive agents has remained low since they were not educated enough to aspire to a higher standard of social and economic life through a fuller utilization of their resources. With little diffusion of knowledge or sense of gain and effort and resources, both human and natural have remained unutilized, under-utilized or misutilized.

Many observers of the educational system in the Middle East and Turkey argue that, "the socialization process through the educational media often seem to emphasize not initiative, flexibility or critical-analytical faculty or independence of thought but contrary qualities, such as respect for authority, seniority or conventional wisdom and greatly de-emphasize independence, initiative and inquisitiveness".* The Village Institutes which were designed to facilitate the acquisition of the 'habits of literacy' and the promotion of the creative involvement of peasants in their developmental schemes fell short of these ideals. Daniel Lerner and others have analyzed the weaknesses of the program as follows:

- (a) The period of training was too short.
- (b) Some of the graduates were unable to deal with the problems that they encountered and were concerned mainly with abstract concepts rather than with practical solutions.

* See Edwin J. Cohn, Social Cultural Factors Affecting the Emergence and Functioning of Innovators.

The Turkish Administrator. Edited by J.R. Hopper, R.I. Levin
U.S.A.I.D. Ankara, Turkey p. 135

- (c) The graduates formed an isolated group confined to teaching in villages. (18)

For these and various other reasons Village Institutes which were initially designed as a 'self-accelerating system for education of villagers by villagers' have not fully developed. The traditional environment still dominates many of the isolated peasant communities which are small and primitive, lacking even a coffee house. The radius of the peasant world in which they spend their daily lives has remained small in proportion to the degree of impassivity, ignorance that have perpetuated their poverty.

Further Remarks

The preceding discussion has emphasized the educational needs of peasant societies and the need to transform the constraining world of fatalism - illiteracy, immobility and acquiescence to a world of creative involvement, will to economize and to a habit of economic literacy. The process of peasants' betterment inevitably involves a need for self identification, inquisitiveness, know-how and an indigenous desire for change. However no single educational developmental policy could do this job in isolation unless it is completed by equivalent policy measures aimed towards changing the productive capacity of the peasants. Otherwise increase in educational efforts which is not accompanied by an integrated policy of social and economic development might actually stimulate more expectations rather than achievement, more frustration rather than a quality of fulfillment. Clearly, educational policy objectives must include judgements about the general environmental conditions of the peasant

- (18) (a) Daniel Lerner, with the collaboration of Lucille W. Pevner, The Passing of Traditional Society Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1958 p.117
(b) K. Karpat, Politics, Princeton U. Press p. 378
(c) For a detailed study of Village Institutes, see Fay Kirby Berkes, The Village Institute Movement in Turkey. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis Columbia University pp.54-59

societies and must therefore be influenced by considerations of maintaining a balanced relationship between promotion of new wants and the available means or opportunities to satisfy them. All the evidence gained in the field study showed that the promotion of new expectations through communication and educational media in the absence of complementary measures have generated discontent and have outrun the indigenous requirements for development. Most observers of the problem agree that if stimulation of wants (psychic mobility) occurs in isolation and that there is no possibility or opportunity to achieve of what one is taught or learned from mass media, then the heightened expectations outrun achievement and may even short-circuit the evolutionary changes in rural social and economic life. Sociologist Daniel Lerner in his article on 'Changing Social Structure and Economic Development - Reflections On a Decade of International Experience' traces the revolution of rising expectations and rising frustrations generated by the transitional processes over the last decade which have not measured up to aspirations. He observes that, 'It is simply too much easier to change the conditions which raise wants than the conditions which satisfy them.' He further observes that when (want get ratio) - expectation - achievement is imbalanced economic development is impeded, structural change is erratic and social equilibrium is disrupted. Finally he argues that, 'the real problem that each modernizing land must solve is how to keep its new aspirants in tolerable balance with new opportunities'.⁽¹⁹⁾

- (19) 1. Daniel Lerner, *Ibid*, pp. 99-118
2. See also *Turkey From the Past*, *Ibid*, pp 151-78
3. Daniel Lerner, "Communication Systems and Social Systems" *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 2 No. 4 Oct. 1957
4. Gabriel A. Almond and J.S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton University Press, 1960 p. 536
5. Lucian W. Pye, *Politics, Personality and Nation Buildings*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962, p.15

In summary, it should be recognized that the fundamental problem of rural development is likely to be not a mere assessment of the educational needs of the peasant societies, but to what extent the required economic and social changes can be realized through an integrated policy action where increases in investment in human capital is equally matched by increases in material investment - the formation of non-human capital. It is essential to develop the attitudes of mind, the habits of work and the resources of land and capital and techniques to achieve the desired objectives. As T.W. Schultz, states, 'to achieve economic growth of major importance in such countries, it is necessary to allocate effort and capital to do three things: increase the quantity of reproducible goods; improve the quality of the people as productive agents; and raise the level of productive arts.'⁽²⁰⁾ Accordingly, educational goals should be designed not only to lessen the backwardness of peasants but should help them to realize their potentials, provide them new skills for the alternative occupations. No single educational development could be suitable and effective in accelerating rural development without concomitant changes in productive opportunities and environmental conditions. And this is what rural development should be about if permanent results are to be achieved.

(20) T.W. Schultz, "The Role of Government in Promoting Economic Growth", in L.D. White (ed.), The state of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1956, p.372
Also see B. Higgins, "Development Planning and the Economic Calculus" Social Research, XXIII, No. 1, p.45 (Spring 1956)

PART I TABLE: 5 SOCIAL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS & SERVICES

PROVINCE	Municipality	Health Centre	Mother-hood care centre	Course for manual trades	Common bath	Coffee shop	Barber	Mill run by engine	Plantation 'poplar	Police Station	Visiting health officer	Midwife	Mosque	Communal Hall	Grocery	Water Mill continued supplied with water	Windmill	Telephone	Visiting veterinary officer	Visiting sewing course	Church	Village Library	Public oven	Water Mill runs when there is water	Seed Cleaner	No. of village	Population
Agri	-	2	-	-	-	8	5	4	-	25	-	6	232	3	52	29	1	13	-	-	-	-	2	113	1	544	194
Bingöl	-	-	-	1	1	6	1	-	4	12	4	8	179	1	33	18	-	12	-	2	-	-	2	203	2	325	130
Bitlis	-	1	-	1	-	5	1	3	-	15	-	2	199	-	17	23	-	15	-	1	-	-	1	106	-	253	110
Erzincan	3	17	2	4	-	42	25	5	15	24	56	29	288	60	247	37	-	28	8	10	-	9	13	234	5	559	201
Erzurum	4	4	-	2	3	63	51	3	21	29	22	59	727	83	310	91	1	24	3	7	-	10	12	495	2	1039	476
G. Antep	3	12	7	1	4	62	90	39	20	19	21	46	286	16	169	34	1	14	15	2	7	8	10	47	12	572	267
Hakkari	-	10	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	28	11	15	62	-	4	36	-	6	3	1	2	-	-	54	1	133	70
Mardin	-	2	-	1	1	13	25	13	17	51	8	7	578	13	79	74	-	21	1	2	42	-	5	76	2	708	308
Mus	-	10	-	1	1	13	6	10	1	13	5	20	230	5	65	26	-	10	-	2	-	2	-	112	-	366	167
Sürt	1	4	-	1	1	12	13	4	2	39	12	15	375	7	57	105	1	18	3	1	3	1	3	121	2	469	190
Tunceli	-	2	-	1	5	30	21	10	17	38	13	18	35	18	42	64	-	16	1	4	-	3	2	144	1	414	131
Van	1	1	-	-	-	17	12	13	8	31	9	22	266	6	73	46	-	26	3	5	1	1	2	138	6	546	207

PART I TABLE: 6
COMMON SERVICES FOR THE VILLAGES

Province	No. of villages	There is	None	Community Services organized according to the Village Act 1964.					
				Water	Road	Telephone	Nursery Plantation	Electricity	Breeding Stocks
Agri	544	-	544	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bingöl	325	-	325	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bitlis	253	-	253	-	-	-	-	-	-
Erzincan	559	7	552	3	-	-	4	-	-
Erzurum	1039	6	1033	2	2	-	-	1	-
Gaziantep	572	8	564	7	-	-	1	-	-
Hakkari	134	1	133	1	-	-	-	-	-
Mardin	708	-	708	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mus	366	-	366	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siirt	469	-	469	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tunceli	414	5	409	2	1	-	-	1	1
Van	546	1	545	1	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs
Inventory Studies. Table: 45

PART I TABLE:7 THE MOST PREVAILING DISEASES IN THE VILLAGE

Province	No. of villages	Health Situation				W.C. in the houses	
		Malaria	Trachom	Leprosy	Tuberculosis	Yes	No
Agri	544	6	12	73	18	-	544
Bingöl	325	58	55	15	81	4	321
Bitlis	253	47	18	23	9	2	251
Erzincan	559	7	2	1	9	360	199
Erzurum	1039	16	19	11	20	119	920
Gaziantep	572	41	378	7	54	48	524
Hakkari	134	21	13	7	6	4	130
Mardin	708	11	190	3	7	3	705
Mus	366	76	65	16	19	13	353
Siirt	469	127	168	8	50	23	445
Tunceli	414	11	15	5	12	40	374
Van	546	93	91	76	29	14	532

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Village Inventory Studies

Table No: 43

9. GOVERNMENT AND PEASANT RELATIONS

Although the unifying forces of government administrative machinery seem to shape the contemporary image and political features of peasant lives, the gulf between the world of peasant people and of government is still so wide that within Eastern Anatolia there are innumerable peasant societies grossly separated from the rest of Turkey.

The socio-economic and political character of those semi-isolated peasant societies throughout the mountainous Eastern Turkey is the direct reflection of their tribal nature and the history of their cultural past. In the course of Eastern Anatolian history, tribal leaders whose power and influence were derived from their territorial possessions, tribal authority and their loyalty to central governments had formed the nucleus of the socio-economic, cultural existence of these tradition-bound peasant societies* During the last decades, the traditional fabric of their tribal network differentiated very little. The peasants in their deep-rooted communal relationship still continued to identify themselves with their tribal leaders and followed their social and political betters with little national consciousness. And the peasants who have been brought up under the cohesive political structure of the tribal society felt little compulsion to venture out and little political need to become involved in a wider differentiated and more complex world. Similarly, the tribal leaders and clan heads, having insured their

- * for a detailed study of the history of Eastern Turkey, see
1. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, XV and XVI Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zırai Ekonomin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları, İstanbul 1943
 2. İsmail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi Cilt II Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını Ankara 1949 p.262-263 and 272-73
 3. Şehabettin Tekindag, Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikalar Isigi Altında Yavuz Sultan Selim'in İran Seferi Tarihi Dergisi, Mart 22, 1967

inalienable political and economic power over peasants and equipped with the merits of their tribal ancestors had no compulsion to deviate from the status quo. However, as the dominant authority of the central and local governments was gradually reaffirmed in these semi-isolated peasant societies, there appeared an unfruitful tension between the presently outlawed tribal system and the new and modern rural administrative processes of the central - local governments.* These peasant societies which had never been an integral part of Turkey's social political and economic development were not cultivated enough to face this coming new dialogue. Distrust of government for historic reasons, e.g. extraction of taxes, arbitrary conscription etc. coupled with governments tendency of regulating everything by Law, often by restrictive laws with an emphasis on control rather than administration, distrust rather than co-operation brought only superficial conceptions of reforms. Peasants who had remained largely undisturbed in their traditional privatism (isolation, immobility and illiteracy) cautiously and often reluctantly faced this new challenge. Thus, rural reform programmes which were designed by some urbanite administrative echelon in Ankara were detachedly distant in regard to the peasants' environmental conditions. There remained two different modes of perception one of the peasants and one of

* Consequently in 1926, 1937 and again in 1960 tribal leaders, sheikhs and other traditional leaders were uprooted and were sent to exile. However, this coercive method of liberating peasants (†) from their traditional leaders eventually led to a vacuum, unrest and general social discontent in the respective peasant' societies. The principal weaknesses of these decrees were that, they were based on a totally erroneous assumption and lacked any relevance to the basic socio-economic and cultural problems of the peasantry. Consequently, peasants were confronted with an insurmountable problem since the vacuum was not filled by government leadership, resources and initiative, Finally, these banished traditional leaders were allowed to return to their respective areas of influence and became more institutionalized than ever. In other areas where some of the Sheikhs and leaders' return were delayed, the peasants were quick to locate new leaders who soon consolidated the fragments of the socio-political structure and established their own authority
See Mehmet Emin Borzaslan, Islamiyet Açısından Şehlik ve Agalik, Ankara 1964.

the government, each showing little understanding of the other, since they knew little of each other. Consequently a thin layer of modernization imposed upon poorly - prepared population has not aroused their enthusiasm nor have practices kept pace with the development objectives. Thus, among its first casualties were the well-intended Village Institutes which were designed to "secularize rural education", "to surpress ignorance" and "to accelerate the diffusinn of practical knowledge" among the peasant populace. These village schools were to be build by the peasants and were expected to become a self-accelerating system of practical education for peasants by the peasants themselves*. However, opposition to this educational mobilization for social and economic change was aroused not only among the rural populace but more so among educated classes who feared that, the graduates would weaken the traditional views of the peasants and thus make them an easy prey to socialist propaganda.⁽²¹⁾ Tradition-bound rural leaders also rejected the co-educational curriculum on the ground that it was incompatible with the social and cultural realities of the peasant societies. The most damaging blow however came from vested interest groups who feared that village institutes and social movements were a threat to the status quo. And before these educational institutions

* See section on Education and Communication.

‡21) See Kemal Karpat, Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System, Princeton 1959, p. 379-80
See also Fay Kirby (Berkes), The Dynamics of Resistance to the Village Institutes of Turkey 1955.

could take roots, they were put out of operation in 1950.

The contemporary scene in many peasant societies of Eastern Turkey is that of an increasing conflict between new ideas and forces and the deep-rooted political, socio-cultural and economic traditions which are fighting a losing battle for their existence. There is, nevertheless a cultural lag in peasants' adjustment to modernization, an 'unreadiness' to assimilate the new values and little response to external motivations. What gives concern is that the hierarchy of village laws, decrees and regulations and alternative laws were legislated and then transplanted with little regard to rural environmental conditions and indigenous base. Such a trigger happy approach made little attempt to bridge the gap between the new laws and old village institutions. No effort was exerted to discover peasants' long-felt needs or spell out what were the distant repercussions of these laws upon peasants' culture. Moreover, these legislative programmes were transplanted from one rural area to another where traditions and environmental circumstances were widely different. The temptation of a quick development drive through insistence on the legal framework of administrative procedures was based on an erroneous assumption that once a law is implemented, peasants would adjust or keep pace with governmental objectives or legal expectations. Thus projects with great economic and social justification and which have had prospects for social and economic betterment in the peasant societies, were either resisted or dissipated due to the failure of the policy makers to facilitate their adoption. The expectations for social and economic betterment and the initiative in carrying out material achievement were short lived since the socio-cultural realities of the peasant societies were not observed and since there were also no feedbacks within the peasant society. That is, development process had not caught hold in the peasant society's value structure.

It has been proven more than once in Turkey and the Middle East that it is one thing to recognize peasants' growing needs and

and setting up developmental programmes and to fulfill these needs and quite another thing to achieve these objectives. Without a knowledge of the peasants' attitude of mind, their habits of work and resources and their indigenous cultural climate attempts to set up developmental goals have often resulted in either expediency or disillusionment and in all cases have given rise to peasants frustration withdrawal. Rural development can not be achieved by working along a logically deduced formula based on simple relationship of cause and effect leading to final solutions. Surely, experiences in other lands have shown that no legalism could promote desire for social and economic betterment, no administrative body can create modern and efficient farm community merely by legislating efficiency and modernity.

Despite the widely publiced policy objectives for rural improvement contained in Village Law e.g. mobilization of rural resources, greater emphasis on self-help schemes etc., these expectations have not ensured the maintenance of development due to the absence of adequate internal motivation. 'Salma drives' - compulsory participation of peasants in their rural development schemes', to get peasants to do this or that regardless of peasants' interests or their financial capacity did little to improve peasants' livelihood. Nor the 'Imece Schemes', designed to promote voluntary participation of peasants in their developmental schemes could materialize since peasants in Eastern Turkey have suffered from lack of resources and leadership.

Rural improvement schemes contemplated from any one of the following several standpoints:

1. Lack of a tradition of local responsibility which is also reinforced by a parental or big brother role of the government. Also, for some historical reasons complete dependence on government for initiative for any major change or improvement e.g. continual interposition by government authorities has greatly devitalized rural and local initiatives since rights which were given by law were again taken away by law.

2. Prior to the establishment of economic criteria or assessment of the economic objectives no attempts were made to assess the social and economic knowledge of the peasant populace. Social knowledge is just as important as technological knowledge since rural development depends so much on the body of knowledge and experience possessed by the peasants. Lacking the experience and knowledge of what is better, coupled with a non-congenial environment, peasants also lacked the motivations and stimulations to introduce such changes by themselves. There were simply no indigenous administrative machinery or leadership in the peasant societies to convert the will/energy and resources of peasants into the implementation of much needed development schemes.

3. At the same time, in so far as the village laws assigned the major share of the financial responsibility on the poor peasants for carrying out village development schemes, such legislation had little value, since for the most part, peasants lacked the ways and means to fulfill the duties which the law urged them to do. The lack of funds was their greatest problem and the village administrative authorities had little authority in the procurement of budget items. Insufficient funds coupled with the lack of zeal and efficiency in drawing up budgets, paying fees and taxes made it extremely difficult for the villagers to finance local projects or perform functions prescribed by the Village Law. Moreover, despite the provisions of the law, the majority of Muhtars (Village Heads) were reluctant to enforce existing laws or take steps to enforce tax collection upon their fellow peasants for fear of their reaction. In general, peasant societies in the East not only lacked the adequate resources to foot the bill, they were not enlightened enough on the purpose or the status of, or any of the duties listed in the village laws. Many Muhtars and Village Councils were not even sure whether their people wanted certain facilities that the new laws prescribed for them, let alone paying higher taxes to obtain them.

Only in a few of those villages located within reasonable distance to urban centers were peasants expectant or desirous of certain facilities and were willing to establish a working relationship with Muhtar or government agencies in terms of performing duties listed in the village law or paying their taxes.* In many cases, however, peasants have been awakened to aspire for material benefits yet few have been taught that these benefits could not be achieved without payment in term of taxes and creative involvement in village affairs. There were also cases of concealment of real wealth by wealthy landlords which made the task of tax collection difficult. Also their aloofness and sometimes hostility in regard to any measure which might endanger the status quo further impaired any hope of leasing local resources for village development.

However, the greatest problem facing peasant societies in Eastern Turkey is not one of simply increasing adequate finances to ensure rural development but rather that of absence of leadership: an agent or catalyst who could release the hidden energies and talents of peasants with a determination for economic change and enthusiasm for such activities is missing. For, improvement in rural conditions does not occur as a consequence of available technological resources unless there are economically motivated and innovative minded rural leaders who have the confidence of the peasants and know what the peasants long felt needs are. There were few leaders, if any, who could stir the imagination of the peasants, persuade them of the benefits of

* In regard to assessment of taxes in the villages, Mr. Artukmac, an expert on rural financial matters, argues that village officials are seldom objective in assessing taxes, that they always discriminate or strive to protect their friends and relatives, which in turn have generated conflicts and frustrated for co-operative efforts S. Artukmac, Köylerimizi Nasil Kalkindirabilirsiniz Ankara p 75-76 On the other hand Mr. Tugal complains that an important shortcoming of the Village Law is that the Muhtar is both the tax collector and treasurer. Thus no control is possible over him and many abuses may result.

Tugal Yeni Köy Kanunu. No. 212 Ankara p. 21-22

changes and know the basic appeals through which the peasants could be made to go along with the programmes. The principal drawbacks are that Muhtars (Village Headman) or the Executive Council of Village Elders (Ihtiyar Meclisi) are often composed of the local elite who have strong anchorage in the status quo, are seldom suited to initiate development and had little motivation to forge ahead or to be experimental toward unfamiliar economic objectives. Muhtars were seldom guided by innovative vision and possess the ability to discharge their duties in order to ensure the adoption and execution of the development schemes specified in the Law. Instead, ascribed status family affiliations, wealth and social prestige*.

The contemporary image of village administrative machinery in the majority of peasant societies of Eastern Turkey is no better or worse than the image of their village communities. According to professor Dr. Şaban Karataş of Ataturk University in Erzurum 62.3% of peasant

* This seemed also the case in Mahmut Makal's village: 'To become a Muhtar of the village, the first essential is to own property; and the next to have plenty of friends and relations. In this way you gain votes and will be elected Muhtar. No one bothers to find out whether you are competent to discharge the duties of the position or not! Where seal is, there is the power. And in villages where there is no leader none are led. Mahmut Makal, A Village In Anatolia London Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd. 1954 p 64-5 In Cukurova, the election of Muhtar in some villages is a direct reflection of the power structure in the village. Often those who control the largest estate credit and markets, in order to assure themselves of a degree of security and maintain the existing political and economic status quo usually throw their support behind someone who is closely affiliated with them. Because Muhtar is not only the official authority but also a liaison agent between bank credit officials agricultural agents and central government. Thus Muhtar is often the bailiff or Aga's son. See Dogan Aucioglu, Turkiye nin Duzeni (Dun, Bugun, Yarin) Biligi Yayinevi, Ankara, July 1969 p. 293

In another villages in Cukurova, for instance e.g. Sakizli and Uymusoglu the son of Aga's bailiff had been elected simply because as peasants indicated, "his father was an honest man. Although he had worked for Aga for 20 years, he is still poor like us" Ibid. p. 295-6

However, Muhtars in the peasant societies of Western Turkey generally reflect the balance of political power. In many villages where the power of landed families is not strongly felt or deep-rooted, peasants' tendency is to elect someone as Muhtar who is closely affiliated with the national party which is expected to win the general election. This politics of expediency is based on the fact that, often credits, grants and government services are rendered to those villages which were loyal to the party in power.

societies in Eastern Turkey have no schools as compared to 44.2% in Turkey,⁽²²⁾ Owing to their low level of sophistication and limited contacts with the outside world, both the peasants and their headmen shared the same qualities, the same traditional habits, motivations and limitations. J.S. Szyliowicz, who has conducted an extensive study on the political changes in Erdemli County of Mersin in Southern Turkey observed that, "since the headman's (Muhtar's) sole desire was generally to maintain the status quo and retain the approval of his fellow villagers, few projects were carried out apart from those that required little capital or a limited amount of labor. - Few of the items listed in the Law meet these requirements in even fewer cases were the villagers convinced of their desirability." He further states that, "the duties that the Headman was required to perform as the governments' representative were also likely to damage his reputation and standing in the community and as a result they too were carried out only when no alternative existed. Above all, the headman was interested in keeping his connections with the governments to a minimum. And directives from the governments, if of interest, would be discussed in the coffee house. No headman would report a fellow villagers for illegal medical practices, nor would he in Erdemli or Koyuncu co-operate with a tax collector or the gendarmeris".⁽²³⁾

In those villages where tribal ties were paramount whose jurisdictions extended to every sphere of peasants' life, Muhtars' decision carried no weight since the actual decision making process was carried out by landed estates who exercised great power in social and economic matters. It was Agas and their affiliates whom the peasants consulted,

(23) J.S. Szyliowicz, Political Change in Rural Turkey, Erdemli. The Hague, Mouton and Company Netherlands, 1966 p 46-48

(22) Şaban Karataş, Doğu Anadolu Kalkınması ve Ziraatte Entellektüel Yatırım T.T.O. and S.O. Birliği, Ankara 1966 p. 221

whom they sought for approval and depended for their livelihood* This autonomy by dependence and low level of sophistication by poverty and ignorance left little scope for any 'will to progress' or 'freedom to manoeuvre' among the peasant populace who, to a large extent have been obstructed in the exercise or even in the realization of their political, economic and social rights.

There is no field of administrative practices or the rural development programmes of the government that stands as much in the lime-light as the pattern of peasant- government relationships in Eastern Turkey. The importance of administrative procedures and government peasant relationships in the pursuit of developmental objectives make it necessary to summarily appraise certain pattern of administrative processes, e.g. decision-making, organization, co-ordination and communication etc. since all of these have a bearing effect on the mobilization

* Professor I Yasa of Ankara University states that, 'Village political and administrative power is concentrated in the household groups of the rich Agas ; Muhtar in his dual responsibilities - to the government and to the fellow peasants often found that to compromise is the best way of bringing the wishes of the peasants, the government and the Agas, into line with each other. It is in this sense that the Muhtar can be said to represent the peasants.

1. Yasa, the Villages as an Administrative Unit, in Hanson's studies p. 60-61

Finally, Dogan Avcioglu Argues that in certain villages in Çukurova, Muhtar's task was merely to reflect the voice and decisions of Agas who continued to play the tune behind the scenes. Dogan Avcioglu, Ibid. p. 296

of peasants for social and economic change.

In general, many of the problems concerning administrative practices of the government stem from an attempt to bring about changes in the peasant societies without attempting to stimulate or facilitate peasants' participation in the decision-making process, or ensuring their co-operation in the maintenance of development. Very often development projects which are designed by some high level planning echelon in Ankara are pushed down the throats of the peasants in the manner of administering medicine to a patient without first discovering the nature of his disease or like giving external aid to a backward country without first familiarizing oneself with its indigenous environment. In short, unless the desire for economic betterment becomes institutionalized within the peasant societies and government gives greater freedom to manoeuvre and greater say in the management and implementation of the programmes, there is little likelihood that development process will become cumulative and long-lasting*.

However the real dichotomy and the built-in destabilizer to development process lie within the administrative organization, basically in the form of central-local governmental relationships. Not only is the functioning of local governments severely restricted by the concentration of decision-making process in top officialdom, but excessive and often insignificant legal procedures have overburdened the local government officials with routine details to the neglect of maintaining a direct dialogue and fruitful working relationships with the

* It is common fact that the concept of administration or administrator in Turkey more often involve strict application of laws, legal control rather than management, compliance with the regulations rather than forecasting, planning budgeting or co-ordination. For further appraisal of public administration in Turkey see L.K. Caldwell, *Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration* Edited by William J. Siffin, Indiana University, Bloomington, U.S.A. 1959.

peasants. For instance, qualified agriculturalists in Eastern Turkey who are capable of research and who could supply the essential cadre in initiating improvement or diffusion of productive efficiency among the peasant populace are handicapped by routine paper works and burdensome office demands, a multitude of pressures of regulatory tasks, Few of these technical personnel have the time nor energy to help peasants to helping themselves or share their administrative skills and technical knowledge with the peasants. Nor could they supply the much needed leadership. Inadequate use of such talents and knowledge that are available in the local government agencies is a sad example of contradictions in a civil service system which is generally obstructed by inadequacy of trained personnel and scientific knowledge. This contradiction is further exemplified by the fact that some model state farms exist like an oasis in the midst of undisturbed traditional agricultural areas. Although these state farms were established to encourage the diffusion of a scientific agricultural pattern in their areas, nearby state farms, however, peasants still continue to till their soils with little change in their customary methods or techniques of production.

The generally low level of participation in the decision-making process and little delegation of authority have created an atmosphere of strain and demoralization among the new crop of innovative-minded energetic younger administrators in the government. Since, the 'right' of decision making is associated with 'rank' and is more hierarchical than functional, very often the long-felt technical assistance programs are liable to fail due to the fact that the decision-making process is either too slow or 'too far from the actual scene of operations and consequently were carried out without an understanding of local

conditions*

In the course of his duties, a management minded and achievement oriented technical officer is confronted with a multitude of pressures if he succeeds in emerging from the control of the hierarchy of laws and decrees, customary office routines, he soon finds himself handicapped by deficient statistical information and rudimentary records. For instance, with certain notable exceptions, the cadastral surveys, the registration of titles for land settlement, all basic conditions for water rights have not as yet been completed on a basis of reference to the regional economic objectives or environmental conditions. (See Table 8 p. 100.) The improvement of agricultural practices are often pushed aside in the battle for ownership rights and hereditary or accidental privileges, semi-communal ownership, water and passage rights. In most cases effective decision making or reassessment procedures are obstructed due to deficient documentary or research services. Conflicts of interest, prolonged disputes in mutual rights and claims, disharmonies between new legal framework and customary practices have proven to be a continuous source of tension often lawlessness including crime and destruction. (In Diyarbakir alone, during the ten months ending December 1968 15 peasants were killed and 186 were wounded in various land disputes)⁽²⁴⁾ Also agricultural service personnel are unable to function affectively in the disputed areas since land ownership system

* For instance measures for soil improvement e.g. terracing to prevent erosion et., are not likely to be taken until preventative steps for ecological deterioration becomes compelling. However, by this time the danger of erosion will have accelerated and probably terracing would require expense which could have been less costlier if preventive measures had been taken at a much earlier date. There is a chronic ailment of taking measures when it is too late still seriously impedes decision-process in Turkey and the Middle East.

(24) For further details on Land disputes in Eastern Turkey. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, Dogunun Sorunlari, Safak Kitabevi Diyarbakir, 1966 p.22-25.

has always been in a state of complete chaos. The deficiencies of the agrarian framework may have thus reinforced the other features of deficiencies in extension services.

In general, the detailed administrative technical or legal procedures coupled with an absence of a conducive environment for positive action have frequently exhausted the operative capacity of the existing government services. Since by far the largest portion of their time is devoted to a energy consuming and often frustrating maze of non-economic details, few government officials find time and effort to put their ideas and proposals across or contribute to rural development schemes through active involvement. Moreover, the energies and talents of vigorous personnel, their freedom to plan or act may also be obstructed by vested interests. Those who tend to discharge their duties are often placed in some minor roles - commonly known as 'ploughing under' of brains. Some of the agricultural personnel who were occasionally consulted during the field study last summer, expressed their frustrations in the unconducive climate of work performance. After an era of promise for more effective operational standards and greater freedom to manoeuvre for the personnel, they find themselves in a state of unfulfillment and sense of resignation. Not long ago, a highly trained agricultural technician had told a visiting foreign economist, 'What is the use of an engineer who is being used as a cat's paw by landed estates or the politicians.'* There are often cases where a multitude of pressures may be exerted on agricultural personnel not to be objective. There are cases where agricultural agencies or subordinates find themselves unable to conduct land surveys, enforce registration of titles or discharge certain duties since they could hardly prevail against the big vested interest groups. Still large blocks of land in Eastern Turkey are under customary ownership of the self-oriented status-conscious

* For a brief study on 'Experience in Management', and related matters see Thornburg, Spry, Soule Turkey: An Economic Appraisal. The XX Century Fund. N.Y. 1949 p. 202 - 204

landed estates whose apparent disregard for individual titles and rights have discouraged any idea of a progressive peasant society. Particularly, as the area under cultivation is gradually extended and natural pastures are claimed for plantation, continuous disputes over the right of use of land have perpetuated insecurity, waste of resources and man-power.

The unenterprising spirit of sheikdom and Aga systems in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey have shown an "unreadiness" to allow any change in the status quo and have become so entrenched with their customary political and economic power that they will oppose any measure which may endanger their privileged status. The abolition of Village Institutes which were feared as an initial step for a far reaching reform movement, exhibit some of the many inconsistencies and insurmountable problems facing the professionally - trained reform-minded agriculturalists* What gives concern is that real price is being paid by the nation, at the expense of the frustrated peasants and government officials alike, whose indifference and lack of enthusiasm have perpetuated a state of defeatism and a sense of failure and thus affecting adversely all of the other sectors whose livelihood so much depends on the surplus and overall improvement of agriculture. As long as innovative and management - minded younger agriculturalists are trained for a resources in agriculture are not available for achievement-oriented and talented peasants, and an atmosphere of insecurity pervades rural environment, it is difficult to carry out programmes for agricultural development. Nor it is possible to activate the enthusiasm of the peasants populace for participating in the process of rural development.

* The well-rehearsed expressions common among the lower echelons of government administrators, are such as "Ours is not to reason why, ours is but to do what asked or die", or "He without a bull-necked uncle to back him up, soon gets stuck". Or "Every official's fate is hung around his neck, he who sticks out his neck, loses his neck" imply a predetermined philosophy a system of strict accountability, lack of collective responsibility and absence of a conducive climate for initiative, risk taking or planning.

The immediate repercussions of such illbalanced agricultural economy were exemplified by the fact that statusquo has become more entrenched and incentives of peasants to improve their economic conditions have weakened. There is not much incentive on the part of the peasants to adjust to the concept of a changing agricultural world through operational efficiency and economizing effort in the use of time and resources.

Although media exposure and 'demonstration effect' have awakened Eastern peasants' desire for a better material life, yet, in the absence of an economic base and necessary attitudes and skills they have become more and more dependent on government help in order to get by. (See the section on Credit Markets) There has been an increasing awareness in official circles to commit administrative machinery and resources to the development of eastern Turkey. However, as Tables 8 & 9

PART I TABLE 8

GOVERNMENT SERVICES							
Province	No. of Vill.	Popul- ation (000)	Visit- ing Vet. Off.	Cadastral Land Surv.		Land Surveys by Land Commission	
				Surveyed No. of Vill.	Not Surveyed No. of Vill.	Yes No. of Vill.	No No. of Vill.
AGRI	544	194	-	46	489	41	503
BINGOL	325	130	-	-	325	28	297;
BITLIS	253	110	-	83	170	62	191
ERZINCAN	559	201	8	71	488	88	471
ERZURUM	1039	476	3	16	1023	55	984
GAZIANTEP	572	267	15	67	505	24	549
HAKKARI	134	70	3	-	134	-	134
MARDIN	708	308	1	45	663	46	662
MUS	366	167	-	67	299	115	251
SIIRT	469	190	3	76	393	39	430
TUNCELI	414	131	1	78	336	13	401
WAN	546	207	3	82	464	68	478
TOTAL							

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Village Inventory Studies, Table 44 29; 27.

show, these modernization efforts and their coordination are much beyond the capacity of the existing government services, agricultural or technical personnel.

The agricultural agencies are also poorly equipped in equipment and personnel and often ill-prepared to implement development policies. As the following data show, in comparison with the remaining 54 provinces of Turkey, the total number of technical personnel in Eastern Turkey is only one-third of the 54 provinces total.

PART I TABLE 9

THE NUMBER OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN THE (13) PROVINCES OF EASTERN TURKEY			
The No. of Tech. Personnel per Prov.	Per Region (13 Prov)	Remaining 54 Prov. = 100	No. of Technical in 54 Provinces of Turkey
Agricultural technician	9.5	31	30.9
Veterinerian	6.2	49	12.6
Animal Sanitation Officer	5.8	60	9.6
Forest Engineer	4.5	18	24.8
Forest Technician	4.1	28	14.7
TOTAL	30.1	32	92.6
The Number of Tech. Personnel Per 1000 Square Kilometers			
Agricultural Tech.	0.82	31	2.65
Veterinerian	0.54	50	1.08
Animal Sanitation Officer	0.50	61	0.82
Forest Engineer	0.39	18	2.13
Forest Technician	0.36	28	1.26
TOTAL	2.61	33	7.94
Source: S.I.S. Agricultural Production and Structure. Adopted from: Ibrahim Aksoz, Dogu Anadolu'da Zirai Istihsal Factorleri Arasindaki Iliskiler. T.T.O. & S.O.B. Ankara 1967 p. 345			

In essence the above table shows that, assuming that the number of agricultural personnel in the 54 provinces of Turkey is as 100 per each

province and per 1000 square kilometers, then there are only 33 agricultural personnel per 32,000 square kilometers in Eastern Turkey.

Further, in the 13 provinces of the region, there are 76 veterinarians 118 animal sanitary officials, 80 agricultural engineers. (See Table 9 p. 101) In early 1966, The Agricultural Department of Ataturk University in Erzurum had prepared multiple coordinated projects for area's development. However these projects had not been materialized due to the lack of technical personnel and inadequate capital resources. More striking however is the fact that, there is often only a loose coordination of efforts among different agricultural services of government agencies giving rise to confusion in administrative affairs and overlapping in investment programming. It is not uncommon for the Ministry of Village Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, Transportation and other government agencies to be engaged on some identical projects without either being aware of the other agency's operations.

In the aggregate, the contemporary agricultural administration, the general level of technical or applied knowledge and decision making process are too far below the standards required for a successful attack on the forces of ignorance, inefficient methods of organizing agricultural production or to transform a fatalistic peasant society into a participant society.

10.
AN UNSATISFACTORY SET OF INCENTIVES FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION AND BARRIERS
TO THE STABILITY OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER

The importance of cooperative movements in the successful implementation of market-oriented agricultural developmental schemes have often been underestimated. And this has led to serious errors by Turkish planners and economists who see the rural progress of the peasant societies only as of a technical nature, e.g. removal of obstacles or increasing amounts of capital. Needless to say, the multipurpose programmes designed for the improvement of agriculture necessitates the establishment and promotion of multipurpose cooperative schemes among the rank and file of peasant societies in order to convert their will, energy and resources toward a unified end.

The importance of cooperative institutions will be appreciated if it is recognized that, there are indeed few aspects of the peasant economic life in eastern rural Turkey and the Middle East where an effective cooperative improvement could not play a significant role in increasing the perception of their alternative economic action and their recognition of marketing opportunities. The absence of adequate cooperative institutions and marketing associations has impaired productive efficiency and deterred market-oriented economic activity by creating discontinuity between production and distribution, between predictability of the outcome of an economic effort and the probability of gain or loss associated with these consequences. Clearly, there is a close relationship between efficiency of production and the perception or cognition of market opportunities.[★] Lacking the knowledge

[★] See Charles Wolf Jr. for further interpretations of these concepts and terms. Ibid, AER, Dec. 1955. pp. 867-883.

of a price mechanism and the functioning of an exchange economy, peasants could not appreciate the value of technical progress or specialization; they will not be able to respond to marketing incentives and opportunities. This is so because market opportunities may not be sufficiently perceived as a result of their remoteness from farmers 'cognitive field'. As A. Lewis observes, 'when people who have hitherto produced only for their own subsistence are first introduced to a price economy, their response is both limited and unskilled. They neglect opportunities; they do not know how to choose; they are easily defrauded; they do not sense the difference between temporary and permanent price changes; they do not know about seasonal and cyclical variations.'⁽²⁵⁾

In the present market seeking and market recognizing peasant societies, the scale of operation is small not only due to deficiency of capital or uneconomic size of holdings but also due to inefficient land use pattern since the potential marketers are hampered by the absence of adequate marketing outlets. When peasants are hindered by the absence of effective trade channels to sell their surpluses, their effective market demand for urban originated goods will also be low since no purchasing power is established and the markets will be accordingly low. There is considerable evidence of a reciprocal relationship between the size of the market and a defective economic order, whether the connection works through lack of impetus within the agricultural sector due to the absence of conducive environmental conditions or through the rigidity or the imperfections of the market itself.

The degree of marketing incentive or the lack of it in the various peasant societies of Eastern Turkey is the product of the socio-

(25) A. Lewis, Ibid, p.75

economic, cultural and the agrarian environmental conditions. The composition of output, the techniques and methods of production have changed little over the years and the operation of an exchange economy or the concept of specialization are scarcely understood or practiced. The knowledge of price mechanism, perception or recognition of market opportunities, diffusion of a pecuniary culture have failed to materialize to initiate a set of incentives for a rising and sustained agricultural progress. The peasants in those semi-isolated village communities have not been sufficiently persuaded to give up their functionally diffused traditional method of production. Nor have they been stimulated enough to become more responsive to price and income stimuli in ways appropriate to market requirements by maintaining fuller utilization of their resources on the basis of comparative cost and advantage principle. The accomplishment of these mutually interdependent processes is the essential prerequisite for the development of agriculture in Eastern rural Turkey. But to realize the full benefits of economic efficiency and progress by the peasant people, it is necessary to have the action of some institutional mechanism or agent in order to translate these production and marketing opportunities into material accomplishments.*

*Of course the achievement of a 'market promoting' pattern of activity and the fuller utilization of the agricultural resources depend, among other conditions, on the accessibility to the supplies of resources, conducive set of values and motivational patterns, adequate transportation and communication facilities, knowledge of market conditions and so on. When these sets of necessary conditions are met, 'growth promoting' economic actions may then become more frequent or likely and the farmers may feel more inclined to enter productive pursuits. At present, the narrowness of markets and backwardness of communications are reflected in the increasing number of salesman and intermediaries who take advantage of predictable inter-regional price differences and ignorance of peasants on the market conditions. Customarily glutted local markets where semi-perishable farm products are displayed are the most common side of rural Turkey where peasants receive little for their pains.

For the most part, in the presently semi-isolated peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, neither the prevailing narrow and imperfect markets, nor the degree of know-how concerning price formation can be assumed to provide the necessary stimuli to work more efficiently nor do they offer a reasonable chance to perceive market opportunities and to participate in it. Since regular marketing outlets are an impossibility to the bulk of the eastern Anatolian peasants, seasonal products are brought to local and narrow markets on the same days and glut the markets. Hence the peasants must accept what is offered for such products at a time when prices are low, consequently no substantial improvement in their money incomes are expected. Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi, the State Agency for Soil Products, which was set up to regularize the market, as a rule, did not extend down into the small local markets and has done little to improve the physical efficiency of marketing on the lower levels.⁽²⁶⁾ Moreover, the majority of the farmers lack the means of moving their produce to the larger markets. This is done, as a rule, by the merchants, who in the cause of seeking high profits, deliberately use the terms of trade and money lending practice against the ill-equipped and defenseless peasants.* Thus, peasants face a series of major and difficult problems concerning production financial deficiencies such as credits, commercial problems such as imperfection of markets or ignorance of market opportunities, communication and transportation. There are no cooperatives to encourage quality, standardization, grading, processing and preparation of the

(26) Thornburg, Ibid, p.53-55

*See credit mechanism in 'Livestock Industry', Section

products for the markets. Fundamentally, the narrowness of markets coupled with an unsatisfactory set of environmental conditions in the various peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, have obstructed the realization of a fuller allocation and utilization of resources and it has been difficult to widen or enliven the rural economic structure. The inevitable consequence has been that, a given amount of marketing activity in rural economy has generated a much smaller diffusion of income than an equivalent amount of marketing activity would have generated in the service or the secondary sector. Although some of the commercialized large agricultural estates have benefited from marketing, their progress has not diffused into or contribute much to the development of the rest of the rural economy. Some rural areas, thus have become dual economies - the large scale farmers holding to their own, making little advance in their time-hallowed methods of production and marketing.*

There are some strong arguments to suggest that the establishment of marketing associations and cooperatives might play a significant role in lowering uncertainty and increasing peasants' confidence in their ability to appraise the consequences of their increased production and marketing action. One of the policies of K. Ataturk was to encourage cooperative movements for the benefits of the peasants, hoping that they would not only aid agriculture to achieve higher income but also provide business experience.⁽²⁷⁾ One of the various functions hoped to be performed by

*See J. H. Boeke, Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies. Institute of Pacific Relations, New YORK, 1953, 4.

(27) Thornburg, Ibid, p.58

these associations in internal markets, was to sell farm products and provide to their members equipment and materials for production. Cooperative institutions were also hoped to encourage stable markets by removing or reducing these imperfections, frictions and rigidities in the markets which were due to imperfect knowledge concerning purchasing, production, perception of market opportunities. These deliberate attempts might have improved predictability or probability of the consequences of a marketing action by increasing the stability of the economic order since market opportunities were no longer overlooked by the peasants. And cooperative institutions might have also influenced perceptions and cognition of gains associated with marketing by making improved market information available. Social psychologists call this 'alteration of the perceiver's cognitive structure' - which, by describing and facilitating the connection between such information on market opportunities and the realization by the peasants, that it is their responsibility to initiate action required to translate these opportunities into accomplishments.*

However, these well-intended efforts did not catch hold in the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey for the following reasons:

a. Proposed cooperative movements and associations were not introduced with an awareness of the existing institutional values and the environmental conditions of the peasant societies;

*See D. Krech and R. S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology, (N.Y. 1948), pp.76-81

It is also suggested that the social psychologist's distinction between 'cognition' and 'perception' has something in common with the economist's distinction between 'stocks' and 'flows.' Thus, the 'cognitive structure' may be considered to represent the 'stock' of recollections which gives significance to the 'flow' of new perceptions.

See C. Wolf Jr. p.867

b. The importance of an indigenous base for rural cooperative programs would have been better appreciated if it was recognized that there was a vast difference between so-called rural 'social togetherness' or of the extended family system and the functional and technical requirements of a cooperative program.

c. Moreover, as a consequence of a faulty and rigid agrarian structure coupled with inadequate feedbacks within the rural community and the narrowness of markets the initial stimuli are dissipated of a cooperative program. Thus the cooperative movements have been only short-lived and artificial.

Finally, as in the past, arbitrary changes in the economic order by agricultural policy, made the 'odds or estimates' of gain or loss less calculable, e.g. subsidizing wheat growers at the expense of livestock producers, arbitrary price setting, all these have all created uncertainties, concerning possibilities of price variation of different agricultural commodities. Through long and sad experiences in dealing with the government, peasants have little confidence in the consistency of government agricultural policy which obscured predictability or probability of economic gain of the market seeking or recognizing peasants.*

*Mr. Thornburg observed that although Turks were known as horsemen and were celebrated for their cavalry, but there were not more horses on the farms. Among other reasons, he states that a good horse would be a sign of wealth and peasants often avoid possession of anything that would attract the eye of the tax gatherer. Nowadays, they might attract the eye of moneylenders.

See Thornburg, Ibid, p.48

Note: The concept of cooperation, at least in the West, usually refers to a 'group which has been established in terms of future ends for the benefit of individual members. It is the collective effort of the individuals converging towards a unifying end.' It is the effort of individual members who believe that they have exert causal effect upon their own future economic security. In Asia, the Middle East and for that matter in Eastern Turkey, the concept of social togetherness in the peasant societies is quite a different matter. The extended family system is an organic unit based upon the pattern of mutual dependence derived by birth, originating from membership to a joint family. The family members as a group are held together on ethical and traditional basis requiring each member to fulfil his prescribed role which repeat past patterns and do not reach to the future. Sentimental attachment to one's family is a way of life and cooperation in the family is incidental. It is something to which he belongs, born into it and see his family as a kind of divine group. Their economic philosophy is to produce just enough crops and livestock for the wide family needs, perhaps a little surplus to market in order to buy some necessities for common use. In the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, particularly in those mountain villages with little contact with the outside world, the majority of the families are so fully occupied with the problems of day to day existence that their short-term needs do not permit them to take a long-run view towards an market-oriented cooperative movement. Furthermore, years of struggle with a capricious environment have caused them to look upon their situation with resignation as a part of the natural order or destiny. Therefore, any attempt to establish cooperative organizations and the need for such

changes which necessitate implementation by the peasants, must first be accepted by the peasants, and must be introduced with an awareness of the existing environmental conditions. The sad truth, however, is that most of these proposals are imposed upon the peasants and particularly in cooperative matters and members do not have a final say or control. It must be noted that such policies are also determined by a combination of political and economic circumstances and mostly outside peasants' long-felt needs.

PART II

TRANSPORT SYSTEM, TECHNOLOGICAL AND FINANCIAL SETTING

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1. TRANSPORT AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

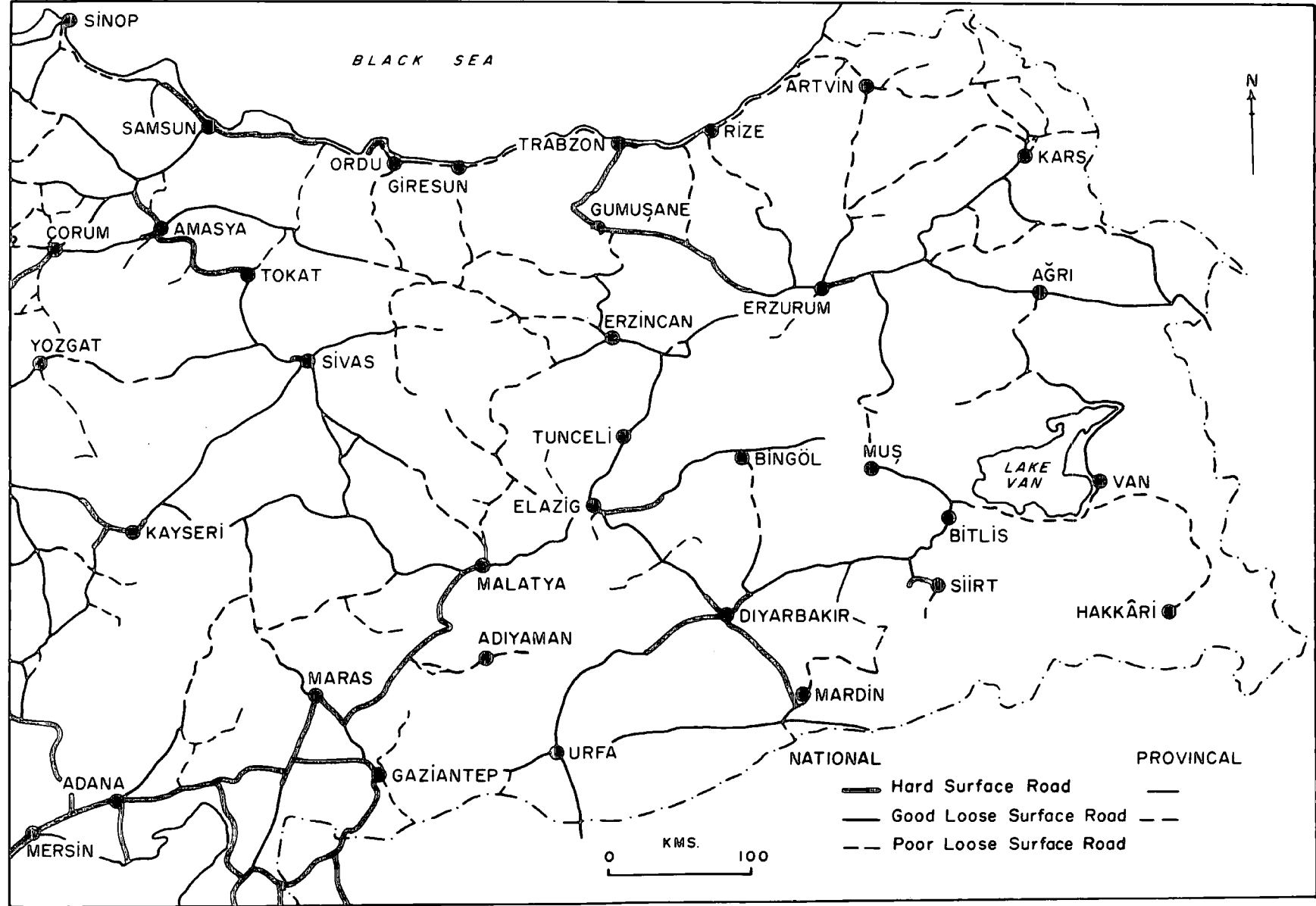
To say peasant societies in Eastern Turkey have poor transportation and communication facilities, is equivalent to saying they have a low level of social and economic development. For, to the extent that present market imperfections e.g. 'factor immobility', 'price rigidity', 'lack of knowledge of market opportunities' and 'inefficiency of production' prevail, it follows that the lack of adequate transportation and communication system has greatly contributed to the lack of easy flow of knowledge, capital and other goods and services to and from urban areas. In addition, where transportation and communication facilities are rudimentary, the non-agricultural sector and industry serving the rural population has also remained small and poor since potential marketers and producers are unaware or unable to tap internal market opportunities.

Transportation System: It is recognised that, among other prerequisites to agricultural development at the village level are: (a) the development of a market and marketing system exterior to village; (b) the development of transportation linking the village to the marketing system; (c) sufficient resource potential and incentive for change at the village level; (d) a mechanism by which necessary urban-derived inputs, such as credit and new equipment, may reach the village. (1)

The most important single limitation on peasant societies which have a potential for change and a capacity to adjust or respond to market opportunities is the lack of an effective channel of transport system to allow them to build a dialogue with the urban markets.* As Tables 1,2 show, the system of transport is very inferior and the transportation system for the most part consists of ox-driven cart and animal power which is also rudimentary.

(1) Frederick C. Shorter (Co-author and Editor), John F. Kolars, Dankwart A. Rustow, O. Yenil "Four Studies on the Development of Turkey". Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1967. p.72

EASTERN TURKEY-ROAD COMMUNICATIONS



a. The Village Inventory Studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs show that, although there are 19,406 rural settlements in 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey, the type and number of transportation means are rudimentary and go hand in hand with the region's poor transport system:

No. of Villages..	9436	Type of Transportation					
		Oxen Cart	Four Wheeled Cart	Tractor	Bus	Truck	Pickup
No. of Hamlets...	9970						
Total	19406	112,605	36,555	1,802	289	679	101

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Tables 8a, 22.
See Table I for further details

According to a study conducted in the 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey, there were 515 motor vehicles per province and 1 km of provincial or village road per 100 square kilometers of area.

Provincial Highways and Village Roads in the 13 Provinces of Eastern Turkey

	Average of Turkey per 10,000 population	Average of the 54 remaining provinces per 10,000 population	Average of the 13 provinces in Eastern Turkey per 10,000 population
1. Provincial and Village roads (in km) per 100 km ² of area.	4.30	4.74	1.07
2. No. of motor vehicles (car, bus, truck)	57.45	62.76	18.58

Source: Ibrahim Aksoz. TTO & S.O.B. Ankara. p.320

More important however, the majority of the village roads serving the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey are mostly loose surfaced roads and passable by vehicles during the dry seasons only. (Tables 2, 3A and 3B). Due to these

PART II: TABLE 1

TYPE OF TRANSPORTATION IN THE PEASANT SOCIETIES OF EASTERN TURKEY

PROVINCES	No. of Villages	Tractor	Bus	Truck	Pick-up	Motor Cycle
Erzurum	559	109	143	56	5	2
Van	1039	46	15	78	13	-
Bitlis	764	115	11	25	1	1
Siirt	339	32	1	8	1	-
Agri	544	51	1	21	1	-
Erzincan	325	-	1	4	1	-
Bitlis	253	17	-	20	2	1
Van	469	40	-	2	2	-
Erzurum	587	148	41	67	2	1
Siirt	366	27	6	49	1	-
Agri	469	40	-	2	2	-
Erzincan	414	25	5	14	1	-
Van	546	19	2	32	2	1
Total of 13 Provinces	6716	669	253	452	40	6
Van	663	192	9	19	6	8
Erzurum	572	522	14	141	27	14
Agri	708	88	10	26	16	8
Bitlis	644	331	3	41	12	11
Total of 4 Provinces	2587	1133	36	227	61	41
Agri	133	-	-	-	-	-
Total of 18 Provinces	9436	1802	289	679	101	47

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Village Inventory Studies. Table 8a.

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Distance to the centres (KM)	Trail	Loose surfaced	Without Bridge	With Bridge	Gravel surface	Stabilised	Quality			Seasonal Spring	Passage Summer
									Good	Fair	Poor		
Agri	544	1-50	51	481	10	1	10	218	217	253	261	303	544
Bingol	325	2-70	271	110	9	9	1	24	39	71	300	172	316
Bitlis	253	1-40	126	145	192	60	-	107	103	143	130	200	253
Erzincan	559	0.5-78	137	424	39	35	28	182	174	194	356	470	537
Erzurum	1039	0.5-65	564	485	89	135	32	240	234	410	662	687	1039
Gaziantep	572	1-56	48	437	280	105	90	183	199	155	366	430	536
Hakkari	134	0.5-110	87	44	8	11	1	32	17	32	93	73	129
Mardin	708	0.5-47	547	209	35	17	43	212	178	147	609	516	696
Mus	366	0.4-51	115	253	108	42	20	120	64	110	265	114	354
Siirt	469	0.5-67	335	172	10	3	19	71	90	140	351	394	469
Tunceli	414	0.5-48	322	163	21	20	1	53	70	139	330	343	402
VAn	546	1-68	134	398	97	16	1	193	180	247	307	465	535

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Inventory Studies. Table 8a.

Seasonal Passage

Autumn Winter

Type of transport vehicle

541	70	Tractor, truck
316	43	Truck
253	61	Truck, tractor, jeep
537	221	Tractor, bus, truck, jeep
1022	325	Truck, tractor, bus, jeep
531	140	Tractor, truck, jeep
113	12	Truck
693	117	Jeep, truck, tractor, minibus
332	18	Truck, tractor, jeep
462	135	Tractor, truck
374	115	Truck, tractor
537	100	Truck, tractor, minibus

restrictive transport and road systems, the markets are not only narrow but the peasant societies face the effect of sharp price variations during certain months of the year. Spoilage and wastage through lack of transportation are common and hence peasants must accept the low price offers made by travelling merchants for their perishable products, e.g., eggs, dairy products etc. (See section on Livestock Industry). The problem in regard to road systems is not so much that the road system is inferior in quality, but that it is badly integrated in pattern. The region has a very poor contact with ^{the} Black Sea areas and there is no adequate link between Hakkari and Siirt and other livestock producing areas. Consequently, ~~smuggling of livestock to Syria and Iraq~~ is much easier and less costlier than marketing in other parts of Turkey. Although the degree of transportation link between village and counties in Turkey is 68.3%, it is only 39.1% in the East.* As a result many peasant societies in Turkey have become dual societies with dual economies in which ^{the} major section remain isolated, and have not been able to exploit the market potentials.

Considerable progress in village road construction has undoubtedly been made in recent years. Most observers would, however, agree that, many peasant societies in Eastern Turkey have remained outside the market economy not so much of their resource deficiency or because of the character of their environmental conditions alone, but because many of these villages could not possibly cross the psychological barrier imposed by the lack of adequate transportation. Many of the market seeking or recognising peasant societies were handicapped due to this absence of adequate roads and transport. These deficiencies have also impaired factor mobility and the easy flow of goods and services further making it difficult for the peasants to visualize market opportunities or to realize their potential productivity more effectively. They have also become easy prey to travelling salesmen or town

* T.T.O. and S.O. Biriçi, Doğu Anadolu Seminari. Ankara, 1967.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE VILLAGE ROADS

(According to the surveys of Dept. for Village Roads)

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	No. of Villages benefiting	Quality of Roads		Unimproved km	TOTAL
			Gravel km	Hard surfaced km		
Agri	544	41	28	14	214	256
Bingol	325	-	-	-	-	-
Bitlis	253	10	14	12	13	39
Erzincan	559	54	94	260	1861	2115
Erzurum	1039	23	11	32	110	153
Gaziantep	574	131	170	267	1804	2241
Hakkari	134	24	32	90	176	298
Mardin	708	21	64	8	78	150
Mus	366	14	3	51	27	81
Tunceli	414	44	241	-	20	261
Van	546	20	2	8	45	53

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Inventory Studies Table 8a.

Note: The number of village in the table refer to those villages which fully and directly benefited from existing roads.

merchants since they have no way of transporting their produce to the markets. It is indeed a plausible argument that, the character of crops and the nature of peasant's economic activities in the isolated peasant societies have been considerably shaped and hampered by lack of roads and thus have compelled the peasants to produce what they consume and consume what they produce.

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Names of the centres where the villagers communicate	Degree and Type of communication							Economic	Changing route	Administ-rative	Sani-tary	Cult-ural	Tour-istic
			Means			Degree									
			Road	Rail ¹ way	Inland water-way	Sea	Strong	Fair	Poor						
Agri	544	Agri, D.Beyazit Patnos, Tutak	544	-	-	-	492	19	33	511	63	527	497	253	-
Bingol	325	Bingol, Elazig, Erzurum	319	30	-	-	319	6	-	317	192	222	305	104	-
Bitlis	253	Bitlis, Tatuan, Aklat	253	-	-	2	205	44	4	240	11	244	250	4	-
Erzincan	559	Erzincan, Kemah, Refahiye	545	67	-	-	488	67	4	543	426	539	351	234	-
Erzurum	1039	Erzurum, Isrir, Oltu, Olur	1039	7	-	-	755	212	72	1029	686	863	985	364	-
Gaziantep	572	G.Antep, Nizip, Kilis	572	7	-	-	420	130	23	569	385	495	505	168	16
Hakkari	134	Hakkari, Yukseova, Uludere	134	-	-	-	121	12	5	126	1	129	130	40	1
Mardin	708	Mardin, Midyat, Nusaybin	708	-	-	-	622	68	18	699	30	513	631	6	3
Mus	366	Mus, Varto, Bulauk	366	1	-	-	245	85	34	302	173	279	325	138	14
Siirt	469	Siirt, Cizra, Batman	466	3	-	-	300	131	45	454	296	391	445	98	5
Tunceli	414	Tunceli, Elazig, Hozat	414	-	-	-	381	31	2	405	302	315	392	319	1
VAn	546	Van, Baskale, Muradiye	546	-	-	4	488	53	5	545	27	538	543	32	-

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Inventory Studies. Table 7

PROVINCES	All Weather Roads		Seasonal Roads		Total		GENERAL TOTAL
	STATE	PROVINCIAL	STATE	PROVINCE	STATE	PROVINCE	
Agri	352	94	-	48	352	142	494
Bingol	150	41	1	200	151	241	392
Bitlis	168	54	-	133	168	187	355
Diyarbakir	336	287	-	203	336	490	826
Elazig	345	93	-	240	345	333	678
Erzincan	407	233	24	184	431	417	848
Erzurum	713	103	-	276	713	379	1092
Gumushane	378	74	-	75	378	149	527
Hakkari	167	-	100	156	267	156	423
Kars	588	158	-	169	588	327	915
Mus	268	84	-	141	268	225	493
Siirt	143	172	85	328	228	500	728
Tunceli	149	137	57	288	206	425	631
Van	354	187	-	140	354	327	681
Regional Total (14 Provinces)	4518	1717	267	2581	4785	4298	9083
Turkey	23045	14013	1678	9902	24723	23915	48638
Region/Turkey %	19.6	12.3	15.9	26.1	19.4	18.0	18.7

Source: S.I.S. 1963 Statistics Annual, Publication no. 490 p. 420-424

ORGANIZATION OF CREDIT AND SOURCE OF FINANCING IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR
OF EASTERN TURKEY

In assessing the present and future productivity of the agricultural sector in Eastern Turkey and its financial implications, one wished to know the sources of financing as well as the structure of credit institutions. The fact is that, even if a traditional agriculture attempts to increase output and marketing, may, in addition to inputs already in use, e.g. land, labor, simple implements, this necessitates increases in the stock of fixed and working capital, which in turn require some intermediate and long-term financing. The problem of agricultural credit policy is compounded by the fact that the extremely low levels of incomes of the bulk of rural population in Eastern Turkey imply that capital requirements, e.g. purchase of urban-derived inputs, can only be financed through borrowing.

The sources of financing in Turkey as well as in the East can be classified into three main groups:

- a. The institutional credit sources. (Composed of: Agricultural Bank, Agricultural Credit Cooperatives, Et-Balik (Agency of Meat and Fish Products), Zirai Donatim (the State Agricultural Supply Corporation).
- b. The non-institutional credit sources. (Composed of landlords, business farmers, village shopkeepers, money-lenders, relatives and friends.
- c. Farmers' personal savings, which are relatively small for the majority of the farmers.

1. The main source of credit in Turkish agriculture is the Agricultural Bank which was founded in 1888, promulgated in 1937 and became the sole financial institution serving agriculture through its branches all

over Turkey. With notable exceptions, the credit policy programmes of the agricultural banks are keyed to providing short-term credits to the peasants either through the agricultural credit cooperatives or through their branches in towns and cities.* The availability of credit from institutional sources is extremely inadequate. Moreover, the number of bank branches and credit cooperative establishments in Eastern Turkey are also very limited. As data on Table 5 shows, the number of bank branches in Eastern Turkey in 1965 was only 179, 9.04% of the total of 1981 bank branches in Turkey.

Similarly as Table 6, on page 127 shows, out of a total of 9,333 villages in 17 provinces of Eastern Turkey, only 247 villages have credit cooperative establishments.

Given the generally insufficient number of credit institutions and the general shortage of credit availability for the bulk of the eastern farmers, the present credit mechanism does not function as an effective instrument to increase farmers' use of agricultural production inputs, or to foster their market and cash incentives, nor do they nourish increased capital formation. Further, Table 6 shows that, in 17 provinces, only

*The credit cooperatives, in reality are merely the intermediaries of agricultural banks, because their functions are solely to borrow funds from the agricultural banks and then reloan these funds to the peasants. Some credit cooperatives may have funds derived from contributions of the members who are initially required to purchase shares in the cooperatives. The basic line of credit extended to the members is for only one year or less and at effective rates of interest of 11-13%. Moreover, 'to avoid crediting a farmer twice, the agricultural bank will not make short-term loans to cooperative members. And the non-members are required to provide security in terms of property mortgage in order to be eligible for a loan.' For further details, see James E. Blalock, 'Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture' U.S.A.I.D./Ankara, May 1969, pp.34-35

Table: 5

The Number of Bank Branches in the 14 Provinces of Eastern Turkey			
Province	1963	1964	1965
Agri	10	11	11
Bingol	5	6	6
Bitlis	5	7	8
Diyarbakir	20	21	21
Elaziz	15	15	16
Erzincan	12	12	12
Erzurum	28	28	28
Gumushane	6	7	8
Hakkari	2	3	3
Kars	20	20	23
Mus	6	7	7
Siirt	12	13	14
Tunceli	8	8	8
Van	11	14	14
Total of 14 provinces	160	172	179
Total of Turkey	1.840	1.909	1981
14 Provinces/Turkey	8.70	9.01	9.04

Source: Turkish Banking Union - 1963, 1964, 1965
Year-end Report, No: 23 (1964) pp. 19-52
No: 25 (1965) pp. 19-53, No: 26 (1966) pp. 19-54

25.2% of the 773,000 farm families are able to obtain credit from agricultural credit cooperatives and 74.8% of these families do not receive anything.

Agricultural Credit Cooperatives and Credit Availability				
	No. of families	Percentage of families receiving credit	Percentage of families receiving <u>no</u> credit	Average credit per family
13 Provinces	550	31	69	480
4 Provinces	223	6.3	92.7	1122
17 Provinces	773	25.2	74.8	631

See Table 6 for further details

According to the figures given above, 92.7% in the four south-eastern provinces of Eastern Turkey - Gaziantep, Mardin, Urfa and Diyarbakir and close to 69% of the families in the remaining 13 provinces do not obtain credit at all. In addition, S.I.S. data on credit availability in the 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey show that, only 4.9% of the farming families are able to benefit from credits and loans extended by credit cooperatives, in contrast to 11.8% of the farming families in the remaining 54 provinces of Turkey. Also, in the two western provinces of Turkey - Balikesir and Manisa, the number of cooperatives is (167) as against (247) credit cooperatives in 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey. ⁽²⁾

(2) State Institute of Statistics, Village Statistics, Publication No: 451
Ankara, 1964

Part II: Table 6

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT COOPERATIVES							
Province	No. of Villages	Agricultural Credit Cooperatives		No. of Families	% of Families Receiving Credit	% of Families Not Receiving Credit	Amount of Credit per family Receiving Credit
		There is	None				
Erzincan	559	48	511	46	21	79	590
Erzurum	1039	4	1035	90	27	73	550
Kars	764	46	718	92	25	75	210
Adiyaman	339	41	293	43	11	89	580
Agri	544	-	544	32	72	23	331
Bingol	325	-	325	27	19	81	546
Bitlis	253	-	253	19	9	91	547
Elaziz	587	6	581	41	20	80	560
Malatya	511	14	497	60	21	79	410
Mus	366	-	366	31	41	59	504
Siirt	469	1	468	38	13	87	520
Tunceli	414	-	414	27	47	53	482
Van	546	25	521	31	46	54	411
Total of 13 Provinces	6716	185	6531	550	377	69	480
Diyarbakir	663	-	663	58	4	99.6	740
Gaziantep	572	35	537	51	9	91	1085
Mardin	708	-	708	59	8	92	430
Urfa	644	27	617	55	8	92	2,230
Total of 4 Provinces	2587	62	2525	223	6.3	92.7	1122
Total of 17 Provinces	9303	247	9056	773	25.2	74.8	631

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Summary of Village Inventory Studies

However, no contrast of credit distribution within the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey is sharper than that between the 4 south-eastern provinces and the remaining 13 provinces. Again, while only 6.3% of the families in the 4 south-eastern provinces were able to obtain credit, with an amount of credit averaging T.L. 1.122 per annum, the amount of credit per family was T.L. 480 in the remaining 13 provinces, bringing the total average for the region to a low of T.L. 631 per annum.

The present practice of allocating limited and generally unproductive loans seems to be incompatible with the stated objectives of the agricultural authorities and State Planning officials who have been advocating making agricultural sector of Eastern Turkey more efficient and market oriented. All the evidence so far indicates that present credit policy programmes have little consequence to the level of agricultural production and effective marketing.*

The specific developmental goals which appear to be contradicted are as follows:

A. Instead of supervising the distribution of agricultural credits to efficient farmers or to areas producing agricultural products and livestock which are relatively in greater demand both at home and abroad, the current practice of providing unsupervised and inadequate operating credits

*The supervised agricultural credit system was inaugurated in 1964 and Erzincan Province in the East was established as a second pilot project area, late in the same year. Under the name of 'Supervised Agriculture Credit Development Wants' credits are made available to eligible farmers by travelling credit engineers who travel from province to province to assure that all SADL funds are used by the borrower for farm and production as planned.

through the so-called 'first come, first served' policy have generated a rural welfare system which is basically unproductive. In fact, Agricultural Bank officials have stated that "the outcome of the insufficiency of the operational loans is the diversion of said loans into consumption rather than production."⁽³⁾ These observations and findings are further confirmed by the fact that, bank credits to agriculture in Turkey in general, and eastern agriculture in particular, have grown in recent years at a rate which is much faster than the rate of growth of both the current expenses incurred for present production or private investment. The fact is that virtually most of the production-directed credits which are of short-term duration have been diverted to consumption rather than for the purchase of production inputs due to the general unsuitability of short-term credit for investment financing. (See Tables 8 and 9 on Types of Credits and The Development; and Distribution of Credit in Eastern Turkey, p. 141-2)

As the data on the next page shows, the proportion of short-term credits in total credits was 67% in 1963, by 1967, it had reached 75% and according to the current practice, the trend seems to be climbing steadily. Although the proportion of intermediate term credits seemed to decline from 17% in 1963 to 16% in 1967, the proportion of long-term credits declined even faster from 16% to 9%.

It is a well known fact that many farmers welcome institutional loans for their low interest charges and are generally used to pay previously accumulated debts. It is a common practice in rural Turkey to pay off old

(3) The Delegation of Turkey, Country Report on Agricultural Credit in Turkey, in CENTO, conference on Agricultural Development Banking, Ankara 1962, p. 94.

AGRICULTURAL BANK CREDITS OUTSTANDING
According to Duration 1963-67
(T.L. [000], End of Year)

		<u>Short-term</u>		<u>Intermediate-term</u>		<u>Long-term</u>			
		Index		Index		Index			
		1959-1962		1959-1962		1959-1962			
		Average=100		Average=100		Average=100			
Year	Amount		% of total	Amount	% of total	Amount	% of total		
1963	1,677,571	99	67	429,330	264	17	408,320	93	16
1964	2,325,452	137	72	482,666	297	15	436,436	99	13
1965	2,554,863	150	73	488,427	301	14	448,950	102	13
1966	3,711,186	218	77	628,554	387	13	483,011	110	10
1967	4,407,104	259	75	909,089	560	16	539,045	122	9

Source: Agricultural Bank

Adopted from: J. E. Blalock, Ibid, pp.73-74

loans and immediately apply for new loans, a situation which the authorities do little to discourage. For instance, when payment of an old loan is due and the Bank presses the farmer for repayment, all the farmers in the village pool their meagre savings and resources in order to enable the fellow peasant to pay off his debt to the bank. Once he pays off his debt, he thus becomes eligible to receive new loans. Then on the same day, the peasant repays his debt to his fellow villagers, who frequently use the same method of repayment. Consequently, the burden of an unproductive debt circulates without contributing anything to capital requirements or agricultural improvement. Moreover, since peasants incur debts for current needs rather than investment, they are usually left with no lever to escape indebtedness. Also, Paul Stirling observed in Elbasi Village in Western

Turkey that, 'on the day in which Agricultural Bank credit cooperative offices paid out the annual loans, the village shopkeepers and the headman were waiting on the spot to catch each villager as he left the room with money in his hand.' (4)

The more dramatic consequences of misusing of credits for maintenance purposes were that, because peasants' economic conditions and income bases remained unchanged, the spiral of increasing debt burden often forced them to delay their payments to the cooperatives or banks. In fact, the collection records of the cooperatives show that, 'in only one year since 1940 have farmers repaid more than 50% of the loans outstanding at the beginning of the year plus the new loans made during the year. This means that less than 50% of the funds outstanding on short-term operating loans are available for lending in the succeeding year. That the present situation is not much improved is illustrated by the fact that collections in 1967 were only 41% of the funds outstanding.' (5)

(4) Paul Stirling, 'Turkish Village', London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965
See also the following for similar observations: pp92

Mahmut Makal, 'A Village In Anatolia', London, Valentine, Mitchell & Co.,
1954, pp.39-40

Ralph V. Battles, 'Report on Agricultural Credit in Turkey' U.S.O.M./
Oct. 1960, pp.7-9, 16-19 Turkey,

(5) Agricultural Bank, Agricultural Credit and Sales Cooperatives in 1967,
Dept. of Cooperatives Publication. No. 41, Ankara, 1968, p.27
Adopted from: J. E. Blalock, Ibid, May 1969, p.13

Peasants, in search for finding ways and means to pay off their old debts, often seek for larger loans from private money lenders. As will be shown later, the added burdens of prohibitive interest charges have often resulted in the loss of their lands.

B. In addition to the general inadequacy of credit supply, the existing credit institutions in Eastern Turkey are keyed to providing credit for only one growing season. In those market seeking peasant societies which are gradually emerging into market economy, their demand for intermediate-term financing is mounting rapidly. Their increasing needs for purchased production inputs such as modern agricultural equipment, purchase of improved seeds, fertilizer, land improvement and similar requirements are substantially higher than their agricultural incomes. The field study conducted in some of these peasant societies and subsequent observations which were made in the region showed that, although some of these communities are increasingly becoming market-oriented, yet the uncertainties of their market participation is aggravated by the lack of adequate credit supply of long-time duration. In fact there were many indications to prove that the prosperity of the peasant societies in the East still depends significantly upon favorable climatic conditions which are themselves uncertain. Moreover the increase in production in recent years have been achieved largely through expansion of areas planted, e.g. bringing marginal lands or pasture lands under cultivation. In consequence, although total productivity seemed to be increasing actually the average and marginal productivity of land had levelled off and in fact decreased. The fact remains that few attempts were made to increase output through the introduction of new inputs, e.g. technological innovation, but more emphasis was put through increased use of already available inputs. In so far as

these peasant societies recognize the potential benefits that might accrue from increase in agricultural production but are unable to purchase the needed inputs, their active participation in marketing activity will also be nullified.

The causal relationship which has been found between the absence of an effective agricultural credit policy and the attendant low level of productive activity or market participation may sound an over-simplification since there are more other complex conditioning forces at play. Although an efficient and purposefully manipulated credit policy may not by itself bring about desired changes, yet lack of it may constitute a critical bottleneck and negative factor to agricultural development.

C. A highly significant and relevant point of concern is that the agricultural credit policy so far has been largely keyed and in fact extremely biased towards farm operations, rather than livestock production which the natural environmental conditions are more suited for. In so far as these peasant societies were encouraged to engage in cultivation rather than in increasingly important livestock industry, the consequences have been that, peasants have reached their natural environmental limits, thereby exhausting their income promoting opportunities, and resources have been misutilized. In fact, in these once potentially market seeking peasant societies, only rarely have crop surpluses recently occurred and there is infrequent marketing and then only during only good years. Because of the depletion of natural resources and inbalanced growth between rising population needs and relatively static or declining output levels, the peasants have been forced to seek their livelihood elsewhere on a seasonal basis or longer. Some of those who had resorted to high-priced non-institutional credit sources in order to maintain their subsistence are faced with possible consequences of losing their lands altogether since the anticipated incomes from their farming operations could not justify nor even cover the future cost of their present borrowing.

b. The Non-institutional Credit Sources:

Peasant societies in Eastern Turkey, particularly some of those emerging into money economy are entangled in an all pervading network of indebtedness mostly to landlord, merchants, money lenders and relatives and friends.* Aside from the inadequacy of credit of the institutional sources, the security requirements for bank loans e.g. surety and land mortgage have confronted many of the eastern farmers with an insurmountable problem since only few of them possessed a legally-recognized clear title. Moreover, agricultural banks, as was indicated in the study, extend credit at a low interest charge but demand that it be paid off at a fixed date with short-time duration. This might not be at all convenient if peasants had other debts to pay off during the harvesting season. Consequently many of these farmers either out of necessity, sheer habit, or because of the concealment of effective interest charges, often turn to private lenders to contract for loans. Although the scale of credit operation could not be determined, a study conducted in various peasant societies by Cento Travelling Seminar shows that loans obtained from various non-institutional sources by 485 farmers were for the following purposes:

Loan Used for:	Landlords	Merchants	Money Lenders	Relative & Friends	No.	TOTAL According to Use	Source
1. Operating Expenses	4	53	37	78	172	64.9%	28.4%
2. Fixed Capital Expenditures (machinery, livestock, land, land improvement)	3	7	1	21	32	12.1%	50.8%
3. Consumption (family expenses, debt repayment)	2	27	10	22	61	23.0%	93.8%
4. All Uses	9	87	48	121	265	100.0%	36.2%

*The non-institutional credit market is also discussed in Section on Livestock

Again, according to the Cento Travelling Seminar findings, 30-50% of the credit used by Turkish farmers appears to come from non-institutional sources.⁽⁶⁾ Interest rates on these loans varied from 30% to 60%.⁽⁷⁾ Also, non-institutional loans were easier to obtain and most of these were either unsecured or secured only by a simple note.⁽⁸⁾ However, in those increasingly market-oriented peasant societies, market accessibility has changed the peasants' conception of property, whereby they have begun to make contracts for debts by pledging their lands for debts. (See p. 190)

The Sources and Composition of Private Moneylending:

Landlords: - In summary, landlords, mostly the business farmers residing in towns, extend credit to peasant farmers or tenants early in the crop year in order for it to be used for operational expenses. The landlord or the business farmer then compels the farmer to deliver a greater amount of grain than the original loan warrants since the interest rate is concealed. The vicious circle of impoverished indebtedness affects the output expectation of the farmer adversely since the real beneficiary of his improved agricultural production would be the landlord. Very often these debts can not be paid back in full and the permanent indebtedness to the same landlord frequently results in the loss of tenants' rights and often they are forced to work as landless workers. Professor Pepelasis in reference to lending practices of the landlords in the Middle East argues that,

(6) J. E. Blalock, Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture. Ankara May 1969, p.51

(7) Ibid, (Table 20, Section A), p.85

(8) Ibid, (Table 20, Section B), p.86

"some landlords deliberately put the tenant in permanent debt, that the tenant is virtually working for the landlord. For his work on the farm, the peasant is paid in credits to be spent and applied against his debt. As long as a debt exists, the peasant could be forced to provide labor service."⁽⁹⁾

Merchants: Merchants extend credit to the farmers in several ways. One way is to contract for the farmers' crop early in the crop year when the peasants are in greatest need for money. The farmers usually receive an advance loan from the merchants on the security of their next harvest and receive the remaining loan at the time of harvesting season. The terms of contracts for loans are unfavorable since the peasants are forced to borrow when prices are high and then repay the interest concealed loan either in kind or in cash when the prices are low. Any default in the payment of debt or the contracted produce by the farmers means possible loss of their lands. Moreover, the merchants or money lenders compel the farmers to sell all their produce through their agents or to their own stores. They can also force the peasants to buy their necessities from their own shops, in either case at unfavorable prices. Thus, through their control of credit mechanism, the business farmers and merchants have also control of the use of land and production as well as the disposal of the produce on the markets. In consequence, peasants are deprived of freedom to manoeuvre or search for wider and better markets. In some cities and towns, merchants also operate

(9) Pepelasis, Mears, Adelman, 'Economic Development', Harper and Bros. Publishers, N.Y. 1961, p.336

See also Alfred Bonne, 'Studies in Economic Development', London, Proutledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, p.166

shops selling farm equipment and production inputs and are in a position to extend credit through the sale of these capital goods to farmers on an installment basis. He generally makes a down payment at the time he receives the items and pays the balance (or the installment) at harvest time. In many cases, the items are overinvoiced, so that the interest is concealed. If the debt is not repaid on time, the merchant can then enforce collection in court, if necessary.

In the peasant societies of the Middle East and Eastern Turkey, where Islam dominates rural 'way of life', often there is no mention of interest rate since Qoran forbids usury. However, the agreeing parties on a loan write down the debt greater than it is and the actual rate of interest becomes unbearable.*

c. Farmers' Own Savings:

In the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey the focus of economic life is on the maintenance of current consumption which is equivalent to saying that peasants are not in a position to save any sizable sums. Although

*An interesting example of variation of this practice which also reflects both legal and religious prohibitions against usury is given by J.D. Blalock which goes like this: The farmer comes to the yard goods store in say, March, to buy material. He asks how much it is. The merchant says, say, 3 liras a meter. The farmer says that he wants 100 meters and that he would like to buy on installment. The merchant says that in that case the material will be 4.50 T.L. a meter and the the farmer must have a guarantee. Another merchant agrees to act as guarantor and the price of the material jumps to 5 liras. The farmer then says that what he really needs is money and asks the merchant if he will buy the material back for cash. The merchant says that he will and that he will pay 2.50 T.L. a meter. In the end the farmer leaves the shop with 250 liras for which he must repay 500 liras at harvest time.

Ibid, 'Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture', p.48

there has not been any serious attempts to unravel the saving habits of Middle Eastern or Turkish farmers, it is plausible to argue that the generally low levels of incomes characterize low level of savings which is in turn reinforced by low level of productivity. With little surplus of output over and above subsistence needs due to low level of productivity implies low level of incomes hence low level of saving. (See the section on Capital Deficiency 143-153). As Table 7 shows, the income derived from cereal production and animal husbandry in the 14 eastern provinces in 1963 was around 3.5 billion Turkish Liras, which is 10.7% of the total agricultural income of Turkey. This means that the two main sectors in the area with a population of 13% of the Turkish population (population of the region is 18.8% of the total) generate only 10.7% of the total value of national output.*

One of the characteristics of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey is that, there are gross inequalities in the distribution of land, capital assets and incomes. Although the total amount of savings - in the form of Bank deposits in Eastern Turkey is negligible, (only 3.5% of Turkey's total. See Table 10), there are, however, wealthy farmers who own vast lands and

*According to one estimate, the income per capita in the region averages around 1782 T.L., which is 2.9% below the national average. A. Cevikol, Tarim ve sanayi. Bolge planlama p.5-6.

On the other hand, according to Dr. F. Koc, the national income per farm population in Turkey is considered to be T.L. 950 in 1965. Dr. Fethullah Koc, Dogu Anadolunum Kalkinmasinda Sut Problemi ve Cozum Yollari. TTO ve S.O. Ankara, 1967, p.197

The distribution of national income in Turkey was as follows:

54.9% of the population receiving 15.7% of the income; while the share of 45.1% of the population was 84.3%.

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Oct.3, 1966

Part II: Table 7

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT IN THE 14 PROVINCES OF EASTERN TURKEY					
Province	Value of Output (In 000T.L.)			Agricultural Income*	
	Cereal	Livestock & Livestock Products	TOTAL	Per Population	Per Active Population
Agri	65.854,3	115.574,3	181.428,6	843	1.879
Bingol	11.096,1	76.485,3	87.581,4	667	1.416
Bitlis	32.249,5	71.285,6	103.535,1	803	1.935
Diyarbakir	239.344,4	135.883,2	375.227,6	934	2.094
Elaziz	172.205,3	104.970,6	277.175,9	996	2.279
Erzincan	136.883,4	105.933,0	244.816,4	999	2.065
Erzurum	199.663,9	271.269,3	470.933,2	828	1.651
Glumshane	172.946,6	112.022,7	284.969,3	1.172	2.419
Hakkari	8.389,0	64.287,1	72.676,1	1.072	2.243
Kars	187.941,4	460.111,2	648.052,6	1.192	2.518
Mus	84.328,8	102.998,3	187.327,1	1.117	2.460
Siirt	121.839,9	109.033,2	230.873,1	994	2.236
Tunceli	60.289,9	62.662,9	128.952,8	921	1.995
Van	81.991,8	182.889,4	264.881,2	1.255	2.845

Region	1.581.024,3	1.975,406,1	3.556,430,4	955	2.142
Turkey	23.367,235,0	9.876,606,4	33.243,841,4	1.198	2.559
Region/Turkey %	6,8	20,0	10,7	83,1	83,7

*Population figures are from 1960 Population Census; Source Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Ziraat Bankasi, 1963 Turkiye Tarimaal Uretim Degeri, Ankara 1968, p.6

livestock. Yet these farmers are unwilling to hold money or bank deposits, either because their private money lending business is more profitable for them or due to the spiralling increase in prices and galloping inflationary pattern in the 60's which compelled them to hoard gold, or purchase land and apartments in Ankara, Istanbul or in other urban places for speculative gains.

Also with peasants who are under the stress of current consumption needs, their time preference scales weigh heavily towards the present rather than future consumption.

Finally, it is common to find in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey that expenses equivalent to nearly half a year's income are incurred during occasional festivities such as costly and long weddings and prohibitive payments for bride price (Başlık) required for the marriage of a son. Also social pressures to fulfil or honor one's socio-cultural obligations, e.g. extended family reciprocities, visits to Mecca, conspicuous spendings drain savings into non-economic channels.

(See Section on Capital Deficiency)

Part II: Table 8

TYPE OF CREDITS IN EASTERN TURKEY 1963-1965 in T.L. Thousands							
	1963		1964		1965		East Turkey
	East	Turkey	East	Turkey	East	Turkey	%
Commercial Credits	94,2	8.652,9	268,1	9.418,4	421,8	12.745,4	3,3
Agricultural Credits	197,3	2.421,3	225,6	3.011,8	239,6	3.231,4	7,4
Mortgage secured credits	20,3	1.410,2	24,2	1.651,1	30,8	1.812,6	1,7
Business Credits	20,9	202,5	26,8	246,7	32,9	312,4	1,1
Development and Investment Credits	3,4	343,9	4,2	5.054,8	3,2	6.367,7	0,0
TOTAL	361,1	13.030,8	548,9	20.282,8	728,3	24.469,5	3,0

Source: Year-End Reports of Banks for 1963, 1964, 1965, Türkiye Bankaları Birliği Yayınları, No: 23, 25 and 26. Ankara 1964 (Cetvel 11/E), 1965 and 1966 (Cetvel: 17).

Part II: Table 9

THE DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF CREDIT IN EASTERN TURKEY 1963-1965						
	Indices of Credit Development, 1963 = 100			Distribution %		
	1963	1964	1965	1963	1964	1965
Commercial Credits	100.0	284,6	447,8	28,0	48,8	58,0
Agricultural Credits	100.0	114,3	121,4	58,8	41,1	32,0
Mortgage Secured Credits	100.0	119,2	151,7	6,0	4,4	4,2
Business Credits	100.0	128,2	157,4	6,2	4,9	4,5
Development Investment Credits	100.0	123,5	94,1	1,0	0,8	0,4
TOTAL CREDIT	100.0	163,3	216,7	100.0	100.0	100.0

Part II: Table 10

BANK DEPOSITS IN EASTERN TURKEY							
	1963		1964		1965		East Turkey %
	East	Turkey	East	Turkey	East	Turkey	
Official Deposits	71,9	1.897,7	84,2	2.971,3	83,6	2.048,1	4,1
Commercial Deposits	43,2	2.014,1	39,6	2.420,5	44,4	2.914,6	1,5
Banks Deposits	1,9	258,6	3,5	300,9	3,9	417,2	0,9
Savings Deposits	219,7	6.603,8	252,7	7.518,0	347,5	9.821,9	3,5
TOTAL	336,7	10.774,2	380,0	12.310,7	479,4	15.201,8	3,2

Source: Year-End reports of Banks in 1963, 1964, 1965, Turkish-Banking Union No: 21,25, and 26, Ankara, 1964, 1965, and 1966

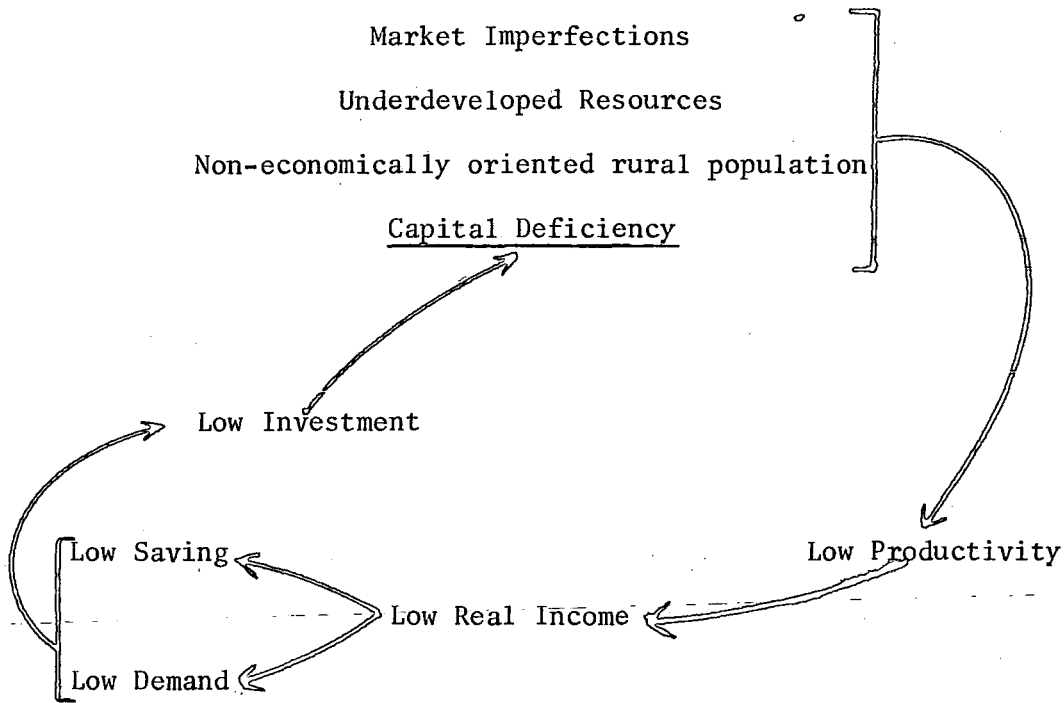
3. CAPITAL DEFICIENCY

One of the most negative features of the agricultural sector in Eastern Turkey is the extremely low level of capital availability per head of rural population. The current level of available capital goods is not only scarcely sufficient to provide the growing rural population with a minimum per capita endowment of capital goods. To a great extent, the high degree of peasants' indebtedness and high demand for credit reveal this chronic deficiency of capital. The bulk of the peasant population with small or medium land holdings are unable to accumulate savings and thus capital since the latter requires not only savings - excess of production over consumption - but also the channelizing of these savings into productive investment outlets.

At the root of the capital deficiency lie various complex negative factors interacting with each other in a circular relationship which perpetuate capital deficiencies and which in turn cause low level of agricultural productivity and low market activity.*

*By capital in this study is meant:

- a. All those purchased production inputs, e.g. modern stock of fixed and working capital, agricultural equipment, purchase of fertilizer, improved seeds; irrigation water and all the other yield increasing innovations which are embodied and directed towards increasing the utilization and productivity of factors of production.
- b. Also, by capital stock, aside from physical equipment and assets, is meant: the body of knowledge possessed by agricultural population and the innovative capacity of the population to use these inputs effectively.



Source: 1. Adopted from Meier and Baldwin, 'Economic Development', New York, John Wiley and Sons, London, p.320

2. R. Nurkse, 'Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries,' B. Blackwell, Oxford, 1953. p.5

Briefly, this so-called 'vicious circle of poverty' illustrates that, among other adverse conditioning forces such as market imperfections, economic ignorance and the environmental backwardness of the peasant populace, capital deficiency is both a cause and consequence of poverty. That is, the limited amount of capital characterizes the low level of output, and that, after consumption needs are fulfilled, little remains as surplus for investment, Since the level of real income is low, the flow of saving and demand for production inputs is small. Thus low propensity to save and limited incentive and capacity for investment characterize low level of capital formation which accounts for a low level of productivity and which in turn leads to a low level of income and so on. Hence, given the

difficulties of securing credits for productive investment and the limitations imposed by low level of incomes due to low level of agricultural productivity and the attendant deficiencies of capital and natural resources, the region consequently has become the most underdeveloped area of an underdeveloped country. As data on Table 11 shows, in the 12 provinces of Eastern Turkey income per agricultural population of Eastern Turkey is T.L. 1151. This is 35% below the average of the remaining 54 provinces of Turkey (1754 T.L.) and 31% lower than the national average (1669T.L.) And the agricultural income per active population in the East is T.L. 2454 which is approximately 31% below the average of the remaining 54 provinces (T.L. 3559) and 28% below the national average (3410 T.L.) Another characteristic of the region is that, the ratio of private investment to total agricultural income hardly indicates any significant increase in private investment in agriculture. According to Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz, private investment in agriculture relative to agricultural income is much lower than it is in Turkey as a whole.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, this ratio for Turkey is not very encouraging either. According to U.S.A.I.D. calculations, using State Planning Organizations' investment and income price deflation indices, private investment in Turkish Agriculture relative to agricultural income for 1963-67 is as follows:

(10) Ibrahim Aksoz, Ibid, p.319

PART II TABLE: 11

THE VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT PER CAPITA OF RURAL POPULATION & ACTIVE POPULATION

Type of Production	Region (12 Provinces)				The Remaining 54 Provinces		Turkey	
	Per Agri. T.L.	Population 54 Prs.=100	Per Active T.L.	Population 54 Prs.=100	Per Agri. Population	Per Active Population	Per Agri. Population	Per Active Population
I - Crops								
1. Cereals	344.61	52	734.82	55	654.08	1327.18	610.60	1247.45
2. Pulses	21.21	56	42.24	58	38.04	77.19	35.68	72.89
3. Industrial Crops	93.91	26	200.25	27	356.61	723.60	319.70	653.16
4. Fruits	51.18	22	109.14	23	233.35	473.49	207.76	424.45
TOTAL	510.91	40	1089.45	42	1282.08	2601.46	1173.74	2397.95
II - Animals								
5. Animal Production	298.76	144	637.05	151	207.21	420.44	220.06	449.59
6. Animal Products	341.18	129	727.50	135	264.53	536.76	275.29	562.42
TOTAL	639.94	135	1364.55	142	471.74	957.20	495.35	1012.01
Total Value of Output	1150.85	65	2454.00	69	1753.82	3558.66	1669.09	3409.96

Source: S.I.S. Ziraat Istatistikheri. Also Ziraat Bankasi
Turkiye Tarimsal Uretim Degeri Ankara 1965

	A	B	C
Year	Private Investment In Agriculture (T.L. Thousands, current prices)	Agricultural Income (1) (T.L. Thousands current prices)	Investment as a Percentage of Income A/B = C
1963	577,000	25,142,500	2.3
1964	560,000	25,800,100	2.2
1965	600,000	25,434,400	2.4
1966	800,000	30,044,200	2.7
1967	750,000	31,696,600	2.4

(1) Includes agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting.

Source: A. S.P.O. The data being converted to 1961 prices by U.S.A.I.D., using S.P.O. investment price deflation indices

B. S.I.S.

The U.S.A.I.D. calculations further show that 'on a per capita of farm population basis, income increased from T.L. 1,469 in 1963 to T.L. 1,754 in 1967 while investment increased from T.L. 34 to T.L. 42. That means, of the increase of T.L. 285 in income, T.L. 8 or 2.8% was invested. (11) However, the choice of the years could have also influenced the income of these figures.

Since capital is deficient in supply in Turkey, Eastern agriculture as a field of investment must also compete with other uses of capital and these alternatives seem to be much more attractive for whatever capital is available due to the general environmental backwardness of Eastern

(11) J. E. Blalock, 'Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture', U.S.A.I.D., Ankara, May 1969, p.61

Turkey. In fact the manufacturing sector in Eastern Turkey reveals in essence the economic backwardness of the region. (See Table 21 on page 150). As long as the transportation facilities remain rudimentary, illiteracy, ignorance of market conditions coupled with remoteness of market centres reinforced by severe climatic and topographic conditions, there is little inducement to risk capital in the area. And in so far as labor is the relatively abundant factor and wages are low, there is little desire on the part of potential investors to substitute scarce capital for cheap labor.

However, one of the most adverse aspects of the structural imbalances of eastern agriculture is that, the natural environmental conditions are virtually unsuited for cereal production. With notable exceptions of few industrial crops, no crop surplus occurs. (See Part III, Table 13 on page 228). Because the natural setting and climatic conditions and all other environmental conditions favor livestock production, the regional resources and other agricultural operations should be geared and oriented to supplement livestock industry. To the extent that resources are misutilized, it follows that no crop surplus occurs.* In fact, real incomes per head of rural population in the region is stabilized at low levels of largely because of this depletion of resources caused by misallocation of productive resources. The peasant societies have been unable to realize

*In fact, aside from capital deficiency, Eastern Turkey also suffers from a low ratio of arable land per farm family, ecological deterioration, inadequate knowledge, inefficient techniques and methods of production and generally non-achievement oriented value structure - the many negative features that characterize low level of agricultural development in Eastern Turkey.

their productive potentials more effectively. The comparative analysis of input and output data indicates a slight recent increase in agricultural output in Eastern Turkey. However, these official figures fail to indicate the fact that expansion of agricultural production in recent years has largely been accomplished through increased use of already available inputs, e.g. more specifically through the cultivation of pasture lands or marginal lands with low marginal productivity. To the extent that increases in agricultural productivity have not been realised through fuller utilization and more efficient allocation of resources and emphasis is not placed on the comparatively advantageous livestock production, the initial expansion of farm production will be dissipated and the development will be only short-lived and artificial.

Different features of capital deficiencies in Eastern Turkey may be examined in more detail:

a. One major limitation to higher agricultural productivity in Eastern Turkey is that hoe agriculture, manual labor and animal draft power predominate in rural technology. With few notable exceptions, there is in fact no piece of technology or capital equipment that requires more than two hands. According to the data of the Village Inventory Studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs, as Table 13 shows, in the 9436 peasant societies in the region, the technological structure of the rural economy is based on wooden plow and oxen-cart agriculture.*

*These provinces are Agri, Van, Bingol, Bitlis, Mus, Tunceli and Van.

Table 12: Part II

THE DEGREE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION							
	Number of:		Total	Number of Workers	Number of Machinery	Number of Electric Motors	Number of Generators
	State Owned	Private Owned					
Erzincan	2	3	5	1610	7	356	2
Erzurum	3	15	18	2340	275	622	9
Kars	-	3	3	41	12	5	1
Agri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tunceli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bingol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bitlis	3	-	3	143	4	42	6
Van	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adiyaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Malatya	4	6	10	5420	15	1602	10
Elazig	4	6	10	3850	179	420	7
Siirt	3	-	3	404	28	127	4
G. Antep	4	39	43	2451	35	791	14
Urfa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diyarbakir	3	3	6	717	219	229	2
Mardin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hakkari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 Province TOTAL	26	75	101	17036	782	4195	55
Turkey	257	2775	3102	326000	5498	98000	4800
East/Turkey	10	2.7	3	5	14.5	4.1	1.1

Source: SIS, Industrial Census, Manufacturing Industry, 1964, pp.299, 419, 535

PART II TABLE: 13

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR AGRICULTURAL TOOLS & MACHINERY

Province (000)	Wooden Plow (000)	Malboard plow	Drill	Combine	Two wheeled oxen cart	Four wheeled cart
Erzincan	22	3.400	3	2	1.100	1.900
Erzurum	56	11.000	40	49	4.300	2.888
Kars	45	12900	78	92	1600	2400
Agri	20	3940	26	21	1400	456
Tunceli	15	47	2	3	125	92
Bingöl	13	22	-	-	1600	-
Mus	18	3370	26	13	11400	2180
Bitlis	8	2100	3	1	3500	162
Van	13	7000	1	7	11000	213
Adiyaman	19	48	5	2	-	272
Malatya	22	400	5	8	3	102
Elazig	20	760	29	40	739	1420
Siirt	16	267	11	18	3	78
13 Province TOTAL	28.700	45254	229	249	11370	33764
Gaziantep	18	1.810	176	47	189	1260
Urfa	31	492	239	129	5	408
Diyarbakir	34	693	90	91	39	841
Mardin	25	164	65	47	2	282
4 Province TOTAL	10.800	3159	570	314	235	2791
Hakkari	4	71	-	-	-	-
18 Province TOTAL	399.000	48484	799	563	112605	36555

source: M.V.A.
Village Inventory
Studies Table:22

Rural Technology:

No. of Villages	No. of Families	Wooden Plow	Malboard Plow	Drill	Combine	Oxen Cart	Wheeled Cart
9436		399.000	48.484	799	563	112.605	36.555

Source: See Table 13 for more detailed illustration p. 151

A case in point is that, a relatively higher increase in the number of tractors in Eastern Turkey (24.1% during 1966-67 in contrast to 15.1% in Turkey), (Table 14), without a sufficient increase in the supply of complementary factors and without structural changes in cooperant environmental conditions have not improved traditional agriculture to a technologically dynamic modern agriculture. And capital deficiency also appears in amount as well as in character. For instance, according to the calculations of Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz of Ataturk University, the distribution of agricultural equipment is as follows: Per thousand peasant families there are 522 wooden plows: 100 malboard plows: 0.35 drills: 0.27 combines: 243 oxen carts: and 1.8 four wheeled carts. While 16% of the cultivated land in Turkey utilizes tractors, only 8.9% of the land in the East is so farmed, (12). Moreover, the number of tractors in Adana alone is four times more than the number of tractors in the 12 provinces of Eastern Turkey. (13) To the extent that the ratio of land per farm population is low and in so far as level of production and income base remain static, the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey cannot maintain sufficient technical equipment, let alone modernize or increase the amount.

*These provinces are Agri, Van, Bingol, Bitlis, Mus, Tunceli and Van
(12) and (13) - see next page.

Part II: Table 14

THE RATE OF INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF TRACTORS			
	1965	1966	1967
Erzincan	176	271	382
Erzurum	260	166	220
Kars	314	437	670
Agri	82	185	126
Tunceli	81	103	116
Bingol	7	10	1
Mus	200	192	474
Bitlis	76	77	110
Van	47	93	414
Adiyaman	132	166	192
Malatya	379	367	469
Elazig	303	321	425
Siirt	59	134	156
Total of 13 Provinces	2001	2522	3755
Gaziantep	457	534	717
Urfa	622	1285	1095
Diyarbakir	263	580	583
Mardin	251	313	341
Total of 4 Provinces	1593	2712	2736
Hakkari	-	3	5
Total of 18 Provinces	3594	5237	6496
TURKEY	54668	65103	74982
Source: SIS, 1965, 1966, 1967, Summary of Agricultural Statistics			

No. of Tractors	1965	1966	% increase during 1966-7	1967	% increase during 1966-67
In the East	3.594	5.237	45%	6.494	24.1%
Turkey	54.668	65.103	19%	74.982	15.1%

b. Fertilizer Use

Another characteristic of Eastern Agriculture is that utilization of fertilizers is extremely limited and knowledge of soil building or plant nutrition remains rudimentary.

Fertilizer Use (In 17 provinces of E. Turkey)

No. of Villages	Use of Fertilizer		Barnyard Manure	Commercial Fertilizer
	There is	None		
9.303	5500	3803	5203	543
%	60%	40%	55%	5.7%

Source: M.V.A. Inventory Studies, Table 22. For further details see Table 15 on page

A very common sight in rural eastern Turkey is manure cakes moulded and piled against the walls so that it will be at hand for use as fuel. Since commercial fertilizer is deficient in supply or has not yet been introduced, the use of animal manure as fertilizer must compete with other uses and these alternatives, e.g. heating, cooking purposes seem to be more attractive for whatever manure is available. It is estimated that three-fourths

(12) Source Ministry of Village Affairs, Table 22, Adopted from Ibrahim Aksoz, Ibid, p.348-9

(13) SIS, Summary of Agricultural Statistics, No. 408, Ankara 1965, p.16 Also, I. Aksoz, Ibid, p.348. Also, the number of tractors per 1000 hectare of cultivated land and per active population is as follows:

<u>Tractor</u>	Eastern Turkey 12 provinces	Remaining 54 provinces	12 provinces Turkey
1. Per 1000 hectare of cultivated land	1.13	3.31	3.33
2. Per 1000 active farm population	0.99	4.37	3.97
3. The ratio of land cultivated by tractor to the total area of land	8.93	16.92	15.94

Source: S.I.S. Agricultural Structure No. 469, p.13, 1963

of animal manure is consumed as fuel in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.* According to a study conducted by the Directorate of Technical Agriculture in 1965 alone, 95% of fertilizer in Kars, 92% in Erzurum and nearly all available manure in Agri was burned as fuel. (14)

Many of the agriculturalists in Eastern Turkey seem to expect spectacular results in terms of increases in agricultural productivity from improved use of fertilizer.** Though such spectacular results could not be achieved unless there are complementary feedbacks and integrated package of practices and approach to agricultural improvement, it is also essential to conduct soil analysis and experimentation at first in order to determine what types of crops are best suited for the area and what would be the minimum fertilizer requirements, to achieve higher yields. Peasants in Eastern Turkey also suffer from inefficient methods and techniques of production. The cultivation of soil building crops, e.g. forage, legume or crop rotation that may reduce fallow cycles or knowledge of usage of various fertilizer nutrients under varying conditions of soil, water,

*Last summer, in fact, two daily newspapers in Eastern Turkey were seen carrying notices put by the Ministry of Interior requiring manure cakes for T.L. 250 per ton to be used as fuel in the Gendarmerie offices stationed in the area.

(14)The report was quoted by I. Aksoz, Ibid, p.335

**Again Ibrahim argues that, if all the available manure were to be used as fertilizer, one ton of it could increase wheat output in the region by 20kg. per donum, which means an increase in wheat output by 400 thousand tons which is 10% higher than the current regional output. Assuming that wheat per kilo worths 80 kurus, the value of the increase in wheat production would be 320 million T.L., an increase of income per family of about 750 T.L.

See I. Aksoz, Ibid, pp.336-37

However, it must be realized that the use of cow dung as fuel is due to lack of wood and coal and severe climate as well as the extreme low purchasing power of the bulk of the peasant population.

and climatic conditions are little known, if at all. It is plausible to argue that peasant societies in Eastern Turkey lag behind for so many reasons, it seems not so much due to their poor natural resource endowment, but because they lack the knowledge of alternatives and the skills for their adoption in overcoming the scarcity of natural resources.

c. Irrigation

In the rain-thirsty peasant societies of Eastern Turkey which are largely confined to the mountainous and less fertile terrain and cut off from the moist Black Sea winds by mountains, peasants continue to practice superstitious incantations for the cure of drought and believe in the efficacy of rainprayers and animal sacrifices. That this should be so is probably due to peasants' ignorance but also inadequacy of rainfall, confused water rights aggravating anxiety and frustration among the waterless peasant societies.* The main rivers in the region, Aras-Karasu and Murat show a great increase and decrease in volume at inappropriate times

*It is not uncommon in many peasant societies of Eastern Turkey for scarcity of water and inadequate and confusing water rights to have caused periodic disputes over its use among neighbouring villages and rival landed estates. In fact, lack of clear and adequate legislation on water rights has always been a great obstacle to agricultural efficiency and security since Ottoman days. Under the Ottoman land code, 'water rights' were regarded as the personal property of individuals and not annexed to the land to which naturally they belong.' (U.N. Ibid p. 73)

Even today in Çukurova region, particularly in Kadirli water rights are bought and sold to the highest bidders and the wealthy landowners in the fertile valleys may forbid the peasants on the less fertile slopes from diverting water to their lands.

of the year and provide little help for irrigation. Also the character of the terrain does not allow the diversion of river waters by checkdams, irrigation canals and ditches since many of these rivers follow depressions or gorges created by geological action. There are also no methods of drainage to prevent deterioration of irrigated lands, no dams to control floods, erosion or maintain water supply for irrigation.* As the data on Table 15 shows, only 4.9% of the cultivated land is irrigated while 95.1% of the land in the region is not irrigated at all.

4. Conspicuous Expenditures:

At the root of capital deficiency is also the conspicuous expenditure; preference for short-term and speculative investment or preference to acquire more land rather than productive investment in the land among the wealthy land-holding classes have deprived the regional economy from effective savings and investable funds.** Although a Turkish proverb says, 'one cannot always know who possesses religious faith or who possesses money!', the fact is that concentration of land ownership and increased

of the
*Keban dam, in Elaziz-Keban area promises to be a very effective and economically significant project in terms of regulating water supply, providing much needed electrical energy supply and also for the irrigation of land already under cultivation. It is estimated that Keban Dam could eventually contribute up to 1,443 millions T.L. to national income in the coming years.

Imar ve Iskan Bakanligi, Keban Baraji Ankara, 1965, p.8

**Very often, a greater desire for investing in short-term gains or land is aggravated by uncertainty concerning price inflation, uncertainty concerning government's economic policies and also absence of effective enterprises. In addition, cultural influences and prestige considerations e.g. demonstration effect may place value and may thus encourage construction of mosques, ornate temples and conspicuous production or consumption.

Part II: Table 16

IRRIGATION

Province	No. of Villages	Irrigation Water		% of Land Irrigated	% of Land Non-Irrigated
		There is	None		
Erzincan	559	413	146	8	92
Erzurum	1039	773	266	6	94
Kars	764	329	435	4,9	95,1
Agri	544	306	238	5,1	49,9
Tunceli	414	292	122	5	95
Bingol	325	299	26	5,5	94,5
Mus	366	207	159	3	97
Bitlis	253	203	50	6,1	93,9
Van	546	457	89	6,5	93,5
Adiyaman	339	237	102	3,2	96,8
Malatya	510	110	400	11,1	88,9
Siirt	471	289	180	2,5	97,5
12 Provinces				6	94
Gaziantep	572	165	407	2,5	97,5
Urfa	644	128	516	0,4	99,6
Diyarbakir	663	262	401	1,6	98,4
Mardin	708	232	476	2,1	97,4
4 Provinces				11,6	98,4
16 Provinces Average				4,9	95,1

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs
 V. Inventory Studies. Table: 35, 36

inequality in the distribution of property have aggravated extreme inequalities in the distribution of income. To a large extent the values of many of these wealthy landlords are not conducive to investment in land in terms of increasing its productivity and efficiency. Holding land as a form of wealth is also a potential source of economic and political power and may also be a source of direct satisfaction in terms of its size. In fact, it is repeatedly stated that, ownership of a tractor which is a means of production and indirectly helps to produce means of satisfaction often becomes a direct source of satisfaction connected with the size and other concrete characteristics of the machine. The size of one's holding and the number of one's livestock have prestige value and not so often in terms of their potential value or market access. In consequence, farmers may show little interest in adopting improved production techniques or methods to increase the productive capacity of their holdings.

Another case in point is that increasing contact with outside world and increased knowledge of urban originated goods have promoted their 'propensity to consume' rather than 'aspiration to produce' or increased productive efficiency.

In some of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey the landholding classes are often absentee landlords whose hearts are not in the soil and confine their activities to distribution and moneylending. Since knowledge is limited and local markets are narrow introduction of output increasing methods or techniques of production becomes more difficult.

PART III

A. PROBLEMS OF AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN THE PEASANT SOCIETIES OF EASTERN TURKEY

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PROBLEMS OF AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN THE PEASANT SOCIETIES
OF EASTERN TURKEY

In Eastern Turkey the focus of social and economic life is agriculture and the livelihood of the whole region depends on it. It is here that nearly four fifths of the people live and produce an agricultural output which constitutes almost the whole basis of the regional economy. Since agricultural production and marketing weigh so heavily in the economy of Eastern Turkey and since land is the major element of production in agriculture, the manifold systems and features of agrarian structure which prevail in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey and all other institutional features which characterize man's relations to man in the use of land are highly significant.

"By agrarian structure is meant the institutional framework of agricultural production. It includes in the first place, land tenure; the legal or customary system under which land is owned; the distribution of ownership of farm property between large estates and peasant farms or among peasant farms of various size; Land tenancy, the system under which land is operated and its products divided between operator and owner; the organization of credit, production, and marketing; the mechanism through which agriculture is financed; the burdens imposed on rural populations by governments in the form of taxation; and the services supplied by governments to rural populations, such as technical advice and education facilities, health services, water supply, communications and transport system.⁽¹⁾

(1) From United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Land Reform, Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development U.N. New York, 1951 p. 3-49. Also includes, the inheritance system according to which land is passed on from the owner to his heirs. See also: Alfred Bonne, Studies in Economic Development, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1957 p. 167

From the point of view of market-oriented agricultural development, land tenure conditions manifest themselves in several dimensions of opportunity* 1. The right to use the land-production opportunity; 2. The right to dispose of the product of the land - market opportunity; credit opportunity and all of these and other aspects of opportunities manifest themselves as potential sources of economic power and constitute the critical parts of the integral social and economic milieu of the peasant societies. Seen from these perspectives, a critical examination of the distribution of ownership of land; the size of farms; land-use patterns; owner-operator relationships and all other pervasive environmental conditions would unravel many of the issues and problems that confront the rural development of Eastern Turkey. It follows that the causes of low productivity in agriculture and poverty of rural population, in fact the poor health of the regional and national economy are, to a great extent, the consequences of ills of its defective agrarian system.

The inherited Backwardness of land tenure relations in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey are to a large extent a revelation of the history of its socio-economic, cultural and political past, its semi-feudal structure and a product of the institutional features of a back-ward inheritance system.

A Brief History of Land Tenure Conditions:

The history of land tenure conditions in Eastern Turkey by origin is a mixture of traditions and malpractices some of which date back to the Ottoman times. Summarily, during the reign of the Ottomans in the Middle East, vast areas of conquered lands were

* See Parsons, Penn and Raup, (ed) Land Tenure The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1956 p. 9

distributed either to produce revenue for the government or to buy the loyalty of tribal leaders in the East against possible insurgencies in the conquered areas. The land was distributed under the titles of

- (a) Zaameh or Leadership Lands, (allocated for influential notables;)
- (b) Khas Lands, (private lands reserved for the Sultan or his favorites;)
- (c) Timar lands (for gallant soldiers;) or (d) Wakf lands (dedicated to charity etc). Moreover, these land grants were made on the condition that the beneficiaries dwelt on the land and that upon their death, rights and obligations were passed on to their male heirs. In the early XVI Century, arable lands in Eastern Turkey were distributed to loyal Kurdish tribal leaders - Ekmad Beylikleri - under the titular status of Yurtluk, Ocaklik (roughly means homeland or fatherland) in return for their services in war and loyalty in peace to the Sultan. As a point of significance, in 1514 Sultan Yavuz Selim directed his army to wipe out a number of communities, mostly of Shii (a religious sect), which were known to be inspired by or associated with Shah Ismail, then the Emperor of Persia. Those tribal leaders who remained loyal to the Sultan and participated in the war effort were later rewarded with the ownership rights of vast lands.⁽²⁾ Later on, as the authority of central government weakened, the feudal system gradually gained more strength and increased economies and political powers of the land grantees. In 1858, however, a provision was made under

- See 1. Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşili, Osmanli Tarihi, Cilt II, Turk Rarih Kurumu, Ankara 1949 pp 272-3
2. Sehabettin Tekindag, Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikalar Lsigi Altunda Yavuz Sultan Selimin Lzan Seferi, Tarih Dergisi, Sayi 22, mart 1967 p.75
 3. Hasan Resit Tankut, Köylerimiz, Bugün Nasildir, Dün Nasildi, Yarin Nasil Olmalider Ankara 1939 p.34-39
- (2) Akram El-Ricaby, Land Tenue in Syria appears in Land Tenure, Parsons, Penn, Raup University of Wisconsin Press, 1951 p.86-89

a new Ottoman Land Code which divided lands into five categories;

- (a) Mulk or Memluke lands, held in absolute ownership;
- (b) Emiri lands, ownership of which basically belongs to the state and the right of utilizing it (Tasarrouf or sufruct) and could be given to individuals;
- (c) Wakf or charity lands;
- (d) Public lands, left to the benefits of the public with title belongings to the state;
- (e) Dead lands or vacant lands. Although this law forbade individual ownership of villages it has never been enforced. (3)

In the course of time, subdivision of land into numerous small and uneconomic holdings as a result of subdivision of inherited lands perpetrated in-efficient land use patterns as a result of fragmented and widely scattered lands. Also, since the main purpose of the Ottoman Land Code was not to help the cultivator, but to establish a claim to revenue by the government, it largely failed to enforce general registration of individual titles neither did it make any provision to secure the position of the tenancy. There was no system of registration, no protection against eviction, no provision to protect cultivators. (4) Gradually, changes in demographical pattern and their adverse affect on land/population ratio, coupled with insecurity and uncertainty of ownership rights and also the extreme subdivision of farm units forced the peasants to cultivate these small strips jointly. Thus, the so-called 'undeclared share in a common property' came into being. (5)

- (3) Oya Sencer, Turkiyenin Toprak Sorunlarına Tarihsel Acidan Bir Bakis. Istanbul p. 164
- (4) Doreen Warriner, Land Reform and Development in the Middle East. London Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957 p.17
- (5) Akram-El Ricaby, Ibid P. 88 also see Mehmet Ali Aybar, Bagimsizlik Demokrasi, Sosyalizm, Gercek Yayinlari, Istanbul 1967, Mr. Aybar claims that the present agrarian structure is an undisturbed residues of obsolete Ottoman Land system. See p. 651

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the following Republican regime, Ottoman Land Code was revised and additional amendments were introduced⁽⁶⁾. But the Turkish life which had been sustained by agriculture and primitive technology remained little changed, since the new land provisions changed the surface form of a backward agrarian institution but left the substance or the inherited defects of the early system intact. For, customary ownership and semi-feudal rights, unregistered titles, insecurity of tenancy, uncertainty as to the ownership and control of land and water, the general prevalence of disputes and combination of all of these and other environmental conditions have not yet given the majority of peasants the opportunity to mobilize their efforts to solve their economic problems, nor incentives to initiate economic changes. Particular manifestation of these are low productivity of agriculture in the region, general poverty of rural population, misutilization and underutilization of resources and general inaccessibility to the markets by the majority of the small farmers and tenants. Lack of security and the prevalence of small forms which are too small to be efficiently utilized or too large to be intensively cultivated remain the outstanding negative features of a backward land tenure system in Eastern Turkey.

(6) As (5)

LAND TENURE SYSTEMS, SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF
LAND OWNERSHIP

Land tenure systems vary considerably in character and intensity in different rural areas of Eastern Turkey. In the predominantly custom-bound and semi-feudal peasant societies, notably in southeastern Turkey, the ownership unit may be tribe, clan or family with a predominance of large estates and villages under their domain. Different forms of land ownership may also exist in combinations, particularly in the south-east and east-central part of the region, where increased inequality in landownership structure is common and concentration of vast lands in the hands of absentee landlords characterize the rural economy. In general however, peasant proprietorship is the common characteristic feature of the land tenure system and grazing lands are often communally held and jointly utilized by neighbouring peasant communities. Peasant-owned lands are generally numerous in number and extremely small in size and often fragmented into narrow strip parcels and scattered over a wide area. Conditions of uneconomic holdings are largely aggravated by the operations of population pressure on the land, by the inequality in the distribution of land ownership or by the practice of inheritance system central to which is subdivision of land among heirs. Also, in consequence of the excessive subdivision of land, peasant proprietors were generally unable to eke out a living from their small, uneconomic holdings and in consequence became indebted to the neighbouring landowners or money lending absentee merchant farmers. These small farmers, in the course of time, either under the burden of exorbitant interest

charges or in servitude of debt lost the possession of their land which further promoted concentration or maldistribution of land ownership.*

Implicit in the foregoing discussions, extremes of landlessness or uneconomically small peasant holdings and very large holdings have traditionally characterized the contrasting type of land tenure conditions in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. The findings of the village inventory studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs show that, there are approximately 815,000 peasant families in the region. 60% of these families owned land and the remaining 40% possessed no land at all** (See Table III-2 p. 163) As the below data summarily indicate, the highest percentage of landless families in the four provinces of southeastern Turkey which further indicate the relics of a semi-feudal

<u>No. of Provinces</u>	(in thousands) <u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Percentage of Landed families</u>	<u>Percentage of Landless families</u>
13 provinces	577	65	35
4 provinces	223	55	45
1 province	15	59	41
AVERAGE	815	60	40

Source: Ministry Inventory Studies Table: 29

* A case of point is that the common practice of pledging one's land for debt repayment is the characteristic feature of market-recognizing peasant societies. With growing interconnection with market culture, these small peasant proprietors' conception of land began to change from a 'physical or corporeal sense of property' to a new notion of an 'asset or incorporeal property'. Now peasants learned that they could make contracts for debts in terms of the intangible value of their land. This growing contact with markets, and acquisition of new concepts, such as contract, exchange, the market accessibility of land etc are analyzed in details in section on 'Absentee Landownership.'

** The percentage of Landless families in Turkey is 17%.

agrarian structure, the disparity in tenure relations and the correlative status of peasant people in the area*

In general, however, the extremely small size of average farm holdings are the salient feature of the agrarian structure in Eastern Turkey. In essence, the size of family holdings and the distribution of ownership of land vary greatly from area to area with significant skewness in the southeastern provinces where extremes of very small and very large holdings are paramount and exemplify the contrasting features of land tenure conditions and the correlative, status of the families on the land: As the following Tables indicate in the 13 eastern provinces, 76% of the families own between 1 - 50 donum of land and control 31% of the total arable land. In contrast in the 4 provinces of southeastern Turkey, 61% of the landed families own between 1 - 50 donum of land which is approximately 15% of the total arable land. Similarly, there is a distinctive inequality and concentration of land ownership in the 4 southeastern provinces, as contrasted to the rest of the provinces in the region. In the 13 provinces, only 2.6% of the landed families own more than 200 donum of land which constitute 27% of the total arable land. On the other hand, in the 4 provinces 8% of the families control 55% of the total arable land,

which

* When compared with the percentage of landless families in the various Western provinces of Eastern Turkey;

Province	Percentage of landless families
Ankara.....	28
Nigde	30
Antalya	26
Isparta	30
Burdur	22
Içel	26
Average	<u>27</u>

We see that percentage of landlessness in the East is much higher. Also see 1. Ekinçi, Dogunun Duzeni p.63.

TABLE III - 1

LANDED FAMILIES AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

Table 18: Source: Ministry of Village Affairs T. 18

PROVINCE	0 - 10		0 - 25		0 - 50		51-200		200 or more	
	Family Donum		Family Donum		Family Donum		Family Donum		Family Donum	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Erzincan	31	6	63	23	88	55	11.4	36	0.6	9
Erzurum	23	2	16	10	80	26	17	44	3	28
Kars	12	1	36	10	70	35	28	51	2	14
Agri	8	0.6	23	3	93	15	39	42	8	43
Tunceli	37	7	69	25	89	47	10	34	1	19
Bingol	58	16	84	38	95	58	4.6	27	0.4	15
Mus	11	0.9	24	4	50	14	46	55	4	31
Bitlis	57	4.9	69	9	76	14	22	58	2	28
Van	14	1	33	5	58	18	44	51	6	31
Siirt	58	5	27	15	86	18	11	20	3	52
Adiyaman	55	6	73	15	84	25	13	33	3	42
Elaziz	35	5.8	52	19	71	38	27.5	45	1.5	17
Malatya	45	7.6	68	21	86	42	12	43	1	15
Average of 13 provin- ces	34	5	54	14.5	76	31	21.4	42	2.6	27
Gaziantep	26	2.5	52	11	72	24	24	40	4	36
Urfa	9	0.1	20	1.1	34	4.2	47	23.8	19	72
Diyarbakir	34	1.9	58	6	74	13	20	24	6	63
Mardin	34	2.9	61	10	65	15	27	30	8	55
Average of 4 provin- ces	26	2	48	7	61	15	27	30	8	55
Average of 17 prov.	32	4	52	13	73	27	23	40	4	33

TABLE III - 2

PERCENTAGES OF LANDED AND LANDLESS FAMILIES IN EASTERN TURKEY

<u>Province</u>	<u>Total No. of Families (1000)</u>	<u>% of landed Families</u>	<u>% of Landless families</u>
Erzincan	46	61	39
Erzurum	90	68	32
Kars	92	77	23
Agri	32	63	37
Tunceli	27	63	37
Bingol	27	60	40
Mus	31	66	34
Bitlis	19	65	35
Van	31	62	38
Adiyaman	43	66	34
Malatya	60	69	31
Elazig	41	67	33
Siirt	38	58	42
<hr/>			
13 province Average	577	65	35
<hr/>			
Gasiantep	51	63	37
Urfa	55	46	54
Diyarbakir	58	53	47
Mardin	59	59	41
<hr/>			
4 Province and Average	223	55	45
<hr/>			
Hakkari	15	59	41
<hr/>			
18 provinces Average	815	62	38

Source: Village Inventory Studies
 Ministry of Village Affairs
 Summary table: 29

which further reveals the ills of a defective ownership structure and the residues of a tribal and semi-feudal system in the area. If the size of landownership and the distribution of the area of land is further compared and contrasted with the conditions of land ownership

Average of	1 - 10		1 - 25		1 - 50		51-200		200 or more	
	Donum		Donum		Donum		Donum		Donum	
	Family	Donum	Family	Donum	Family	Donum	Family	Donum	Family	Donum
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
13 Provinces	34	5	54	14.5	76	31	21.4	42	2.6	27
4 Provinces	26	2	48	7	61	15	27	30	8	55
17 Provinces	32	4	52	13	73	27	23	40	4	33

in Turkey, as Table III - 3 shows in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey 45.4% of the landed families own between 1-50 donum of land which is approximately 27% of the total arable land; whereas in Turkey 68.7% of the families own between 1-50 donum of land and control 23.79% of the total arable land. Similarly, 14.2% of the families own between 51-200 donum of land and control around 40% of the total arable land, while 27,52% of the families in Turkey control approximately 46.48% of the total available arable land. Finally, 2.4% of the families in the East own 200 donum or more land which constitute 33% of the total arable land; while in Turkey 3.92% of the landed families control 29.73% of the total arable land. Many inferences may be drawn from these data and the correlative land ownership structure both in Turkey and notably in the East.

PART III TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF THE SIZE OF FAMILY HOLDINGS AND DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP
IN THE EAST AND TURKEY

Land Ownership and Control	(1) Number of Families		(2) Percentage of Land controlled	
	EAST %	TURKEY %	EAST %	TURKEY %
Donum	38		-	
1 - 50	45.4	68.76	27	23.79
51-200	14.2	27.52	40	46.48
200 or more	2.4	3.92	33	29.73
	100.0	100.00	100	100.00

Source: 1. S.I.S. 1963 Agricultural Sampling Results, Ankara, 1965
No. 477 p.7

2. M.V.A. Village Inventory Studies T.18

A particular manifestation of these data is that the extremely small size of average farm holdings constitutes the outstanding feature of the agrarian structure. Nearly 70.27% of the arable land in Turkey is held in farms between 1 - 200 donum and owned by 96.28% of the landed peasant families; whereas in Eastern Turkey 67% of the total arable land consists of holdings between 1 - 200 donum and owned by 59.6% of the families, which, in view of the concentration of ownership and inequality in distribution of landholdings set a grim sight of a defective land tenure conditions and constitute a thorny obstacle to the agricultural development in the peasant societies of Turkey. On the other hand, most

of the small holdings in Eastern Turkey consist of fragmented strip parcels and scattered holdings. A study conducted in the peasant societies of Exzurum revealed that nearly 36% of the arable land owned, consisted of 10-15 small diversified plots and the average number of fragments per farm families were 11⁽⁷⁾.

(7) Department of Agriculture Economics, Ataturk University. (Unpublished report) Erzurum. quoted from Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz Dogu Anadoluda Zirai Istihsal Factorleri Arasindaki Iliskiler. T.T.O.S.O. Ankara, 1967 p.324

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND Table III - 4

Province	% of Families	0 - 10	% of Families	11-25	% of Families	26-50	% of Families	51-75	% of Families	76-100	% of Families	101-200	% of Families	200 & greater	No. of Families	Donum 1 10 hectares
Agri	7.2	0.6	15.0	2.9	29.3	11.7	13.1	8.4	14.4	13.3	12.9	20.6	8.1	42.5	20474	2083152
Bingol	57.5	16.1	25.6	22.7	11.0	20.6	2.7	9.1	11.9	9.0	0.9	8.1	10.4	14.42	16004	3099435
Bitlis	57.0	4.9	11.5	4.1	7.1	5.7	2.5	3.4	10.1	21.1	9.4	32.8	2.4	28.0	12397	874902
Erzincan	30.7	6.2	29.5	17.6	26.5	32.4	6.6	13.3	3.6	10.7	2.5	11.7	0.6	8.1	28228	874902
Erzurum	23.0	2.6	22.6	7.3	23.7	16.1	12.1	13.6	7.5	12.1	7.7	20.3	3.4	28.0	60312	3418369
Gaziantep	25.3	2.6	26.1	8.3	20.7	13.8	10.3	11.5	5.7	8.9	7.5	18.9	4.4	36.0	31294	1740788
Hakkari	76.3	13.1	10.5	8.9	6.2	11.5	2.6	8.1	1.4	6.3	2.0	14.1	1.0	38.0	6813	139087
Mardin	33.3	2.9	27.0	7.8	17.6	10.5	6.3	6.4	4.3	6.4	7.0	17.0	4.5	49.0	33966	2057281
Mus	10.4	0.9	13.0	3.1	26.2	13.1	18.6	14.6	17.4	19.6	9.7	17.8	4.7	30.9	20455	1676538
Siirt	57.2	5.2	17.5	6.3	8.6	6.8	3.9	5.3	3.9	7.8	5.2	16.5	3.7	52.1	20350	964299
Tunceli	36.5	7.6	32.0	18.6	18.6	22.4	5.8	11.7	3.5	10.1	2.3	10.6	1.3	19.0	16705	513952
Van	13.6	1.2	17.8	4.4	24.8	13.0	13.3	11.3	11.1	13.4	13.4	25.9	6.0	30.8	19150	1456475

SIZE OF FAMILY HOLDINGS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

	1 - 10 Donum		1 - 25		1 - 50		51 - 200		200 or more	
	% Family	% Donum	% Family	% Donum	% Family	% Donum	% Family	% Donum	% Family	% Donum
	1 10 hectares									
13 Province	34	5	54	14.5	76	31	21	42	2.6	27
4 Province	26	2	48	7	65	15	27	30	8	65
17 Province	32	4	52	13	7.3	27	23	40	4	33

TABLE III - 5

Source: M.V.A. V.I.S. Table: 18

SIZE OF FAMILY HOLDINGS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

PROVINCE	0 - 10 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		11 - 25 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		26 - 50 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		51 - 75 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		76 - 100 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		101 - 200 donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		200 and greater $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares		Total $\frac{1}{10}$ hectares	
	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	No. of Families	Donum $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare
	AGRI	1462	11889	3075	59699	6003	244928	2691	175803	2942	276734	2649	428376	1652	885723	20474
%	7.2	0.6	15.0	2.9	29.3	11.7	13.1	8.4	14.4	13.3	12.9	20.6	8.1	42.5	100	100
BINGOL	9199	497175	4078	703915	1745	63953	442	282825	317	27758	153	25134	70	44707	16004	3099435
%	57.5	16.1	25.6	22.7	11.0	20.6	2.7	9.1	1.9	9.0	0.9	8.1	0.4	14.42	100	100
BITLIS	7071	27499	1423	23446	880	32518	308	19536	1247	120120	1171	186223	296	158940	12397	585182
%	57.0	4.9	11.5	4.1	7.1	5.7	2.5	3.4	10.1	21.1	9.4	32.8	2.4	28.0	100	100
ERZINCAN	8672	543165	8335	153769	7485	2835445	1845	116461	1019	93301	696	102917	176	70593	28228	874902
%	30.7	6.2	29.5	17.6	26.5	32.4	6.6	13.3	3.6	10.7	2.5	11.7	0.6	8.1	100	100
ERZURUM	13872	87229	13611	249349	14327	552271	7292	466044	4543	411944	4635	693375	2032	958157	60312	3418369
%	23.0	2.6	22.6	6.3	23.7	16.1	12.1	13.6	7.5	12.1	7.7	20.3	3.4	28.0	100	100
GANTEP	7932	44262	8175	144853	6498	240558	3214	199718	1768	155594	2340	329642	1368	626161	32194	1740788
%	25.3	2.6	26.1	8.3	20.7	13.8	10.3	11.5	5.7	8.9	7.5	18.9	4.4	36.0	100	100
HAKKARI	5196	18210	715	12421	423	16021	176	11209	96	8790	136	19557	71	52878	6813	139087
%	76.3	13.1	10.5	8.9	6.2	11.5	2.6	8.1	1.4	6.3	2.0	14.1	1.0	38.0	100	100
MARDIN	11311	593105	9185	1599441	5977	2162004	2134	131725	1455	1322135	2373	350689	1531	1007198	33966	2057281
%	33.3	22.92	27.0	17.8	17.6	10.5	6.3	6.4	4.3	6.4	7.0	17.0	4.5	49.0	100	100
MUS	2188	15182	2661	51438	5369	219702	3801	244462	3556	329165	1980	297742	970	518847	20455	1676538
%	10.4	0.9	13.0	3.1	26.2	13.1	18.6	14.6	17.4	19.6	9.7	17.8	4.7	30.9	100	100
SIIRT	11994	50450	3663	60218	1805	66271	810	50763	809	75318	1096	159236	778	502043	20950	964299
%	57.2	5.2	17.5	6.3	8.6	6.8	3.9	5.3	3.9	7.8	5.2	16.5	3.7	52.1	100	100
TUNCELI	6095	39232	5338	95368	3115	114961	970	60167	586	52175	387	54512	214	97537	16705	513952
%	36.5	7.6	32.0	18.6	18.6	22.4	5.8	11.7	3.5	10.1	2.3	10.6	1.3	19.0	100	100
VAN	2611	16945	3413	64525	4743	189938	2541	163739	2124	195520	2561	377535	1157	448373	19150	1456475
%	13.6	1.2	17.8	4.4	24.8	13.0	13.3	11.3	11.1	13.4	13.4	25.9	6.0	30.8	100	100

FEUDAL LANDLORDS AND OWNERSHIP VILLAGES IN
EASTERN TURKEY

In Eastern rural Turkey, a considerable number of peasant societies are owned and controlled by individuals. In the predominantly tradition-oriented and semi-feudal peasant societies, the ownership unit may be tribe, clan or extended family. In the southeastern part of the region, village and land ownership are concentrated in the hands of few agas or shiekhs and villages are inhabited by the descendants of a sheikh or clan or extended families who form the integral social, economic make-up and the cultural cadre of these societies. Table II - 6 shows the various types of village ownership and reveals the contrasting evidences of a traditional rural social structure and the residues of feudalistic economic and cultural past. In the 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey, there are 9437 peasant societies and 229 of them are individually owned, 239 by families and 190 by clans or members of a tribe*.

Nonetheless, from the point of view of agricultural progress, the excessive concentration of large estates and village ownership in the hands of a non-economic minded few, have contributed to low productivity in agriculture and the low standard of living of the bulk of peasant population. As Table II - 2 showed, 38% of the farm families

* Although data of village inventory studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs indicate a total of 658 peasant communities are controlled and owned by units other than peasant people, some authors find these figures extremely low and grossly unrealistic and misleading. For instance the results of a typological study on village ownership in Diyarbakir show that, in this province alone there are 250 villages which are owned by either clans or private persons, although Village Affair study figures show only 70 villages. See Ibrahim Yasa, Turkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapisi ve Sorunlari. S.B.F. 1968-9 p.112

TABLE III - 6

Source: Summary of Inventory Studies Ministry of Village Affairs

TYPE OF VILLAGE OWNERSHIP IN EASTERN TURKEY							Table: 31
PROVINCES	No. of Villages	Owned by Village People	Owned by One Person	Owned by A Family	Owned by A Clan	Total	
Erzincan	559	554	2	2	1	5	
Erzurum	1039	981	10	4	44	58	
Kars	764	764	-	-	-	-	
Agri	544	514	16	4	10	30	
Tunceli	414	368	12	34	-	46	
Bingol	325	312	7	-	6	13	
Mus	366	350	7	6	3	16	
Bitlis	253	251	2	-	-	2	
Van	546	535	11	-	-	11	
Adiyaman	339	337	-	2	-	2	
Malatya	511	510	-	-	-	-	
Elaziz	587	568	4	2	13	19	
Siirt	469	437	11	17	4	32	
Total of 13 Provinces	6716	6473	82	71	81	234	
G Antep	572	476	38	27	31	96	
Urfa	644	521	51	40	32	123	
Mardin	708	617	25	46	20	91	
Diyarbakir	663	593	32	29	9	70	
Total of 4 Prov.	2587	2207	146	142	92	380	
Hakkari	134	89	1	26	27	54	
17 Prov Total	9437	8769	229	239	190	668	

in eastern rural Turkey possess no land at all, 59.6% of the landed families own between 1 - 200 donum of land and control 67% of the total arable land. On the other hand, 2.4% of the landed families own 200 or more donum of land and control 33% of the total arable land. It is, however, important to emphasize the fact that the existence of large blocks of land or village ownership does not constitute nor secure any of the advantages of a large scale agricultural production in Eastern Turkey. Very often the size of one's land and ownership of villages are regarded as a mark of social status and economic power, and prestige considerations tend to promote overextended holdings. Since social prestige is derived from the possession of land, rather than primarily from the income derived therefrom, it may lead to inefficient land use pattern by impeding desirable changes in agrarian structure.

In various rural areas of Eastern Turkey there exist certain isolated and semi-feudal peasant societies which are commonly called 'Sheikh.... village' or 'Aga'sthe village' where the inhabitants are welded together to varying degrees by unquestionable loyalty to the sheikh and his family, at least several generations back. These Sheikhs who do not hold the plow themselves but control the political, economic livelihood of the peasants in the spheres of their influence are highly respected and regarded as a source of inspiration and pride who have given the common peasant folks their cultural identity and purpose in life. Often peasants, in praise of their traditional leaders say 'Such and such Sheikh is so heavenly and noble that he has never set a foot on our village'. But a stream of visitors during certain occasions take their meager savings to them and seek for their advice. A relatively static, self-sufficient economic values evolve around these semi-feudal leaders whose innerworldly asceticism assign little importance

to material accomplishments. Few peasants have been able to strive to advance economically or to emulate their social betters or to deviate from the well-beaten customary paths since they lack the necessary resources. Their limited economic means block their economic horizons and deny them the possibility of making creative adjustments to predictable economic opportunities. Therefore, deficiencies in marketing activities in these peasant societies are only a symptom of ills of a noncongenial social, cultural and economic environment since physical and moral conditions necessary for the achievement-oriented peasants to enter market pursuits are lacking.

The traditional elements of environmental backwardness; particularism, functional diffusion and principles of ascription, predominate as prime regulators of social and cultural relations, especially in their economic dimensions. Though, the cohesive role and variety of social and economic functions performed by the sheikhs must also be noted e.g. giving grain and credit to the needy peasants in times of crop shortage, settling rural conflicts and performing functions which are normally expected from government, yet these sheikhs remain to a very large extent detrimental to the social and economic progress of the peasant societies. One can hardly show one sheikh or landed estate who have come forward as standard bearers of agricultural improvement schemes or have pioneered innovative changes in the methods and techniques of production, in land management or the supervision of a more fuller utilization of agricultural resources. For the majority of these sheikhs, land ownership and village ownership are blended with religious and political power and they have a vast interest in the status quo. It is rarely in their interest to initiate innovation or to undertake any long-term and far reaching changes. Nor are they capable of offering leadership in agricultural improvement and productive arrangements. The enquiries made during the field study into the compatibility of landed estates and

agricultural progress showed that, concentration of lands and villages in the hands of few have not promoted growth. Not only are these traditional leaders notoriously conservative and strongly committed to non-economic values, but they also seem to view economic development as a threat to their social, political and economic interests with its far reaching secondary and tertiary repercussions on peasants' rising expectations. With a few notable exceptions many of the peasant societies where sheikdom and traditional leadership are paramount, have remained sadly ill-prepared for economic growth and have little sense of membership of a national economy, existing like undisturbed islands in the midst of waterless and roadless lands of poverty. Administrative deficiencies and lack of adequate transportation and marketing facilities, coupled with the lack of interest and effort on the part of the vested groups have done a tragically effective job in reinforcing self-sufficiency and poverty in these peasant societies. There is no climate for innovation nor expectation for a better life. The value system of these vested interest groups is not oriented toward progress, marketing or productive enterprise. They devote few resources and little time to the improvement of their lands. They are too noble to be farmers, too unworlly to become involved in material production. Very often the economic problems facing peasant societies in Turkey, arise partly from technical deficiencies, inadequate knowledge and inefficient methods of production. If certain steps were taken and improvements and encouragements were made, agriculture could hold its own and could offer justification for further improvements in financial and commercial fields. However, these improvements can only be undertaken in co-operation with those landed estates who hold the major production resources in their hands. For instance in recent years measures to counteract soil erosion, pest control, promotion of co-operative movements have largely failed to materialize because controllers of large

estates were not enthusiastic about co-operative movements and were not expected to set pace in the process of modernization. 'Because we have always done so' attitudes have largely contributed to misutilization, under or unutilization of resources, and they continue to raise the same crop, apply the same techniques and methods despite the fact that these customary practices may not be the most suitable crop under the prevailing natural environmental conditions. These vested interest groups have little interest in or material need to become involved in increasing agricultural production, let alone the application of tested knowledge to the process of production or conservation of soil. They may even block the diffusion of innovation or modernization because of the fear that involvement in a wider differentiated world would expose their village communities to individualistic and secular concepts and ideas which may promote disorganization in the traditional ties, encourage peasants' economic and political independence and may further weaken the political base and the economic supremacy of these interest groups.

SYSTEM OF INHERITANCE:

The issues and problems of system of inheritances have often been considered as sociological problems, but they have far reaching economic consequences.

The present practice of inheritance systems in the middle east and Turkey, with minor variations, is in fact a restatement of Islamic and Ottoman Laws of inheritance system central to which is continual division of land often into strip parcels scattered over a wide area. The reasons for the fragmentation of arable land into strip parcels and scattered holdings, as A. Lewis observes, is to 'ensure fairness when farms are broken up, each son receiving small pieces, such as a piece of land near the river and a piece far from the river, a fertile piece and a piece useful only for grazing, a wooded piece and a barren piece. After this has gone on for some generations, each farmer's holding of land is in several small pieces, which may be widely distant from each other. (8)

(Note: Although it has not been subjected to extensive empirical evidence, there are however some counter balancing factors in operation that slows down the continual subdivision of land at some stages. This is largely due to the built-in stabilizing affect of the extended family system. Thus to maintain the control of use of land in the family, individual members regard land as a common family property where undivided or undivided shares in the land are jointly cultivated and the produce of the land are then distributed by the family elders.)

(8) W.A. Lewis, Theory of Economic Growth, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1955 p.126.

Independent research conducted in some of the peasant societies of Elazig province, shows how the subdivision of land through system of inheritance is traditionally sanctioned by means of preferential marriages and similar social actions.⁽⁹⁾ Some of the highly significant and interesting patterns of social behavior which have a very significant economic consequence are:

1. Preferential marriages: Among the preferred type of marriages, Levirat is one of the most widespread type of sanctioning against subdivision of land through inheritance system. In essence, Levirat is getting married to the wife of the late brother. The main intention is to keep the widow in the family so that the paternal side could keep the property.⁽¹⁰⁾ (There is also a great tendency to marrying the wife's sister (called Sororat) in the case of the wife's death, even if this is against her wish. No doubt there are economic considerations e.g. fear of losing the property etc, but the strongest motive is said to be to provide care and prosperity of the children of the late sister, also to prevent the familial conflicts by not taking any strange women into the family.)⁽¹¹⁾

2. There are also instances where a man would give his property, during his life to his brother or brother's son, if he decides to deprive his daughter of her inheritance. The simple reason is to prevent the son-in-law from getting hold of the land. Sometimes, for psychological

(9) Dr. Nermin Erdentug, A study on the Social Structure of a Turkish Village. Publications of the Faculty of languages, History and geography, University of Ankara No. 130, Ayyildiz Matbaasi, 1959 p.12

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid, p.14

reasons, family quarrels may lead the father to give his property to his blood relations (keeping it on the paternal side).⁽¹²⁾

Although officials who were occasionally consulted during the field study stated that matters of inheritance are settled by law, yet customary practices still prevail in many peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, particularly in semi-feudal, isolated communities. Although there are notable variations in practice, generally Islamic codes of inheritance settle the matter. Accordingly, land is divided between heirs where the son gets one whole share, daughter gets one-half and wife gets one-eighth of the share.* If the father has no male heirs, then the daughter gets three-fourth of the share. According to Dr. Erdentug one-fourth of the share used to be left to the paternal side, whether this is a father's brother or a father's brother's son.⁽¹³⁾

The Economic Consequences of Inheritance System

The adverse economic consequences of inheritance systems, among others are:

(a) The system of inheritance generate all the deterrent aspects of uneconomic holdings: prevents efficient utilization of production inputs; reduces income promoting capacity by narrowing the resource base; denies incentives and opportunities to advance to markets, aggravate's waste of productive resources and time, hinders irrigation and pest control, causes overcropping, overgrazing, mismanagement or inefficiencies

(12) Ibid p.14

* According to Dr. Endentug in some peasant societies in the East, particularly among peasants of Alevi sect - a sect of Islam, as a rule inheritance could only be claimed by the sons, but none of the daughters. Ibid p.14

(13) Ibid p. 4

in handling of diversified holdings, thus promotes misutilization of resources. Since production opportunities which are bound to land are limited, market opportunities will also be limited.

(b) Since holdings are small and widely dispersed, land tenure practice not only impedes any progress in agricultural methods but becomes an eventual cause of endless border disputes and conflicting claims which are well expressed in a village saying 'rights in land and wrongs to women are the worst of village evils'. (14)

(c) The inheritance system allocates the land on a basis not of evaluating of individuals according to what or who can do the job efficiently, but according to ascription. There is no future orientation for economically motivated peasants since the economic foundation or possibilities of achieving status through demonstration of capabilities are absent.

(d) Inheritance systems, from the socio-economic and cultural point of view, seem to encourage the majority of heirs to stay on the land or in the village despite the fact that this may mean a further reduction of their already low standard of living.* The inheritance system not only prevented the accumulation consideration of capital in the rural

(14) Doreen Warrinar Ibid p.64

* A comparative study of differences between Japanese and Chinese economic growth lays particular stress on the increased economic order, related by 'Primogeniture system of Inheritance.' Mr. Hsu argues that, one of the compelling forces to geographical and occupational mobility in Japan was promoted by the primogeniture system whereby the eldest son inherited the land and the other brothers were compelled to seek their fortunes in urban places. Thus the economic consequences have been greater independence and mobility and an urge to search for alternative economic objectives by pushing and exploring new economic frontiers with the end result a rapid adaptation to industrial discipline, a will to economize and a peculiar mixture of aspiration and risk taking. In contrast. In China, systems of inheritance according to which every heir received a parcel of land and every daughter received land as dowry seemed to have played a significant role in promoting inefficient land-use pattern, perpetuated the ills of an inefficient agrarian structure, contributing to divergent patterns and rate of growth in rural Japan and China.

sector but has greatly reduced labour mobility and lessened the desire for search for economic opportunities in alternative employments. The absence of selfreliance and a greater temptation to prefer unearned income through inheritance have left little impetus for self-improvement by means of mobility and acquiring new skills or indulgence in diverse economic roles which characterize achievement oriented pattern of economic behavior. Inheritance systems may thus remove the need to make best use of one's talents and resources.

Further Remarks:

View Points on Alleviation of The Negative Affects of Inheritance System

The working party at the International Conference on Land Tenure and related problems in World Agriculture which was held at Madison Wisconsin also concerned itself with various problems of excessive subdivision of land brought about by systems of inheritance.*

In essence, the report of the working party emphasized the steps needed to prevent further fragmentation of land and took notice of the fact that laws governing inheritance are deeply embedded in the habits and customs of the people. But the report gives too little consideration to the positive role of education, communication and industrialization in influencing inheritance pattern. Briefly, among many suggestions and comparative systems, the notable ones are:

1. Mr. T.S. Hill of England, points out the English statutory requirements that prevent the splitting up of farm lands. According to these requirements, land be farmed in accordance with the tenets of good husbandry and managed in accordance with the rules of good estate management. Failure to meet these standards can, under the law, lead to disposition of a

* K.H. Parsons, R.J. Penn, and P.M. Raup Land Tenure, The University of Wisconsin Press. Madison, Wisconsin, 1956—pp. 565-574

farmer or a landowner and in the latter case in acquisition of the land by the state at its fair market value. Conditions of inheritance are further held in check by the mechanism available to ensure good farming and land management. (15)

2. Mr. Van Rossem of Holland mentions the providing of alternative opportunities through learning and training which would enable farmers' children to find jobs in the non-agricultural industries, thus reduce the dependence on land by the heirs. He also suggests the reduction of death duties on an owner/operated farm when land is passed on to only one son which might keep the farmers from having the farm divided up in equal portions after his death. (16)

3. Mr. El-Ricaby of Syria and Mr. Samara contemplate a maximum size of holding to be set by statute and set such limits at 50 hectares for irrigated land and 500 hectares for non-irrigated land.

Mr. Fakher of Iran outlines major inheritance problems in Iran arising from short-life expectancy and systems of inheritance and further suggest that since there were more people desiring land than the available lands could provide a subsistence minimum, selection of control in land use must be made on the basis of peasants' qualification and ability. (17)

4. Mr. Jha of India outlines the provision of the Act of 1950, which in essence prevents the sales of land to anyone who already has 30 acres; holdings smaller than six and one-fourths acres are to be held indivisible; where two-thirds of the cultivators of uneconomic holdings in any one village desire to form a co-operative, the remaining third party are obliged to join. Finally sublease of holdings are also prohibited. (18)

(15) Ibid p. 566

(16) Ibid p. 567

(17) Ibid p. 568

(18) Ibid p. 569

5. Mr. Beuscher of the U.S.A., makes references to the concepts of the heirs' "undivided shares". In cases of disagreement among the heirs, their recourse lies in the court and in all but rare cases the judge will refuse to divide the farm. Instead, he will order it sold at auction by the sheriff to the highest bidder and will order the proceeds of the sale to be divided among the heirs, deducting court costs, sheriff's fees, etc. which compels the disputants to come to agreement. (19)

In the final analysis, the fact remains that no law could bring about efficiency in farming or solve particular problems created by inheritance systems. Systems of inheritances are a product of established traditions, cultural orientation and institutional values. In consequence, any broad approach to the problems of land tenure and inheritance should consider these issues within the context of socio-cultural and institutional environmental conditions which largely shape the character and type of inheritance system. If these environmental conditions are not conducive to the efficient land use pattern and economic efficiency, consequently, inheritance laws will also be deterrent, It is therefore necessary to know to what extent required changes in agrarian structure can be achieved directly through education, communication and to what extent they could be realized indirectly by a combination of environmental changes which could create a new atmosphere of economic order that facilitates the fulfillment of efforts and aspirations.

(19) Ibid p. 573

OWNER - OPERATOR RELATIONSHIP ABSENTEE LANDLORDS:

A. In the peasant societies of the Middle East and Turkey, notably in Eastern Turkey, ownership of land is a mark of status and gives status in society but working the land does not. The socio-economic position of the peasant people has long been characterized by their virtual ownership of land and is also tends to be inversely related to the degree to which they personally supervise their wealth. M.H.Sufi, ex-Deputy-Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture of Pakistan also observed that 'a man will take pride in the fact that he owns an estate comprising hundreds of acres, but ordinarily he will not admit in public that either he or any near relation of his is actually engaged in farming. This is because in the context of our social values, manual work of any kind has come to be considered derogatory to a man's dignity and social status'.⁽²⁰⁾ Under such cultural and social climate, a landowner who would employ an agent or bailiff is thought to be superior to one who personally supervises his own affairs. However, the underlying issues and problems that have a bearing affect on absentee ownership arise from certain malpractices which are also detrimental to the social and economic progress of the rural sector. The various factors which have promoted absentee ownership are both a cause and consequence of the environmental backwardness of the region.

1. In various peasant societies of Eastern Turkey the confrontation of peasants of subsistence agriculture with an economy based on money, exchange and contract, the conception of property and the correlative status of peasants on the land has led to marked changes. In consequence, peasants who had previously been accustomed to regard their land in the concrete terms of corporal property - of physical things which provided their basic subsistence needs - have gradually acquired the notion of

(20) M.H. Sufi, Conditions of Farming in Pakistan Appeared in Land Tenure edited by Passons, Penn & Raup. The University of Wisconsin Press Madison 1956 p. 23

land as an incorporeal property whose intermediate quantity and intangible value could be used to make contracts for debts. The notion of land as a medium of purchasing power developed in proportion to the degree of contact with money economy. Consequently two separate factors eventually prepared the ground for absentee ownership:

a. Small farmers who found their land as a potential source of purchasing power with a capacity to pledge for debt, willingly or unwillingly made deals with town merchants in return for cash or urban-originated goods to meet their needs or fulfill their heightened aspirations.

b. Small farmers faced with bad harvests in succession or even during occasional celebrations e.g. weddings, visit to Mecca, got into burdensome debts with the money-lending merchants or landed proprietors. Some of these farmers who were blind to the distant repercussions of their debt practices were eventually forced to sell their lands to the money lender or town merchant. The new proprietors who never set a foot to the farming community, often sent an agent to collect rents, other dues or allowed the previous owner in servitude of his debt. Very often money lending practices take a deliberate form of policy whereby a money lending merchant becomes owners of several farms situated in widely separate areas. They inevitably become absentee owners.

2. a. In some peasant societies in Eastern Turkey, particularly in Urfa, Mardin, Gaziantep and Diyarbakir, when a farmer became well-to-do he tends to put his farm in the hands of tenants to lead a new style of life. He may even acquire more social prestige and be esteemed since he no longer needs to supervise his wealth personally.

b. The descendants of landowners who were raised and educated in urban areas and held jobs in the cities maintained a loose contact with their inherited land holdings. Consequently they had little time on interest in the actual job of farming, instead, a third party - an agent or bailiff was interposed between themselves and the tenant farmers.

3. Also, for some town and city merchants land is still regarded as a greater security and an outlet for the investment of earnings. This attitude is also reinforced by the fact that the land levy in Turkey is relatively negligible. Low land taxes not only reduce the penalty for undercultivation of land but also encourage merchants to purchase land as a convenient device for hiding non-agricultural income which is taxed relatively at higher rates. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to expect them to show interest in adopting new methods for agricultural improvement nor they have the desire to experiment in new techniques to increase the productive efficiency of the agricultural economy.

In summary economic power, control of credit by money lenders, social prestige considerations, misconception of ownership and use of land, all of these and other factors have fostered absentee landownership in Eastern Turkey and have further perpetuated the ills of an inefficient land tenure system.

The Inventory studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs on absentee ownership and analysis of land tenure conditions in Eastern Turkey are documented on Table III - 7 . p. 192. As these data show, in the peasant societies of the 17 provinces of Eastern Turkey, out of a total of 29,553 million donum of agricultural land, 19,407 million donum, approximately 41.9% of the land is actually controlled by families living in peasant societies, while 10,145 million donum close to 20.8% of land

PROVINCES	Total No. of Villages	Total No. of Families Living in Villages (000)	Total Area of Land (Dönüm) (000)	Total Area of Land Controlled by Families Living in Villages	Total No. of Absentee Families	Total Area of Land Controlled by Absentee Families (000)	Total Family Population B + E = G (000)
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1. Adiyaman	339	43	1050	679	1050	371	44
2. Agri	544	32	2083	1947	614	136	33
3. Bingöl	325	26	310	281	711	29	27
4. Bitlis	253	19	568	452	1589	116	21
5. Elazığ	587	41	971	708	2750	263	44
6. Erzincan	559	46	875	679	2639	196	49
7. Erzurum	1039	90	3419	3001	2686	418	93
8. Kars	764	92	3733	3593	2820	140	95
9. Malatya	570	60	1201	989	2000	212	62
10. Mus	366	31	1677	1466	1286	211	32
11. Siirt	469	37	964	761	667	203	38
12. Tunceli	414	27	514	342	1126	172	28
13. Van	546	31	1457	1315	573	142	32
13 PROVINCE	6775	575	18822	16213	20511	2609	598
14. Diyarbakır	663	58	2642	358	1740	2284	60
15. Gaziantep	572	51	1741	849	6372	892	57
16. Mardin	708	58	2057	963	2081	1094	60
17. Urfa	644	55	4290	1024	3920	3266	59
4 PROVINCE	2587	222	10730	3914	14113	7536	236
17 PROVINCE TOTAL	9362	797	29552	19407	34624	10145	834

of Families	By Absentee Families	By Village Families	By Absentee Families	By Village Families	of Absentee Families	of Absentee Families	Families Living in Villages
Total No. of Land	Total No. of Absentee Families	Total No. of Families Living in Villages	Total No. of Families	Total No. of Families	Total No. of Families Living in Villages	Total Area of Land	Total Area of Land
$\frac{C}{G}$	$\frac{F}{E}$	$\frac{D}{B}$	$\frac{F}{C}$	$\frac{D}{C}$	$\frac{E}{B}$	$\frac{E}{G}$	$\frac{B}{G}$
23.8	35.3	15.7	35.3	64.6	2.4	2.3	97.7
63.1	221.4	60.8	6.0	93.4	1.9	1.8	96.9
11.4	40.7	10.8	9.3	90.6	2.7	2.6	96.2
27.0	73	23.7	20.4	79.5	8.3	7.5	90.4
22	95.6	17.2	27.0	72.9	6.7	6.2	93.1
17.8	74.2	14.8	22.4	77.6	5.6	5.3	94
36.8	156	33.3	12.2	87.7	2.9	2.8	96.7
39.2	49.6	39.0	3.7	96	3.0	2.9	96.8
19.3	106	16.4	17.6	82.3	3.3	3.2	96.7
52.4	164.0	47.2	12.5	87.4	4.1	4.0	96.8
25.3	30.4	20.5	21.0	78.9	1.8	1.7	97.3
18.1	152.8	12.6	33.4	66.5	4.1	4.0	96.0
45.5	247.8	42.4	9.7	90.2	1.8	1.7	96.8
30.8	111.2	27.2	17.7	82.1	3.7	3.5	95.8
44.0	13.1	6.1	86.4	13.5	3.0	2.9	96.6
30.5	139.9	16.6	51.2	48.7	12.4	11.1	89.4
34.2	525.7	16.6	53.1	46.8	3.5	3.4	96.6
72.7	833	18.6	76.1	23.8	7.1	6.6	93.2
45.3	377.9	14.4	66.2	33.2	6.5	6.0	93.9
$\frac{C}{G}$	$\frac{F}{E}$	$\frac{D}{B}$	$\frac{F}{C}$	$\frac{D}{C}$	$\frac{E}{B}$	$\frac{E}{G}$	$\frac{B}{G}$
38.0	244.5	20.8	41.9	57.6	5.1	4.7	94.8

SOURCE: Ministry of Village Affairs

Table: 9. Table: 29

Table: 18

Table: 26

Table: 30

Table: 30

Table: 29 & 30

ANALYSIS OF LAND TENURE CONDITIONS

TABLE III - 8

	13 Provinces	4 Provinces	17 Provinces	
Area of Land per Family (In donum)	30.8	45.3	38.0	
Average area of land controlled by families living in Towns and Cities	111.2	377.9	244.5	
The ratio of land controlled by families living in villages to the total area of cultivated land.	27.2	14.4	20.8	
The ratio of land controlled by absentee families to the total number of families	17.7	66.2	41.9	
The ratio of land owned by village families to the total number of families	82.1	33.2	57.6	
The ratio of total number of absentee families to the total number of families living in villages.	3.7	6.5	5.1	
The ratio of total number of absentee families to total area of land	3.5	6.0	4.7	
The ratio of families living in villages to the total area of land.	95.8	93.9	94.8	

is controlled by absentee owners. In addition, although the number of families living in the peasant societies is more than 797 thousands (94.8%), the actual number of absentee families is around 34,624, a mere (4.7%) of the total families. (See Table III - 8 p. 193).

If we further compare, contrast and collate the data, at each provincial level we observe that in the four provinces of South Eastern Turkey - Urfa, Diyarbaker, Mardin and Gaziantep, the proportion of land controlled by absentee landlords is far greater than the proportion of land controlled by families residing in villages in the area. Moreover, it far exceeds the area of land controlled by absentee families in the remaining 13 Eastern Provinces. The comparative analysis of the data show that:

1. While the average area in donums of land controlled by absentee families in the 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey is 111.2, it is almost 377.9 donum of land in the four remaining south eastern provinces.
2. Again, in the 13 provinces, the average donums of land controlled by the peasant families living in villages is 27.2 donum, while it is about 14.4 donums in the four provinces.
3. The ratio of land controlled by absentee families to the total area of cultivated land in the 13 provinces is 17.7 while it is 66.2 in the four south eastern provinces.
4. The ratio of absentee families to the number of families living in villages is 3.5 in the 13 provinces, it is 6.0 in the four provinces.

Many inferences may be drawn from absentee ownership and correlative status of land use pattern and their adverse affects on the improvement of agriculture. Because in most cases absentee owners' hearts are not in the soil and they make little, if any contribution to the management, soil improvement, production efficiency or adoption of new

techniques or methods of organizing agricultural production in accordance with the general needs of modern marketing activities.

Under these circumstances, the absentee landlords do not have much interest in administering their property and confine their efforts for the collection of dues at harvest time do so by contracting a bailiff or agent, or both. These bailiffs or agents seem to occupy an ambitious position in the socio-economic structure of the peasant societies in Eastern Turkey. Since their basic task is to increase the agas (landlords) income as well as often to 'feather their own nests', they are little concerned and in fact are ill-prepared in labour management and land improvement, public relations, incentives, long-term productive efficiency. Since the bailiff has no permanent interest in the property, there is little incentive on his part to improve the land, no knowledge of soil nourishment. The ecological deterioration problem is also complicated by absentee landlordship patterns so long as unec-
onomic exploitation of farm units is blind to future repercussions on the fertility of the land. Moreover, since farm workers are abundantly available, bailiffs are less concerned about the well-being of the tenants. Unsurprisingly, they are often called 'Zalim' - cruel person and have been much maligned in the peasants' folksongs of protest. While these charges of injustices and exploitation of bailiffs are overstated, it is however clear that absentee landlordship carries all the symptoms of agricultural malady in Eastern Turkey.

Absentee Ownership and Obstacles to Marketing:

It may seem paradoxical that as the peasant societies in major areas of eastern agriculture develop a 'sense of cash', become more money conscious, the ideas and concepts of market property, contract become dominant, the productive opportunities which are bound to efficient use of land promises better market opportunities, then at the same

time some landed owners show a greater inclination to become absentee owners. Seen from these opportunity perspectives and judged on any of the 'economic efficiency' criteria e.g. production efficiency, marketing efficiency and investment criteria etc., it is evident that absentee landlordship stands in the way of any long-term improvement of agriculture and is generally incompatible with the changing circumstances and rising expectations of the peasant people.

Among the major obstacles which impair productive efficiency and marketing opportunity in agriculture is that the absentee landlords who control the right to use the land - production opportunity - also control the disposal of the product of the land - market opportunity, as well as the credit mechanism - credit opportunity. Absentee owners thus affect adversely the economic betterment of agriculture in essentially three different ways:

1. Firstly, the majority of absentee land lords who reside in towns and cities in Eastern Turkey own and operate trading businesses, retail stores and deal with other commercial transactions in the urban centres. Against this, the absentee landlords, by their sheer control of the right of use of land, also control the agricultural output which is to a great extent bound to the land. Thus, the control of the use of land gives the absentee owners the control of production opportunity.
2. In his capacity as a merchant-farmer, the absentee landlord may also sell agricultural products in his store as well as production inputs. The merchant farmer can thus enforce the purchase of tenants and produce through his own trade outlets. Thus the dual ownership of land and a business unit in town could give the absentee owner control both of output and the disposal of it.

3. A further but major adverse aspect of absentee landlordship in Eastern Turkey is that, these absentee landlords, in their capacity as merchant farmers have often amassed wealth from land revenues and also practice money lending. In many cases interest charges reach usurious levels. (See Section on non-institutional credit market pp. 137-139). Moreover, small farmers usually lack the necessary funds to keep up their farming activity and since they possess no legally recognized registered titles or surety on their lands are not eligible for institutional bank loans. Consequently, more lending business farmers thus become the sole source for credit. In their money-lending capacity, absentee business farmers advance credit in return for the right to dispose of the product of their land with a recourse to the farmers' land on livestock if they fail to deliver the contracted produce; or the farmers may bring their produce in exchange for non-farm goods. In many cases, these items are overinvoiced and in consequence, the control of credit eventually leads to control of land use as well as control of markets. This is so because the contracted terms of credit often force the farmers to maintain their marketing activities with the money-lending business farmers. Not only do they establish a claim to farmers' production and marketing practices, but by reducing their freedom of choice to sell or buy in a manner to maximize returns, absentee merchant-farmers also introduce elements of market imperfections e.g. rigidity, inflexibility and narrowness. These further make it difficult for small farmers to break the chain of the vicious circle of indebtedness or search for wider and more profitable markets.

In summary, then, the fundamental issues and problems created by the institution of absentee landlordship are really not so much of a problem of obsession but rather an obstruction of opportunities which hinders any long-term improvement of agriculture. From the production opportunity perspective, absentee ownership means that wealth is held in the form of land and that control of land use does not necessarily lead to productive investment or more efficient utilization of capital on land.* From the market opportunity the right to dispose the product of the land, it means that potential or actual gains from marketing of agricultural products would not be diffused more sidely into the rural economy due to market imperfections, and the compartmentalization of marketing outlets created by monopolistic or monopsonistic practices of merchant farmers. Finally, certain defects in credit and money lending practices of absentee landlords perpetuate the ills of pledging one's land for debt payment has a great bearing on the problem of disparity in the control of land use and control of markets. All of these negative factors reinforce productive inefficiency and perpetuate rural poverty.

* Note:

If a business farmer (absentee landlord) views his ownership of land and business store in the city as interdependent enterprises and the growth of his business depends on the growth of his agricultural revenue, then it becomes apparent that his capital investment must be made on a broad front in order that his both business interests can move forward in balance. Thus internal consistency considerations necessitate a complementary growth since the rate of his business development in the city is largely dependent on parallel development of his agricultural business. Capital flow must therefore merge into the broader requirements of 'balanced growth', and capital thus flows in both direction. (More detailed aspects of such interdependence particularly seen in some livestock growing areas and in a few of the farming centres of Eastern Turkey. For instance, if the absentee landlord is a livestock dealer or wool merchant he must maintain sufficient supplies of livestock and wool that are directly or indirectly needed to sustain the operation of his business. Moreover some are also engaged in carpet and kilim selling as in Diyarbakir. ~~The expansion of carpet output depend on the input~~ e.g. wool, machinery and labour which in turn necessitate investment expenditures. Thus a balanced capital expenditure is therefore needed between investment in livestock and the business which utilizes the products or by-products of livestock.) If however, the primary interest →

of the absentee landlord lies wholly in his business in the city, then the revenues from land and whatever capital is available will flow towards the more attractive outlet, which means that incentives to make improvements on land will be nil, further obstructing the widening of the rural economy.

ABSENTEE LANDLORDSHIP AND TYPE OF OPERATION AND MANAGEMENT

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	ABSENTEE LANDLORDS (living in town & cities)		If there is any			TYPE OF MANAGEMENT (1)				
		There is	None	No. of Families	No. of Fragments	Total area $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare	Uncul- tivated	Under culti- vation	by owners	by share- cropping	by tenancy
AGRI	544	168	376	614	2658	136196	7	161	91	130	1
BINGOL	325	146	179	711	3765	29121	5	141	18	115	8
BITLIS	253	124	129	1589	4180	115536	6	117	26	66	40
ERZINCAN	559	247	312	2639	17668	195538	12	242	60	198	31
ERZURUM	1039	385	654	2686	21647	417536	-	385	149	258	75
GAZIANTEP	572	466	106	6372	23575	892057	1	465	274	351	1
HAKKARI	134	25	109	229	608	7643	7	18	1	14	4
MARDIN	708	318	390	2081	6218	1093992	11	312	78	275	10
MUSa	366	199	167	1286	6075	210760	16	190	96	92	69
SIIRT	469	120	349	667	3518	203330	5	114	14	70	38
TUNCELI	414	224	190	1126	15441	171959	3	221	61	145	30
VAN	546	138	408	573	4863	142092	6	132	51	106	-

Source: M.V.A. V.I.S. T. 30

Note (1) Figures indicate the number of villages

PROBLEMS OF THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN EASTERN TURKEY

Owner - Operator Relationships

Types of Tenancy

1. Sharecropping Agreements: *

The crop-sharing agreements under which land is operated and its products divided between operator and owner is closely interwoven with many facets of peasants' cultural life. Such arrangements in the middle Eastern ~~and~~ * and notably in Eastern Turkey do not often rest on actual or legal contacts but on concepts intimately tied to customary or uncustomary expectations between landlords and tenants. Accordingly, such allotments vary considerably in detail and nature from region to region, even village to village. In a narrow economical or technical sense, certain elements such as ownership and provision of production inputs (e.g. land, water seed, labour, machinery or animal) determine the essentials of tenancy agreements and provide the basis of the allotment of shares among the parties. However, such allotment criteria are actually only part of total criteria since the actual practice of sharecropping is very complicated and varies according to location, fertility of land, ownership of the various production inputs the degree of their contribution to the production process, the bargaining power of landlords, and even in some cases the length of tenant's association with the landlord. The degree of his indebtedness also materially affect the terms of share agreements. Therefore, in a deeper sense sharecropping agreements would have to be viewed from these perspectives, Sharecropping practices in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey reveal the maladies of a defective agrarian structure which have most serious effects on the productive efficiency and market opportunity.

* Crop sharing agreement is a concept or contract in virtue of which one of the ^{two} parties gives to the other a piece of land which is sometimes accompanied by production inputs for a specified time so that he shall cultivate it and divide the proceeds as a piece for the use of land.

LANDLESS FAMILIES, SHARE CROPPERS, TENNANTS AND VALUE OF ARABLE LAND

PROVINCE	No of Villages	IN THE VILLAGE								Value of Arable land 10 hectare T.L.	
		No. of Houses	Total No. of Families	No. of Farm Families	LANDLESS FAMILIES IN THE VILLAGE					Non-Irrigated	Irrigated
					Sharecropper	Tenants	Farm Workers	Total	Percentage %		
AGRI	544	25863	32162	32044	970	1	10599	11570	36.1	10-250	20-600
BINGOL	325	18825	26368	26368	1173	748	8445	10364	39.3	10-700	20-1800
BITLIS	253	13447	19131	18988	441	115	6014	6570	34.6	15-1000	60-9000
ERZINCAN	559	33306	46379	45678	1294	458	15698	17450	38.2	10-900	30-2500
ERZURUM	1039	67884	90046	88532	2560	628	25032	28220	31.8	3-1500	6-5000
GAZIANTEP	572	43140	50841	49304	1837	112	16061	18010	36.5	10-1000	200-3000
HAKKARI	134	8616	12397	12390	142	154	5281	5577	45.0	20-1500	50-1500
MARDIN	708	46206	58328	57456	4005	236	19249	23490	40.8	5-3000	30-25000
MUS	366	21192	31062	31015	416	173	9971	10560	34.0	5-1000	10-3500
SIIRT	471	28239	37394	36128	1093	1845	12235	15173	42.0	5-1500	20-5000
TUNCELI	414	20445	26581	26532	1664	756	7407	9827	37.0	20-1500	50-3000
VAN	546	24198	30716	30623	295	-	4504	11473	37.5	5-1000	10-1500

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Village Inventory Studies. Tables: No. 29; 30; 31

Note: The total number of families referred to the total number of families who dwell in the village whether they work or not in farming.

There are four basic types of sharecropping agreements practiced in Eastern Turkey:

a) Yaricilik; b) İcare; c) Cariyek; d) Marabacilik.⁽²¹⁾

(a) Yaricilik (Equal Shares). Although there are some minor variations in practice, this is the most prevalent type of sharecropping agreement in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. In this type of tenancy agreement, the landowner usually provides most of the production inputs, such as land, farm buildings, seed and in some cases also renders operational capital subject to repayment by the operator at harvesting time.⁽²²⁾ The remaining operational expenses are incurred by the operator along with his own labour and ploughing livestock. The terms of tenancy vary according to local conditions, being higher where population pressure is greater. At the end of the harvesting period, both side of the equation, the tenant and the landlord, get equal shares or certain fixed proportions depending upon their estimate of a fair amount of contribution to the production process. If, for instance the landlord had provided feed supply for the cultivator's bullocks, an equal amount of animal feed has to be delivered to the landlord. Also, the operator was required to return the plot of land in the best possible conditions. If however certain improvements were made by the operator on the land during his tenancy, he was entitled to claim a payment for his expenses. In such cases, at the end of his tenancy, the operator was either reimbursed or was allowed to cultivate a small strip of land to cover his improvement costs. However, the tenant has to surrender

(21) Ali Aras, Guney Dogu Anadoluda Arazi Mulkiyeti ve Isletme Sekilleri Ziraat Fakultesi Yayinlari, Ankara 1956 p. 59-62

(22) Suat Aksoy, Yuz Soruda Turkiye'de Toprak Meselesi. Gercek Yaynevi Istanbul, 1969. p. 122

$\frac{1}{8}$ or some fixed proportion of the gross crop as rent payment, Also, if he had received operational loans and had borrowed money during his tenancy, he was required to pay off his debts plus interest on the loan. There are usually no set of conditions or dates fixed for these repayments. For instance, if the operator should decide to terminate the sharecropping agreement, he may do so by paying off his debts and returning the operational capital to the landlord. Similarly if the landlord is not happy with his tenant, whatever the reasons may be, he could demand the repayment of the loans and expel him and his family whenever suits him and regardless of tenancy agreements. The tenant has no protection against eviction since these customary arrangements and mutual obligations have no legal basis.

The share cropping agreements, in the conditions broadly described above, vary from area to area depending on the local customary practices. In certain rural areas, particularly Erzincan, where population pressure on land is acute, consequently land hungry peasants have less bargaining power. Therefore questions regarding security of tenancy, compensation for displacement and the form and amount of crop to be delivered by the sharecropper are largely dictated by the landlord. He may allot the relatively more fertile plots to his favored tenants who are closely affiliated with him*. In many peasant societies

* However, an additional point is made by Dr. Ismail Besikci of Ataturk University regarding the allocation of land among the tenants. He claims that in some cases the land allotted for sharecropping may be divided into two different segments where by one portion of land is left for fallowing and the other is used for cultivation. This type of land use pattern is called 'Gedik' which gives a greater power of control over land use to the owners. Further, the land that is put under operation is fragmented into strip parcels, called 'O.K.' on the basis of fertility of land and its distance from the village. Then these strips of land are allotted among various sharecroppers, the main objectives of which is to maintain a fair distribution of land in terms of its fertility or productivity. — Ismail Besikci, Dogunum Duzeni, E. Yayinlari, 1969 p. 92.

of Eastern Turkey where tenancy farming is prevalent, the actual obligations of the sharecroppers may exceed the sum total of the obligations that were mutually agreed upon. For instance, although it may not be specifically stated in the tenancy agreement, the tenant may also have to perform such services as preparing mudbricks, providing free labour service, undertaking the transportation of the landlord's share in the crop and other personal services that may be required by the landlord.

The duration of tenancy agreement ranges from one to two years.

The Adverse affects of Yaricilik system on Production and Marketing:

Among the features of the Yaricilik system which have the most serious effects are the insecurity of tenure resulting from periodical reallocation of land and arbitrary evictions. The difficult problems which arise due to the impossibility of getting a secure or long lease may have great disadvantages from the standpoint of a long-term agricultural development and marketing. The economic consequences of short lease, periodical reallocation of land or arbitrary evictions may further perpetuate inefficiency by limiting the incentives of the tenants to improve the fertility of land or making permanent improvements. Since the tenants have no certainty of tenure, accordingly they may more likely aim to get the best out of the land during their short tenancy regardless of the effect on the fertility of the soil. In practice, agricultural development requires far-sighted improvement efforts if farmers are interested in maintaining its productive efficiency, the fertility of soil or in increasing agricultural production. Where the probability of gain through improved methods and techniques is predictable and the future outlook is certain, the tenant would have more incentive to increase the productivity of land, more incentive to invest in so far as his tenancy is secure. On the other hand, where customary rights are not observed and there is fear of arbitrary eviction, the tenant will be less interested in maintaining the productive efficiency

of soil and may understandably be reluctant to undertake long-term risk and expense for a relatively short-term stake in the land. Economic order, the predictability of the possible consequences of alternative economic actions and the probability of gain or loss associated with these consequences largely depend on the stability of the economic environment. In the absence of economic order, the tenant will therefore be drawn to seek a short-term advantage and exploit the land and agricultural resources without regard to its future productivity or anything beyond the duration of their tenancy agreement.

It is often alleged that in some rural areas of Eastern Turkey and notably in the Middle East, the number of tenants who have cultivated the same plot of land for more than three years were said to be in minority, while the majority of tenants did not even cultivate the same plot of land from year to year.⁽²²⁾ Tenants who cultivate land under these form of tenancy may not justify making some kind of long term investment even if they understood how could this be done.

Equally, the introduction of cash cropping or mixed farming may necessitate some experimentation and risk taking. This is one way of improving market-oriented agricultural activities and is also instrumental in bringing about changes in mono cultural traditional farming. Willingness to experiment may be discouraged so long as the tenant has no security that he will be the tenant next year or 'any guarantee that he will be reimbursed for his improvements if his tenancy is terminated.'⁽²³⁾ Where land is reallocated at intervals, there will be less flexibility in the system and limited manoeuvreability for the tenant to enter marketing activity, and less incentive

(22) See U.N. Department of Economic Affairs Land Reform, Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development (New York: U.N. 1951)

(23) Ibid.

to employ efficient equipment or methods which increase output or reduce cost in the long-run, less ability to finance costly innovations. In those cases where tenancy agreements have no legal basis and customary rights are not recognized, a tenant who is evicted by his landlord may not even be compensated for improvements he has made on the land. The conflicting claims, disputed customary rights and widespread insecurity have long been the keynote to social and economic unrest and limited marketing in the peasant societies of Turkey.

b. Icaré: Sharecroppers, who operate land under 'icare' form of tenancy undertake all the operational expenses and provide production inputs with the exception of land and farm houses. Landlords incur no part of these costs so that the entire burden of production costs is passed on the tenant, who in turn is free to select any type of seed or choose any method or technique of production. Since the tenant secures no benefit of working with better seed or equipment, his methods and techniques of production remain rudimentary. The actual interest of the landlord in the production process appears to be confined to harvesting time. In this type of agreement, the share in the produce taken by the landowner varies from one-fifth to one-tenth of the crop, depending on the fertility of the soil and the type of crop and also according to local conditions, being higher where population pressure is greater. Although there is much variation in practice in the 'Icare' form of sharecropping agreement the taxes on the land are incurred by the landlord at least on paper. However, in addition to the fixed proportion of the produce taken by the landlord he may also exact an extra one-twentieth of the crop from the tenant, which is an essence equivalent to the amount of land tax. This extra share taken by the landlord is called "Tapu Hakki", which is nothing but shifting the incidence of the tax,

on to the sharecropper. Moreover, the landlord usually reserves the right of demanding free labour services from the tenant.⁽²⁴⁾ According to Dr. Besikci, a sharecropper, during his tenancy is also required to provide free labour services twice a year or pay the wage for an equivalent labour service. Since the tenant is considered a guest of the landlord, customary practices require that he render a newly born cow or goat, plus one oxen-cart load of fuel e.g. wood or manure cake to the landlord or the equivalent amount of money. This customary practice in different rural areas of Anatolia is called 'Tapu', 'Hisse' or 'Hissei Icar'.⁽²⁵⁾

Icare is a prevalent form of sharecropping system in the North-Eastern Turkey, usually in the least fertile and marginal areas where average yield per acre is very low. Landowners usually maintain these types of land only as a secure form of holding wealth not as a means of gaining wealth and are not interested in improving the fertility of the soil. Their 'sense of cash' in this capacity has centered more on moneylending practices and interest on loans than on incomes derived from the improvement of land. The share that accrues to the landlords in 'Lcare' share agreement varies between $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the crop,

(24) I. Besikci, Ibid, p.92-93

(25) I. Besikici, Ibid, p.93 Dr. Besikci also states that, 'during the last few years, a large number of 'Lcare' tenants have refused to perform free labour services or undertake other duties. Those landlords who were in a weak position and were unable to enforce their will upon the tenants were compelled to register the title of their lands, since registration of titles provided them a legal base to establish their claims. This act of refusal to bow to the will of the landlord by the tenants is called 'Asebun' - (or rebellion) Ibid p.93.

which leaves no margin for marketing for the tenant. Also, uncertainty due to the short-term tenancy leaves little incentive to increasing the fertility of the soil and make the cost-benefit calculation of an output increasing effort uncertain. Rural poverty is the end result of high indebtedness, lack of incentive and poor land potential.

The Adverse Affects of Icare System on Production and Marketing:

Among the most deterrent and adverse aspect of Icare system is that although the tenant incurs the entire burden of production costs associated with output increasing operations, the benefits that accrue to the landlords may substantially reduce his remuneration. By differentiating between the tenant who is responsible for bearing the cost of production and the landlord who is the real beneficiary, the 'Icare' system may thus create discontinuity between tenants' production effort and his market opportunity since he is left with little or no margin for marketing. Under such circumstances, even if the tenant perceives and recognizes market opportunities, he will be less tempted to adopt improved methods or output increasing techniques of production since his expected returns or his meager share make such costs difficult to bear. The incompetability of Icare system and market incentives is clearly exemplified by the fact that it dissociate effort with reward, does not allow freedom to manoeuvre, blocks output increasing efforts and does not encourage soil improvement.

c. Cariyek (Çeyrek, Dörtte bir) - One fourth

The feature of 'Cariyek' share cropping agreement appear in the form of a combination of Yaricilik and Icare system. In essence, the landlord provides the land and half of the seed while the tenant provide his own labour ploughing livestock, half of the seed and incur all the

remaining costs of operation. Land tax is usually shouldered by the landlord. Although there are some variations in practice, the most commonly practiced share cropping is that which gives one-fourth to the landlord and one-fourth to the tenant. One-eighth of the remaining produce is taken by the landlord as rent. And the remaining crop is equally shared between tenant and the landlord.

Cariyek is mostly practiced in South Eastern Turkey, notably Diyarbaker and is not so common type of share agreement in the East. (26)

The Adverse Affects of Cariyek System on Production and Marketing:

One of the adverse aspect of 'Cariyek' system is that it is not legally binding and so there is no legal protection against eviction. Accordingly, the more insecure the tenancy agreement is, the greater the tenant's uncertainty.

d. Marabacilik (landless farm labour) As a consequence of the concentration of landownership in the hands of the few and other defects of the agrarian structure, marabacilik has become the most commonly practiced form of land tenancy system in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. (27)

A bulk of the landless peasants spend much time in the village coffee houses waiting for an opportunity just enough to keep their meager hopes alive. These landless workers who are sometimes called 'Tutma' or hired hands are provided with free housing, meals, clothing and tobacco by the landlord. The landlord also provides all the production inputs while the 'Maraba' provides his own labour. In these areas where farm labour is plentiful and land is scarce, landlord provide a strip

(26) I. Besikci, Ibid p.93

(27) Ibrahim Yasa, Turkiye'nui Toplumsal Yapisi ve Temel Sorunlar, S.B.F. 1969 p.144

Also, Ali Uras, Ibid p.144

of land to each Maraba in return of one-third or one-fourth of the crop.* The Maraba performs all sort of services from milking cows to repairing, all free of charge. It is in this sense that Marabacilik is said to be inferior to farm workers since the farmer does not receive any wages for his labour services. In general, work conditions and wages in kind are extremely low, thus leaving no incentive for them to work harder since payments do not take into account the individual's effort and contribution to output. Moreover periodical reallocation of land and arbitrary evictions further perpetuates the misery of 'Maraba's'. They are seldom sure where their next employment will be, whether they will cultivate the same plot next year or secure a livelihood for themselves and their families. Marabacilik, in a deeper economic sense is both a cause and consequence of poverty. The high percentage of landless workers in agriculture leave little margin of surplus and concealed or disguised unemployment characterizes the subsistence level of agricultural activity. Due to the absence of alternative employment opportunities in the urban places, concentration of population in the rural sector coupled with a desire to own a piece of land by the bulk of the landless peasants, labour is one of the most wasted resource in most of the poor peasant societies of Middle East and Eastern Turkey. In fact bitterness and resentment have been increasing among these peasants in recent years, however, few are able to find a way out of their misery. Some have become small traders or petty travelling salesman wandering from village to village selling religious items, beads and perfume. Marabacilik which is characteristic at the village level is a further deterrent to intensification of work habits - in fact it has led to an

* In the livestock growing areas where farming is of secondary importance landless workers are given a strip of land to cultivate at his own cost. Most of them work on such land because this is the only opening to them. In return the maraba provides animal feed for landlord's livestock undertakes baling of hay or grass and transports them to Aga's storehouse. There is no contract for these agreements. Dr. Besikci, Ibid p.94

intensification of local inertia. Hence for generations many landless farmers have stayed out of the marketing orbit and have become accustomed to a very low living standards with little incentive for actual or psychological mobility. For the great majority of the landless peasants in Eastern Turkey, the benefits of agricultural improvement and socialized medicine can be summed up by saying that it has become harder to die.

ADVERSE FEATURES OF TENANCY SYSTEMS

In the peasant societies of Turkey and the Middle East, and notably in Eastern Turkey, the system of land tenancy, with few notable exceptions are custom-bound and semi-feudal without legally-binding agreements to define obligations between the owner and the operator. Among the major adverse features of tenancy system which perpetuate the ills of an inefficient land tenancy system are:

1. The uncertainty associated with the use of land and insecurity of tenure rights may reduce incentives of the tenant to take risks or a long term interest in the fertility of the soil since the consequences of his economic decisions become less calculable or reliable. More explicitly, since the tenant is unable to predict whether he would be able to cultivate the same plot of land from year to year, his odds on net return associated with his growth promoting action becomes less calculable, because the insecurity of his tenancy make such calculations less reliable.
2. The general reluctance and inability of the majority of tenant farmers to undertake any long term improvement of agricultural production is due to the discontinuity between responsible and benefiting economic units. The incentives to make permanent improvements e.g. maintaining the fertility of the soil, terracing against erosion, constructing or maintenance of ditches or channels for irrigation etc. are discouraged by periodic reallocation of land; short leases, rack renting, arbitrary evictions, excessive proportion of shares taken by the landlord and chronic indebtedness of the tenants leave little margin or incentive for marketing. Moreover, often the right to use the land to produce a bare subsistence minimum has been for many generations an accepted pattern of agricultural activity; correlatively, there is little possibility for accumulation of capital and little margin for marketing.

The following discussion takes a critical look into the compatibility of tenancy systems with productive efficiency from the point of view of a sustained and rising agricultural production and marketing opportunities.

Renting:

In this type of tenancy system, rents are payable in money, in produce and sometimes in labour e.g. in Iran, depending on the mutual agreement between the parties. This form of tenancy is prevalent in those farming communities which are within reasonable commuting distance of urban places and where land is largely irrigated and used to produce special crops such as vegetables and similar perishable products. It is also a prevalent form of tenancy on state-owned lands. The proportion of rent payment is usually fixed and varies according to local conditions, fertility of soil, distance to urban centers and density of population. Rent payment for the use of state-owned land is fixed by legal agreement and payment is accepted in money. In the privately owned lands in Eastern Turkey the amount of rent is usually regulated by custom and is very high and the payment is made either in the form of proportionate produce or share rent in the form of fixed sum of money. Notable is the landlord's power to restrict the uses to which land may be put. The general consequence is the restriction of freedom of the operator and maintenance of cultivation of the customary crop or land use pattern. The reasons are said to be: (a) to prevent the tenant from getting a vested interest in the land. (b) The landlords who are tradition-bound usually resist tenaciously any effort by the tenant to change the customary land use pattern, fearing that the new crop may reduce the fertility of the soil in the long run. (c) Or, new ways which could maximize tenant's return may increase his market opportunity and may encourage him to enter into trades in competition with the

landlord who might already be established in these trading lines.

In the areas where land is scarce rents are relatively higher and in the less fertile areas, rents are considerably lower and the payment of rent is usually in the form of fixed amount of produce. Although the payment of rent in the form of fixed sum of produce or money is said to be preferable from tenants point of view* some economists, on the other hand argue that fixed rental payment is less flexible and therefore less able to meet changing circumstances. For instance, during a change in circumstances such as a sudden onset of plant disease or times of bad crop conditions - and bad years in Eastern Turkey are of frequent occurrence - may adversely affect the supply of output. The fixed payment may fall heavily on the tenant who often have few resources to tide him over bad times. Consequently, the tenant finds himself with nothing beyond his bare subsistence minimum with no margin for investment, and he gets more heavily into debt. Because of the high supply of tenants, he cannot expect his rent fall. In prosperous times, he is squeezed to the limit to pay off his past debts, yet he carries the full burden of crop shortage. In consequence inflexibility and instability of the agrarian structure, not in terms of variations in yields or rainfall but in terms of a lack of a concept of mutual enterprising between landlord and the tenant offsets the tenants production or market opportunities. (28)

In certain peasant societies of Eastern Turkey the rent demanded by the landlord varies proportionally with the supply of output e.g.

* A U.N. Report on land reform states that, 'payment of rent in fixed sum of money are clearly preferable from the standpoint of tenants, since with a fixed rental they have more incentive to increase their output and enjoy the full benefit of any improvement on the land in so far as their tenancy is secure. This way the tenant may secure benefits of working with better seed or equipment and may justify making certain improvements on the land. See U.N. Land Reform Ibid. p.308

(28) Doreen Warriner p.263

Erzincan. According to A. Lewis, proportional rent usually lessens the incentive of the operator to adopt improvements, assuming that the tenant bears all the cost of improvement.⁽²⁹⁾ However much depends on how much of the improvement costs are shared by the landlord and how much of the benefit accrues to the benefiting units. Also, since the majority of tenancy agreements in Eastern Turkey are custom-bound with no legally defined mutual obligations difficulties might arise due to the absence of guarantee and that the tenant might fear that he might not be reimbursed for his improvements if his tenancy is terminated.

Finally there is the so called 'mortgage rent' under which a small landowner rents his land to the party who extends credit on loan to him. The creditor uses the land as he wishes. No interest charge is mentioned and no rent is paid by the creditor. The popular term for this type of agreement among the Eastern peasants is 'Land without rent, money without interest charge.'⁽³⁰⁾ The duration of rent agreement is the same as the duration of the mortgage, usually 3 to 7 years. If the landowner cannot pay off his debts, the creditor takes over the mortgaged estate. In fact it may be said that the control of ownership of lands in the hand of few farmer-merchants and money lenders is a consequence of natives' tendency of pledging their land for debt in which they may have only dimly understood that the end result was going to be foreclosure, landlessness and chronic indebtedness.⁽³¹⁾

(29) A. Lewis 123. A. Lewis also argues that, 'the tenant may neglect the property; if his income does not vary with the care he gives; on the other hand he may prolong his tenancy improperly, in order to prolong his employment. Ibid. p.63

(30) I. Ekinçi, Ibid p.90

(31) Ibid

LAND USE PATTERN UNECONOMIC HOLDINGS; LAND HUNGER
AND ECOLOGICAL DETERIORATION

All the statistical evidence indicates that a relatively higher degree of land hunger and small size of the average farm holdings characterize the agricultural economy in Eastern rural Turkey. The level of output per acre is low and average yield per farm family is even lower as marginal lands and meadows are increasingly brought under cultivation to meet the needs of rising population. As Table III - 11 shows in the 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey* which comprise 19.3% of the total area of Turkey, the area of total cultivable land is only 8.6% of the total cultivated area of Turkey. Vineyards and orchards comprise 2.8%; forests 8.1%; meadows and pasture lands 30.5% and unproductive waste lands 26.4% of the total area of land in the area. Further, Table shows the following type of land utilization in the 13 provinces: Arable land: 2.1 million hectares; vineyards and orchards; 61,840 hectares; meadows and pastures: 8.6 million hectares; forests: 956,670 hectares. The remaining 3.5 million hectares is waste and unproductive lands.

When the distribution of land in the 13 eastern provinces is further compared and contrasted with the distribution of land in the remaining 54 provinces of Turkey, we see that the area of cultivated land in Eastern rural Turkey is 7.3 donum per capita agricultural population, (12.8 donum in the remaining 54 provinces); and 15.7 donum per capita active farm population, (25.9 donum in the remaining 54 provinces).

* These 13 provinces are: Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars Agri in the North eastern region; Bingol, Mus, Bitlis Van and Hakkari of the south eastern region; Tunceli Elazig, Malatya and Adlyaman of the East central part of Eastern Turkey.

TABLE III - 11

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LAND UTILIZATION IN TURKEY AND IN THE 13 PROVINCES
OF EASTERN TURKEY

TYPE OF LAND	TURKEY ⁽¹⁾ TOTAL (000 hectares)	%	THE REMAINING 54 PROVINCES (000 hectares)	%	EASTERN TURKEY ⁽²⁾ (13 PROVINCES)		
					HECTARE	%	% OF THE TURKEY TOTAL
I Cultivated Land	23,913	30,63	21,859	34.69	2054,292	13.65	8,59
Arable Land	15,276	19.57	14,008	22.23	1268,082	8,43	8,30
Fallow	8,637	11.06	7,851	12,46	786,210	5.22	9,10
II Vineyards and Orchards	2,207	2.83	2,145	3.40	61,840	0.41	2,80
III Meadows and Pastures	28,257	36.20	19,643	31.17	8614,235	57.25	30,49
IV Forests	10,584	13.56	9,727	15.44	856,670	5.69	8,09
V Unproductive Lands	13,097	16.78	9,636	15.30	3461,063	23.00	26,43
TOTAL	78,058	100.00	63,010	100.00	15048,100	100.00	19,28

Source: (1) S.I.S. Summary of Agri. Statistics (1943-64) Publication No:480 Ankara 1965 p.3

(2) Agricultural Structure and Production (1961-63) Publication No: 469 Ankara 1965

AREA OF CULTIVATED LAND PER AGRICULTURAL POPULATION AND PER ACTIVE POPULATION
IN EASTERN TURKEY AND IN THE 13 PROVINCES OF EASTERN TURKEY

CULTIVATED LAND	Regional Hectare	Average Donum	Average of Provinces 54 Provinces = 100	Hectare	Donum	Average of Turkey hectare Donum
a. Per population	0,57	(5,7)	69	0,83	(8,3)	0.80
b. Per agricultural population	0,73	(7,3)	57	1,28	(12,8)	1.20
c. Per active population	1,57	(15,7)	61	2,59	(25,9)	2.45

Source: Adopted from. Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz, Dogu Anadolu'da Zirai Istihsal Faktorleri Arasinda Ki Ilişkiler T.T.O. ve S.O. Ankara 1967 p.330

According to the above data, the average cultivated land per agricultural population in the 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey is 43% less than the average of the remaining 54 provinces and 39% less per active farm population. According to Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz of Ataturk University in Erzurum, on the average, 38% of the cultivated land (approximately 786.000 hectares) each year is left as fallow land in order to accumulate moisture in a simple dry-farming system.⁽³²⁾ This means that the actual available land for cultivation is 1.3 million hectares rather than 2.1 million (see Table III - 11). On the basis of 1965 population census

(32) Ibid p.332

figures, the area of land per active agricultural population is 9.6 donum of land and per agricultural population is 4.3 donum, excluding fallow lands.

Implicit in the foregoing discussions is the fact that the demand for land is great and that the average holdings are too small to provide a subsistence minimum income for the peasant families or year long employment for their members. There is considerable disguised unemployment since the resources of the families are too small to keep all working members of the family fully employed. Moreover absence of alternative employment opportunities for redirecting a part of the excess labour supply into other occupations at appropriate times further aggravates rural poverty. The problems of land hunger and misutilization of available land in Eastern rural Turkey is further aggravated by the fact that the peasant population in the area has increased by 69% between 1950-65 leading to a 72% increase in arable land at the expense of pastures and meadows.** (see section on Animal husbandry p.231). Consequently, misutilization of land - e.g. overgrazing, over cultivation, destruction of near-by forests by fire or clearing to open up new lands have all

* The average cultivated land per agricultural population in Western countries is as follows: U.S.A., 67; Canada 112; England 49; France 22; Denmark 26; and Germany 21. (in donum) These figures further indicate the extremely small size of average farm holdings in Eastern Turkey. See Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz Ibid, p.331-2

(32) Ibid p.332

** At least part of the increase in the area of arable land at the expense of pastures is due to the government's high price support policy for cereals. Particularly true in the market recognizing peasant societies.

contributed to ecological deterioration. In fact, all the evidence from Eastern Turkey strongly indicates that fallow cycles are decreasing in length. Consequently as the generosity of nature began to decline, output averaged little more than the barest minimum of family needs, and the strong attempts to get the highest possible yields from the soil, have further led to soil erosion.* Ecological deterioration has already become a serious threat to the fertility of soils as well as to the efficiency of agricultural economy. Briefly, soil erosion to a large extent have resulted from:

(a) Centuries of soil depleting agricultural practices, poor farming techniques and methods, indiscriminate grazing, cultivation of marginal lands have reduced the organic content of the soil and have caused widespread alkalinity.

(b) Lack of adequate knowledge of soil conservation methods e.g., soil building forage crops, lack of knowledge of crop rotation or any type of soil improvement techniques. Limited use of fertilizer and traditional custom of burning animal fertilizer as fuel. The traditional pattern of monoculture dominates rural economic activity which may have further caused biological unbalance, showing itself in soil exhaustion or in the spread of pests and disease.

Observations made during the field study showed that, in parts of the mountainous Eastern rural Turkey, where average holdings were small, peasants were trying to survive on patches of land, often on slopes of barren hills much of which should not even be planted to crops. Consequently excessive and misutilization of lands both by men and goats have severely caused erosion, and other ecological problems which have further reduced the livelihood of the peasants to a

* See Professor Bowen-Jones. Karapinar Erosion Area. Seminar Notes 1969.

subsistence minimum. Thus, low yields in the peasant societies of the Middle East and Turkey are in part a consequence of soil erosion and the cause of poverty. As Doreen Warriner observes, 'It is not more cultivation which the soil needs, but less; less cropping and more terracing on the hillsides, more afforestation and less grazing.'⁽³³⁾

In summary, then, it has become vitally important and urgent more than ever that measures should be taken to conserve the rapidly eroding soil. Encouragement of expansion of a sound livestock industry, in so far as the natural endowment and the comparative advantages of the region is concerned, is thus imperative, not only for bringing the peasants into the orbit of a money economy, but also for maintaining the fertility of the soil and for reconditioning of land which is already eroded.

Uneconomic Holdings and Productive Efficiency

So long as small holdings* and the fragmentation of land to rather uneconomic proportions prevail, the possibilities of an efficient land use pattern, improvements in methods and techniques of production would

(33) Doreen Warriner, *Ibid.* p.52

* The question of what acreage constitutes a small farm-holding is not an exact concept since land differs in quality, and physical units of land may not reveal these qualitative differences. A U.N. study indicate that, 'what acreage will permit full utilization of the farmer's equipment, is less important than the question of what acreage provides a subsistence minimum, either directly by growing food or indirectly by providing an income from commercial crops. The standard is measured not in terms of a necessary scale of operation, but a minimum standard of food consumption. Even on this basis, acreage alone is not a sufficient criterion, since there are great differences in the intensity of cultivation, methods and techniques being used and cropping rates. 'U.N. Problems of Agrarian Structure in Under developed countries and Land Reform N.Y. U.N. 1951 p.301 However, the present study considers small holdings as an uneconomic holdings, too small to provide a surplus for the farmer and too small to permit any improvement.

TABLE III - 12

DISTRIBUTION OF ARABLE LANDS AMONG LANDOWNERS

PROVINCE	FIELDS				VINEYARDS			ORCHARDS			GARDENS			POPLAR NURSERY		
	No. of villages	No. of families	No. of fragments	Total area 10 hectare	No. of Families	No. of Fragments	Total area 10 hectare	No. of Families	No. of Fragments	Total area 10 hectare	No. of Families	frag-ments	Total Area 10 he-ctare	No. of Families	Frag-ments	Total
AGRI	544	20468	98974	2082501	-	-	-	123	128	598	2	2	7	12	12	46
BINGOL	325	15469	55518	309637	155	176	214	100	100	51	45	48	41	-	-	-
BITLIS	253	11139	47635	566125	439	570	1092	83	112	193	547	718	772	-	-	-
ERZINCAN	559	27289	138641	852663	3073	3583	7240	4445	5479	10421	1203	1435	3106	584	623	1472
ERZURUM	1039	59654	338915	3402883	196	284	663	59199	9633	12119	1590	1987	2423	197	246	281
GAZIANTEP	572	25070	76406	1259804	23199	45317	323567	12195	23958	148709	2650	2970	6976	471	522	1732
HAKKARI	134	6747	29950	131567	484	509	696	2	4	11	119	130	133	17	20	63
MARDIN	708	29091	89741	1893053	24076	36023	134078	1423	1887	52275	6864	8965	213075	1007	1282	3615
MUS	366	19536	81466	1675004	100	109	437	24	25	80	337	370	572	145	162	445
SIIRT	469	19066	59545	935458	5748	7969	20517	943	1182	1631	2436	3187	6562	74	86	131
TUNCELI	414	16627	106330	506788	1398	1578	2521	1719	2200	2818	584	625	744	890	1104	1081
VAN	546	18999	110544	1449831	321	354	1041	630	847	2370	196	218	799	843	1033	2434

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs. Village Inventory Studies Table: 17

not only be outside the small farmer's time horizon and financial reach, but the uneconomic and fragmented small holdings would offer no justification for their employment. It is too much to expect efficiency when the holdings consist of widely scattered and fragmented strips of land for the following reasons:

(a) It is physically difficult to use draft animals or agricultural machinery; crop rotation is restricted considerable effort and time is wasted in moving from one plot to another; irrigation projects are hampered, the weed and pest control are prevented and there is little possibility of improving the fertility of soil through cultivation of soil building crops.

(b) If each peasant is to try to own the inputs of production such as modern tools and equipment by himself, the process of capitalization and improvement of capital land ratio cannot go very far. Since his income and savings derived from his tiny plot lands are inadequate to finance the purchase of production inputs, the possibility of expanding of his productive capacity are also limited. In addition, not only will there be a low capital-land ratio, but there will be also inefficient or uneconomic use of whatever capital exists, because peasants' small diversified plots would neither permit the adequate economic utilization of existing equipment, nor of better equipment or better seed.

In the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, where fragmented holdings and extended family farming are the salient feature of the agrarian structure, there is a growing inability of these families to weather even a short-term crisis. Whatever the level of output, it is barely sufficient to meet subsistence needs, let along to finance technical improvements. In situations of land fragmentation agriculture provides a very low standard of living. Consequently there can not be any substantial margin for saving or investment, since subsistence needs offset any long

term capital requirement and any market accessibility. According to the data derived from the Ministry of Village Affairs surveys, in the seven provinces of Eastern Turkey - Agri, Van, Bingol, Bitlis, Mus, Tunceli and Van where uneconomic holdings are widespread, the number of items of agricultural equipment per thousand active population is: 522 wooden plows; 100 mouldboard plows, 0.99 tractors; 0.27 combines.⁽³⁴⁾ (See section on Capital Deficiency pp 143-159). The low capitalization on the land in the Middle East and notably in Eastern Turkey are both a consequence and cause of low productivity.

(c) Moreover, where incomes are small due to the fragmentary and small land ownership, the risks involved in failure are a serious deterrent to trying new ways and new methods with regard to soil conservation, experimentation with a new plant variety, or creation of adequate diversity and richness in the productive capacity or efficient management of agriculture. There tend to be fewer peasants who are able and willing to deviate from established pattern of land use or experiment in new crops. The failure of a new method or a new crop could vitally affect the livelihood of peasants whose economic base provides a 'hand-to-mouth' existence. As A. Lewis observes, the small farmers do not have 'a secure economic foundation to try out new seeds extensively, without knowing how well they stand up to conditions of drought or agricultural risks. They are reluctant to give up seeds which they know, rather than run the risk that the new seed, however bountiful, on the average may one year fail or reduce them to famine'.⁽³⁵⁾

Also due to the immediate consumption need considerations, the peasants are unable to foresee or justify the long-term advantages of soil conservation or experimenting with a higher yielding variety of new seeds.

(34) Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz, Ibid. p.348

(35) A. Lewis, Ibid. p.48

The predictability of the possible consequences of alternative action or the probability of gain associated with these consequences are obscured and uncertainty of the outcome may thus offset any possibility of adopting an innovation.

(d) Small landowners in the Middle East and Turkey, notably in Eastern rural Turkey are mostly confined within the walls of their rigid, semi-feudal, socio-cultural environment which may also deny them the opportunity or incentive to adopt modernization or the diffusion of innovative knowledge or improved techniques. Peasants who are traditionally oriented to produce for their subsistence minimum and poorly endowed with production opportunities, e.g. land and economic knowledge, may not perceive the output promoting qualities of an improved technique or method of production. Thus, even if they recognize the benefits of an increase in output, they may overlook improved techniques or application of tested knowledge as irrelevant to their felt needs.⁽³⁶⁾ Moreover, small landed peasants who have for generations been attached to their lands with deep-rooted sentimentality, think of their land in the concrete sense of corporeal property, a nourishing mother providing them with basic subsistence needs rather than a commercial enterprise, may thus be less inclined in the adopting, even perceiving of the necessity of improved techniques. In consequence, the mobility of land may also be reduced and bad husbandry reinforced by lack of adequate knowledge of economic opportunities may further perpetuate the ills of an inefficient land holding.

(36) See Charles Wolf, Jn. Institutions and Economic Development. A.E.R. December 1955. pp 867-843

See also G. Katona, Psychological analysis of Economic Behavior N.Y. 1951 pp.248-50

and J.G. Boeke, Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies. (Haarlem, 1953)

PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY AND MARKETING PROSPECTS

The high dependence of peasant population on the land (72.8% in agricultural occupations) in Eastern rural Turkey, implies not only concentration on primary production, but also a low level of agricultural production and poverty, since it means that it takes 'too many people too much time to feed the population'. The low ratio of land per farm family, inefficient land-use patterns coupled with such market imperfections as factor immobility, ignorance of market opportunities and lack of specialization and other concomitant obstacles have all created a vicious circle that have perpetuated the low level of production. Primarily, deficiencies in real production resources have deprived the region of the production opportunity and the possibility of any substantial margin of crop surplus. Similarly, the accessibility to markets - market opportunity - is also impeded since the margin of surplus is nil or insignificant, thus the basis of surplus and market chances is also lacking.

As data on Table III - 13 p. 228 reveal, in the 10 provinces of Eastern Turkey, the level of output of industrial crops, vegetables and fruits is far below the consumption needs of the region. Further, consumption of principal crops in the area comprises 90.38% of the total output of cereal production, which leaves the region close to a self-sufficiency level. Inefficiency and poverty is reinforced by deficiencies in the economic foundation, the lack of adequate credit systems to permit the purchase of new production inputs, the paucity of transportation and communication facilities, have precluded the possibility of any substantial margin of crop surplus, saving and hence marketing opportunities.

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF INDUSTRIAL CROPS, VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

PRODUCTION OF PRINCIPAL CEREAL CROPS

PROVINCE	Population	INDUSTRIAL CROPS (In Ton)						INDUSTRIAL CROPS Potato, onion, garlic		PULSES		VEGETABLES		FRUITS		GRAPES		IN TONS									
		t o b b a c o	p o t a t o	s u g a r b e e t	d r y o n i o n	d r y g a r l i c	(Ton) Total Prod.	Total Production Ton	Total Consumption Ton	Total Production Ton	Total Consumption Ton	Total Produc. Ton	Total Consumption Ton	Production Ton	Consump- tion Ton	Produc- tion	Consump- tion	Wheat	Barley	Rye	Oats	Corn	Rice	Total Popul- ation (Ton)	Produc- tivity per hec- tare (kg.)	Total Con- sump- tion (Ton)	Consump- tion % of Product- ion
AGRI	245957	-	1875	3912	225	15	6027	2115	9836*	915	2700*	1905	19672*	35	6393*	-	19524*	41380	29102	1074	-	99	135	72240	539	65400	9151
BINGOL	148701	-	50	730	86	15	881	151	5948*	800	1635*	865	11840*	1278	3866*	77	11740*	6031	879	407	-	350	-	8182	657	39550	-
BITLIS	154509	365	312	5174	86	13	5892	353	6180*	300	1700*	723	12320*	2031	4000*	160	12160*	25011	1070	397	-	80	-	28033	911	41100	-
ERZINCAN	258976	3	7611	90206	3042	46	100909	10700	10356	3502	2847	18399	20712*	16000	6731	5457	20450*	81538	20909	7605	25	1300	4700	115135	1203	68860	5927
ERZURUM	628856	-	45820	50585	10610	800	107365	56780	25152	5980	6917*	44286	50300*	15710	16348*	1447	49675*	72280	50050	31792	35	13985	6125	174342	1090	167260	9433
HAKKARI	83961	21	190	-	285	496	475	475	3356*	325	923*	233	6640*	1136	2184*	72	6630*	1820	672	125	-	1180	40	4305	1127	22340	-
KARS	606521	-	72130	47864	3635	-	123629	75765	24260	1986	6670*	32364	48480*	8743	15770*	130	47910*	128173	72824	1192	-	1055	1033	204277	1067	1161320	7871
MUS	199215	60	4800	7043	5500	40	17443	10340	7968	2494	2190	852	15920*	68	5174*	80	15700*	72785	1135	-	-	1100	-	75370	793	53000	6989
TUNCELI	154830	47	2410	3128	164	-	5479	12943	10680	1864	1700	3051	12230*	11788	4025	2848	12230*	28119	10835	1374	255	615	-	41759	883	41184	8716
VAN	267111	-	12725	2835	209	9	15778	683	2938*	18390	21360*	4200	6940*	173	21090*	59974	11343	4852	-	-	-	-	760	76996	759	71040	9585
TOTAL	2748627	496	147923	211477	23050	1223	384169	172196	106310*	18759	30220*	121068	219274*	60989	71431*	10444	217010*	517534	198819	4888	315	19764	12793	801638	926	731054	9038

Compiled from Tables 8,9,10,11,12,13,14

Source: Turkish Chamber of Commerce, Commercial Marketing Board 1967

Note: Potatoes, onion garlic consumptionkg
per capita is

2. " " " 11
3. Vegetable consumption per cap. 79
4. Fruit " " " 26
5. Grape " " " 79

* Consumption exceeds production

Noté: Cereal consumption per capita is 266 kg.

* Consumption exceeds Production.

To the extent that economic opportunities are also obstructed by misallocation of resources and all the elements of the unfavourable socio-economic, cultural and physical environmental conditions also have reinforced the rigidity and the inferiority of the peasant farming activities. Consequently, the possibilities of expanding output in order to create adequate marketable surplus and trade have also been severely limited. In Turkey and the Middle East, innumerable subsistent-farmers have remained virtually outside the market economy. After covering their meager subsistence needs, the peasants are left with no surplus for selling or buying marketed goods and thus their poverty has also been shared by the whole population. Restricted though production opportunities are, in the market-seeking peasant societies, peasants often lack the means of transporting their produce to larger markets due to ignorance of market conditions. (See the section on Transportation) As Thornburg has observed, in a statement which is still true of many peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, 'the farmer normally follows the primitive methods of selling his produce and of buying what he can get in exchange. In these local markets, the farmer, his wife and perhaps his children lay out their modest produce and wait for a buyer to appear. If the buyer is a merchant, the peasant is likely to be in debt to him and he is in no position to bargain.'⁽³⁷⁾ (See Schematic Diagram of marketing Arrangements in livestock section)

However, the more important obstacles to marketing prospects are implicit in the general characteristics of peasants' farming activity. To the extent that regional resources and cultural environmental conditions remain comparatively well endowed and geographically best suited for livestock production, the low level of cereal production can be best viewed as a consequence of misutilization of resources and ignorance

(37) Thornburg, Spry, Soule. Turkey: An Economic Appraisal. The Twentieth Century Fund, 1949 p.53

of the alternative productivity potentials furnished by the environmental conditions. As the characteristics of low level farm production reveal, the type of agricultural activity and pattern of land utilization are very much inferior or "pseudo" production functions. Consequently the most efficient type of land utilization have not been maintained and the region's wealth has remained far below whatever is its productive potential. This means that with a greater emphasis on livestock production, accompanied by well-conceived and integrated approach toward the implementation of a package of programmes, it is geographically and economically feasible and advantageous for the region to reach its productive efficiency frontier and increase its market participation through a more efficient allocation of resources.

As the detailed study in the proceeding section on 'Livestock industry' will show the income derived from livestock production outweighs all the incomes derived from the rest of regional farm output. Seen from the region's environmental conditions and judged on economic efficiency grounds, as well as production and marketing criteria, it is evident that livestock production which already provides reasonable marketing chances, may further help to widen the rural economy, push the production frontier outwards, and create the necessary market accessibility in order to achieve maximum opportunities from the regional resources.

LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

There is no sphere of economic activity in Eastern Turkey which requires more effective and foresighted approach than livestock production and improvement. Needless to say, livestock development in the East necessitates the formulation of multi-purpose development schemes in co-operation with livestock growers in a new pattern of production process which adopts long-term measures suitable to the regions resources and eco-objectives. Furthermore, agricultural progress in Eastern Turkey depends to a considerable extent on whether peasants take a commercial attitude to livestock raising by exploiting them to the best advantage in terms of their dairy products, meat, wool and work.

Although livestock production outweighs all the rest of the region's economy and provide the major share of the regional income (Table III - 14) yet for the most part the low quality of livestock provides in ample evidence of the extent of the non-commercial attitudes of the peasants to their livestock.* This, in spite of the fact that, in many areas of the region, the topographical climatic and general geographical and socio-economic environmental conditions offer greater comparative cost and price advantage to livestock production as compared with arable crops and also a greater potential for exports.

* See Table A and B in the Appendix. In the 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey, out of a total 9,436 villages, 9,065 of them are actively engaged in and supplement their livelihoods by raising animals. Virtually all the nomadic tribes in the area depend for their livelihood on livestock.

TABLE III-14

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT (1963)

	EASTERN TURKEY Value of output and percentages.				Percentage of of Turkish Total %		Value of Production of other 54 provinces & percentages				Value of Agricultural output of Turkey				
	1953	%	1963	%	1953	1963	1953	%	1963	%	1953	%	1963	%	
	1000 T.L		1000 T.L				mill T.L.		mill. T.L		mill. T.L		mill. T.L		
I Crops															
1. Cereals	369.137	33.3	963.688	30.0	9.8	7.9	3.392	40.8	11.192	37.2	3.761	39.9	12.156	36.6	
2. Pulses	11.928	1.1	59.333	1.8	6.8	8.4	165	1.9	651	2.3	177	1.9	710	2.1	
3. Industrial crops	71.252	6.4	262.626	8.2	5.0	4.1	1.361	16.4	6.102	20.2	1.432	15.2	6.365	19.1	
4. Fruits	37.698	3.4	143.131	4.4	4.4	3.5	824	9.9	3.993	13.3	861	9.1	4.136	12.5	
TOTAL	490.015	44.2	1428.778	44.4	7.9	6.1	5.742	69.0	21.938	73.1	6.231	66.1	23.367	70.3	
II Livestock															
5. Livestock prod.	251.561	22.7	835.463	26.0	18.0	19.1	1.143	13.8	3.546	11.8	1.395	14.8	4.381	13.2	
6. Livestock produce	367.787	33.1	954.089	29.6	20.4	17.4	1.437	17.2	4.526	15.1	1.804	19.1	5.481	16.5	
TOTAL	619.348	55.8	1789.552	55.6	19.4	18.1	2.580	31.0	8.072	26.9	3.199	33.9	9.861	29.7	
TOTAL VALUE OF PROD.	1109.363	100	3218.330	100	11.8	9.7	8.322	100	30.0.0	100	9.430	100	33.228	100	

Source: T.C. Ziraat Bankası, 1963 Türkiye Tarımsal Üretim Değeri. Ankara 1965 p.6

TABLE III - 15

THE NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK AND OUTPUT OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS AND MEAT CONSUMPTION IN THE TEN
SELECTED LIVESTOCK PRODUCING PROVINCES

PROVINCE	TYPE OF ANIMALS ⁽¹⁾				OUTPUT ⁽²⁾						
	No. of sheep	No. of Cattle	No. of Goat	No. of Angora Goat	No. of Buffalo	(Ton) Milk	(Ton) Wool	(Ton) Hay	Egg	Total meat production	Annual meat consumption per capita (hg)
AGRI	846.131	226.827	117.458	-	17.214	46.641	494	42	9.300	7016.269	24.59
BINGOL	252.651	81.405	336.295	21.837	3.500	39.349	225	126	1.226	3892.689	26.17
BITLIS	266.887	11.065	209.707	-	8.055	34.829	227	141	597	3788.214	24.51
ERZINCAN	483.364	179.898	206.711	-	18.557	43.646	317	67	15.659	14173.704	22.53
ERZURUM	1344.679	612.601	232.142	7.530	21.289	107.029	1.242	140	22.835	4970.988	19.19
HAKKARI	626.624	59.611	372.875	14.523	1.057	17.805	568	100	3.370	3083.586	36.72
KARS	2301.083	1242.873	2094.999	60.133	80.133	256.917	1.772	145	28.827	20894.661	34.45
MUS	479.641	154.913	247.137	-	54.613	53.106	531	104	4.833	6467.796	54.25
TUNCELI	221.168	94.666	245.290	273	1.649	27.481	6631	457	3.716	3628.082	23.43
VAN	1151.470	179.597	1146.000	246	26.150	88.527	821	44	3.292	9380.241	34.85
TOTAL	7973.698	3023.597	5208.614	104.542	232.217	714.330	6.880	1.366	84.655	77296.230	28.9

Source: (1) Ministry of Agriculture, general Directory of Veterinarian
(2) S.I.S. Agricultural Structure and Production, 1963 Annuals.
(3) Ministry of Agriculture, general Directory of Veterinary.

In the 13 Eastern provinces, the money value of agricultural output in terms of value of crop output was 62.58T.L. per donum, while it was 432.69 T.L. per head of livestock: Table III - 16

TABLE III - 16

The Value of Output per Hectare and per livestock and Area of Cultivated Land per Agricultural Population and per Active Farm population. (1963)

	Regional Average Amount	Average of 54 provinces 54 prov = 100		Average of Turkey	
		donum	donum	hectare	hectare
1. Value of Crop					
Output per hectare (TL)	625.83	76	820.89	804.20	
2. Value of Output					
per livestock (cattle buffalo etc. (TL)	432.69	95	456.79	452.19	
3. Cultivated land (farm land hectare)		<u>hectare</u>	<u>donum</u>	<u>donum</u>	<u>hectare</u>
(a) Per population (hectare)	0.57	(5.7)	(8.3)	0.83(8)	0.8
(b) Per Agricultural population (hectare)	0.73	(7.3)	(12.8)	1.28(12)	1.20
(c) Per Active Farm population (hectare)	1.57	(15.7)	(25.9)	2.59(245)	2.45

Source: Ibrahim Aksoz, T.T.O.S.O.B. page 330

When the values of output of 13 provinces are compared and contrasted with the average value of output of the 54 remaining provinces of Turkey the level and value of output in the region, in terms of crop output is 24% less than the average of 54 provinces and only 5% less in terms of livestock production.⁽³⁸⁾ Furthermore, the area of cultivated land per agricultural population in 13 provinces is 43% less than the average of

(38) Ibrahim Aksoz, T.T.O.S.O.B. p.330

54 provinces and 39% less per active farm population.⁽³⁹⁾ During the periods 1950 to 1963, as Table III - 14 indicates, the share of live-stock production in the total value of output in 13 major Eastern provinces* was 55.8%, whereas, the share of cereals was 30%, 1.8%, commercial crops 8.2% and fruits 4.4%.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Again, in 1963, Eastern Turkey's share in the total value of agricultural output of Turkey was 8% in crops, 6.8% in vegetable, 4.1% in industrial crops and 4.4% in fruit production. Since the population of the 13 provinces is 12% of Turkey's total population, the agricultural output of the area does not even provide basic subsistence needs.⁽⁴¹⁾ In contrast, 18% - 19% of the value of total output in livestock and livestock products of Turkey are produced in the area, further indicating the region's relatively favourable natural endowment for livestock production and its comparative advantage in term of exportation.

In the 12 provinces** of Eastern Turkey, as the following Table indicates, livestock and livestock production could form the basis of a major livestock industry in Turkey. The number of sheep account for 27.2%; cattle 31.6%; goat 27.8%; buffaloes 43.5% of the total livestock in Turkey. The density of animal population in Eastern Turkey

* These provinces are; Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Agu, Bingol, Mus, Bitlis, Van, Hakkari, Tunceli, Elezig, Malatya, Adiyaman. The total area is 150,481 km² population according to 1965 population census is 3.8 million. There are 25 persons per km². The area is 19.3% of Turkey and population is 12.1% of the whole country.

** The 12 major livestock producing provinces are: Agu, Bingol, Bitlis, Elazig, Erzurum, Erzincan, Hakkari, Kars, Mus, Siirt, Tunceli, and Van.

(39) Dr. Resat Aktan, Turkiye, Ziraatinde Produktivite S.B.F. Journal C XIII, 1958 p.19

(40) Ibrahim Aksoz, Dogu Anadolu da Zirai Istibsal T.T.O.S.O. Ankara 1967 p.315

(41) Faktorleri Arasinda Iliskiler. Ibid p. 327

The Comparison of the Population of Animals in Turkey and the Twelve Livestock Producing Provinces of Eastern Turkey 1965

	SHEEP	CATTLE	GOAT	BUFFALO	
12 Province	8,892,934	4,164,122	5,904,120	523,594	
Turkey...	32,654,000	13,211,000	21,162,000	1,202,500	
Share of 12 Provinces in Turkey's Total (%)	27.2%	31.6%	27.8%	43.5%	

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and general Directory of Veterinary May 1965.

is much higher relatively to Turkey. If, for instance, we assume the density of livestock in the remaining 54 provinces of Turkey as 100 per square kilometer, the number is 175 animals per km² in the East.

On the other hand, it is evident that short-sighted policies of putting grazing lands under cultivation have been counter-productive because while the number of animals in the region have been increasingly rapidly (Table III - 17) the area of cultivated land increased much faster, thus aggravating the shortage of feed. For instance between 1950-1963 the area of cultivated land in the region has increased by 72% at the expense of pasture lands and meadows.⁽⁴²⁾ With notable exceptions of Kars, and a few other intensive livestock production areas, most of the pasture lands and meadows virtually consist of poor and arid lands, all suffering from heavy grazing pressure* (See Table III - 18)

(42) Dr. Ibrahim Aksoz, Ibid p.328

* Doc. Dr. Fahrettin Tosun, a specialist in inputs of livestock production argues that: Assuming that each livestock weighs 250 kg., the available grazing land in Turkey can feed approximately 9.2 million head of livestock. However, on the basis of 250 kg., of weight per livestock population, there are 26.9 million head of animals. Accordingly, the available grazing land is virtually feeding 3 times more animals than its grazing capacity permitted. Doc. Dr. Fahrettin Tosun, Dogu Anadolu Kalkimasinde Mera Kùltiurünün Teknik meseleleri. T.T.O.S.O. Ankara 1967 p.268.

more specifically; "the animal population is too large for available feed; the commercial feed industry is so small that it is irrelevant for most purposes; the concept of reducing total numbers of animals in order to increase total meat production is unknown to Turkish farmers; and controlled grazing is not practiced (even demonstration plots have sometimes been unsuccessful because of the difficulties in achieving collective village willingness to keep animals off grazing areas during the re-growth phase.)⁽⁴³⁾

As Table III - 17 shows, the number of animals (in 13 provinces) has increased by 40% - from 2.9 million in 1950 to more than 4 million in 1963. Furthermore the rural population in the area, during the same period has increased by 69% specifically the increase in livestock

TABLE III - 17

The Number of Animals in 13 provinces of Eastern Turkey*

<u>Kind of Animal</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1950 = 100</u>
Cattle	1,935,099	2,691,769	139
Sheep	437,254	718,092	164
Goats	237,160	265,996	112
Buffalo	145,340	204,715	141
Horse	116,271	142,281	122
Donkey	67,936	78,830	116
Mules	18,095	30,327	171
Angora Goat	2,792	3,253	116
Total	2,595,947	4,135,863	140

Source: S.I.S. Zirai Bunye ve Istihsal Yayen No.351 and 469 Ankara 1965

* The method used; one sheep, goat is accepted equal to 1.1 of cattle or horse; donkey 0.4, buffalo 1.25 of 1 cattle, horse. Adopted from Dr. Ali Uras, Güney Dogu Anadolida Arazi Mulkiyeti ve Isletme Sekilleri, Ankara 1964 Table 42.

For Additional Statistical data see the Appendix.

(43) David G. Mathiasen, Survey of the Agricultural Sector of the Turkish Economy 1962 -1972 USAID/Ankora, Oct. 1967 page 51

numbers, together with the reduction of grazing land have aggravated the problem of animal nutrition, resulting in low output in meat and dairy products, also reducing their capacity for work and their resistance to disease. According to F.A.O. statistical data, Turkish cattle weights are among the lowest in the world the foremost reason being a lack of adequate and proper feed. (44)

(44) Year book F.A.O. - statistics Vol.V F.A.O.

TABLE III - 18

Characteristics of Pasture Lands and Meadows and Average Pasture Land
Per Family

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Characteristics of Pasture land & Meadows			No. of fragments	Average Pasture Land per goat & Sheep	Average Pasture Land per Family
		Good	Fair	Poor			
ERZINCAN	559	62	225	273	1229	5.1	98.8
ERZURUM	1039	112	373	232	2615	4.6	119.1
KARS	764	411	359	197	1997	2.6	68.9
AGRI	544	-	321	366	1504	2.3	110.1
TUNCELI	414	186	369	140	900	3.7	85.6
BINGOL	325	25	123	133	801	4.5	114.0
MUS	366	-	-	-	1756	3.0	86.0
BITLIS	253	12	54	640	706	3.4	89.4
VAN	546	14	108	412	1564	6.2	281.4
ADIYAMAN	339	-	90	200	290	1.6	23.3
MALATYA	510	3	225	207	798	0.4	8.6
ELAZIZ	587	98	305	975	1378	4.6	87.4
SIIRT	471	93	545	441	1172	3.7	83.8
13 Province Average		1045	3007	4186	15374	3.4	96.7
GAZIANTEP	572	94	183	558	835	1.7	24.5
URFA	644	3	111	52	487	0.3	7.9
DIYARBAKIR	663	2	23	225	883	0.8	18.2
MARDIN	708	129	100	15	282	0.4	8.6
4 Province Average		228	417	850	2487	0.8	14.7
HAKKARI	133	91	62	20	672	1.6	91.2
18 Province Average	9436	1364	3486	5056	18533	2.6	79.2

Source: Köy İşleri Bakanlığı Envanter Çalışmaları Table 24

General Problems and Obstacles to Efficient Livestock Production In Eastern Turkey.

Livestock specialists generally agree that the foremost livestock problem in Turkey and particularly in Eastern Anatolia is animal malnutrition due to poor quality of and declining area of grazing lands, unavailability of high-yielding varieties of feed grains and specifically the uneconomic ideas or non commercial concepts of livestock production in and among the traditional livestock growers.

1. Pasture Lands and Meadows:

According to 1963 land utilization figures - Table III - 19 below, there are 8.6 million hectares of pasture land and meadows in the area. In 1950, the area of arable land was only 737.367 hectare by 1963 it was

TABLE III - 19

Land Availability and Utilization in Eastern Turkey

- 1963 -

Type of Land	Turkey* 100 hectare	%	Other 55 provin- ces 100 hectare	%	Eastern Tur- key, 13 Pro- vinces hectare	%	East Turkey %
1. Fields	23,913	30.63	21,859	34.69	2,054,292	13.65	8.59
Arable Land	15,276	19.57	14,008	22.23	1,268,082	8.43	8.30
Fallow Land	8,637	11.06	7,851	12.46	786,210	5.22	9.10
2. Vineyards & Orchards	2,207	2.83	2,145	3.40	61,840	0.41	2.80
3. Pastures & Meadows	28,257	36.20	19,643	31.17	8,614,235	57.25	30.49
4. Forests	10,584	13.56	9,727	15.44	856,670	5.69	8.09
5. Unproductive & Waste Land	13,097	16.78	9,636	15.30	3,461,063	23.00	26.43
TOTAL	78,058	100.0	63,010	100.0	15,048,100	100.0	19.28

Source: S.I.S. Tarım İstatistik İlevi Özeti (1943 - 1964) Yayın No.480, Ankara, 1965 p.3

also S.IS. Zirai Bunye ve İstihsal (1961 - 1963) Yayın No. 469, Ankara 1965

1,268,066 hectare, an increase of 72%. During the same period the percentage increase in arable land in Turkey was 55% which further indicates that rate of increase in the size of cultivated land in Eastern Turkey was 17% higher than the national average⁽⁴⁵⁾ Apparently, the percentage increase in the area of cultivated land, (72% between 1950-63). Coincides with the rate of increase in the rural population, which increased by 69% during the same period. This finding further stress as the causal relationship between the rate of increase in population and the accompanying rate of decrease in pastures and meadows. Further, official records and other studies conducted in the region show that, most of the grazing lands in the East are publicly owned and with few exceptions, no reseeded or rotational grazing is practised.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Consequently, livestock productivity is pitifully low, depriving the region of its basic source of income and its lever for agricultural improvement. Also, the work animals are so weak that oxen-drawn plows barely scratch the surface and fail to uproot the weed. High animal mortality rates in winter months due to inefficient feeding supply and low resistance to disease are common problems in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.

TABLE III - 20

(1959 - 1963 Average)

Productivity of Livestock in Eastern Turkey (13 Provinces)

Type of Animal and Products	Average of the Region(kg)	Other 54 provinces 54 provin-ces 100	Production per livestock in 54 provin-ces kg.	Turkey per head of livestock
Cow Milk	564	95	592	586
Buffalo "	743	88	847	831
Sheep "	52	116	45	47
Goat "	83	111	75	76
Sheep Wool	1.1	79	1.4	1.4
Goat hair	0.7	140	0.5	0.6

Source: S.I.S. Zirai Bunye ve Istihsal Yayın No.445,469

(45) Ibrahim Aksoz, Ibid p.322

(46) Prof. Omer Tarman, Türkiye'de Yem ve mer'a Problemleri Türkiye'de Tabiat ve Tabiat Kaynaklarından Faydalanma ve Koruma Esasları, Türkiye Tabiati Koruma Cemiyeti Yayınları, No. 9 Ankara 1964 page 73.

No contrast within the economy of Eastern Turkey is more striking than that between the large size of the animal population and low yields in meat, milk and wool. As Table III - 21 below shows, in the 12 livestock producing provinces of Eastern Turkey milk output accounts for 19.5%, wool 17.4% goat hair 26.4% and angora wool 3% of the total of Turkey although the population of livestock comprises 28.1% of the total animal population of Turkey.

TABLE III - 21

The Comparison of Output of Livestock Production in Turkey and in the 12 Livestock producing Provinces of Eastern Turkey⁽¹⁾

Type of Animal	Amount of output TON	Total of 12 provinces TON	Total of 55 provinces TON	Total of Turkey TON
MILK	Cow	505,952		
	Sheep	157,069	805,572	3,329,228
	Goat	103,743	19.5%	80.5%
	Buffalo	38,808		
WOOL	7,463	7,463	35,537	43,000
HAIR	2,344	2,344	6,556	8,900
		26.4%	73.6%	
ANGORA	247	247	8,253	8,500
		3%	97%	
(2) LIVESTOCK				
Cattle	120,590			
Sheep	80,864			
Goat	34,547	246,167	631,477	877,664
Buffalo	10,166	28.1%	71.9%	

Source: (1) Statistical Summary of Agricultural Production 1964
 (2) Estimated by Uzeyir Eren, Planning Division of General Directory of Veterinary.

When the productivity of livestock in Turkey is compared with the level of productivity of livestock in advanced countries, we see that Turkish breeds of animals produce unusually low yields in meat and milk.*

TABLE III - 22

Comparison of the Productivity of Livestock in Turkey and Advanced Countries

Product	Average Productivity of Turkish Livestock (kg.)	Productivity of livestock of advanced countries
	Kg. per head per annum	Kg. per head per annum
Meat	87	250 - 350
Milk	435	2800 - 3000
Hide	12	-

Source: Dr. Fahrettin Tosun, Dogu Anadoluir nun Kalkinmasinda mera kùltürün Yeri T.T.O., S.O., ve T.B.B. Ankara 1967 page 267.

According to A.I.D. studies of the livestock industry of Turkey, using constant prices the gross value of production has dropped since 1959 and has not reached the same level since.⁽⁴⁷⁾ However, the second Five year plan predicts that by 1972, assuming an increase in the price and quality of production, there will be an increase of 4.8% per year.⁽⁴⁸⁾ (See the Appendix)

* According to 1963 F.A.O. statistical data average milk output of cows in advanced countries are shown below:
 Germany 3,496 ton Belgium 3,811 ton England 3,010 ton Switzerland 3,280 ton
 U.S.A. 4,084 ton Denmark 3,640 ton France 2,546 ton Italy 2,359 ton
 Holland 4,220 ton Sweden 3,290 ton

The average milk output of cows in Turkey is: 2,351 ton although Holland has $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cow population of Turkey, yet milk output is 44% higher, See, Fethulla-Koc, T.T.O.B. Ankara 1967 p.201

(47) David G. Mathiasen, Ibid, p.47

(48) S.P.O. Second Five Year Development Plan 1968 - 1972 p.366 Table 167

Structural Problems Concerning Communal Ownership of Grazing Lands.

One of the adverse aspects of the agrarian structure in the livestock growing areas of Eastern Turkey is the system of communal ownership of grazing land in which control over grazing areas is exercised through either the General Directorate of Local Government in the Ministry of Interior or through villages. This common ownership of grazing lands seems to be imposed upon peasants largely by social, cultural and political but rarely by economic circumstances. The common pasture lands have long served collective purposes, such as grazing of livestock whereby rights of utilization by villages is determined by virtue of their membership in the clan or village. (See the Table III - 23).

Although communal ownership is one way of avoiding the subdivision of grazing lands, it has long become a handicap to efficiency of livestock production and has left little scope for changes and modernization of livestock industry in Eastern Turkey.

Communal tenure is a handicap to investment in land, since no one would be willing, in effect, to conserve or improve the land through soil building or forage crops. Evidence so far indicates that, centuries of indiscriminate grazing, long exploitation of marginal pasture lands and meadows coupled with increasing livestock population have exhausted what were once called green lands. Since there are no clearly defined rights of individual ownership in the same communally held lands and each village or villages are entitled to use the grazing land for individual own purposes, jointly or in succession. It is therefore too much to expect the peasants to invest rather than to exploit. As the number of livestock increases, excessive grazing of communal lands exhaust their capacity and expose them to the danger of ecological deterioration. The demand for grazing land in the livestock areas of Turkey is great, which explains the uneconomic use or waste of grazing lands with a larger

TABLE III - 23

Characteristics of Pastures and Meadows and Other Grazing Areas
Outside of the Village Boundary

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Officially allotted communal grazing areas in and outside of the village					The Village which use partly the grazing grounds of other villages		
		Characteristics (1)			No. of Fragments	Donum 10 hectare	(1) There is	(1) None	If there is the distance km
		Good	Fair	Poor					
AGRI	544	-	321	366	1504	2796623	160	384	0,5 - 100
BINGOL	325	25	123	133	801	3008262	111	214	0,5 - 90
BITLIS	253	12	54	640	706	1698149	3	250	4 - 50
ERZINCAN	559	61	225	273	1229	4512518	148	411	0,6 - 20
ERZURUM	1039	112	373	232	2615	10545777	269	770	0,2 - 80
GAZIANTEP	572	94	183	558	835	1207705	171	403	0,5 - 95
HAKKARI	134	127	6	1	473	3793248	9	102	3 - 70
MARDIN	708	129	100	15	282	497219	152	556	1 - 250
MUS	366	-	-	-	1756	2668509	74	292	0,3 - 216
SIIRT	469	93	545	441	1172	3027795	88	381	1 - 120
TUNCELI	414	186	369	140	900	2271102	53	361	1 - 250
VAN	546	14	108	412	1564	8619572	87	459	1 - 40

(1) Figures refer to the number of villages, Source: Ministry of Village Affairs.
Village Inventory Studies. Table 24

number of livestock grazing on barren plots.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The level of output per livestock is low and the average yield of grazing land is even lower as grazing lands are brought under cultivation to meet the needs of rising peasants population.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Livestock cannot be bred selectively since they graze collectively without much control on their mating. In fact, the quality of livestock, with rare exceptions is extremely low where cattle look barely alive with 'little chance to withstand another period of semi starvation'.

A trip from Middle Anatolia to rural Eastern Turkey will reveal the general primitiveness of animal husbandry, which for the most part, has not been changed since early Ottoman days. The evidence gathered during the field study and subsequent research so far indicates that, the obstacles to an efficient livestock production - whether it be low level of literacy or know how, lack of knowledge and skills of adequate livestock care, or socio-cultural and other environmental conditions, have all acted in mutually reinforcing in interrelated ways in the blocking of improvements and modernization of animal husbandry.

For the most part, in the livestock raising areas of the level of literacy is extremely low. (See the section on Education and Communication).

(49) According to a study conducted on the grazing lands in 5 Eastern provinces - which derives 67% of their income from livestock production and output - Erzurum, Erzincan, Kars, Agri ve Mus - the area of cultivated land has increased by 81% - from 1.14 million hectare in 1947 to 2.1 million hectares in 1960. In the same period sheep population has increased by 54% and cattle population by 46%. As a result of overgrazing, the grass yield of average pastures have decreased to 30 - 50 kg. per de kar. Fahrettin Tosun, Ibid, p.268.

(50) Ibid.

Furthermore, livestock owners in Eastern Turkey have been remained exceptionally tradition-bound, equipped with primitive technique and methods of livestock raising practices. With notable exceptions, they lack the means and knowledge of livestock fattening, disease and parasite control and artificial insemination or quality control*.

Also, animal husbandry is generally functionally diffused within the extended family system. It is difficult for any member to acquire depth in skills and specializations. Because of these aspects of tradition-bound practices, it is difficult to consider solutions to animal husbandry in technical terms alone. First of all, most of the improvements are so long term and on such a large scale that they lie outside the small livestock owners' time horizon and financial reach. If they are to be adopted they require far reaching changes, which would imply that animal owners become interested in better animal husbandry and show the patience to await the results of a slow long-term improvements⁽⁵¹⁾

Also influencing the efficiency of animal husbandry - aside from such adverse forces as lack of perception or cognition of economic and market opportunities is that peasants in Eastern Turkey, to a large extent, are attached to their livestock with a large degree of family

* During the field study, local authorities stated that a large number of animals owners were opposed to artificial insemination on the ground that it was against their religious beliefs.

(51) It is estimated that the artificial insemination program will take at least 25 years or more to have a major influence.

A U.S.A.I.D. Estimate, prospects for Turkish Agriculture, p.55

sentiment. This is especially true when livestock is regarded a mark of status and social prestige to a large extent is derived from the possession of so many head of animals rather than primarily from the income derived therefrom, - which is essence a revelation of bad husbandry - Even some of the wealthy livestock owners who have already large number of livestock have attempted to acquire more animals for status reasons, instead of improving or fully utilizing their already misutilized or under nourished livestock. Such prestige considerations and customary values make it more difficult to initiate changes in terms of quality control or adjustments to market demand conditions.

In most cases, however, for the bulk of peasants in the region livestock raising is a family type of activity, each family possessing 2 - 5 cattle, 15 - 20 sheep. These are small economically powerless units widely scattered in small units far from consumption markets or urban centers. The small scale of operations here again do not permit the formation of capital needed for livestock improvement or change in methods of animal husbandry.

Marketing:

Effective marketing of livestock is inseparable from and complementary to livestock production. However, partly due to the low degree of urbanization (30% of urbanization in the East) and remoteness of livestock production centers from consumption and industrial centers and absence of adequate transportation and communication facilities there is little incentive for the small scale livestock grower to produce livestock which yield a better quality of animals or to have a reasonable chance to perceive market opportunities and participate in them. Livestock marketing, with the exception of periodical markets in Erzurum, Kars, Muş and Erzincan, is largely unorganized or poorly organized and confined to infrequent and narrow local markets which,

to a large extent are highly imperfect in terms of bringing supply and demand forces together, in most peasant societies of Asia and Middle East, the livestock farmers of Eastern Turkey are confronted with narrow markets and backward and inadequate market information and are largely ill-equipped and defenseless against the monopolistic merchant buyers who are attached to local markets to exploit the interregional price difference in livestock markets.

Marketing Institutions:

The only well - organized marketing in Eastern Turkey is carried out by Et ve Balik (state Meat-Fish Agency) which was established to stabilize the price of meat and meat products - buying at the time of excess supply and selling when demand is high supply is short - These units operate slaughter houses, process meat for merchants on a contract basis and help to organize livestock markets. However, their contribution to purchasing in livestock marketing is limited - at least in 1964 - to 5.3% of the total livestock being purchased.

TABLE III - 24

The number of Livestock Purchased in the 12 livestock Producing Provinces in Eastern Turkey.

	Et-balik ⁽¹⁾	Merchants, Butchers
Cattle	7,390	120,509
Sheep	4,996	75,868
Buffalo	142	10,124
Goat	-	34,547
TOTAL	12,528	241,048
% of the Total	5.3	94.7

Source: (1) Et ve Balik Kurumu, 1964 Operation Report

(2) Estimated by Uzeyir Eren, Tarum Bakanligi, Veteriner Isleri Genel Mudurlugu Planlama Mujaviri. T.T.O.S.O.

Ankara 1967 p.18

Type of Marketing:

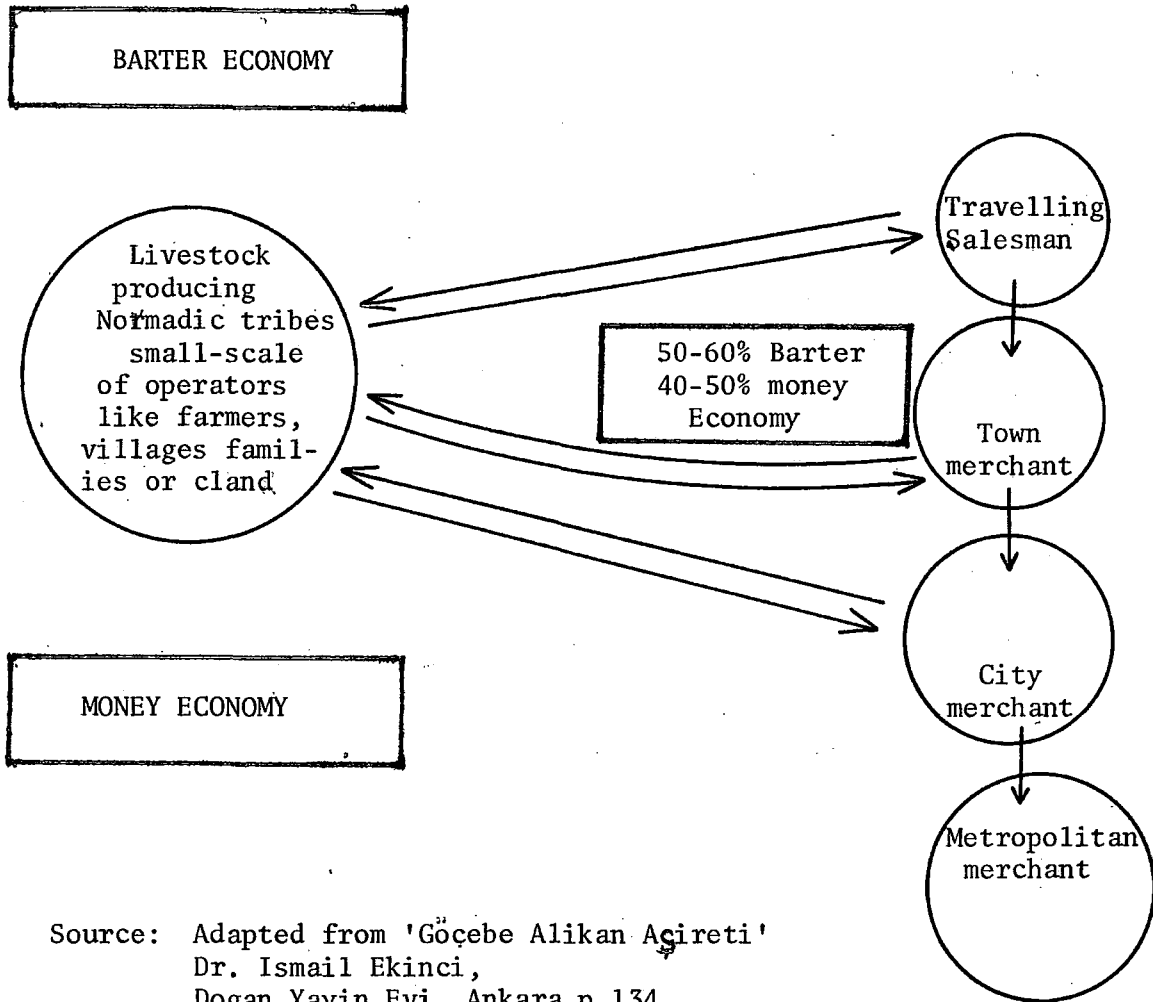
Generally speaking, due to the absence of adequate transportation and communication facilities and lack of a systematic market information system, the type of marketing practices are mostly carried out through direct confrontation of buyers and sellers in the local markets.

In the type of marketing carried out by Et-balik Agency, with few exceptions, the livestock is directly purchased from the producers. Since the purchasing is generally done on a first come first served basis, the system rarely encourages livestock production in terms of meat and quality or output value.

The most common type of marketing of livestock in Eastern Turkey, is carried out through direct purchase of livestock by merchants and intermediaries (commission merchants). Major benefits and often prohibitive profits are obtained by merchants since the majority of the small-scale livestock growers are ignorant of the operation of market mechanism, lack information on the supply and demand conditions. Hence they are in effect totally inexperienced in the operation of price system and have no knowledge of the price prospects of their animals. Because all the neighbouring livestock growers bring in their animals to the local markets on the same days (usually early Spring or Autumn) and narrow markets become glutted in the same days the peasants are not in a strong position to bargain or reject the ridiculously low price offers of the merchants or their intermediaries. The peasants have no means of transporting their livestock to the large market centers nor equipped with enough animal feed supply to wait for more favourable marketing conditions. Transportation of livestock is usually carried out by merchants, who in the cause of seeking high profits,

deliberately make purchases in terms of the number of animals put on the market and use the terms of trade against the ill-equipped and defenseless peasants. The peasants frequently face the same group of monopolistic merchants or money lenders in selling their livestock and as buyers of light industrial products.

Schematic Diagram of Marketing Arrangements



Source: Adapted from 'Gocebe Alikan Açıreti' Dr. Ismail Ekinçi, Dogan Yayın Evi, Ankara p.134.

Under these unfavorable marketing conditions, the peasants cannot expect or aspire to any considerable raising of their incomes or predictable market opportunities. One of the obstacles to market activities in the under-developed regions of Asia, Africa and particularly in the Middle East, as pointed by I.B.R.D. is the prevailing lack

of confidence in traders. 'The fact that the peasants are unwilling to participate in marketing activity because they would expect to be cheated' is said to be one of the reasons that marketing is negatively valued by the impoverished villagers who are more commonly "pushed" than "attracted" in order to seek and purchase some means of livelihood. (52)

(52) Mervin Leyy, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Oct. 1953. pp.161 - 197

Institutions serving Livestock Farming in Eastern Turkey.

Co-operatives:

In brief there is a virtual absence of co-operatives to service livestock farmers in terms of bringing to them a knowledge of better animal husbandry, or inputs of livestock production, e.g. better nutrition and disease control etc. and most important, of informing the peasants on the supply and demand conditions in current and future markets.

Credits for livestock production:

Loans obtained from non-institutional sources, e.g. city merchants, money lenders etc., virtually dominate the borrowing activities of the livestock producers. As Table III - 25 shows in the major livestock producing provinces of Eastern Turkey, in 12 provinces Agricultural Bank

TABLE III - 25

Agricultural Bank Credits in 1965
(12 provinces)

	For crop Production	For livestock production	Total
12 provinces	51,693,282	11,862,521	63,555,801
Index		18.6	100
55 provinces	3440,548,117	141,849,107	3582,397,224
Index		35.7	100

Source: Ziraat Bankasi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1965

credits for livestock production was 11,862,521 T.L. and for farm production, it was 51,693,282 T.L. That means the credit share of livestock industry was only 18.6% of the total credits for farming. Although the amount of credit extended by Agricultural Credit co-operatives totalled to 22,712,032 T.L. in the same year, it is not possible to determine how much of this credit was extended for livestock production due to the absence of livestock credit co-operatives in the region. On the other hand, as the Table III - 25 shows, if the credit for livestock in the remaining 55 provinces is accepted as 100, the credit share of the 12 Eastern provinces is only 35.7% further indicating the relatively low share of credits to livestock production in comparison to farm credits in the region and as well as livestock credits in the rest of the country*. Another handicap for the livestock producers in the region is that the general practice of loan applications to the Agricultural Banks is on the basis of mortgage and insurance of livestock, rather than on the basis of registered title or ownership of livestock⁽⁵³⁾ Consequently the majority of the livestock producers are not eligible to apply for credit since they do not have registered titles in their hands.

* According to a detailed study conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture, the amount of credit extended by the Agricultural Bank in 1965, in 7 major Eastern provinces, was 21.4 million T.L. According to their calculation the amount of credit per head of animal is 1.25 T.L.

Doğu Anadolu Bölgesinin Tarımsal Sorunları ve Tedbirleri. Tarım Bakanlığı 1967, Ankara. T.T.O. Page 37.

(53) As above.

It is clear that the generally inadequate credit supply coupled with the misallocation of the available agricultural credit at the expense of livestock production have considerably blocked the effective production and marketing of livestock in Eastern Turkey. In fact, the present credit policy of extending of credit to farming activities have longely contributed to the cultivation of grazing pasture lands and meadows.

The Non-institutional Credit Market and Money Lending Practices

The money lending practices by the non-institutional and private lenders are the familiar ones of obtaining a signiture for the receipt of an amount larger than the amount actually advanced so that the prohibition contained in the 'Koran' against usury is overcome by obscuring the actual rate of interest. In case the debt is not paid, the merchant or money lender asks the farmers to surrender the livestock or in rare cases gives a little more time to the livestock producers to liquidate their debt.

Another common practice of money lending which is largely carried out by city merchants is to contract the livestock in early or late autumn and spring by advancing farmers a percentage of the agreed price and pay the balance at the time when the livestock is actually delivered. The interest on the loan is covered by paying the livestock raisers a lower price for the livestock than the anticipated price at marketing season. Usually the same practice is employed in the sale of crops whereby the crop is contracted while it is still on the field. (54)

As the diagram on page 252 shows, city merchants extend loans or

(54) See James E. Blalock, Economic Planning Division. U.S.A.I.D./Ankara May 1969 p.45 and 48 (An example in private lending practices is given which involves the wealthy landlord who lends money to a farmer but, for religious reasons, does not wish to accept repayment of interest in cash. Instead he will take, say 3 unborn cows, The farmer feeds the cows until they are 6 months old and then delivers them to the landowner. At this time, of course, their value is considerable and neither the landowner's religious scruples nor his economic ones have been violated.) Ibid p.48

money in return for wool or sheep. In this way merchants ties the live-stock grower down in advance to himself. Most of the growers have no alternative market outlets, Usually the mutual reliance between the same merchants and growers extend to other forms of trade too.

Other Factors Affecting Livestock Marketing and Production.

1. Transportation

The region on the whole has a very limited transportation facilities. As the section on transportation showed, the availability of means of transportation and quality of village roads are extremely low. At the present, livestock producers do not have the means of obtaining a truck to transport their livestock to larger and economically more favourable market centers where the sale of their livestock could be made by weight rather than by head of animals. The most obvious suggestion would be to own a truck co-operatively which could greatly facilitate the sale of livestock and dairy products to far and better markets and also bringing farm supplies and animal feed to the villages. However as Table III - 26 shows, when the number of vehicles and the length of village roads in the remaining 55 provinces are considered as 100, the share of 12 Eastern provinces in the number of vehicles is 2.5 and village roads per km² is 28.2. Furthermore the inferior road conditions coupled with the low

TABLE III - 26

Transport and Transportation Conditions in 12 provinces of Eastern Turkey.

	55 Provinces	Eastern Turkey
1. Auto, Bus Truck	144,435	3,590
Index	100	2.5
2. Primary Village Roads (100 km ² /km	256,6	13,6
Index	100	28.2

Source: 1. 1963 Turkiye Istatistik Yillige No. 490
2. Atilla Gevikol. Bolge Planlama Imar Iskan Bakanligi

See also the appendix Table E

degree of seasonal passage of village roads - confined mostly to summer and autumn - have blocked inter regional communication and transportation and has also strengthened the closed-economic structure of the region. Thus, it is not surprising to see a growing number of traders and traveling salesman being attracted to livestock growing areas to take part in trade and to take advantage, by exploiting interregional price differences.

2. Storage Facilities:

Perhaps one of the most serious bottle necks to effective marketing of livestock products is the absence of adequate storage facilities in the region. Major benefits could be obtained in terms of balancing and stabilizing consumption and production thus maintaining price stability through the establishment of storage facilities in the region. As the Table III - 27 shows if we accept the storage facilities in the

TABLE III - 27

Cold Storage Facilities in Eastern Turkey. (12 provinces)

	55 Provinces (m ²)	12 Eastern Provinces
Cold Storage Facilities	127,399	3,512
Index	100	2.9

Source: Veteriner Genel mud. 1966 Nisan Auketi
See also:

Uzeyir Eren. T.T.O.S.O. Page 21.

remaining 55 provinces of Turkey, in the 12 provinces of Eastern region the available storage space is merely a 2.9 m².* The benefits to arable

* Those who are familiar with the socio-economic and market conditions of Eastern Turkey strongly argue that one of the basic reasons behind smuggling of livestock to Syria Iraq and Iran is due to narrowness of markets as well as lack of storage facilities.

farming of the construction of a national system of grain-silo storage during the 1950's are clear and strengthen the case made here.

3. Technical Personnel and Equipment:

Both foreign and Turkish livestock specialists agree that the shortage of well-trained veterinary personnel along with a lack of applied knowledge in tackling the roots of an ill-balanced livestock industry, have greatly diminished the possibility of a successful assault upon the complex problems that hold back livestock improvement. In summary, the problems are these: In the 12 livestock producing provinces of Eastern Turkey, there are only 76 veterinary personnel, 118 animal sanitation officials, 80 agricultural engineer, 140 agricultural technicians and 155 vehicles. Although livestock production outweighs all the rest of the regional economy, as the Table III - 28 shows, the veterinary staff is too small, which equally means that its employment is also inappropriate. On the other hand, qualified veterinary personnel

TABLE III - 28

Technical Personnel and Equipment						
	Veterinary Personnel	Animal Sanitation Official	Agri Engineer	Agria Technician	Vehicle Vet	Agri
E. Turkey						
12 provinces	76	118	80	140	76	79
Index	32	70	31	33	55	60
55 provinces	927	773	1191	1809	632	674
Index	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Uzeyir Eren Tarım Bakanligi, Veteriner işleri Genel Mud. Planlama Muşaviri T.T.O.S.O.T.O.B. Ankara, 1967 p.23

capable of practical research and educating livestock growers, have devoted much of their time to technical matters e.g. disease problems, improving the breeding of village animals without considering the associated activities needful for improvement of production of feeds and for improving livestock quality and marketing practices. There has been much devotion of attention to administrative, paper and regulatory tasks with little effort devoted to the application of a package of practices by co-ordination of the activities of all persons who were interested in the improvement of livestock production. (54)

Also, too little attention is given to the application and demonstration of research results. One can see some model state farms, which have more men on the payroll than they require but only few technical personnel have ever been seen getting their hands dirty. These state farms and their well-bred and well-fed animals exist like oases or fortresses in the midst of tradition-bound rural communities, where just nearby a state farm, the cattles reflect the helplessness and poverty of the surrounding rural economy. These state farms were formed in a drive for agricultural improvements and to encourage the diffusion of a scientific agricultural pattern in their regions. Yet, they have had very limited success in initiating improvement or in contributing to the diffusion of productive efficiency. Instead of helping the peasants to help themselves as in India, and sharing the resources and techniques through demonstration and training livestock growers to use

(54) Professor Burdett of Nebraska University, who had been in Turkey as AID livestock specialist concerning 'Denizli Project' argues that 'too many demonstrations and programs are conducted without adequate interest or participation of farmers and many of the officials do not seem to see the needs from the farmer's point of view'. Professor Burdett, AID in Turkey. Report No. 247 p,9

research results of veterinary science to increase quality of production, only a few agriculturalists have the time or the ability to counsel farmers on methods of improving techniques and supplying much needed leadership.

Summary Of Problems and Programs

Eastern Anatolia has a great actual and potential base for livestock industry due to its comparatively favourable natural-topographical and climatic conditions - availability of pasture lands and meadows and particularly socio-economic and cultural environmental conditions. Despite these favorable factors, and the importance of the livestock industry in the area, there has been no effective programme for the solution of interrelated livestock problems through a complete approach of applying a package of practices and by co-ordinating of various policy programs designed for the improvement of livestock production.

A. Summary of Problems

1. Prevalence of primitive techniques and methods of animal husbandry, general low level of literacy, non-commercial attitudes of peasants to livestock production, and generally uneconomic size or scale of livestock operation by widely scattered family and village economy.

(Appendix Table C and D)

2. Low genetic potential and the degeneration of the livestock due to lack of adequate feeding and care and primarily because of collective grazing on communal land, which prevented selective breeding, disease control etc; also low productivity and grazing capacity fragmented and ever eroded grazing lands.

3. Generally inappropriate veterinary and sanitation as well as scientific personnel for the improvement of livestock industry.

4. The lack of an effective program for the co-ordination of all phases of livestock production e.g. designing and co-ordinating a program for each that involves a complete approach for obtaining the right kinds of animals, the right kinds of feeds, pest control, housing and marketing of products and animals.

5. Lack of adequate educational programs in villages to inform livestock farmers about the prospective benefits from increasing the production of feed crops, better livestock management. Thus, many activities have produced poor results because the farmers do not see the practical value in the proposed practices. (55)

(55) Professor Burdett. Ibid A livestock specialist, gave interesting evidence from his observations regarding weaknesses of programs that might be corrected by improved use of economic information, by improved co-ordination of government activities and giving more consideration to the farmers point of view. His findings are, in brief:

- a. Livestock research is too much concerned with highly technical questions rather than how to formulate an economical ration for the animals.
- b. Failure of the extension service to place adequate emphasis on the use of mass-media for educating farmers.
- c. Feeding demonstrations in some villages have given poor results because of lack of suitable markets for the milk in some villages; insufficient amount of protein to balance the ration in some cases; the lack of information on economic benefits realized; the lack of opportunity for farmers to obtain the recommended feeds in some villages.
- d. Too little attention is given to the improvement of feeding and management of native and crossbred animals.
- e. Many demonstrations and programs are "accepted" by farmers when they have little interest in them because the Government bears, on nearly all of the costs. This happens in demonstrations with trench silos, planting new crops, use of fertilizers, feeding demonstrations, artificial and natural cross-breeding and others.
- f. National plans for programs are developed in Ankara with little or no participation by technicians or officials in field offices. Thus, program results are not as good as expected, because some programs are not practicable for some areas in which they are recommended.
- g. There is a serious lack of coordinated efforts between research workers and extension workers and within each of these groups.

Also economic research is mostly 'original' research, although a much larger volume of useful information could be prepared by economic analysis of results of physical research already done.

6. Lack of adequate credit and supervised credit programs. Generally misdirected and unproductive credit policy of encouraging cultivation in the areas, which are suitable for livestock production. Misutilization of credit e.g. diversion of loans into consumption rather than production, due to the outcome of the insufficiency of the operational loans.
7. Lack of quality control, lack of promotion into export markets.
8. Generally a low degree of urbanization, industrialization, narrowness of markets, lack of adequate market information, transportation, storage which generally do not provide adequate incentives to improve the quality of livestock production.

There are also few modern dairies, so that milk and milk products are not effectively used, efficiently processed, nor widely distributed. (56)

Finally, the system of Et-balik Agency operations tends to encourage production in terms of numbers of animals rather than in terms of amount of final dressed meat and meat products. (57)

(56) According to Ismail Besikci, A sociologist at Ataturk University of Erzurum, smuggling of livestock along the Syrian and Persian borders is a well organized and tremendously expanding business involving many segments of social and income groups. Smuggling is a thriving business in Syria. Also according to Nasri Oktay, a reporter for Gunaydin Newspaper the smuggling business is really a well co-ordinated business with branches in Persia, Syria and Iraq whereby the smuggled livestock are delivered regularly at intervals and the income generated through smuggling is used either to finance the importation of smuggled goods or for acquisition of land in Western Turkey.

(57) David G. Mathiasen, Survey of the Agricultural Survey of the Turkish Economy, Page 51 Ibid. p. 72.

Livestock marketing, with the exceptions of Et-balik Agency purchase, is local and poorly organized. However, Et-balik Agency storage facilities do not permit it to purchase extensively and the present volume of purchase much smaller livestock farmers are left at the mercy of opportunist merchants or forced to indulge in smuggling, which is in essence a considerable damage to the regional as well as national economy. (58)

(58) Nasri Ohtay, Gumaydin Gazetesi, February 21,22,23, 1969.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY
IN EASTERN TURKEY.

The livestock industry in Eastern Turkey provides an important challenge and problems as well as a thriving potential as a source of exports for the whole economy of the region of Turkey. Because of the increasing affluence of the people in Turkey, Middle East and Europe, the effective demand for meat and for other livestock products will increase. Consequently, the livelihood of the many Turkish farmers who depend on livestock for most or some of their income will substantially benefit from growing market demands both at home and abroad.*

As it was stated, livestock production outweighs all the rest of the economy of Eastern Turkey, in terms of its contribution to the major share of regional income and employment. Yet the livestock industry in Eastern Turkey faces a range of complex and interrelated problems which require urgent programs and efforts devoted to the 'application of a package of practices' by concentration and coordination of the measures from the production of feed to the marketing of the final product.

* It is estimated that between one-third and one-fourth of the value of agricultural production in Turkey is from livestock production. David G. Mathiasen, Survey of the Agricultural Sector of the Turkish Economy, 1962-1972, U.S.A.I.D. Ankara, 1967 p.49 It is also stated that, at current prices, meat in Turkey is substantially cheaper than in the major European and Middle Eastern Markets and meat is one of the few commodity groups for which Turkey has a greater price advantage. However the problems of foot and mouth disease in Turkey's livestock is said to be an obstacle to export to Europe, but less so for the exports to the Middle East. Ibid. p.49. Office of Economic Planning, U.S.A.I.D. Turkey.

Accordingly, no specific or isolated approach to one specific part of the livestock problem such as disease control without improving livestock feeding, or livestock feeding without associated activities for improvement of production of feeds and for improving the breeding and market practices, could bring about a solution to the interwoven problem.

Under these circumstances, to realize the full benefits and maximum results from selected livestock improvement programs, it is necessary to visualize the whole nexus of problems in their respective orders e.g. from technical aspects of livestock production to the required institutional changes.

At the start, it seems important to have an improved and expanded programme planning, based on the results of the practical agricultural and livestock research in Eastern Turkey*, determining the various aspects of problem areas as well as establishing guidelines as to how improvements in livestock production could be achieved.

Programme planning and co-ordinated measures for the improvement of livestock production should be carried out in various phases, in terms of short term and long term policy measures, depending/^{on}the urgency of programs.

A. Livestock Feeding

The basic problem facing livestock industry is the improvement in amounts and kinds of feed supply in the region. This could possibly

* Unfortunately, neither present economic or technical research in livestock areas in Eastern Turkey nor the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Organization provide any useful information based on research findings for any aspects of livestock production. The necessary statistical data are lacking and available ones are inaccurate.

be realized through an increase in the productivity of grazing land; prevention of the cultivation of pasture lands and meadows; continues regulations and control of grazing lands to prevent over-grazing; the determination of the most nutritious types of feeding crops and methods of intensive cultivation of feed crops; irrigation and fertilization of grazing lands for improvement of production of feeds.

To achieve the desired objectives of adequate supply of feed:

- (a) Planning of practical feed crop research in the region e.g. alfalfa or right kinds of feeds,
- (b) Encouraging and assisting all the agencies involved in livestock production to promote and demonstrate the benefits and feeding values of feed grain. This, in turn requires a change in policies with respect to pricing of certain grains as necessary, providing credit and educational programs needed for livestock owners.

The second Five year Development Plan of S.P.O. makes reference to the implementation of special fodder and feeding programmes during the second plan period, but as usual does not attempt to provide data or other evidence of how or on what basis these production projections are made or how the balance between livestock products and fodder prices are to be reached.*

* By their own admission, "during the First Plan period, the increase in livestock products was projected as 31%. Of this, only 13% was realized. Most of the measures designed to promote the development of animal husbandry have not been put into effect. Among these measures, only 50,000 hectares of pastures have been improved as opposed to the projected 500,000 hectares and only a fraction of the target production in fodder crops has been realized. In concentrated fodder, only 40.1% of the target rate of a 2.6 million ton increase was realized and only 30.1% of the increase in total fodder production required for the desired rate of increase in livestock production was realized."

It may be feasible to suggest that, along with some control of the numbers of livestock in the publicly owned grazing lands, as suggested by Second 5 year plan, "it will be necessary also to undertake measures to ensure the optimum utilisation of pastures through the improvement, maintenance and organization of the property rights of the pastures. (59)

The establishment of feed industries in certain strategic key areas of the East, through a joint venture of private enterprise and the state or foreign companies would also assume a demand market for feed supply and thus justify an reasonable scale of operation.

A third possibility, which is promoted by U.S.A.I.D. agricultural specialists in Turkey is that, "if the price of meat increases faster than the general price level during the Second plan period, and if the Mexican wheat program is successful enough to insure a plentiful supply of cereals in general, substantial gains in meat⁽⁶⁰⁾ output through feeding may be possible".

(59) S.P.O. Second Five Year Plan, 1968-72 pp.361-62 Ibid. p.368

(60) David G. Mathiasen, Ibid p.52 Another U.S.A.I.D. expert, Mr. Burdett thinks rather optimistically, that, there will be a major surplus of wheat in Turkey in future years. (it is estimated that, the surplus of wheat will be about one-half million tons in 1969-70, 1 1/2 million tons in 1972-3 and 2 million tons in 1975-6.) Similar U.S.A.I.D. Studies provide estimates of the probable economic impacts of various alternative combinations of wheat and livestock programmes, indicating that greatly increased benefits could be realized by feeding wheat to animals. These studies also emphasize the realization of these benefits will require some adjustments in relative prices of grains. Burdett, U.S.A.I.D. Ankara, 1969. p.14-15

However the most practicable and tangible example of improvement of livestock feed supply was demonstrated by the Agricultural Department of Ataturk University. The Department has been highly successful in improving the productivity of pastures by planning pasture lands and then seeding feed crops. As the Table below shows, plowing and their cultivation of natural pasture lands has increased the gross output

TABLE III - 29

Type of Improvement and the Increase in the Productivity of
Pasture Lands.

<u>Type of Improvement</u>	<u>Output of grass Kg/</u>
By plowing and Planting feed crops	151.2
Seeding pasture land without plowing	66.7
Natural pasture land (No improvement)	54.6

Source: Dr. Fahrettin Tosun, Dggu, Anadolunun Kalkinmasinda, Mera Kulturinun Teknik Meseleleri. T.T.O.S.O. 1967,p.269

by nearly three times of its original productivity. Furthermore, according to cost-profit calculations in terms of plowing and planting of feed crops the net gain has been 10T.L. per decare.

In summary, then the most practicable feeding supply and improvement programs should be devised not only to optimize the use of the existing grazing lands but also to find ways and means of providing supplementary feeding through grain feeds e.g. corn, wheat, and other low-cost programs. It might be necessary to improve animal feeding by use of protein feeds e.g. molasses produced at the sugar factories.

In the long run however feed production could be improved through fertilization of grazing lands, improved seed crop varieties and through rotation of feed crops with cash crops in the suitable areas of the Region.

B. Livestock Breeding

One key approach in improving livestock production involves the development of improved and selective stock breeding through either importing breeding animals into Turkey and the region, or through the selection of the best type of livestock race which is suitable to the regional conditions and which has the highest economic value in terms of its productivity. According to S.P.O. calculations at present the ratio of improved breeds to total cattle population is only 3%.⁽⁶¹⁾ It is also visualized that efforts in research and artificial insemination will be directed towards increasing the ratio of the improved breeds in regions where suitable.⁽⁶²⁾ However, one of the rare commendable suggestions of the second 5 year plan of S.P.O. is the suggestion that, 'the efforts of selective breeding will be related to infrastructural investment and fodder production will be tied to animal husbandry development projects. Stud breeding efforts will be supported within the framework of selective stock breeding programmes.'⁽⁶³⁾

More important however, and the least realized problem is that cultural barriers to artificial insemination in the tradition-bound peasant communities of Eastern Turkey need to be overcome through educational programmes in villages and among livestock growers, informing them about the prospective benefits to be gained by artificial inseminations.

(61) Second Five Year Development Plan, 1968-1972 State Planning Organization. p.368

(62) Ibid. p.368

(63) Ibid. p.369.

Wherever possible, interested group of livestock growers in key areas should be given every assistance and encouragement to participate in extension programs as demonstrators. During the field study it was evident that peasants were more willing to adopt a change if it was just tried or successfully demonstrated by their neighbours or fellow peasant folk.

Disease and Parasite Control:

One of the reasons given for low livestock productivity and high mortality rates is prevalence of disease and parasites among the livestock population. Nevzat Guralp, a livestock specialist, argues that in Eastern Turkey there are no disease-free areas, mouth and hoof disease is common, the epidemic of 'Fasciola Hepatica' has spread to 99% of sheep and Gastro Intestinal parasitic infestation is 100% and has reached dangerous proportions.⁽⁶⁴⁾ However, in the region as shown in Table III - 29 on page 259 there are only 76 veterinary services. There is only one virology institute one nutrition control laboratory is being constructed.

Due to primitive animal husbandry and equally unhygienic movement of herds, malnutrition of livestock has greatly aggravated the low resistance to disease and results in a high degree of losses from disease and parasites.

Therefore disease control programmes must be geared to the integrated livestock development schemes. It is also clear that more personnel, equipment and vehicles and training are needed in fighting common diseases and parasites

Storage and Transportation (and See Marketing p. 280)

Many of the livestock areas in Eastern Turkey are emerging from a subsistence economy to a market type. However, production and market centers as well as the consumption areas are all far from each other. Animals are herded to marketing areas and only in a few cases trucks and rail transportation is used to transport livestock to urban centers. Consequently, hygienic care during the transportation of livestock is

(64) Nevzat Guralp, Seminar Discussions, T.T.O. 7 S.D. Ankara 1967 p.403

neglected causing considerable waste and loss.

Et-balik (state Meat and Fish Agency) has limited storage capacity and transportation of meat products are carried out by the Agency's frigorific wagons.

It is necessary to expand the storage capacity in the specific key areas which may contribute greatly to the stabilization of prices and markets. Roads and trade channels should also be given priority since livestock areas are emerging into market economy, otherwise the incentive to move in that direction will be neglected.

Credit

One of the bottlenecks facing the livestock industry in Eastern Turkey can be attributed to the lack of operational capital and credit among the livestock farmers. As it was previously indicated, the Agricultural Banks' lending practice has not changed from that of a traditional conservative institution to one which is adjusted to the encouragement and improvement of livestock production. According to the agricultural experts in the region, the credit share of livestock industry in the region is only 5-10% of the total credit extended by the Agricultural Banks. (65) In 7 livestock producing provinces, the Agricultural Bank has provided 1,25 T.L. per head of livestock, which is by any standards, extremely low. Furthermore, livestock growers are not educated enough to understand the value of production credit or the responsibilities of credit contract, thus becoming an easy prey to money lenders and merchants. One of the basic reasons behind peasants' tendencies to borrow from non institutional sources is that, the approval of a loan application is to be based on mortgage value or a guarantee of the repayment ability of the livestock growers, not on the amount of security i.e. the livestock itself that

(65) Tarım Bakanlığı, Doğu Anadolu Bölgesinin Tausal Sorunları ve Tedbirleri T.T.O. ve S.O. Birliği Ankara, 1967 p.55

they can offer.

Accordingly, credit policy should be an integrated approach towards the application of a package of practices by co-ordination of the activities of all the institutions concerned in the improvement of livestock production.

To this end,

(a) Credit and loan policy should be geared to effect the structural and operational improvement of livestock industry and to the needs of livestock growers.

Livestock credit advisory services should be designed whereby supervised credit programs give special emphasis to obtaining highest possible returns from livestock production. However a supervised credit system cannot work without credit engineers and technicians visiting livestock areas and farmers. To this end, an adequate number of bank employees and credit engineers should be trained to assume exclusive responsibility for the application of the supervised credits and to see that these credits are used toward the materialization of certain aims and objectives, e.g. the increase in yields and profits.

(b) Another credit policy should be, in some areas, to provide credits in kind, feeding crops, equipment etc and should bear a "demonstrative" character by livestock technicians offering their "know-how" to benefit livestock farmers in the area. e.g. determine and apply the best credit investments through gaining understanding of and rapport with to the peasants' needs and the preferences of the livestock farmers. Wherever possible, the herders should be so motivated and helped that the decisions made in planning, the use of credits in kind and of loan funds and carrying out the plans - are their decisions.

Also successful livestock farmers should be recognized and rewarded so the other growers could benefit by their successful experiences.

(See the Extension Services and Education Section).

(c) Also as a part of co-ordination credit policy, it is necessary to develop an integrated credit program covering production and marketing of livestock production. At the moment Et-balik provides credit in relation to its purchase. It is therefore necessary to establish livestock marketing co-operatives as a means of providing additional credit to the potential marketers.

Co-operatives:

There is much to be done to establish and encourage livestock co-operative programs e.g. credit co-operatives and marketing co-operatives, in order to minimize credit and marketing problems.

In brief, the newly formed co-operative Division in the Ministry of Village Affairs should expand its activities to include livestock industry and assist local livestock farmers in the organization, administration and operation of co-operatives.

It may yet be necessary to review the laws under which co-operative operate with a view toward expanding the provisions and increasing the participation of livestock growers. The Ministry of Agriculture could play an important role in providing educational and technical assistance in marketing and other business activities of the co-operatives.

Further, technical assistance in management and marketing not only in terms of marketing of livestock, but also of dairy products and wool, hides and other major livestock products should be provided.

As I have seen in Sekavi District of Muş province livestock producers who have had no good alternative but to sell their livestock to the merchants have decided to buy jointly a truck in order to transport their livestock to modern Erzurum markets, so that the sales of their animals are made by weight rather than by head. This jointly owned truck was also used to marketing of other animal and farm products and also for bringing farm supplies to the districts. The encouragement of this type of co-operative activity is essential.

It is also necessary to establish co-operatives to operate cheese plants in certain areas, since there seems to be no immediate prospect for selling milk to distant markets in Eastern Turkey.

Lastly, through co-operatives is possible to establish confidence in technological improvements and advice.

Extension Services, Basic Services and Education

There is surely no substitute for an effective extension program of various dimensions as a basis for reaching the livestock farmers and assisting them in carrying out the essential practices in animal husbandry in a sound way.

The primary purpose of extension programs should be to change and modernize animal husbandry among the livestock growers of Eastern Turkey, who have for so long been bound to traditional and primitive methods and speeding up the adoption of improved livestock husbandry practices among them.

It is a fact that many livestock growers in Eastern Turkey are virtually unqualified to raise livestock efficiently in terms of adequate feeding especially in winter months, maintenance and management of optimum size or scale of livestock production, application of rational animal husbandry methods,, disease and parasite control, animal fattening, selective feeding, allocation of credit and methods of marketing.

For instance, it is estimated that although one head of cattle needs a minimum of 1 ton of feed during the long winter months, the livestock growers in the peasant societies of Turkey traditionally are accustomed to store only one ox-cart full of grass per head of livestock, this is even when grass is abundantly available. Their techniques of curing animal disease have not changed since ancient Sumerian days. Their non-commercial attitudes to livestock is reflected in their misutilization of grazing lands.

There are 9436 villages in 18 provinces of Eastern Turkey and 9065 of these villages are engaged in animal husbandry indicating the fact that the major part of villager livelihood depends on incomes derived from animals; yet, for the most part they raise their animals most inefficiently.

In brief,

- (1) Before providing assistance and advice to livestock growers, it is necessary to conduct research in the respective areas to gain an insight into the current practices and finding problem areas and collect reliable information on the actual situation in the specific areas, e.g. identifying problems and establishing priorities. It is vitally important to utilize the successful experiences of experienced livestock growers and offering them demonstrative jobs in their familiar environment. It is also highly useful to train them as demonstrators since peasants who are suspicious of government officials will then show more willingness, to participate in the actual extension programs.
- (2) In practice it is best to start an improvement program which quickly gives tangible evidence of improvement and which might encourage livestock growers to adopt and exercise similar methods and techniques of livestock improvement. This would greatly reduce the limiting factors in adoption of unfamiliar methods.
- (3) The number of radios in the rural areas are rapidly increasing. Radios and other mass communication media should be used to make the livestock growers aware of new and efficient practices in livestock production. However, the selected staff for demonstrations should also use small field demonstrations in the pilot areas or in strategically located villages. The general must be supported by the particular.

In each program the emphasis should be on assistance and increasing the involvement of livestock growers and helping them to help themselves. This is the essential task of agricultural extension work whereby programs and innovations brought to the villages will be acted upon them by the peasants.

(4) Extension workers should be equipped with transportation and appropriate technical equipment so that they could maintain a close touch with villages and those who are willing to accept assistance.

(5) Extension programs should emphasize visual demonstrations, rather than rely on 'publications aimed at producers' as suggested by the Second Five Year Plan, (level of literacy in Eastern Turkey is 30% and among the livestock growers it is much lower).

(6) Extension programs should aim not only at the technological aspects of feeding, disease control and animal husbandry but also assist and encourage livestock growers to organize and co-ordinate their activities in forming co-operatives for livestock improvement and marketing. It is necessary to search for selected village leaders and encourage them to join co-operatives and to train them to become voluntary pace-makers in organizing co-operatives and adoption of innovations.

Promotion of public recognition through appreciation of those who adopt or excel in improved animal husbandry through cash awards and prizes and communication their achievement to all other livestock growers, in the area would be valuable. Where successful extension programs in animal husbandry should be appraised to provide background information for future recommendations for similar programs in other parts of Eastern Turkey.

Marketing:

Livestock improvement programs cannot realize their maximum benefits without other measures, especially improved marketing.

At the moment, aside from the purchases made by the State Meat and Fish Agency (Et-balik) in some central areas, overall marketing take place in the open through direct confrontation of a large number of sellers a few merchant buyers at certain intervals e.g. Spring and Autumn. In these local markets there is no organization no competition, no standardization or quality control. Most of the livestock farmers have little or no market information and they are at the mercy of merchant buyers who come to villages to buy livestock. Further problems:

- (a) Although production and marketing of livestock is intimately associated, yet production is not adjusted to market demand conditions.
- (b) There is no institutional mechanism for quality control. Purchases are made on the basis of head of animals rather than weight or quality of meat.
- (c) Very poor communication and market information exist between small and large livestock markets. Consequently different market traditions and quality concepts prevail in each market area.
- (d) The primitive processing of milk and the low quality of dairy products are due largely to the remoteness of markets. There are no adequate market outlets for wool, hides and other livestock products.
- (e) There is little market research or promotion of meat exports, no inducement for farmers to devote their efforts on producing quality meat rather than just animals.

The improvement of a marketing system probably is the most urgent aspect of livestock production. Since selected activities and improvements such as livestock fattening disease and parasite control and livestock feeding cannot realize their full yields without effective

marketing systems.

The demand for meat products, both at home and abroad seems likely to increase in the near future. The potential value of improved livestock production can be fully realized only by a "package" program of marketing system.

In summary,

1. To establish experimental and demonstrational sales practices to educate and alter marketing practices of livestock growers. It is necessary to concentrate marketing efforts at the producers level, improving their marketing knowledge of farmers by means of providing them essential market news and information.

To this end, it is necessary to organize a 'livestock products marketing office', to analyze and promote domestic and foreign demand for livestock products all the various aspects of an efficient and profitable marketing practices for the livestock growers.

It is necessary to develop an integrated high quality production and marketing program and achieve a high animal health status which is essential for export of livestock and meat.

2. To establish and operate livestock markets on a regular and permanent basis.

Et-balik should expand its marketing operation or encourage private participation in the development of larger and regular markets. This would largely help and induce the livestock growers to deal with established markets rather than indulge in inertia selling to infrequent and speculative buyers. It is therefore necessary to establish efficient transportation and storage facilities.

3. Et-balik Agency should give priority to Eastern Turkey in its purchase of livestock and in its other marketing operations. Also, either Et-balik or newly established permanent livestock marketing system should encourage livestock growers by:

- (a) Applying a guarantee price system
- (b) Offering loans to the livestock producers at a very low interest charge.
- (c) Providing production and quality premiums by maintaining price levels for good quality livestock and livestock products, e.g. dairy products wool hides, meat etc. It is also necessary to publicize support prices or base prices for premium quality long before livestock is marketed.

Price quotas, base prices and regular markets will to a great extent reduce smuggling which is nearly epidemic in the area. It is also necessary to build better highways between production and marketing centers.

- 4. Government should discontinue or reduce credit or other support programs to cultivation in the region and divert the credit and its support to the livestock industry in order to induce efficient livestock production and development. There should be a provision of tax concessions and credits to the livestock farmers if and when they are organized in co-operative farms, Co-operatives could also help to share profits and losses and reduce marketing risks for individual growers.
- 5. Utilization of wool and animal hides to improve handicrafts and other income generating small scale ventures in the Area would be most beneficial.
- 6. An allocation of special funds and credits could be made to meat exporters. The sale of processed livestock products, e.g. cheese canned meat should be encouraged. This certainly requires the development of food industries in the area. Highly essential to increase regional income and employment levels.

Conclusions

Practically all resources for livestock production and the products are misutilized and underutilized. The problem is complex but if livestock farming were recognised to be, as it is, the major element in Eastern Turkey agriculture then the integration of development policies could be relatively easily attained on the basis of linking technology with human needs and potential.

TABLE A

MAIN SOURCES OF INCOME AND UNITS OF LAND ANIMAL (LIVESTOCK) PER FAMILY

	No. of Villages.	Main Source of Income		Population	Average Units Per Family			No. of Animals Sheep & Goats.
		Farming	Live-Stock Raising.		Land (Donum)	No. of Livestock Cows, horses.	No. of Livestock Sheep, Goats.	
ERZINCAN	559	553	559	4.5	53	2.7	8.4	19.2
ERZURUM	1039	1024	1015	5	86	4.0	9.9	25.9
KARS	764	764	764	5.2	67	4.2	9.4	26.3
AGRI	544	534	544	5.7	97	4.3	21.3	38.3
TUNCELI	414	414	414	4.9	48	2.9	11.7	23.2
BINGOL	325	325	325	4.9	26	2.6	14.3	23.2
MUS	366	358	366	5.1	109	3.7	12.9	27.8
BITLIS	253	253	253	5.3	52	2.6	15.4	26.0
VAN	546	546	546	5.8	116	3.6	31.0	45.2
ADIYAMAN	339	338	339	4.6	64	2.0	6.0	14.2
MALATYA	510	507	507	4.7	58	2.0	6.1	14.0
ELAZIZ	587	577	587	4.6	66	2.6	8.5	18.9
SIIRT	741	468	478	5.0	63	2.6	11.9	22.6
13 Province Average		6681	6704	5	69	3	12.7	24.5
GAZIANTEP	572	570	469	5.0	69	1.8	8.0	25.4
URFA	644	641	473	5.2	117	2.5	12.6	22.9
DIYARBAKIR	663	663	622	4.9	117	3.5	8.3	21.5
MARDIN	708	708	664	4.7	68	2.0	10.7	18.6
4 Province Average		2582	2228	4.6	93	2.2	9.7	19.7
HAKKARI	133	101	133	5.1	34	1.7	14.7	24.1
18 Province Average	9436	9364	9065	5	73	2.8	11.2	23

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs, Village Inventory Studies, Table 37, 26

TABLE B
MAIN SOURCES OF INCOME

Province	No. of Villages	Agriculture	Livestock raising	Mining	Fishing	Handicraft	Forest products	Handwork technology
AGRI	544	534	544	-	1	6	-	10
BINGOL	325	325	325	-	-	7	-	-
BITLIS	253	253	253	-	-	3	-	-
ERZINCAN	559	553	550	3	1	40	11	50
ERZURUM	1039	1034	1006	13	2	24	4	83
GAZIANTEP	572	570	469	-	1	37	18	66
HAKKARI	134	125	133	-	1	-	-	3
MARDIN	708	703	664	6	1	17	47	137
MUS	366	358	364	-	1	37	6	137
SIIRT	469			-				
TUNCELI	414	414	408	11	-	22	12	12
VAN	546	546	546	-	-	36	-	-

Source: Koy Isleri Bakanligi. Envanter Galesmalau Table 37.

TABLE C

LAND UTILISATION AND DISTRIBUTION

The Distribution of the available arable land.

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	Total Arable Land	Vineyards & Orchards donum 10 hectare	%	Meadows Pastures donum 10 hectares.	%	Forests Donum 10 hectares	%	Fields Donum 10 hectares	%	Woods & Nursery planted Donum 10 hectares	%	Vegetable Gardens Donum 10 hectares	%
AGRI	544	5929722	161	-	2796623	47.1	-	-	3132938	52.9	-	-	-	-
BINGOL	325	6339779	359	-	3008262	47.5	2640527	41.7	680145	10.7	10415	0.1	73	-
BITLIS	253	4408448	3139	0.07	1698149	38.52	1709198	38.77	991327	22.49	2744	0.06	3891	0.09
ERZINCAN	559	7632377	91749	1.2	4512528	59.2	300667	3.9	2527812	33.1	182851	2.7	16770	0.2
ERZURUM	1039	19117024	120191	0.6	10545777	55.2	691803	3.6	7666008	40.1	69755	0.4	23490	0.1
GAZIANTEP	572	6795578	1462942	21.4	1207705	17.8	706027	10.3	3364655	49.5	37850	0.6	16339	0.3
HAKKARI	134	5710282	3525	0.1	3793248	66.4	1446227	25.3	420625	7.4	90	-	400	-
MARDIN	708	6051943	348116	5.7	497219	8.2	1284725	21.2	3863838	63.9	10255	0.2	47792	0.8
MUS	366	6338014	1216	0.02	2668509	42.1	273454	4.3	3386708	53.5	7273	0.1	854	0.01
SIIRT	469	7188403	87637	1.2	3027795	45.1	1690975	23.5	2259670	31.5	105950	1.5	16376	0.2
TUNCELI	414	5572466	23544	0.4	2271102	40.8	1910510	34.3	1283344	23.0	75549	1.4	8417	0.1
VAN	546	12390623	6643	-	8619572	69.6	17030	1.4	3559350	28.7	33950	0.3	777	-

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs Inventory Studies Table 14/b

TABLE D

Pastures and Meadows

PROVINCE	No. of Villages	PASTURES & MEADOWS		NO. OF LIVESTOCK		Total livestock benefiting from pastures, meadows (as sheep or goat)	Average Pasture area as sheep or goat ($\frac{1}{10}$ hectares)
		No. of Fragments	Donum ($\frac{1}{10}$ hectares)	Cattle Horse & Others	Sheep Goat		
AGRI	544	1504	2796623	134987	682661	1222609	2.3
BINGOL	325	809	3008262	70127	379318	659826	4.5
BITLIS	253	708	1698149	50095	293272	493652	3.4
ERZINCAN	559	1229	4512528	123575	383017	877317	5.1
ERZURUM	1039	2615	10545777	355463	875293	2297145	4.6
GAZIANTEP	572	835	1207705	90524	334782	696878	1.7
HAKKARI	134	413	3793248	19810	283059	362299	10.5
MARDIN	708	282	497219	114282	614161	1071289	0.4
MUS	366	1756	2668509	115737	400335	863283	3.0
SIIRT	471	1172	3027795	95940	431765	815525	3.7
TUNCELI	414	900	2271102	76218	910088	614960	3.7
VAN	546	1563	8619572	108838	946470	1384822	6.2

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs

Note: One cow or horse accepted equal to four sheep or goat

TABLE E
Production Targets

COMMODITY GROUPS		1962	1967	First Plan Annual Increase (%)	1972	1972 1967 = 100	Second Plan Annual Increase (%)
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
MEAT	Thousand Tons	432.0	486.0	2.4	631.0	129.8	5.3
	Million T.L.	2568.0	2941.0	2.6	3867.0	131.5	5.6
POULTRY	Thousand Tons	48.4	58.3		78.3		
	Million T.L.	324.0	390.0	3.9	524.0	134.5	6.1
MILK	Thousand Tons	2823.0	3234.0		4040.0		
	Million T.L.	2597.0	2975.0	2.7	3716.0	125.0	4.6
EGGS	Thousand Tons	69.0	88.0		123.0		
	Million T.L.	276.0	353.0	5.0	490.0	139.8	6.9
FLEECE MOHAIR & HAIR	Thousand Tons	66.0	65.5	-0.1	77.3		
	Million T.L.	457.0	458.0	0.1	542.0	118.3	3.4
OTHERS (1)	Million T.L.	4225.0	4677.0	2.2	5747.0	122.8	4.2
TOTAL VALUE	Million T.L.	10465.0	11794.0	2.4	14886.0	126.2	4.8

(1) Manure, beasts of burden, inventory increase in silk worms, honey and wax.
Source: S.P.O. Second Five Year Development Plan. p.366 1968-1972.

TABLE F

1965

The Population and Active Population in Eastern Turkey⁽¹⁾

(13 provinces)

<u>Population & Active Population</u>	<u>Eastern Turkey</u> <u>(13 provinces)</u>	<u>Turkey</u>
1. Total Population -----	3792,738	31391,207
Percentage of Turkey's Total (%) ----	12.08%	100.00
2. Urban Population-----	879,670	10808,869
percentage of total population (%) --	23.19%	34.43
percentage of the Urban population to Turkey's Urban population (%) --	8.13%	100.00
3. Rural Population -----	2913,068	20582,338
percentage of the total (%) -----	76.81%	65.57
percentage of the rural population to Turkey's rural population (%) ---	14.15%	100.00
4. Population Density km ² -----	25.2	40.6
5. Active population -----	1569,044	13240,938 ⁽²⁾
percentage of active population to Turkey's " " 9%0	11.84%	100.00
6. Urban Active Population	253,981	3475,746
percentage of total active urban population (%)	16.19%	26.25
to Turkey's total active urban population (%)	7.30%	100.00
7. Active Rural Population	1315,063	9765,191
percentage of the total active rural population	83.31%	73.75
percentage of active rural population to Turkey's active rural population (%)	13.46%	100.00

Source: (1) S.I.S. 1965 Population Census Publication No. 484, Ankara 1965

(2) State Planning Organisation, Development Plan, 1965 programme

Ankara 1965 p.27

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Bir Arastirma
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Mecmuasi C.24, No. 1-2 Ekim-Mart 1964

AKTAN RESAT

Turkiye Ziraatinde Produktivite
S.B.F. Dergisi C.XIII, 1958

TARMAN OMER

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PART IV

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A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY IN THE SELECTED PEASANT SOCIETIES OF
EASTERN TURKEY

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INTRODUCTION

For an understanding of the behavioral pattern of the peasant people in the rural societies of Eastern Turkey, there is no substitute for an empirical research and purposefully collected data of field origin.

Sporadical attempts to study the 'Anatolian Village' and villages of the Ministry of Village Affairs and some notable monographical studies, are limited to a relatively few, easily observed environmental characteristics*:

On the other hand, the uncoordinated attempts and detached critical approaches of various rural-inspired authors, who have for the most part interpreted environmental influences only as their respective disciplines see it, have been unable to scrutinize peasants' conduct within their environmental context.

The present research study and field work, attempt to take a hard look to the complex causality between various aspects of rural environmental conditions and the behavioral pattern of some selected peasant population in the various investigated peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.

The present study is experimental and explanatory in a number of dimensions. Its objective is to unravel some of the underlying complex environmental influences which are particularly responsible for certain peasant attitudes and 'the way of life' within and among the peasant people.

Particularly, the scope of inquiry has focused on those peasant attitudes which have significance in understanding what combination of environmental forces have influenced peasants' conduct and the extent of their consistencies with economic development. To this end, an attempt has

*For a detailed bibliographical survey on the presently available literature, see the References

been made to test some intuitive hypotheses about the complex causality between peasants' attitudes and their preparedness to change.

The data is based on 216 individual interviews with male adults of 18 years of age or more in 18 selected peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.

In order to formulate a realistic strategy of action and arrive at conclusions of general validity and to gain more perspective and insight into the nexus of rural environmental factors, considerable effort had previously been made to become well acquainted with the background conditions in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey.

The eventual effect of this intensive and patient preparations and diligence effort have had great bearing on the pace and direction of the present field study; on the personal rapport with the peasants; in the successful pursuit of an objective and reliable study.

Above all, the much rewarding aspect of the whole study was to share common experiences with peasant folks and discover scoreless friendly people who contributed greatly to this endeavor, which I shall long remain indebted.

Advanced Preparations:

A. 1. Before reaching the ultimate level of individual case studies, it was necessary at the outset to know about the general economic outlook of the peasant societies, their social and cultural structure, ethnic origins, type of economic activities and general environmental conditions. Literatures on socio-economic research and studies suggest that in order to understand a people, it is not enough to examine their economic outlook, but also seek how and why they have become what they are, their problems and traditions.

A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

TYPE OF OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, TERMS FOR SHARECROPPING AND LEASE

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	TYPE OF VILLAGE	GENERAL ECONOMIC OUTLOOK GENERAL ECONOMIC TREND			GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE	No. of Villages	TYPE OF OWNERSHIP				TYPE OF OPERATION		THE MOST PREVAILING TERMS OF SHARECROPPING AND TENANCY
				STATIC	IMPROVING	DECLINING			Owned by Villages	Owned by a Person	Owned by a Family	Owned by a Clan	By Tenancy	By Share-cropping	
ERZINCAN	MERKEZ	KEKLIK KAYASI	III		X		Mountainous, rolling hills, also low plains, few high plains. Characteristics of land climate: Average rainfall 290-794 mm. Maximum temperature: 35°-40°C Minimum " -22°- -32° Average " 6°-10° Spring frost begins in March to middle April.	559	544	2	2	1	31	198	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed from Landlord - crop is shared on 50:50 basis
	ILİÇ	GEYRAH	II		X										Tenancy: a) For 1-2 years. Tenancy varies from village to village depending on special agreements
	TERCAN	HACIBAYRAM	I			X									b) In some villages Landlord gets 25% of the crop for rent
ERZURUM	MERKEZ	AZIZIYE	III		X		Mostly mountainous and rolling high and low plateaus Very cold and lengthy winter and semihumid inland climate, hot summers. Winter temperature varies -20.5° - -30.1°C Rainfall: 210-578 mm. Frosting starts as early as Sept.	1039	981	10	4	44	170	482	Share-cropping: a) Land and seed from Landlord - crop is shared on 50:50 basis and equipment from sharecropper - produce is shared 50:50
	ISPIR	TEKPINAR	II		X										c) Land, seed, equipment etc. from Landlord. Only work from sharecropper - Landlord gets 2/3 of crop, sharecropper 1/3
	TEKMAN	HÜSEYİNAGA	I			X									Tenancy: a) For 2-3 years, rent per donum (1/10hectare) 35-150T.L. b) The level of output determines the rent c) Seed from tenant:Landlord gets 15-25 per donum+crop equivalent in seed
AĞRI	MERKEZ	KONUKTEPE	III		X		Mostly mountainous, high plains and plateaus. Mount Ararat is within this province (highest point 5.165 m.) Extreme inland climate. Hot summers and cold winters. Frost begins in Sept. and lasts till May. Season for germination very short	544	514	16	4	10	1	268	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed from Landlord - landlord gets 50% of the crop
	PATNOS	AKCAÖREN	II			X									b) Landlord gives only land - " gets 1/8 or 1/10 of "
	HAMUR	SEYİTHANBEY	I			X									c) Landlord gives 1/2 land and seed - landlord gets 50% of crop
BITLİS	TATVAN	ADABAĞ	III		X		Mostly mountainous (71% of the province), rolling hills Inland climate, cold winters, hot summers Average rainfall: 848.3 mm.	253	251	2	-	-	50	80	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed from Landlord - crop is shared 50:50 basis
	MERKEZ	DEĞİRMENKÖY	II	X											b) Landlord gives only land - gets 1/10 of the crop
	HIZAN	GÖKEKYAZI	I			X									Tenancy: a) For 1-2 years. Rent per Donum (1/10hectare)1500 T.L. b) For 1-2 years. Rent per Donum (1/10hectare)200-500 T.L.
MUŞ	BULANIK	ARAKONAK	III		X		Mountainous, rolling lands, high plains and (27.2) low plains. Land is generally suitable for agriculture Semihumid land; Average rainfall 768.6 mm. Frost begins in Sept. and lasts until the end of March or April.	366	350	7	6	3	133	247	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed, oxen from Landlord - crop shared 50:50 basis
	MERKEZ	KUNLUCA	II		X										b) Landlord gives land only - gets 1/8 or 1/10 of crop
	MALAZGIRT	MALAZGIRT	I	X											c) Land, seed, oxen from Landlord - gets 50% of crop d) Meadow or pasture: pasture from Landlord, all work from sharecropper, e.g. cutting, carrying etc. Shared 50:50
GAZİANTEP	KILIS	TAMBURALI	III		X		Mountainous (51.9%), (26.9%) low plain, others rolling hills and plateau. Long and warm summers, winters are not too cold. Rainfall: 327-855 mm. Frosts are between February-March and Autumn frosts between Nov-Jan.	572	476	38	27	31	55	390	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed from Landlord - crop shared on 50:50 basis
	MERKEZ	AYDINOĞLU	II		X										b) " " " " " plus operational expenses: Landlord gets 50% of crop
	YAVUZELI	BAKIRCA	I	X											Tenancy: a) Rent per Donum (1/10hectare) 30-100 T.L. b) 1-2 years -tenancy agreements depend on mutual bargain
ARTVIN	MERKEZ	FİSTIKLI	III		X		Mountainous, high plateaus and plains, valleys. Rainy around Black Sea shores, however, inner areas are dominated by inland climate, micro-climate areas.	414	368	12	34	-	41	270	Share-cropping: a) Land, seed from Landlord - crop shared on 50:50 basis
	ZEYTLİK	KALBURLU	II		X										b) Land, 1/2 seed from " - " " " " "
	ŞAŞAT	ELMALI	I		X										c) Land, seed from Landlord, all other expenses from the sharecropper- 50:50
BİNGÖL	MERKEZ	GAYBOYU	III	X			3/4 of the province above 1500m. level. Low plains only 2.3%. Only 10.7% of land is arable. Cold inland climate. Maximum 38°C, minimum -17 C. Rainfall varies 2.301-293.6	325	314	7	-	6	12	235	Tenancy: a) Land is rented for 1-2 years
	KIĞI	ESKİKAVAK	II	X											b) " " " " for 50 T.L. per Donum (1/10hectare) money
	SOLHAN	MUTLUCA	I			X									

2. To this end all the available statistical material and other relevant data were accumulated. Also the data presented in a number of detailed inventory studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs were tabulated. (See the Charts on the Selected Villages).

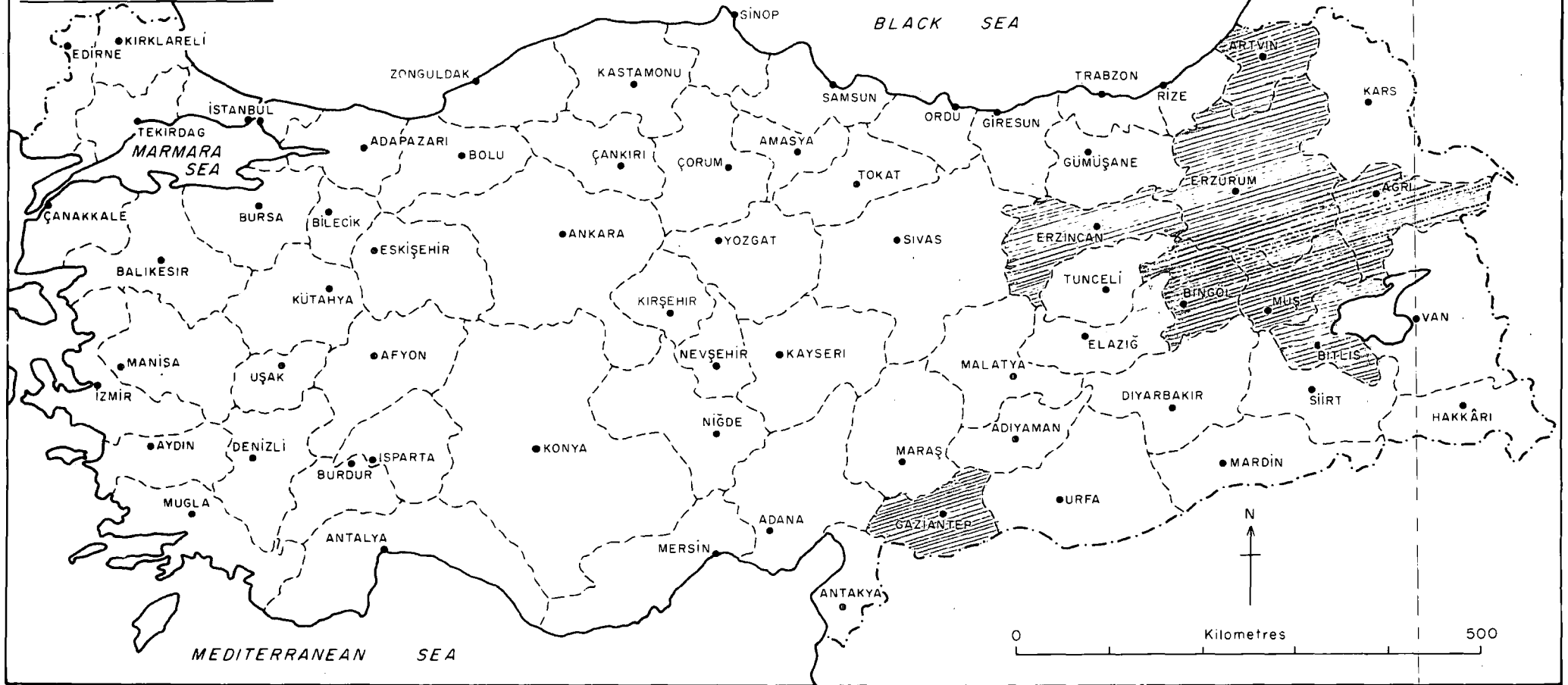
Further, the available literature in the Faculty of Agriculture and Sociology Department of the Ataturk University were also visualized and studied. Wherever possible, the authors of the original studies were also interviewed.*

Further Consultations:

The importance of further consultations in this context with government officials in the provincial capital and local districts made it easier to appraise and get familiarized with secondary factors related to such things as the name of community leaders in the selected villages, educational facilities, religious sect, and various other aspects of rural life as well as the location of villages and conditions of village roads. For instance, occasional consultations with some people such as an army colonel in Bitlis, an attorney in Erzurum and also in Gaziantep provided almost every information one needs prior to a field study. For instance, a city attorney to whom I was referred to by Toprak-Su engineers, gave me a letter of introduction to be delivered to the Muhtar of Tamburali village of Gaziantep which

*Among those interviewed were Dr. A. Necdet Sozer, of Sociology Dept. Dr. Nazim Bari of Agricultural Dept. of the Ataturk University. Also, a score of officials at the State Institute of Statistics, in Ankara, Ministry of Village Affairs officials in the provinces, Toprak-Su engineers, Agricultural Bank officials as well as State Planning Organization staff were consulted.

TURKEY : PROVINCES



greatly facilitated my acquaintanceship with village leaders.

Another help, which was greatly appreciated, was extended by Mr. Yenel, of Toprak-Su Office in Artvin who arranged his brother to accompany me as interpreter in those isolated villages of Kurdish origin of Degirmen Koy, Cokeyazi of Bitlis, Hancagiz of Mus and Mutluca village of Bingol.

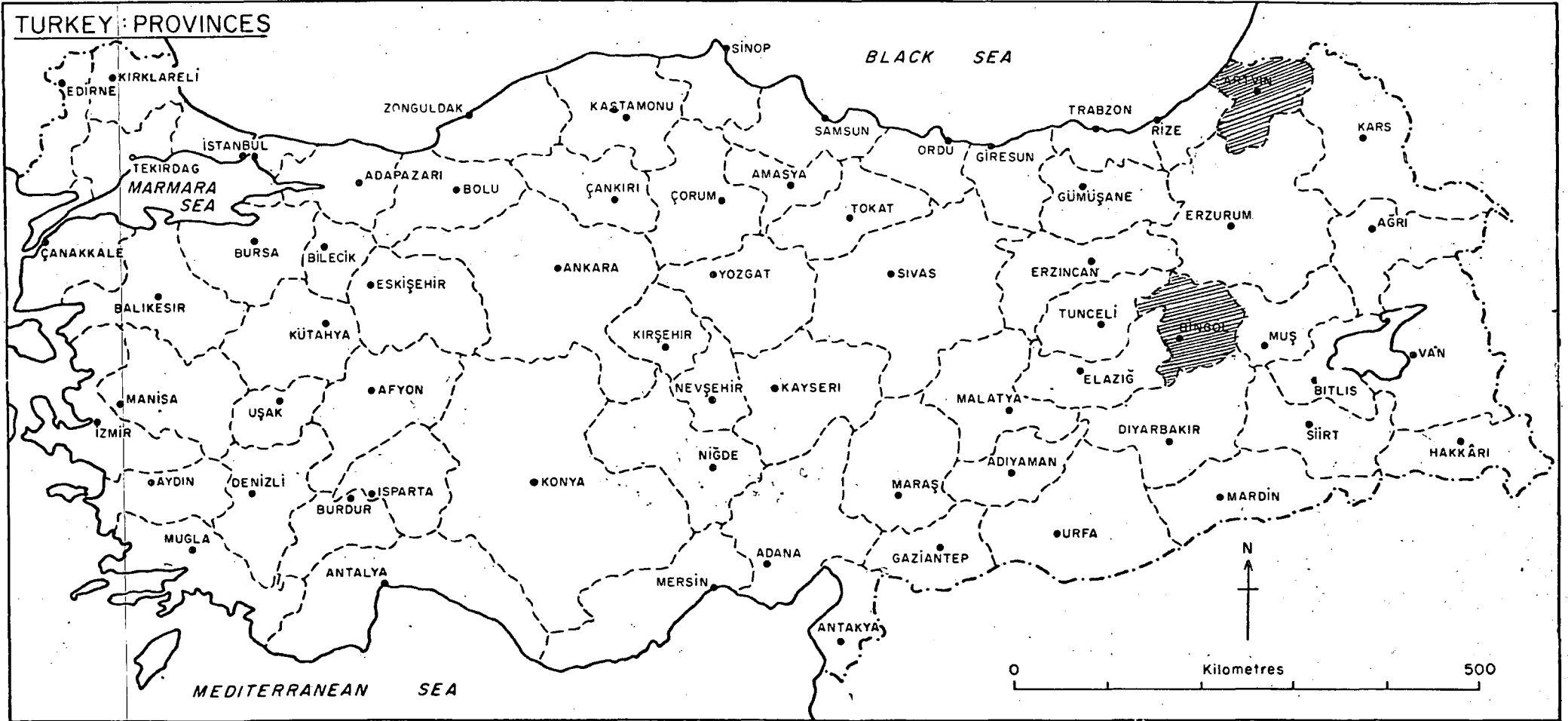
Pretesting:

At the outset, before going to the actual villages which were to be investigated and studied, it was necessary to formulate a workable strategy and realistic approach in order to establish a criteria for testing and weighting both the alternative questions to be diagnosed. To this end, a number of hypothetical questions were tried first in some 'control' villages in which the socio-economic and physical environmental conditions were comparable to those peasant communities which were selected for the actual field study.

The pretesting which was carried out in Cayboyu Eskikavak and Mutluca villages of Bingol and Fistikli, Kalburlu and Elmalivillages of Artvin province. (See the Chart). The process of pretesting gave great insight and perspective for the forthcoming study in the following ways:

1. The preliminary confrontation with the peasants in the 'control villages' provided the much needed experience and conditioning in terms of selecting individual peasants who would be most capable of being representative of the investigated population. For instance, this early confrontation showed that peasants were reluctant to talk before a government official. This happened when Elmalivillage in Artvin was visited with a Toprak-Su engineer. The peasants had nothing but praise for the 'Devlet Baba'!

TURKEY : PROVINCES



2. It contributed to the selection of the most effective and research questions that were relatively more stimulating and result getting. For instance, it was necessary to alter and devise new questions and new research procedures which were capable of finding peasants' socio-economic outlook and expectations and the degree of their preparedness for change.
3. It also helped to establish a criteria for distinguishing specific village types in terms of their distinctive socio-economic, cultural and physical characteristics.

With appropriate modifications and cross-checking the questions were more fully developed for the subsequent actual field study.

B. Criteria for Selecting Suitable Questions:

Criteria for selecting questions and devising of hypothetical questions capable of operational definitions and practical implications were the ultimate challenge and focal point in pursuing the objectives of this study.

In brief, the ultimate research goals pursued in these questions, among others were:

1. To explain and inquire into the behavioral pattern of the investigated population which are relatively in different environmental conditions with different degree of contact with the outside world and undergoing different types of social and economic transformation.
2. To test some of the intuitive hypotheses about the causal relationship between 'peasant attitudes and their preparedness to change.'

A realistic and foresighted approach to the devising of appropriate questions require a clear knowledge and the fullest understanding of the indigenous socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the peasant population to whom the questions were to be applied.

Accordingly, the number of questions were rigorously limited to those which were essential to the testing and explaining peasant attitudes which are capable of unraveling some of the essential aspects of the environmental influences which interact with the peasants' attitudes and which in turn they reinforce.

Further, the questions selected were clear, specific and within the range of understanding of prospective individual peasants.

*The evaluation of the functions, the origin and the perspective of all the ranging hypothetical are assessed in a detailed form at the beginning of each case study of the 'Field Study' section.

C. Criteria in the Selection of the Provinces:

It was apparent that, the selection of villages for the field study and research, could not be isolated from their respective provinces which have to a certain degree responsible for shaping the socio-economic, cultural, historical and political image of their peasant societies.

Further, aside from those unifying factors such as their basically economic, social and religious outlook, the provinces under investigation were to represent the distinctive diversity in their physical, human, geographical features, the degree of disparity between their level of economic achievement, their distinct ethnical origins and other distinctive socio-cultural and environmental conditions that distinguished them from each other.

At the outset data on 18 of the provinces in Eastern Turkey were studied and compared with each other on the basis of statistical material and information provided by state institute of Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Village Affairs inventory studies. In addition, wherever possible, other detailed case studies were studied which might give further insight into the socio-economy, geography, culture of the provinces that could provide the contemporary image of the provinces.

After this comparative study and hard look to the general characteristics of provinces, e.g. how and why they have become what they are, their resources and future outlook, certain provinces then were assigned weights and were regarded as units having a clear and distinctive characteristics which were most capable of revealing the heterogenous socio-cultural, physical and economic environmental conditions of Eastern Turkey.

Also, two possible alternative provinces were selected as 'control' groups for the pretesting of the research methods in their selected peasant communities.

The final step was to draw up on the regional map, the names of six provinces for observation and study on the basis of the following criteria:

1. The geographical location of the provinces
2. Socio-economic make-up and other environmental characteristics
3. Degree of industrialization, transportation and communication
4. Past and present economic trends
5. Disparity between land and population, etc.

(please see the Chart)

D. Criteria for the Selection of the Villages:

The empirical hard core of this study was to distinguish different types of villages according to a certain set of socio-economic, geographical and cultural characteristics of the peasant societies.

Initially, the typology distinguished three groups of villages so as to be representative of the varying conditions with respect to their:

1. Distinctive cultural, socio-economic, geographical environmental conditions.
2. Different patterns and stages of economic development.
3. Degree of openness to outside world

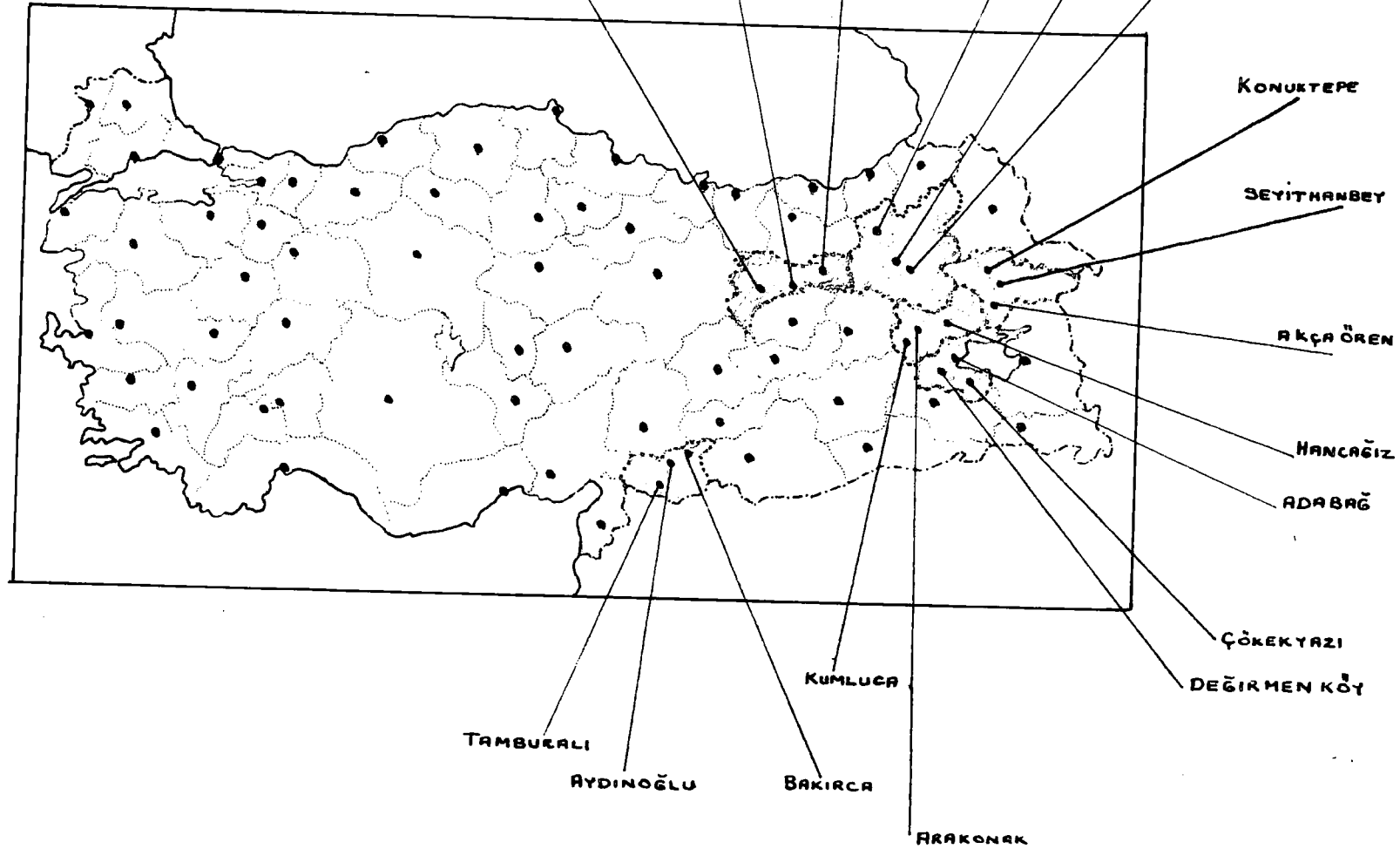
a.

My previous two years of stay in Eastern Turkey and subsequent travels as well as the preliminary survey of a number of studies and work on rural Turkey showed that, rural Turkey, particularly the eastern region is a society of villages with different sets of environmental characteristics.*

Eastern Turkey (18 provinces)	Total Pop- ulation (000)	Area km ²	City Pop- ulation	%	Village Population	%	Density
EASTERN TURKEY	5,903	220,775	1,609	27.2	4,294	72.8	28
TURKEY	31,392	774,810	10,806	34.5	21,586	65.5	41

*Please see the Chart on the selected provinces for a detailed tabulation of data.

PEASANT SOCIETIES
UNDER INVESTIGATION



C. GENERAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	TYPE OF VILLAGE	POPULATION					TYPE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY & OWNERSHIP OF VILLAGES							LANDLESS FAMILIES			ABSENTEE LANDLORD		MOBILITY		GENERAL SERVICES					MARKETING			
				SIZE OF POPULATION			CHANGE IN POPULATION		TYPE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY				OWNERSHIP OF VILLAGES			LANDLESS FAMILIES			ABSENTEE LANDLORD		LEAVE VILLAGE		COMPULSORY CONTRIBUTION			VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION		MARKET CITIES	MARKET TOWNS	MARKET IN VILLAGES	PERMANENT MARKET
				500 OR MORE	400 OR MORE	300 OR MORE	+	-	FARMING	ANIMAL HUSBANDRY	HANDICRAFT	OTHER CRAFTS	VILLAGE PEOPLE	ONE PERSON	ONE FAMILY	ONE CLAN	SHARE COOPER	TENANT	LANDLESS (3 OR LESS)	HERE IS	NONE	Yes	No	MONEY	IN KIND	NONE	THERE IS	NONE			
ERZINCAN	MERKEZ	KERLIK KAYASI	III	X			X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X		X	X		X		X	X			
	ILIC	GEYRAM	II		X			X	X	X				X	X	X	X			X		X	X		X		X				
	TERCAN	HACI BAYRAM	I	X			X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X		X					X		
ERZURUM	MERKEZ	ARIZIVE	III	X			X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X		X	X		X		X	X			
	ISPIR	TEKPINAR	II		X		X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X	X		X						
	TEKMAN	MUSEVİN ARA	I			X	X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X	X		X				X		
AĞRI	MERKEZ	KONUKTEPE	III		X		X		X	X			X			X		X		X		X									
	PAZINOS	ARÇA ÇAĞI	II			X		X	X	X			X							X		X					X				
	HANUŞ	SEYİTHANBEY	I			X		X	X	X			X							X				X							
BITLİS	TATVAN	ROBANKA	III	X			X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X	X				X				
	MERKEZ	DEĞİRHAN KÖYÜ	II	X			X		X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X	X				X				
	HİZAN	ÇÖKMEZ YAZI	I			X	X		X	X	X		X							X		X		X							
MUŞ	BULANIK	ARAKONAK	III	X			X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X		X	X		X		X				
	MERKEZ	KUMLUCA	II		X		X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X	X		X		X				
	MALAZGİT	HANCAĞIZ	I		X		X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X		X		X							
GAZİANTEP	KİLİS	TANBURALI	III	X			X		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X		X	X		X		X				
	MERKEZ	AYDINDÖLÜ	II	X			X		X	X	X		X			X	X	X		X		X	X		X		X				
	YAVUZELİ	BAKIRCA	I		X		X		X	X	X		X							X		X	X				X				
ARTVİN	MERKEZ	FİSTİHALI	III	X			X		X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X	X		X		X	X			
	ZEFİNDİLİ	KALDIRILU	II	X			X		X	X	X		X			X	X	X		X		X	X				X				
	SAVŞAT	ELHALI	I	X			X		X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X	X				X				
BİNGÖL	MERKEZ	KAYACI	III		X		X		X	X			X			X		X		X		X	X					X			
	KIĞI	ERKİNDAN	II			X	X		X	X			X			X	X			X		X							X		
	SOLHAN	MUTLUCA	I			X	X		X	X	X		X							X		X		X					X		
TOTAL																															

All the evidences on Eastern Turkey indicate that peasant societies are relatively numerous and isolated, economically experiencing several different patterns of change with heterogenous socio-cultural and distinctive economic and environmental conditions. (1)

In 18 Provinces:		%	% The Distribution Of Families	% No. Of Families
No. of Villages in the East	9.436	48.7	73.5	788.000
No. of Sub-settlements and Hamlets	9.970	51.3	26.5	200.000
Total	19.406	100.0	100.0	988.000

Therefore, to construct an image of socio-cultural economic or geographical homogeneity for these communities which have distinctive economic and social processes, or making generalizations on the basis of observations made in one group of villages with the same sets of environmental characteristics, to say the least, would be dis-service to a scholarly research.

Accordingly, at the beginning of the present study a criteria was established to select villages on the basis of variation in their environmental conditions and by comparing them on a number of their distinctive characteristics: (2)

- (1) a. Necdet Tuncbilek: Turkiye Iskan Cografyasi, I.U.E.F.Y. Istanbul 1967 pp 98, also 138
 b. State Institute of Statistics: 1965 Population Census

(2) The principals of this classification and typology are adopted, with modified versions, from:

John F. Collars: Types of Rural Development in 'Four Studies on the Economic Development of Turkey'. Frank Case & Co. Ltd., 1967 pp.63-87

E. TYPES OF PEASANT SOCIETIES

I
MARKET-IGNORING VILLAGESII
MARKET-SEEKING VILLAGESIII
MARKET-RECOGNIZING VILLAGESBasic Problems and Outlook

- There is no expectation for a better future, but nobody knows what to do.
- Yet there is no drive to improve economic conditions.
- Inadequate inferior roads, large number of small-size holdings.
- Primitive agricultural equipment and tools.
- Low crop yield, poor animal breeding.
- Poor drinking and insufficient water supply.
- Unsuitable resettlement conditions.
- Heavy bottom age structure of population.

Type of Economic Activity

- Produce what they consume and consume what they produce.
- Very poorly endowed with natural resources so that significant positive changes appear impossible, even within the extended limits of modern technology.
- No crop surplus and natural environment is literally not suited for cash crops.
- Per capita incomes are stabilized at very low levels or are declining due to depletion of resources or because of increases in population with attendant productive increases, or both.
- Functionally diffused type of activity.
- Large degree of self-sufficiency, characteristic of traditional economy; monoculture, little differentiation or concentration of productive resources and land ownership, one or two traditional commodities, no surplus.

Money Lending

- Grocery store.
- Friends.
- From non-institutional sources or kin.

Wealth Concept

- Think of land in concrete terms.
- Land is a physical property, something on which to make a living.
- Per capita incomes are stabilized at very low levels.

Land Ownership Pattern

- Communal
- Small, fragmented and balanced distribution of land.

Land Use Pattern

- Primitive methods on a barren land.

Type of Power

- Religious, ascriptive status.
- Economic, political and spiritual leadership is held by one person.
- Status if supported by old age more than by skill.
- Religion - loyalty - strong anchorage in the traditional system.

Position of the Muhtar

- More related to Sheyl.
- Continuation of tribal life.
- More durable - Nothing new upsets the balance. The son of the old tribal leader could be Muhtar.

Landlord-Peasant Relationship

- Direct relationship
- However, there are evidences of social stratification and breakdowns of feudal structure.
- Yet, generally personal ties.
- Direct
- There are large landholdings.

Type of Location

- Located on slopes and cannot be improved economically.
- Mountainous and inferior land.
- Less contact with outside.
- Uneconomic type of settlement.
- Numerous mountain villages located on slopes - poor soil, steep.
- Communities might better be removed from production.

Type of Accommodation

- Houses similar.
- Mud-brick houses, rarely stone and animal and humans live side by side.

Type of Community Coffee House

- None

Population Movement

- Static.
- Do not think change of village location will alter their destiny.

Time Concept and Perception

- Time determined by prayer time, sunset, sunrise and wailing distance.
- Walking distance depends on human energy and events of past years.

Type of Inheritance System

- Equal shares, sometimes land is not divided: sons cultivate the land and divide the crop.

Type of Marriages

- Only a few of the old have practiced polygamy.
- It is very rare to take a bride from outside the village and the villagers are not willing to give a bride away. Relatives are preferred in marriages, some kind of a kinship obligation.

Type of Dowry

- Husband-to-be works on his father-in-law-to-be's land or herd his animals. This is one form of payment of the bride price.

Degree of Openness

- Relatively isolated, economically autonomous, stable, homogenous, hardly exposed, poor communication and transportation.
- Tradition-bound, conservative, limited horizons.
- Social approval is important.

Value Concept

- Peasants do not know the value or price of their product in the market.
- No effort to know cost and market price.

Productive Inputs

- Limited productive inputs.
- Wooden plow with oxen.
- A pair of oxen provides the work power.
- Static technology, primitive techniques and methods.

Type of Trade

- Bartering, travelling salesman, grocery-man.
- Do not sell crop.
- A closed economy.
- Travelling salesman - buys things from towns (fruits, tobacco, tea, coffee, salt in exchange for wool and goat hair).

Type of Economic Structure

- Animal husbandry and farming (more animal husbandry than farming)
- They have literally carved their land - income is low - child labor.

Degree of Indebtedness

- Negligible or on a very modest scale.

Basic Problems and Outlook

- There is a changing outlook.
- There is a desire for change.
- There is a certain degree of uncertainty for a better future.
- Peasants are not much satisfied with their way of life.
- Youngsters seem to be more pessimistic.
- Temporary migrations to towns to find jobs.
- Generally primitive farming techniques, water disputes - no cadastral survey yet.
- Generally unscientific farming.
- High birth rate.
- Heavy bottom age structure of population.

Type of Economic Activity

- Sufficient resource potential and incentive for change at the village level but they lag behind for cultural reasons.
- The cash crop potential has yet to be fully exploited.
- A partial diffusion of a market culture.
- There is potential for increase in productivity or for marketing, but these are not yet fully exploited.

Money Lending

- Grocery store.
- Town merchant.
- Money is borrowed to repay old debts and to maintain existing level of consumption.
- Credit by grocery store in return for their produce.
- Non-official sources.

Wealth Concept

- More receptive for material gain.

Land Ownership Pattern

- Common land concept weakening.
- Gradual stratification and differentiation of social and economic structure.
- Local peasants own land and work as share-croppers.
- Feodal landlords.

Land Use Pattern

- Some areas have irrigated land.
- Land use pattern is still unmodernized.

Type of Power

- Economic - religious base giving political power.
- Land ownership becoming a standard of power.
- Religious - economic.

Position of the Muhtar

- Represents balance of power between landlord, sheyl, and peasants.
- Less durable - change in balance of power brings about a change of Muhtar.

Landlord-Peasant Relationship

- Direct relationship.
- However, there are evidences of social stratification and breakdowns of feudal structure.
- Yet, generally personal ties.
- Direct
- There are large landholdings.

Type of Location

- Valley, plain and relatively fertile and reasonably accessible.

Type of Accommodation

- Houses similar.
- In some areas rich landowners' houses are distinctive in their outward features.

Type of Community Coffee House

- Coffee house.

Population Movement

- Gradual outflow.

Time Concept and Perception

- Prayer time and also standard time.
- Also remember days by market days.
- Time conscious in secular sense.
- However, time still is determined by prescribed rituals such as praying and fasting.

Type of Inheritance System

- Same as 'I', but, there are some instances where a man would give his property, during his life, to his brother or his brother's son if he decides to deprive his daughter of her inheritance, because he would not want to hand his property over to the strange man to be his son-in-law.

Type of Marriages

- The same as 'I'

Type of Dowry

- Same as I.

Degree of Openness

- Gradual and limited contact.
- Have not yet succeeded in absorbing new techniques.

Value Concept

- Gradual concern with market values.
- However, exchange value of commodities determined by town merchant. He can manipulate the sale and purchase price. In either case the peasants suffer.

Productive Inputs

- Limited technology.
- Wooden plow, oxen, malboard plow.

Type of Trade

- First village grocery.
- Now they infrequently go to towns. However, the relationship between town merchants and peasants has not developed yet.
- Peasants take to market cheese, hair, wool and buy shoes, clothing and utensils.
- Often the farmer does not sell his produce directly but indirectly through intermediates.
- Frequent market trips during good years.

Type of Economic Structure

- More animal husbandry than farming.
- They have literally carved their land - income is low - child labor - limited handicrafting.

Degree of Indebtedness

- There is mostly non-institutional borrowing.

Basic Problems and Outlook

- Peasants are mostly aware of living in times of change and there is more readiness among the landless to move to a place with better agricultural or working conditions.
- Youngsters show more identity with a larger community.
- Temporary outflow of population to look for jobs.
- No cadastral survey.
- Lack of adequate credit.
- Following decreasing, high percentage of landlessness.
- Heavy bottom age structure of population.
- Absentee landlordship becoming common as wealthy landlords move to towns.

Type of Economic Activity

- Urban-derived inputs such as credit and new equipment may reach the village.
- Occasional surplus.
- Village as a productive whole remains near subsistence level.
- The share of their total output attributable to livestock is falling.
- Inadequate fallow
- Limited cash crops.
- Limited cash income for certain farmers.

Money Lending

- Owner - Aga - money lender.
- Town or city merchant.
- Usual practice is to sign for a receipt of an amount larger than the amount actually advanced.
- More dependence on non-institutional sources.
- Money is borrowed from one to pay debt to another.
- Non-institutional and institutional sources.
- Some have lost land for debt payment.

Wealth Concept

- Property contracts.
- Are willing to make contracts for debt. Land value has exchange value.
- New concept of wealth: ownership of tractors, livestock.

Land Ownership Pattern

- Unevenly distributed land use pattern.
- Concentration of landholding, mostly controlled by large holding classes.

Land Use Pattern

- Small holdings.
- Little irrigation, mixed crops or rotation.

Type of Power

- Socio-economic differentiation and polarization.
- Landlord, merchant, money lender have acquired a new status.
- Leadership changing from feudal sheyl to economically strong Aga.
- Land ownership and economic power leading to political power.
- Control of land leading to control of output leading to control of markets.
- Economically strong Aga (sonradantureme)

Position of the Muhtar

- Represents interest groups.
- Neutralizing force.
- Powerful.

Landlord-Peasant Relationship

- Sharecroppers and landless workers go indirectly through bailiff.
- There is absentee landlordship.
- No longer face to face relationship between landlord and the peasants.

Type of Location

- Reasonably easy for peasants to reach towns, transportation and communication facilities.

Type of Accommodation

- Houses similar
- Outdoor toilets.
- Stone and cement floors, some houses with glass windows.

Type of Community Coffee House

- Aga's room mostly.

Population Movement

- No more inflow but mostly outflow.
- There is tendency to work outside of the village.
- Some villages are falling under the influence of growing urban areas and improved systems of transportation.

Time Concept and Perception

- Distance by kilometers.
- More time conscious in secular sense.
- However, time is still determined by prescribed rituals such as praying and fasting.

Type of Inheritance System

- Same, but more inheritance division.

Type of Marriages

- There is a positive correlation between the increase of one's wealth and the number of wives.
- Few commonlaw marriages.

Type of Dowry

- There are cases of very high bride prices. This payment is not only made by the father but also by the brothers when it is required.

Degree of Openness

- Have become more self-conscious, their minds are prepared to question their own social institution and they regard their own welfare as a matter of concern.
- Alteration of the peasants cognitive structure; growing involvement with urban centres.

Value Concept

- Becoming more conscious money conscious. Gradually acquiring a sense of cash.

Productive Inputs

- Wooden plow, oxen, malboard plow, few tractors.
- Maraba - cheaper than machinery due to large numbers of workers.

Type of Trade

- Peasants go to towns for shopping.
- Development of highways and improvement of transportation means has shifted from grocery to town markets as long as there is something to sell.
- The expansion of village shops has stopped because people go to the towns to buy.
- Peasants sell sheep and wool and get credit and money from the merchants.
- Here, purchase on credit is important. The merchant, in order to prevent the peasants from going to other merchants, gives advance credit to the farmers to tie them to himself.
- The market is used by some, but not by all the members of the community.

Type of Economic Structure

- Same as I and II

Degree of Indebtedness

- Growing indebtedness.
- Till harvest time they borrow and after harvest they pay in produce.
- Control of credit is leading to control of land.

- the location of the village
- the socio-economic make-up of the village
- the degree of communication and transportation
- the degree of relationships to urban markets
- educational and other social and public institutions
- local resource potential and availability of urban driven inputs - credit and equipment.*

Relevant information and data and the statistical materials obtained from the government agencies, particularly the Ministry of Village Affairs' Inventory Studies and other agencies' studies conducted along these lines formed the initial basis for presenting criteria. (These informations and data are tabulated on Chart 1

Next, a series of interviews were conducted with the officials of the Ministry of Construction and Settlement in Eastern provinces where the original idea of classifying village types on the basis of their distinctive socio-economic outlook, past and present trends were discussed. The outcome of these detailed investigations and discussions on the peasant societies were assembled, and a final classification was made which distinguished three types of peasant societies. In this way, three samples of villages from each province were selected according to their nature of economic achievement, degree of market orientated activities and other aspects of their environmental conditions.**

*Please see the attached charts on the selected villages.

**The typology and principles adopted in this study in the selection of major groups of villages can be found, with some variations in J.F. Kollar's article on 'Types of Rural Development' in Turkey. J.F. Kollars in this study distinguishes (2) main groups of villages each of which is subdivided so that all together a total of (7) types are specified:

TYPES OF VILLAGES

Urban-Directed

Rural-Directed

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 1. Shadow | 2. Annexed | 5. Market-seeking | 6. Market- |
| 3. Satellite | 4. Summer dormitory | 7. Market-ignoring | recognizing |

The only type of villages suited for the purpose of the present study were the so-called rural-directed villages.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING RESPONDENTS TO BE
INTERVIEWED

E.

In general, the recruitment of individual respondents within the investigated peasant societies, with notable exception proceeded according to a quota and random principle.*

In order to get a more accurate and comprehensive picture of the mental outlook of the peasants and to obtain realistic results valid for the whole investigated peasant population, it was highly essential to:

1. Select and interview those individual peasants who were most capable of being representative of the investigated population.
2. Apply the same question to all interviewed persons so that the recorded reactions were comparable to each other.
3. In order to arrive at conclusions of general validity, in those villages with mixed ethnical origins like in Mus, Bitlis, Erzincan and Gaziantep investigated peasant societies, maximum effort was made to recruit respondents from different ethnic groups which lived within the investigated peasant societies, e.g. Black Sea emigrants, Kurdish, etc. The research goal pursued in giving equal chances to the individual peasants of different

*The principles of this interview technique were adopted from

- a) Burkhard Strumpel, 'Preparedness for Change in a Peasant Society'
E.D.C.C. Vol.XIII, No.1, Oct. 1964, pp.203-216
- b) Cevat Geray, Toplum Kalkinmasi, Deneme Calismalari, Bunyan Ornegi,
Sevinc Matbaasi, Ankara, 1967
- c) Goode W.J. & Hatt P.K., Methods in Social Research,
McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc. 1952
- d) Bahattin Aksit, Turkiyede Az Gelismis Kapitalizm
M.E.T.U. Sept. 30, 1966, Ankara

ethnic origin was to get a realistic image of the probable causes of inter-economic, socio-cultural differences in their economic behavior and outlook.

To define and differentiate ethnic groups two approaches served as a criteria:

a. Language - those who spoke Kurdish, Turkish or Black Sea dialect.

b. While the selection of the villages were being done in the Ministry of Settlement, appropriate officials specifically were asked to provide information on the ethical background and past history of village population which were already being selected for field research.

Also, occasionally Toprak-Su engineers in the provincial capital, and further information received from official and unofficial sources were viewed alongside the available official data.

Various studies and publications also served as background information.

4. Further, in order to make a realistic appraisal and comparison of the mode of behavior between and among the investigated population, respondents were also selected on the basis of their age structure, whenever and wherever possible.

It was hypothesized that the younger peasant population would show a stronger preparedness to change because of the extent of their closer contacts with the outside world. (Or as a result of their relatively fewer responsibilities, education, and better potential for employment opportunities, etc.)

The effect of contact with outside world and the effect of the traditional culture can be isolated and analyzed by comparing answers received from those individual respondents who are with closer contact with the outside world and with those with less contact within the same peasant society.*

How the Interviews were Carried Out:

The actual task of finding out representative individual peasants to be interviewed was carried out in the following ways:

1. First, few hours prior to the start of the interview, as much documentary, socio-economic study as practicable and necessary was made, in order to illuminate and also to frame a portrait of the socio-economic and ethnic outlook of the village population to be investigated.**
- 2.(a) To utilize the method of inquiry most efficeintly - as the outcome of the 'pretesting' in the 'Control Villages' proved, the interviews with the individual peasants were carried out individually wherever and whenever possible, e.g. in his field, on the village road and occasionally before his family. This research approach turned out to be most capable of making the relatively best contribution in terms of validity and objectiveness.

*Brummel, IBIDpp.212-213, argues that the causes of inter-cultural differences in economic behavior can be two-fold; they can be due to 'specific cultural properties of a society, or to different stages of economic development and degree of contact with outside world.

Also see John F. Kolars, 'Types of Rural Development' in 'Four Studies on the Economic Development of Turkey'. Frank Case and Co. Ltd., 1967,pp.63-87

**Once the selection of the villages was completed, all the available documentary data and material secured from proper sources on the villages were tabulated and later in the evening these data was analyzed and compared with the interview findings in order to determine the point of similarities and divergences among them.

(b) A further step was to visit the Muhtar (official head of the village) and tell him in a general way the main purpose of the study and the necessity of his assistance in securing an interview with male adults of the village population and to elicit from them the necessary information.

Muhtar, along with some of the village elders, were also interviewed wherever possible in order to get a further insight from the elected members into the nature of the problems facing their communities and also about other environmental conditions. This first acquaintance with Muhtar and other community leaders offered several advantages:

i. It provided immense opportunity to introduce myself and the research work publicly, informally to the rest of the village population.

ii. The criteria of selecting individual peasants to be interviewed was done before all eyes, unbiased and objective.*

3. In this way, within the limits of time and resources available, it was possible to approach peasants after only a relatively short time of 'superficial personal acquaintance' and get on with the interview effectively.

4. In those selected villages which had at least a village coffee or communal hall, particularly in the II type of villages, I would go to a village coffee or Muhtar's room where peasants were chatting. I usually entered into conversation after a brief introduction on my purpose of being there. Gradually over a coffee, I would put the questions in the simplest and informal way and each time writing down each and individual remarks on the question forms which were specifically prepared in advance and which contained the name of the village, location and other documentary information solicited from the officials.

*Also as Brummel has observed, few people had the feeling that interviewer was interested in them personally or he wanted to pry into their personal affairs.

And accordingly only family leaders were selected from each family. And finally, to be certain that this delimitation would not obscure the intended objectives of this study, the interviews were carried out individually and to the best of available time and resources as well as intuition, the seemingly most appropriate respondents were chosen who were capable of providing comprehensive information.* Fortunately, an impressive amount of information was accumulated in this way.

*The present field work gave much needed experience and perspective in research techniques and methods. For instance, some interview findings showed that, interview of every adult member of the same family at the same harvesting place, gave a concerted, identical result which made it impossible to get a more accurate and comprehensive picture of the respondents' mode of behavior and their socio-economic outlooks. Like any Asian or Middle Eastern peasants, the Anatolian peasant 'fearing to show disrespect or to confess that he is not clever enough among the other members of his family, in case of doubt, he answers at random, in the politest possible way, that is in the affirmative.' It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that all the family members experience precisely the same economic or social process.

Duration of the Research:

The actual field work and research study was done in summer 1969, between July 28 - September 30th.

Prior reaching the ultimate level of case studies nearly eight days were spent in the related ministries and public libraries in Ankara in order to gather the available and the necessary documentary material covering most of the data on rural Turkey and the eastern region.

Also, as mentioned earlier, government officials S.P.O. staff on community development, SIS Agricultural Division personnel as well as academicians who were capable of supplementing necessary information. Foreign officials, particularly U.S.A.I.D./Ankara, Office of Economic Planning, provided much needed publications in terms of their survey findings on the Agricultural Sector of the Turkish Economy.

Degree of Response:

As the data on the answers of the investigated population shows, the level of response from the investigated population was most encouraging. Particularly the degree of responses received from the respondents in the I type of peasant societies to a wide range of questions, many of which were abstract, to say the least, were highly remarkable.

One of the underlying factors was that, the questions in general were rigorously simple, clear, straight and within the range of understanding of the average peasant.

Secondly, wherever possible, the interviews were carried out in a very candid and informal atmosphere, and, with notable exceptions, only few peasants had the feeling that the interviewer was a government official or someone to pry into their personal affairs.

However, a number of respondents, in answer to specific questions were reluctant to answer specifically, but said, 'I don't know', or 'if government helps, it might change' etc. These rather ambiguous reactions seemed to be not due to the complexity or the wording of the questions, but rather a reflection of their state of mind and psychological climate or sheer uncertainty. Some respondents showed visible signs of cautiousness, perhaps reluctance in answering certain abstract or suggestive questions. In fact, I was repeatedly reminded of the fact that in those widely scattered tradition-bound peasant societies with varying ethnical origins and language, even a population census would be regarded as a suspicious act.

Degree of Confidence and Source of Errors:

Problems:

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that all the interviews and field work procedures were smoothly executed or were precise and followed on exact pattern in all spheres of the present study.

The problems in general were:

A.1 Since attitudes were not directly observable phenomenon and to overcome such methodological problems, attitudes had to be inferred from verbal behavior and through responses of the peasants to certain direct or indirect questions.

It might seem that discovering peasant needs, their problems and those areas of tension or to point out the causality between responsible socio-cultural or other factors and the peasants' economic behavior in a scant of 20 or 25 minutes of an interview might be considered speculative or unjustified.

However, the research goal pursued in this field work was confined only to the explanation and appraisal of those behavioral patterns of the respondents which were closely related with their socio-economic progress, such as basic changes in production methods, mobility, the acceptance of innovation, past failures, present and future expectations, etc. To this end, the interview questions were weighted and vigorously limited to those ones which were most capable of being functional and most properly applicable to the explanation of economic behavior of the investigated population.

2. The application of these hypothetical questions and research procedures were further supplemented and crosschecked by discussions and interviews with the individual peasants about the sources of their problems etc., in order to arrive at conclusions of general validity. For instance, in most cases, the extent and consistency of the individual responses of the peasants were further subjected to a comparative critical analysis in terms of asking the same questions by altering the wording of the questions. (Thus some questions acted as 'control' to check the accuracy and the consistency of their answers.)

3. Also wherever possible, village officials, Muhtar and other members of the village communities were included in the interviews to gain more insight into the nature of their environmental conditions.

To minimize ^ocontraversies and maintain the accuracy of this research project, nearly 50-60% of these interviews were conducted individually, only 15-20% of the interviews were carried out in the village coffee and the rest in the presence of Muhtar and others.

One minor but relevant experience gained in some villages during the present study, particularly in Tamburak and Keklikkayasi villages of Gaziantep and Erzincan provinces, some respondents were reluctant to answer all the answers before the Muhtar and the Council.

B. Another anticipated problem was that because peasant societies in Eastern Turkey were undergoing several different patterns of change, e.g. varying degrees of openness to outside world, different levels of economic progress. Therefore the differences among these communities suggested a strategy of research technique whereby recruiting of the respondents and selection of the villages followed a combination of quota and random principles.

C. The scope of this inquiry made demand on the perspectives and tools of different disciplines, e.g. economics, geography, sociology and other disciplines. Consequently, it was necessary to diagnose the whole nexus of peasant environmental conditions from each and different perspective of a multi-disciplinary interchange.

In selecting the questions, special attention was given to identify various socio-economic and other causal factors which were responsible for specific types of economic behavior between and among the peasant people.

Also the early preparations, extensive review of subjects and data of multi-disciplinary nature, provided the much needed knowledge concerning research methods and techniques in dealing with peasant population.

Finally, the pretesting of questions in some selected peasant societies prior to the actual field research work gave some of the necessary training and conditioning which provided further experience in the pursuit of the objectives of the present study.

IN THE LAST, SAY 10 YEARS, WHAT HAS CHANGED
FOR THE BETTER AROUND HERE*

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was, among others, to shed light and appraise:

1. The degree of awareness of the respondents of the changes in their environmental conditions and to what extent their past experiences affect their present and future outlooks.
2. To what extent have the perception of changes influenced the peasants' preparedness to alter their economic way of life and also to identify the specifically causal factors which were particularly responsible for the respondents' evaluation of the recent past in this or that way.

* This is a question leading to the succeeding question on the peasants' future outlook.

The purpose of this question was to test two hypotheses about the interrelationships between past experiences and future outlook:

(a) According to Professor Burkhad Strumpel of the University of Kbln, Germany, who has conducted a research in British Honduras: "Dissatisfaction with the past experiences, or at least the ability to imagine the reality could have been different in the past decade would indicate a change in outlook."

Burkhad Strumpel, 'Preparedness For Change In a Peasant Society'
E.D.C.C. Vol.XIII, No.1, Oct. 1964 p.211

(b) In contrast, Ralph Linton, in his essay, "Cultural and Personality Factors Affecting Economic Growth," observes that: 'A series of past failures and frustrations' may lead to a situation, 'where a society no longer tries to improve economic conditions.'

In Bert F. Hoselitz, ed, 'The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas'
(Chicago, 1951) p.76

Which of these interpretations were applicable to the investigated peasant societies of Eastern Turkey?

3. The degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the past performances and how and to what extent past failures and experiences affect their present and future expectations.
4. Also to test further, the degree of differences of responses and of perception of changes between and among the investigated peasant population who were in different stages of economic development with varying degrees of contact with the outside world.
5. Finally to find out and compare, to what extent, there are rapports or inconsistencies or conflicts between peasants' evaluation of their experiences in the recent past and those of government officials.*

*Again, at the outset of the present field study, a reasonable study of the available official data and material were studied and government officials - Ministry of Settlement Toprak-Su and Ministry of Agriculture, were interviewed and occasionally consulted. These attempts were made in order to understand what has been achieved in Eastern Turkey and particularly in the investigated peasant societies in the last decade. The comparative study and analysis of peasants' evaluation of the past and of those of government officials' statements could further shed light on the degree of similarity and divergence between officials and village people.

Table I-1

EVALUATION OF THE PAST	RESPONDENTS							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing has Changed	42	58.4	33	45.8	28	38.9	103	143.1
Changed for the Better	5	6.9	18	25.0	7	9.7	30	41.6
Changed for the Worse	7	9.7	9	12.5	28	38.9	44	61.1
Don't Know	18	25.0	12	16.7	9	12.5	39	54.2
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

Interpretation of the Findings:

For the research purpose of the present study, peasants' previous experiences were of great importance in terms of gaining an insight into the nature of their underlying tensions and their socio-economic and physical environmental conditions.

Table I shows that a significant portion of the respondents, (103 out of 216) at all village levels did not perceive any substantial improvements in the last 10 years. (58.4% of the respondents in the I type), (48.8% in the II) (and 38.9% in the III type of peasant societies), said that nothing had changed for them.*

Whether this was an unspoken criticism of the past or disregard of some changes due to the prevalence of basic dissatisfactions would hardly permit inferences as to some aspects of their socio-economic or psychological grievances. The same applies to the recorded 'don't know' answers. However, a comparative analysis and deduced interpretations of the respondents' reaction to other similar questions and

* However, official reports to a large extent show the last 10 years in an overly favorable way. According to the consulted officials, socialization of medicine was first prescribed in the East, government support of agricultural prices and increasing availability of transportation, communication and water supply and growing public investments in the rural sector brought significant changes in that time. It was also argued that, Ministry of Village Affairs, Toprak-Su, Agricultural Bank, along with Et-Balik and Chamber of Commerce; have since 1964 been engaged more than any time before to mobilize their best resources to fulfil their alleged purposes of bringing about increased agricultural production and providing better services.

In contrast, other official reports on the agrarian structure, education and degree of industrialization and mechanization give a different picture. Particularly data on Agricultural Bank credits outstanding give the impression that, during the past decade most of the farmers had been unable to repay their old debts. In fact, most of the loans have never been paid back.

in the light of their existing environmental conditions would conceivably give more practical results than a diagnosis based on a simple cause and effect relationships.

A close check on the data of those who said 'things have changed for the worse' show that, respondents in the III type of villages seemed to be distinctively more pessimistic or critical than others. (38.9% in the III type in contrast to 12.5% in the II and 9.7% in the I). This result might suggest that susceptibility to socio-economic and psychological grievances or resentments seemed to increase in proportion to contact with relatively better off outside world, e.g. towns and cities and is further enhanced by the pressure of local socio-economic and physical conditions.* That is, the greater the degree of contact with outside world and urban products, the greater is the degree of their awareness of their own poverty and the greater is their dissatisfaction. Respondents with less contact with outside world, relatively the older ones in the same village communities who had a long established relatedness to customary

* During the present interview, whether it was traditional, transitional or market recognizing peasant societies, I was reminded that practically all the accessible land had already been under cultivation, that, much of what once fertile arable land or grazing areas had deteriorated. Recurring periods of crop shortages, droughts, coupled with the loss in productive capacity and general inability to maintain the level of food production, widespread insecurity resulting from sharecropping arrangements, particularly in the III type of villages, uncertainty of ownership, growing indebtedness coupled with the loss of their young men seeking jobs in towns and cities, the average burden of rural work had fallen on their weak shoulders. These were the profoundly bitter experiences expressed by so many respondents.

One further common sight in the investigated peasant communities was that with few notable exceptions in G. Antep and Muş' villages outward features of village life had little differentiated over the years.

socio-economic conditions showed lesser resentment, had less perception of times of change or scope for disenchantment. The contrasting pattern of evaluation of the past between and among the investigated population explains two different modes of behavior between the old and young generation. This observation is further reinforced by the other responses of the younger respondents who repeatedly expressed their acute disillusionment with the general 'way of life' of their rural setting.* Subsequent responses of the relatively younger respondents in the investigated peasant societies will further indicate that, acculturated segments of these rural population show less stable attitudes and less tolerance to the traditional rural life, and more preparedness to alter their way of life and further more identification with an environment encompassing more than their narrow village life. This is a discouraging finding particularly for those government officials and some of the

* To be fair and impartial not all of those who were critical of the past or those who said, 'things changed for the worse', were younger respondents. In fact from respondents in the I type of villages (two from Hüseyin Aga village of Erzurum, one from Hancagız village of Muş and one respondent from Seyitharbey village of Ağrı and seven other respondents from the II and III type of villages (mostly from Erzincan, Erzurum and G. Antep) were village elders. Four of these elderly respondents were truly disenchanted with the government officials and agencies who for so long had been either indifferent or unsympathetical toward their village problems, e.g. drinking water, bridge and common pasture land and some even blamed the local officials for the steady decline in the value of money.

However, some of the elderly respondents were equally disenchanted because of the declining moral standards e.g. more cheating by town merchants as well as people etc...., of the loosening of the traditional ties and ultimate values. This conflict between 'the glorification of ascetic or contemplative attitudes' of the village elders and those who resort to economic progress and material gain is a common phenomenon in rural Turkey as the deep-rooted values of the past clashes with the emerging market cultural values.

academicians at the Ataturk University, who strongly argue for the raising of productivity of agriculture and improving working methods and conditions without moving peasants from their villages or changing their occupational structure. (This case will be taken up later again).

The extent of correlation between peasants' apathetic attitudes and their inertness in terms of their mobility etc., particularly in the I type of peasant societies, might even suggest a causal interaction between absence of knowledge and stability (absence of change). As the Table (I-1) shows nearly 58.4% of the respondents in the I type of villages said 'nothing has changed' while 25% of the respondents in the same groups would not admit or perceive any change had taken place at all.

When one penetrates to the inner climate of the socio-cultural and religious environmental conditions of the tradition-bound peasant societies, one could sense a tendency of aloofness or a detached attitude toward the possibilities for social or economic improvements.

However, it must be admitted that a considerable part of this lack of urge for change or stubbornness was due to the remoteness of their village communities, poor transportation, communications and lack of mobility and absence of demonstration effects of an urban material culture. There seemed to be a growing unfruitful tension between their growing population needs and their incapability of doing something about ever narrowing subsistence earnings. Nevertheless, theirs seemed to be not a creative but customary consciousness where absence of curiosity and passive view of life and time have made immobility, asecticism and particularism the principal values for the survival of their social gathering. In fact, it is the indifference of these peasant attitudes toward the opportunities

for social and economic betterment that seems to present a fundamental obstacle to the realization of certain changes. It is quite plausible to argue that 'complacency is never a stimulus to change, but discontent is usually the cause of change.' And as the data on the answers given by the peasants suggests, certain cultural groups had shown themselves more resistant against outside influences than others.

Those respondents who were not critical of the past perceived improvements in the past (6.9% in the I), (25.0% in the II), and (9.7% in the III type of peasant societies) indicate that not all respondents were disillusioned about the recent past of their rural life.

This difference in the optimistic outlook between and amongst the respondents in each and in various other villages exists in degree. The relative optimism of some respondents in the I type of villages, (particularly Bakirca village of Gaziantep and Hacibayram of Erzurum) as well as in the other type of villages might be due to the fact that they were probably better endowed with economic resources and better equipped and therefore were less sceptical of their past performances. On presumably those in the I type of villages have had fixed wants which were 'capable of being satisfied more easily than others.' However, the situation in the other villages might reveal quite a different picture. It might be plausible to argue that particularly in the II and III type of villages, the shift from subsistence to monetised agricultural activities had differentiated the social and economic structures of the previously homogenous community's economic life and had served only to increase the gap between those for whom changes were for the worse and those who had benefited from such

changes. The above argument might partly explain what combination of environmental forces have influenced the peasants' evaluation of the past less optimistically than those who had perceived improvements in the past.

Further remarks and observations:

Not all of those who were poor were frustrated. Those who had recently crossed the psychological barrier of rural inertia and had become more accessible to change, those so called, 'the new poor who had opened their eyes' were frustrated. For the major portion of the respondents, particularly in the III type of investigated villages (38.9%), "normal" have already been replaced by their relatively newly acquired conceptions that things have 'changed for the worse.' Because those who were already satisfied for what they had, are now less sure and more hesitant about their socio-economic existence due to their increased knowledge of how other people live.

Again the dilemma of their situations is that, there is no outlet for a 'constructive dissatisfaction.'

NOBODY CAN SEE INTO THE FUTURE, BUT WHAT DO YOU THINK: HOW WILL THE PEOPLE AROUND HERE LIVE AFTER 10-15 YEARS FROM NOW?

Evaluation of the Future:

In the preceding questionnaire the respondents were asked to appraise their experiences in the recent past. In this questionnaire however, they were asked to evaluate the future in order to see to what extent there is a causal relationship between their past experiences or perceptions and their future outlook.*

Assessment of the Question:

Further, the research goals pursued in this question were:

(a) To find out what were their illusions about the future, of their rural operation, their subjective confidences or certainty that they feel towards future and the degree of perception of the ranges of possibilities open to them. How encouraging is their anticipation over the chances of improving rural socio-economic life?

Does there exist or can there be created in time a climate for a hopeful future expectations of the peasants in their rural economic development.

(b) The degree of difference in future outlook between and among the investigated population who were in different stages of economic

* If Linton's interpretation and Brunnel's observations were applicable to the presently investigated peasant societies in Eastern Turkey, then, those 'who were critical of past improvements should be pessimistic with regard to future chances.'

Table II-2

Evaluation of the Future	R E S P O N D E N T S						TOTAL	
	I		II		III		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Would Change for the Better	6	8.3	20	27.8	10	13.9	36	50.0
Would Change for the Worse	9	12.5	7	9.7	25	34.7	41	65.9
Would be the Same	35	48.6	28	38.9	21	29.2	84	118.7
Don't Know	22	30.6	17	23.6	16	22.2	55	76.2
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

development and with different degrees of openness to outside world.

What environmental conditions have blocked the peasants' perception of a better way of life?

Interpretation of the Findings:

Clearly as the data on Table II shows, there is indeed a causal relationship between 'past disappointments' and 'future expectations' suggesting further that Linton's assumptions and Brummel's observations about the interrelationships between past failures and the outlook for the future were basically correct.

However, a close look to the answers of the respondents shows that those who were previously critical of their past experiences (44 respondents) were slightly less pessimistic (41 respondents) with regard to their future chances. Also a considerable number of those who previously said, 'nothing has changed', this time expressed themselves saying, 'do not know', which may reveal the state of their psychological or perceptual uncertainty. In fact, some of the respondents were cautious and quick to qualify their negative answers stating that, "unless government did something' nothing would change or things will change for the worse...." Nevertheless, past failures and experiences do affect the future outlook but does not destroy the hopes for future improvements.

Assessment of the Answers:

1. In the I type of investigated peasant societies there were comparatively fewer respondents (8.3% compared to 27.8% in the II and 13.9% in the III type of villages) who thought that the range of possibilities open to them in the foreseeable future would be better than they had been in the past. (However, a slight increase of 1.4% from the previous 6.9% of respondents who expressed their satisfaction

in regard to their past experiences). This was in a way a very hopeful sign indicating a perception of future changes and anticipation of chances for a better life which proves contrary to Rostow's argument that, "tradition-bound societies are geared into a long-run fatalism".¹ However, it might be plausible to argue that those few who had relatively more access to the supplies of resources or economic goods and with relatively better economic opportunities and contact with outside world felt more confidence in their ability to appraise the future in an optimistic way. Particularly in Keklik Kayasi an Erzincan Village, peasants expressed their convictions saying that, 'changes for the good would come' or at least 'should come'.

Clearly, the extent of optimistic evaluation of the future by some of the respondents in each and different types of investigated peasant societies showed that there seemed to be a close relationship between one's economic conditions and the degree of confidence in the future outcome. This probably consequence might be due to the fact that, a healthy economic base affects future outlook positively and permits the individual to predict or appraise the future more optimistically than others.

Those respondents who said that they had experienced improvements in the past, (25.0% in the II and 9.7% in the III type of peasant societies) were again hopeful for future improvements along with some other respondents who had previously said that 'nothing had changed', for them in the past. 27.8% in the II and 13.9% in the III foresaw a potentially better future or at least said that the reality could be different after 10-15 years time. By comparison the most optimistic

¹ Walt. W. Rostow, Stages of Economic Growth, (Cambridge 1960) P.5

by far of the responses were received from the respondents in the II type of villages. Almost 18 respondents out of a total 72 people said that the last 10 years were good to them while 20 (20 of 72) were particularly optimistic with regard to their future chances. The most frequent positive answers were given by the respondents in the peasant communities of Erzincan province, probably largely due to the initial stimuli and the growing influence of a sugar factory in Erzurum - greater availability of irrigated land to grow sugar beets and cash crops, perception of growing market opportunities, and above all their rapid adaptability to changing economic circumstances. As a matter of fact there were several tractors and parked trailers in Keklikkayasi and Geyran Villages. People looked better dressed, relatively more sophisticated and some of the respondents even carried watches.* (When I asked some of the respondents in the area the distance to the city, they were remarkably accurate in their estimate of time and distance in km. This was an interesting observation when one compares with the findings of other researchers in some peasant societies of Turkey.²

*Possession of watches here should not be taken as 'status' objects. In fact it proves that they were time-conscious. It should be taken as an indication of their receptivity to modern concepts or at least a sign of a partial diffusion of an industrial culture.

²Muzaffer Sherif, a social psychologist who has conducted a series of studies on 'the scope of space, distance and time perceptions of some peasants in Turkey' has found that: "the villagers could estimate distances with any accuracy only in terms of travel by foot. The distance concept is more or less psychological and have no idea how these distances are.'

DANIEL LERNER 'The Passing of Traditional Society',
Collier - MacMillan Limited, London, 1958, p.p.11-135

Another interesting but less conclusive finding was that economic progress has been in those villages where there was a certain degree of differentiation in the social and economic structure and where land ownership was concentrated rather than equally distributed.* This above proposition could to a large extent be confirmed by a comparative analysis of the productivity and type of land ownership data of the inventory studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs.

To sum up, briefly, when the local resource base avails a better economic opportunities and outlook, peasants seem to become more favorably conscious of their future prospects and are more prepared to alter their way of life.

Also, the quality of their time horizon and receptivity to new ideas depend on satisfactory set of environmental conditions, motivational and value patterns, as well as the extent of market outlets, closeness to cities and availability of transportation and communications.

2. Respondents who were highly critical of their past experiences and dissatisfied with their present miseries, (9.7% in the I type of villages, 12.5% in the II and 28.9% in the III type respectively) did not think that future would be any better for them. (A majority of these respondents were equally reluctant to see their children to become farmers.) Clearly their expressed dissatisfaction with their

* Again, in Erzincan, Erzurum villages respondents frequently referred to their landlords as "AGA", suggesting that leadership is changing from feudal sheykh to a precapitalistic strong aga.

past and present performances seemed to lead them to search for an alternative outlet rather than to the melancholy state of indifference and lethargy. This observation is surely in contrast to Linton's basic proposition that, 'people who are disillusioned with past failures will no longer try to improve their economic conditions.

Particularly, some respondents in the III type of investigated peasant societies (Erzurum, G. Antep and Bitlis) who were sceptical about the future prospects were equally concerned with the future of their children. One respondent in Aziziye village in Erzurum talked of education as if it was a salvation from poverty, further stating that "there is no hope for us to live like human beings, at least we should save our children."³ When the same respondents were asked about their economic status, with the exception of a few who said they owned some land and animals, most of them, however, particularly in the III type of villages said that they were sharecroppers and tutma (landless workers.). Though they seemed to be much aware of their deprived economic states, they had no illusion about migrating to towns or getting jobs. It must be admitted that those who did not see the future as potentially better than the past did so under the influence of negative factors associated with unfavorable environmental conditions impairing their incentives leaving little scope for future optimism.

(3) Dr. Ismail Besikci, a sociology instructor at Atatürk University in Erzurum, in his published Ph.D. thesis has observed that among the younger members of nomadic tribes of Kurdish origin there was much desire to join the army in order to learn Turkish. One might infer from this observation that their real intention might very well be to prepare themselves for a new post-military economic life, e.g. job opportunities in towns, to escape poverty, to find opportunities to acquire new skills.

Here again, the relatively more acculturated younger respondents were more disillusioned about the probability of a better future prospects.

3. The majority of the respondents, particularly in the I type of villages, (48.6% in the I group, 38.9% in the II and 29.2% in the III respectively) viewed the future prospects as a repetition of past and present or possibly even a further deterioration in their socio-economic conditions. These typically undifferentiated responses were expressed more frequently by respondents of Kurdish origin in Bitlis, Mus and Agri area also by peasants in G. Antep and Erzurum. investigated communities who quite often refrained from making any judgments by simply saying, 'I don't know', 'or would be the same,' and retaining their uncompromising and rather highly stable attitudes throughout this interview. (*)

However, there were rather strong evidences to suggest that their static way of looking to the future to a large extent was a revelation of their rural environmental conditions, their motivational pattern and cultural values as well as the psychological nature of their rural existence. For instance, anyone who is familiar with peasants'

(*) Again, to be sure, to maintain the objectivity of this research work and to secure more reliable answers from the investigated peasants, prior to each interview respondents whenever possible were assured that I was not a government official and that I was there to conduct a research study for my educational requirements. Though I doubt, it might be feasible that some peasants might have displayed indifferent attitudes fearing to reveal their socio-economic conditions or in case of doubt answered at random in the politest possible way, that is, 'would be the same or I don't know'.

day-to-day existence would know that peasants particularly in those isolated communities are aware of time only in the cyclical and repetitive sense. And as it was repeatedly displayed during the present interview, majority of the respondents rarely used the 'future tense' in their conversations. This rather common observation and other findings along these lines have eminently practical significance for the research purpose of this study since they permit inferences as to some aspects of peasants' environmental characteristics, respondents' personal aspirations, their time horizons, preferences and values.

A Economic aspects:

One common characteristic feature of the investigated peasant population was that, they to a large extent, were concerned with day-to-day existence and seemed to be activated only during harvest cycles, seeding and animal breeding times. This rather routinized elementary equilibrium between peasants' economic life and natural and physical conditions - in the absence of modern communications and alternative economic opportunities - have conditioned peasants to perceive things and react to the world with a customary consciousness: What has been today will be the same tomorrow. In fact, even past events are usually remembered at accidental or incidental occasions whenever this repetitive pattern of rural existence is disturbed, e.g. earthquake, drought, draftcall, death of a sheykh etc. This rather incidentally disturbed living under elementary natural conditions has reinforced peasants' nondifferentiated outlook and has added up to a highly stable, tradition-bound and conservative attitude. These common characteristics are also reflected in their non-diversified outlook in social and economic matters, both in their perceptual behaviour and

monocultural farming operations.

Therefore it seems apparent that in order to have a greater scope of time horizon or better perception of potential opportunities in time, some environmental changes in socio-economic order are necessary so that potential opportunities can be exploited and brought into the 'cognitive structure' of the peasants.

B Social aspects:

Owing to their low level sophistication and backwardness of communication, peasants of traditional societies typically are not accustomed to expect or even aspire to any change in their social and economic positions. The undifferentiated outward features of their rural existence do not permit inferences as to some aspects of a better social and economic life. With notable exceptions, their social betters whom they could aspire to, are religious sheykhs who are more concerned with spiritual matters than any future economic prospects.*

In an environment of scarce resources coupled with poor transportation and communication facilities and rigid social structure, ability to imagine that reality could be different after some years or decade would seem a remote possibility.

C Cultural and religious aspects:

Another causal factor influencing peasants' future outlook and block their time horizon is their deep-rooted attachment to traditional values and their Islamic teaching whose principal philosophy is that,

* One notable finding of the present research study was that there seemed to be a visible correlation between scarcity of economic resources and the predominance of religious leaders and sheykhs.

"Heaven and faith will determine the course of events".

In the traditional-bound peasant societies, peasants motivational pattern and their future orientation are greatly shaped by the established institutional values which are derived from Islamic teachings and which in turn have reinforced a non-economic value orientation. During this particular interview, in the I type of villages, few respondents seemed to be capable of evaluating the past and the future, simply said: "Allah Kerim" or 'Future is in our Book' meaning that, 'That is as God wills' or 'Future is in the hands of Allah'. The same applies to many of the respondents at all levels who said that they would not know what or how people would live 10-15 years from now. Their short-time horizons and lack of future consciousness and compulsion might be due to certain cultural properties of Islam - which by definition means 'an attitude of surrender and submission to the will of Allah'.* The degree of imagination to appraise the abstract future and perception of economic opportunities permissible to evaluate its future prospects are absent. This situation is further perpetuated by the remoteness of their villages and other unfavorable environmental conditions.

4. The preceding discussions to a large extent also explain the behavioral pattern of the respondents who often displayed a peculiar incapability to appraise their future prospects or were at least unwilling to do so. Nearly all (30.6% in the I, 23.6% in the II, and 22.2% in the III type of peasant societies) respondents were

* Peasants in Eastern Turkey still continue to resort to rain prayers in times of drought.

reluctant to predict the future. However, some respondents were quick to say further that "unless government did something nobody knows what the future prospects would be". At least this shows that they were aware of their economic misery and might also be an indication of their preparedness to alter their way of life. Yet they did not seem to have the required initiative for self-help or they believed that it was up to them to change their destiny.

Further, as their post-interview remarks clearly showed, peasants' local resource bases were far too weak to permit them to look to the future prospects hopefully. Their common complaints were low productivity per acre as well as per family, small income, chronic shortage of funds, the narrowing in the environment of earning and living could hardly make one vigorous by the idea of remote future prospects. As J. S. Mill, a century ago said for the Irish peasants, "They can scarcely be either better off nor worse off by any act of their own."

Finally, a small number of respondents were extremely reluctant to judge their future prospects at all.

WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MOST
URGENT NEED FACING YOUR VILLAGE?*

The Assessment of the Question:

1. The purpose of this question was to discover the extent of the peasants' awareness of the problems of their village communities, those areas of tension, their communal needs as they see and express them from their individual viewpoints and experiences.

This was one of the key questions of the present field study, the aim of which was to point out further, the degree of peasants' consciousness of their needs, their perception and cognition of the chances for a better life.

2. Finally, after respondents' pointing out the needs facing their communities, to find out further, what type of practical remedies are likely to be in greatest thought among the representative individuals of the investigated rural population.

(This matter has been fully explored by subsequent questions.)

* I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Cevat Geray of the Faculty of Political Science, Ankara, Turkey for his suggestion of this as well as similar questions. Particularly this stage of the interview and field work profited from his suggestions. For a short enumeration, see the References.

Table III-1

Most Urgent Need Felt by the Peasants*	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land & Agri- cultural problems	33	24.62	51	27.71	69	33.01	153	85.34
Water	29	21.64	33	17.93	27	12.91	89	52.48
Road	13	9.70	18	9.78	11	5.26	42	24.74
Health and Sanitation	7	5.22	5	2.73	11	5.26	23	13.19
School and Education	5	3.73	11	5.97	17	8.13	33	17.83
Credit	7	5.23	29	15.77	37	17.72	73	38.68
Village Building (Mosque)	11	8.20	9	4.89	5	2.39	25	15.49
Animal Husbandry	5	3.74	14	7.61	17	8.13	36	19.48
Others	8	5.97	5	2.72	13	6.23	26	14.93
Don't Know	16	11.95	9	4.89	2	0.95	27	17.79
TOTAL	134	100.00	184	100.00	209	100.00	527	300.00

* The number of respondents add up to 527, since many respondents mentioned several needs facing their communities.

Interpretation of the Findings:

Table III-1 shows that by far the most frequent responses were in the order of land and agricultural problems. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents complained about the inadequacy and inferiority of existing small size of their holdings and diversified plots of land and generally a low level of infrastructural services, e.g. village roads, water and credits.*

Although the investigated communities and the population were in different developmental processes with varying degrees of experiences and outlook, yet one pervasive aspect of their needs appeared to be a feeling of land hunger. They all seemed to be conscious of their being poor and wanted land. Probably this desire was reinforced by the loss in productive capacity of their available plots caused by agricultural malpractices, parcelling of grazing lands and marginal lands as the passed through generations. (It seems that, as the observations during the field study showed, the expansion of agricultural land has reached

* Official studies, particularly the Ministry of Village Affairs inventory studies in Eastern Turkey show that:

- a. There is generally absence of adequate basic services
- b. Small holdings are in the majority
- c. Drinking water supply is limited and in some areas unhygienic
- d. Ox-drawn wooden plow and hoe agriculture are pre-dominant
- e. Widespread and disturbing soil erosion and inferior arable land
- f. A one-sided, non-diversified agricultural economy
- g. Incomplete cadastral survey, lack of clearly defined titles and rights of individual ownerships
- h. Gradual disappearance of common grazing lands, and cultivation of marginal lands.

Ministry of Village Affairs - Inventory Studies, Publications: 1-17
Seminar on the Economic Development and Problems of Eastern Turkey.
Turkish Chamber of Commerce, 1967. pp 161-180; 226-234; 264-305

its limit. Because there were stone fences all over in the investigated villages. Also, in recent years there has been land sale and purchase.)

Productivity of land was very low. I was told last summer that productivity of land in Siirt, Erzurum, Agri and Bitlis was 80-95 kg in wheat and 100-110 kg in barley per donum. Average meat output per livestock was 87 kg. The basic reasons seemed to be inferior soils as more uncultivable land was brought under cultivation to meet the needs of a rising population. Most of the peasants seemed to be working on land because they needed to work and make a living and not because of land required their work. Population pressure on land and general immobility of rural population were reflected in the gradual disappearance of grazing lands and growing number of sharecroppings.

Inadequacy of existing water supply, both drinking and irrigation in some areas, also appears to be a pervasive aspect of their basic needs. Particularly in the I type of villages which were largely confined to the mountainous, less fertile lands, water had become a matter of deep concern and anxiety. In fact in each interview, respondents first response was water, giving further evidences of recurrent periods of distress resulting from recurrent droughts of the past few years. Scarcity of water is and has always been the source of despair in rural Turkey evidenced by the fact that common prayers and salutations seem to contain and begin with water.

Respondents, particularly in villages, Mutluca of Bingol, Akcaoren of Agri Huseyin Aga of Erzurum provinces complained basically of scarcity of drinking water. Whereas in villages, Aziziye of Erzurum, Hacibayram and Geyran of Erzincan and Tamburah of G. Antep complained about either of lack of indiscriminatory benefit of irrigation water use, but mostly lack of irrigation water due to apparent cash cropping and gardening practices in those peasant societies.

Mostly the need for credit was expressed by the respondents in the II, (15.77%) and in the III (17.72%) type of peasant communities. The most frequent reply, however, was the unfavorable conditions of getting a loan. The absence of intermediate and long-term credit facilities have also reinforced the widespread of rural indebtedness particularly in (Kumluca village) in Mus, (Tamburah and Aydinoglu villages) in Gaziantep.*

Those who mentioned mosque were mostly in Tekpinar and Adabag villages and were less concerned with other problems.

School and education were brought about mostly by the respondents of the II and III type of investigated population. This might be again due to their differentiated social and economic outlooks, their consciousness of changing times and their openness to outside world.

However, the close relationship between their consciousness of the changing socio-cultural and economic environmental influences and their desire for education for their children could mean, as the answers given by the same respondents to another question, showed that they were also not in favor of seeing their children to become farmers. Education was considered by one respondent as to be useful only for those who should live and work in towns!

Although nearly all of the peasant communities classified in the

* In some villages, particularly Tamburah and Aydinoglu villages of Gaziantep, peasant indebtedness has reached a point where debt payments are in land rather than cash at about 1/3 of its value. Also in the mountainous villages, so I was told, merchants gave credit in return for sheep and wool at exorbitant interest rates. The examination of official credit facilities obviously show that current credit system and lending practices of both institutional and non-institutional sources leave a great deal to be desired.

I group did not have schools, only 5 persons made mention of school, which indicate either their little faith and appreciation of education or their unawareness and partly opposition to any measure which might upset their status quo.

Respondents who mentioned animal husbandry and general needs related to livestock - particularly Aziziye, Tekpınar villages in Erzurum and Konuktepe in Agri basically complained about shortage of animal feeding supply.* (In fact, 1969 summer was indeed bad time for livestock raisers. Crop shortages resulting from droughts had resulted in a widespread insufficiency of feeding supply in Eastern Turkey. Attempts were already being made by government to ship animal food supply from Konya, Kayseri and Cukurova region.)

Respondents who said, 'Other needs' - mostly in Mus were again asked to refine their answers. Their responses sounded problematic and are given in the order of their frequency:

- a. Unemployment (11 persons) - Mus, Erzincan
- b. Landlessness (9 persons) - Mus, Erzincan, G. Antep
- c. Arbitrary government measures (2 persons) - Mus**

(Those who mentioned unemployment said that they were idle 5-9 months each year.)

* Last summer, I witnessed at two occasions, peasants who seemed to be desperate to sell their weakened livestock, slaughtered their livestock right in the market place, skinned them and put on display for sale. Also at that time newspapers gave wide coverage of mass slaughters of livestock due to the shortage of feeding supply as well as the result of saturation of the seasonal markets.

** This was an interesting finding. Because when I was in the Army in Muş in 1958, there was a widespread dispute and bitter reaction among the Kurds concerning government's decision to resettle Black Sea peasants in Bulamk district of Muş and Tatvan of Bitlis. The resettlement of these emigrants on the Muş plains had caused, and seemed to still cause frustration to local peasants and the settlement of titles have not been agreed upon by both parties. Attempts to enforce such claims by force have resulted in either violence or protection by illicit means. The local people complained that they lost their grazing lands as a result of the settlement of the Black Sea peasants. Neither the local peasants nor the emigrants have been able to establish a constructive cooperation due to failure of government officials to conduct an orderly study of the local customs and assessing the socio-cultural, physical and other environmental conditions.

In contrast, respondents who said 'don't know' mostly in the I type of villages seemed to be either unconcerned and indifferent to rural needs and issues or did not want to answer at all.

The point of concern was that, while the majority of the respondents in the I type of villages complained and talked about landlessness and hardship of rural living both for them and for their animals and many in the II and III type of communities resented the absence of transportation and communication facilities and unemployment, there were some who were solely concerned with the need of mosque.

General Observations and Final Remarks:

The most common observation during the present field work and study was the geographical and economic isolation of the majority of the peasant societies. The most familiar sight, with certain notable exceptions, was the irregular lands and mudbrick villages located on the slopings, lying undisturbed. The evidences of exhausted and barren lands and costly agricultural production in terms of sweat and wasted human energy was disturbing. And the weak looking cattle looked smaller and all seemed to be sharing the rural poverty with their poor owners. The peasants, except those living in the fertile valleys, lived in grinding poverty, attempting to wrest an existence from their uneconomic holdings and exhausted lands. Their communities mostly suffered all the consequences of a poor location, poor transportation, inferior physical and an unfavorable socio-cultural and economic environmental condition, each feeding upon each other.

Yet there were few peasant societies in Eastern Turkey that did not show some evidences of a growing interchange with the outside world. As a consequence of this socio-cultural intercourse, particularly in the II and III type of the investigated villages, the people of these peasant societies seemed to have become self-conscious.* Even government officials who were occasionally consulted during the present study admitted that there had never been before so much discontentment, not due to the rising misery only, but because of the increased knowledge of how town people live.

The gradual breaking down of their self-sufficiency, both in economical and socio-psychological areas, has hastened their awakening with a whole complex of new wants for their arising needs. However, in almost all of these peasant communities, aspirations seemed to be growing much more rapidly than their accomplishments. Their consumption consciousness has outweighed their productivity consciousness.

The sad thing was that there seemed to be very few conscious performance groups or path finders who could initiate peasants to move with their own efforts or through their own willingness to risk additional effort to achieve the desired goals rather than waiting endlessly for the government to make improvements for them.

*During the informal discussions that usually followed every interview with the peasants, the common aspect of their complaints were mostly in the following matters:

- a. Government do not care for us, do not consider us as human beings
- b. Grazing lands are rapidly disappearing and there is inadequate feed supply
- c. The value of money is decreasing, we cannot meet our both ends
- d. Promises on cadastral surveys and registration of titles are not fulfilled.
- e. Absence of either a written lease, contractual obligations or accepted right of tenure.

(In Tamburah, Aydinoglu and Bakirca villages of G. Antep, the number of tenants who have cultivated the same plot of land for more than three years, I was told, were only 2.)

~~WHO~~ DO YOU GO TO SEE WHEN YOU HAVE A PROBLEM?

Assessment of the Question:

A The research aim pursued in this question was:

1. To find out the actual decision-making elements in the investigated peasant societies;
2. The extent of their openness to outside help; the degree of their dependence on others and the level of cooperation and relationship between officials and the peasants.

A knowledge of the peasants' attitudes and their preparedness to accept socio-economic aid and suggestions could explain the behavioral patterns of peasants which are closely connected with their socio-economic progress, e.g. attitudes and the possibility of an orderly disintegration of their socio-economic structure. It might also help to find out who were the qualified and influential persons that could be carriers of innovation.

B In the pretest villages, respondents were comparatively more concerned with financial matters and help. For that reason, in the actual field work, the respondents were also asked the following specific question: ~~WHO~~ DO YOU GO TO WHEN YOU NEED A LOAN?

Table IV-1

Who Do You Go To See When You Have A Problem	RESPONDENTS							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Muhtar	7	9.7	13	18.1	12	16.7	32	44.5
Village Elders	10	13.9	8	11.1	5	6.9	23	31.9
Aga	2	2.8	7	9.7	11	15.3	20	27.8
Sheikh	11	15.3	13	18.1	4	5.6	28	39.0
Veterinerian	-	-	1	1.4	4	5.6	5	6.9
Government Official	3	4.2	4	5.6	7	9.7	14	19.4
Town Merchant	-	-	8	11.1	12	16.7	20	27.8
Agricultural Bank	-	-	3	4.2	2	2.8	5	7.0
No One	33	45.8	13	18.1	10	13.9	56	77.7
Others	6	8.3	2	2.8	5	6.9	13	18.0
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Does Not Know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

Interpretation and Evaluation of the Findings:

A 1. The answers to this question generally indicate that the general village establishment - Muhtar, Village elders, Aga together with the Sheykh rank high in the scale of peasants' preferences and their dependence on the decision of their conventional leaders. The views expressed by the respondents, perhaps not so much consciously, were that, seniority and obedience to authority were more important than the wisdom of government officials or the economically productive and technically efficient ones.* The need to refer to conventional wisdom on such matters like disease, farming, animal husbandry even if these conventional leaders had no competence on these matters or the nature of their procedure, make the decision-making process less efficient, de-emphasize independence and initiative and inquisitiveness. The individual peasants did not seem to have initiative to act differently and limited their desire to undertake measures which were unfamiliar without the need for a general social approval or at least the approval of certain selective elements in the peasant societies.

The reliance on the conventional leaders was quite understandable in the I type peasant societies which were organized around the

* A veterinerian whom I met in Agri complained about the lack of cooperation on the part of the peasants, stating that 'although much of the sheep in the area suffered from various kinds of diseases, veterinerian services were not well received by the peasants and they do not respond to outside veterinerian assistance. However, when I discussed this matter with some respondents, they told me that they were experts on curing animal disease. However, the basic reasons for their unwillingness to accept or rely on veterinerian experience might lie in their bitter memories and the image of government officials as tax collectors. Also the low prestige of government officials due to their past inefficiency might have weakened their incentives and desires to look beyond their own village boundaries.

preservation of the status quo, and where peasants mostly identified themselves with their tribal or family elders. Particularly in Seyithanbey village in Agri, Cokeyazi in Bitlis, Huseyin Aga village in Erzurum, there seemed to be a considerable identification of the respondents with their feudal leaders.

However, in the II and especially in the III type of villages, where the social structure, values and economic orientations have shown a degree of a gradual deviation from customary practices as a consequence of their openness to outside world, there seemed to be more willingness to refer to outside sources for the solution of their problems.

The findings of this particular interview and various consultations with local government officials showed that, there was not much contact and relationship between government and peasants. In fact, majority of the respondents interviewed particularly in Degirmen village in Bitlis, Akcaoren village in Agri, nearly in all the investigated communities of Gaziantep - reproachfully complained that their need for government assistance fell on the deaf ears of the government officials. The main complaint which was nearly repeated elsewhere was that government had not fulfilled its promises.*

* Government agencies, especially the Toprak-Su personnel have been attempting to shoulder responsibility and exercise leadership for economic improvements in their sphere of operation. However, during this field study I had the opportunity to visit some villages with some Toprak-Su engineers. I got the impression that they, especially the new crop of engineers seemed to be giving so many hopes and promises during their discussions with the peasants which they could hardly back up, at least, without the consent and financial approval of the central government.

The failure of government officials to carry out the promised help has reduced the confidence of the peasants. Unfortunately, peasants still feel suspicious and distrust towards the good-willed officials whose only fault seemed to be their failure to comprehend the significance of peasants' aspirations and their long-felt needs.

The so-called 'Salma' drives - compulsory peasant participation in their development schemes - to get peasants to do this or that was said to be common, regardless of peasants' interests. In fact no less than half of the respondents complained about officials who had never approached peasants with sympathy and understanding. It was more than once that respondents expressed their lack of confidence in the motives of government officials to help their village communities. The extent of disharmony and lack of mutual understanding between village people and the attitudes of government agents could hardly stimulate cooperation.*

Town Merchants: By far the most frequent answer given by the respondents in the II (11.1%) and III type of villages (16.7%) indicate that the closer the villages to city and towns and higher the degree of availability of transportation, there seemed to be more dependence on town and city merchants.

The relationship between peasants and merchants, as I have learned,

* Especially peasants of Kurdish origin, since they could not communicate well, they did not seem to have much contact with government officials. They had no way of finding an outlet for their dissatisfaction. M. E. Bozarslan, a preacher, in his recent book on the Problems of Eastern Turkey reports: 'A Landlord acquires a common grazing land for cultivation. When the peasants decide to report this illegality to the government authorities, Aga's men threaten them with charges that they will be reported for insulting K. Atatürk.'

were very important in terms of its effect on the ownership structure of land, the nature and composition of output. During the discussions that followed each interview, respondents mentioned names of multiple town merchants with whom they did their commercial and financial transactions. It seemed that their intimate relationships with town merchants far exceeded any ordinary trade. There was a face-to-face business transaction which seemed to be including social welfare, financial help, insurance, postal service and all sorts of mutual reliance. Many had borrowed money on a personal basis - that is on mutual acquaintance, confidence, respect with merchants with whom they had traded. It is a common knowledge in Eastern rural Turkey, that, many peasants contract their future crops and livestock for an advance borrowing. The merchants in general had recourse to the peasants' land and personal property if they failed to deliver the contracted produce. However, in the present study respondents mentioned that they had borrowed from the merchants on a very small scale.

In view of the growing influence and relationship between peasants and town merchants, the future of these peasant societies might depend in large measure how much this relationship would foster increased agricultural production and contribute to the attainment of the goals of the agricultural development plan for the future.

Finally, by far the largest percentage of peasants (33%) in the I type, (13%) in the II and (10%) in the III type of villages answered the question saying 'no one'. This seemingly passive attitude and apathy might be regarded as a reflection of their low level of wants rather than their resourcefulness or general level of satisfaction. For respondents who answered this way were mostly from Bitlis, Mus and Agripeasant communities and they looked really poor.

Further remarks on the influence of the conventional leaders on the
decision-making process

The extent of the influence of the conventional leaders, as decision-making units or opinion leaders may well shed light on the socio-economic and cultural environmental conditions of the investigated peasant societies.

Firstly, their basic way of life and the history of their cultural past reflect their deep attachment to their customary leaders and their authority. Every peasant community has its opinion leaders, whether they be Sheykh, Muktar, Aga, or village elders, it is hard to deny the cohesive role and economic functions performed by them e.g. giving grain and credit to peasants in times of drought and crop shortage also in settling rural conflicts. These leaders' judgment, especially the Sheikhs virtually affect the well-being and the security of the village community. Their jurisdiction extends also to many social and economic affairs. Very rarely would any dispute be brought to the attention of an outsider and 'recourse to the courts are rarely known among peasants who even today settle their dispute among themselves by the traditional wisdom of their leaders.' The image of the authority of village elders is well established in this eastern saying: 'These ways are right', or 'Do not take the crooked road, nor the straight path; take the road of your elders.' As a consequence, and 'because they have always done so', such socialization processes, experience is well respected. Peasants understand and feel secure with their conventional leaders. So 'they are more likely to accept instructions which originate at home through the leaders they trust.'

To be sure, except in few social matters, the village leaders are not well-suited to initiate innovations. But their ascribed status put

them in charge of productive arrangements, methods of selection. In general, the farming practices of the peasants in Eastern Turkey are functionally diffused and it is difficult for any member to acquire depth in skills and specialization.

On the other hand as mentioned earlier, conventional leaders are non-experimental in their attitudes and guided by faith and their teaching promote little imagination, nor aspire their followers for better husbandry. However, they must perform their leadership function in economic matters in order to assure themselves of a degree of security and respect among their followers.

B Who Do You Go To When You Need A Loan

Assessment of the Question:

The purpose of this question is to examine the various sources of loans, institutional and noninstitutional credit market in the investigated peasant societies. Each of the sources and answers mentioned by the respondents will be evaluated briefly proceeding in the order of their relative importance.

Interpretation of the Findings:

Table IV-2 shows that in the I type of villages, peasants seemed to borrow mostly from relatives and friends, (19.4%), village shopkeeper (6.9%) and other sources (12.5%). The relative importance of these different sources could not be determined. However, as other studies conducted in various parts of Turkey show, it is plausible to argue that it was uncommon to use these loans other than for specific short-term needs such as going to towns, marriage of a son, consumption purposes or to pay off due debts with the borrowed money.

Those who indicated that they had borrowed from no one, 58.3% should not be taken they were dipping into their own savings. They might have concealed the fact that they had borrowed. Or their meagre resources might have sufficed for their hand-to-mouth needs. It was hard to tell, however, some respondents might not have the security or guarantee in terms of possessions to back up their loan applications. And consequently, were unable to borrow.

Table IV - 2

WHO DO YOU GO TO WHEN YOU NEED A LOAN?	R E S P O N D E N T S					
	I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agricultural bank or credit coop	-	-	3	4.2	2	2.8
Landlord	2	2.8	17	23.6	28	38.9
Merchant (town or city)	-	-	13	18.1	18	25.0
Friends or relatives	14	19.4	13	18.1	14	19.4
Village shopkeeper	5	6.9	6	8.3	-	-
Others	9	12.5	5	6.9	2	2.8
No-one	42	58.3	15	20.8	8	11.1
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0

The credit provided by the village shopkeepers seemed to be on a very small scale. Only (6.9%) in the I type and (8.3%) in the II type of peasant communities respondents said they had borrowed from the village grocery.*

Only (4.2%) in the II and (2.8%) in the III type of villages respondents said that they had borrowed from the institutional credit sources. This might reflect the unavailability of institutional credit in the present communities. It is also a known fact that the banks in

*However, the village shopkeeper have been a favorite target of many rural-inspired authors in recent years:

1. Mahmut Makal: A Village in Anatolia
London, Valentine, Mitchell & Co. 1954, p.142
2. Bahattin Aksit: Az Gelismis Kapitalizm
M.E.T.U. Press, 1966 Aukara, pp.97
3. Ismail Besikci: Dogunun Duzeni
E. Yaymlau, Ankara, 1969
4. M. Emin Bozarslan: Dogunun Sorunlari
Safah Kitapevi, Diyarbaku, 1966 pp.42-43
5. Yasar Kemal:

The following dialogue from a story by Yasar Kemal entitled, "The shopkeeper" is an example:

"Listen to me, Uncle," he said. "It is that scoundrel who is ungrateful. Doesn't he sell his wares to us twice the price in town? Now, doesn't he?"

"It is credit my son! Who'd do that for us in the town."

Anatolian Tales,

London, Collins & Hawill Press, 1968, p.154

Turkey asks for a property mortgage, as security on loans. This might discourage peasants to apply for loan when so many have unregistered titles of landownership.*

A large portion of the loans received in these villages, (23.6% in the II) and (38.9% in the III) were from landlords, (Aga). It is quite possible that a large portion of these loans were in fact a part of landlord's obligation to finance operational expenses of sharecroppers for their purchase of production inputs. In fact, it was in these type of investigated communities that there were widespread polarization and concentration of land ownership as well as a significant number of landless peasants.**

The money lending business, as a number of studies show, is also carried out by some Aga's absentee landlords on part-time basis. This

*In areas where there were no cooperatives, short-term operating loans are said to be made directly by the Agricultural Banks. Those who received loans were more or less affluent farmers, probably those few who had better financial risks and owned large size of lands. It might also be possible to assume that some of these credits received by these landlords were reloaned to peasants at a higher rate. For, all the statistical signs showed that there was no functional relationship between the availability of credits and the level of private agricultural investment and expenditure on production inputs. Also it is plausible to argue that, the bulk of credit extended by the bank were of short-time duration unsuitable for intermediate financing, such as purchase of draft animals, agricultural implement nor investment financing, such as land improvement and irrigation.

[Look: James E. Blalock, Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture
Economic Planning Division. USAID/Ankara
May 1969. pp.36, 37, 43

Also these facts are stated in the following Agricultural Bank Publications:
AGRICULTURAL BANK, AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND SALES. COOPERATIVES in 1967,
Department of Cooperatives Publi. No: 41 Ankara 1968, pp.27

**As occasionally referred in this study, the sharecropping agreement, so called "Yaricilik" - which is the most commonly practiced sharecropping in the whole Eastern Turkey require the landlord to provide land, seed and in certain cases offer credit as commonly named, 'Operational capital'. At the end of harvesting, the produce was shared on 50:50 basis without separating the seed previously delivered by the landlord. In addition, the sharecropper is required to pay his debt in due time either in kind or in cash.

fact was also confirmed by the respondents in Tamburah Village in Gaziantep and Arakonak village in Mus. In some cases control of credit by landlords had ended up with the loss of land by the peasants. (This problem has been dealt in another part of this study.)

With regard to borrowing from town or city merchants: (18.1% in the II type) and (25% in the III type), respondents explicitly stated that there was a sort of reciprocity between peasants and the merchants. Briefly, merchants either rendered credit on the basis of peasants' livestock or his crop in the field or extended credit through the sale of production inputs and capital goods on an installment basis.⁽¹⁾ In all cases merchants' loans were keyed to providing short-term credit or seasonal maintenance of their existing level of consumption. A case in point was that merchants reaped high economic dividends in both ways. First, by contracting peasants' crops in the field paying the farmer a lower price than the anticipated price at harvest time. Second by over-invoicing their sale of agricultural equipment in order to conceal the high interest charge.⁽²⁾ For which a respondent referring to his growing indebtedness said sadly, 'when I borrowed from the town merchant, I said, Allah must be thanked for his good people. Now I say Allah kerim - May God take care the rest ...'

(1) and (2) For further details, see: James E. Blalock,
Capital and Finance in Turkish Agriculture

USAID/Ankara, May 1969. pp.45

See also: Lyle P. Fettig, C. B. Baker and Hasan Eroglu

Farm Organization and Income of Farm Families in a Modernized
Turkish Village (Preliminary draft) Sept. 30 1966

WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST AS THE BEST WAY OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS FACING
YOUR VILLAGE?

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to find out:

- a. What type of practical solutions are likely to be in greatest thought in the minds of the respondents and to inquire how these proposals are likely to be instituted and carried out within the peasant community.
- b. The degree and extent of the peasants ability and willingness to take up the challenge by their local rural problems and their ability to formulate a meaningful and workable strategy for the development of their agriculture.
- c. Finally what are their basic attitudes, their methods to solve their problems.

Does there exist or can there be created in time a climate for a constructive involvement of the peasants in their rural development programs.?

Interpretation of the Findings:

The research goal of this question, among others, was also to find out to what extent rural value pattern and socio-economic conditions influenced peasants' preparedness to alter their way of life. It was also assumed that dissatisfaction with the past misery and present experiences might stimulate greater initiative and effort among dissatisfied peasants to bring about changes in their existing socio-economic affairs.

Table VI shows that practically almost more than two-thirds of the respondents expressed in one way or another, the view that it was up to the government and officials alone to provide solutions to their rural problems. This attitude of expediency was displayed more frequently

Table V - 1

What Would You Suggest as the Best Way of solving your Problems*	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing can be done	9	12.3	7	5.9	11	8.9	27	27.1
By Community Co-operation	10	13.7	13	11.0	5	4.0	28	28.7
By Government Alone	7	9.6	31	26.3	43	34.7	81	70.6
By Government - Peasant Cooperation	5	6.8	17	14.4	13	10.5	35	31.7
By Government Providing Material and Equipment	9	12.3	13	11.0	8	6.5	30	29.8
By Assistance from Outside of Village	2	2.7	7	5.9	11	8.9	20	17.5
By Village Authorities	11	15.2	15	12.7	21	16.9	47	44.7
Others	6	8.2	4	3.4	9	7.3	19	18.9
Don't Know	14	19.2	11	9.3	3	2.4	28	30.9
TOTAL	73	100.0	118	100.0	124	100.0	315	300.0

*The number of respondents exceeds 216, since many respondents offered more than one suggestion.

by respondents with relatively more contact with outside world and lived in socio-economically more differentiated peasant communities.

In contrast, respondents in the I group of villages owing perhaps to their long conditioning of the physical and psychological isolation of their tradition-bound communities e.g. - the necessity of autonomy and economic self-sufficiency - showed relatively more stable attitudes of 'holding to their own.'

1. Some respondents, (12.3% in the I type; 5.9% in the II and 8.9% in the III type of peasant societies) almost reproachfully said that 'nothing could be done.' This rather unexpected negative reaction particularly among the younger respondents in the III type of villages, seemed to indicate two different types of reaction and mode of behavior within and among the investigated peasant population.

i. In the first type of investigated communities, the underlying cause might be due to their passive and unenlightened interest in their communal affairs, that, 'it was not up to them to change the course of events.'

ii. However, in the case of II and II type of villages, respondents' negative reactions might be largely a reflection of the imbalances between their 'rising expectations' and their 'declining achievements', One could find multiple examples from such similar reactions shown by certain group of respondents during the present interview who persistently revealed a quality of unfulfillment and a spirit of futility of effort. This sense of defeat and disillusionment particularly expressed among the younger respondents do not seem to be encouraging on the chances of a promising future outlook in the investigated peasant societies.

2. However, the by far the most frequently expressed view was the anticipation of government assistance and a desire for the help and the leadership role of the village authorities. The extent of reliance on the 'parental role of various authorities', as the Table shows, varied from 'assistance from outside of village', e.g. provincial government and district officials:- (2.7% in the I); (5.9% in the II) and (8.9% in the III); government providing material and equipment: (12.3% in the I); (11% in the II); and (6.5% in the III); joint government and peasant cooperation: (6.8% in the I); (14.4% in the II); (10.5% in the III). However, an overwhelming majority of the respondents, distinctively in the III type of villages: 34.7% in the III, in contrast to 9.6% in the I and 26.3% in the II type of villages, expected direct government role. Together with those who expected financial and leadership functions to be performed by their rural authorities, e.g. Aga, Muhtar: (15.1% in the I), (12.7% in the II), and (16.9% in the III) brought the level of total expectancy of government aid. This attitude of taking government help all for granted is beyond any consideration of economic advisability. Particularly when these findings were compared with the research findings in the other parts of Turkey, one would realize the magnitude of dependence and passivity of the peasant people on government aid is a common trait of peasant societies of Turkey.*

*Please see the questionnaire findings on page 389.

When the expressed dependence on direct government help and role was analyzed and identified on the basis of answers given by the respondents, one sees that comparatively a greater majority of them were from the III type of villages which were relatively more differentiated in their socio-economic outlook and with relatively better communication and transportation facilities. In fact, respondents from G. Antep and particularly in Erzincan areas of Turkish origin and a few respondents from Mus Province who seemingly knew more about the local and regional problems than the others, were adamant and expressed the view that, 'As long as government did nothing, nothing would change.'*

A close study of the answers given by the respondents in different type of investigated peasant societies indicate that: 1. Generally, there is lack of individual responsibility and initiative associated with the respondents' anticipation of leadership and parental help from their village authorities. In the I type of tradition-bound villages the need to refer to local leaders on every minor matter is essentially the product of their authoritarian nature, e.g. counselling sheykh or elders on every sphere of social and economic life. This attitude of peasants is understandable when one knows that the peasants particularly in tradition-bound societies have never known participating in decision making process in

*Even some respondents in G. Antep and Mus villages were rather cynical about peasants' responsibilities and the idea of peasants' participation in their rural developmental schemes. One respondent said: 'Why should rural folk build his school, repair his village road or implement any rural programme while the city folks are not required to participate or undertake similar works in towns?' Another respondent who seemed to be furious about urban minded officials said: 'What do these city men know about our problems?'

This lack of sense of cooperation between government officials and peasants could be attributed to the imperfect knowledge and lack of imagination of government officials and the absence of an effective or acceptable channel of communication between peasants and government officials.

any area of life. This would mean that the values of community authorities would affect the manner in which way and in what measures peasants would participate or react to the problems around them. The observations made during this field study confirmed the commonly realized fact that, village elders and traditional authorities have not exercised great wisdom or foresight in tackling the root of rural economic problems. They have neither shown much understanding in motivating their followers along a pattern of productive effort nor in adopting long-term measures suitable to peasants' long-felt needs. There were many indications during the field study that the traditional authorities have not been able to perceive or show willingness to use their authorities for improving rural economic situation. Equally, their traditional authority have exerted a retarding effect on many aspects of rural progress.*

It might be quite plausible to argue that those respondents who were reluctant to offer any opinion on the methods or policy proposals for the solution of their rural problems, (19.2% in the I type); (9.3% in the II); and (2.4% in the III) type of villages, along with those who said: 'Nothing could be done,' or 'as long as government did something, nothing would change', might have said them in discordance or disapproval of the existing rigid traditional environment which gave little scope for the fulfillment of newly discovered needs or any outlet for a constructive

*In matters such as birth control, desegregated village education, even womens' going to doctors in case of illness and other rural economic and social matters, the position of village religion and traditional authorities is well publicized in the literature dealing with rural Turkey. Religious leaders also pass judgement on medical, social and legal matters, also on cases on which Koran had remained silent. However, there are also many examples where the religious leaders and village elders are in a mood of resignation, seemingly have adopted the teaching of Krishna that, 'The Good is not to Act.'

dissatisfaction. It might equally be the outcome of a widening gap between their growing needs and their meagre economic conditions. One hopeful sign that seemed to be reflected from the respondents' preceding reaction, particularly in the I type of villages was that, the social and psychological climate of their rural setting are undergoing erosion and at least their expectations of outside help, and to a degree shows that its autonomous and rigid structure is gradually giving away.

Quite similarly but for different reasons, the respondents particularly in the III type of villages who had anticipated the Aga, Muhtar or other village authorities to provide the much needed help might have done so because of their growing awareness of the economic disparity between these control groups whose concentration of economic power had led to steeper inequalities in social and political relationships within their communities.*

Another quite relevant argument might be that, as it was repeatedly referred by some respondents in connection to another question, government initiated drives to get peasants to do this or that, e.g. construction and maintenance of village roads or schools and other self-help schemes through Imece - (voluntary contribution or participation) or Salma - (compulsory participation in rural development programmes) -

*The observation made during the present field study repeatedly showed that, in those villages which had easy access to modern transportation and communication and easier access to market outlets and cities had a greater degree of differentiation in their land ownership structure with a considerable number of sharecroppers and landless workers.

had not been enthusiastically received by the peasants. This lack of involvement in the community affairs might be largely due to the fact that , it does not occur to the peasants that the benefits that would accrue from their labor would bring much benefit to their families relative to other economically better-off beneficiaries. This could happen when peasants feel that they are not a part of the economic system.*

Another interesting finding of this research was that, as the table shows, the degree of voluntary cooperation and mutual assistance was more common in the I and II type of peasant communities. (13.7%) in the I and (11.0%) in the II, in contrast to only (4.0%) in the III type of villages mentioned community cooperation and mutual self-help. It seems evident that voluntary contributions and 'communal participation' were an exception rather than rule in those villages which had relatively more contact with outside world, with relatively more differentiated social and economic outlook.

Respondents in the I and II type of villages, perhaps acting under the influence of their cultural values which promoted mutual dependence and assistance, demonstrated relatively more willingness for joint effort and communal participation in their rural development. However, the prevailing socio-economic climate in the first type of investigated communities reveal in essence that there seemed to exist little stimuli

*A close study of the data of the Inventory Studies of the Ministry of Village Affairs would also confirm these finding. The data shows that in the relatively prosperous villages with a wide differentiation in land ownership and wealth, the degree of collective responsibility - community participation in rural development schemes - particularly voluntary contributions are minimal.

This weakening of voluntary contributions and mutual help understanding might also be due to the loosening of group and community obligations and relationships as a result of growing socio-cultural and economic intercourse with the outside world.

to promote self-help and little organizational consciousness to mobilize their community spirit for economic ends.

It was indeed a sad experience to observe these contrasting evidences in these economically deprived peasant societies. What usually strikes most is to know how much could have been done to alleviate poverty if only the peasants were stimulated to mobilize their mutual help spirit that presently have no economic value, for the satisfaction of wants and needs that they might eventually value.

Respondents from (Araknak village) in Mus and (Aziziye village) in Erzurum, particularly the peasants of Black Sea origin who seemed to be conditioned and socialized for mutual dependence showed greatest inclination for self and communal help. What really differentiated these Black Sea emigrants from their majority counterparts with regard to active involvement in their community improvement was their awareness of their minority status which in turn enhanced their desire to act in a deliberate and concerted fashion to improve their economic beings. Their attitudes are well expressed in their village saying, that, "One should keep moving in order to stand still."

The most important point of interest and indeed the heart core of the problem facing this research was to determine the underlying complex forces behind peasants' tendencies of relying so much on the government and the government authorities alone for assistance in every matter, instead of joining forces with fellow peasants in cooperation in their rural development schemes. Why is there so little realization of the need for self-help - either collectively or individually, in performing functions and providing services for their rural development?

Last summer, the local officials who were occasionally consulted during the field study also complained about the lack of initiative on the part of the peasants who have become virtually entirely dependent on the government for the fulfillment of their needs. The findings of the recent Turkish Village Survey, for instance, indicate that the peasants expect the government to take major responsibility for problems facing their communities, not only in the matter of roads and drinking water, but even village housing.¹

The extensive research and study on rural culture, particularly on Eastern Turkey carried out prior and after the present field research suggested that, the need to refer to government and other authorities is the product of a complex socio-economic, political and psychological forces which should be scrutinized here. The following survey should also identify the specifically causal factors which are particularly responsible for specific types of peasant behavior.

One of the underlying factors behind peasants' expectation of government assistance and their expressed tendencies towards dependency and passivity is largely the outcome of the 'parental' or 'big brother' role subscribed by the central government.* Instead of helping the

(1) Frederick Frey - Rural Development Research Project
Preliminary Report, (Reproduction) p.23

* Peasants in rural Turkey have a common term for State: Devlet Baba which means Father or parental figure.

peasants to help themselves or creating developmental forces within the peasants' socio-economic structure, central government continuously attempts to supervise and interpose in every minor matter. This attitude has often defeated the very purpose of government's set objectives. There is no one single aspect of rural life where the influence of government could not be traced. For instance The General Directorate of Local Government in the Ministry of Interior attempts to control local activities ranging from the grazing of mountain pastures to the appointment of village Imams (preachers).⁽²⁾ Even the establishment of village cooperatives has to have the approval of government authorities and up to recently the initiative for cooperative movements had to come from the Agricultural Bank authorities.

One can hardly denounce the peasants who have consciously or unconsciously been conditioned or rationalized to expect, request or adjust to government's initiative and wisdom.

The lack of initiative on the part of the peasants could also be attributed to the imperfect knowledge of the government officials who suffered from lack of imagination and persuasion. Very often rural development programmes are promised or dropped upon the rural population with considerable fanfare and publicity about the material benefits without any consideration of local socio-economic or cultural environmental conditions. The high-handed attempts of promising the end results and

(2) Lynton K. Caldwell - "Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration", edited by W. J. Siffin, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1959. Also appears in "The Turkish Administration", AID, Ankara, p.50

Mr. Caldwell also argues that the maze of detailed and largely negative regulations of the local government loses all possibility to contribute to effective and responsible local government.

heightening peasants' expectations without due consideration to their attitudes of mind, habits of work or their long-felt interests and needs. This unenlightened unilateral interest of the government agents in peasants' welfare has generated a situation whereby they were either forced into or chosen to wait for the end results in an attitude of anticipated resignation.*

If progress is to become a reality in rural Turkey, the desire for economic betterment and the initiative to participate in rural development schemes must be generated within the rural society itself through the constructive involvement of the peasants both by their participation in the decision-making process, as well as for the carrying out mutually beneficial development projects.

Another relevant underlying factor which has encouraged peasants' tendencies towards dependency and passivity is the cultural climate of the rural environment which left no incentive for the freedom of the individual to act independently. The environmental influences do not seem to stir nor encourage peasants' imagination or initiative to put personal action into the forefront of their cultural values.

*Some local authorities who were occasionally consulted during the present field study complained that the failure of village development programmes were generally the fault of the peasants who either did not shoulder their share of burden in the projects, or Muhtar was incapable of enforcing the duties listed in the Village Law. However, informal discussions with the peasants and village heads gave me the impression that some projects were not carried during their idle seasons or especially the promised material and equipment were not rendered by authorities in charge. There were considerably evidences in the investigated peasant communities in the East which seconds one of the respondent's view who said, "Officials give promises of support, but once they leave the village we are left in our time-hallowed conditions. If there had not been any promise of aid at all, we would not have been so desperate after all."

Some experts who are familiar with child-rearing practices in the Middle East advance the view that the general pattern of behavior characterized in broad terms by passivity or lack of initiative is the result of the socializing process of the family, the educational system, Islam, the government and the army. (3)

Dr. Orhan Ozturk, a Turkish psychologist, has speculated about the implication for personality formation and therefore for adult behavior of certain child-rearing practices common in Turkey. He argues that lack of independence training in childhood, e.g. doing things for the child which he could do for himself, have certain implications for adult behavior, notably passivity, or lack of initiative and dependence on God, on supernatural forces, on government, and on older members of one's family. (4)

(3) Edwin J. Cohn - Social and Cultural Factors affecting the Emergence and functioning of Innovators. A paper presented at the Turkish Social and Economic Studies Conference Board held in Istanbul in 1963. Also appears in the Turkish Administrator - p.135

(4) Dr. O. Ozturk, 'Some Reflections on Child Rearing and Personality Development in Turkey.' A talk given to a Seminar for child-care teachers. August 1961.

Dr. Ozturk also speculates that, 'in a society where women are devalued and occupy a lowly position, they may be unable to give adequately the security as mothers and therefore to satisfy their childrens' need for security. This leads to dependency in adult life.

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED PROJECTS SHOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE PEASANTS, STATE, OR BOTH?

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to find out:

- a. In which one or more of the proposed projects are the peasants more willing to participate; in which projects peasants are more likely to require government aid?
- b. The level of participation and the degree of cooperation in peasant societies which are in different stages of economic development with different degree of contact with outside world.

Which of the peasant societies seem to be more vigorous in self-help; in which of the proposed projects peasants depend more on the government help?

How widespread is the attitude that it is the obligation of the government to guarantee the needed services?

Interpretation of the Findings:

1. Tabulation of the data:

The inclusive answers obtained from the respondents are documented and arranged in different tabulations in order to simplify the comparison and the analysis of the findings.

The data on Table VII shows inclusively the numbers and the percentages of the respondents who explicitly called for the state role in the carrying out of the projects; those who had expressed their preparedness to participate and co-operate in the proposed projects and finally those who expressed their willingness to carry out 'on their own', self-help.

Table VII also indicates the similarity and divergence in the attitudes of respondents who are relatively in different stages of economic development with varying degrees of contact and openness to the outside world.

Table VIII specifically compares and contrasts the varying degrees of dependence on the State; the level of cooperation and participation between government and the investigated population and the degree of 'self-help' understanding in all types of peasant societies.

In addition, Table VIII explicitly indicates which of the proposed projects respondents were (i) more likely to participate, (ii) more likely to require state intervention, (iii) more inclined to self or communal help.

Table IX provides a comprehensive picture of the analysis of the findings in terms of total averages and percentages of the degree and intensity of reliance on the State, on joint cooperation with the State and on self-help.

Table X compares and collates the investigated peasant societies on their degree of dependence on the state in Eastern Turkey with those research findings in Turkey and in another part of the country.

Table VI - 1

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED PROJECTS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF	ROAD		WATER		SCHOOL		COOPER-ATIVES		HOUSING		SANITATION SCHEMES		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
STATE	36	50.0	33.3	46.27	40	55.6	42.6	59.24	6	8.3	49.6	69.04	207.5	288.45
PEASANTS - STATE	16.3	22.7	22.3	31.03	14.7	20.4	11.7	16.2	9	12.5	11.3	15.73	85.3	118.56
PEASANTS	12.7	17.6	11.6	16.2	9	12.5	8	11.1	55	76.4	5.6	7.9	101.9	141.7
DON'T KNOW	7	9.7	4.7	6.5	8	11.1	9.7	13.4	2	2.8	5.3	7.4	36.7	50.9
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	432	600

Table VI

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PROJECTS SHOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF	ROADS		WATER		SCHOOL		COOPERATIVES		HOUSING		SANITATION SCHEMES		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
The State	37	51.4	39	54.2	45	62.5	48	66.7	5	6.3	57	79.2		
Peasants-State Jointly	11	15.3	14	19.4	8	11.1	11	15.3	8	11.1	5	6.9		
Peasants	9	12.5	13	18.1	5	6.9	6	8.3	56	77.8	2	2.8		
Don't Know	15	20.8	6	8.3	14	19.4	7	9.7	3	4.2	8	11.1		
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	432	600.0

I

The State	34	47.2	27	37.5	34	47.2	37	51.4	-	-	43	59.7		
Peasants-State Jointly	21	29.2	34	47.2	20	27.8	13	18.1	7	9.7	19	26.4		
Peasants	15	20.8	9	12.5	11	15.3	9	12.5	64	88.9	8	11.1		
Don't Know	2	2.8	2	2.8	7	9.7	13	18.1	1	1.4	2	2.8		
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	432	600.0

II

The State	37	51.4	34	47.2	42	58.3	43	59.7	13	18.1	49	68.1		
Peasants-State Jointly	17	23.6	19	26.4	16	22.2	11	15.3	12	16.7	10	13.9		
Peasants	14	19.4	13	18.1	11	15.3	9	12.5	45	62.5	7	9.7		
Don't Know	4	5.6	6	8.3	3	4.2	9	12.5	2	2.8	6	8.3		
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	432	600.0

III

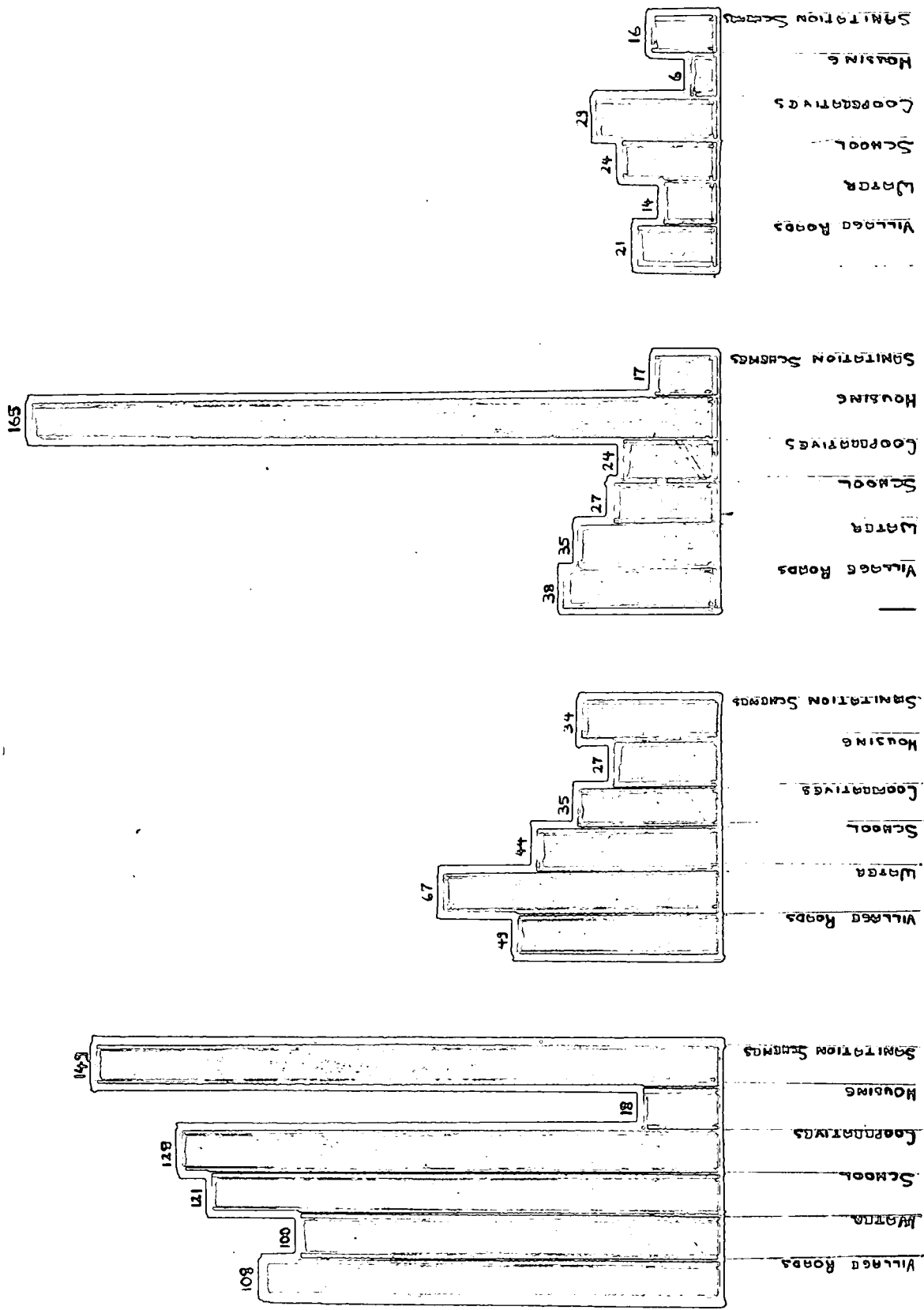
2. Assessment of the Answers:

Both Table VII and VIII clearly show that a relatively high portion of the investigated population, rather in an concerted fashion, expected the State to take major responsibilities for the fulfillment of their community needs and services. A close study of the data, particularly on Table indicates that, with notable exception in 'housing' (average 8.3%), 50% of the respondents in 'village road construction', 46.3% in 'drinking water supply', nearly 56% in 'school building', 59% in the 'establishment of cooperatives' and more than 69% in 'public sanitation schemes' would like the State to take them up or contribute fully the resources which were required for their construction and operation.

The comparatively lesser degree of dependence on government initiative in the matter of drinking water and village roads suggest that, when peasants were the direct beneficiaries of certain schemes which they felt their necessity more intensely than any other proposed programme, they showed more preparedness and tendencies to share the responsibilities with the government, or join the self-help schemes. There seemed indeed to be a positive correlation between the expressed willingness of the respondents for participation and the degree of importance of the beneficial projects. The relatively greater degree of expressed desire for government's assistance in the field of school construction, cooperative establishment or sanitary schemes as against alternative projects could be demonstrably related to the relatively limited range of possible benefits of these projects as seen by the respondents. In fact, answers obtained from the respondents in the III type of peasant societies might further indicate that, their relative openness to outside world and their different economic conditions had not stimulated their perception and cognition of the intrinsic value of the cooperative establishments or

Table VIII

	TYPE OF VILLAGES	VILLAGE ROADS		WATER		CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL		ESTABLISHMENT OF COOPERATIVE		HOUSING		SANITARY SCHEMES		TOTAL	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
STATE	I	37	51.4	39	54.2	45	62.5	48	66.7	5	6.9	57	79.2		
	II	34	47.2	27	37.5	34	47.2	37	51.4	-	-	43	59.7		
	III	37	51.4	34	47.2	42	58.2	43	59.7	13	18.1	49	68.1		
	Total	108	150.0	100	138.9	121	167.9	128	177.8	18	25.0	149	207.0	624	866.6
PEASANT AND STATE	I	11	15.3	14	19.4	8	11.1	11	15.3	8	11.1	5	6.9		
	II	21	29.2	34	47.2	20	27.8	13	18.1	7	9.7	19	26.4		
	III	17	23.6	19	26.4	16	22.2	11	15.3	12	16.7	10	13.9		
	Total	49	68.1	67	93.0	44	61.1	35	48.7	27	37.5	34	47.2	256	355.6
PEASANTS	I	9	12.5	13	18.1	5	6.9	6	8.3	56	77.8	2	2.8		
	II	15	20.8	9	12.5	11	15.3	9	12.5	64	88.9	8	11.1		
	III	14	19.4	13	18.1	11	15.3	9	12.5	45	62.5	7	9.7		
	Total	38	52.7	35	48.7	27	37.5	24	33.3	165	229.2	17	23.6	306	425.0
DON'T KNOW	I	15	20.8	6	8.3	14	19.4	7	9.7	3	4.2	8	11.1		
	II	2	2.8	2	2.8	7	9.7	13	18.1	1	1.4	2	2.8		
	III	4	5.6	6	8.3	3	4.2	9	12.5	2	2.8	6	8.3		
	Total	21	29.2	14	19.4	24	33.3	29	40.3	6	8.4	16	22.2	110	152.8
GRAND TOTAL		216	300.0	216	300.0	216	300.0	216	300.0	216	300.0	216	300.0	1296	1800.0



S T A T E P E A S A N T S - S T A T E P E A S A N T S D O N ' T K N O W

similar schemes to generate in them a desire for a constructive involvement in these projects. Such insensitivity might arise when peasants overlook what they consider irrelevant to their basic-felt needs. Or they might not see the connection between, say, a cooperative, or sanitation schemes and the resulting social and economic benefits that might accrue to them. As often referred in this study, the institutional value pattern influence peasants' choice of action and behavior by influencing their perception and cognition. However, as this field observation showed on various occasions and the answers to other questions, in those waterless and roadless peasant communities where the satisfaction of peasants' basic needs were not assured, peasants' horizons were bounded entirely by their immediate needs and not until these needs are fulfilled can cooperative establishments or sanitation schemes could become a real necessity.*

Table VIII shows that in the II type of investigated peasant societies, there was relatively more local initiative for self-help understanding and more inclination to cooperate and participate in village development schemes than in the other peasant societies.

The causes of variation in the degree of participation and cooperation among the investigated peasant societies could be twofold; they could be due to specific socio-cultural and physical environmental

*However, it would be wrong to attribute the intensity of respondents' dependence on government's initiative solely to their insensitivity to cooperatives or remoteness of similar projects. According to the information gathered during this field study, participation of the rural folk in rural cooperative schemes was never stimulated due to the fact that such initiative for cooperative movement and similar projects had always come from agricultural bank or with the consent of the government officials.

conditions prevailing in them or to different stages of economic development with certain degrees of contact with outside world.

In the II type of villages, a considerable number of respondents particularly in Mus (Kumluca village) and Erzincan (Keklikkayasi) communities, expressed more willingness for joint effort or participating in rural schemes. There were indeed signs of improvements e.g. newly built roads and minor irrigation schemes, which indicate that they have had relatively more capacity to acquire government assistance too. Some respondents in Keklikkayasi and Geyran villages of Erzincan said that they had participated in their village development schemes by giving their labor freely, while others had made contributions in terms of money and in kind.*

One interesting finding of the field study was that respondents in general and more so in the II type of investigated peasant societies, expressed more willingness to join the community development schemes when they had reasonable confidence that government assistance in terms of technical guidance, heavy equipment was forthcoming. In certain villages, particularly in Tekpinai village of Erzurum and Konuktepe of Agri, the failure of government to provide the peasants the promised assistance had undoubtedly weakened peasants' confidence in the officials as well as their faith in the potential value of the joint project.**

*The point of interest in regard to the types of peasants' contribution in the investigated communities showed that a larger number of contributions were in kind, e.g. labor, crop rather than cash. Cash contributions on voluntary basis for rural development schemes were made Geyran village in Erzincan and Tamburah (G. Antep) while others' contributions were involuntary.

**Some of the most repeated complaints made by the respondents during the informal discussions were, (i) the insistence of government officials on the community participation in some projects which were above the limited means of the peasant people; (ii) bad timing of the proposed projects, e.g. not carrying out the projects during idle seasons or when active men were engaged in outside of village jobs; (iii) excessive pressure and emphasis on compulsory rather than voluntary organisation and participation. Sometimes gendarmerie are used to enforce certain developmental schemes.

Though there had not been any visible change in social and economic outlook in the I type of investigated villages, except a meagre sign of voluntary organisations and contributions here and there, a visible number of respondents expressed their willingness to join efforts with the government in projects such as road (15.3%), water (19.4%), school (11.1%) and cooperative establishment (15.3%) respectively. It was, however, understandable that peasants in the isolated villages who had witnessed recurrent periods of drought and crop shortage faced with a nature which has been declining in generosity would be more inclined to follow the current and seek government assistance rather than oppose it.*

In those economically deprived peasant communities, not so much of the arising social aspirations but rather the growing pressure of poverty seemed to motivate them so much to seek for outside help. The point of concern is that despite the extended family system and the mutual reliance concept of the tradition-bound peasant communities, there seemed to be little motivation or incentives for a constructive involvement in their village development. It might be plausible to argue that, the concept of 'cooperatives' and 'mutual reliance' of the extended family are quite different things. In general, cooperatives are groups who have joined efforts for future ends for the benefit of the individual members. However, the mutual dependence and obligation of the extended family system repeat past pattern and do not reach towards the future. Aside

*A study conducted among the isolated nomadic Kurdish tribes in South Eastern Turkey also indicates that rural people are no longer saying, "Let the State leave us alone" rather they demand some constructive work and assistance from the government.
Ismail Ekinici, The Nomadic Alisan Tribe, p.202

from their lack of organizational consciousness and purposefulness for economic betterment, their environmental conditions had neither provided the necessary impetus for their participation in developmental schemes nor they were encouraged to translate or dispose of some of the potential qualities of their strong communal loyalties into a living framework.*

Table VIII shows that, in the III type of peasant communities, respondents were more interested in the essential projects, e.g. water supply (26.4%) road building (23.6%) and school construction (22.2%) in direct anticipation of the benefits of the proposed programmes that would accrue to them personally rather than in the overall economics of the alternatives projects or how they might benefit their region. In contrast there were lesser indications of their willingness to join in the self-help schemes and relatively greater degree of expectations and reliance on state's responsibility.

This rather deliberate attitude of passivity and dependence on government among the respondents with relatively more openness to outside world and with a more differentiated socio-economic outlook might confirm the preceding findings which indicated that the growing awareness and probably their resentment of the fact that town people and inhabitants were not required to participate actively in their development schemes. However, the striking point was that more than (59%) of the respondents expected the government to shoulder responsibility and exercise leadership in cooperative establishments in contrast to (15.3%) for joint

*As it will be discussed later, observations made during the present field work and subsequent studies strongly suggest that a long run development policy strategy in these isolated villages with relatively unproductive physical environmental conditions should rather concentrate on moving the peasant population and resettling them in areas where environmental conditions are more suitable.

government and peasant involvement and only (12.5%) for local initiative and self-help. Here, again, the relatively steady loosening of traditional kinship ties and the socio-economic fabric within the communities might have weakened the voluntary contributions or self-help concept. In fact, respondents in the II and III types of peasant communities who said that 'cooperative establishment' was the responsibility of the government were relatively younger respondents who seemed to share little of the needs and goals of their communities. Lacking the necessary economic foundation and incentives coupled with the absence of alternative outlets to climb social and economic ladders, younger rural elements seemed to have lost their interest in the more ample life which their added efforts or community involvements might bring.

The sad truth that came out from this field study and consultation with government officials was that proposals for economic development and the initiative in carrying out rural orientated projects seemed to be drawn unilaterally with so little knowledge and perception of the present climate and the realities of the rural environmental conditions.*

*In the first and second 'Five Year Plan' objectives, it is stated that there must be maximum use and mobilization of local peasant contributions in terms of money, labor and other services. The expected contributions from the rural elements would be 30% of the cost of the projects. (S.P.O. I. 5 Year 1963-67 Ankara 1963 pp105)

There is considerable gap between what is possible and what can be achieved in the present peasant societies of Eastern Turkey unless there are some structural changes through democratic means, e.g. technical education and improvement in their economic conditions.

Otherwise there seemed to be definite limits to what can be achieved through drives or listing of duties in the village laws when younger people are already disillusioned in regard to the future prospects of their rural communities.

A better understanding of the attitudes of the presently investigated population of Eastern Turkey would come when these findings on the degree of dependence on the government is compared and reviewed along with the findings of a Turkish as well as a foreign expert in Rural Turkey. (Please see the Table and graphical presentation on the next page).

In general, the commonly held view in the investigated peasant communities of Eastern Turkey seems to be one of dependence on government initiative and less on local initiative for self-help. However, when these findings are compared with Frederick Frey's findings on Rural Turkey, the degree of dependence on government in matters of road construction is relatively higher in the East (36%) than it is in rural Turkey (33%). This might be due to the relatively better conditions of the village roads in the investigated areas of Turkey.

There is not much divergence in matter of drinking water: (34% in Turkey; 33.3% in the East). However, in village school construction and cooperative establishment Eastern Turkey is comparatively below the national average in terms of dependence on government. The findings are 44% in Turkey, 40% in the East in school construction, and 45% in Turkey and 42.6% in cooperative establishments. This is probably the result of lack of knowledge or misunderstanding of the concept of cooperatives by the respondents in Eastern Turkey. Actually 40.3% of the investigated population adamantly said that they did not know.

*As it was indicated previously, the concept of cooperatives might be overlooked as irrelevant to their long-felt familiar needs or it may be that cooperatives as a unit of economic venture was not a part of the society's cognitive value structure. However, it is quite plausible to argue that respondents, particularly in the religious-bound peasant communities in Eastern Turkey erroneously considered cooperatives as a transplantation of an unfamiliar system of economic activity, e.g. collectivization which is feared that it might have indirect adverse implications on their cultural values or their socio-economic structure.

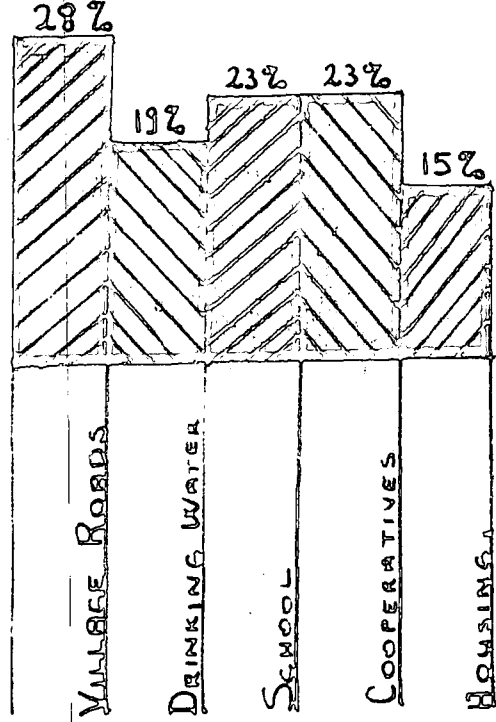
Table IX

TYPE OF PROJECT	The Percentage of Peasants Who Expect the State to Assume the Responsibilities in carrying out certain Projects.			Degree of Divergence Between Turkish Sample & Eastern Turkey
	% BUNYAN (1) SAMPLE	% TURKEY (2) SAMPLE	% EASTERN TURKEY SAMPLE	
ROAD	28	33	36	± 3
DRINK, WATER	19	34	33.3	- .3
SCHOOL	23	44	40	- 4
COOPERATIVE	23	45	42.6	- 2.4
HOUSING	15	27	6	-21
SANITATION	- (Not included)	- (Not included)	69.04*	
TOTAL AVERAGE	21	37	31.58* *Excluding sanitation	

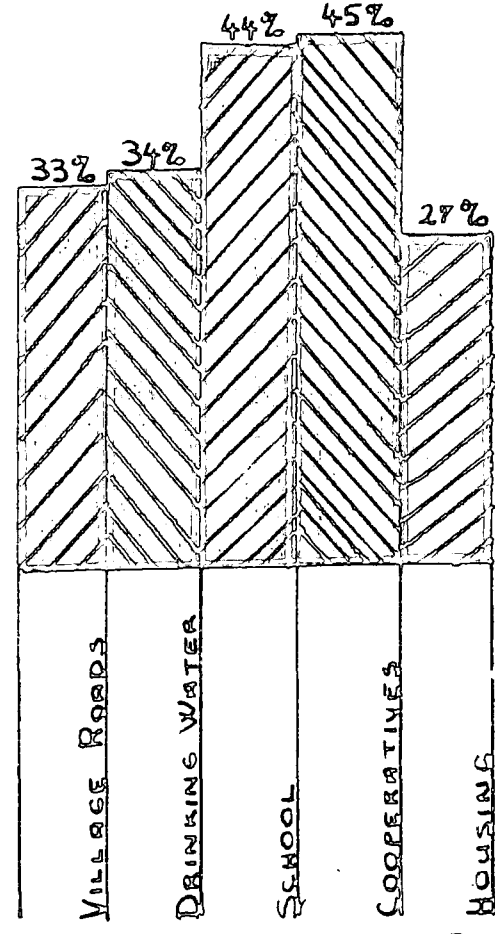
(1) Dr. Cevat Geray - Toplum Kalkinmasi Deneme Calismalari
BUNYAN ORNEEI - Sevinc Matbasi, Ankara 1967
pp.147

(2) Frederick Frey - Rural Development Research Project Preliminary Report, (Reproduction) pp.23

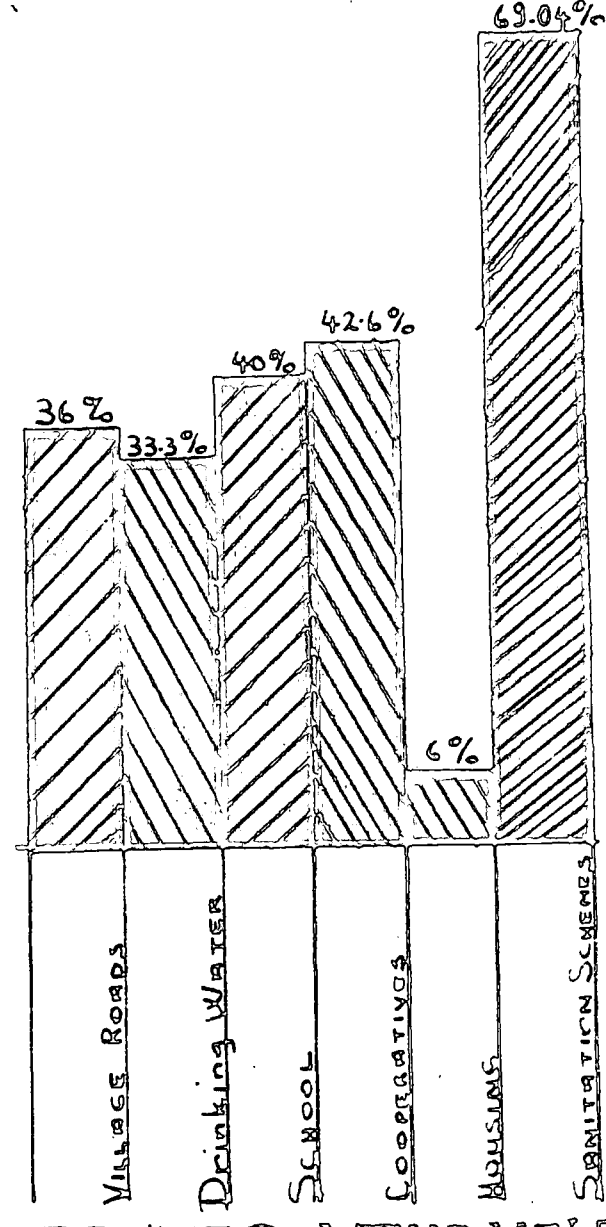
*With the inclusion of sanitation, the average for Eastern Turkey is 37.82%



BUNYAN



TURKEY



EASTERN TURKEY

The difference in dependence on government initiative in matters of housing in the East is out of proportion in comparison with the Turkey's average as well as findings in Bunyan. The reason might be that home constructions among the eastern peasants customarily were the joint responsibility of the family. Secondly, their houses are simple to build e.g. mudbrick materials are easily available, and they might already be satisfied with their present efforts. Lastly, it might be that they are not sophisticated enough, like their counterparts to expect or aspire to government responsibility in matters of home construction yet.

General remarks:

1. The findings show that economically deprived peasant societies are no longer apathetic regarding their rural socio-economic conditions. On the contrary, there were considerable evidences to show that they were seeking a way out of their poverty but they seemed to lack the ways and means to find an outlet for better or alternative opportunities.
2. There was a considerable gap between what was possible and what was achieved. The participation of peasants in their rural development schemes has not been stimulated effectively. A healthy rural development can only be assured by adopting the methods so successfully used in other underdeveloped areas, particularly in India, of 'discovering the peasants' felt needs and helping to realise it,' and providing them with technical means and the economic strength for initial take-off, so that self and mutual interests of the farmers are awakened to replace the compulsory methods used so far regardless of peasants interest.

The findings of the present study also showed that, at present, peasants' expectations and reliance on government initiative were arisen by the politically inspired elements who propogandize and advocate promises and services which peasants were traditionally performing for themselves.

And not until such illusionary stimuli is stopped, could peasants' involvement in their development schemes be encouraged.

3. For a village development policy, it seems more feasible at the outset to introduce some partially supported self-help schemes through pilot projects in the strategically important rural areas stressing on the more simple but needed projects rather than spectacular ones.

4. Government officials should locate decision makers or opinion leaders in whom peasants have confidence and with whom they feel secure and enthusiastic. Peasants would more likely support a community sponsored programme which originates at home through leaders they trust, rather than imposing mutual help programmes which are simply dropped upon peasants from high echelon and enforced by law to get peasants to do this or that regardless their needs or interests.

(Further suggestions will be given in the latter part of the research).

WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR VILLAGE TO FORM A COMMUNITY WITH ANOTHER VILLAGE OR
WOULD YOU PREFER TO SEE IT AN INDEPENDENT VILLAGE?

Assessment of the Question:

The research purpose of this question was to find out:

a. The degree of social and cultural tolerance of the investigated population.

The degree of cultural and economic compatibility, the extent of a possibility of a socio-economic interdependence or integration between and among the investigated population who are relatively in different stages of economic development.

b. To discover the extent and degree of influence of mass media, e.g. radio, transportation, other communicational facilities as well as education on the peasants' psychological mobility.

Also, to find out to what extent contact with outside world has played upon their national or regional consciousness and identity.

c. Finally, whether respondents were satisfied with their village life or do they desire a change, or association with a larger peasant community.

Interpretation of the Findings:

In essence, the answers given by the respondents, as the table shows, reflect the intensity and a great sense of village identity and attachment felt by them toward their respective communities. Though the investigated population and their communities were in different stages of economic development, with varying degrees of communication, transportation and openness to outside world, they all seemed to be conscious of their individual villages. This attachment to one's own community and somewhat sentimental community consciousness are perhaps the result of cultural

Table XI

WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE YOUR VILLAGE FORM A COMMUNITY WITH ANOTHER VILLAGE	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Those Who Favor Union with Another Village	3	4.2	12	16.7	19	26.4	34	47.3
Those Who Would Rather See Their Village Independent	58	80.5	53	73.6	46	63.9	157	218.0
Don't Know	11	15.3	7	9.7	7	9.7	25	34.0
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

value orientation and their personalities. There might be historical and psychological factors behind their sense of belongingness. Under the general socio-cultural environmental conditions and the resulting socialization process, respondents might see their village communities only through human relations founded on a defensive, stable relationship between them and their natural and social environments.

As the Table XI shows, there were only 3 (4.2%) dissenters in the I type of peasant societies who were prepared to see their village community form a community with another village. Two of these respondents had recently served in the army in recent years and both were from Huseyin Aga village of Erzurum.

In contrast, an overwhelming majority, 58 persons (80.5%) showed a strong negative reaction and cultural biasness. Some respondents further said that their families had been there over several generations.

It must be realized that such particularism and subjectivity expressed by the respondents of the I type of peasant societies are a product of a complex mixture of hard historical and socio-cultural environmental conditions. And their self-sufficiency whether it was socio-economical or psychological was mainly associated with their rural isolation.

Their sentimental attachment or defensive attitudes toward their village communities was perhaps nothing but a fear of an indirect threat to their cultural unity or destruction of their social security and uniqueness. In fact some of the respondents in the investigated villages in Bitlis (Degirmenkoy) village and (Seyithanbey) village in Agri province showed a strong tribal or clan consciousness for the most of whom tribal loyalty was the highest ideal. What has been good in 'their old world' would diminish and perhaps outside forces would undermine their indigenous culture. Surely, they lived in a deprived community, but it had been a world which, if not their own making, was at least their own people. Naturally, the major factor conditioning or rationalizing such conduct is the fear of differentiation created by outside intrusion. Such a drastic change might expose them to unpredictable experiences and risks.*

The answers given by respondents in terms of 'don't know' in all the types of villages, (15.3% in the I; 9.7% in the II and 9.7% in the III)

*Further inference can be made regarding the socio-cultural behavior of the people of Eastern origin in Istanbul, Ankara or other large cities. Even when they live in cities and towns, they cling together in the same common neighbourhood and occupations.

might imply a less stable or sceptical attitude of respondents indicating that their minds were gradually prepared to question their own village institutions. However, the opposite hypothesis would have been equally possible. That is, 'don't know' might be a reflection of their basically passive and apathetic value orientation.

Those respondents in the II and III type of villages who expressed their desire for a change in their village status, (16.7% in the II and 26.4% in the III type of villages) were also the ones who preferred to see their sons not to be farmers - (20.8% in the II and 31.9% in the III type of village). The contrasting attitudes toward the status quo - those who ascribed to status quo and those who favored union with another village - in essence could be considered a conflict of values as well as of interests. Interestingly enough, the younger respondents who are probably more mobile were also in favor of seeing their villages joining another community while the older ones cling together and remain rooted in their traditional living place. Younger ones, as a result of their social or economic and cultural contact with urban areas might have acquired more experience and knowledge of what was better and might have become more self-conscious. The variation in opinions between respondents regarding their receptivity and adaptability to the idea of union reflect basic differences due to their age structure. It is statistically highly significant fact that younger people are often more willing to accept new ideas than the older ones. One would be inclined to conclude that in dealing with some problems, it might be better to aim at younger generation. However, it would be naive to argue this way since the decision-making process in the peasant societies of Turkey particularly in the East are institutionally carried out by village elders who are largely ascribed to the status quo.

It might be plausible to argue that those who have vested interests in the status quo might have viewed the integration of their communities with another village as a threat to their own economic bases or political interests. For, such a union might lead to secondary and tertiary changes in terms of their agrarian and political structure.

Further Remarks and Conclusion:

The results of the present interview shed light, among other things, on the fact that self-sufficiency of the rural life, whether it be economical or psychological, is mainly associated with its isolation. However, it would be naive to argue that, "the traditional society is generally against change and does not cherish technical improvements and mobility with respect to settlements and jobs."⁽¹⁾ Given favorable economic and social conditions, including proper climate for the fulfillment of long-felt economic and social aspirations, there would seem to be no reason why institutional considerations such as loyalties and attachment to one's village would not give way to a universe of a larger community, governed by causality, psychological and geographical mobility.

(1) Professor Sobri Ulgener, A paper presented to the Conference on Turkish Social and Economic Studies. Also appears in 'The Turkish Administrator', AID, Ankara 1967 pp. 119-129.

WOULD YOU BE GLAD IF YOUR CHILDREN BECOME FARMERS? IF NOT, WHAT WOULD YOU PREFER THEM TO BE?

The Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to find out:

A.1. How peasants visualize the future of their farming community through the future of their children.

It was hypothesized that those peasants who are dissatisfied with their present economic conditions, would also be disillusioned about the future, or at least would show a greater inclination to see their children not to become farmers.

B.2. The second part of the question was designed to assess what future occupations are visualized by the peasants for their children.

The primary aim of these questions was to compare and contrast the responses of the peasants who are in different stages of economic development with relatively different degree of openness to outside world.

Interpretation of the Findings:

A. The analysis of the data on Table XII shows that as one travels from I type of tradition-bound societies with relatively poor resource bases to societies with relatively a high degree of socio-economic interchange with the outside world, there seemed to be less inclination to see their children to become farmers.

Should this finding be interpreted, that, as the rural communities go through a process of social and economic transformation and become more conscious of changing economic conditions both in and outside of their communities, they show more disenchantment about their children becoming farmers?

Table XII

WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR CHILDREN TO BECOME FARMERS	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Would Like Their Children to Become Farmers	51	70.8	39	54.2	28	38.9	118	163.9
Would Not Like Their Children to Become Farmers	7	9.7	15	20.8	23	31.9	45	62.4
Don't Know) No Answer)	14	19.5	18	25.0	21	29.2	53	73.7
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

Or have they become pessimistic about the future due to the lack of narrowing of opportunities that they experience, e.g. fragmented and small holdings, insecurity of tenure and the widening gap among different segments of rural population. Do they fear that the range of economic opportunities would be the same for their children.

The present research does not suffice to arrive at conclusions of general validity. However, a careful cross-check and analysis of the statistical data on the agrarian structure of the presently investigated peasant societies with the insight gained during the present field observations and certain attitudes of peasants inferred from their answers to other and similar questions strongly suggest that the sources of tension and strain in the emerging peasant communities has two basic roots:

1 Economic Factors:

(a) Defective agrarian structure - e.g. uncertainty as to ownership and control of land, short leases, chronic indebtedness and uneconomic size of holdings for the majority of landowners.*

2 Socio-Cultural Factors:

(a) General unreadiness and inexperience in responding to economic incentives or adjusting to changing social and other environmental conditions.

News forms of behavior required as a result of the increasing invasion

*See the respondents' reactions to the question 'What do you think is the most urgent problem or need facing your village?' See also the interview results for the subsequent questions.

of their self-sufficient economy by an economy based on market has created a duality within their present social structure: though openness to outside world promoted a new climate of expectations and new wants, but they were ill-equipped in skills, morale and energy and lacked the necessary economic foundation and mental outlook for a genuine economic change.* The respondents, especially the younger ones, in the II and III type of peasant societies seemed to be more aware of times of changes and consequently were more willing to see their children leave their farming community.

The answers given by the respondents in the I type of villages showed a different degree of attachment to their peasant life.** Only (9.7%) of the respondents were prepared to see their sons not to be farmers, in contrast to (20.8% in the II) and (31.9% in the III type of peasant communities).

The dilemma of the situation was that nearly 53 individual peasants in all types of villages - 14 (19.5%) of respondents in the I type, 18 (25.0%) in the II type and 21 (29.2%) in the III type, did not know or were generally undecided with respect to the future of their children. Whether this meant that, peasants perceived a lesser chance or an outlet for a better life or probably their current socio-economic disillusionment made it difficult for them to predict what the remote future would be about.***

*A minor note regarding villages (Tamburah, Aydinoglu) in Gaziantep. I was told by Toprak-Su Engineers that smuggling along the Syrian border was widespread, and probably takes some steam off the peasants who were in some ways left out of market opportunities.

** Particularly in Hancagiz village, a respondent said, 'A shepherd's son will always be a shepherd.' Some who seemed to be resigned to their present conditions saw no reason for their children leaving their peasant communities and said, 'When there is enough to eat at home, why bother with other jobs?'

***The reaction of the respondents in the present interview seemed to be generally sceptical and undecided. The respondents often nodded their heads when their answers were negative. Some said Allah Kerim - which meant, 'Allah will determine the course of events.' Some refused outright to acknowledge the question. ~~It might be that the questions about the~~ abstract future did not stir their imaginations.

The impression I carried with me was that the character of their choices would be significantly affected by their creative adjustment to the changing socio-economic environmental conditions, their absorption capacity of a market culture, their confidence in the future and degree of their participation in the emerging exchange economy.

B. The respondents who said that they were disenchanted with their present economic outlook and who were to a degree disillusioned about the future of their economic and social life of their rural societies, in response to the question of 'what would you like to see your sons to become' named the following type of occupation and activities:

(4) respondents said they would like to see their children to become teachers, (7) would like to see them town merchants (7) would like to see them preachers (Imam) or Mevlidhan, (2) said truck drivers, (2) livestock commissioners, (13) mentioned factory and railways employment, (1) mentioned veterinarian, the rest would not say anything.

Interestingly enough, respondents in the II and III type of villages who were bitter about the town merchants' attitudes regarding their trading and money lending practices, were also some of the ones who said they would like to see their children to be merchants.

SUPPOSE GOVERNMENT OFFERS YOU THE FOLLOWING CHOICES:

- A. HELP YOU ESTABLISH 200 DONUM GOOD LAND IN YOUR VILLAGE
- B. OFFER YOU 200 DONUM OF LAND FOR PERMANENT CROPS IN ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY
- C. OFFER YOU A TRUCK
- D. OFFER YOU A FACTORY JOB NEARBY YOUR VILLAGE*

WHICH ONE OF THESE DO YOU PREFER?

(*The respondents were also told that the factory job was for the whole year around, meaning that they had to give up their farming occupations. The intention was to differentiate those respondents who were prepared to work during their idle seasons only.)

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to discover and compare:

- a. The degree of internal impetus to social, occupational and geographical mobility between and also among the respondents who are relatively in different stages of economic development and with varying degrees of contact with outside world.
- b. The degree of effectiveness of the appeal of new employment alternatives, new income incentives and also to measure their individualistic mode of behavior for various productive pursuits.

It was also hypothesized that, respondents who are in close contact with outside world would have more incentives for social, occupational - vertical or horizontal and geographical mobility.

Table XIII

SUPPOSE GOVERN- MENT OFFERS YOU THE FOLLOWING CHOICES	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Establish 200 donum of good land in your village	64	88.9	53	73.6	48	66.7	165	229.2
Offers you 200 donum of land in another part of the country	5	6.9	7	9.7	6	8.3	18	24.9
Offers you a Truck	-	-	2	2.8	5	6.9	7	9.7
Offers you a Factory Job in your Area	3	4.2	10	13.9	13	18.1	26	36.2
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

Interpretation of the Findings:

A. Data on Table XIII show that a great majority of the respondents at all levels - average 77% - would prefer a good agricultural land in their respective communities. Though as one proceeds from the I to the II and III type of investigated villages, there seems to be a slight decrease in the number and intensity of the preferences, (88.9% in the I; 73.6% in the II and 66.7% in the III type of peasant societies respectively.) Nonetheless, the data indicates that those respondents who are least satisfied with their present economic status, would ascribe to their own traditional environment once they were given a better chance of improvement in their local areas, e.g. availability of a better economic base, agricultural land in their own communities.

B. In contrast, answers given by the respondents to the second proposition, offer of a good land in another part of the country, were disappointing in terms of the degree of their preparedness for horizontal mobility. Only 6.9% in the I group, 9.7% in the II and 8.3% in the III group, respondents were willing to move to a place with a better agriculture.*

*As it was repeatedly displayed, those who responded positively to this question or proposition were mostly the Black Sea emigrants in Arakonak village in Mus province and others.

This type of behavior seems to be the outcome of their cultural conditioning, their greater inclination to emigrate to places having better living and working conditions. However, the effective motive behind their desire for horizontal mobility, particularly in this case, might be due to the stigma of being a minority group in a hostile socio-cultural environment.

These findings, together with their reactions to the subsequent propositions might further indicate that once the peasants see better economic opportunities in their respective areas, they show little compulsion to venture out into the 'wider or more unfamiliar world.'*₁

C. A high proportion of the respondents were indifferent to the offer of a truck. No one in the I type of villages, only 2 respondents in the II and 5 in the III type were interested in the truck proposal.

The operational goal pursued in this rather highly suggestive proposition was to determine the peasants' preferences for individualistic mode of behavior, the degree of their preparedness to change their farming occupations, their 'mobility-consciousness' and also to get a sense of their attitude towards machinery. The answers received to this proposition show that truck proposal had a very negligible appeal to the majority of the respondents who had already indicated their preferences for relatively secure jobs and who seemed to be historically conditioned to the assurance and the security of the permanency of land.**₂

* It could be further assumed that, the respondents who said that they would not like to see their children to become farmers - 9.7% in the I villages, 20.8% in the II and 31.9% in the III type of villages, probably might have implied, "unless agriculture improves ...". Furthermore, it might further be hypothesized that these peasants who drift or venture to cities or towns are very often torn from their primary locations, "pushed" by the poverty into other locations or occupations implying their involuntary state of mobility.

**₂ Some respondents who were not wholly fascinated by the 'truck proposal' gave rather direct reasons for their unwillingness. One said, 'What have you got left if the truck breaks down.' Some talks of shortage of spare parts or accidents. They, on the whole, thought that truck ownership was very risky. Because taking risk is partly a matter of the tradition in which one had been raised. And the socio-cultural environmental conditions in rural Eastern Turkey do not cultivate a spirit of adventure or risk taking.

Again, as expected, those few respondents who expressed their willingness to own a truck were the younger ones in the investigated peasant communities. This might be the probable outcome of their dislike of the narrow village life and the conceivability of the truck as a 'ladder' to escape the customary type of village occupations.*

D. The differences in the respondents' reaction to 'a factory job in the area', (4.2% in the I type of villages compared to 13.9% in the II and 18.1% in the III), in essence showed the degree of their intercultural differences in economic behavior, their incentive for occupational mobility, the extent of their openness to the outside world. It might also reflect the differences in their economic outlook which is closely associated with different stages of economic development in the investigated peasant societies.

However, nearly in all propositions which required a certain degree of preparedness for geographical or occupational mobility the younger respondents showed more independent and individualistic mode of behavior than the older respondents.** The differences in answers given by the respondents who were within the same peasant society could be attributable to intergenerational differences, rather than environmental characteristics. The younger population might have more contact, more mobility with outside

*It might also be possible that ownership of a truck could create the possibility of a direct personal satisfaction and a source of status symbol or prestige value, just like the size of one's land or the number of cattle used to be. The trucks one could see on the highways in the East carry the inscription of the owner's name, along with 'Masallah' signs or other inscribed prayers.

**The strong and statistically highly significant correlation between change of outlook and age structure was also revealed by the answers given by the respondents to such questions as "would you like to see your village form a community with another village?"

world, more confidence in finding or exploiting employment opportunities. This change of outlook might also indicate that their traditional values, e.g. ascribed status are gradually diminishing. A social reordering of values are taking place at least among the younger members of the investigated communities.

(Note: It was hard to tell to what extent, education was responsible in the alteration of their attitudes. When asked, only 2 of the respondents said that they had primary school education. The rest had not been to school at all.)

Economic literature dealing with preindustrial societies is fully illustrated with peasants' attitudes toward mobility; how their value structure blocked the economic opportunities or that environmental influences rationalized some values which were in essence contrary to an industrial cultural value.

In the present peasant societies of Eastern Turkey, particularly in the tradition-bound investigated communities, the socio-cultural and psychological factors in operation have to a large extent inhibited mobility, risk taking and pursuit of material wealth. It was also true that a considerable number of respondents expressed a desire to stay where they were in their familiar or customary surroundings. Also the respondents' reactions to nearly every suggestive question showed their deep-seated desire for landownership, desire to identify themselves with those landholding classes. And their only assurance of security seemed to be possession of land in their respective village communities. Accordingly, they seemed to lack the motivation and stimulation to explore the unbeaten path. Probably the low appeal of factory work might also suggest that industrial work was ranked low or did not fit in the

occupational prestige scale of the traditional societies. Values also have distinctive inhibiting effect on the manner and type of occupations to be practiced.

However, a purely cultural diagnosis does not offer any guidance to all aspects of the environmental influences in the area.

Practically, a large percentage of the respondents especially the young and active ones, expressed their dissatisfaction and scepticism with regard to their current economic status. The degree of dissatisfaction might foster a desire for change since it indicates their preparedness to improve their economic condition. However, they seemed to be unable to visualize an outlet to fulfil their economic aspirations.

A generally valid point which has been revealed by this field research and observation was that rural ways and traditional values are yielding slowly. Although economic structure and their aspirations are changing relatively rapidly, the social structure and institutions are not changing at the same pace.

Nevertheless, as it will be discussed later, a realistic development policy, through a well-conceived and coordinated strategy could initiate positive changes - both in human and physical environmental conditions - with the possible consent and meaningful involvement of the peasants in their rural improvements.

IF GOVERNMENT COMES UP WITH A NEW SEED OF A HIGHER YIELDING VARIETY OF WHEAT AND WHICH THE LOCAL CONDITONS PERMIT, WOULD YOU TRY IT?*

Assessment of the Question:

The research purpose of this rather suggestive question was not simply to discover peasants' attitudes concerning their adopting new seed offered to them by the extension agencies of the government, but to find out:

1. The degree of their readiness and receptivity of an innovation.
2. The level of their perception and cognition of an economically beneficial unfamiliar variety of a familiar crop.
3. Peasants' attitudes and expectations of the possible consequences of their alternative action and perhaps the gain and loss associated with these consequences.

Interpretation of the Findings:

In general, Table XIV shows that certain attitudes of peasants in absorbing a given innovation and their willingness to take risks are indispensable part of the socio-cultural, economic and physical environmental conditions. There is indeed a strong and statistically highly

*This question was formulated to test A. Lewis' argument presented in his book. In brief he observes that, "Farmers, who live near the level of subsistence are extremely reluctant to give up seeds which they know will give some yield in many varied conditions, however poor this yield may be on the average, since they simply cannot run the risk that the new seed however bountiful on the average, may in one year fail and reduce them to famine."

Table XIV

WOULD YOU TRY A NEW VARIETY OF SEED	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
YES	19	26.4	47	65.3	39	54.2	105	145.9
NO	15	20.8	11	15.3	7	9.7	33	45.8
DON'T KNOW	38	52.8	14	19.4	26	36.1	78	108.3
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

significant correlation between willingness to experiment or acceptance of an innovation and the level of economic progress, closeness to urban factors, availability of transportation and communication.

In contrast to the reactions of the respondents in the I type of villages, (26.4%), (65.3%) of the respondents in the II type and (54.2%) in the III type of villages respondents who were relatively more exposed to outside world and with better economic conditions showed a greater propensity to accept an innovation and expressed more incentive to experiment. This finding might suggest that, adoption of an innovation or risk taking are closely related to one's economic base which in turn facilitates in making creative adjustments in situations of change. The respondents' primary interest might be that of an expectation of an increase in output as a consequence of experimenting with the new seed. However, this behavioral pattern may also indicate their receptivity to new ideas which are closely associated with the changes in their socio-economic and cultural values.

In contrast, the data obtained from the respondents in the I type of villages might suggest that, though they were poor and to an extent dissatisfied with the present state of their agriculture, but they ascribed to their customary practices either due to their fear that the new seed would expose them to a series of uncertainties which they wish to avoid. Or they would not exert themselves about a new seed with which they had had no experience. It is a common knowledge that Turkish peasants in general, Eastern Anatolian peasants in particular, value experience and show little motivation to explore the unbeaten path. The peasants are usually fond of talking of their reliance on "their years of experience," even if it means that, "so many years of experience may

be nothing but the repetition of their mistakes retained from an earlier era and practiced for so many years." One of the common and favorite opening sentences of elderly peasant folk is: 'I have got these grey hairs working in

One surprising finding was that, the respondents in the II type of villages were seemed to be more receptive (65.3%) than those in the III type of villages (54.1%) One probable explanation is that in the latter communities there were more tenant farmers and also major share of their earnings were from other endeavors, e.g. livestock, smuggling, especially in G. Antep and Agri peasant societies.

The major portion of the respondents in the II and III type of villages who showed a high degree of preparedness to try new seed were the typical Black Sea emigrant peasants - (in Adabag Village in Bitlis, Arakonak in Mus, Keklikkayasi and Geyran in Erzincan). Unlike their counterparts, these respondents repeatedly demonstrated their productivity consciousness in so many ways during the present study. What seemed to be distinguishing them from their majority counterparts was their attitudes towards work and tendency to be more easily attracted by material advancement. Having been lived in a 'minority group' psychology, they seemed to take life rather seriously and this in turn has reinforced their spirit of risk taking and innovation. This seemed to be their only assurance of security in a hostile socio-economic environment.

Although A. Lewis' observation about the poor peasant societies' willingness to experiment was to a large extent confirmed by the findings of the present study, it is necessary to qualify such conclusions as "small landowners will also take a sceptical view of innovation, even if they are able to perceive its benefits."

To be sure indifference was widespread among the peasants of the investigated peasant societies: 38 respondents (52.8%) in the I type; 14 respondents (19.4%) in the II type; and 26 respondents (36.1%) in the III type of villages. However, their apathy and lack of tolerance for experimentation and uncertainty arise from various reasons:

(a) Widespread illiteracy, other worldliness and traditional rural values limit their horizons of knowledge and hinder the receptivity to new ideas. This fact is amply demonstrated by the evidences that there has been scarcely an indication of any crop change since immemorial times.

(b) It might be difficult to initiate new practices when peasants supplement their agricultural earnings by means of other endeavors, e.g. livestock, etc.*

(c) When there is uncertainty in terms of insecurity of tenure and absence of a guarantee that the sharecropper might not be reimbursed for this effort in trying new ways. (Particularly confirmed by the responses received from the respondents in the III type of villages where sharecropping and absentee ownership was widespread.) Under these unfavorable conditions they cannot afford to experiment nor do they have the incentives.

(d) Even when the probability of gain through the use of new seeds or methods were predictable, if the expected output increase occurs in isolation - that is when markets are extremely narrow - farmers may be discouraged to put extra effort in trying new ways. Also the present level of peasant indebtedness might hinder peasants since a large portion of the increase in their output might accrue to the creditor.

*Statistical data of the Inventory Studies by the Ministry of Village Affairs would confirm this statement.

(e) Peasants' apathy might also be due to socio-cultural environmental influences.

1. The prestige associated with the application of a new seed might not be high in the prestige scale of their communal values or they fear that a failure in new practices might lose them a good deal of face in their communities and consequently this fear might defer their action.

2. Unlimited family obligations one's to his kinship group and mutual security system of the extended family and associated functional diffusiveness militate against his undertaking of unfamiliar activities.

3. Immobility - both economic and psychological.

4. The need to refer to village elders* on such matters as selection of wife, occupation, new seed, technique or method of production might outlive the need and freedom for a productive undertaking.

(f) Lack of interest in the new seed may also arise from technical deficiencies - technical problems concerning agricultural methods and implements - financial questions concerning credit availability.** Also respondents with better economic sources seemed to be more receptive than those with primitive resources.

(g) Lastly, but not the least, the walls of distrust and apprehension separating village people from the government agencies and officials.

*This attitude is extremely a common practice in rural Eastern Turkey.

**In various occasions, some respondents complained that Agricultural Bank provide credit at a low enough rate of interest, but demand that it be paid back on a certain date. This might not be convenient if one had other debts to pay after the harvest.

General Observations:

In general, one of the greatest shortcomings of the agricultural assistance programmes in Eastern rural Turkey is the lack of knowledge and also the closed-eye approach of the personnel in the extension agencies of the government concerning the socio-economic, physical environmental conditions of the peasant societies. Their position seems to be one of an unenlightened unilateral interest in peasants' needs and wants. Though, these agencies to a degree are aware of what the peasants want and what their problems are, their problem is the lack of insight in adopting their ideas and techniques to suit the culture and values of people, their ineffectiveness in developing acceptable and effective channels of communication is beyond economic advisability. The technical assistance programmes fail to recognize the importance of research,* and the indispensable part played by it in increasing the economic feasibility of their programmes.

Suggestions:

Government agencies, instead of promoting the adoption of an innovation among the strategically located nuclei or group who would seem to have the greatest demonstration and aspiration effects and who feel the need for a change, their policy has been one of a close-eye approach of trying to inspire reluctant communities who could not perceive its desirability or who seemed to be more cautious and non-experimental.

*In the seminars held by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce on the Problems and Economic Development of Eastern Turkey, some delegates bitterly complained about the failure of a new type of wheat, a Mexican variety in their regions and some also expressed their alarm on some type of commercial fertilizer which is said to have burnt the organic content of the soil.

Probably these peasants would prefer to let someone else try the new technique before they adopt it.

At least, before establishing a programme among the peasants, it would be more expedient to find out their previous reactions to similar programmes in the past and also discover their long-felt needs, helping them to realize it. When the benefits of a change is amply demonstrated, the propensity to accept an innovation would also be greater.

Surely, the best promotion of an innovation is not be injection from outside but by creating a climate of expectations and an adaptability to change within the peasant societies.

SUPPOSE GOVERNMENT OFFERS YOU 10.000 T.L., HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO SPEND IT?*

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to discover and appraise:

1. What this new income would lead them to do, e.g. what goods and services they would like to buy most which were previously beyond their reach or overlooked as extraneous and irrelevant, once the ceiling on their customary expected incomes are suddenly raised.
2. To observe the character of their choices and the intensity of their desires against the background of their value structure.
3. The level of their perception and cognition of new opportunities, their mental horizons and economic motivations.
4. Did the contact with outside world influence their choice of alternatives; or at least altered the ranking and weighting of their value orders, e.g. progress, wealth versus status, tradition.

Interpretation of the Findings:

Table XV shows that the character of the choices expressed by the respondents generally were centered around their need for economic security, emphasis on the attainment of land and to a degree the possession of

*Originally, the questionnaire drawn up for this particular interview was: "How do you spend your income?" The purpose was to discover the expenditure pattern of the peasants in the investigated villages. However, the evaluation of the "Pretest" results in Artvin and Bingol showed that, the operational purpose of the question was limited and irrelevant since the presently studied peasant communities, particularly the I type of villages were near subsistence levels.

Table XV

SUPPOSE GOVERNMENT OFFERS YOU 10.000 T.L., HOW WOULD YOU SPEND IT?	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Buy Plow Oxen	17	23.6	13	18.1	4	5.5	34	47.2
Buy Land	19	26.4	29	40.3	31	43.1	79	109.8
Move to Town	2	2.8	7	9.7	19	26.4	28	38.9
Open a Grocery	7	9.7	3	4.2	2	2.8	12	16.7
Others	15	20.8	6	8.3	3	4.2	24	33.3
Don't Know	6	8.3	2	2.8	-	-	8	11.1
No Answer	3	4.2	1	1.4	-	-	4	5.6
Pay Debts	3	4.2	11	15.3	13	18.0	27	37.5
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

productive goods, e.g. plow oxen, etc. The intensity of their desire for land might help explain the smallness of their common and their deep-seated desire to increase their holdings.

Contrary to popular misconception that, 'wherever there happens to be a rise in income and welfare of the peasants in Turkey, substantial part of this income would be diverted to the purchase of expensive and conspicuous goods which would prove to the community that the long sought after higher standard of living is attained', is not true particularly in the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey. (1)

To the extent that development has not created urban originating new goods and services, the character of their choices would be significantly affected by the pressure of their mere subsistence needs, the satisfaction of their basic needs which are inelastic in character. In Eastern Turkey this situation is further aggravated by a state of small economic base, small size and inferior holdings, the result of which is low level of output typically running behind their consumption needs. Naturally, the constant pressure of their current subsistence needs precludes the possibility of any margin of their spending going into objects of prestige or status symbol. Subsistence needs in such an atmosphere act as a sponge and passify their desires for alternative goods.

However, once the level of economic activity rises from that of a 'subsistence economy' to that of 'emerging exchange economy' peasants then might envisage a different pattern of expenditures and needs.

(1) Sabri Ulgener, from a paper presented at the Social and Economic Studies Conference Board conference on the 'Social Aspects of Economic Development. 1963, pp.123

The table shows a positive relationship between an increase of income and increase in mobility revealing again that, particularly in the III and II type of peasant societies expenditure patterns and mode of behavior have been greatly affected by the availability of markets, the openness to outside world, distance to cities or towns and most of all by the current level of their economic activity. Also, the finding of this particular interview strongly suggests that openness to outside among the II and III type of peasant population did not seem to transplant unfamiliar new wants but rather effect the reordering, that is, altered the degree and intensity of their existing needs.

For instance, in the I type of village communities, respondents expressed more desire to purchase oxen for plowing - twice more than the sum total of II and III type of villages - indicating the absence of co-operant productive factors and their need to supplement them.

The high level of emphasis on the attainment of land in the II type of villages (40.3%) and particularly in the III type (43.1%) reveals in essence the differentiation in land ownership, widespread landlessness and land hunger among the landless or small land holding peasants.* One carries the impression from the East, that, as the village economy becomes more monetized and precapitalistic motives take root in the socio-economic structure there tends to be a higher degree of maldistribution of ownership of land as well as a high degree of social and economic stratification.

The desire to move to a town or city, particularly in the III type of villages (26.4%) could be taken as a further indication of the respondents'

*An Eastern saying, "A landless man is a two-footed animal" explain their sentimental attachment to soil.

dissatisfaction with their present economic status in their communities. If they had a reasonable economic base in their village, as it was repeatedly admitted by some respondents, the desire for mobility might well have been diminished.

In contrast, relatively more respondents in the I type of peasant societies expressed desire to open a village grocery store! This result was not expected. However, the attractiveness of owning a shop in the village may have several roots: Firstly, the desire to own a grocery shop might be taken as a security or insurance against recurrent crop failure, drought; or, it may lie in their awareness of the village shoppers' growing influence as money lender* or as Muhtar in Bakirca village in Gaziantep. Or it might also be possible that, respondents could not think of any satisfactory way or any alternative outlet for spending increases in their incomes.** Finally, it might be unthinkable for the individual peasant to move or climb to a higher social or economic ladder through mobility since their communal obligations undermine their desire for moving or doing something different.

As the Table shows, (4.2% in the I type), (15.3% in the II), and (18.0% in the III type of peasant societies), respondents said that they would use their new income to pay debts. The desire to spend the newly acquired income to pay their back debts might be considered a further evidence of peasants' incurring debts for current needs rather than for investments purposes. Their low level of their productive resources and

*Please see the results of the question on 'who is the most forceful man in your village?'

**The range of wants might be limited because, as Boeke implies the good one knows about and can use are almost static in character. The socio-cultural institutions and other environmental conditions affect the peasants' conceptions and perception of wealth as well as utilization of income. For, the environmental factors and values act upon the perceiver as well as upon what is to be perceived.

output precludes the possibility of using their negligible savings as a lever to escape their indebtedness.

The higher level of desire to pay back debts, as expressed more frequently by the respondents in the III type of villages, might further suggest that, there was a reasonable correlation between increase in contact with money economy or high degree of exposition to markets and the extent of indebtedness.

Less problematic answers, however, were given by respondents who took the questions rather less seriously. With notable exceptions of those few who said they would go to Mecca for pilgrimage (11 of 24 respondents) and some who said they would buy houses (2 respondents) or rebuild their houses (7 respondents), some respondents also said that they would buy another wife.*

*A sociological study conducted among the nomadic people of Kurdish origin showed that, there was a strong and statistically significant correlation between high level of income or economic status and polygamy. That is, as income rises, the propensity to marry more than one wife increases proportionally. Look: Dr. Ismail Ekinçi. Doğunun Sosyal Düzeni, Ankara 1968, pp.159-163

WHO DO YOU CONSIDER WEALTHY IN YOUR VILLAGE?

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question is to test peasants' attitude towards wealth, to find out the level of their economic knowledge and wealth concept and their consciousness of wealth. The real significant thing is not their recognition of wealth as a stock but their notion of wealth as a potentially intermediate quantity whose appropriate metric is a flow of purchasing power.

The importance of wealth consciousness as an indicator for change in economic outlook can be proven only by comparing the market ignoring self-sufficient peasant communities in which notion of wealth is presumably a stock and with those peasant societies which have already begun to shift from a subsistence to cash economy.

The concept of wealth varies on the changes in the socio-economic outlook and cultural values of the peasant societies; degree of openness to outside; ownership of land and technology, closeness to cities and markets and fertility of land.

Interpretation of the Findings:

The answers to this question show that by and large, the overwhelming majority of peasants at all levels associate wealth with ownership of land. Wealth and ownership are so closely interwoven, nearly everywhere respondents show that they are firm believers in land ownership. Nearly 28% of respondents in the I type of villages, 54.2% in the II and 79.2% in the III type considered land ownership as a yardstick of wealth. However, it is not unusual for the predominantly agrarian

societies with deep-rooted tradition of ownership and facing land hunger to consider land as a form of wealth. -

An extensive study conducted on the cultural values and economic structure of the rural people of Eastern Turkey during the present study and research indicates that for centuries land ownership has been regarded as a measuring stick of social standing as well as a form of economic power. And aspiration to become a landowner is a deep-rooted desire among peasants and efforts to secure wealth are directed to the maintenance and expansion of landed property.

What is surprising, however, is the fact that there is a general lack of emphasis on the commercial aspect of possession of livestock and the possibilities of achieving wealth or status through returns they can gain by marketing them.

Table XI shows that wealth appears to be more highly significant especially held in the form of land rather than in the form of livestock or equipment. It may also quite possibly be that ownership of land and livestock are visualized in the same context.

In the I type of traditional peasant societies, 27.8% of the respondents considered the clan leaders and sheikhs or his son as wealthy. The feudal and authoritarian nature of these peasant societies add up to indicate that land ownership was acquired through social and religious power. However, in the II particularly III type of peasant societies, it seemed that land is valued not for itself alone; its possession stands as a symbol of social status, a badge of prestige and a form of political power. With few exceptions, land-owning classes in the East are not innovators but accumulators and they have little educative effect elsewhere

Table XVI

WHO DO YOU CONSIDER WEALTHY	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I			II			III	
	No.	%		No.	%		No.	%
Clan Leader) Sheykh }	20	27.8	Landholder	39	54.2	Landholder	57	79.2
			Muhtar	17	23.7	Muhtar	5	6.9
Village Shopkeeper	15	20.8	Village Shopkeeper	9	12.5	Town Merchant	8	11.1
Don't Know	37	51.4	Don't Know	7	9.7	Don't Know	2	2.8
TOTAL	72	100.0		72	100.0		72	100.0

in the rural socio-economic life. Another relevant observation was that land ownership, rather than income derived from this possession are valued, and prestige considerations tend to encourage overextended holdings*.

Though respondents were repeatedly asked whether they owned livestock, e.g. Sheep, goats, etc., nobody seemed to take a commercial attitude to livestock. This might partly reflect the cultural values and perhaps motives of raising livestock for domestic reasons blended with sentimentality rather than commercial or purely economic reasons. This occurs when prestige and wealth is measured by the number of livestock owned rather than the return one can gain.** They might not be wealth conscious. In fact peasants in the isolated, self-sufficient communities are interested only in satisfying a limited range of immediate subsistence needs, e.g. cheese, wool which Boeke implies are almost static in character. Once these needs are met, little or no further thought is given to their commercial value. More deep-seated, however, is their sentimental attachment to their animals, derived from centuries long dependence on its bounty.

In contrast 20.8% of the respondents in the I type of investigated peasant communities and 12.5% in the II type considered village shop-keeper wealthy. This might be the natural outcome of the narrowness of markets, backwardness of communications which are reflected in inter-village

*Observations during the present field study showed that, with the exception of Erzincan, Erzurum and Gaziantep villages nobody in other investigated peasant communities devote themselves exclusively to the cultivation of major cash crops. Also there were notable cases of absentee landlordship.

**One commonly observed marketing practice is that livestock in Eastern Turkey, in unofficial markets are sold not in terms of their weight but in terms of their appearances, age and other outward physical features, and by their sex. For further reference, please see:

'Seminar on the Economic Development Problems of the East. Turkish Chamber of Commerce, Ankara 1967. pp. 410-421

and internal price differences and which in turn reinforces the profitability for village shopkeeping. The real significant thing was not the recognition of village grocery owner as wealthy but why and how their wealth are channelized for further economic uses. The subsequent discussions during this particular interview in Adabag village in Bitlis and Kumluca in Mus showed that, with few exceptions the village shopkeepers invest their money in land. Land ownership has apparently such high status that even those who have acquired wealth in other trades would attempt to acquire land rather than investing in other enterprises.

As the Table XVI shows almost 51.4% of the respondents in the I type, while 9.6% in the II and only 2.8% in the III type of peasant societies refused outright to acknowledge that there were any wealthy persons in their communities. However, caution should be applied in evaluating this result in its absolute form. Because when the question was repeated to them in suggestive forms, e.g. "Has there been anyone who acquired wealth in recent years in your village?", they still ascribed to a negative answer. It might be plausible to conclude that economic apathy heightened by the concept of an unmaterialistic religious beliefs do not seem to regard wealth as a factor of prime importance or the concept of individual ownership or wealth as a basis of social status.

A comparative study of the answers given by the respondents in the II and III type of investigated peasant societies shows that landownership and wealth concept are closely interwoven and the greater the polarization of land holding and more peasants become landless farmers, the more land is regarded as a measuring yard of wealth. In these communities again, the form of wealth is the quantity of land or livestock under possession.

Table XVI further shows that in the II and III type of communities,

(23.7% and 6.9% respectively) respondents considered their village head as wealthy person. As it will be discussed further, the above answers partly show that Muhtar was chosen from the wealthy land owners, another reflection of the fact that land ownership could form a basis of socio-political power. This finding also confirms the general notion that there is a positive correlation between economic power which is reinforced by landownership and political power.

An interesting finding was the fact that, though limited, 6.9% of the respondents thought that town merchants were the wealthy people. The inclusion of town merchants might suggest that, respondents with the most profound change of outlook consider intermediary classes as wealthy. This might indicate that, they are, to an extent, conscious of the possibilities of achieving status through other trades other than landownership.

The real significant thing here, was not their recognition of wealth alone, but awareness of how this wealth is acquired.

Further remarks and Findings:

1. A number of respondents, particularly in the III type of investigated population between the lines expressed the view that inherited wealth rather than newly acquired wealth was the most desirable one in their communities. It is understandable when one knows that there was little chance to be 'a self-made man' among peasants whose long-felt ambitions to own land have been frustrated in recent years.
2. With the exception of some respondents in the III type of villages, the notion of wealth in the form of money - as a potentially intermediate power and a metric of purchasing power appeared only in those villages which have already begun to shift from subsistence to a cash economy. This result partly explains the fact that, the steady decline in the

value of money in recent years has had considerably retarded the change of attitudes towards money and accepting market values.

3. Respondents who had previously left their villages to work in Adana and other areas have acquired lands apparently after they had earned some money.

WHO DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST FORCEFUL PERSON AROUND HERE?

Assessment of the Question:

Traditionally, among the most deterrent factor which is said to be standing in the way of peasants' long-term socio-economic progress is the so-called 'influencial people' whose power was exerted over the minds and behavioral pattern of the peasants without winning their loyalty or devotion. Their capacity to affect and determining arts or choices of rank and file are well documented in any standard Turkish literature dealing with eastern peasant societies.

Bearing these considerations in mind, the respondents in the investigated villages were asked to name a person whom they considered to be the most forceful man in and outside their communities.

Interpretation of the Findings:

The tabulated answers offer a typical sample of the most powerful person or persons in the investigated communities. One interesting fact brought out by this interview was that the main reason of peasants' concern with the bailiffs, merchants, gendarmerie was not because of their respect or allegiances to them but apparently due to their abuse and suppressive authority. Because peasants also know the Muhtar or the veterinerian. But these authorities had not exerted force on the peasants, and it is in this sense that they are not considered to be forceful. Apparently the respondents named those ones whom they were in close touch or felt their power directly or indirectly.

Table XVII

WHO IS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL OR FORCEFUL PERSON IN YOUR VILLAGE	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landlord (Aga)	3	4.2	13	18.1	11	15.3	27	37.6
Aga's Man (Bailiff)	-	-	9	12.5	15	20.8	24	33.2
Town Merchant	1	1.38	9	12.5	17	23.6	27	37.4
Gendarmerie	42	58.3	29	40.3	17	23.6	88	122.2
Kaymakam	5	6.9	2	2.8	3	4.2	10	13.9
Village Shopkeeper	11	15.4	3	4.2	-	-	14	19.6
No One	7	9.7	5	6.9	3	4.2	15	20.8
Don't Know	3	4.2	2	2.8	6	8.3	11	15.3
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	216	300.0

1. Table XVII shows that about 4.2% in the I type of villages, 18.1% in the II, and 15.3% in the III type, respondents named the landlord as their choice of powerful person.* Here again, it seemed clear that, Aga's influence was more predominant in the II and III type of peasant societies where there was, as data on the distribution of landownership show, maldistribution of landownership, indicating further the existence of landlessness and tenancy farming. (Majority of respondents were from Tamburah village of G. Antep, Keklikkayasi of Erzincan, and Adabag village of Bitlis), who explicitly said that they were sharecroppers.) This result indicates that landtenure relationships are in fact social relations, central to which is man's relation to man in the use of land. In a deeper sense, tenure problem is a power problem - problem of disparity in social and economic power.

In the investigated peasant communities, only (3) respondents, all from Arakonak village in Mus province said they had written contracts with the landlord. In the majority of villages there seemed to be no law to regulate the relationships between Aga and the peasants, no

*There seems to be a positive correlation between wealth and authority which deserved obedience. But prestige and respect are different matters. Village elders, Hacıs to an extent the literate members of the community have prestige though they are not rich. Wealth or wealthy people do have prestige only when and if their wealth is used for communal ends, or when their influences are indirectly felt. Or when the wealthy members perform the function of the state in their respective areas of influence, there becoming a part of the rural institutions.

written contracts to bind the landlord legally or to define obligations and rights between tenant and landlord. In villages where Aga's presence are strongly felt, the peasants are completely at the mercy and will of the Agas.* In those villages where Agas do not need to supervise their wealth personally, which is very common in Eastern Turkey, Agas' role are assumed by bailiffs or by some one close to Aga. They are called 'Kahya', who often practice extortion on the landless farmers who are in large numbers and in no position to bargain.** Kahya, or Aga's agent

*During the pretesting in the selected villages of Artvin, I was told by a respondent that Agas in their areas never assumed the role of Muhtar or official representation of their villages. For if they did accept to be a Muhtar, they would naturally come under the control of the government officials in the district and even some local political authorities. Actually their political influences were far more felt by the people. For this reason they stayed over and above the small local officials and the roles of Muhtar were assumed by his bailiff or someone close to him. In other cases, if the Aga did not endorse the person to be elected Muhtar or the Council, nothing could be decided without the decisions of the landlord. In some villages decision-making process had to be taken outside the Village Council or the Muhtar.

**In recent years, press, radio and various writers of urban origin regularly make mention of lawlessness in Eastern Turkey, particularly in the depressed areas of the region. Although these so-called 'outlaws' - commonly called, "Eskiya" are said to be active against the law and order, in the rural areas they are no less than legendary figures of Robin Hood whose popularly well-received reactions to the landlords and their bailiffs have made them a part of the rural folklore and institutions.

Dr. Ismail Ekinici, a sociologist who has conducted a study among the nomadic Kurdish Tribes of Eastern Turkey, in response to his question regarding 'the best known person in their region', as well as the following question, he has found the following answers:

The question: Which of the following names or persons are familiar to you?

	Know	Do Not Know
SULTAN HAMIT (One of the last Ottoman Sultans) ...	37.8%	62.2%
ATATURK	54.0%	45.9%
BARZANI	89.1%	10.8%
KOCERO (An outlaw, killed during a skirmish) ...	100.0%	-
SEYH SAIT (A rebel, Kurdish leader of prerepublic era	21.6%	73.8%

The author concludes that, Kocero, an outlaw was a very popular figure and friend of the landless poor. After his death, songs had been written about his deeds. Though he was said to have come from a village in Siirt, every villager in the region believed that there was a bloodrelationship between them.

(Dr. Ismail Besikci. Alisan Asireti, Dogan Yayinevi, April 1969, pp.201-2

is the customary representative of the landlords who often do not directly involve themselves in farming. Probably they do not wish to come face to face with the peasants in every matter. They are simply the controlling groups. Actually, as the present study confirmed, landownership was considered a mark of socio-economic status and influence, but not so the actual job of farming. As the data on Table XVII shows, 12.5% in the II and 20.8% in the III type of villages, respondents mentioned Kahya as the most forceful man.

Obviously, the principal drawback of the Kahya system is that, these people are not only unsuited and unsophisticated to initiate incentive in their rural communities, they may not be interested in social harmony or economic progress and may even retard it.

Merchants were also mentioned as the forceful people in the investigated villages, 12.5% in the II and 23.6% in the III type of villages respondents were very much familiar with the power of merchants. This seemed to be the natural outcome of the dimensions of their socio-economic power which were also the potential sources of influence, namely control of use of land, control of markets and credits.*

*A study conducted by Professor Mubeccel Kiray of M.E.T.U., in Eregli, a Black Sea town, also shows that town merchants to a large extent have a say in village affairs and in other parts of Turkey as well. Even she claims that merchants were more forceful than gendarmerie, even Kaymakam.

Table XVII shows that the major portion of the respondents mentioned repeatedly the gendarmerie as the intensely feared disliked authority in their communities.* Those who said gendarmerie most frequently as their most feared authority were mostly from villages of Kurdish origin - Çökekyazi of Bitlis, Hancogiz of Mus, Seyithankey of Agri. However, respondents in Erzurum, Erzincan and in some villages in Mus did not mention gendarmerie other than saying that they represented obedience to government authority and law and provided security for their rural settlements.

One of the dilemmas of Eastern rural Turkey, as I saw it, was that gendarmeries were the only state authorities who have had close contact with peasants. Unfortunately in some peasant communities, the authority of state is felt not through the service factors, but through direct force of discipline, or kind of preoccupation with the prevention of abuses: Another example of state's role in encouraging passivity and obedience to authority rather than cooperation. Consequently, this type of approach has made the peasants suspicious of the government officials and the state which supports them.

*During my army service in Eastern Turkey, I heard that when a group of peasants had seen horseshoe prints on the muddy roads of their villages, they had had fear that gendarmerie were around. Last summer, during one of my occasional discussions with Dr. Ahmet N. Sozer, of Sociology Department of Ataturk University, Erzurum, said that, "Traditionally what gendarmerie said was law" in Eastern rural Turkey. Also Dr. Ismail Besikci in his book on Alisen Tribe of Eastern Turkey make reference to his following observation: 'In 1966 while conducting a survey among the nomadic tribes in Van region I showed a photograph of a high rise building to a boy of 12 years of age. The boy's answer was, 'Karakol ' gendarmerie station. Again, I showed him a photo of a stone building and asked him what it was. He again said Karakol. Finally, I showed him a photo of a primary school building. 'Karakol', he replied.

Ismail Besikci, IBID pp. 279

FOR WHAT BASIC REASONS DO YOU LEAVE YOUR VILLAGE? HOW OFTEN?

Assessment of the Question:

The research goals pursued in this question do not extend to durable forms of mobility e.g. geographical, occupational - vertical or horizontal*. This matter will be dealt with in subsequent question.

The research purpose of this question, is to explain and assess:

1. Why and for what specific reasons do the investigated population leave their villages from time to time; the extent and the degree of dialogue with the outside world, the nature of their sporadical movements.

This aspect of peasants' movement which has been only a short-time duration may help to predict their medium and long-run mobility behavior and attitudes which could be readily altered or prolonged through an effective rural development policy.

A knowledge of the sporadical movements of peasants in and out of their villages would seem to be of high value for an understanding of their behavioral pattern which are closely connected with the degree of their openness to outside world and the level of their socio-economic and cultural progress such as basic changes in their economic attitudes, acceptance of innovation.

The causes of sporadical movement of peasants can be several fold:

They can be due to the specific economic, social, administrative necessities, e.g. to visit the administrative officials or other socio-economic reasons depending on the level of economic development of each

*This case will be specifically dealt in another question

particular peasant society.

The economic reasons for peasants' movements could be considered in a separate context. For, this type of movements are relatively unstable over a time period which could readily be altered through communication media and agricultural extension services. Even peasants in the traditional communities may take over new market attitudes or they can be induced to be attracted into market orbits of a long-term duration. The degree and the nature of this sporadical movement of peasants and the extent to which these play up economic matters can be examined by comparing data about peasant societies which have closer contact with the outside world with those with lesser contact.

Whereas a short-term movements give an idea of peasants' basic reasons for their mobility, a prognosis of this type of mobility could give an opportunity for a long-term development policy capable of accelerating their preparedness for mobility of different socio-economic dimensions.

Interpretation of the Findings:

1. Table XVIII shows that 3 (4.2%) in the I type, 7 (9.1%) in the II and 5 (5.4%) in the III type of villages, respondents said they went to cities or towns for administrative reasons.

Although it was not possible to learn much on their business with government, from what could be gathered, the causes of movement for administrative reasons were several folds. Among others, registrational procedures, credit dealings with the Agricultural Bank.

2. The responses regarding peasants' selling crops seemed to be significantly correlated with the degree of contact with outside world and the level of economic progress within and between the investigated peasant

Table XVIII

FOR WHAT BASIC REASONS DO YOU LEAVE YOUR VILLAGE	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		II		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 Administrative Reasons	3	4.2	7	9.1	5	5.4		
2 To Sell Crops	2	2.8	11	14.3	18	19.4		
3 Medical Treatment	7	9.7	9	11.7	11	14.3		
4 To Look For Jobs	5	6.9	9	11.7	17	18.3		
5 To Find Work & Pay Debts	4	5.6	11	14.3	14	15.1		
6 Shopping (to buy)	3	4.2	8	10.4	11	11.8		
7 Others	25	34.7	19	24.7	15	16.1		
8 Don't Go At All	23	31.9	3	3.9	2	2.2		
TOTAL	72	100.0	77	100.0	93	100.0	242	300.0

societies. While there were 2 respondents in the I type of villages indicating that they sold crop, there were 11 persons in the II type and 15 persons in the III type of villages. The comparisons between the I, II and III type of villages regarding the number of peasants selling their products substantiate the observation made during the present study, that, the greater the degree of contact with modern means of transportation and other technological facilities, the greater is the actual mobility of the peasants to go to markets, and the greater is their psychological and economic mobility as their environmental conditions favor such incentives. The contrast between I type of traditional communities, the level of output is far too low either to cover a minimum standard of living or to provide market incentives.

3. Astonishingly, relatively a high degree of respondents, 7 (9.7%) in the I type, 9 (11.7%) in the II and 11 (14.3%) in the III type of villages, answered without qualification that they often went to towns for medical treatment. These answers were interesting, because they might be interpreted as an indication of a growing confidence and interest in modern medical treatment on the part of the peasants and also show their preparedness to change. For, the health concept and general view of disease in a society is closely related with its values and socio-cultural institutions, religious outlook and values affect the attitudes of people concerning illness. Studies conducted in other rural areas of Turkey also point out to a high degree of correlation between the level of income and desire for modern medical treatment. (1) Those respondents who said they

(1) Orhan Turkdogan, *Dogum Kontrolunda, Insan Faktoru*, Istanbul Universitesi. Iktisat Fakultesi, Cilt 25. No. 1-2, Istanbul 1966 pp. 194-205

went to doctor were also the ones who throughout the present interview displayed a high degree of preparedness to see their children not to be farmers and were disillusioned with the narrow village life.

* * * * *

However, caution should be applied in evaluating these results in their absolute form. It must be realized that, visiting a hospital or a doctor in the peasant societies very much depends on the kind of illness.

A study conducted by Dr. I. Besikci, a sociologist, among the nomadic tribes of Kurdish origin in Van area has found that there was a constant conflict between modern medicine and folk medicine. Briefly, his findings were as follows. Depending on the nature of illness,

In case of cold, diarrhea, stomach ailment, ear infection (21.6%) either leave it to its course or (51.3%) boil plant or grass roots for curing.

Further: -They never go to doctor in case of a broken leg or arm. In fact they think they are more competent than city doctors. Particularly in animal disease, they feel more competent than veterinarian.
-They leave mental disease or psychological disturbances to its own course, (18.9%). Only (10.8%) go to doctor while (64.8%) visit a sheikh or religious places.
-In case of epidemic disease, T.B., typhoid, syphilis, leprosy (72.9%) go to doctor.
-Sterility is treated by certain Hocas. (37.8%) visit religious places or sheikhs (43.2%). Only (12%) go to a doctor.⁽²⁾

(2) Ismail Besikci - Akisan Asireti
Dogan Yayinevi, April 1969
pp.210-211

4. Here again, the results suggest that, the proportion of those leaving their villages to seek jobs increased as the general social and economic conditions change at each and different stages of economic and cultural development. Unfortunately, in this present study, it was impossible to arrive at conclusions of general validity regarding the complex of influencing factors behind peasants' type of sporadic mobility.

However, inferences from peasants' responses to other questions and their talks during the informal discussions:

(a) Emigration was occasioned principally by periodic drought or to insure survival during the long winter months of scarcity. (These answers were particularly given by respondents in Konuktepe village in Agri, Arakonak in Muş, Aziziye village in Erzurum). Anyone who is familiar with the economy of Eastern rural Turkey would know that production, and employment fluctuates substantially with random changes in weather and other natural factors. Then in times of crop shortage, peasants, mostly younger ones work as 'Tutma' - performing a vast variety of works from repairing jobs, to construction. Whatever money they earn, they spend little of it and save the rest for their families back home. Their money wages, as quite freely expressed by them was too low either to provide incentives or prolong their stay. Some respondents also said that some men in their communities became small traders or petty salesmen wandering from village to village selling religious items, beans and perfume. (Particularly indicated by respondents in Aziziye village in Erzurum, Arakonak and Kumluca villages of Mus, Geyran village in Erzincan). Another kind of emigration from these communities took place during occasionally good opportunities of works in towns. But after they had earned some money, nearly all returned to their respective villages.

5. It must be realized that in the II and particularly III type of villages, there was a considerable polarization of land ownership and widespread sharecropping and landlessness. This narrowing in the environment of earning and living had made mobility one of the principal rules of survival and incentive to search for jobs among the poor sharecroppers and landless workers.

Partly as a consequence of the foregoing circumstances, those who said they moved out 'to find work and pay their debts' were the ones who showed the greatest inclination to emigrate. (Answer 5 on the Table).

The main motive for the decision to leave their village communities was the hope of finding a better livelihood in the new places. Scarcity of land can be regarded as one of the most impelling force causing the poor peasants to seek short-term employment elsewhere, though they do not cut their relationships with their villages.

In the I type of villages only 6.9% indicated that they left their villages occasionally for other works. This result substantiates the other findings of this study that, occupational mobility might have little meaning where production was organized on a family basis. The peasants in these societies seemed to have carved out themselves into their assigned occupations by a complex pattern of social stratification of the rigid structure of their tradition-bound communities. The impression gained during the present research showed that there was a growing pressure of local environmental conditions. Yet they seemed to have established an elementary equilibrium with nature whose generosity has been declining.

The contrasting evidences between these three types of villages indicate, what aspect of socio-economic and physical environmental conditions, cultural and personality characters were responsible at what stages for the process and transition to economic progress.

6. The relatively higher degree of movement of peasants for shopping purposes (to buy) in the II, (10.4%) and particularly in the III types of villages, (11.8%) indicate further that, dependency of respondents on supply from outside was on the increase as one compares the level of movement in the I type of villages with those of the II and III. This growing dependency on external markets might be due to:

1. Rising consumption standards due to rising purchasing power.

Their village economy has become less and less a subsistence economy. In fact, while there were relatively more grocery shops in the I type of villages - see the chart - particularly in the III type of villages the expansion of village shops has stopped because peasants now go to towns for their shopping.*

2. Greater degree of contact with modern means of transportation, closeness to towns and markets.

3. Also, like in villages Aziziye in Erzurum, Geyran in Erzincan and Arakonak in Mus there seemed to be a beginning of gardening, diversified farming and cash cropping.

7. Almost (34.7%) in the I type of villages, (24.7%) in the II type and nearly (16.1%) in the III type, respondents mentioned various 'other' reasons for their temporary departure from their village communities. However, with few exceptions, respondents would not qualify or give further explanation to their previous answers. More than half of the respondents

*In some of the II type of villages, some respondents said that the village shopkeeper usually charged more, so they had to go to town markets.

bluntly refused to say more than 'others.' When the wording of the question was slightly changed: 'Have you been to the provincial capital in recent months; have you visited your sheikh recently; they simply nodded their heads in the affirmative.

B

How Often Do You Leave Your Village	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II				III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Every Day	-	-	Every Day	-	-	Every Day	-	-
Several times a week	-	-	Several times a week	2	2.8	Several times a week	11	15.3
Once a week	3	4.2	Once a week	5	6.9	Once a week	10	13.9
Once in 2-3 weeks	-	-	Once in 2-3 weeks	17	23.6	Once in 2-3 weeks	21	29.2
Every month	7	9.7	Every month	14	19.4	Every month	11	15.3
Once in 2-3 months	18	25.0	Once in 2-3 months	16	22.2	Once in 2-3 months	13	18.1
Once or twice a year	21	29.2	Once or twice a year	11	15.3	Once or twice a year	4	5.6
Less	-	-	Less	4	5.6	Less	-	-
Not at all	23	31.9	Not at all	3	4.2	Not at all	2	2.8
TOTAL	72	100.0	TOTAL	72	100.0	TOTAL	72	100.0

HOW OFTEN DO YOU LEAVE YOUR VILLAGE?

The above table shows that, the greater the degree of contact with modern means of transportation and other technological facilities, the greater is the degree of actual mobility to and from towns and mobility is further enhanced by the economic outlook of the peasant society and closeness to cities and towns.

HOW DO YOU UTILIZE YOUR LEISURE TIME DURING THE WINTER MONTHS?

Assessment of the Question:

The research goal pursued in this question was to find out and appraise:

- (a) How do peasants evaluate their spare time in their idle seasons.
- (b) The degree of their awareness of the opportunity cost of leisure and their perception and cognition of the probable consequences of their alternative choice of action, e.g. Does it occur to the respondents that a better utilization and devotion of spare-time could provide them income or a commodity or service that they do need?

How different is the degree of perception and cognition of economic opportunities from exploiting such advantages in and among peasant societies which are in different stages of economic development and with relatively varying degrees of openness to outside world.

- (c) Finally to make an empirical study of the hypothesis of Professor Boeke who implies that, socio-cultural environmental conditions of poor rural communities rationalize and condition peasants to living at close to mere subsistence level and that since their wants were fixed and desire for income were weak which are capable of being fulfilled with few hours of work, they worked little or at times that suited their conveniences. If Boeke's interpretations were applicable to the peasant societies of Eastern Turkey then the rural idleness is a voluntary phenomena and a 'leisure by choice'.

In order to determine to what extent the cultural values and climate play upon the character and the choice of action of the peasants, the degree of the respondents' sensitivity to income producing activities,

Table XX

HOW DO YOU UTILIZE YOUR SPARE TIME *	R E S P O N D E N T S							
	I		II		III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whatever misc. and minor works to be done in the village	22	28.2	41	40.6	18	18.4	81	87.2
Nothing Don't Know	37	47.4	19	18.8	33	33.7	89	99.9
Others	14	17.9	23	22.8	18	18.4	55	59.2
Go to town or city for temporary jobs	5	6.4	18	17.8	29	29.5	52	53.7
TOTAL	78	100.0	101	100.0	98	100.0	277	300.6

*The number of respondents adds up to 277, since many respondents mentioned several ways for spending their leisure time.

their mental horizons and aspirations.

Or could it be that the so-called, 'rural idleness' is an involuntary one due to the absence of co-operant resources, e.g. knowledge and capital to set them work.

Interpretation of the Findings:

As the data on Table XX shows, the respondents in the I type of villages (28.2%) and particularly in the II type (40.6%), have indicated that their spare times during the idle seasons were largely spent on working in their family units engaging in livestock care, repairing of tools, etc.* In terms of the disposition of the family labor, only on their own account, seemed to indicate that the prospect of keeping all the working members of the family substantially employed throughout the year particularly in the I type of peasant communities was very nil. Because by respondents' own admissions, in each of these investigated villages, the resources of the family, whether it was livestock or capital were relatively too few to keep them technically employed in these time periods. Moreover there seemed to exist no alternative accessible productive resource bases for redirecting a part of the family members away into other activities at appropriate times. Another relevant point of consideration is that the cyclical nature of agricultural activities introducing another dimension which bears heavily on women folk who, as bluntly put by a respondent in Konuktepe village of

*As indicated during one of the informal discussion, as a rule women in Eastern rural Turkey do the following works: rear children, prepare food, bring water, gather and prepare manure cakes for fuel, (it is unethical for men to gather fuel or bring water), feed animals, milk livestock, cure animal disease, clean the barn, weave carpet or woollen clothes and socks, wash clothes, make barter with the travelling salesman, walk to towns while their husbands ride on animals. This is another indication of male dominance!

Agri, "the principal part of winter works are done by our women. After all what are they for? They cost us a lot to acquire them."

Although livestock care, repair and maintenance of structures, soil improving practices are key efforts to the processes of agricultural capital formation, only 18.4% (18 respondents) in the III type of peasant communities said they were engaged in supplementary agricultural activities during their periodical idle seasons. These were mostly from Erzincan and G. Antep rural areas some of whom even said they they were fully engaged in their farming activities throughout the year, and could not afford leisure. It might be plausible here to argue that the character of choice of leisure and the disposition of one's leisure time are significantly affected by the relative size of one's resource endowment, assessability to co-operant resources and presence or absence of skills and outlets for markets. Also by the availability of supplementary work opportunities, e.g. mixed cropping, poultry, raising livestock and carpeting.

By far the most frequent responses received regarding the disposition of spare time were either 'nothing' or 'don't know'. 47.4% of the respondents (37 persons) in the I type of villages, 18.8% in the II (19 persons) and 33.7% (33 persons) in the III type of peasant communities seemed to show the evidences of an undisturbed customary peasant life which were regulated in a changeless pattern by the cycles of the agricultural seasons. (Note: Naturally the present research does not suffice to analyze all the aspects and determinants of the factors that influence the type of disposition of spare time by the investigated population. The present study

*These respondents who had said 'don't know', were later asked what they meant, nearly all said that they did nothing.

was conducted during summer months when the peasants were mostly at the peak of their agricultural activities which rendered direct observation or appraisal impossible.)

However, there were sufficient evidences, e.g. inferences from interview results, answers to indirect questions, to suggest that certain underlying factors and combination of environmental forces which are particularly responsible for the peasants' tendencies to act in specified ways and under specified situations. The experiences gained during field study and subsequent research and study showed that given the physical and biological nature of agricultural production and the associated socio-cultural environmental conditions, certain attitudes are indispensable for deduction and prediction of peasant behavior who are in the same stages of economic development and under similar environmental conditions.

Literature on peasant societies make references to different types of leisure: 'Enforced leisure' resulting from few accessible productive resources with which to work. The absence of alternative outlets coupled with narrowing of economic holdings intensified by population pressure was a common characteristic of the extended family type of agriculture in each and particularly among the I type of investigated peasant population.*

There are considerable evidences indicating that, the so-called 'enforced leisure' was also reinforced by cyclical leisure in Eastern Turkey in which the seasonal variation in agricultural activity required many hands at certain specific times of the year, e.g. harvesting, seeding and mouths that must be fed all times of the year. The implication of the

*In this situation the demographer speaks of overpopulation, the economist, quite wrongly, speaks of zero opportunity cost of labor.

widespread absence of co-operant resources coupled with lack of employment opportunities outside agriculture, created a situation whereby a low level of equilibrium was established between nature and the time hallowed peasant life which made it more vulnerable to a vicious circle of poverty. These observations partly dispute the arm chair speculations, that, rural idleness was a 'leisure by choice'. Because as the data on Table XX shows, 17.8% of the respondents in the II and 29.5% in the III type of peasant communities- as well as in response to subsequent questions, expressed their discontentment and indicated their willingness to work in outside jobs if only they had a reasonable chance of getting jobs. Contrary to popularly held misconceptions, rural idleness in some of the Eastern peasant communities did not seem to be due to their laziness but due to the absence of other opportunities. And, that, when alternative job opportunities outside of agriculture were perceived, it enhanced their mobility, intensified their desire to substitute work for leisure. And in the absence of work opportunities, peasants simply did not know what to do with their leisure and spent their time chatting, playing cards or in total hibernation. However, to the extent that development has not yet created important wants, as in the I type of villages, where peasants' meagre efforts permitted the satisfaction of their meagre subsistence needs, they showed little inclination to strive for extra effort for extra consumption. Actually only 6.4% of

*Some peasants I met during the present field study told me that they regularly went to as far as Cukurova to work as hired hands to weed out cotton fields, especially during cotton picking season. However, they did not seem to like the way they were treated both by forceful bailiffs and the hot climate.

the respondents (5 people) in the I type of peasant societies indicated that they explored job opportunities outside their geographical environment. Only the findings in the I type of tradition-bound and isolated communities that it was possible to trace the evidences of what Boeke or A. Lewis referred to as 'rural apathy' of peasants who are traditionally conditioned or rationalized to produce or work for the satisfaction of their mere subsistence needs. They seemed to regard this form of behavior normal and therefore may not appreciate higher opportunities or better utilization of their resources 'even if this only extends to the allocation' or mobilization of their own labor.

The institutional environment influence the disposition of leisure time by passifying economic values and motivation for creative action or cognition of alternative opportunities. In fact, as the present study and observation showed, one would hardly notice in the observed peasant communities, any tradition of tinkering, of home invention or curiosity or a drive for doing old things in new ways. As mentioned earlier, their inherited aptitudes for handicrafts and carpeting could bring in additional income and their primitive often insanitary farm dwellings could be kept up with only simple labor. Yet there seemed to be little impetus within investigated tradition-bound societies, to put extra work into their spare time. They seemed to overlook the consequences of their alternative action, partly as a result of their remoteness from peasants' cognitive field. The intricate system of mutual reliance of extended family security system, the spiritual motive for the 'riches of the next world' could hardly aspire the peasants to reveal their latent abilities by any idea of economic gain.

In contrast, respondents in the II and III type of communities who were comparatively less isolated and relatively more differentiated in their social and economic outlooks seemingly had wider horizons and

aspirations for better life other than what their rural communities could provide. Yet their non-diversified agricultural economy, coupled with the absence of alternative work outlets, promoted little desire for mobility, little motivation to dispose their leisure time effectively due to the limited range of its possible uses.

There were strong evidences and shared traits in the investigated peasant societies to suggest that the relatively most ignored element was time cost, or opportunity cost of not realizing of the extent to which time could be put to use.

On the one hand, the general prevalence of slack times engraved by the seasonability of agricultural activities, on the other hand disturbingly poor sight of the rundown mudbrick houses, unkept roads and unrepaired barnyards which could have been kept up with simple labor at appropriate times. According to the information given during the present study, nearly each community were considerably talented in agricultural craftsmanship, in handicrafts, e.g. hand woven kilims, stockings and carpets - which they could translate easily into market opportunities, which at least some seemed to be aware. Yet these abilities largely remain latent and with little impetus and realization of the extent to which they could utilize their spare time.

The seemingly more puzzling experience was that, some of the relatively younger respondents in the III type of peasant societies who seemed to be more leisure-bound, in response to another question, were also expressing their desire to get jobs in the factories; the two things could hardly be reconciled.

It seems evident that a policy that would ensure the disposition of leisure time more effectively, will require a broader range of measures, e.g. education, encouragement of raising more and better livestock, poultry, mixed crops, carpet weaving which might revive a hope, stimulate new effort and make the choice of work for leisure more attractive and of a permanent nature.

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PART V

PART V
CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF PROBLEMS

I

REQUIREMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND CHOICE OF STRATEGY FOR ACTION

While the problems of economic development of peasant societies in Eastern Turkey have been discussed for many decades, it is only in recent years that they have been the subject of serious practical attention. During the last few decades, however, the character of development policy with respect to both regional development and choice of productive activity has been one of formulating a set of policy programmes to be adopted to widely varying situations. Most Turkish experts believe that since the rural economy has remained for so long almost stationary, the stimulation of innovation and capital accumulation through the propulsive forces of government action would have sufficient power and scope to 'remove the obstacles to development' and 'to accelerate development in the poor peasant societies'. All else would follow almost automatically. It is, however, only too easy to point out a major deficiency in such a general attack on all phases of the problems in that such a 'release the inhibitor' approach to the problems and environmental obstacles which have limited the development of rural Turkey would not go very far unless particular policy measures were geared to the specific environmental characteristics, problems and goals of peasant societies. Nor would a policy of injecting massive doses of capital produce improvement unless the indigenous forces are responsive to external stimuli and there is adequate internal motivations and desire for economic improvement within the peasant societies.

It is clear that the establishment of a development process in ~~peasant societies is a manifold and complex operation which necessitates~~ the aid of many disciplines since development process itself is closely interwoven with many features of social, cultural, economic and physical

environmental conditions. If economic development is viewed as a dynamic process which involves changes in motivations, values and tastes, technological knowledge as well as improvement in productive capacity and material achievement, it becomes apparent that the interactions between economic and non-economic factors should be firmly identified in order to see what is involved in the requirements of development process. Similarly, to suggest a realistic and practical development program in order to move the rural economy forward in balance it is necessary to tackle the problems at the source, at the indigenous base and at the population end. It is necessary to discover the specific needs and resource base of each locality and the possibilities of transforming the peasants and their environment, to help them to recognize their problems and instil in them the initiative and desire for improvement. It is also necessary to know to what extent required institutional and other non-economic changes can be carried out directly through educational and extension programmes or indirectly through economic changes that could corrode the non-economic oriented cultural and social environment and thus bringing about a long series of changes in the cultural cadre of the peasantry through new incentives and by making them economically conscious and participant societies.

When one proceeds from the general requirements of economic development of the peasant societies to the more specific requirements at village level, it becomes necessary to establish a definite set of criteria and specific policy measures since there are no longer single typical 'Anatolian Villages' with identical environmental characteristics and similar pattern of economic experiences. However attention must also be given to specific policy programmes which can implement general requirements for the economic growth of the region. In other words, in order to maintain some

internal consistency in the pattern of economic development process, the development of peasant societies should be treated within the framework of the overall growth of the region and be integrated with other policy programs designed to accelerate the economic development of the country in the broadest sense.

Similarly, economic development within the region will have to be considered with respect to sectoral development e.g. an increase in the output in livestock production must be accompanied by increase in market demand both at home and abroad. This mutual growth process is essential to ensure that development can be maintained, its cumulative and long-lasting effects can catch hold and the carry over from marketing activity can spill over the rest of the economy.

The present discussion will first suggest various possible lines of action of general relevance concerning the economic and non-economic policy proposals and then will proceed to specify a particular policy strategy suited to specific characteristic problems and growth potential of various types of peasant societies which are currently undergoing different patterns of development process. For, the strategy of developmental policy action with respect to regional development as well as the choice among alternative productive activity will be decisive in determining whether or under what conditions a given development policy programme can contribute as much to development as is possible and how these objectives may be achieved.

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

A Consideration of Non-Economic Factors :

Economic development is the product of an interaction among resources and human factor whose experiences, attitudes and economic behaviour is influenced by cultural values and social institutions. Accordingly, every attempt should be made to bring about economic change with a full understanding of the interactions among economic forces and the indigenous forces, customs and values and the total social environment within which the development process unfolds. That is, economic criteria of rural development must be supplemented by non-economic criteria if a sustained development is to be achieved and if the process is to become institutionalised within the cultural cadre of peasant society.

To prevent peasants' discontent, the introduction of economic changes should be gradual and selective and wherever possible the maximum use of cultural values and social institutions should be made. The problem is often not how much economic change the peasant economy can absorb, but rather how much peasant people are willing to accept cultural change. In other words, attempts have to be made to establish self-generating development processes within the poor peasant society by developing greater initiative in the peasants in particular by giving them the feeling that the stimuli of development are of local origin. Experience from peasant societies in Turkey shows that development cannot proceed effectively and cannot prevail over long periods unless it has the peasants' tacit understanding, acceptance and support.

The implementation of the development policy programmes could be tried first in those selected peasant societies in which the environmental conditions are most conducive to change, the cultural climate is favourable, and where values and motivations are most receptive to development - a

type of 'growth-point' approach.

In other areas where inherent institutional resistances are met, it becomes necessary to determine how they can be modified e.g. by education, demonstration or conversion, or how they can be compensated for or channelled into constructive outlets. For instance every peasant society in Turkey has community opinion leaders, imams etc. If these opinion leaders are converted to the idea that poverty is not an unalterable fate and that economic change is necessary for community survival and the economic health of the community could bring prestige, power and social recognition to their communities, they may show more willingness to accept at least some of the selective and gradual economic changes. And peasants would be more willing to accept a programme which originates in their communities and through their leaders whom they respect and trust. (The classical example : if a village imam endorses the programme with appropriate passages in the Koran which back up the idea, the peasants could be persuaded to participate in the development programmes.)

Similarly, as the findings of the field study show, in the majority of peasant societies, the respondents expressed strong community loyalties strengthened by their deep-rooted social sentiment derived from and reinforced by the Islamic concept of brotherhood and their strong attachment to their family and clan. They do not usually act separately or alone but rather respond to such group incentives as prestige, power, family survival and also take pride in their local achievements. At first, this community identity and spirit may not be conducive to any organized group action, but once it is determined what peasants' long-felt needs are and which projects can create a favourable response from them in terms of self-help, it may be feasible to devise some ways and means to provide external help, technical support and encouragement for particular forms of group involvement which fit in

with the psychological attitudes and environmental peculiarities of the peasant societies. Here again the watchword should be gradualness, beginning with the simpler type of community self-help schemes organized for specific purposes and gradually expanding them as more experience is acquired.

B Infusion of Social and Economic Knowledge and the Role of the Government :

1] Infusion of economic knowledge should be considered as an essential part of any policy programme capable of making the best and most permanent contribution. Because the effectiveness of any agricultural development programmes and their implementation depends on the modification of the existing complex value systems, motivations and inflexible institutional structure must be gradually transformed by the acquisition of knowledge. As the field study findings show, absence of knowledge and absence of change, immobility, impoverishment and the narcosis of resignation go hand in hand. Peasants do not seem to exert themselves about things of which they have no knowledge or of which they have no experience. There has been little inquisitiveness and little will to progress since the peasants had no experience or knowledge of what was better. For instance, if a farmer cannot perceive and recognize market opportunities, he has no incentives to produce more than he needs for his own use.

2] To secure economic development in such circumstances will require a broad range of measures with specific emphasis on investing in human resources. Development cannot proceed fully with a passive and ill-informed population.

^a
It is generally accepted fact that practical educational programmes reinforced by other supplementary measures could :

i] lessen the resistance to change and help the peasants to realize

their productive potentials; improve their perception and 'cognitive structure'; broaden their imagination and economic horizons and incite an array of incentives which may lead to the utilization of their resources more efficiently.

ii] promotes a wider and better understanding of the existing local problems and their causes; facilitates the diffusion of innovation, risk taking and technical proficiency; increases their geographical and occupational mobility; fosters better public relations, cooperative actions and decision-making; changes the pattern of incentives and inducement for the adoption of improved methods of farming.

iii] awakens peasants' interest in output-promoting inputs such as new type of fertilizer, seed and breeding stock; promotes public support for land tenure improvements and new forms of agricultural activities; creates conditions for the continued successful functioning of new institutions after they have come into being.

iv] guides peasants to seek for alternative possibilities for productive action and encourages them to combine elements of rational decision-making with risk taking in their market pursuits. Further prepare for other occupations peasants who might be economically displaced as a result of the transformation of their occupational and productive structure.

3] Attempts to lessen peasants' economic ignorance in order to achieve a better utilization of their human and natural resources or bringing about structural changes in agriculture are, however, only part of the task and only a starting step. The question is not one of providing educational facilities to each and every peasant society, but establishing some priorities for devising some ways and means to educate peasants in new and efficient agricultural methods and livestock production so that the potential gains from an increasing knowledge will be applied and

diffused more widely into the rural economic and social structure.

a. A sound information programme backed by government support and technically skilled information specialists trained in public relations could appeal to the peasant cultivators or livestock producers in the language they know and understand. In tradition-bound and semi-isolated peasant societies information programmes could reach the peasants through audio and visual aids, through demonstration or direct or indirect persuasion if the required changes in 'know-how' is to catch hold and find feedbacks among the peasant populace. Experiences in other lands show that any sound action programme which is planned from peasants' point of view and addresses itself to peasants' self-interest and where the results can be easily demonstrated has the most potent appeal to the peasants. Many experts on community development agree that the most potent tool of education is demonstration, notably the one in which the peasants who are to be persuaded can actually participate and try it for themselves. Various examples are given for 'seeing and doing' method demonstrated in the least-educated peasant societies where a peasant who has never seen a long-handled hoe will learn its advantages best if he can hold it in his hands and use it; equally the advantages of a new type of fertilizer became more readily apparent if the use is demonstrated by a neighbour or someone he knows. However, while it may be relatively easy to teach peasants the value of using long-handled hoe or fertilizer, it is harder to convince them that they should concentrate solely on livestock production or consolidate their fragmented holdings. Clearly, land tenure problems involve traditions, religious and other deep-rooted values and psychological attitudes. Therefore the success of a development programme depends on whether it is considered within a socio-cultural matrix and also whether the peasants have economic incentives and means in order to go along with the programmes.

b. The proposals for agricultural education and information action programmes

should prepare indigenous forces for cooperative marketing etc., and emphasise the principle of cooperative actions as a means of promoting group consciousness. By generating such vigorous new forces the self-interest of peasants may be awakened in order to replace the methods of compulsion used by the government (Salma) to initiate necessary action. Other developing countries faced with similar agricultural development problems, such as India and Pakistan, have launched such cooperative development schemes to bring peasants into closer mutual contact. High priority should also be given to the programmes to improve agricultural practices through a rural-oriented organization and staff to work continuously with farmers, educating and assisting them and showing to them the practical advantages of using better methods and techniques. At present in eastern rural Turkey there is an urgent need for more trained staff notably for raising the standard of animal husbandry. Moreover, other services such as extension of transportation, communication, credit facilities must also be effectively tied in with the cooperative or educational improvement programmes. If rural development is viewed as a process made up of inter-related parts, then it becomes necessary that programmes of action must proceed on a broad front in a coordinated fashion. In other words, there should be a definite policy of providing personnel and funds for improving both human and non-human resources (infrastructural investment etc.) if far-reaching and sustained development objectives are to be achieved.

Infusion of economic knowledge and cooperative action can also contribute greatly to the removal of market imperfections whose attributes are : inversely correlated ^{with the} desirability of marketing pursuit, adoption of innovation, risk-taking and perception and cognition of economic opportunities. The concomitant consequences of improved economic knowledge are the exploitation of fresh opportunities, better utilization of under- or misutilized time, and a transference of what savings there are away from unproductive outlets to more productive channels of production. No success-conscious agricultural development policy can afford to miss any opportunity for awakening such an

interest in promoting efficient utilization of resources and disposal of agricultural produce to the best benefit of all concerned.

c. In the Middle East and Turkey in particular, agricultural education and curricula have stubbornly emphasised a 'bookish approach' and on formalistic learning at the expense of vocational or practical preparations. For instance, a surprising number of graduates of agricultural schools are familiar with the Latin names of plants or insects that are to be found in other parts of the world but few would know the names or the features of the grass that they step on.* Few schools have adequate tools, instruments, labs or elementary demonstration facilities. Moreover in Eastern Turkey, where the focus of economic life is animal husbandry there is not a single school to train young farmers in the modern methods of livestock production. On the contrary, the livestock in the region is largely degenerate and infected by disease and animal husbandry practices have not changed since early Ottoman days.

The curricula of agricultural schools will have to be reviewed and revised if they have to become a media of economic progress and produce graduates who are equipped with practical 'know-how' or who are willing to engaged in agriculture and focus their attention on the practical problems faced by eastern agriculture. It seems apparent that to justify vocational and agricultural education, more emphasis must be placed on on-the-job training so that students will know something about essential village crafts, repairing of equipments, animal husbandry and to learn how to get their

* Not long ago, an agricultural officer gave a lecture on the advantages of using chemical fertilizers to a group of farmers in the Black-Sea region. He told them that if they applied fertilizer to those apple trees (pointing to some trees near-by), they would get more apples, more apples meaning more marketing and more income and so on. But the peasants insisted that it was impossible. Then the officer said "you say impossible because you are ignorant; and your poverty stems from your ignorance". Then an old peasant in the crowd said : "We say it is impossible not because of our ignorance but because these trees are not apple trees". This short example also illustrates the lack of understanding of public relations and ethics among some agricultural officers working with the peasants.

hands dirty and show more willingness to work with farmers.

Finally, in the implementation of the policy programmes with regard to raising peasants' economic expectations, gradualness is essential especially when the local resource base can provide no supply for media-stimulated demands. In other words, to avoid peasants' discontent (that is to avoid the situations of over-aspiration in the face of under-achievement) it is more feasible to assess first, to what extent development can be achieved in the context of existing local resource and within the socio-cultural environment and second, to what extent the transformation of institutional structure reinforced by external stimuli is needed, in order to bring about a more congenial environment. Unless the peasants have an adequate resource base to build on or able to do what the economic policy programmes urge them to do, the prospect of progress will be short-circuited and dissipated. If the local resource base permits sufficient internal motivation and adequate response for development, then the technical guidance and extension programmes can become meaningful and effective for changing the traditional agricultural outlook and stimulating market incentives. In the majority of peasant societies of eastern Turkey, there is a formidable cultural lag in adjusting to changing conceptions of social and economic life. However, increased knowledge of a better way of life may, at first, create discontent but if tactfully manipulated may gradually create a favourable response to production opportunities and incite new incentives and contribute further to efficient exploitation of latent abilities. As was stated earlier, complacency and stability (absence of change) have never been a stimulus for change but discontent is usually the cause of change and which also reveals the crumbling of the traditional values and lessening of fatalistic peasant attitudes.

OK
A Government should provide the means to facilitate the peasants' search
for an outlet for constructive dissatisfaction and channelize their rising

expectations into constructive developments for the future. However, it requires a long-range policy programme to maintain a balance between the so-called "the revolution of rising expectations" and the peasants' meagre ^{etc} accomplishments.

C. The Need for Government Action.

It is apparent that Eastern Turkey has long remained the most underdeveloped region of an underdeveloped country, therefore the vigorousness of governmental role and participation in the initiation and the direction of the development process is highly necessary.

By way of a general summary, the following governmental action may be listed as ways to solve various problems of peasants' inherent poverty and to accelerate development in the peasant societies.

The focal point of development policy should first concentrate on the human aspect of the problem which would have direct or indirect repercussions and a long-range impact throughout the integral socio-cultural and economic milieu of peasant societies. A deliberate policy of action in the form of making the economic environment more favourable can only come about if peasants themselves recognize that man can master nature and there is greater incentives for economic achievement. No peasant society exists today in eastern Turkey which does not need investment in human capital. A proper soil analysis and careful description of the available land resources can make a substantial contribution by assessing to what extent lands which are already under operation can be more efficiently utilized, fertility of the soil can be maintained and the lands already eroded could be reconditioned.

Soil surveys and cadastral surveys in Eastern Turkey are largely neglected and little is known as yet about varying types of soils, their deficiencies and potentialities for cultivation and livestock production. On the other hand a considerable number of village areas, due to soil depletion and consequent falling yields, are becoming increasingly unable to maintain the level of food production to support their human and animal population. These lands are hardly amenable to the adoption of improved

animal husbandry practices or modern farming even if there were sufficient incentives and financial resources. Consequently low productivity per peasant populace, as well as per acre, coupled with limited incomes, low standard of living, malnutrition and ill-health have been accentuating one another, thereby increasing the pressure and entanglement of vicious circles.

The development strategy should take a hard look at these problems and concentrate on the facilities for research into soils, soil and plant nutrition so that output promoting efforts will be based on scientific grounds and the waste of land resources will be reduced.

In the meantime those peasant societies which are unable to maintain even their minimum subsistence needs due to soil exhaustion and poor natural endowment will require an alternative strategy of action such as resettlement of population or through changes in their occupational structure.

The uncertainty or confusion of land titles is another obstacle to agricultural development. Despite the existence of concentration of holdings and latifundia notably in southeastern rural Turkey, the majority of lands are predominantly small holdings tilled by small peasant owners or tenants whose scale of operation in the midst of deep-rooted tradition of ownership rights and conflicting claims do not permit positive incentives for land improvement or efficient utilization of scarce resources, thus perpetuating inefficiency and misutilization of land. Land holdings generally are not only small, but fragmented into multiple strip parcels and widely scattered holdings. The rents on land are arbitrary, unfair and excessive, and there are no lease protection laws. The number of absentee ownership is increasing along with tenancy farming, short leases, and arbitrary evictions.

An efficient agrarian structure is important in influencing the mobility of land, allocation of investment expenditures, the choice and effectiveness of production techniques as well as the creation of a congenial environment to ascend progressively toward economic interdependence and market orientation. These in turn, come down to the need for the introduction of

land tenure reforms and other supplementary measures designed on the basis of each locality's cultural, institutional, economic and physical environmental peculiarities. Redistribution of land or consolidation of holdings, as recommended by agricultural economists in Turkey, however, would not by itself improve the conditions of farmers unless accompanied by the provision of credit, substantial technical assistance and other social services and institutions. In some peasant societies, peasants may be persuaded into a system of cooperative joint family farming as in India where members pool their lands and join in their efforts for the promotion of common interests. Also a cooperative tenant-farming society may be organized along the lines of Indian experience, adapted to local conditions may be worth considering; also leasehold or freehold improvement or government purchase of land from absentee owners and then resale to owner cultivator or tenants who work the land on the basis of a fixed rent and operate the land according to the plan laid down by the society. Even if only limited results can be achieved by such measures, they should be encouraged as a means of creating a better economic environment in which these units function for common ends and help to adopt the indigenous agriculture and land-tenure conditions to developmental requirements.

The evidence from eastern rural Turkey indicates that the credit structure is highly defective, since, not only is credit mechanism geared for short-term financing, thus leading to financing of consumption, but there is also a growing reliance on non-institutional credit facilities which have unreasonably high interest charges often causing foreclosures and widespread rural indebtedness. Changes in credit structure should be considered as an essential supplementary policy action. The effectiveness of many of the agricultural improvement programmes, and the promotion of efficient cultivation, marketing, purchasing farm supplies and equipment, depends considerably on the improvement of the existing institutional credit policy. The encouragement of livestock production in areas in which the physical environment is most relatively favourable could be effectively promoted by the supervision

of loans in order to ensure that they are used for productive purposes. In this connection, it has been suggested that a loan may be given to a livestock producer on condition that he accepts possible livestock improvement after discussion with the representative veterinary agency and agrees to make his livestock pay off the loan by using improved methods. What is needed then is a system of supervised credit administered by agricultural bank credit representatives properly trained in various spheres of agriculture and capable of combining lending practices with agricultural extension and educational work.

However, it would be wishful thinking to expect that credit policy by itself can solve agricultural problems unless it is backed up by supplementary measures. There ought to be an administration that is financially and organizationally capable of tackling simultaneously various aspects of problem areas and much depends on the wisdom of the credit technicians, the soundness and effectiveness or operating methods of credit policies and their impact on the production. At the same time 'credit worthiness' of the borrower will also insure that proceeds of loans are really used to improve production.

The removal of market imperfections is vital. Among various developmental measures and government services which peasants need, few facilities are more important than adequate market provision. Market imperfections may be both a cause and consequence of low productivity. Even in those market seeking and market recognizing peasant societies, market imperfections appear to be a major obstacle to the expansion of output, and diffusion of market benefits or the carry over to the rest of the rural economy. Since production and marketing activities are closely interwoven and supplement each other, effective and positive measures should be taken to eliminate market imperfection. Particularly, as development proceeds, the changing of subsistence agriculture to cash crops and the growing involvement of peasants with

marketing activities necessitate fresh and suitable institutional arrangements if these societies are to become participant economies. Fundamentally such interdependent aspects of marketing e.g. transport, storage and grading, quality control and price stability, economic knowledge could facilitate the flow of services and commodities between urban and rural areas, accelerate the widening of the markets and push the production frontier outwards. The carry over from market participation will have a considerable bearing on the efficient allocation of resources, especially in the potential livestock producing areas. The problems of perfecting the market are very difficult but its importance is so great as to suggest the need for a major and coordinated effort for maintaining a dynamic and balanced relationship between increasing production in agriculture and expanding markets in order to create the necessary fluidity in the regional economy.

In the light of the region's physical, socio-cultural and economic environmental conditions, a development policy programme for eastern Turkey must focus primarily on the improvement of livestock industry. Livestock now contributes the major share in the regional income and this contribution can be raised considerably since the possibilities for specialization in livestock production are vast and the demand for livestock products both at home and abroad is likely to grow more than proportionately as the standard of living and purchasing power/consumers rise. As it was suggested in the livestock section, livestock production will continue to be the region's principal industry and basic source of its livelihood since the potentialities are great and the constraints on cultivation are considerable and therefore the improvement of livestock industry should be given priority.

It may also be feasible to encourage the involvement of the private sector in livestock industry in ways which can take a more commercial attitude to livestock in terms of processing and marketing of meat, wool as well as dairy products.

In principle cooperative movements can become important instruments for promoting agricultural improvement and agencies of self-help. They can stimulate the development of a sense of mutual interdependence and nurture a participant community spirit among peasants who have long embodied a sense of helplessness and who have long been accustomed to rely on the parental, or big brother role of the government - which has further perpetuated tendencies toward dependency and passivity. Whether peasant societies will take the challenge and consider the cooperative organization a part of their institutional structure will depend upon a number of factors, among which may be mentioned the following :

i. The presence of a community spirit and favourable socio-economic and cultural environmental conditions, psychological attitudes of the peasants toward cooperative action; the availability of capital, technical know-how, the quality of leadership, their values and motivations. Also whether peasants would agree to an institutional arrangement and a common economic pursuit and the methods adopted for the carrying out of particular schemes.

ii. Whether the particular form of cooperative movement being promoted is a suitable media for the fulfillment of peasants' long-felt needs. That is whether such societies could provide the supplementary services in the field of purchase and sales, procurement and extension of credit among peasants who are now excessively dependent on money-lenders, town merchants and absentee land-lords.

iii. Whether there are adequate governmental efforts to support, promote and guide the direction of the cooperative movement; the degree of rapport between peasants and government officials. At present, in the majority of peasant societies obstacles to development of cooperative societies are so formidable and pervasive that peasants can hardly take any initiative in forming cooperatives. Such institutions may materialize by having the government exert a critical minimum effort at least in their initial stages. The history of government intervention in the establishment of cooperative institutions shows

that government has often acted on the basis of value judgements and which subsequently proved erroneous in whole or in part. The details of co-operative societies must be drawn up in the light of each peasant society's cultural, social, economic and physical environmental conditions. Co-operative programmes should be adapted to each peasant society's need.

For instance, government can encourage the formation of such cooperative societies by providing free government services and technical assistance, low interest loans for meeting the production, marketing and management costs and assigning state-owned lands to villages which agree to manage their livestock or farm lands on a cooperative basis. Also notable concessions can be made in favour of cooperative societies, as in India, Pakistan or other countries, in terms of giving priority in the provision of irrigation facilities, road systems and veterinary services. In those peasant societies where the land resources and environmental characteristics are conducive to cultivation and where small size holdings are predominant, the same concessions can be made to small holders to encourage them to consolidate their small holdings and form cooperative societies in order to overcome the disadvantages of minifundia. A cooperative farming society could also promote peasants' common interests and facilitate the adoption of improved methods or techniques of farming and offer their members economies of large scale procurement and marketing. In Pakistan and India cooperative joint farming societies have been encouraging their members to pool their land and work it jointly; arranging for the joint purchase of requirements and joint sale of the produce and arranging the necessary finance for carrying out its operation and undertaking land improvement and all other output promoting activities. They can also help to offset the peasants' weak bargaining position by providing market and price information and facilitating the adjustment of production to market requirements.

In general, cooperative societies can be turned into positive assets and educative agencies for peasants if tactfully organized. The Ministry of Agriculture or Village Affairs could promote, organize and guide cooperative organization and train their leaders. With the addition of agricultural

education and research, adequate financial and marketing arrangements, good road systems and a flexible and fair agrarian system, then a healthy market-oriented agriculture can be assured. In other words, the major requirements for rural development is not simply that of solving economic problems of peasants or helping them to reach a given production frontier. The basic need is to alter the broader and deeper social and cultural patterns so that the inherent backwardness of the peasants can be redressed and the economic environment can be made more favourable for the successful functioning of economic and social institutions in which individuals who are willing to engage in marketing activity will be able to do so and there will be more tolerance for cultural and social deviations.

II

CHOICE OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The focus of life in eastern rural Turkey is the village community which characterizes not only a certain form of rural existence but also certain ways of economic and socio-cultural life. In knitting together the master plan of the development policy, it becomes necessary to establish a meaningful and realistic strategy for specific development policy action since peasant societies in Turkey, notably in the East have diversified socio-cultural, economic and physical environmental conditions which involve a choice among alternative development strategies. What may be suitable and effective policy programme for one type of peasant society, will not be so for another; moreover these societies are currently experiencing different patterns of change with vast differences in their natural endowment, with varying degrees of contact with the outside world and modern technology. Within these complex environmental peculiarities, there are also vast differences in social organization and economic traditions as well as in peasants' attitudes and their preparedness to change. Accordingly, instead of attempting to formulate a single development policy programme for all peasant societies, several alternative economic development paths and strategies of action have to be distinguished against the background of their environmental peculiarities. The fundamental objective of this highly relevant approach is to furnish a general framework of analysis within which the path of development process in the various peasant societies may further proceed. Such strategy can allow us perspective of view and a proving ground for assessing the significance and effectiveness of particular programmes which fit in with and further implement the general requirements for the economic development of the region.

By way of a general typology, the following two groups of peasant societies may be distinguished each of which can then be distinguished by differences in their preparedness to change, the degree of economic achievement and

natural endowment or potential capacities for advance and other socio-cultural environmental peculiarities :

A. 1. 'High-powered' peasant societies.

Characteristics :

- a) Relatively, a higher degree of actual and potential growth capacity which implies that there is a greater possibility for the realization of cash-crop potential;
- b) To a certain extent market-orientation and participation have been achieved;
- c) Greater willingness among peasants to use existing resources on the basis of comparative cost and advantage principle. (However, much depends also on the improvement of social and physical infrastructure e.g. road system, storage and other social and economic services;
- d) A greater degree of mobility and greater desire for self-improvement and also a greater degree of discontent and self-consciousness due to rising economic and social aspirations.

Choice of Development Policy Strategy :

- An adequate dosage of external aid is needed to accelerate social and economic growth in order to promote greater accomplishment to match with the rising expectations.
- Satisfactory public and social services e.g. educational and health programmes to accelerate rural transformation; improved marketing conditions, road systems and communications; promotion of cooperative organization for marketing, processing and credit provision etc.
- Development of cottage and home industries to relieve population pressure on land and prepare active but currently unskilled peasants for skilled jobs and create an industrial climate. (The field study of 1969 showed that respondents in this type of village, especially younger ones, expressed dissatisfaction with rural life but were prepared to work in industry close to their communities.) For instance, the establishment of food processing

industries could create much needed job opportunities and utilize indigenous agricultural products as their raw materials, eg. dairy products, cheese, tanning or meat processing plants, which may start on a modest scale. The creation of projects in strategically located areas, linking neighbouring villages together, could at the same time help to reduce the pressure of labour migration towards the crowded towns. Joint-schemes such as irrigation, land terracing and reconditioning or construction of village road systems linking the villages to the centrally located marketing system may bring peasants of diverse local cultures together and promote the diffusion and stimulation of interdependence among surrounding peasant societies.

- Another basis for the strategy would be, as J. Kolars states, to encourage the growth of high-powered villages through external stimuli, that is, indirectly through town and city development programmes so that a balanced growth and economic interdependence can be maintained to complement each other. This growing interdependence and acculturation process can gradually spill over and contribute further to a long series of economic and social changes.

2. Second degree (medium high-powered) peasant societies :

Characteristics :

- a) Adequate potential for development of cash-cropping or livestock production but a lag behind because of various institutional, technical and other features of environmental backwardness.
- b) General prevalence of critical bottlenecks due to the remoteness of markets, inadequate road and communication systems which hinder efficient allocation of resources, handicap the potentially 'growth-promising' type of economic activities.
- c) ~~On the other hand, lack of effective assistance in improving livestock~~ quality and management, extreme difficulty in obtaining necessary capital and credit for operation have prohibited the rapid transformation of

subsistence agriculture to market direction.

Choice of Development Policy Strategy :

- In the light of the above considerations referring to availability of marketing prospects and the resource base for livestock production or cash cropping, a development policy can concentrate on the "growing points" in the rural economy. It can attempt to raise the productivity and improve the quality of certain focal activities such as livestock or comparatively advantageous cash cropping which have a greater potential for a rapid growth;
- External aid is needed to inject more life into the indigenous human and resource base since growth possibilities is more dependent on induced rather than autonomous growth. Institutional resistance to change should be overcome in order to create a more favourable climate in the economy. Some of these retardative factors, particularly the inadequacy of credit, transportation and absence of technical assistance, limited economic horizons can be overcome by appropriate policy action in terms of investing in so called social overheads, encouragement of specialization in 'growing points' in the rural economy. A well coordinated policy programme should be employed as a means to accelerate the expansion of resources devoted to livestock or cash crops, by providing basic services, improving livestock breeding, grazing and marketing etc.
- A development policy may also aim to create jobs through rural development schemes linked to construction, irrigation etc.

B. 'Low-powered' Peasant Societies.

1. First degree low-powered peasant societies :

Characteristics :

- a) Limited resource potential; producing occasional surpluses of subsistence crops, indulging in infrequent marketing; generally a very weak agricultural response to market opportunities;
- b) Physical environmental limits have not been reached, particularly in

livestock production, but there is a limiting prevalence of economic ignorance and concomitant misutilizations of resources, e.g. cultivation of marginal or grazing lands etc., land resources which have been depleted. Consequently there is little possibility for crop surplus, thus of market opportunities.

c) The field study findings of 1969 showed that only the younger generation was dissatisfied and evaluated the future of their communities with greater pessimism, but few showed preparedness to give up their village community or their familiar setting or their farm occupation.

Choice of Development Policy Strategy.

- A development policy can aim at re-orienting peasants to concentrate on livestock production; that is, transforming peasants' occupational structure without affecting the location of the village communities. They are living in or from lands they are using. Government-owned grazing lands may be granted to such communities on the condition that they use them efficiently for grazing animals. In other words, the major strategy is to induce livestock production since the best possibilities for specialization and the expansion of the economy are in the field of animal husbandry. Also some ways and means should be devised to transfer marginal lands which are currently under cultivation to livestock purposes.

- A development policy may also be designed to overcome institutional resistance to change, thereby giving more incentive and congenial climate to the market seeking livestock producers, who would then have more favourable response to market prospects. The basic requirement for success under these conditions is that livestock producers must be given the necessary assistance in improving their skills, livestock management, effective guidance for marketing and credit for operation.

- Another basis of strategy would be one of inducing the more progressive peasants to proceed toward livestock production, at the same time concentrating on mobilizing unproductive peasants and employing them in various village development schemes, such as roads and other capital creating works

where they do not require much capital to work with.

- On the other hand village handicraft, carpet or kilim weaving, tanning or 'basse cour' e.g. poultry keeping, may be encouraged in order to improve the economic situation of the peasant population. Such a strategy should emphasize the simpler skills and techniques needing very little capital rather than stressing the more spectacular improvements.

Development of cottage and home industries or poultry may give limited results but may also greatly relieve population pressure on land, redress the persistent poverty and create a climate for change and a revival of hope, for a better rural life.

In all cases, however, it should be realized that many short-term solutions should be carefully geared with the long-range developmental objectives of the region.

2. Low-powered peasant societies :

Second degree low-powered (no potential for development.)

Characteristics :

- a) General prevalence of local isolationism, poor natural endowment and uneconomic location e.g. on severe mountain slopes, rocky and steep terrain with inferior soils and rudimentary road systems; very unfavourable economic environment which is not only unsuited for cash crops or livestock but where cultural values and institutional structure and motivational pattern are a major source of opposition to change;
- b) The local economic expansion has reached its natural environmental limits; generally absence of any potentialities for development due to extreme depletion of resources;
- c) Despite the poor natural endowment and worsening economic conditions, the rate of population growth is very high without any attendant increase in the level of production. Even direct government intervention in the short or long run aimed at improving the welfare of peasant people without moving

them from their villages appear to be too costly and in the light of scarcity of capital and financial resources it may even be impossible. The financial welfare strategy has been chosen up to now; a strategy which has failed to achieve any success at all.

Choice of Development Policy Strategy :

There is a need for a long-term re-orientation process and the future development and prosperity of such peasant societies are directly dependent on changing their location and their effective rehabilitation.

The options open to developmental strategists are either :

- Removing of peasant population and resettling them in areas with better working conditions and suitable soils. Subsequently the development policy can attempt to re-orient peasants to adjust to a new occupational structure by giving every effective assistance designed to revitalize the local economy so that a new occupational structure takes hold and the positive impact of economic change is felt. Thus the transformation of the parochial outlook of peasantry reinforced by suitable and effective development policy programmes may incite an array of incentives, a revival of latent abilities for new occupations which may further facilitate the exploitation of new opportunities.
 - Conversely, a development policy can aim at investing in some rural projects that break up traditional cultural patterns, alter their traditional privatism by drawing peasants away from their villages to work centres. For instance, preferential employment opportunities can be given to these mountain peasants in road construction, irrigation schemes or in local rural industries, re-forestration schemes. Such policy strategy based on economic as well as non-economic considerations may constitute a propulsive force and be an effective stimulus involving impersonal relations thus facilitate the loosening of rigid village traditional life and non-participant cultural patterns.
- By corroding the retardative and inflexible fabric of loyalties to local traditions and by extending affiliation from a single extended family group

into a wider range of group affiliation, such policies could promote tolerance for acculturation process since peasants of diverse cultural environmental background are brought into a closer interchange. On the other hand development of food processing industries in the strategically located areas within the region can provide training, income and create better climate for horizontal and vertical mobility.

In general a balanced policy action can generate new efforts based on new and healthy economic foundation and the accompanying increased incomes stimulate new efforts. It may also transform the static socio-cultural and economic milieu and incite fresh incentives for further economic pursuits.

In view of the real issues and problems of economic requirements for development which are intimately interwoven with the non-economic environmental forces, it is necessary to get beneath the surface of peasants' traditional outlook and discover the interconnection between these pervasive forces which determine the character and course of development. It is only then that we can realistically and intelligibly plot the course of development process rather than writing a mere story of development.

* * *

In the final analysis, the economic problems and requirements of development of peasant societies in the Middle East and in Turkey are only part of the task lying ahead. They involve much broader and pervasive socio-cultural, institutional problems, values and motivations. The transformation of peasant societies into progressive and dynamic participant societies is a very thorny, indeed a long range one which involves the whole integral milieu of peasant way of life. It necessitates much patience and longer periods to show results. More problematic, however, is the fact that behind the facade of that narcosis of resignation or fatalistic rural way of life, peasant people are rapidly becoming more and more impatient and are becoming exceedingly self-conscious

of their persistent poverty and economic and social inferiority, this aggravated by the revolution of rising expectations and growing knowledge of how other people live. They want the authorities to honour the blank cheques of promises given to them by the politicians over the years and are filled with a feeling that government and government alone should take the initiative for every major change. The dilemma of the situation is that, peasants' media-stimulated demands are quickly outrunning whatever their material accomplishments are and bringing further discontent, a quality of unfulfillment and disillusionment.

In the meantime few problems remain more mind searching, more interesting or more pervasive and formidable than the developmental requirements of peasant societies in the Middle East and Turkey. But the importance of their transformation into modern and economically healthy societies is only exceeded by the apparently insurmountable difficulties in doing something about it.

GLOSSARY

AUVF	Ankara Üniversitesi, Veteriner Fakültesi (Ankara University, Faculty of Veterinary Sciences)
DTCFD	Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi (Journal of the Faculty of Philology, History and Geography)
IUIFM	Istanbul Üniversitesi, İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası (Istanbul University, Journal of the Faculty of Economics)
KIBKEE	Köy İşleri Bakanlığı, Köy Envanter Etudleri (Ministry of Village Affairs, Village Inventory Studies)
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
SBFD	Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi (Journal of the Faculty of Political Science)
SIS	State Institute of Statistics
SPO	State Planning Organisation
TODAIE	Türkiye Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi (Institute of Middle East Public Administration)
TTOSOB	Türkiye Ticaret Odaları, Sanayi Odaları Birliği (Chamber of Commerce, Industrial Union of Turkey)
VİGM	Veteriner İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Veterinary)

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TABLE I CLIMATE ANNUAL VARIATIONS

PROVINCES	SOURCE OF DATA	PRECIPITATION 'IN DAYS'	AVERAGE PRECIPITATION (mm)	MAXIMUM TEMPERATURE °C	MINIMUM TEMPERATURE °C	AVERAGE TEMPERATURE	NUMBER OF FROSTY DAYS	HOAR-FROST 'IN DAYS'	PREVAILING WINDS	LATE SPRING FROSTS	EARLY FROSTS IN FALL
AGRI	METEOROLOGY GEN. DIRECTORY	EXTREMES 49.8 140	EXTREMES 235,0 546.4	EXTREMES 35-37	EXTREMES -43.2 -21.5	EXTREMES 6.2	EXTREMES 1340 157.7	EXTREMES 0.2 33.2	EXTREMES Misc.	EXTREMES Feb. 30 May 4	EXTREMES Sept. 25 Jan. 1
BINGOL	"	74.3	780.7	-	-	-	-	-	"	March May	Oct. Nov.
BITLIS	"	71	876.3	-	-	-	-	-	"	Feb.15 May 20	Oct. 1 Dec. 1
ERZINCAN	"	50.1 100.3	290.7 794,7	35.6 40.5	-22.7 -32.5	6.9 10.6	113.3 150.0	1.6 44.4	"	March 1 April 15	Oct. Jan.
ERZURUM	"	54.7 118.5	210.2 578.5	32.7 41.1	-20.5 -30.1	5.4 9.2	145.0 162.8	0.5 108.0	"	March 1 June 1	Sept. 1 Dec. 30
GAZIANTEP	"	33.0 83.5	327.7 855.5	42.8 47.0	- 9.8 -17.5	14.4 16.7	18.8 28.0	1.3 44.4	"	Feb. March	Nov. Jan.
HAKKARI	"	46 86	535 1337	37.4	-22.0	9.9	120	3-34	"	Feb. 25 May 30	JAN. 15 Dec. 15
MARDIN	"	40.7 79.0	439.5 872.0	42.0 48.9	- 8.4 -12.0	16.0 18.7	20.5 36.5	0.1 22.0	"	Feb. 5 April 30	Oct. 5 Jan. 30
MUS	"	-	291.2 768.6	-	-	-	-	-	SN WE	March April	Oct. Nov.
SIIRT	"	52.3 90.1	409.2 1338.4	38,0 47.8	- 9.0 -19.3	11.2 16.0	5.7 47.5	0.9 48.0	Misc.	March 15 March 23	Nov. 15 Dec. 15
TUNCELI	"	71	935.2	-	-	-	-	-	N NW	Feb. 20 May 15	Aug. 20 Dec. 15
VAN	"	-	383.4 706.7	-	-	-	-	-	Misc.	March 1 May 30	Sept. 15 Nov. 30

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs
Inventory Studies, Table 4

PHENOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

SOURCE OF DATA	SEEDING-TIME IN FALL	HARVEST-TIME FOR FALL-SOWN CROP	SEEDING-TIME IN SPRING	HARVEST-TIME FOR SPRING CROP
PEASANTS	Sept. 30-Nov. 1	June 30-Aug. 30	March 15-May 5	June 30-Aug. 30
"	Aug - Oct.	June - Aug.	March - May	June - Sept.
"	Aug. - Oct.	June - Sept.	April - June	July - Oct.
"	Sept. - Nov.	July - Aug.	Feb. - May	July - Sept.
"	Aug. 15 -Dec. 10	June 15-Oct. 15	March 1-May 30	June 30-Oct. 15
"	Oct. 10-25	June 20-25	March 10-20	Sept. 20-25
"	Sept -Dec.30	May - Sept.	March 1 August 1	July 1 Nov. 15
"	Sept. 1-Dec.1	July 15-Aug. 30	March - May	July 1-Oct. 15
"	Sept. 1-Dec. 30	May 20-Aug. 30	Feb. 15-July 30	June 1-Nov. 20
"	Aug. 15-Nov. 20	June 25-Sept. 15	March 4-July 15	May 1-Oct. 10
"	Aug. 30-Oct. 30	June 30-Sept. 15	March 15-May 15	July 1-Oct. 30

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs
Inventory Studies, Table 5

G E O G R A P H I C A L S T A T U S	
C L I M A T E	T O P O G R A P H Y
Inland Climate: summers are hot and winters cold. With the exception of a small area constituting a microclimate, the season of germination and vegetation is very short.	The terrain is mostly mountainous. Hill lands constitute about 23.3%. The highest mountain (Mount Ararat) is within this province (5.165m). The volcanic mass of Mt. Ararat is very dissected. Rugged hills and fragmented plains.
Inland climate prevails. Winters are long & cold, summers are short & hot. Snow covers remains on the ground until late April, thus making agricultural activity more difficult.	Mostly mountainous with two-thirds of the area averaging 1500m. in height. Only 10,7% of the land is suitable for cultivation. Very rough topography.
Inland climate rules, winters are cold & summers are hot. The snow cover remains on the ground until late April. 5 year precepitation average is 848.3mm.	Land topography presents variations., with 71% mountains, 3% plateaus, 1.4% plains & 15.6% hill land. Bitlis is one of most mountainous provinces in Eastern Turkey. Plains are dominant especially at Adilcevaz.
Characteristic of land climate dominates. Number of rainy d days are 50-100 average & average rainfall is between 290-794mm. Max. temperature is between 35-40°C, min. temperature is -22 to -32°C.	59.6% mountainous, 26.4% rolling, 8.6% low plains & 5.4% high plains. High plains are mainly found in districts of Merkez, Cayirli and Tercan.
Generally very cold & lengthy winter & semi-humid inland climate dominates in the province. Lowest temperature in winter varies between -20.5 and -30.1°C. The temperatures in summer vary between 32.7 & 41.1°C	The area is mostly mountainous & rolling: 63.7% high mountainous, 13.2% plateau, 3% plains & 20.1% plains. In the north the province is surrounded by Mescit mountain (3.250m) presenting rolling partsof 2000m.
Summers in the Province of Gaziantep are long & warm. Winters are not too cold. Average precipitation is 327-9 & -17°C.	51.9% of the villages' land character is mountainous, 26.9% low plain, 19.0% rolling & 2.2% plateau. The most mountainous land is in Merkez & Kilis districts & low,plains in Islakiye & Araban.
Severe climate; summer months are cold & cool; winter months prevail long & extremely cold. Precipitation differ between 46-86 days.	Hakkari is a province of mountains; 86,6% mountains, 2,8% high plains, 2,1% low plains, 7,5% undulated land & 1,0% valleys.
Inland climate; winters are cold & the summers are hot. Spring rains end up in April. The average of rainy days ranges from 40 to 80 days. Mx. Temperature 106.6°F, & min. is -10.4°F.	52.6% of the village area is mountainous, 24.6% is plain, 1.6% if plateau & 21.1% is rather high plains.
The province has a semi-humid land climate precipitation shows great variations. Vegetation period is generally short.	34.9% of the village lands is mountainous, 34.1% rolling lands, 2.8% high plains & 27.2% low plains. Land is reasonably suitable for agriculture. High plains average 1500m in height.
Semi-humid land climate prevails. Summers are long, dry & very warm; winters are temperate & rainy. There are great variations in precipitation between districts.	75.7% of the area of villages is mountainous, 19.8% is undulating land, 2.8% is low plains & 1.7% is high plains.
Inland climate prevails in Tunceli. Winters are cold & summers are cool. Snow cover remains on the ground until late April, thus making germination period very short.	Land topography constitutes of 69.9% mountains, 2.8% plateaus, 5.2% plains & 22.1% high hill lands. It is one of the most mountainous areas in Eastern Turkey.
Inland climate; cold winters & hot summers. Frost begins in mid-September & continues until May. Great variations in precipitation.	More than half of the province is mountainous. The province contains Mounts Tendurek, Aladoig all of which are volcanic origin.

Source: Ministry of Village Affairs
Summary of Village Inventory Survey Results