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THE MASS MEDIA AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

Report No. 3

Rural Development Research Project

Frederick W. Frey

315 p.

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
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THE MASS MEDIA AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

Report No.3

RURAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

January 28, 1966

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The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey

Report No. 3

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Deletions and Additions Requested by the Turkish State Planning Organization and United States Agency for International Development

Page	Change
Title	(Add) "Sole responsibility for this report rests with the author, and neither the Turkish State Planning Organization nor the United States Agency for International Development endorse the opinions expressed by the author. The sole role of the State Planning Organization and USAID in this report is that of reviewing it prior to its publication."
Throughout	The word "policy-maker" should be substituted for the word "planner" wherever the latter appears.
Throughout	The word "religious leader" should be substituted for the word "priest" wherever the latter appears.
170	The words "or decay" should be deleted from line 23.
Throughout	Attention is called to the fact that the data were collected in 1962, three and one half years prior to the publication of this report. Obviously, in this time span changes probably have occurred in some of the descriptive data presented. All statements in the report should therefore be regarded as being in the past tense.
"Contents"	(Note the addition of a second appendix, attached hereto, which provides a brief description of the methods employed in gathering the survey data presented in this report.)
200-205	The section entitled "A Few Policy Recommendations" and running from line six on page 200 through line nineteen on page 205 should be deleted.

Prefatory Note:

To observe that this is a lengthly and detailed report, the result of much time and labor, is, we hope, to belabor the obvious. Nevertheless, since its length and detail will both be of more concern to some readers than others, we have summarized the main findings not at the end of each section or chapter, but in a final chapter. The too-busy reader, willing to forego all the pearls we have scattered before him, can thus read only that chapter and obtain a good idea of what we were about and how it all turned out. We trust that he will then be so intrigued by the dreary tables and dismal charts that he will devour them like baklava or lokum.

Though one person's name is on the cover, that is largely because most of the risky interpretations of the data are his. However, the arduous processing of the data was accomplished primarily through the skilled labors of William Selles and Allan Kessler, encouraged and helped by the start provided by Peter Ordeshook and Samuel Popkin. We are also most grateful to the M.I.T. Computation Center which freely furnished us all sorts of services and facilities for what must have seemed three "project-decades."

Again, though their names are absent from the title page, my friends and colleagues Herbert Hyman, Ithiel Pool, Daniel Lerner, Sloan Wayland, Bill Angell, Evner Ergun, Şefik Uysal, Necat Erder, Paul Leubke, Bill Wrinkle, Joel Tucker, Arif Payaslioglu, Şerif Mardin, and many others contributed significantly to this research. We also received valuable moral and administrative support from Jim Dorsey, Ruth Fitzmaurice, Robert Hammer and others. We are truly grateful to all these people.

Finally, my secretary, Jacqueline Doherty, lost almost as much sleep as I did in trying to meet a twice-postponed but no less oppressive deadline. It

is her triumph but my resurrection that we did it. I am afraid, however, that other reports quickly follow.

Frederick W. Frey
Chief of the Consultant Party

INTRODUCTION

Modernization or development, in its deepest meaning, implies a change in the people of a society and in the way they interact. All the more specific indicators of modernization -- increasing per capita income, energy output, industrialization, urbanization, etc. -- signify little if they cannot be taken to mean that certain alterations of attitude, behavior and social structure have occurred. For example, if a clear rise in per capita income were attributable solely to the accidental discovery of oil, the claim of "development" would be hard to support. Similarly, an increase in productivity produced entirely by temporary injections of external capital without internal changes in approach and performance does not justify the assertion of "modernization." There must be change from within. The essential aspect of the developmental process is that the capacity for durable self-generated change of an appropriate kind be created. And, such a capacity for continuing change seems manifestly to depend upon alterations in the outlook and inter-relations of the people of the developing society.[1]

When we focus on the rural sector of society these human dimensions of modernization seem, if possible, to assume added importance. In

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[1]Many writers have stressed this point in one way or another. Perhaps the best phrase is from The Emerging Nations: "... the paramount requirement for the modernization of any society is that the people themselves must change." Max F. Millikan and Donald L.M. Blackmer (eds.), The Emerging Nations (Boston: Little,Brown & Co., 1961), p.23.

industry, far reaching changes can sometimes be produced if a few powerful decision-makers, governmental or private, adopt a new perspective. But decision-making in peasant agriculture is usually much more decentralized. Innovation of comparable scope involves individual decisions by hundreds of thousands of farm families of tens of thousands of scattered villages. Large numbers of people must be influenced.[2] Moreover, the one-shot adoption of a particular agricultural innovation is ordinarily of scant significance. The multitude of peasant decision-makers must be influenced repeatedly to make and to continue the many modifications of practice that ultimately transform the peasant into the modern farmer, the man who is the pawn of his environment into its master.

Finally, these changes in the rural populace frequently involve orientations and behaviors that are deeply embedded in long established ways of life. There is oft-submerged resistance to change and lack of experience with novelty in nearly every realm of living. Rapid, highly specific attitudinal influences to achieve precisely the object that the policy maker has in mind at a given moment are likely to prove inordinately difficult. An effort that is at once broader and more profound may be required to accomplish even quite limited ends that could be realized very economically in other sectors of the society. In short, rural development seems to demand special attention to characterological and social structural factors. The task is literally to get people to "change their minds."

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[2]Cf. David Hapgood and Max F. Millikan, Policies for Promoting Agricultural Development: Report of a Conference on Productivity and Innovation in the Underdeveloped Countries (Cambridge: M.I.T. Center for International Studies, 1965), pp.16-18.

Problems for the Policy-Maker

From the planner's viewpoint, the utility of such basic observations as these is that they help him to formulate a series of crucial questions which must be answered if rational and explicitly justifiable policies are to be found. Thus, he must ask, "What attitudes and behaviors constitute or are essential to the rural developmental goals that have been established?" "What circumstances form and change these attitudes and behaviors?" "Which of the factors that influence peasant attitudes and behaviors are manipulable by the planner and at what cost?" "What are the relative merits of alternative strategies for affecting peasants, assuming such alternatives exist?" "What are the manifest or latent side-effects of using various influence techniques?" These are merely a few fairly gross examples from the string of queries through which the perceptive policy-maker is ineluctably led. He seeks the best answers he can find (though they are usually far from definitive) in many ways, important among which is survey research of the type reported herein.[3]

At first glance, the arsenal of weapons available to the policy-maker for affecting rural attitudes and behaviors seems extensive. Its components might include the educational system, credit and market mechanisms, use of extension agents and other direct governmental representatives, the mass media, transportational facilities, the police and courts of law, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, youth clubs and other

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[3]We shall assume familiarity with the methods of the Rural Development Research Project in all of these substantive reports. If this assumption is unwarranted, see the report entitled Rural Development Research Project: General Description or Frederick W. Frey, "Surveying Peasant Attitudes in Turkey," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (1963), pp. 335-355.

voluntary organizations, and even the military or political parties. However, not all of these agencies are equally effective, and the policy-maker faces the perplexing problem of unravelling their differential strengths and weaknesses, let alone that of understanding how they work in merely the most plausible of their many combinations.

A major purpose of this series of reports from the Rural Development Research Project is to examine the apparent impact upon critical peasant attitudes and behaviors of several such agencies -- for instance, the educational system, transportational facilities, direct governmental representatives, and so on. Though the specialist in each of these areas will desire much deeper information than our research can provide, we should be able to furnish him with more relevant and reliable material on Turkish villagers than has heretofore been available. Furthermore, because of the deliberate breadth of the study, we can make a telling initial step toward a comparative evaluation of the qualities of several different rural influence strategies open to the policy-maker. For example, we shall be able, albeit crudely, to contrast the effects of improved education versus better village facilities. And, perhaps no less significantly, we shall be able to provide some previously unavailable insights into the apparently characteristic effects of sub-strategies within these broad domains. Are the attitudinal associations of primary schooling for a village different from those of secondary schooling? Is proximity to an urban center linearly associated with certain attitudinal tendencies? Is the frequency of contact between peasants and governmental agents positively related to measures of behavioral modernity or village development? Information germane to serious concerns of this type is available from the analysis of our survey data.

The Mass Media as a Developmental Instrument

Conspicuous among the resources of the policy-maker for shaping peasant attitudes and behaviors are the mass media -- the subject of this report. The potential virtues of the mass media for rural development are readily perceived and easily silhouetted. As we learn from their very name -- the mass media -- they are fundamentally extensive, capable of reaching out to every hearth and hamlet in the land. With transistorized, battery powered radios and television sets rapidly coming on the market, the literacy and transmission line barriers to media use are vanishing. Much more of an effort must now be mounted to establish and maintain cooperatives in every village than to link each village to a broadcasting network. The kilometers over which roads must arduously be laid are jumped by the broadcast message. Certainly one of the greatest advantages of the mass media is their ability to span the tough terrain of even the largest developing nations and potentially to engage each and every citizen.

A second, no less salient feature of the mass media as a developmental instrument is their speed. The existing system of direct oral communication in most developing societies also covers the nation, but months are often required to transmit a message from a central point to the periphery. The electronic mass media reduce this elapsed time to minutes. Again, the educational system may have a weighty impact upon those exposed to it. But it works its effects very gradually and often with the least influential age groups of the society. To wait until that age cohort reaches positions of influence in order to obtain specific results is intolerable for those ardently desiring progress. A quicker means of reaching large numbers of people is sought, and the mass media

seem to be a prime candidate.

A third advantage of the mass media as a tool for development is their relative controllability. Naturally, this is not to argue for censorship, monopoly or anything of the sort. It is simply to point out that it is easier for the policy-maker to use the mass media as an instrument for achieving developmental objectives than it is for him to use many other devices or systems. The direct word-of-mouth communication system may be no less effective than the mass media, but it is extremely difficult -- especially in a democratic society -- for the planner to control its messages and ensure that they are conducive to modernization. Moreover, communication talent is scarce. Persuasive communicators may be few. Utilization of the mass media permits maximal use of these effective communicators and the most faithful dissemination of their messages. Other communication systems may occasion appreciably greater distortion and waste. However, we must distinguish between different types of media, for the control that the planner can exert over the radio or television is ordinarily greater than his control over the cinema and the press.

A fourth major advantage of the mass media as a developmental instrument has to do with their potential effectiveness. If modernization ultimately involves attitudinal and behavioral change, as we have argued, it would seem that the mass media would offer high promise of being one of the most effective agents of all. A large proportion of the informational stockpile of persons fully exposed to the mass media seems to come from that source. Even if we ignore the effects of the media on values and norms, their apparent cognitive influences would seem to have enormous potential. The provision of information to people is a critical

aspect of the developmental process, and the provision of information to people is part of the raison d'etre of the mass media. They work directly on the minds of people rather than indirectly; thus, other things equal, they hold a special potential for effectiveness and economy in forming and altering those critical attitudes that perforce lie behind any durable national development.

A critic or skeptic would proclaim that there is a reverse side to the picture of the role of the mass media as instruments of modernization that we have just sketched. There are drawbacks as well as advantages to the use of the media as a developmental instrument. In fact, what is an advantage from one perspective or at one moment may be a disadvantage at another. The controllability of the mass media may permit the most efficient use of the best communicators in the nation. It may also permit an intellectual urban elite to deluge a disinterested peasantry with incomprehensible speeches that sour them on both the media and the idea of "development." More significantly, the mass media's controllability is purchased at the price of uniformity. Appropriate local variations in wordage and illustrations become more difficult and unlikely. Where local considerations are paramount, mass media messages may therefore lose much of their effectiveness. Furthermore, in contrast to direct oral exchanges, communication over the mass media ordinarily lacks the immediate feedback from audience to communicator that allows sensitive and immediate message adjustment. This quality may be critical for some types of communication and is probably unimportant for other types; the problem is to ascertain which is which.

The classic, redoubtable barriers of selective attention, perception

and recall limit the effectiveness of the mass media. People are known to expose themselves selectively to the media, perceive to a large extent what they want to perceive in the media's messages, and recall what they choose to recall from their contents. Perhaps these processes are less critical in people's relations to other agencies of change, although the same processes are certainly operative to some unspecified degree.

We also have an accumulation of evidence, to be discussed later, indicating that direct word-of-mouth communication with respected associates is more productive of specific changes in actions than mass media exposure. Some writers have also maintained that geographical mobility (travel) is a more potent source of attitudinal modernization than mass media exposure.

Numerous other suggested disadvantages, and advantages, of the mass media as a developmental instrument could be cited. Indeed, there seems to be a pronounced tendency to see the media in either a hero's or a villian's role in the modernization drama. In most general terms, they are viewed as the catalyst that transforms base traditional materials into vibrant human gold or else they are regarded as a volatile agent that generates an explosion of rising expectations, premature urbanization, and political discontent. The truth of the matter is that there is evidence to support either view, but not enough evidence to permit careful delineation of the circumstances under which one view or the other (or some third alternative) is most likely to be true. The mass media patently seem to have a tremendous potential for affecting developmental processes. It is also clear that they must be used judiciously if this potential is to be realized and that they can, under some conditions, be a force for tradition or chaos. Hence, it would seem all the more important that the

policy-maker arm himself with a fuller understanding of this powerful but uncertain tool.

Ithiel Pool has written that there are four policy issues about the development of mass media which most emerging nations must resolve: how much of their scarce resources to invest in the media; what roles to assign to the public and private sectors; how much freedom or control to impose; and how high a cultural level to employ for the messages transmitted.[4] This report will strive merely to help provide an answer, in the contemporary Turkish case, to the first of the four issues -- viz., how much to invest in the mass media. To answer this question the planner requires information about the relative effectiveness of the mass media, compared to other manipulable factors, in inducing certain types of attitudes and behaviors among various groups of the society. We shall also try to assess in part the influential qualities of the media in contrast to those of the educational system. And we shall endeavor to learn how the changes apparently wrought by media exposure differ from those linked to the level of village development, familial poverty, literacy, and so on.

Finally, reflection suggests that there are a number of critical subordinate questions lurking in the interstices between Pool's four major issues. For example, the planner must not only decide how much is appropriate to invest in the mass media in general, but he must also decide how much is to be allocated to each specific medium -- the printed media, the radio, the cinema and the television (if such exists). To make

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[4]Ithiel de Sola Pool, "The Mass Media and Politics in the Modernization Process;" in Lucian W. Pye (ed.), Communications and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.234.

these decisions judiciously he requires information about the characteristic qualities of each of these main media types. Are they all alike in their coverage and effects or do they differ? If they differ, precisely how do they differ? We shall provide some initial answers to such basic queries.

Our general plan of presentation will be as follows: in the following section of this report we shall very briefly furnish some basic background on the growth of the mass media in Turkey and on Turkey's media development compared to that of selected other nations. This is done so that we can proceed with some idea of where Turkey presently stands in the continuing picture of media development. Then we shall proceed to a detailed discussion of peasant exposure to the mass media in Turkey. We shall disclose whom the three major media (cinema, radio and newspaper) seem to be reaching. If the media are not contacting large and critical segments of the rural population the planner must be alerted to this fact and know specifically who is being missed and why. This done, we shall move on to an examination of the media effects, both in general terms (using a single index of mass media exposure) and in terms of specific differences between the three media. We shall also compare the mass media with the other change agencies previously mentioned. The concluding section of the report will discuss our interpretation of some of the policy implications of the survey findings along with those emanating from similar or related research in other settings.

THE MASS MEDIA IN TURKEY

The mass media have already played a vital, if sometimes ambivalent, role in the modernization of Turkey. The very formation of an elite cadre of dedicated and reasonably united modernizers during the latter half of

the 19th century was intricately connected with the emergence of an increasingly confident press. Later, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, shrewd strategist of development that he was, adeptly used the information media as a potent weapon in the struggle for a new Turkey. He commented as early as 1920 that, "Indoctrination and information, the question of propaganda, is very important, as important as the army -- actually, an even more important matter than the army."[5] Using a more pacific metaphor, it is no exaggeration to say that, along with the schools, the media carried the pollen of modernization throughout the intellectual sector of society and made an essential contribution to the flowering of political and social development that occurred in the first third of the 20th century. Can they play the same apparent role in rural development?

To maintain perspective, we must also point out that the media were sometimes effectively used by traditionalist forces to oppose modernization, and that communication gaps or barriers, rather than being unmitigated obstacles to development, were at times of profound value in helping to simplify the gigantic task confronting the modernizers. It was often convenient (and possible, then) to be able temporarily to ignore certain groups that were relatively isolated from the vortex of the society.[6]

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[5] Atatürk'ün Söyley ve Demeçleri (Atatürk's Speeches and Sayings), (Türk Inkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), Vol. I, p.124. Also quoted in Kemal H. Karpat, "The Mass Media," in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p.370. My translation.

[6] On the traditionalist use of the media, see Kemal H. Karpat, "The Mass Media and Political Modernization of Turkey," paper prepared for the S.S.R.C. Seminar on the Political Modernization of Japan and Turkey, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., September, 1962, p.1. On the Kemalist exploitation of communication gaps and on the anti-modern consequences of some forms of communication (inter-personal), see Frederick W. Frey, "Political Development, Power and Communications in Turkey," in Pye, op.cit., pp.298-326.

Unremitting and indiscriminate media growth is not a certain blessing. Thus, the astute policy-maker must use the mass media in a flexible, non-doctrinaire fashion. He recognizes their tremendous potential and the complex nature of their effects, neither hopping on the bandwagon of automatic use nor that of blind rejection. However, the paramount point at this juncture is that the mass media seem already to have been a decisive factor in the largely accomplished elite modernization of Turkey.

Growth of the Mass Media in Turkey

What has been the pattern of mass media growth in Turkey up to the present time? Has it been steady or have there been jagged peaks and troughs of development? If media development has been uneven, in what phase of growth does the country seem to be at the present time? Are the growth patterns for the different media similar to one another? If not, what are the variations and what is their significance? The planner attempting to use the media as a developmental tool requires answers to such questions in order to forecast the trends that he may desire to encourage or oppose.

The Press

Newspaper and periodical growth since the mid-1930's is displayed in Figure 1. The graph strikingly depicts the great rise in the number of newspapers in Turkey that has occurred since the end of the Second World War. This, of course, is the period during which multi-party politics and mass modernization on all fronts really began. By 1960, there were eight hundred nineteen newspapers in Turkey. Five hundred six of these were daily papers and 333 appeared less frequently. More than 200 of these newspapers, however, had commenced publication during that year, so

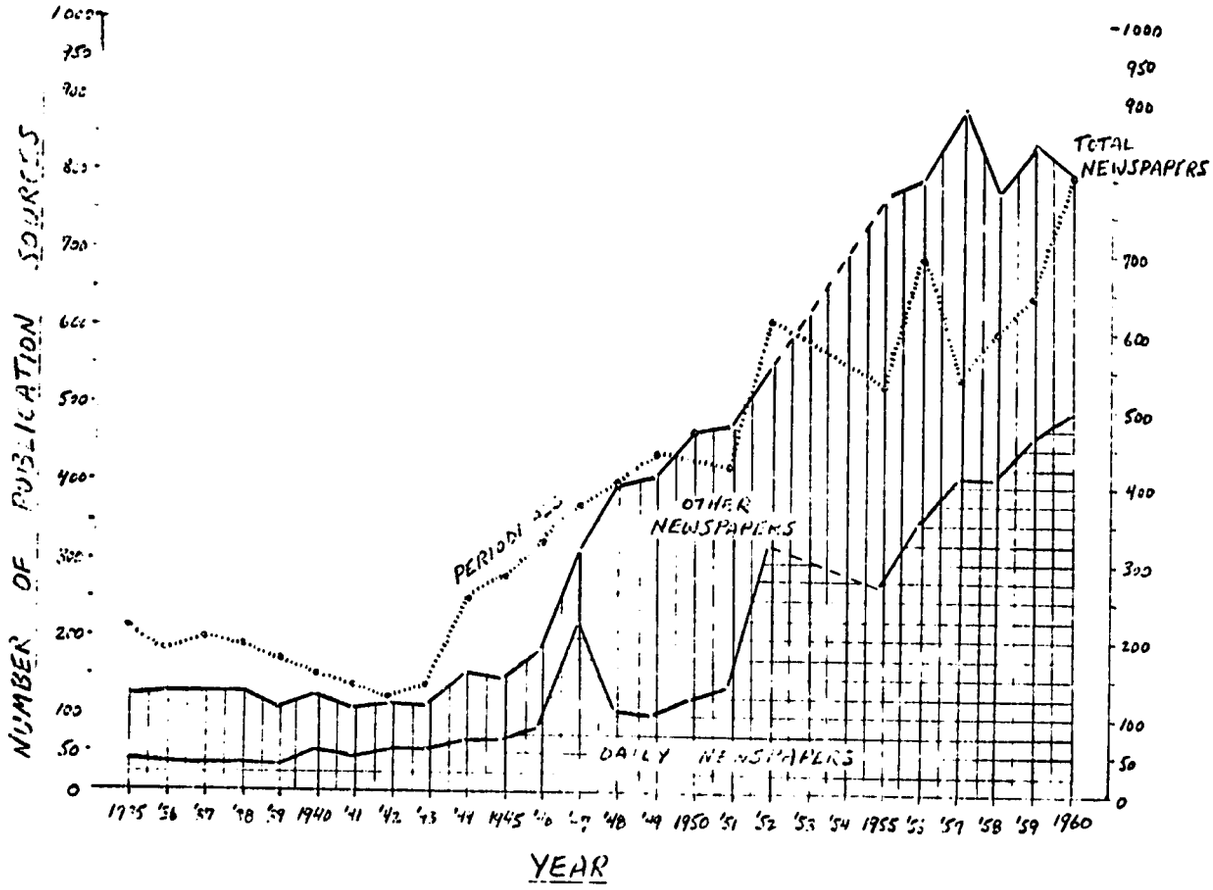

Figure 1. Growth of the Turkish Press, 1935-1960.
Source: Türkiyede Çikan Gazete ve Mecualar (Ankara: Basin-Yayin ve Turism Bakanligi, 1961), pp.3-4, and Karpat, "The Mass Media," loc.cit., p.279. I have corrected an obvious error for 1960 in the latter. Data for 1953 and 1954 are interpolated.

there appears to be an appreciable turnover. Circulation data for the same period are not available, but an informed estimate shows an increase in total daily newspaper circulation from 1,060,000 in 1956 to 1,411,429 in 1960. If anything, this would seem to be an underestimate, both of total level and of growth. As the Unesco volume on World Communications observes, the expansion of the press in Turkey has been "phenomenal."[7]

For the purposes of this report, one of the most significant background findings is that by 1960 there existed in Turkey an extensive provincial

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[7] World Communications: Press, Radio, Television, Film (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1964), p.330. The newspaper circulation data are from Turkiye'de Çikan Gazete..., op.cit., p.5.

press. Daily newspapers were being published in 63 of Turkey's 67 provinces. Only Bilecik, Gümüşhane, Hakkâri, and Kırşehir provinces lacked a local daily, and only Hakkari was completely without any locally published newspaper. Less than ten per cent of the daily newspapers were located in Istanbul and less than seventeen per cent were located in the three metropolises of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Of course, when circulation is considered, the relative position of the big city newspapers rises sharply. Nevertheless, in Turkey today there is clearly an important provincial daily press spread over the entire country.

The publication of magazines, reviews and non-daily newspapers is much more concentrated in the three largest cities. Hence, if we inspect the publication locales of all 1,658 newspapers and periodicals active in Turkey as of December, 1960, we find that thirty eight per cent were in Istanbul, eighteen per cent were in Ankara, and another five per cent were in Izmir. In other words judging simply by numbers of publications, about three fifths of the total periodical press was based in the three largest cities. The secondary, analytic and specialized press seems to be particularly focussed in those urban areas. But the nation is rather well covered, according to these available data by a daily provincial press. These gross figures, as well as more pertinent data from the peasant survey, indicate that newspapers now reach many of the rural areas of Turkey.

The Radio

The first radio station in Turkey was established in Istanbul in 1927. Its audience remained essentially limited to the surrounding area. Coverage

was increased in 1938 when Ankara Radio was created, and these two stations remain the leaders of a total broadcasting facility that now includes fifteen transmitters. Broadcasts are sent out from Ankara and Istanbul throughout the day, from Izmir, Van and Erzurum for about half the day, and from Diyarbakır and Iskenderun for a few hours per day. As of 1964 there were plans to build additional transmitters in Antalya, Adana, Gaziantep, and Kars and to increase the power of existing transmitters.[8] In addition, a provincial radio has been set up in Ankara, mainly broadcasting music and news to an urban audience, and there are a few transmitters in schools and governmental agencies.

The growth of the number of radio receivers in Turkey during the period from 1935 through 1960 is portrayed in Figure 2. Actually, the data relate to licensed receivers and they probably understate the growth for recent years after the introduction of battery-powered radios which are less likely to be licensed. In any event, the rise is spectacular.

The distributional pattern for radios bears a general resemblance to that inferred for the press. There is a conspicuous concentration in the main urban areas, but despite that concentration, most of the country is now linked to the broadcasting network. Some 43% of the total number of radio receivers in Turkey during 1959-1960 were located in the three provinces of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir -- provinces containing only 16% of the total population. The greatest discrepancy was in Istanbul Province, which had 27% of the radio sets and 7% of the population. A glimpse into the internal variations in radio distribution is presented in Table 1 which

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[8] World Communications, op.cit., p.331. A listing of Turkey's twelve radio transmitters as of 1962, with their wave lengths and wattages is given in Kalkınma Planı: Birinci Beş Yıl, 1963-1967 (Development Plan: First Five Years, 1963-1967), (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık, Devlet Planlama Teşkilâtı, 1963), p.403. See also Turkish State Planning Organization's 1965 Annual Programme (Ankara: December, 1964), p.256.

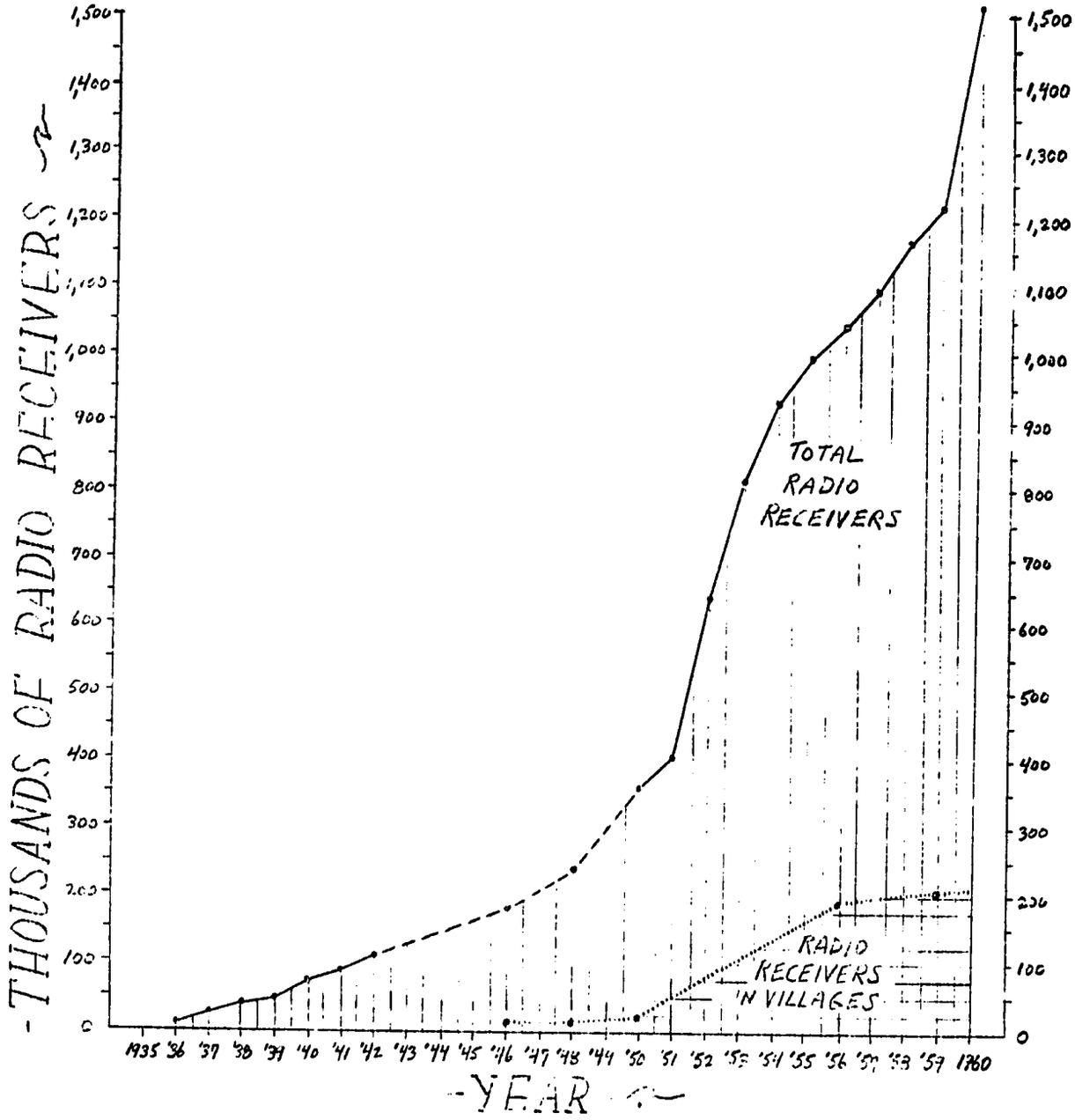


Figure 2. Growth in the Number of Radio Receivers, 1935-1960.
Source: Compiled from data released in various official publications.
Dotted lines interpolated.

gives the number of radio sets per one hundred persons in thirteen selected provinces spanning the nation.

Table 1

Radio Sets per One Hundred Persons, by Selected Provinces 1959-1960

Province	Radio Sets per 100 Persons
Istanbul	17.6
Ankara	8.8
Izmir	8.1
Adana	4.3
Balıkesir	4.3
Nevşehir	3.4
Amasya	3.2
Denizli	3.2
Burdur	3.1
Samsun	2.8
Sivas	2.0
Erzurum	2.0
Hakkâri	0.7
Turkey	4.4

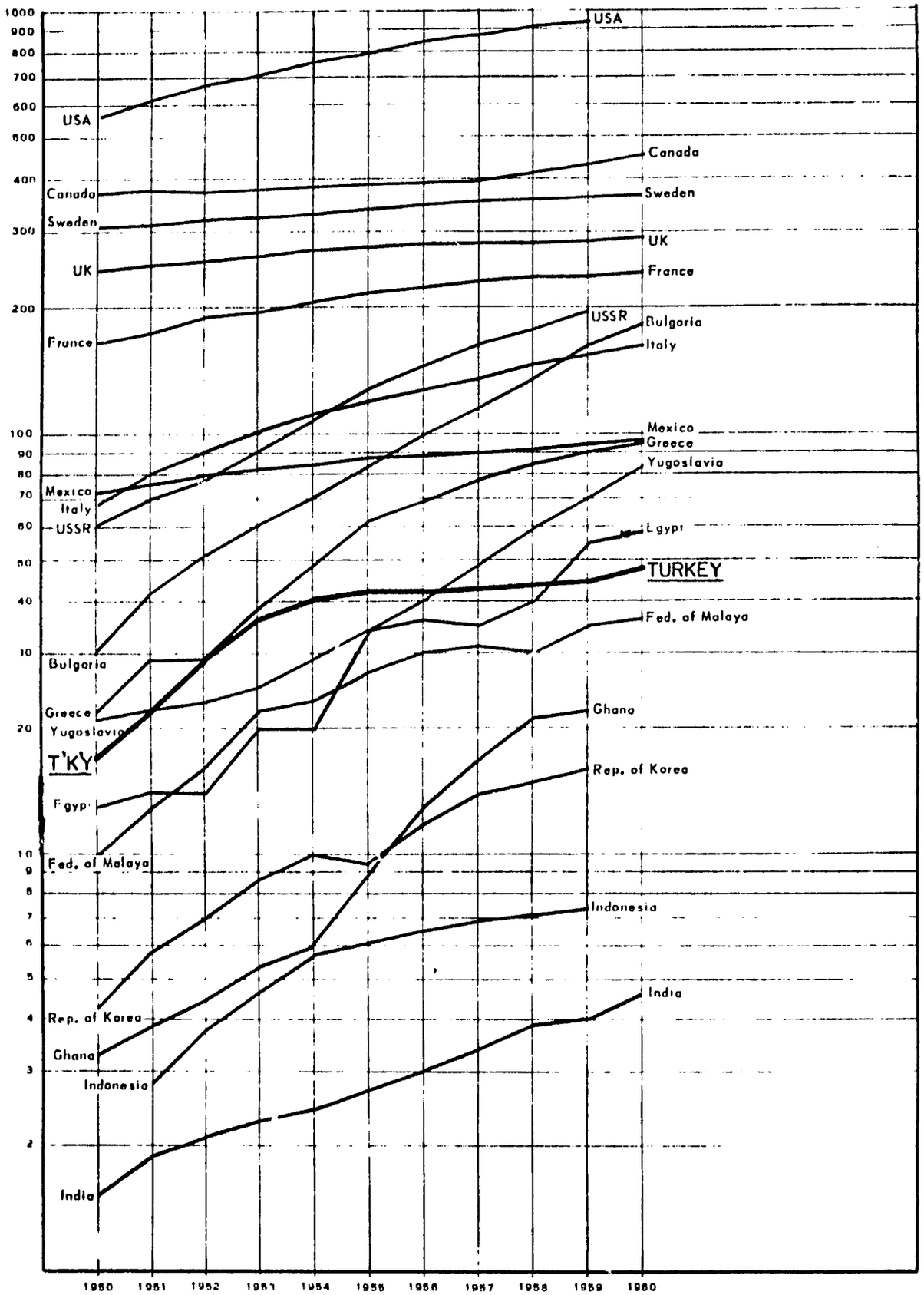
Source: Compiled and calculated from official census figures.

Both Figure 2 and the data of Table 1 indicate that, for better or for worse, the radio is very much with urban Turks and is just now beginning to spread widely to rural areas. A truly striking rise in the total number of sets has occurred during the past decade and a half, but that rise would seem to be only the beginning.[8a] The rural segment of Turkish society is only now commencing to be extensively reached by the press and the radio. We should, however, point out a fact that we shall later document and discuss -- namely, that the number of individuals exposed to a given copy of a newspaper or a given radio receiver would seem to be appreciably higher in rural areas than in urban.

Perhaps because it is still primarily oriented to its dominant urban audience, the general nature of radio programming in Turkey seems not to have changed much in the past twenty five years. In 1942, approximately 63% of

[8a] See Figure 3 for the rise in radio receivers per 100 persons in Turkey and other countries from 1950-1960.

Fig. 3. Number of radio receivers per 1 000 inhabitants, in selected countries, 1950-1960



Source: Figure taken from Statistics on Radio and Television 1950-1960 (Paris: Unesco, 1963), Figure IV, p. 17. The Turkish data have been added to the figure and are from p.58 of the same publication.

broadcasting time was devoted to music, 36% was given to speeches, discussions and informational material, and 1% consisted of drama. At present, music makes up about 65% of broadcast time, news, informational and educational programs take up about 30%, and commercial advertising occupies the rest.[9]

The Cinema

Although Turkey has, for all practical purposes, no television, she does have a rather active domestic film industry and, of course, many cinemas. Unfortunately, we have been unable to find reliable data on the growth either of the film-making industry or of the viewing capacity and use of cinemas. As of 1960-1961 there appear to have been approximately 285 cinemas in the country able to project 35mm. films. Attendance has been estimated at around thirty million persons per year, thus yielding a very crude average of a little over one film viewed per person per year. There are also some mobile film units, both commercial and governmental, that strive to reach the rural areas.[10] Nevertheless, even casual observation suggests that the concentration of the cinemas in urban areas is much greater than that of the press or radio, and this opinion will by supported by subsequent data from the peasant survey. As regards the film industry, some 15 companies altogether produce thirty to forty feature films annually. The 32 films created in 1960-1961 earned Turkey twentieth rank among the world's film-producing nations, led by Japan with 549 films that year.

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[9]Karpat, "Mass Media and Political Modernization in Turkey," loc. cit., p.49, based on the official magazine, Radyo, January 15, 1942, p.9.

[10]World Communications, op.cit., p.331.

The remainder of the Turkish cinematic fare is obtained from roughly four hundred foreign films imported annually.

The Comparative Mass Media Development of Turkey

Further insight into the prospects for the mass media in Turkey may be garnered from information about how she stands compared to an appropriate assortment of other nations. For example, the communication specialists of Unesco have tackled the invidious job of setting norms for measuring the adequacy of mass communication facilities in developing countries. They suggest, as an "immediate target," that each such nation should aim to provide at least ten copies of daily newspapers, five radio receivers, two cinema seats and two television receivers for every one hundred persons in its population. Nearly one hundred nations and territories fall below this minimum which is regarded as being very low.

The available statistics do not permit a precise comparison for Turkey, save in the case of the radio (highlighting the need for more appropriate and more readily available official Turkish statistics on mass communications). By 1960-1961, Turkey had attained a level of 5.4 radio sets per 100 persons, thus slightly surpassing the Unesco minimum. Though definite data are lacking, our guess would be that she is in a poorer position vis à vis the Unesco standards for the press and the cinema. An estimate of the daily newspaper copies per 100 persons in 1960-1961 is 4.5, or about half the Unesco norm. The cinema position is probably worse. However, relatively few of the developing nations currently meet the level set by Unesco.

All in all, we find Turkey in a mass communication position not unlike her status along other developmental dimensions -- ranking either

rather high among the so-called "underdeveloped" countries or else rather low among a group of intermediate nations. Employing a very rough summary measure of overall development, Unesco considers Turkey (1960-1961) to reside in a mass media stratum that also includes Egypt, Iran, Syria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, South Africa, Paraguay, Bolivia, British Guiana, the Dominican Republic and North Korea.[11] More informative, perhaps, is Table 2, which presents a few comparative statistics for Turkey and fourteen other nations.

Table 2

Comparative Mass Media Data for Turkey and Fourteen Other Nations (1960-1961)

Nation	Illiteracy	Radio Sets per 100	Daily Newspapers per 100	T.V. Receivers per 100	Cinema Seats per 100
Turkey	61%	5.4	4.5	-- (my est.)	1.0
U.S.A.	2%	100.0	32.6	33.2	5.6
Mexico	43	10.0	8.3	2.8	5.6
France	4	28.5	27.0	7.5	6.1
Japan	2	18.7	41.6	14.0	3.5
Greece	26	10.3	12.5	--	3.1
Iran	85	6.7	1.5	0.3	0.7
Egypt	80	6.6	2.0	0.7	1.3
India	76	0.5	1.1	--	0.6
Ghana	77	2.2	3.2	--	1.0
Nigeria	89	1.2	0.8	0.01	0.08
Brazil	51	6.6	5.4	2.0	2.7
Yugoslavia	23	9.9	6.6	0.6	2.8
Tunisia	84	6.0	1.4	--	1.0
Venezuela	48 (1950)	19.4	9.6	6.0	6.8

Source: World Communications, op.cit., passim.

Probably the most vivid revelation from these gross data on the mass media in Turkey is that, if recent trends continue, the nation seems to be

[11] World Communications, op.cit., pp.64-65.

striding into a communications revolution. In the past fifteen years, spectacularly rapid media growth seems to have commenced. The urban areas of the country are already suffused by the major media, and, more significantly, the deep penetration of rural areas has clearly begun. At the current pace, fifteen years from now most of the nation will, for the first time, be exposed to the influences of the press, the radio and the cinema. Furthermore, although the government has participated in this process, chiefly by increasing the broadcasting facilities, the bulk of the change has been private. The growth in the press, in the number of radio receivers, and in the cinema has essentially been the result of individual decisions of rather large numbers of Turkish citizens.

We place no value judgment on this fact. Instead, we mention it merely to point out that even if the government does not intend to foster the mass media and to use them as a deliberate instrument for promoting development, the explosive growth of the media will probably continue unless the government takes measures to retard it. Therefore, the question of the developmental impact -- for good or ill -- of the mass media seems to be of keen importance regardless of the official inclination to use the media for developmental purposes. If the communications revolution that can be projected from these media growth figures does occur in village Turkey, and if media exposure does have important positive or negative attitudinal and behavioral consequences relevant to rural development, then effective planning manifestly requires reliable information concerning mass media exposure and effects. It is the aim of the remainder of this report to provide the first extensive empirical mapping of this crucial but virtually unknown domain.

PEASANT ACCESS AND EXPOSURE TO THE MASS MEDIA

In relative terms, Turkey appears to be in the early phases of an authentic mass media explosion. The near-perpendicular rise in the number of newspapers and periodicals published and in the number of radio receivers licensed marks this trend. At the same time, our prime purpose in also presenting data for international comparisons was to accentuate the fact that only a quick start has been made. The mass media do not yet saturate the nation as they do in all the more economically advanced societies. Some Turks are readily reached via the mass media and others are not.

Even the gross statistics indicate that media coverage of rural areas is particularly limited. Nor can one make an easy inference from these data on the mere availability of the mass media to actual group and individual exposure. Obviously, exposure cannot exceed access to the media; but, access to the media can easily remain unexploited. Many people apparently do not make use of the media exposure opportunities open to them.

The planner, desirous of making intelligent use of the mass media as a developmental tool (or even of merely understanding their probable developmental role), encounters the problem of ascertaining the basic access to the various media of the population with which he is concerned. In the absence of additional media facilities, these limitations of access set the crude outermost bounds for direct media influence. If there are no radios at all in a village or its environs, for example, it takes either amazing faith or amazing ignorance to contemplate directly affecting the peasants of that village through radio broadcasting. The planner needs to know the elementary bounds of media access if he is to assign the media a realistic developmental role.

Secondly, the planner requires information about who is actually exposed to the various media. How, for instance, does the peasant's exposure to mass communication sources differ from that of other groups? Is it fruitful to conceive of the peasantry, as is so often done, as a largely undifferentiated mass facing the media -- persons rather uniformly exposed or unexposed, or are certain types of peasants much more likely to be reached than others? Do the various media tend to reach essentially the same audience, or are there important differences in their audiences?

A survey such as the Rural Development Research Project is an especially appropriate vehicle for dealing with fundamentally distributional questions like these. We shall first present findings depicting the access to the mass media of the Turkish peasantry. Then we shall devote the bulk of this section to the even more significant matter of differential exposure to the mass media. Wherever appropriate, we shall strive to make use of other studies that help us to place the peasant in perspective against his compatriots in the towns and cities of Turkey and against peasants in other developing societies.

In discussing the mass media access of the villagers of rural Turkey, a prefatory word is needed concerning the nature of our sample. The data will be presented according to the rural population rather than according to numbers or percentages of villages. Our interviewers went to nearly 460 villages in all parts of Turkey. We could exhibit the data by giving the percentage of the total number of villages having a given characteristic. However, it seems more fruitful to employ a different procedure. It might well be that 25% of the villages of Turkey could have a certain feature, but those villages, if they were the smaller

communities, might house only 10% of the total rural population. And what interests us is information about villages adjusted for the proportion of the population housed in those villages.

Therefore, in reporting our data we shall be making statements such as, "53% of the peasants live in a village to which a newspaper comes at least weekly." This is patently different from (and we feel superior to) saying that a newspaper comes at least weekly to 53% of Turkish villages. Knowing the latter fact, that a newspaper comes at least weekly to 53% of Turkish villages still does not give one any precise idea of how many people are thereby involved. If the 53% of the villages are disproportionately larger villages, perhaps 75% of the rural population might be involved; if they are smaller villages, perhaps only 40%. For this reason we have chosen a presentational procedure that is possibly more novel, but actually no more difficult in conception and seemingly more fruitful.

Rural Access to the Mass Media

The specially trained leaders of the five person interviewing teams that gathered the data for the Rural Development Research Project completed a lengthly schedule of information about each village visited. The information requested on this schedule was not secured from any fixed or single source, but was assembled by interrogating any and all persons presumably knowledgeable about a given topic (e.g., the *muhtar*, the *imam*, the school teacher, the *bekçi*, individual villagers) and also by making first-hand observations wherever possible (e.g., counting fountains, viewing the so-called coffee-house, inspecting records, examining the road). As demonstrated in another of this series of final reports, the information so obtained correlates extremely closely with available census

figures and with other governmental records or surveys in all instances where such checks are feasible.

Newspaper

Three items from the Village Information Schedule furnish an elementary picture of the Turkish villager's access to the major mass media. The first of these items inquired approximately how frequently a newspaper came to the village. From the responses arrayed in Table 3, we learn that twenty per cent of the peasants, or one in five, lived in villages to which the newspapers "never" came. On the other hand, fifteen per cent resided in villages to which a newspaper came every day, and a total of fifty three per cent lived in villages to which a newspaper came at least once a week.

Table 3

Rural Population by Frequency of Newspaper Appearance in Village

Newspaper comes:	
Every Day	15%
Two or Three Times per Week	12
Once a Week	26
Once Every Two Weeks	9
Once a Month	8
Less Than Once a Month	9
Never	20
	("N" = 6,436)

Naturally, the appearance of perhaps a single newspaper in a village cannot be taken to imply that every interested member of the community has access to that newspaper. At the same time, it has been widely observed that the audience for a single copy of a newspaper is often quite extensive in the village setting. The school teacher, Mahmut Makal, for example, gives

a typically vivid description of peasants importuning him to read to them from a humdrum provincial gazette that had found its way into the village. Rusen Keles and Orhan Türkay in their study of several dozen villages across Anatolia, appear to have found that in about two thirds or more of these villages the newspaper was mainly read in a public place such as the coffee house, the guest house (misafir odasi), in front of the mosque, in a store or in the school, rather than in a private house. Under such circumstances, the audience for even a solitary tabloid can be unexpectedly large. Moreover, Keles and Türkay's pilot study suggests that if and when a village receives one newspaper, it is likely to receive several.[12]

Regarded from a more pessimistic perspective, the outstanding finding from Table 3 probably is that nearly half of Turkey's peasant population is presently located in villages whose rational access to the newspaper is less than weekly, and over a third is in villages to which newspapers come no more often than once a month. Thus there are formidable barriers precluding even gross access to the press for a sizeable portion of the Turkish peasantry, while a somewhat larger segment would seem to have sufficient access to permit considerable potential press impact. Studies in Turkey of the relationship between the frequency of message appearance in the press and message saliency impact will be necessary fully to establish this conclusion.

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[12]Cf. Mahmut Makal, A Village in Anatolia (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., 1954), p.103, and Rusen Keles and Orhan Türkay, Köylü Gözü ile Turk Köylerinde Iktisadî ve Toplumsal Değişme (Economic and Social Change in Turkish Villages Through the Villager's Eyes), (Türk Iktisadî Gelişmesi Arastirma Projesi, No. 13; Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitusu, 1962), pp.60,63.

Cinema

The Village Information Schedule was also used to record information concerning gross access to the cinema It ascertained whether there was a cinema in the village or within fifteen kilometers of the village. None of the respondents lived in a village which had its own cinema, but some thirty five per cent resided in communities within fifteen kilometers of one. As we shall bring out again later, a critical aspect of cinematic exposure is thus that, in contrast to the press and the radio, it usually involves a substantial amount of travel for the villager. Since the villager's geographical mobility is strongly affected by factors such as sex, economic status, community isolation, etc., his access to the cinema is also sharply affected by these factors. Though the same mobility factors impinge to some extent on the press and radio, the difference in degree is pronounced.

Radio

Finally, the number of radios in each village visited was determined. These results are presented in Table 4. Approximately one villager in eight lives in a community that has no direct access to the radio. On the other hand, well over half the peasantry reside in villages with five or more radios. Perhaps two basic points stand out from these data. The first is that if one compares gross rural access to the three major media, access to the radio seems to be greatest. The second is that although most villagers live in communities with more than one radio, most also live in villages with less than ten radios. Hence, there would seem to be opportunity for extensive "gatekeeping" -- that is, for control by a few people within the village over access to the inadequate supply of radios. More evidence on

both these topics will subsequently be displayed.

Table 4

Rural Population by Number of Radio Receivers in Village

Number of Radio Receivers in Village	Percentage of Rural Population
None	12%
One	6
2-4	25
5-9	22
10-19	19
20-49	9
50-99	5
100 or more	2
("N" = 6,436)	

The simple national figures for rural access to the newspaper, radio and cinema heretofore presented plainly mask any noteworthy internal variations in access that may exist between different types of villages. When dealing with the number of radios per village, for example, one plainly wants to examine the data in light of information regarding village size. Similarly, there may be conspicuous regional differences in media access and differences related to village isolation or development. Many such distinctions will be introduced when we consider the somewhat more critical matter of media exposure, but even the present limited discussion of media access cannot be concluded without inspection of a few key factors related to the distribution of media access in Turkey.

Village Size

First, let us scrutinize the relationship between village size and mass media access. The essential picture is sketched in the data of Table 5 which gives, for peasants resident in villages of five size categories,

the percentage of respondents to whose village the newspaper "never" came or came at least weekly, whose villages had no radios or had five or more radios, and whose village was within fifteen kilometers of a cinema.

Table 5

Peasant Access to the Mass Media by Village Size

Village Size	Newspaper		Radios		Cinema	
	Weekly or More	Never	Five or More	None	Within 15 Km.	"N"
1-199 (median 127)[a]	31%	38%	15%	25%	29%	(302)
200-399 (med. 341)	42	22	34	21	23	(1,223)
400-599 (med. 497)	51	21	53	10	45	(1,284)
600-999 (med. 775)	52	19	63	10	34	(1,662)
1,000-1,999 (med. 1,400)	72	15	83	4	40	(1,556)
Total Sample	53%	20%	57%	12%	35%	(6,436)[b]

[a]These medians are interpolations from grouped data.

[b]The total sample is larger than the sum of the village-size cells because a few villages, and all their respondents, had to be omitted for lack of information.

The first two columns of the table demonstrate a clear and moderately strong relationship between village size and access to the press. Less than a third of the peasants living in a village of under two hundred persons resided in a community to which a newspaper came at least weekly, whereas nearly three fourths of the peasants in the largest villages of 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants lived in a village receiving a newspaper at least weekly. Perusal of the percentages of peasants from villages of various sizes to whose village a newspaper "never" came reveals a corresponding relationship.

The larger the village the greater the access to the newspaper. The smaller villages are those with the least access to the press.

The same pattern seems to hold with regard to broadcasting. There are obviously more radio sets in the larger villages, and the percentage of respondents living in villages without any radios declines as village size increases. However, if the probability of residents having a radio were uniformly distributed across communities, without regard to their size, this would still be the expected result. The question that interests us most at present is whether there are more radios per inhabitant in the larger communities than in the smaller ones, not merely whether there are more radios.

Approximate calculations from the grouped data of the survey disclose that the overall number of radios per one hundred persons in village Turkey is about 1.7 (contrasted with roughly 5.4 for the nation as a whole, it will be recalled). The same rate for the villages classed according to size is as follows: size 1-199 -- [illegible] radios per one hundred persons; size 200-399 -- 1.2 radios; size 400-599 -- 1.4 radios; size 600-999 -- 1.6 radios; and, size 1,000-1,999 -- 2.5 radios. Except for the smallest villages, the number of radios per inhabitant increases continuously with village size, with the increase seeming particularly acute when villages have more than one thousand inhabitants. The relatively high ratio for the smallest villages would appear to be related to the fact that the possession of even two or three radios produces a high rate in communities so tiny -- and two or three radios seems to be a common minimum when the community has any radios at all, since if one leading figure obtains a radio, his

main rivals strive mightily to do the same.[13]

When we turn to the figures reflecting proximity to a cinema, no very compelling relationship with village size emerges. The larger villages are perhaps slightly more likely to have a cinema within fifteen kilometers, but several inversions appear in the association. Actually, this is hardly surprising and, in a sense, reassuring. One has no weighty a priori reason to expect that village size and nearness to a cinema would be strongly related. The cinemas of contemporary Turkey primarily service city and town dwellers. Their locations are fundamentally determined by the locations of cities and towns, not villages. And we have no reason to presume that village size and proximity to a town or city would be distinctly related. Hence, we should not have anticipated a high correlation between village size and gross access to a cinema, and we have not found one.

Region

The regional variations in mass media access are portrayed in Table 6. From it we learn that egregious regional disparities exist. These correspond to regional variations along many other economic and social dimensions and can be summarized quite briefly. In general, the Southeastern, East Central and Northeastern Regions have by far the poorest media access. These are the eastern and east central provinces. After them comes a less determinate group of four regions, two coastal and two central Anatolian. Lastly, the two western and coastal regions of the Marmara and the Aegean constitute the group with the best access to the mass media. The relationship between geography and mass media is very evident in these data and will not be

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[13]For a reflection of this, see the vignette in Makal, op.cit., pp.183-184.

discussed at this time. Internal variations in access to the three specific media will be more conveniently discussed when we investigate regional differences in media exposure.

Table 6

Regional Variations in Mass Media Access

Agricultural Region	Respondents Living in Villages with Newspaper: Weekly or More	Newspaper: Never	Radio: Five or More	Radio: None	Cinema: Within 15 Km.	"N"
North Central	55%	13%	63%	3%	33%	932
Aegean	87	3	84	3	50	927
Marmara	73	3	75	3	53	534
Mediterranean	57	28	67	18	40	659
Northeastern	30	27	34	14	24	484
Southeastern	22	37	10	49	9	618
Black Sea	45	35	54	8	49	1,130
East Central	29	22	35	16	32	623
South Central	68	8	74	2	5	529

Urban Proximity

A surprise awaited us when we studied our data relating proximity to an urban center to mass media access. We expected to find that access to the press, at least, was markedly linked to closeness to a city over 50,000 in population. Our assumption was that both the provincial and the national newspapers would have to flow out of this urban source, and that proximity to the source would be positively associated with greater access to the medium.

As Table 7 discloses, we were partly in error. While it is true that peasants resident in villages intermediate in distance from a city over 50,000 seem to have better access than peasants in more distant villages, it is not true that peasants whose villages are closest to such cities have

the best access of all. In fact, in these data as in many other facets of our study, we appear to confront evidence that an intermediate distance from urban centers is most strongly associated with village development and peasant attitudinal modernity. Why this should be so we cannot really say at the present time. Perhaps there is a debilitating urban suction effect, undermining village leadership, cohesiveness and vitality when the city gets too close. Whatever the reason, findings mildly favoring villages intermediate in distance run like a thread through large portions of our data. In the present case, we should simply like to point out that access to the media is not a complete "given" for these villages. In many respects, they can make or alter that access and undoubtedly do so. Thus, if these intermediate villages are more enterprising and organized than villages closer or farther away from urbanization, we possibly notice a clue to this otherwise anomalous finding.

Table 7

Urban Proximity and Mass Media Access

Village Distance From Nearest City Over 50,000	Newspaper		Radios		Cinema	
	Weekly or More	Never	Five or More	None	Within 15 Km.	"N"
0-19 Kilometers[a]						
20-49 Kilometers	49%	24%	41%	12%	33%	(698)
50-99 Kilometers	58	18	65	7	32	(1,555)
100 Kilometers	52	21	57	13	34	(3,740)

[a]Category deleted because cell too small for reliable analysis.

Access Correlations Between Media

Access to one major mass medium is significantly and positively correlated with access to the other two media. The peasant living in a

village with good newspaper access is appreciably more likely also to have relatively good access to the radio and cinema. These relationships are grossly displayed in the three parts of Table 8.

Table 8

Inter-correlations Between Access to the Newspaper, Radio and Cinema

A. Newspaper and Radio:	Newspaper Frequency			
Number of Radios in Village	Daily	Weekly	Less than Weekly	Never
Twenty or More	54%	15%	1%	4%
Five through Nineteen	42	56	31	27
One through Four	4	25	49	43
None	-	4	19	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total "N" (6,391)	(992)	(2,427)	(1,681)	(1,291)

B. Newspaper and Cinema:	Newspaper Frequency			
Cinema	Daily	Weekly	Less than Weekly	Never
Within 15 Kilometers	65%	33%	24%	32%
Not Within 15 Kilometers	35	67	76	68
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total "N" (6,407)	(992)	(2,427)	(1,697)	(1,291)

C. Radio and Cinema:	Number of Radios in Village			
Cinema	20	5-9	1-4	None
Within 15 Kilometers	57%	39%	26%	19%
Not Within 15 Kilometers	43	61	74	81
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total "N" (6,420)	(1,005)	(2,646)	(2,006)	(763)

We should expect newspaper and radio access to correlate positively

since we know that they are both significantly related to village size. However, the correlation outstrips the magnitude that might be anticipated from the dual correlation with the third factor and it holds up even when that factor (village size) is partialled out or controlled.

Since access to the cinema is not significantly related to village size or other proximity, we have no such expectation for its relationship with newspaper and radio access, and the discovery of the observed relationship is a net gain in information. Nevertheless, we are obliged also to point out that regional factors may lie behind some of the associations here observed -- in other words, that the within-region association between the variables may be considerably reduced. Limitations in the number of respondents in some of the more backward regions precludes intensive pursuit of this consideration. At present, all signs point toward a clearly positive association between the gross degrees of access to the newspaper, the radio and the cinema for Turkish peasantry.

Indices of Village Mass Media Access and Village Development

Since access to each of the major mass media of rural Turkey is correlated with access to the other media, we have felt justified in constructing an index of village mass media access by arbitrarily assigning equal weights to access to each medium. This index has a range of nine places -- from zero through eight, with a mean of 3.8 and an approximately (and designedly) normal distribution. It provides a simple and convenient device for comparing the total media access of various groups. Employing it, for example, we find (again reassuringly) no difference in the media access of the villages in which the male members of our sample reside from those in which the females reside. One has no reason to expect such a difference -- indeed, many reasons to expect <u>not</u> to find it. We do find, however, that the mass media access of villages in which the

literate peasants live is moderately greater than that of the villages housing illiterate peasants. Since literates and illiterates tend, on the whole, still to live in the same villages (though they may not necessarily continue to do so), this is not surprising. Again, we find no differences according to the age of our respondents. But, when formal education is considered, fairly sharp differences emerge. The village that has a school is likely to have better general access to the mass media.

Much of our purpose in devising the mass media access index was to permit correlations with other indices that trace the basic level of social and economic development in each village. Indices reflecting village physical isolation, the incidence of village establishments (coffee-houses, stores, fountains, guest room, etc.), village access to social services (telephone, midwife, primary school, mosque, etc.), and village contact with government officials have been constructed and tested. Table 10 supplies the product-moment correlation coefficients measuring the degree of association between the specific indices mentioned and the index of mass media access.

Table 10

Correlation of Village Mass Media Access with Selected Other Indices of Village Development

Index	Correlation with Mass Media Access
Village Isolation	-.452
Village Establishments	.474
Village Social Services	.696
Village Governmental Contact	.335

The message of Table 10 is quite clear. Mass media access in rural

Turkey is quite strongly and positively related to other measures of village social and economic development. The less physically isolated the village from the mainstream of national life, the more coffee-houses, fountains, stores, ateliers, and other establishments it has, the more social services it provides, and the more governmental contact it has, the more access to the mass media it is likely to have. This can hardly be called dramatic or surprising news, and, once again, factors such as village size must be controlled even to assess the significance of the crude finding. But it does alert us to a problem that we shall deal with throughout the remainder of this report: what seems to be the contribution to village development attributable to the mass media and what is the contribution that must be attributed to associated phenomena? Are the media more a cause, a consequent, or a concomitant of development? To grasp the more dynamic levers of development (if any exist), the planner must attempt to fathom fairly complex mutual associations like those roughly depicted above. It is for this reason that in the bulk of this report we have stressed careful and successive controls for important variables as far as the size of our sample permits. We hope to be able to disengage the characteristic impact of the mass media, collectively and individually, from that of the most salient allied factors.

Peasant Exposure to the Mass Media

Access and exposure to the mass media are two related but quite different things. By the term "access" we have referred to the essentially physical potential for mass media exposure. Is there a newspaper, radio or cinema within reasonable physical range of the individual? A person may ardently desire to experience the mass media, but, particularly in the

rural sectors of developing societies, it may be virtually impossible for him to do so. No newspapers may come to his village, no broadcasts may penetrate there or else no radios may exist, no cinema may be within practical travelling distance and television may not even be envisioned for the largest cities until several plan-years hence. In the preceding section we have tried to adumbrate the basic bounds of access that curtail media exposure in rural Turkey.

By "exposure" we mean actually reading a newspaper or hearing one being read, actually listening to a radio, and actually seeing a film. Clearly, access is necessary but not always sufficient for regular mass media exposure. People may have a radio within their normal living range but not listen to it or listen only rarely. They may not take advantage of the cinema or they may find it too traumatic to bear. They may ignore the press as unrelated to their lives and almost deliberately difficult or tedious. And, they may do these things from ignorance of their opportunities, from their own personal inclinations, or because of strong pressures from their relatives, friends or associates. Consequently, in this section of our report we look within the bounds of access and focus on the delineation of what kinds of Turkish villagers in what kinds of settings actually are or are not exposed to the three major mass media.

Some of the discrepancy that can exist between mass media access and exposure can be indicated in a rudimentary way by a few figures. Table 11 compares a gross access measure for the press (viz., the frequency with which a newspaper comes to Turkey's villages) with a gross exposure measure (viz., the frequency with which peasants actually read a newspaper or listen to one being read). Thus, the table states that although only twenty per

cent of our sample of rural Turks lived in a village to which a newspaper "never" came, fifty two per cent of these same rural Turks "never" read a newspaper or listened to one being read. And lest it be thought that the discrepancy was purely an artifact of the indeterminacy of the word, "never" we can inspect the opposite end of the scale where the frequencies are more precisely stated. There we find almost exactly the same situation with almost exactly comparable numbers. Fifty three per cent of the villagers lived in a community to which a newspaper came at least weekly while but twenty per cent of the villagers were exposed to a newspaper at least weekly. Of course, intra-village limitations of access also exist and undoubtedly contribute something to the observed discrepancy. But its magnitude is so great that we should dispute the claim that it is all due to such a factor.

Table

Rural Access and Exposure to a Newspaper

Frequency	Peasants Living in a Village Where a Newspaper Comes	Peasants Reading or Listening to a Newspaper Read.
"Never"	20%	52%
Less than Monthly	9	1[illegible]
Monthly	8	6
Every Few Weeks	9	10
Weekly	26	10
Every Few Days	[illegible] 53%	6 } 20%
Daily	[illegible]	4
"N" = 6,436	100%[a]	100%[a]

[a]Percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding

Similar findings can be presented for the cinema and the radio. Although thirty five per cent of the adult Turkish peasantry live less than fifteen kilometers from a cinema, merely twenty seven per cent had attended

the cinema within the past year. Although only twelve per cent of the villagers live in a community without a radio, three times that percentage say "never" listen to the radio. Moreover, although we are now furnishing only marginal data, pointed cross-tabulations reveal the same fact: many Turkish peasants apparently do not make use of that access to the mass media which they possess. (See Appendix.)[14]

This relationship between access and exposure to the mass media can be more comprehensively viewed by employing the Village Mass Media Access Index, discussed in tha last section, together with a comparable general index of Mass Media Exposure, to be described shortly. There is a product-moment correlation between the two indices of .273 ---positive, significant, and relatively appreciable, but hardly overwhelming. Very

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[14] We refrain from making a comparative comment on the relative use made of access to the three mass media -- on what might be called the "exposure-access ratio" -- because of the arbitrariness and questionable comparability of our access and exposure measures. We do not really know, for example, that 15km. is an access cutting point for the cinema that is in some sense equivalent to weekly delivery of a newspaper to the village or having more than four village radios. One might attempt to circumvent this problem by making the access and exposure measures strictly identical for all media. Thus, one might equate having at least one cinema in the village with having at least one newspaper each day and having at least one radio. But clearly this is to ignore intrinsic differences between media, just as it is to ignore extremely important differences in norms regarding the trouble one legitimately incurs to use media -- and such norms strongly affect the very concept of access. The solution to this problem might be to take central tendencies in the population as access and exposure standards and then to restrict all comparisons to those between population sub-groups. In other words, one could work out separate exposure-access ratios for the total population and each of the three media, not trying to make comparisons at the population level. One could then calculate the positive or negative deviation of any sub-group from the population ratio, and one could compare deviations across sub-groups (and only sub-groups) in this fashion. One could also ascertain if the deviation between any specific sub-groups was greater for one medium than for another. There are several additional complications if one attempts to pursue this very far, however.

crudely, such a correlation suggests that less than ten per cent of the variation in individuals' Mass Media Exposure Index positions could be "explained" purely by variation in their Mass Media Access Index positions. Knowledge of a peasant's access to the media (as measured by the Access Index) is not a very good detailed predictor of where he stands with regard to exposure (i.e., on the Exposure Index). For a host of villagers, but in critically different degrees, exposure runs well below access. Peasants seem to make quite varying use of even the limited media exposure opportunities they presently have. This poses to the planner the problem of distinguishing what types of villagers use what degree of their access to various media, why they do so, and what difference this makes to other important rural behaviors.

Overall Peasant Exposure to the Three Major Mass Media

As already indicated, our respondents were asked how frequently they, as individuals, read a newspaper or listened to one being read, listened to the radio, and attended the cinema. The responses, and thus the comparative shape of mass media exposure in rural Turkey, are presented in Table 12.

The mass medium to which Turkish peasants are most frequently exposed is plainly the radio. More than two of every five peasants listen to the radio at least weekly, and nearly one in five listens daily. Only a little over a third "never" listen. After the radio in rank comes the newspaper. One peasant in five is exposed to a newspaper at least weekly, although slightly more than half of the peasantry apparently "never" encounter a newspaper. And the poorest of the three major media in terms of gross peasant exposure is the cinema. Well over half of our respondents had never glimpsed the flickering screen, and only about one peasant in four

Table 12

Overall Peasant Exposure to the Newspaper, Radio and Cinema[a]

A. Newspaper and Radio:

Exposure Frequency	Newspaper		Radio	
Never	52%		36%	
Monthly or Less	17		15	
Every Few Weeks	10		5	
Weekly	10		11	
Every Few Days	6	20%	13	43%
Daily	4		19	
("N" = 6,436)	100%		100%	

B. Cinema:

Never attended in entire life	56%
Attended, but not in past year	17
Attended once in past year	8
Attended twice in past year	6
Attended three to five times in past year	5
Attended more than five times in past year	8
("N" = 6,436)	100%

[a]Percentages may not add to one hundred because of rounding.

had seen a film sometime within the preceding twelve months.

Regarded from a moderately optimistic viewpoint, the data of Table 12 illustrate the apparent potential of the mass media as a developmental tool in rural Turkey. It is a notable fact that large numbers of peasants, if not always large proportions, are seeing and listening to the radio, cinema and newspaper. If we think for a moment in absolute numbers this fact becomes more striking. Our data indicate that more than one and three fourths million adult Turkish villagers listen to the radio every day. Nearly one million read a newspaper or listen to one being read every few days. Well over a million watch a cinema every few months. Despite the newness

of the mass media, almost no other institution of modern Turkish society reaches out so extensively to the village sector. Even in the absence of the impressive media expansion that is probably coming, if such an instrument could be wielded as a telling force for rural development, signal changes might be wrought. This observation must be kept in mind while we continue to trace the limitations of peasant mass media exposure in Turkey.

Comparative Mass Media Exposure of the Peasant and Other Turks

The media position of the Turkish peasant and his mass communication prospects can be better understood if one knows something about the mass media behavior of the non-rural element of the nation and about the media experiences of villagers in other developing lands. In this section we shall very briefly make the first of these comparisons - that within Turkey - and in the following section we shall present a very few cross-national vistas.

In Turkey as in most developing societies, very little communications research has been done. Nevertheless, there are a few empirical studies that cast light on the relative position of the peasant vis à vis the mass media. For example, Mübeccel Kiray, in her investigation of the Black Sea town of Eregli, queried the 484 household heads of her sample concerning the frequency of their radio listening. As in rural Turkey, "...in Ereğli the most important medium of communication (haberleşme) is radio."[15] And she found radio receivers widespread in the villages surrounding the town as well as in the more urban area itself.

It is impossible to make a precise comparison of her data with ours

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[15] Mübeccel Belik Kiray, Eregli, Agir Sanayiden Bir Sahil Kasabasi (eregli, A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry), (Ankara, T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilati, 1964), p.154. "Importance" is inferred from exposure

because the classificatory categories are different and cannot be articulated. A "never listen" category was employed in both studies, however, and yields some insight. Merely six per cent of the Ereğli household heads (town-dwellers) indicated that they "never" listened to the radio as opposed to thirty six per cent of the adult peasants. Even if we restrict ourselves to a more appropriate comparison group of peasants, the males, we still find that eighteen per cent said they "never" listened to the radio.

In a similar vein, twenty two per cent of theEreğli household heads "never" read or listened to a newspaper being read, in contrast to fifty two per cent of the peasants (but only 29% of the males). Seventy five per cent of the Ereğli sample were exposed to a newspaper every day as opposed to only four per cent of the peasants (6% of the males). Again, more than forty five per cent of the household heads in the town sample had apparently been to the cinema more than five times in the past year compared to but eight per cent of the villagers (18% of the males).[16]

Granville Sewell, in a small study of the squatters' settlements (gecekondu) mushrooming up around Turkey's largest cities and filled with relatively recent rural migrants, presents data showing that some sixty five per cent of his Aktepe respondents listened to the radio daily and only ten per cent "never" listened. If these figures are accurate, they would seem to suggest, when considered along with our peasant data, that a noteworthy increase in mass media exposure perhaps quickly attends rural migration to urban areas. He also found that fifty three per cent of the gecekondu dwellers were exposed to the newspaper at least every other day.[17]

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[16] Ibid., pp.154,160,162.

[17] Granville H. Sewell, "Squatter Settlements in Turkey," PhD. Dissertation, Political Science Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1964, pp.317,316.

Most other empirical studies of Turkish communities either do not present data on mass media behavior or else present them in impressionistic rather than quantitative terms. One particularly fortunate exception to this statement exists, however. In 1963 (the year following the field stage of the Rural Development Research Project), the Population Council, together with the Turkish Ministry of Health and the Test and Research Bureau of the Turkish Ministry of Education, conducted a large scale survey of attitudes and behaviors related to population control in Turkey. The sample for this project was essentially drawn from married women under the age of forty five years and their husbands. This defined population was most appropriate for the purposes of the 1963 research project, but it is not coterminous with the peasant population defined for the Rural Development Research Project, since the latter basically included all adult villagers over fifteen years of age. Nevertheless, if we allow for the mismatch in age and marital status, fruitful gross comparisons between the two major surveys can be made, and the Population Survey has the very interesting feature of including respondents from villages, towns, cities and the three big metropolitan areas (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir). Since it also utilized several of the mass media exposure questions employed on the village survey the preceding year, these comparisons are facilitated. The pertinent data are supplied in Table 13, with the exception of cinema exposure, which was not investigated in the population control study. Figures are presented separately for male and female respondents.[18]

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[18] I am gratefully indebted to Dr. George W. Angell, Jr., Field Director for the Population Control Survey in 1962, for making these data available, and indirectly to others guiding that project: Bernard Berelson, J. Mayone Stycos, Parker Maldin, et al. For further information, see Bernard Berelson, "Turkey: National Survey on Population," Studies in

Table 13

Comparative Mass Media Exposure of Village, Town, City and Metropolitan Turks[a]

	(R.D.R.P.)		(Population Control Project Survey Data)							
	Villagers		Villagers		Town-Dwellers		City-Dwellers		Metropolitan Residents	
Media and Exposure	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Female
Newspaper Exposure:										
Never	29%	72%	36%	73%	24%	55%	9%	44%	6%	19%
Monthly or Less	22	13	21	9	7	6	2	4	1	3
Every Few Weeks	15	6	13	5	5	4	6	6	2	5
Weekly	18	3	13	4	14	5	6	3	5	3
Every Few Days	10	3	9	2	15	12	19	13	9	13
Daily	6	2	6	1	34	15	57	27	76	52
DK & Refusal	-	2	2	6	-	3	-	3	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"N"	3,010	3,311	1,306	1,465	372	393	314	327	395	550
Radio Exposure:										
Never	18%	52%	19%	44%	8%	27%	4%	14%	2%	8%
Monthly or Less	16	14	19	18	8	8	4	6	2	3
Every Few Weeks	7	3	7	5	5	3	3	2	2	1
Weekly	15	7	10	4	8	3	6	5	1	1
Every Few Days	18	10	18	9	16	11	17	11	11	9
Daily	25	14	27	16	55	46	68	62	83	77
DK & Refusal	-	2	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"N"	3,010	3,311	1,306	1,465	372	393	314	327	395	550
Literacy	49%	9%	64%	15%	78%	35%	89%	47%	92%	72%

[a]Percentages may not add to one hundred because of rounding.

Family Planning, No.5 (December, 1964) pp.1-5, and J. Mayone Stycos, "The Potential Role of Turkish Village Opinion Leaders in a Program of Family Planning," Public Opinion Quarterly Vol.XXIX, No.1 (1965), pp.120-130.

Three distinct patterns of media use in Turkey are disclosed in Table 18. The first and most obvious is that exposure to the press and to the radio both increase dramatically with increasing community size -- if you will, with urbanization. However, we have also included in the table data portraying the increase in literacy that is associated with urbanization. We have done this in order to illustrate the fact that the rise in mass media exposure may well be due to some other factor, such as literacy, rather than being necessarily due to urbanization. We shall comment further on this topic in later sections of this report, since it is one of the distinguishing features of the Rural Development Research Survey that it permits further unravelling of the complex relationships between such developmental factors as literacy, community size, education, mass media exposure, economic status, etc., than do most other studies. For the present it is sufficient to note that residents of Turkey's three metropolitan areas are more exposed to the two mass media than are residents in her other cities over 15,000, that these other city residents are in turn more exposed than the inhabitants of towns (2,000-15,000 population), and that the villagers living in communities of less than 2,000 population are least exposed of all. Moreover, the decline in exposure that is associated with reduced community size is somewhat sharper for the newspaper than for the radio; of the two, the press seems to be the more urban instrument.

Second, we perceive in Table 18 a striking reflection of the disparity in mass media exposure between the sexes. Throughout Turkey, males are more media-exposed than females. Once again, however, we must note that males are also more literate than females, so we should at least await a control for literacy before we assert that sex role is strongly determinative

of mass media exposure. But, be that as it may, the policy-maker must realize that messages transmitted through the newspaper and radio are much more likely directly to reach Turkey's male population than her female population.

Third, Table 18 offers evidence suggesting that the male-female media exposure is appreciably greater in villages than it is in towns and cities. In fact, that gap seems to be inversely related to urbanization in general. It is also less acute for the radio than for the newspaper. A crude illustration of these relationships can be obtained by comparing the percentage of males exposed daily to the two media with the percentage of females so exposed. The resulting ratios (% males exposed daily / % females exposed daily) are given below.

Table 19

Male/Female Ratios of Daily Media Exposure by Size of Residential Community

Community	Newspaper	Radio
Village (R.D.R.P.)	3.0-1	1.80-1
Village (Pop. Survey)	6.0-1	1.70-1
Town "	2.3-1	1.20-1
City "	2.1-1	1.10-1
Metropolis "	1.5-1	1.08-1

Comparative Media Exposure of the Turkish Peasant and Other Peasants

To the best of our knowledge, no other broad attitudinal and behavioral survey of a large national sample of the peasantry of a developing nation has yet been reported. Hence, definitive comparison of the mass media position of the Turkish villager with his counterparts in other societies is impossible. Yet, for many reasons, the planner is interested in the

question of whether the situation in Turkey seems to be unique or whether it seems to be rather characteristic of emerging nations. We have therefore attempted to reconnoiter the literature on peasant exposure to the mass media. The yield of comparative information is disappointing. The literature can hardly be called large; it is quite spotty in the sense that the nature of the populations investigated varies drastically, with the bulk of the research being concentrated in investigations of single villages of assorted types; and, perhaps most inconvenient of all, the analytic categories used even for so basic a thing as mass media exposure are far from uniform. In short, we currently possess very little truly comparative information about peasant exposure to the mass media in different developing societies. The topic, however, remains of considerable importance.

For these reasons, we shall here concentrate merely on presenting selected data which seem to establish some perspective on the typicality of the Turkish case. If we have better information about the Turkish peasant than about other peasants, it seems especially valuable to ascertain as well as possible the ubiquity or uniqueness of the Turkish situation.

Information about the mass media exposure of peasants (or tribal farmers, in the African case) for Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Laos, Kenya and three Latin American settings is provided in Table 20. Since these data come from extremely different types of studies with varying samples, question formulations, coding procedures, and so on, they can only be roughly suggestive. On the whole, they seem to imply that the Turkish peasant's mass media position is probably fairly representative of that of other peasants. In general, the Turkish villager would appear to be sommwhat better exposed than the Jordanian peasant, the Kenyan tribal farmer, and possibly the Laotian peasant, while he is superfically more

poorly exposed than the Latin American campesino and the Egyptian peasant -- particularly as regards radio. A complicating factor in making these comparisons is that some of the samples relate to the household heads, some to the adult population, and some to adult males. Were the Turkish data restricted to household heads or even merely to all adult males, the media exposure incidences would rise, as we have already shown, and the comparative Turkish position would improve.[19]

Nevertheless, the primary point is that peasant media exposure, across nations and studies as diverse as these, seems to remain in a roughly comparable range. In each case one finds a sizeable portion of the peasantry moderately well exposed to the mass media and another segment, slightly smaller, slightly larger, or about the same size, whose exposure is feeble or nil. In the neighborhood of one third to one half of the peasants usually are not directly reached at all by radio, and approximately one half to three fourths ordinarily are not directly reached by newspapers or the cinema. The mass media would seem to be generally capable of reaching an impressive sector of the peasantry, though one can also be sure that another and perhaps somewhat larger sector will not be directly reached at all. Thus the matter of knowing rather precisely who is reached and what the relations are between those reached and those not reached by the mass media becomes critical.

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[19]See the data presented in Table 18 for male exposure to the mass media among the Turkish peasantry.

Table 20

Mass Media Exposure Among Peasants in Selected Countries

Country:	Turkey	Venezuela	Columbia	Columbia	Laos	Kenya	Egypt	Jordan
Population:	Nat'l Sample Peas-	Mainly Males in Selected	Andean Village Hshld.	Three Village Hshld.	Far- mers Near	Hshld. Heads in 3	Selec- ted Villa-	Selec- ted Villa-
Characteristic	ants	Villages	Heads	Heads	City	Areas	gers	gers
Illiterate	72%	52.5% (est.)	42%	62%		60%		
Newspaper exposure:								
Daily	4%	6%			3%	1%		
At least weekly	20	28		60%		8		
At least monthly	36	35			32	12		
Never	52	43			48?	83		75%
Radio exposure:								
Daily	19%	61%		60%	9%	8%	42%	
At least weekly	43	85			45	38		
At least 6 mos.	64	99	42%			66		
Never	36	1			41?	34		42%
Cinema Exposure:								
Past 6 mos.			24%				63+%	
At least past yr.	27	38%		68%		38%		
Never	56	17				62		75%
Television exposure:								
At least past year		35%		14%				
("N")	(6,436)	(137)	(71)	(158)	(970)	(624)	(48)	(12)

Sources: Center for International Studies (M.I.T.) and Center for Development Studies (CENDES, Central University of Venezuela), "Study of Conflict and Consensus," preliminary data made available by Prof. J.A. Silva Michelena; Paul J. Deutschmann and Orlando Falls Borda, Communication and Adoption Patterns in an Andean Village (San Jose, Costa Rica: Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular and Facultad de Sociologia, Universidad Nacional de Columbia, 1962) and Paul J. Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," Journalism Quarterly, Vol.40, No.1 (1963), p.28; Everett M. Rogers, "Information Sources in the Adoption Process for 2,4-D Weed Spray in Three Columbian Peasant Neighborhoods," First Interamerican Symposium on the Role of Communications in Agricultural Development, D.T. Myren (ed.), (Mexico City: 1964), p.72; Raymond Fink, "Political Awareness in Laos," survey conducted by the United States Information Agency, 1959, made available through the courtesy of Prof. Ithiel de Sola Pool and Mr. Stuart McIntosh, M.I.T.; Marco Surveys, Ltd., A Baseline Survey of Factors Affecting Agricultural Development in Three Areas of Kenya (Nairobi?: Ministry of Labour & Social Services, Government of Kenya, 1965), pp.91-93; Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 232, 235, 316.

Finally, the inferior mass media exposure of peasants, compared to urban dwellers or those with urban occupations seems to be visible in every other developing nation for which we have been able to find either impressionistic or quantitative evidence. The flavor of these relationships is hopefully conveyed by the data from three selected nations exhibited in Table 21.

Table 21

Comparative Mass Media Exposure of Peasants and Urban Groups in Three Selected Countries

Egypt:	Radio Daily	Cinema Weekly	Cinema 1-2 Month	Cinema: Less Than 4 per Year
Professional (110)	89%	46%	43%	11%
White Collar (35)	82	50	29	21
Worker (69)	78	45	36	19
Farmer (48)	42	8	54	37

Jordan:	Listen to Radio	Read Newspaper	Attend Cinema
Elite (29)	97%	93%	83%
Enterprisers (55)	80	63	58
Farmers (12)	58	25	25

Venezuela:	Newspaper Monthly+	Radio Weekly+	Cinema Yearly+	Television Monthly +
Middle Bureaucrats (133)	97%	89%	92%	94%
White Collar (176)	99	91	90	83
Shopkeepers (161)	89	91	68	71
Urban Squatters (258)	74	87	42	54
Cmrcl. Farm Managers (135)	83	90	55	52
Cmrcl. Farm Workers (102)	35	88	53	20
Peasants (137)	35	85	38	17

Sources: "Study of Conflict and Consensus in Venezuela," loc.cit.; Lerner, op.cit. Cf. also, e.g., "The General Pattern of Exposure to Mass Media in Seven Latin American Countries," (Washington: U.S.I.A. Research and Reference Service, 1961), passim.

The Venezuelan statistics are initially quite illustrative of factors apparently related to mass media exposure. The force of rural residence is reflected in the commercial farm managers' lowered newspaper, cinema and TV exposure compared to other occupations of similar income and responsibility, and in the squatters' greater exposure to the press and television compared to peasants and farm workers. The force of economic factors is presumably disclosed in the relative television exposures of the bureaucratic and white collar groups. The force of literacy with regard to the printed media is depicted in the reduced press exposure of the squatters, farm laborers and peasants. And, it is interesting to note the lack of variation in radio exposure. Some of the stability of radio exposure across occupational and residential groups may be due to our selecting too easy a cutting point. But it is rather unmistakable that radio is in nearly every developing society the most pervasive and extensive medium, both geographically and in terms of social stratification.

Variations in Mass Media Exposure Within the Turkish Peasantry

The Turkish peasantry may be -- as some people seem to imply -- a virtual monolith, without significant internal variations. True, in its broadest form such an argument is clearly false. since we have already underlined conspicuous regional differences and differences in terms of community size along at least one dimension -- access to the mass media. Nevertheless, the critic who sees peasants as largely cast from a single mold might contend that these are purely environmental or ecological differences. They are, of course, important; but the critic's contention could be that within the basic ecological categories one will find few variations in peasant outlooks and actions. Peasant personality is seen as an essentially

uniform and stable phenomenon. Little diversity of attitudes and behaviors be presumed to exist within fundamentally similar environmental contexts. Thus, with regard to the mass media, one would expect that access and a few ecological factors such as village isolation, size and regional location would account for most of the interpersonal variation in peasant mass media exposure.

Suspicion has already been directed at such an argument by the observed magnitude of the difference between gross access and gross exposure to the mass media and by the far-from-overpowering correlation (.273) between our media access and exposure indices. We shall now pursue the matter further and try to pin down the major factors associated with differential peasant exposure to the mass media. A few main ecological influences will be examined first.

Ecological Factors Associated with Mass Media Exposure

The media exposure profiles associated with region, community size and urban proximity are delineated in Table 22. Even a cursory glance reveals that they are quite similar to the access distributions previously obtained for the same factors. For comparative purposes we have repeated the relevant statistics for newspaper access -- the medium for which the access and exposure categories are most similar. It can be seen, however, that although the relationships are the same in direction, the range of variation in exposure is generally less than the range of variation in access. This can be due to inadequacy of the access measure (it does not consider how many newspapers come to the village nor who receives and distributes them and how) or it can be due to the influence of other factors -- perhaps personal -- intervening between access and use.

Table 22

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Region, Village Size and Village Urban Proximity

	Literacy	Access: Newspaper (at least weekly)	Media Exposure: Newspaper (at least weekly)	Media Exposure: Radio (at least weekly)	Media Exposure: Cinema (ever attended
Total Sample	28%	53%	20%	43%	43%
Region:					
North Central (930)	31%	55%	18%	45%	46%
Aegean (928)	37	87	34	57	59
Marmara (534)	34	73	35	61	48
Mediterranean (659)	26	57	15	41	45
Northeastern (484)	26	30	11	35	37
Southeastern(617)	12	22	4	18	27
Black Sea (1,128)	27	45	21	43	40
East Central(623)	24	29	11	27	34
South Central (529)	31	68	26	60	47
Village Size:					
1-199(302)	22%	31%	17%	37%	39%
200-399(1,223)	24	42	17	36	40
400-599) (1,284)	28	51	18	41	42
600-999 (1,662)	29	52	22	45	44
1,000-1,999 (1,556)	33	72	26	52	49
Village Urban Proximity:					
0-19 km. (219)					
20-49 km. (698)	36%	49%	20%	38%	41%
50-99 km. (1,555)	30	58	19	48	46
100 or more km. (3,740)	28	52	19	42	43

Variations in mass media exposure associated with region seem to be greatest, followed by variations associated with village size. Once again, urban proximity appears to be the least influential of the three ecological factors. The rankings of the agricultural regions in terms of the exposure of their inhabitants to each of the three major media are quite similar.[20] The

[20] The Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient between provincial rankings for newspaper and radio exposure is .967, for newspaper and cinema exposure is .933, and for radio and cinema exposure is .933. The respective Pearson product-moment correlations are .92, .85, and .61. Regional peasant exposure to one medium in 1962 can be rather well predicted from exposure to the other two media.

The regions in descending order of general mass media exposure are arrayed as follows: 1) Marmara, 2) Aegean, 3) South Central, 4) North Central, 5) Black Sea, 6) Mediterranean 7) Northeastern, 8) East Central, and 9) Southeastern. We have once more inserted into the table the distribution of literates for each ecological factor in order to alert the reader to the possibility of alternative explanations for the found relationships. Literacy, for example, may be the prime factor determining media exposure rather than region, village size or village urban proximity. Literacy varies with the three ecological factors as mass media exposure does.

The relationships between the peasant's exposure to the mass media, the access of his village to the mass media, and several other key characteristics of his community can be displayed somewhat more fully through the use of a few other indices developed from the data of the Rural Development Research Project Survey. Five other indices descriptive of the communities housing the Turkish peasantry are germane here. Detailed descriptions of the composition of these indices is furnished in another report of this series, so we shall furnish merely a summary description now. The first index is labeled Village Centrality.[21] The label is awkward because we have found no suitable antonym for isolation. However, the index measures how close or remote, in terms of time by the usual means of transportation, the village is from the nearest regularly traveled road, from the nearest railroad station, from the nearest county (kaza or ilçe) center, and from the nearest city over 50,000. Also included is the length of time the village is usually closed-in by the weather during the course of a year.

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[21]This index, with a negative sign, has previously been referred to as "Village Isolation." Since a higher index score means greater centrality, less isolation, the present label is perhaps safer.

The second additional index, Village Establishments, expresses the degree of development of certain common facilities in the village -- coffee-house, fountains, guest room, stores, and artisans' establishments. The third index, Village Governmental Contact, refers to the frequency of visitation of the village by selected government officials -- the county prefect (kaymakam) or district director (nahiye müdürü), military personnel, police and gendarmes, tax collectors, health officials, agricultural agents, and postal workers. The fourth index, Village Social Services, displays the presence or absence in the village (or within fifteen kilometers) of twenty four different social services such as a telephone, postal service, doctor, midwife, teacher, veterinarian, priest, agricultural agent, clinic, school, etc. One of the twenty four items is the cinema, so that the index is not totally independent of the Village Mass Media Access Index. The fifth index, Village Development, is a composite index (an index formed from other indices) combining, with equal weighting, the Village Mass Media Access Index, the Village Establishments Index, the Village Centrality Index, and the Village Social Services Index.

Table 23 presents a correlational matrix for these various measures of village ecological factors together with the Mass Media Exposure Index. For comparative purposes we have also included correlational coefficients for a measure of the personal Geographical Mobility of the peasant (how much he has travelled), a measure of how active he seems to be in the intra-village system of Interpersonal (word-of-mouth) Communication, and one summary psychological measure that purports to assess the respondent's Cognitive Flexibility -- that is, how willing or able he is to stretch his mind by

entertaining new ideas, innovating new work techniques, empathizing to other roles, or projecting himself into the future or into different settings.

Table 23

Correlational Matrix for Selected Aspects of Village Ecology and Peasant Mass Media Exposure

	VMA	VC	VE	VGC	VSS	VD	GM	IC	CF
Mass Media Exposure	.273	.129	.2222	.123	.152*	.236	.478	.415	.384
Village Media Access		.452	.474	.335	.696	.807*	.171	.085	.110
Village Centrality			.141	.205	.438	.645*	.247	.039	.034
Village Establishments				.419	.213	.581*	.058	.102	.041
Village Govt. Contact					.210	.354	.059	.059	-.022
Village Social Services						.722*	.131	.044	.081
Village Development							.198	.082	.089
Geographical Mobility								.342	.238
Interpersonal Communication									.214
Cognitive Flexibility									

("N" = 6,436)

*Not independent. One must also note that some of the indices are of grouped characteristics and some refer to individual characteristics. It may be that correlations of grouped and individual characteristics tend to be strengthened compared to grouped-grouped or individual-individual correlations. Whether this is so and, if so, how much the correlations are thus strengthened we do not at present know. We assume strengthening insufficient to eliminate the stated patterns.

The basic points we wish to make regarding Table 23 are: 1) that the village ecological variables (VC, VE, VGC, VSS) display a reasonably high degree of internal correlation and might be regarded as a bloc or "factor;" 2) that the Mass Media Exposure Index does not correlate particularly highly with the ecological variables -- it correlates most significantly with the one village characteristic we have anticipated. Village

Mass Media Access; 3) that Mass Media Exposure is correlated with the two personal behavioral measures (Geographic Mobility and Interpersonal Communication) and with the one personal psychological measure (Cognitive Flexibility) appreciably more strongly than with any ecological measure; 4) that the three personal measures also are not strongly correlated with the village ecological measures; and 5) that the personal measures, though significantly correlated with each other, are loosely enough linked to make it difficult to argue that they are measuring some single personal phenomenon or that two of them are related to mass media exposure solely through being related to a third. We shall continue to explore the connection between mass media exposure, geographical mobility and interpersonal communication through additional controls and partial correlations later on.[22]

Sex, Literacy, Age and Mass Media Exposure

Impressionistic familiarity with rural Turkey convinces one that three of the most critical distinctions made in peasant society are those between male and female, between literate and illiterate, and between young and old. If anything, these impressions are intensified by our survey. Sex, literacy and age cast their influence over nearly every print-out page of our data. Sex and literacy in particular must always be taken into account. The mass media exposure data are no exception.

In Table 24 we contrast the exposures to the newspaper, radio and cinema of males and females (something we have done before) and then of

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[22]Time has prevented our utilizing the technique of factor analysis with the present matrix in this report. At a later date we expect to employ it. We should also caution again that although we feel some inferences are more plausible than others, we have established nothing about causal directionality. Cognitive Flexibility, for instance, might clearly be only a product of mass media exposure rather than a contributory or complete cause of it. And the same might be said of all other indices employed, with the possible exception of Village Centrality.

the four groups produced by simultaneously applying the sex and literacy distinctions. We learn from the table that males are much more media exposed than females and that literates are conspiciously more exposed than illiterates. One rather plausible initial inference from the table is that literacy is a slightly more important factor related to media exposure than is sex (at least for the newspaper and radio), though both are extremely important. Witness the fact that we get the following rank ordering for the four attributes: male literates, female literates, male illiterates, female illiterates; then, within that framework, males come before females.

The cinema might be considered a possible exception to this rule, and it is an interesting one. It will be recalled that we earlier said that the cinema is more affected by those factors which influence peasant travel (geographical mobility) than are the other two media. Moreover, when the present sort of analysis is applied to extra-village travel, we find that both sex and literacy are again extremely important, but this time sex seems to outweigh literacy in significance. Thus, for the cinema the two sets of factors seem to be at a standoff and one finds the tied relationship displayed in the last column of Table 24.

Table 24

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Sex and Literacy[23]

	Newspaper (at least weekly)	Radio (at least weekly)	Cinema (ever attended)
Males (3,010)	34%	58%	70%
Females (3,311)	8	31	19
Male Literates (1,465)	50%	72%	86%
Male Illiterates (1,227)	15	42	51
Female Literates (304)	27	53	51
Female Illiterates (2,836)	6	27	15

In contrast to the limited range of variations in mass media exposure that was found when we examined ecological distinctions, the range now found in terms of sex and literacy is imposing. We should also note that the sex and literacy differences seem to be somewhat more pronounced for the newspaper and cinema than for the radio.

Before we proceed to introduce age into our analysis, we are now in a position to make a few more specific probes into the relative impact of ecological versus more personal factors such as sex and literacy. We can hold the main ecological factors relatively constant and ascertain what variations in mass media exposure along sex and literacy lines remain when that is done. At the risk of inflicting an horrendously large (but basically simple) table on the reader, we shall let the data speak for themselves. Table 25, therefore, looks at exposure variations between the four sex and literacy groups within each of the nine agricultural regions, within the five sizes of community, within three categories of village centrality-isolation, within three categories of village development, and also within three categories of village mass media access.

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[23] All analyses involving two or more independent variables have been performed on the Turkish-speaking rural populace only, unless it is stated that they refer to the total sample.

Table 25

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Sex, Literacy and Selected Ecological Factors*

	Newspaper (at least weekly)				Radio (at least weekly)				Cinema (ever attended)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Lt.	Il.	Lt.	Il.	Lt.	Il.	Lt.	Il.	Lt.	Il.	Lt.	Il.
Region:												
North Central	44%	16%	15%	6%	70%	51%	49%	31%	85%	61%	46%	19%
Aegean	70	43	25	7	86	69	61	30	90	68	71	29
Marmara	77	32	49	9	89	72	47	19	84	56	57	20
Mediterranean	31	12	30	7	59	40	43	33	82	65	39	18
Northeastern	35	6	15	5	57	30	46	28	88	46	19	14
Southeastern	19	2		2	56	15		11	79	41		3
Black Sea	56	21	21	5	74	44	55	30	89	51	47	12
East Central	25	11	35	6	47	27	60	17	82	44	60	7
South Central	52	24	37	10	82	64	60	47	84	60	33	22
Village Size:												
1,000-1,999	56%	23%	31%	8%	77%	56%	61%	35%	90%	61%	60%	19%
600-999	50	17	25	7	72	46	48	30	85	54	41	17
400-599	43	20	28	5	69	45	50	26	86	54	44	15
200-399	48	18	18	4	67	37	53	21	83	51	64	14
1-199	44	10	38	4	68	34	57	21	82	50	48	12
Village Centrality:												
High	64%	24%	25%	7%	80%	54%	59%	34%	89%	65%	56%	22%
Medium	47	20	27	8	66	46	51	28	84	56	46	16
Low	42	13	27	4	69	38	50	22	85	48	48	12
Village Development:												
High	66%	29%	28%	8%	83%	62%	59%	37%	89%	64%	57%	24%
Medium	49	17	24	7	73	50	52	29	86	57	44	16
Low	34	11	28	3	58	30	42	19	84	46	44	10
Village Media Access:												
High	64%	29%	31%	8%	82%	60%	60%	36%	88%	63%	58%	24%
Medium	50	18	28	7	72	48	51	29	88	55	42	15
Low	25	9	14	3	52	27	28	18	80	46	40	8

*All data refer to the stated subdivisions of the total sample. In order to conserve space, "N's" are not given, but all "N's" are over 100 with two exceptions: the number of male literates in the Southeastern Region is 72 and the number of female literates generally runs about 50 (lowest 20) in most cross-tabulations. No percentages are given for female literates in the Southeastern Region because there were only nine such rare creatures who were drawn in our sample.

The preceding data suggest a number of basic conclusions. First, we note that inter-regional differences in media exposure persist after sex and literacy are controlled. Our conviction is that these inter-regional differences in exposure are primarily due to differences in mass media access. Unfortunately, even our large sample is too small to permit us to control simultaneously for region, sex, literacy and mass media access and their joint effects on media exposure.[24] Nevertheless, careful inspection of the percentages will reveal that the variation within regions in terms of sex and literacy (i.e., across the rows) is clearly and impressively greater than the variation between regions (down the columns). In general, this would seem to suggest, though not to "prove," that sex and literacy are probably more determinative of mass media exposure than regional residence.

The [illegible] of [illegible] of the data when they are controlled for [illegible] village size, village centrality, and village development produces no [illegible] conclusions. No matter which of these ecological factors is selected and controlled, sex and literacy seem to have a greater association with exposure to all three major media.

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[24] A methodological note is required here. Wherever possible we have employed the analytic procedure of actually holding control variables constant through cross-tabulation rather than employing partial correlation or analysis of co-variance. We have done this for reasons well stated by Blalock: such a procedure is "...perhaps the most straightforward and the one most directly analogous to the laboratory experiment.... In this respect it is far superior to [other] methods...." It has further advantages as well, such as offering a better glimpse into the nature of the deviation from the basic relationship. Its main drawback is that it requires a large sample, which we have deliberately obtained for this purpose. Of course, where it has seemed necessary or fruitful, we have employed other statistical techniques as long as our data appeared to meet their assumptions adequately. Cf., Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), p. 235.

Finally, the same observations apply when village mass media access is controlled. Media access is obviously significantly related to media exposure, as we have previously shown. But within basic media access categories, peasants display remarkable variations in their mass media exposure according to sex and literacy. Once again, the latter variations are even more striking than those between the access divisions. In short, it would seem that even when Turkish villagers have equivalent access to the mass media, the male and the literate peasants are much more likely to be actually exposed to each of the media than the female and the illiterate peasants.

How great the overall differences in peasant exposure can be when ecological factors affecting exposure are compounded (as they usually are) by personal factors can be indicated by comparing the extreme diagonal percentages of the sections of Table 25. For example, at least weekly newspaper exposure ranges from 77% of the male literates in the Marmara Region to a miniscule 2% of the male or female illiterates in the Southeastern Region. At least weekly radio exposure ranges from 89% of the male literates of the Marmara Region to but 11% of the female illiterates in the southeast. Again, some 88% of the male literates in villages with high mass media access have been to the cinema while merely 8% of the female illiterates in villages with poor media access have had that experience.

Ecologically, when sex and literacy are held constant, the greatest exposure variations seem to be associated with region and with high mass media access, followed by village development (which includes media access as one component), village centrality and village size, in that order -- though such comparisons are crude. It is also noteworthy that exposure variation in terms of both the ecological and the personal factors is still apparently less for the radio than for the newspaper or cinema. Scrutiny of

more elaborate exposure distributions than could be economically presented in a table reveals that the greater vulnerability of newspaper and cinema exposure, compared with radio expsoure, to ecological and personal influences is not a mere artifact the particular exposure cutting points we have chosen.

Another way of demonstrating the relative association between ecological factors, sex and literacy on the one hand, and exposure to each of the three major mass media, on the other hand, is furnished in Table 26. There we provide, in the left half of the table, coefficients expressing the correlation between sex and literacy (i.e., the four sex/literacy groups) and mass media exposure. In other words, what we have done is to take the data displayed in percentage form in Table 25 and put them into correlational form in Table 26, using the Goodman and Kruskal Tau-b measure. We have selected this measure from the numerous techniques available for correlation of (non-quantitative) attributes for several reasons, not least of which is that it has a readier intuitive interpretation than its competitors. The numbers in the cells of Table 26 can be taken to indicate the proportional reduction in errors we should make in predicting a peasant's mass media exposure if we knew his sex and literacy in addition to his region, village size, village media access, etc.. Clearly, the more highly sex and literacy are associated with exposure to the given mass medium, the more knowledge of those two factors helps us to predict the peasant's exposure to the medium. For example, knowledge of sex and literacy can be expected to improve our ability to predict the exposure to the newspaper of a peasant from the North Central Region about 19.4%, compared to the accuracy of our prediction if we only know his region of residence but not his sex and literacy. Similarly, knowledge of the sex and literacy of peasants improves our

prediction of the cinema exposure of peasants in villages with low mass media access about 18.6%, which is a greater improvement than that obtained in villages with high mass media access (14.3%).[25]

The predictive improvements based on knowledge of sex and literacy, after controlling for basic ecological factors, are usually appreciable, as Table 26 reveals. One, of course, searches the table for regular variations in correlation coefficients associated with ecological variations. Do sex and literacy apparently count for more in large villages than in small, or in more modern regions as opposed to backward? Few regularities along these lines emerge in the table. Villages of medium centrality (moderate physical isolation) regularly display less correlation than the extremes. But the only fairly pronounced and obvious regularities of this type are probably that sex and literacy are more strongly correlated with newspaper exposure in the villages with medium or high village development or access than in the villages that are low in development or access, while the reverse type of relationship seems to be true for the cinema. Assuming they are true, just why these relationships should hold is something we cannot say at present.

One further comparison of interest is possible, however. We can inspect the data on the left side of Table 26 to ascertain if, within any given ecological category, sex and literacy seem to be more strongly associated with newspaper exposure, radio exposure or cinema exposure. The results of paired comparisons between newspaper and radio exposure, newspaper

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[25]Unfortunately, since we do not yet know the sampling distribution for Tau-b, we cannot estimate the significance of the difference between two Tau-b correlation coefficients. On Tau-b, see Blalock, op.cit., pp.232-234.

and cinema exposure, and radio and cinema exposure are given on the right side of Table 26. If sex and literacy seem to be more strongly associated with newspaper exposure an "N" is recorded, if with radio exposure an "R" is recorded, and if they are more strongly associated with cinema exposure a "C" is ingeniously recorded. Thus the table very clearly discloses that sex and literacy are regualrly more strongly associates with exposure to the newspaper and the cinema than with exposure to the radio. The two factors seem to be about equally associated with newspaper and cinema exposure, according to this indicator, although it is intriguing to note that sex and literacy seem to be relatively more strongly associated with newspaper exposure in the most central, developed and media accessible villages, while the two factors are more strongly associated with cinema exposure in the villages ranking lower on these indices.

Now, let us hark back to the last of our triumvirate of basic personal factors -- age. A skeptic might shrewdly say to us that we have found the announced associations between literacy and mass media exposure largely because we have neglected the age variable. Literates are probably younger than illiterates, and young people tend to be more exposed to the mass media than older people. Hence, if we control for age, perhaps the literacy differences in media exposure will disappear.

Our straw skeptic is correct in believing that the literate villagers tend to be younger than the illiterates, but quite wrong in believing that the association between literacy and mass media exposure was entirely or even primarily due to the age bias. Table 27 depicts the relationships prevailing among these factors.

Table 26

Comparative Correlation of Sex and Literacy with Mass Media Exposure, Controlling for Selected Ecological Factors

Ecological Control	Correlations			Correlations Comparisons		
	Newspaper	Radio	Cinema	Newsp. vs. Radio	Newsp. vs. Cinema	Radio vs. Cinema
Region:						
North Central	.194	.102	.163	N	N	C
Aegean	.272	.161	.145	N	N	R
Marmara	.183	.198	.132	R	N	R
Mediterranean	.101	.057	.182	N	C	C
Northeastern	.119	.079	.170	N	C	C
Southeastern	.087	.080	.182	N	C	C
Black Sea	.231	.097	.215	N	N	C
East Central	.227	.116	.212	N	N	C
South Central	.174	.106	.145	N	N	C
Village Size:						
1,000-1,999	.175	.099	.198	N	C	C
600-900	.174	.083	.158	N	N	C
400-599	.151	.088	.163	N	C	C
200-399	.167	.114	.155	N	N	C
1-199	.165	.121	.183	N	C	C
Village Centrality:						
High	.194	.099	.177	N	N	C
Medium	.141	.087	.162	N	C	C
Low	.160	.107	.175	N	C	C
Village Development:						
High	.189	.099	.151	N	N	C
Medium	.176	.109	.182	N	C	C
Low	.135	.090	.175	NN	C	C
Village Media Access:						
High	.187	.101	.143	N	N	C
Medium	.181	.101	.184	N	C	C
Low	.121	.088	.186	N	C	C

Tab 27

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Sex, Literacy and Age

	Newspaper (at least weekly)	Radio (at least weekly)	Cinema (ever attended)
Male Literates			
16-19 years (211)	49%	72%	80%
20-29 years (405)	54	74	93
30-49 years (545)	52	75	89
50 -- years (151)	54	75	70
Male Illiterates			
16-19 years (57)	15%	39%	44%
20-29 years (133)	22	52	78
30-49 years (451)	23	54	67
50 -- years (506)	24	53	47
Female Illiterates			
16-19 years (86)	24%	62%	53%
20-29 years (121)	27	48	49
30-49 years (76)	30	53	53
50 -- years (9)	22	33	44
Female Illiterates			
16-19 years (181)	7%	33%	15%
20-29 years (592)	8	34	19
30-49 years (901)	6	30	19
50 -- years (629)	6	27	17

The most striking aspect of Table 27 is the way that sex and literacy differences in mass media exposure persist even when age is controlled. Scant diminution of these glaring variations occurs. Secondly, age seems to be only very moderately related to media exposure. The greatest age discrepancies appear to exist among the male illiterates, where we witness a finding that is visible elsewhere in our data, namely, that the 16-19 year old male illiterates seem not yet to have assumed full adult male status. An attenuated version of the same phenomenon can perhaps be traced among the male literates, but literacy seems, among other things, to accelerate the assumption of adult

status attitudes and behavior among males. Thirdly, we notice a decline in cinema exposure among males after a peak in the 20-29 year old bracket. This may be due to decreasing geographical mobility among the older men, to stronger religious prejudices against the cinema, or both. It is nevertheless important for the planner intending to reach the village audience to note.

The data on which Table 27 is based have been combined into a single Mass Media Exposure Index for each person of each group and are graphically displayed in Figure 4. Any difference between two group lines that is as

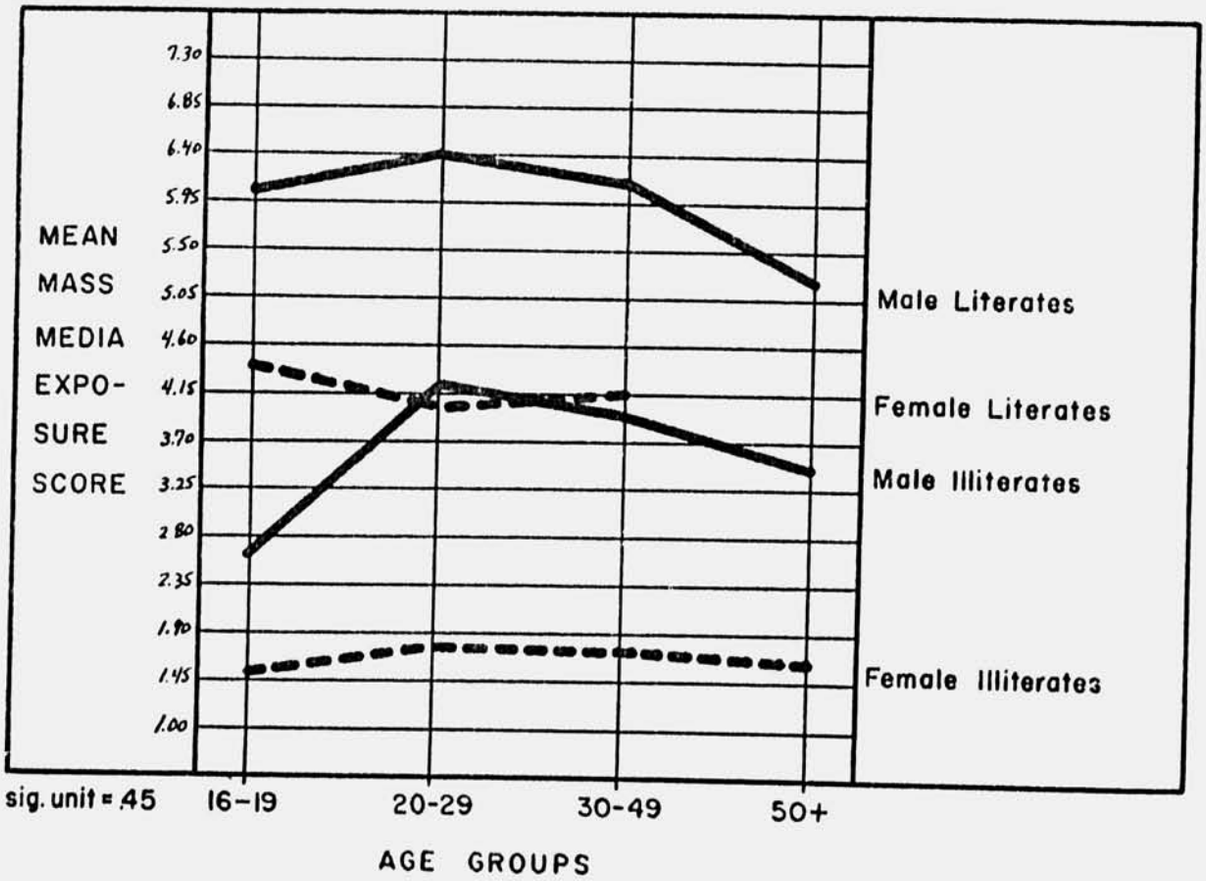

Figure 4 : Mean Mass Media Exposure Index Scores by Sex, Literacy and Age.

large as the distance between the grid lines is roughly significant at the .05 level -- i.e., would be likely to occur by chance in only five of one hundred random samples of this population. Again we see that sex and literacy differences in mass media exposure are outstanding, while age differences are comparatively minor, though the decline in exposure among males after age thirty is evident.

Education and Peasant Mass Media Exposure

A little over a quarter (28%) of our total sample of adult Turkish villagers had attended school sometime in their lives. However, forty two per cent of the school-attenders had experienced three years or less of formal instruction and another sixteen per cent had more than three years but did not graduate from a five year elementary school. Thus, in a sense, one can say that nearly three fifths of those who had attended school had not completed basic primary education.[26] On the other hand, in 1962, at the time of our field work, which was of course from one to several decades later than the years during which our respondents would normally have gone to school, seventy five per cent of our sample lived in a village possessing a school.[27]

At the primary level, perhaps the paramount educational function of the schools is the teaching of literacy. Twenty eight per cent of our total sample were literate. Our survey indicated that in rural Turkey at

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[26] Abbreviated, three year primary schools have been utilized in some villages. However, it is our conviction that three years of instruction in such schools was very frequently inadequate to establish firm literacy. See the subsequent report on Education.

[27] The same datum from the 1960 Village Census is 73%, referring to the total rural population. Cf. Koyler Istatistigi 1960 (Ankara: Devlet Istatistik Enst., 1963), p.31.

least sixty five per cent of the literates had learned to read and write through formal instruction in the school system. Approximately 19% claimed to have taught themselves, 11% had learned in military service, 3% said that the imam (priest) had taught them, and the remainder were taught by a family member, a friend, or did not recollect how they had learned. Females were much more likely to have become literate in school than males, some 90% of the literate women villagers obtaining that skill through formal schooling as opposed to merely 67% of the literate men. Similarly, the young literates were much more likely to have become literate in school than were the old literates. For example, 89% of the male literates aged 16-19 were taught literacy in school in contrast to merely 39% of the male literates aged 50 or over.

We have already shown how critically important literacy seems to be for mass media exposure. And, we have just now indicated that the school is the main channel through which literacy has been and is obtained in rural Turkey, even though it is relatively more vital for women than for men and for the young than for the old. The question to which we wish to direct attention now is whether formal education seems to have any regular relation to mass media exposure over and above its crucial role in imparting literacy; or, conversely, whether literacy seems to be important largely because it betokens formal schooling, or for more independent reasons.

For this purpose we have prepared Table 28, which controls for sex and literacy while displaying the data in terms of three levels of formal education: none at all, three years or less, and more than three years. These educational cutting points are not ideal, as we have already suggested, but the small numbers of peasants emerging in some of the cells necessitated

these points rather than the impressionistically more significant five year line of demarcation.

Table 28

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Sex, Literacy and Education

	Newspaper (at least monthly)	Radio (at least weekly)	Cinema (ever attended)	Village Media Access Index
Male Literates:				
More than 3 years education (774)	84%	79%	90%	122
3 years or less education (268)	74	71	85	115
No formal education (371)	73	68	80	96
Male Illiterates:				
More than 3 years education (20)	70%	70%	70%	104
3 years or less education (127)	61	57	72	124
No formal education (1,094)	44	51	56	103
Female Literates:				
More than 3 years education (216)	60%	60%	58%	131
3 years or less education (92)	51	43	41	124
No formal education (25)	39	42	52	99
Female Illiterates:				
More than 3 years education (44)	23%	27%	34%	125
3 years or less education (273)	25	36	30	121
No formal education (2,293)	15	29	16	103

Although there are a few inversions in the expected order, Table 28 generally implies a positive association between exposure to the school system and exposure to all three major mass media, after sex and literacy are held constant. However, the association is far from being strong, and the thought immediately comes to mind that villages with schools are likely to have better mass media access than other villages. Perhaps the mild differences in exposure associated with formal schooling over and above literacy are simply due to such access variations.

Unfortunately, the cell sizes for the groups with more education did not permit a further control for village mass media access. Nevertheless, gross knowledge of access variations across the educational groups appears useful here, and so we have furnished such information in the last column of the table. The entries in this column are not percentages, they are adjusted index numbers. We have computed the average mass media access score for our entire sample and let this number be 100. Then, to facilitate comparison, we have expressed the average mass media access scores for all educational sub-groups in terms of that base. If the score is over 100, it means that the sub-group has, on the average, better mass media access than the total sample. A score below 100 means the reverse.

Inspection of these scores discloses that the villages in which the educationally privileged peasants reside rather consistently have better media access than other villages. Therefore, the variations in mass media exposure according to formal education, with sex and literacy controlled, could well be due to variations in village media access. We cannot be certain that formal education, apart from literacy, is conducive to increased media exposure. We should, though, subscribe to the idea that the probable effect of formal primary education, beyond literacy, on the media exposure of Turkish peasants is small at best.

In summary, then, literacy seems to be the main connection between education and mass media exposure among the villagers. Our previous discussion has shown what a substantial connection this is. In fact, we do not want to leave the data of Table 28 without making one final observation. It is rewarding to note that conspicuous exposure differences in terms of sex and literacy remain even when formal education is controlled, including differences in exposure to the radio and the cinema as well as to the

newspaper. Careful scrutiny even of the crude percentage differences in Table 28 between matched groups (groups with two factors identical and only one varying) will show that sex seems to be associated with the greatest differences in media exposure, followed by lit racy, with the residual impact of education (after literacy) trailing fairly weakly behind. The same sort of calculation reveals that such differences are in all cases most evident with regard to cinema and newspaper exposure and least evident for radio exposure. Literacy appears to be important for mass media exposure as an independent factor, and not largely because of its intimate association with the formal educational system.

Poverty and Peasant Mass Media Exposure

From some points of view, almost all the peasants in our sample could be labelled "poor." Very few of them have large houses, tractors or automobiles, large estates or many servants. Few even have many clothes, wrist watches or any mechanized farming equipment. Yet, familiarity with the villages convinced us that there were important differences in economic status between peasants, and between communities -- differences which the villagers themselves were quite willing to discuss in general terms. They would, for example, readily respond to questions about whether their family was better off economically than other village families (18% said this), worse off (26%), or about the same (54%). They were unhesitant in judging whether there was just one wealthy person in their village (4%), a few wealthy people (50%), or whether no one was much wealthier than the rest (44%). They would even indicate with apparently great accuracy how many rooms they had in their houses, whether they owned all or part of a tractor, what kind of animal pulled their plow, and whether they owned all

the land they farmed (58%), part of the land (22%), or none of the land (20%). Internal and external checks of this information suggest that is it generally quite reliable (as is discussed in another report). But, despite all this, pre-testing glaringly revealed that as soon as we began to inquire as to exactly how many hectares or dönüm the peasant owned or cultivated, how much cash income he earned, how many head of cattle or sheep or goats he possessed, trouble was the inevitable result. Either refusals to answer or patently unreliable answers were obtained. Our respondents definitely began to distrust our motives and to suspect that we had some insidious connection with governmental tax collectors.

As a result, we were compelled to abandon the most direct measures of economic status and proceed more indirectly and inferentially. As we have indicated, our belief, based on detailed analysis of our data in conjunction with other data independent of the survey, is that the responses to the more peripheral, less threatening questions were quite accurate. The Turkish peasant seems to have a rather clear notion of what kinds of questions might place him in jeopardy vis à vis the tax officials and what kind will not. He will answer the latter kind with candor, although the analyst still has the awkward problem of deciding what inferences to economic position are justified by such indirect materials.

One section of the interview schedule contained three questions designed to assess the "subjective poverty" of the villager -- how poor he felt himself to be. This name was used largely out of false modesty, as an acknowledgement of the fact that the first and last of the three questions did employ relative, judgmental terms, viz., hunger and suffering from inadequate clothing. Precisely how subjective such concepts are is something we do not have space to debate at present, and so we have taken the easy way

out by deliberately calling the index formed from the three questions a "subjective poverty" index. The three questions and the percentages of the total sample selecting their dichotomized responses were: 1) "In the past year, did your family ever go hungry for a period of several days?" ("Yes" - 42%; "No" - 57%); 2) "In the past year, did your family ever run out of fuel?" ("Yes? - 48%; "No" - 50%); and 3) "In the past year, did your family ever suffer from lack of clothing?" ("Yes" - 48%; "No" - 51%).

The topic of relative poverty among the Turkish peasantry is taken up in another report from this series. In that report the matter of the validation of the Subjective Poverty Index and of related indices of economic status is dealt with in depth. We have neither space nor need to discuss validation of the Subjective Poverty Index in detail in this report, but we do wish to furnish the questioning reader with at least some evidence on this matter.

An initial concern is whether one is justified in combining the three items into a single measure. Do the items seem to measure the same thing? There are many ways of answering such a query -- none of them perfectly satisfactory. Various scaling models are available and are being applied to our data, but the results of such complex processing are not fully available. Nevertheless, one of the best means of determining whether the items really belong together is to ascertain if they correlate strongly, but not completely, with one another. If they are presumably measuring the same single dimension, and are merely different cutting points along that dimension, they should correlate strongly. But, sampling error, interviewer effects, idiosyncracies of question formulation, respondent mood, and the fact that they are different cutting points all combine to make the

correlation less than total. If it were total, one could dispense with all but one of the items, since additional items contributed no further information about the respondent.

The three items enumerated above do correlate quite strongly, but less than completely, with each other. This is quickly revealed by the following brief table.

Table 29

Crosstabulations and Correlations of Items Comprising Subjective Poverty Index

		Family Without Fuel				Family Lacking Clothes				Family Lacking Clothes	
		Yes	No			Yes	No			Yes	No
Family Hungry	Yes	65%	21%	Family Hungry	Yes	72%	14%	Family Without Fuel	Yes	74%	25%
	No	35%	79%		No	28%	86%		No	26%	75%
		100%	100%			100%	100%			100%	100%
		(3,095)	(3,170)			(3,074)	(3,221)			(3,092)	(3,179)
		Chi Square 226.041 ϕ^2 and Tau-b .202				Chi Square 1,162.542 ϕ^2 and Tau-b .344				Chi Square 499.532 ϕ^2 and Tau-b .239	

If the items do appear to measure the same thing, the next question is whether they measure what they purport to measure -- that is, relative poverty or economic well-being. Ideally, one desires an independent, trusted measure of the same thing with which the measure in question can be precisely compared. However, in this instance, as is usually the case, no such external, validated measure is available. We do, though, have other evidence from the survey that also seems to reveal the economic status of our respondents. We have responses indicating whether the peasant's family owns all the land it farms, stating the number of rooms in the

respondent's house, describing the type of plow used if the respondent is a farmer, and expressing whether the respondent feels that his family is better off economically, worse off, or in about the same position as other families in his village.[28] Without exception, these other measures, widely scattered throughout a lengthly interview, vary markedly and in the expected direction with the subjective poverty measure. The details are provided in Table 30, with sex and literacy controlled. Hence, we conclude that the subjective poverty measure does allocate our respondents into three basic categories of relative poverty or affluence sufficiently well for us to proceed with a comparative analysis of the relationship between this variable and the mass media exposure.

Assuming that we have a crude but reasonably effective placement of Turkish villagers into three classes according to their subjective poverty, what is the relationship between this variable and peasant mass media exposure? Such is the question of immediate concern. Since subjective poverty is associated with literacy and so is mass media exposure, we need again to control for literacy and sex in our analysis. There is scant association between subjective poverty and age, so no age control will be employed.

The necessary data are supplied in Table 31, and once more they are

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[28]For some valuable discussion of the use of rooms in the household (actually, a room/person ratio, which we employ in the report on poverty) as an indicator of economic status, and for other aspects of this problem of establishing a peasant's comparative economic position, see John F. Kolars, Tradition, Season, and Change in a Turkish Village (Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Research Paper No. 82, 1963), Chapter III, esp. pp. 66-67. We presently employ the total number of rooms in the house rather than the more appropriate measure, number of rooms per person. This has the effect of diminishing the strength of the correlation with the Subjective Poverty Index, though not substantially. The person-room measure, is used in the report on poverty later in this series.

Table 30

Subjective Poverty Index by Other Measures of Peasant Economic Status[a]

Sex, Literacy & Subjective Poverty	Own All Land	Only 1-2 Rooms	Use Wood Plow	Family Economically: Better Off	Worse Off
Male Literates:					
Low Poverty (599) 46%	70%	42%	45%	29%	9%
Medium Poverty (516) 39%	63	43	52	20	20
High Poverty (195) 15%	53	63	64	12	39
Male Illiterates:					
Low Poverty (378) 32%	62%	50%	49%	27%	14%
Medium Poverty (462) 39%	58	57	61	13	27
High Poverty (344) 29%	56	65	71	7	44
Female Literates:					
Low Poverty (161) 51%	68%	31%	32%	37%	6%
Medium Poverty (106) 34%	50	50	47	17	26
High Poverty (46) 15%	45	65	72	13	41
Female Illiterates:					
Low Poverty (743) 30%	65%	48%	48%	28%	10%
Medium Poverty (820) 33%	54	53	54	12	27
High Poverty (894) 36%	46	63	67	8	48

[a]The questions covering ownership of all land farmed and type of plow used were naturally only put to peasants who were farmers or whose family gained its livelihood from farming. This included the preponderance of our sample -- about ninety per cent. Don't Knows ran at a rate of about eight per cent for men and fifteen per cent for females, appreciably higher than for most other questions, but not for most surveys. Their distribution was approximately uniform across literacy categories. The "N's" given are the total number of respondents in the category for whom information is basically available. They fall to about eighty per cent of the above figure when the questions pertain to farming males and to seventy five or seventy per cent when the questions pertain to farming females. Cell "N's" will be presented in the report on poverty.

sufficiently dramatic to speak for themselves. However, we must once more caution that differences in village mass media access parallel the differences in exposure. But this time it would seem that some of the differences in

exposure are of such magnitude that it is unlikely they could be entirely attributed to the access variations.

Table 31

Peasant Mass Media Exposure by Sex, Literacy and Subjective Poverty Groups

	Newspaper	Radio			Cinema
	(At least weekly)	(Daily)	(At least weekly)	(Only monthly or "never")	(Ever attended)
Male Literates:					
Low Poverty	57%	42%	79%	15%	87%
Medium Poverty	50	33	72	20	86
High Poverty	40	23	63	30	84
Male Illiterates:					
Low Poverty	29%	26%	60%	31%	60%
Medium Poverty	20	18	50	42	61
High Poverty	16	10	43	48	49
Female Literates:					
Low Poverty	33%	34%	59%	29%	58%
Medium Poverty	22	25	51	42	48
High Poverty	25	17	41	52	33
Female Illiterates:					
Low Poverty	8%	18%	35%	61%	22%
Medium Poverty	7	14	30	67	20
High Poverty	5	8	26	70	13

This is one of the few cases where we have found that radio exposure seems to vary more markedly with the independent variable than does exposure to the newspaper or to the cinema. Certainly, purchasing a radio involves an investment that is further beyond the means of poorer villagers than is buying a weekly newspaper or attending a cinema on visits to a town or city. The economic limitations circumscribing radio listening can be well brought

out if we inspect our data on the customary place of listening. The villagers who said that they listened to the radio were asked, "Where do you usually listen?" The answers were then coded into the following categories: in the respondent's own house, in another private house in the village, in a coffee-house, guest room, store or other public place in the village, elsewhere in the village, and outside the village.

Most of the radio listening that occurs in rural Turkey seems to take place in a group context. In the sample as a whole, only 22% of the listeners indicated that their usual place of radio exposure was their own house. More than three out of four radio listeners normally listened outside their own homes. The modal setting was the house of some other villager -- obviously, one affluent enough to afford a radio. Forty one per cent of the listening villagers ordinarily heard broadcasts under these conditions that would seem so conducive to "gatekeeping." A little over a quarter of the radio listeners (26%) generally heard programs in a public place in the village, 3% listened elsewhere in the village, and 7% usually listened outside the village.

It is hardly surprising, but mildly reassuring, that our data show differences in the locale of radio listening according to the number of radios in the community. Thirty nine per cent of the peasant radio listeners resident in villages with 100 or more radios ordinarily did their listening in their own homes. This percentage declined in steplike fashion as villages with fewer and fewer radios were considered. Merely thirteen per cent of the listeners in villages with but one reported radio usually listened in their own homes.[29]

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[29] Our information about the number of radios in each village was, of

As we have said, this is far from startling news. But the cross-tabulation of the number of radios per village with the usual place of radio listening did unearth one quite unexpected fact. The percentage of respondents who listened in their own homes and the percentage who listened in a public place both rose as the number of radios per village rose. Thirty four per cent of the listeners in villages with 100 or more radios usually listened in a public establishment, in contrast to merely eighteen per cent of the listeners in villages with but one radio, and all intermediate categories maintained a steplike descending progression. In other words, it did not turn out, as we had anticipated, that radio listening would be relatively more concentrated in public establishments in those villages with fewer radios. Possibly this is because there are also fewer public establishments in such villages.

Where, then, do the listeners in communities with few radios usually tend to listen to broadcasts? Answer: they tend quite disproportionately to listen in the house of another villager. For example, fifty per cent of the listeners living in a village reporting just a single radio ordinarily heard that radio in another villager's house, whereas only twenty seven per cent of the peasant radio audience resident in a village with 100 or more radios usually listened in another villager's house. It would seem that the first radio in a village is perhaps most frequently introduced not in the coffee-house but in some villager's home. The relationships

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course, subject to a degree of inaccuracy. This is perhaps reflected in the fact that slightly under three per cent of the total group of radio listeners lived in a village reported to us as having no radios and yet said that they usually listened somewhere in their village. Either these respondents were confused or our village report was in error. At worst, the error is very slight.

between the number of radios in the community and the usual place of radio listening are graphically depicted in Figure 5. Cross-tabulation of the place of listening by frequency of exposure produces analogous results.

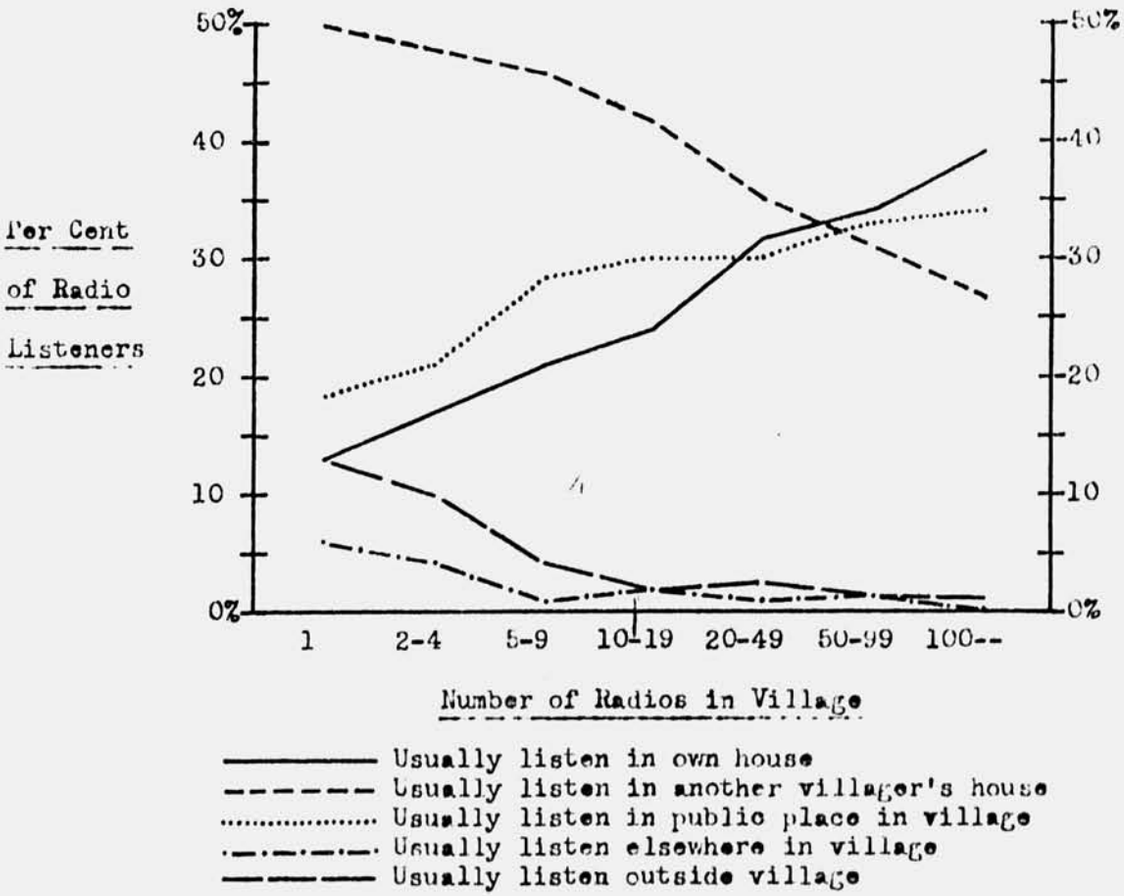

Figure 5. Number of Radios in Village by Usual Place of Radio Listening

If one is justified in assuming that the listening setting most conducive to "gatekeeping" is listening in someone else's house rather than in one's own house or even in a public establishment like the coffee-house, then it would seem that the ordinary conditions of listening, especially in the smaller and more backward villages, would be comparatively susceptible

to this form of m dia control. Against this, of course, must be balanced to some degree th limitations presented by the dearth of alternative channels over mos media. The basic choices for the radio "gatekeeper" may include havin the receiver on or off, and possibly affecting conditions promoting attenti or inattention, but the option of alternative programs is severely limit .

Be that as it may, it seems to us quite interesting and significant that, as we insp t rural Turkish communities with larger numbers of radios, there is a cle tendency for a larger proportion of whatever listening occurs to occu in the listener's own home or in a public establishment such as a coffee-house, and a concomitant tendency for the proportion of listening done in another villager's house to decline. If we had further elaboration of the number of radios at the upper end of the scale, we suspect that the proportion listening in their own homes would keep on rising while the proportion listening in public places would also begin to decline after some not too distant point. For the planner and the scholar, the central consideration is to note that as the medium of radio expands, the typical setting for peasant radio listening changes, probably with attendant effects on the impact of the mass media which we shall treat in the next section of this report.

Let us now hark back to our eternally significant variables -- sex, literacy and subjective poverty. How were these personal background factors linked with the usual locale for peasant radio exposure? If we control for sex and literacy and examine variations in place of listening according to subjective poverty, perhaps we can get some keener evaluation of the exten to which exposure to this medium is influenced by economic considerations. The

necessary data are presented in Table 32.

Table 32

Usual Place of Radio Listening by Sex, Literacy and Subjective Poverty

	Percent of Radio Listeners Who Listen in:				
	Own Home	Other Home	Public Place	Elsewhere	"N"[a]
Male Literates:					
Low Poverty	27%	21%	48%	4%	100%(556)
Medium Poverty	23	28	39	10	100 (468)
High Poverty	15	35	40	10	100 (169)
Male Illiterates:					
Low Poverty	20%	18%	53%	9%	100%(305)
Medium Poverty	10	30	47	13	100 (357)
High Poverty	5	40	37	18	100 (247)
Female Literates:					
Low Poverty	37%	57%	6%	--%	100%(135)
Medium Poverty	31	63	6	--	100 (83)
High Poverty	13	67	7	10	97 (30)
Female Illiterates:					
Low Poverty	35%	57%	2%	6%	100%(404)
Medium Poverty	28	61	4	6	99 (388)
High Poverty	19	68	3	9	99 (378)

[a]The difference between the sum of the listed percentages and 100 consists of the "don't know" and no answer responses.

There are several interesting and important facets to Table 32. Viewed broadly, the table consistently reflects the fact that the more affluent villagers tend to hear the radio in settings different from those commonly surrounding the less affluent listeners. The former are more likely to listen to the radio in their own homes, whereas the latter are disproportionately likely to do their listening in someone else's home, or perhaps outside the village. The more affluent males are also somewhat

more likely than the less affluent to listen in a public place, but here the important observation is that this means of listening is apparently not open to most females. The configuration of typical listening settings for women is significantly different from that prevailing for men. Most female listening occurs in someone's home, either the listener's own home or that of another villager. The modal setting for male listening, on the other hand, is the coffee-house or some other public village establishment. Thus, it would seem that male villagers very often listen in groups that include few or no females, whereas there is a high probability -- though our data are not adequate to establish it -- that female listening generally occurs in groups with important males present. One would strongly suspect that differences in receptivity to various kinds of messages would attend these differences in listening locales and apparent audience composition.

Table 32 also indicates that male literates are slightly more prone to hear the radio in their own homes than are male illiterates of commensurate gross economic status. We would not make much of the observed difference, however, because females do not display the same tendency and because it is slight enough possibly to be due to variations in economic status not eliminated by the gross categories we have employed.

Mass Media Exposure Among the Village Formal Elite

Just as there are variations among the peasantry in terms of sex, literacy, age, economic status, and the development of their villages, so there are interpersonal variations in authority and influence. The latter differences, in fact, are often highly critical in planning an effective strategy for developmental use of the mass media. In most situations, the planner would prefer to employ his scarce media resources in such a way as

to reach primarily the more powerful villagers who then, presumably, can influence others. Clearly, there are many uncertain links in such a strategic chain: who are the more powerful villagers, if any? How are they affected by divergent messages over different media? Under what conditions are they likely to relay such messages to other villagers? When are such relays effective and with whom? Sharply focussed communication research is needed to arm the planner with reasonably reliable basic answers to such vital questions.

Very early in the list of important queries concerning the communication behavior of formal village leadership we confront the question of the comparative media exposure of rural elite figures. How does elite exposure compare with that of other villagers? Are some elite types more exposed than others? For significant mass media impact on rural development, one would probably hope that elite figures in the villages would be at least as exposed, and ideally much better exposed, to the media than are rank and file villagers.

The data from the Rural Development Research Project offer an initial glimpse into this crucial topic. Wherever possible, the interviewing teams questioned the muhtar (headman) and the imam (priest) of each village visited. These two individuals, together with the schoolteacher and possibly the village Council of Elders (Ihtiyar Meclisi) can be said to comprise the formal authoritative elite of the village. Although there are exceptions, the muhtar and the imam, particularly the former, are usually key actors in each village's drama of development or decay. Hence, we made a special study of their roles, attitudes and behaviors. We also interviewed the wife of each married muhtar or imam in order to open up certain intra-familial comparisons otherwise lacking in our data and because these wives may

frequently play a significant leadership role among the village women.

Every legal village is required to have a muhtar. He is ordinarily supposed to be elected by the adults of the village in a formal vote. But, at the time of our survey -- two years after a military coup -- roughly three fifths of the muhtars had been appointed to their offices and just over half had been in office two years or less. Altogether, we interviewed the head men of 424 villages, or approximately ninety three per cent of the villages visited. All but four per cent of the muhtars indicated that they were married, and their wives were interviewed in ninety two per cent of such cases -- 405 wives in all.

There is no legal requirement for a village to have an imam, although our data show that eighty three per cent of the villagers live in a village that has an imam (the 1960 Census showed 81%).[30] Three hundred thirty five imams were interviewed, or roughly eighty per cent of the total possible. A slightly lower percentage of the priests than the muhtars were married -- ninety one per cent. Two hundred seventy nine of their wives were interviewed, about ninety five per cent. In general, the coverage of the specified elite populations seems to be quite good.

The two types of elite males tended to be significantly more literate than other village males. Two thirds of the muhtars and nine tenths of the imams could read and write compared to just half of the village males. However, their wives tended on the whole to be no more literate than other village females (9% literate). A second important background difference worth noting is that the muhtars tended to be men in the prime middle years of their adult lives (84% between thirty and sixty years) while the imams,

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[30] Cf., Köyler Istatistiği 1960, op.cit., p.56.

for various historical reasons, tended to be either younger or older (one fourth under thirty and one fourth over sixty).

In Table 33 we portray the gross media exposure of the four elite types, also giving percentages for a few appropriate comparison groups of more ordinary villagers. Several interesting findings emerge from these data. We observe that the muhtars are more media exposed than the imams, despite the fact that the latter group has a significantly higher proportion of literates. The differences between the muhtar and imam appear to be least for radio exposure and greatest for newspaper and cinema exposure. However,

Table 33

Comparative Mass Media Exposure of Elite and Rank and File Villagers

	Newspaper (at least weekly)	Radio (at least weekly)	Cinema (ever attended)
Muhtars (424)	64%	77%	84%
Imams (335)	45	61	56
All Males (3,010)	34%	58%	70%
Male Literates (1,465)	50	72	86
Male Illiterates (1,227)	15	42	51
Male Literates, Age 30-49 (545)	52	75	89
Male Illiterates, Age 30-49 (451)	23	54	67
Muhtars' Wives (405)	19%	49%	28%
Imams' Wives (279)	11	36	21
All Females (3,311)	8%	31%	19%
Female Literates (304)	27	53	51
Female Illiterates (2,836)	6	27	15
Female Literates, Age 30-49 (76)	30	53	53
Female Illiterates, Age 30-49 (901)	6	30	19

the grouping of the data for ease of presentation somewhat attenuates the actual radio exposure differences. For example, over half the muhtars (51%) indicated that they listened to the radio every day, compared to twenty

eight per cent of the imams. The sharpest exposure differences occur, not surprisingly, for the cinema, where traditional religious injunctions against visual reproduction of human and animal forms may be more operative among imams than among muhtars. In fact, it was mildly surprising to us that over half the imams stated that they had attended the cinema.

The intra-familial comparisons are also quite telling. We note that both the muhtars and the imams are much more exposed to the mass media than are their wives. In short, just as there are major between-village and within-village variations in peasant mass media exposure, so there are appreciable within-family variations.

When the two types of wives are compared with each other, we see that the muhtars' wives are slightly more media exposed than the imams' wives in what is perhaps a weakened reflection of rather different familial orientations toward the mass media. That is to say that the peasant family, customarily lead by the male household head, may take a familial stance versus the mass media that is reflected in the media behavior of all its members to a greater or lesser degree.

Since both the muhtars and, to an even higher extent, the imams are predominantly literate, perhaps the most appropriate general comparison group of ordinary villagers is that of the male literates. Inspecting these sets of data, we learn that the muhtars tend to be more exposed to the newspaper than the male literates, somewhat more exposed to the radio, and to be essentially no different in their cinema exposure. Consideration of only the male literates of age 30-49 brings radio exposure between the two groups about on a par and even puts the muhtars in a lower position vis à vis the cinema, but the newspaper exposure differences largely

One hypothesis suggested by such data is that the muhtars use the mass media differently from otherwise matched villagers not playing such a formally authoritative role. The media are possibly more important to the muhtars as a source of information relevant to effective role performance. Such an hypothesis is partially confirmed by the fact that seventy four per cent of the muhtars found news programs most preferable on the radio, in contrast to only sixty two per cent of the male literates of age 30-49. Similarly, thirty eight per cent of the imams favored religious radio programs as opposed to merely four per cent of the muhtars or six per cent of the male literates of age 30-49. The relationships between social role in the village and mass media use and orientation, even viewed through our only partly communication-specialized data, would seem to be substantial.

When the male literates and the imams are compared, we see that the situation is reversed -- the elite group is less media exposed than the comparison group. In essence, this suggests that messages to the rural community disseminated through the mass media are disproportionately unlikely to reach the priests, compared to their probability of reaching literate male villagers. It may be that if the mass media are effectively employed as a developmental instrument, the gap between the exposure of the imams, on the one hand, and the exposure of the muhtars and literate male villagers, on the other, may contribute to producing an increasing "modernization gap" between these people. However, such a question involves several vital assumptions and requires discussion beyond that possible at the present moment.

Finally, we see that the muhtars' and imams' wives, neither of whom as

a group is appreciably more literate than most village women, tend to be more media exposed than all village females, though less exposed, of course, than the rather rare female literates. Here, as throughout the preceding argument, controlling for economic status slightly reduces differences but does not eliminate them.

Intercorrelations Between Exposure to the Newspaper, Radio and Cinema

Communication research in the West has long since revealed a clustering effect with regard to mass media exposure. By this we mean simply that a person who is relatively highly exposed to one mass medium tends to be relatively highly exposed to the other mass media. In general, the regular newspaper reader is disproportionately likely to be a regular radio listener and a regular cinema or television viewer. However, the negative formulation of the relationship is perhaps more significant: the person who is not reached by one mass medium is relatively unlikely to be reached by other mass media.[31]

It is manifestly important to ascertain if such a clustering effect also prevails for mass media exposure in developing countries, and to assess the degree to which it is found. At worst, pronounced media exposure clustering suggests to the planner that there may be pockets of virtual "unreachables" in his society -- persons to whom none of the mass media directly extend. This, in turn, warns of the danger that a development strategy heavily dependent on the mass media may accentuate the cultural bifurcation found in most developing societies by making the already

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[31]See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce [1940]), pp 263 and passim. Of course, there are a number of important exceptions and qualifications to this generalization, especially for persons at the extremes of the educational, economic and prestige continua. The comparison of some of Lazarsfeld's U.S. (1940) findings with ours is extremely interesting and we shall return to his work later.

partly modern and media exposed elements still more modern while missing the more backward, media "unreachable" sectors which consequently become relatively still more disadvantaged. Of course, we are referring only to the direct effects of the media, and the situation just described might well be mitigated or reversed by indirect, secondary media effects that filter down to the "unreachables" through media exposed intermediaries or through environmental changes such intermediaries may instigate.

Another important point with regard to exposure clustering is that it suggests the possibility of a different type of factor influencing media exposure. On one hand, the clustering may be due to ecological, access, and background factors.[32] For example, we have already shown, in Table 8, that Turkish villagers who have relatively high access to one medium tend to have relatively high access to the other two major mass media. On this basis alone one would expect to find exposure clustering parallel to the access clustering. Other things equal, the peasant with greater access to a given medium tends to be more exposed to that medium; and if greater access to one medium is positively linked with greater access to another, then we should expect to find increased exposure to both media. Similarly, the clustering might be due to background factors, such as sex, literacy, or economic status. For instance, the literates are more prone to be exposed to all major media, and this could produce a statistical result such that, e.g., the radio exposed would also tend to be more newspaper and cinema exposed, etc. Or one might well invoke specific motivational considerations. A person interested in news, for example, or entertainment, could tend to pursue that particular interest wherever possible in the press, radio or cinema thus increasing his exposure to all media jointly.

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[32]Thus, O'Hara has argued, "To appraise the audience for any particular medium or offering, we must consider seven factors: (1) age, (2) sex, (3) education, (4) economic status, (5) area of residence, (6) religion, and (7) race." Robert C. O'Hara, Media for the Millions (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 36. We have considered each of the first five factors. The religious and racial homogeneity of the rural Turkish population, at least at the most general level, obviates the other two factors.

There is, on the other hand, a different partial explanation for the clustering that is quite important. It is that exposure to a given mass medium, apart from all environmental, background and specific interest-pursuit relationships, psychologically affects an individual so as to increase his tendency to expose himself to other mass media. Media consumption of any kind increases media use of all kinds. Of course, these relationships may be much more complex than we can indicate here. Exposure to one medium may provoke increased exposure to other media up to a certain point, after which the nature of the relationship changes (that is, the relationships may be non-linear or non-monotonic). Nevertheless, if we are to predict fairly accurately even gross changes in mass media exposure in any developing society, we must investigate one kind of media exposure as a possibly independent factor affecting other kinds of media exposure. We must inspect the possibility that exposure to any single medium whets a generalized appetite for all media.

In order to verify this hypothesis with survey data, we should ideally like to control for all the significant environmental, access, background and specific interest factors and then determine whether intermedia exposure correlations of reasonable magnitude remain. Practically, such an effort would demand either a mammoth sample or else a precisely stratified study fully devoted to this one problem. The Rural Development Research Project satisfied neither of these requirements, so a compromise and several qualifications are necessary. But our data can cast some further light on the subject.

We cannot, because of too few cases in many cells, control simultaneously for environmental, access, background and interest factors. Since the background factors of sex and literacy seem to be most critical with regard to mass media exposure, we have chosen to control them. However, we should note that such controls also markedly reduce the within-group variation in

Table 34

Cross-tabulations Between Exposure to the Newspaper, Radio and Cinema, by Sex and Literacy

A. Newspaper and Radio

Sex, Literacy and Newspaper Exposure	Listen to Radio Weekly or More
Male Literates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (1,030)	83%
Male Literates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (264)	42
Male Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (531)	72%
Male Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (605)	36
Female Literates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (157)	66%
Female Literates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (132)	39
Female Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (372)	59%
Female Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (1,897)	25

B. Newspaper and Cinema

Sex, Literacy and Newspaper Exposure	Ever Attended the Cinema
Male Literates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (1,038)	90%
Male Literates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (262)	75
Male Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (1,038)	70%
Male Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (599)	49
Female Literates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (156)	61%
Female Literates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (130)	41
Female Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Monthly or More (368)	39%
Female Illiterates, Newspaper Exposed Less than Monthly (1,898)	14

C. Radio and Cinema

Sex, Literacy and Radio Exposure	Ever Attended the Cinema
Male Literates, Listening Weekly or More (971)	90%
Male Literates, Listening Less than Weekly (326)	75
Male Illiterates, Listening Weekly or More (600)	70%
Male Illiterates, Listening Less than Weekly (533)	47
Female Literates, Listening Weekly or More (156)	66%
Female Literates, Listening Less than Weekly (130)	35
Female Illiterates, Listening Weekly or More (700)	31%
Female Illiterates, Listening Less than Weekly (1,573)	13

terms of access, relevant environmental conditions, and interests. The rough amounts of the residual variation in media exposure according to access and environmental conditions, after sex and literacy are controlled, can be inferred from the columns of Table 25. Hence, the table below presents a set of dichotomized cross-tabulations for newspaper exposure versus radio exposure, newspaper exposure versus cinema exposure, and radio exposure versus cinema exposure within each of the four sex-literacy groups.

The cardinal finding exhibited in Table 34 is that pronounced inter-media exposure correlations persist after the critical background factors of sex and literacy are controlled. Within each of the four sex-literacy groups, peasants who are relatively more exposed to the newspaper are also relatively more exposed to the radio and cinema. Peasants who listen to the radio more often are also more likely to have attended the cinema -- regardless of sex or literacy. The association between newspaper and radio exposure seems to be the strongest of the three paired combinations, but all cross-tabulations are highly significant. They appear to be of sufficient magnitude to remain even after controls for access, interest, and/or economic status, although this is just an intuitive guess on our part. Certainly, the inter-media exposure relationships are strong enough to warrant further investigation of exposure to any single medium as a possibly important factor affecting exposure to other mass media.

Perusal of the exposure incidences of the sizeable group of female illiterates who are poorly exposed to any single medium brings out our concern for a group that we call the media "unreachables." Of the preponderant group of female illiterates who were exposed to a newspaper less than monthly, only one quarter listened to the radio at least weekly or more. Of

the female illiterates who listened to the radio less than weekly, only thirteen per cent had ever attended the cinema. In short, probably a majority of the female illiterates of rural Turkey -- themselves a large majority of all peasant females -- hardly ever is exposed to any of the three major mass media. At the other end of the scale, a large majority of the male literates of rural Turkey is rather regularly exposed to the media. Campaigns using the mass media as a vehicle will directly reach the latter group with high probability, while the chances of direct contact through the media with a large proportion of the female illiterates are slim at best.[33]

Since exposure to the various mass media seems to be characterized by high inter-media exposure correlations, one is naturally struck by the idea that media exposure may be a unidimensional phenomenon. In other words, there may be an underlying propensity toward mass media exposure that determines and integrates exposure to all media. A villager's exposure to any given medium may be well predicted from knowledge of his exposure to other media.

To examine this notion, we dichotomized exposure to all three media -- newspaper, radio and cinema -- thus forming an exhaustive media exposure typology with eight possible patterns, ranging from highly exposed to all media (+ + +) to poorly exposed to all three media (- - -). The exposure cutting points were the same as those employed in Table 34 and, for each

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[33] We should also like to call attention to the persistence of impressive sex-literacy differences in exposure to a second medium even after exposure to the first medium has been roughly equalized. For example, when we consider only those peasants exposed at least weekly to the radio, we still find that within such a context the males and the literates are more exposed to the cinema than the females and the illiterates.

Table 35

Mass Media Exposure Typology by Total Sample, Sex and Literacy

Media Exposure Type: Cinema	Radio	Newspaper	Total Sample	Males: Literates	Males: Illiterates	Females: Literates	Females: Illiterates
+	+	+	25%	61%	25%	24%	4%
+	+	-	8	7	12	12	5
+	-	+	6	11	8	9	2
+	-	-	9	8	14	7	7
-	+	+	7	6	9	12	5
-	+	-	10	15	7	6	16
-	-	+	5	3	5	9	5
-	-	-	32	4	20	20	56
			100%[a]	100%	100%	100%	100%
"N"			(4,957)	(1,290)	(1,127)	(285)	(2,255)

[a]Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding. Calculations restricted to respondents with Turkish mother-tongue, as defined by the Turkish Government's General Directorate of Statistics and employed in the national census.

medium, divided the total sample into approximate halves, or, at worst, about 60-40.

The allocation of our total sample of Turkish peasants and the four sex-literacy groups into these eight media exposure categories is presented in Table 35. The idea that mass media exposure is unidimensional, and that exposure to any one medium can be well predicted from known exposure to other media, tends to be supported by these data. For instance, applying Guttman scaling techniques to the responses of the total sample yields a coefficient of reproducibility of .88, almost adequate for full scalability and well within the range of designation as a "quasi-scale." Selection of slightly altered cutting points boosts the coefficient over the stipulated lower limit of .90 for full scalability. As Paul Deutschmann suggested, it

seems appropriate to think of a "general" mass media audience.[34] Similar findings have emerged in Columbia and the midwestern U.S.A. However, these Turkish data are probably the most extensive yet obtained from any developing peasantry.

One of the most salient aspects of Table 35 is the bimodal distribution obtained for the total sample, suggesting that the peasant tends either to be rather well exposed to all three major mass media or to none -- to be quite "reachable" or "unreachable." This same bimodal tendency is found in the two intermediate sex-literacy groups, viz. the male illiterates and the female literates, whereas the male literates are seen to be relatively quite well exposed and the female illiterates relatively quite poorly exposed. As we have already several times observed, the implications of these media exposure patterns for the pace and especially for the social strains of development should command our earnest attention.

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[34] Cf. Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," loc.cit., pp.28-29.

THE IMPACT OF THE MASS MEDIA ON THE TURKISH PEASANTRY

Access to the mass media does not necessarily mean exposure; and exposure to the mass media does not necessarily mean impact. The planner needs to know the access to the media of the population with which he is concerned because he thereby learns the outermost boundaries for potential media effects -- the possible media audience. He needs to know the mass media exposure of the same population because he thereby learns the immediate boundaries for potential media effects -- the actual media audience. But, most of all, he needs to know what kinds of people in his population are affected by their exposure to the mass media and precisely how they are affected -- the responsive media audience. He thereby learns the current capacity of the media for use as a developmental instrument, and he learns the psychological development created by mass media influences on the exposed population. In essence, the mass media have significance for the planner only to the extent that they have an impact, positive or negative, on the development-related behaviors and attitudes of the people for whom he plans.

In our research, and in this report, we have followed a strategy of investigating these three successively smaller populations. They can be represented by the three figure below: the population of media access, the population of media exposure, and the population of media impact. For most contemporary purposes, the last is the most crucial of the three populations.

All this seems quite obvious, and yet there is precious little reliable information about the impact of the mass media on the inhabitants of developing societies. Commentators have tended to assume either that the

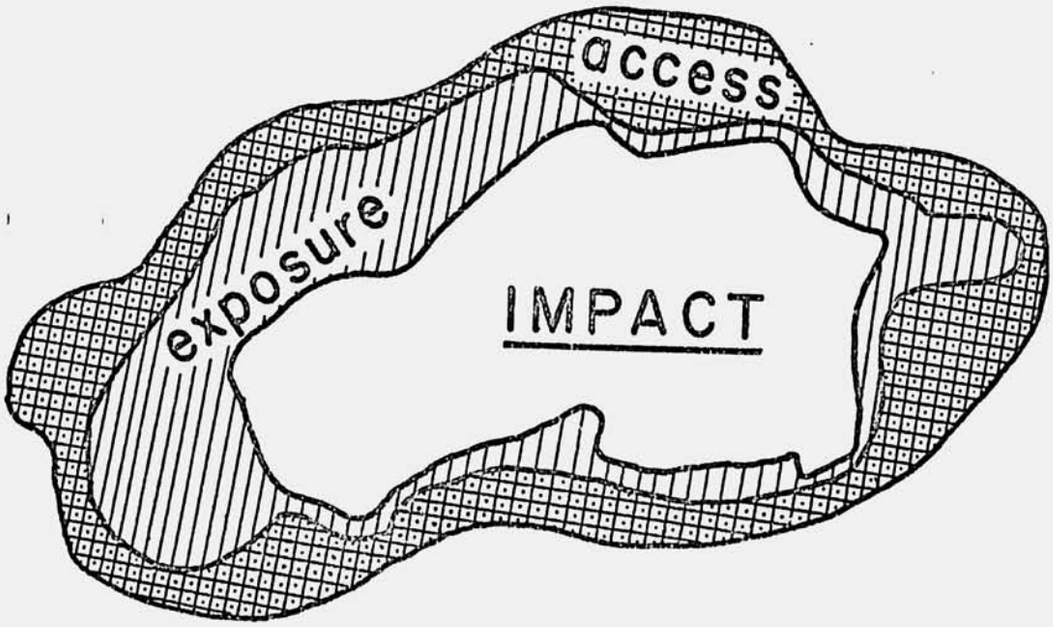

Figure 6. Schematic Representation of Critical Groups for Mass Media Analysis

media have only a trivial impact at best, or they have tended to assume that the media have a pervasive and general influence, usually working for "modernization." Unfortunately, there are cogent impressionistic arguments and bits and pieces of diverse data that can be summoned to plead either position -- the mass media as fundamentally vital or as basically unimportant for development. Moreover, the planner needs much more than a general statement as to whether the mass media are, on balance, developmentally effective or ineffective. He requires detailed delineations of the nature and scope of media influences. It is the aim of this section of our report to take a modest first step toward furnishing some of the required types

of information on media effects.

Before "getting down to it," however, we must self-consciously note that this is not an easy task. Many problems arise. Paramount, perhaps, is the fact that one is really asking the question, "What behaviors and attitudes are at least partially caused by mass media exposure?" In most instances, questions regarding causality are more definitely answered by experimental techniques, in which variables can be more rigorously controlled or randomized, and in which "before" and "after" states can be more distinctly designated, than by survey research.

Our data consists of associations between variables, and it is ordinarily difficult to ascertain with great confidence the direction or even the existence of a causal connection. For example, if we discover an association between higher exposure to the radio and a more favorable view of community development, we are not sure whether radio listening has changed the view of community development, whether interest in community development has heightened radio listening, or whether there is not some more complex mutually reinforcing relationship between the two phenomena. The association may even disappear when some uninteresting third factor is controlled.

Nevertheless, we regard survey findings in such matters as essential information. First of all, since some association must exist between variables that are alleged to be causally connected, carefully gathered survey information can frequently serve to eliminate many plausible but false hypotheses. Secondly, although the precise causal nature of many relationships cannot usually be clinched by survey findings, the survey evidence properly analyzed is often our best basis for intelligently placing

our unavoidable bets on causal directionality one way rather than another. The survey data often engender an increased probability that the relationships flow in a particular direction, and they do this more economically and more quickly than intricate experimental procedures. In addition, many varied associations uncovered in a survey, each of uncertain directionality, frequently comulate into a mosaic that is immeasurably more meaningful than its component pieces. Finally, survey research is commonly a prerequisite for friutful social experimentation in that it suggests the form that such efforts should take -- which variables seem central, which need to be controlled, what heterogeneity exists in the relevant population, etc. Hence, the survey technique and the experimental technique are two interrelated tools, both of which are vital to the social scientist aiding the planner. Our discussion of the impact of the mass media on the Turkish peasantry must be interpreted as presenting associational data that we feel are often highly suggestive, but which should, at least in critical areas, be tested and refined through subsequent, more narrowly focused surveys and experiments.

We should also call attention to the rather obvious point that although we have labelled this section as a discussion of the impact of the mass media, what we shall examine is, of course, the impact of the mass media on the behaviors and attitudes investigated in our survey. Breadth of coverage is one of the main features of the Rural Development Research Project instruments, but there were many intriguing questions that had to remain unasked. The attentive reader will be well aware of these items and of the fact that we offer a most extensive, but much less than complete picture of media impact.

Despite some gnawing omissions, roughly two hundred possibly valuable

is a problem in presenting a sense of the scope of media impact to the reader with economy. All two hundred items clearly cannot be examined individually. The approach we shall employ has two parts. First, we shall scrutinize mass media exposure in general, remembering its previously established unidimensional characteristic and using the Mass Media Exposure Index. Many of the other individual items of the interview schedules have also been combined into several dozen indices, and we shall try to depict the influence of mass media exposure by examining the correlations between the Mass Media Exposure Index and these other indices. In order to isolate the distinctive effects of the mass media as well as possible, both physical controls and techniques of partial correlation will be used.

The Mass Media Exposure Index, however, is a combined indicator that deliberately does not distinguish between media. Yet the planner also desires information about the specific attributes of the various media operating in his society. Therefore, our second analytic approach will be to use the eightfold typology of exposure to the three major media of Turkey (newspaper, radio and cinema) also previously described and to cross-tabulate these exposure types against a selection of some of the most revealing of our questions. In this fashion, again exploiting our large sample by controlling for sex and literacy, we can perhaps pin down the similarities and differences between media. We shall also supply some results from our consideration of the impact not just of frequency of exposure to the three media, but, for the radio, of the exposure setting -- the usual place of listening.

All in all, by adopting these two approaches we hope to impart some of

the details of our analysis of mass media impact on the Turkish peasantry -- details whose inspection and digestion are essential for understanding and planning -- without causing the reader to founder in figures and statistics. We urge him to proceed with us in a basic contemplation of what seem to be the highlights of the data and then to return tb them according to his own interests and convenience after the cardinal points of our argument have been made.

The Impact of Media Exposure in General: Inter-Index Correlations

As we have explained, many of the items from the Rural Development Research Project survey have been combined into several dozen indices. It is not appropriate here to enter into a full discussion of the reasons for the selection of these particular indices, their construction, and their validation. That discussion is reserved for another report in this series. Nevertheless, some basic indication of the nature of each index is required in order to understand our examination of the impact of mass media exposure on the Turkish peasantry, since that examination will proceed through use of these indices. We shall try to provide this background as briefly as possible.

The indices were selected largely in terms of two fundamental criteria. One, naturally, had to do with the availability of data. Extensive as were the data collected, they set real limits to the aspects of peasant life and personality that could be studied. The finite set of questions actually posed in the peasant interviews could not be transcended. As in any survey, after the data were collected we continued to have "bright ideas" about interesting avenues to be investigated, and we occasionally wished we had spent a little less time on one topic and a little more on another. It is easy to suggest indices that we should like to explore but which our data are inadequate to support. The indices actually employed are to an important degree determined by the data at hand, and occasionally, if the topic seemed of special importance, we have "made do" with fewer items and items more peripherally related to the ostensible focus of the index than we should like.

The second and more important criterion for index formation was a

diagnosis of distinctive, typical and significant peasant characteristics based on a scrutiny of the relevant literature. We scanned many of the most penetrating anthropological, historical, sociological, and economic writings to learn the outstanding ways in which peasants were seen to differ from other people and the consequences of such differences for rural development. One cannot probe all aspects of peasant attitudes and behavior, and such a "survey of the literature" generated an inventory of propositions about peasants that informed much of our analysis.[35]

The peasant is most commonly portrayed as being irresponsible, rigid, pessimistic, mistrustful, lazy, hyper-religious, fatalistic, politically ignorant, non-participant, intolerant, parochial, etc., etc., through a long and overwhelmingly negative list. That the diagnosis is so negative -- almost constituting a pathology of peasant character -- seemed to be in no small measure due to a frustrating awareness of the difficulties and slow pace of rural development in most of the "third world" and possibly also to cultural biases. We have added several dimensions to the obtained list, usually more positive, and we should simply point out that the opposite side of most of the negatively phrased dimensions is positive: irresponsibility-<u>responsibility</u>, inefficacy-<u>efficacy</u>, pessimism-<u>optimism</u>, laziness-<u>industry</u>, rigidity-<u>flexibility</u>, parochialism-<u>cosmopolitanism</u>, and so forth. Properly construed as a continuous dimension, the negative formulation need not be a major bias, and we have attempted to use positive labels and constructions roughly as often as negative. The critical considerations are that the

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[35] One particularly useful report of a similar inventory attempt is Everett M. Rogers, "Motivations, Values, and Attitudes of Subsistence Farmers: Toward a Subculture of Peasantry," paper presented at the Agricultural Development Council's Conference on Subsistence and Peasant Economics, East-West Center, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, February 28-March 6, 1965.

dimension distinguished be important -- for one reason or another -- and at least crudely measurable with the data at hand.

The literature on peasant characteristics also contained many assertions regarding "dynamic" (presumably causal and essentially manipulable) factors promoting these supposedly typical peasant attitudes and behaviors. Chief among the factors cited were isolation-centrality, village development, village topographical setting (mountains, hills, plains), village or individual market integration, type of crop, economic status, geographical mobility (travel, roads, transport) mass media exposure, literacy, sex, age, position in the network of interpersonal (oral) communication, village governmental contact, etc. Indices or indicators covering most of these dimensions were also formed from the material collected in the survey.

In the discussion that follows, we shall present data on the intercorrelations of most of the indices thus formed. Exclusions of established indices have been made only for reasons of space and ease of presentation, and such exclusions are largely confined to ecological factors essentially covered by composite indices. Thus, the Village Development Index for which information is provided is in turn composed of indices of Village Establishments, Village Centrality, Village Social Services, and Village Mass Media Access, as we indicated earlier. The component indices have been excluded. Succinct descriptions of each index used in our present analysis are furnished below, and we have tried to make the index labels as descriptive as possible.

Mass Media Exposure. Summarizes the peasant's degree of exposure to the newspaper, the radio and the cinema. These three media, the only major media available to the villager, are equally weighted. Range: 0-8. Higher

score equals higher exposure.

Geographical Mobility. Summarizes the respondent's physical mobility: how often he leaves the village, where he goes, whether he has visited the nearest city of over 50,000 population, whether he was born in the village, etc. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals higher mobility.

Interpersonal Communication. Portrays the degree to which the respondent seems to be involved in direct interpersonal communication with other Turks of diverse types. It is based on how frequently in winter he visits the village coffee house or other meeting place (males only), whether he knows everyone in the village, whether his friends are mainly relatives or not, whether members from his household live in the city, etc. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater presumed interpersonal communication. The index differs by sex, so inter-sex comparisons are impossible.

Subjective Poverty. Summarizes the answers to three deprivational questions had the respondent's family gone hungry for several days in the past year, had it run out of fuel in the past year, and did it suffer from the cold because of lack of clothing in the past year. Range: 0-3. Higher score equals greater poverty.

Village Development. Composite ecological index formed from separate indices of Village Mass Media Access, Village Centrality-Isolation, Village Establishments, and Village Social Services, equally weighted. The index generally reflects the physically manifested level of economic and social development of the village, together with the degree of its integration with the outside world. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater "development."

Communal Responsibility. Summarizes five questions asking whether various

projects such as school building, village road building, providing better drinking water, forming cooperatives, and improving villagers' houses are primarily the responsibility of the government, the villagers, or both working together. Reflects the peasant's indlination to have the members of his community take responsibility for solving various problems. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater sense of communal responsibility.

Communal Cooperativeness. Reveals the villager's personal willingness to cooperate in communal efforts. Formed from three questions asking him if he would be willing to participate in a village project, and how his willingness might be affected if the project were recommended by two kinds of officials. Range: 0-7. Higher score equals greater presumed cooperativeness.

Communal Efficacy. Manifests the peasant's conviction that his village is able to solve its outstanding problems. Formed from two questions directly on this topic. Range: 0-5. Higher score equals greater sense of communal efficacy.

Personal Political Efficacy. Measures the individual peasant's conviction that he can influence the decisions of the headman and Council of Elders of his village and the decisions of the national government. Range: 0-3. Higher score reflects greater sense of personal political efficacy.

Community Don't Knows. Portrays the respondent's inability to answer presumably basic questions about his village. Questions asked included such topics as. whether there had ever been a village project on which most villagers worked, what the most important problem facing the village was, to whom villagers look for farming leadership, whether wealth differences between village families were getting larger or smaller, whether village

decisions were strongly influenced by outsiders, and who was the most prestigious villager. Never less than eighty seven per cent of all villagers answered each of these basic questions. Range: 0-9. Higher score equals more don't knows (less community knowledge).

Personal Don't Knows. Assesses the respondent's inability to answer presumably basic personal questions about his own ideas and orientations -- questions for which knowledge was a minimal factor and which reflect his ability or willingness to contemplate these projective ideas. Questions asked included: how many children were ideal, whether young people were less respectful of their elders than they used to be, what the respondent most wished for, whether he felt things were going to get better or worse in the near future, etc. Range: 0-9. Higher score indicates more don't knows.

Political Empathy. Formed from three questions asking the respondent what he would do if he were Prime Minister, village headman, or county prefect. Measures ability to empathize to three widely known political roles -- one national, one local, and one intermediate. Range: 0-6. Higher score equals greater political empathy.

Tolerance of Deviance. Constructed from six questions (three pairs) asking the respondent whether the sanction of "public criticism" (a generally known and moderately severe group sanction) should be invoked against three different types of mildly deviating persons (non-praying, gossiping, and wasteful). The questions were asked separately with regard to each of the three behaviors as performed by ordinary male and female villagers. Range: 0-6. Higher score equals greater tolerance for deviance.

Parochialism. Measures the relative restriction of the villager's horizons to his locality. Formed from questions ascertaining his knowledge of extra-village officials, the existence of sentiments regarding the nature of national government, his emphasis on familial and village loyalties over national and provincial ties, his admiration of local persons rather than extra-local, etc. Range: 0-9. Higher score equals greater parochialism.

External Mistrust. Strives to measure the peasant's relative suspicion of outsiders -- persons not from his community. Formed from interviewer ratings of the apparent suspicion, sincerity and cooperativeness of the respondent. Range: 0-6. Higher score means greater mistrust.

Propensity to Innovate. Reflects the villager's willingness to adopt new work practices. Formed from three questions asking if the respondent would be willing to be the first to adopt a new and useful technique in his village, if he would accept the recommendation of such a practice by his son, and if he sided with those who promote new ways when there was innovational conflict in his village. Range: 0-3. Higher score signifies greater propensity to innovate.

Cognitive Flexibility. Tries to portray the respondent's general cognitive rigidity or flexibility -- his willingness and ability to stretch his mind by entertaining a new idea, projecting to another role, adopting a new practice, etc. This is a composite index formed from the indices of Personal Political Empathy, Propensity to Innovate, Community Don't Knows, and Personal Don't Knows, all of which are correlated at the $=.200$ level or better except Empathy or Innovation, which correlate at .188. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater cognitive flexibility.

General Knowledge. Assesses the general knowledge of the villager as

reflected in his knowledge of political parties, knowledge of religious doctrine, knowledge of his community, and his understanding of the interview questions as rated by the interviewer. A composite index. Range: 0-8. Higher score signifies greater general knowledge. The three correlation coefficients for the possible combinations of the Party Knowledge, Religious Knowledge and Community Don't Knows Indices are: .246, -.332, -.158.

Educational and Occupational Aspiration. Respondents were asked how much education a young man needed to get along well in life, how much a young woman needed, and what occupation they would prefer to see an able son of theirs enter. Selection of increased amounts of education and higher status occupations was scored as greater aspiration. Range: 0-9. Higher score equals greater aspiration.

Governmental Services Wanted. Respondents were asked how important it was that the government do a number of things such as: improve village roads, provide more seed and fertilizer, improve village mosques, improve village schools, provide more agricultural credit, furnish more postal service and newspapers, etc. The index expresses the tendency to rate each of these items as "very important." Range: 0-9. Higher score means heightened wants.

Favorable Urban Image. The respondents were asked eight questions about the lives of villagers who had migrated to the city: were they happier, financially better off, lonelier, better able to find opportunities for their children, more likely to become immoral, etc. The index is scored to reflect the favorableness of the villager's view of the rural migrant's life in the city. All respondents replying "don't know" to any question from this battery were excluded. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals a more favorable image.

Optimism. Summarizes the respondent's answers to three questions: does he think things will become better or worse for him during his lifetime, is the prestige of his family greater or less than it was, and are wealth differences in his community getting larger (presumably pessimistic) or smaller (presumably optimistic). The index reveals the tendency to answer these questions optimistically. Range: 0-6. Higher score means greater optimism.

Perceived Village Initiative. Reflects the respondent's perception of his village as developmentally active. Was there a village project in the past few years, are there persons in the village who introduce new ways, which group (supporters of old ways or new ways) usually wins when there is innovational conflict in the village? Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater perceived initiative.

Perceived Concentration of Power and Wealth. Measures the respondent's tendency to perceive power and wealth in his village as concentrated in one or a few hands. Formed from two direct questions, one for each value. Range: 0-4. Higher score equals increased tendency to perceive wealth and power as concentrated.

Headman Orientation. Portrays the inclination to look to the village headman rather than to others for leadership. Respondents were asked who was the most knowledgeable, the most respected, and the most powerful villager, and to whom villagers usually looked for farming and land dispute leadership. The index measures the tendency to name the headman in answering these five questions. Range: 0-5. Higher score equals greater headman orientation.

Use of Agricultural Services. Displays the results of three questions asked of farming males only: had they ever consulted with a government agricultural

agent, had they ever used government credit, and had they ever received agricultural supplies such as seed and fertilizer from the government. Range: 0-3. Higher score equals greater use of the specified services. (The inter-item correlations for this index are quite low, so its unidimensionality is very suspect.) Apparently, more "modern" peasants are more likely to consult with the agricultural extension agent, but less likely to use government credit or supplies (perhaps because of less need).

Use of Social Services. Describes the respondent's experience of various modern social services such as the telephone, telegraph, postal service, library, services of a physician, etc. (Of course, both this index and the preceding one are strongly influenced by access to the services mentioned.) Range: 0-5. Higher score means greater use of social services.

Religious Knowledge. The villagers were asked to name the five basic principles of Islam. The index indicates the number of correct responses. Range: 0-5.

Religious Saliency. Reflects the saliency of religious values for the respondent. The villagers were asked a number of questions generally probing their values: what are the most important subjects taught in primary school, what two specific things would they try hardest to teach their children, what career is most desirable for an able son, what two people in the world do they most admire, what do they most wish for, what are the two outstanding characteristics of Turks as people. A religious response was possible to each such question, and the index sums the total of these religious responses. Range: 0-8. Higher scores equals greater salience.

Religious Ritualism. Measures the claimed frequency with which the respondent

prays the ritual prayers and observes religious fasts. Range: 0-8. Higher score means increased observance of praying and fasting rituals.

Religious Strictness. Summarizes five questions asking whether the respondent considered various practices to be against his religion. The practices were: hanging pictures on the walls of his house, translating the Koran into Turkish, drinking alcoholic beverages, lending money at interest, and using drugs to keep from having children. Range: 0-5. Higher score equals greater strictness of religious interpretation.

Desire for Political Participation. The respondents were asked two questions, one dealing with the local level and one with the national level of government, inquiring whether a "good" government at that level would give more emphasis to strength or to consultation with the people. The index summarizes these answers. Range: 0-2. Higher score equals greater emphasis on participation (consultation).

Voting Participation. Portrays the frequency and recency of the villager's voting in national elections. Range: 0-8. Higher score equals greater participation.

Political Party Knowledge. Reflects the respondent's ability to name the major political parties of Turkey at the time of the survey. The index gives the total number of political parties correctly named. Range: 0-5.

The inter-item correlations for each of these indices have been examined and generally seem to justify the combinations of items, with the exception of the Use of Agricultural Services Index already noted. Full data on index composition and justification are given in another report.

As we have stressed, employing the indices just described makes it possible to examine part of the range of impact of media exposure on the

Turkish peasantry. Through inter-index correlations we can compare the association of various important attitudinal and behavioral characteristics with several presumably causal and generally manipulable "dynamic" factors such as mass media exposure, geographical mobility, interpersonal communication, subjective poverty and overall village development. The initial panorama that confronts us is displayed in Table 36, which runs the five "dynamic" factors mentioned against the remainder of the indices described.[36]

Several basic points stand out in this table. Foremost is the fact that mass media exposure is more strongly correlated with more attitudinal and behavioral indices than any of the other four presumably "dynamic" indices. In twenty of twenty nine cases, the correlation of mass media exposure with attitudinal-behavioral index is greatest. The same is true for geographical mobility in two instances, for interpersonal communication in one instance, for subjective poverty in three cases, and for village development in three cases. Had we presented the complete matrix of inter-index correlations, it, too, would have shown more associations with media exposure than with any other factor. However, we must also heed the fact that mass media exposure, geographical mobility and interpersonal communication are all rather strongly correlated with each other, so that an effort must shortly be made to disentangle their respective influences. Each could

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[36] In the subsequent analyses of this portion of the report we shall employ product-moment correlations using the described indices. Although this is almost standard practice in social science, we wish to point out that it is a technically questionable procedure. There are several assumptions behind the product-moment technique, two of which are critical here. One is that of bivariate normal distribution, an assumption that is roughly met in most, but not all, of our indices. The second and more awkward assumption is that of an interval scale or index. Our indices, like almost all indices employed in social science, yield at best only an ordinal result. Therefore, the product-moment correlation is inappropriate. We are presently at work re-analyzing our data with an ordinal measure, Kendall's Tau, and will submit a separate corrective report later if any major alteration of our findings is produced by this refinement.

Table 36

Correlation of Selected Indices (Total Sample)

Indices	Mass Media Expos.	Geog. Mobility	Inter-Person. Commun.	Subjective Poverty	Village Development	"N"[a]
Mass Media Exposure		.478	.442	-.227	.252	(6,141)
Geographical Mobility			.342	-.149	.198	(6,429)
Interpersonal Communication				-.087	.096	(5,595)
Subjective Poverty					-.185	(6,216)
Village Development						
Communal Responsibility	.218	.097	.094	-.221	.175	(5,659)
Communal Cooperativeness	.242	.189	.205	-.015	.045	(6,436)
Communal Efficacy	.148	.041	.085	-.088	.077	(5,083)
Personal Political Efficacy	.251	.176	.168	-.060	-.048	(6,436)
Community Don't Knows	-.332	-.253	-.239	.042	-.058	(6,434)
Personal Don't Knows	-.175	-.103	-.028	-.027	-.130	(6,436)
Political Empathy	.327	.214	.221	-.004	.018	(6,436)
Tolerance of Deviance	.049	.013	-.024	-.129	.140	(5,946)
Parochialism	-.442	-.326	-.268	.082	-.009	(6,435)
External Mistrust	-.187	-.115	-.089	.046	-.057	(6,436)
Propensity to Innovate	.208	.114	.123	-.038	.074	(6,436)
Cognitive Flexibility	.384	.238	.214	.012	.089	(6,436)
General Knowledge	.516	.328	.324	-.148	.146	(6,436)
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	.237	.143	.043	-.012	.068	(5,801)
Gov'tal. Services Wanted	.176	.100	.109	.033	.051	(2,979)
Favorable Urban Image	.049	-.022	.035	.087	.030	(3,482)
Optimism	.178	.123	.120	-.076	.073	(6,436)
Perceived Village Initiative	.256	.125	.130	-.034	.151	(6,436)
Perc'd Concentration of...	.079	.034	.021	-.051	.173	(6,436)
Headman Orientation	-.059	-.023	-.081	.025	-.006	(6,436)
Use of Agricultural Services	.131	.122	.040	.077	.066	(2,923)
Use of Social Services	.609	.461	.423	-.159	.157	(6,436)
Religious Knowledge	.187	.129	.161	-.069	-.019	(6,436)
Religious Saliency	-.039	.038	.032	-.006	-.129	(6,436)
Religious Ritualism	-.037	.012	-.004	.046	-.026	(6,436)
Religious Strictness	.012	.092	.048	-.040	-.047	(4,868)
Desire for Political Participation	.116	.082	.042	-.060	.083	(6,436)
Voting Participation	.026	.110	.042	.037	.000	(6,436)
Political Party Knowledge	.564	.365	.355	-.176	.148	(6,436)

[a] The "N's" vary for several reasons. Some indices applied only to a portion of the total population. For example, questions on the use of agricultural services were asked only of farming males. Some indices demanded exclusion of all persons with "don't know" responses. For example, the urban image index includes only those respondents who answered all questions regarding their image of city life. The governmental services wanted index excludes all persons who declined to evaluate the desirability of one or more of the items enumerated. All other variations are due to the dropping of respondents answering""don't know"," refusing to answer, or to a few cases of improper interviewer recording of answers.

display an association with the attitudinal-behavioral indices that was primarily due to its association with the other "dynamic" indices.

A second conspicuous finding from Table 36 has to do with the general impact of mass media exposure. Running down the first column of the table produces a rather vivid impression that that impact is clearly in a "modern" direction. All correlations are positive, except those with community and personal don't knows, with parochialism, with external mistrust, with headman orientation, and with religious saliency and ritualism. Moreover, the only remaining correlations that are below .100 are those related to tolerance of deviance, favorable urban image, perceived concentration of wealth and power, religious strictness and voting participation. Most of these, with the exception of tolerance of deviance and voting participation, must be considered areas where we should prefer not to have strongly positive correlations with media exposure. If the media are to be employed as a developmental instrument, we should hope that they would not act strongly to increase the favorableness of the urban images of villagers, to increase their tendency to see power and wealth in their villages as highly concentrated, and to construe their religion more strictly.

In conformity with the finding from other media research that the greatest impact of the media seems to be cognitive -- that is, on the individual's perception of the world -- rather than motivational, we see that the highest correlations with media exposure lie essentially in the cognitive realm. Aside from the use of social services (most of which are communication instruments in our index), the greatest correlations with media exposure are for knowledge of political parties, general knowledge, parochialism, cognitive flexibility, community don't knows, and political

empathy. But there are also substantial correlations with other orientations as well.

Instead of concentrating additional attention on Table 36, which presents gross correlations for the entire sample, let us begin to make some of the critical further distinctions that are necessary before we can have reasonable confidence that we are dealing with genuine rather than accidental relationships. Let us start the basic disentangling process. Table 37, for example, presents second order partial correlations for the attitudinal-behavioral indices against mass media exposure, geographical mobility and interpersonal communication. In other words, in each column allowance is made for the correlation of the index presented with the other two "dynamic" indices. The mass media correlations discount the effects of the correlation of mass media exposure with geographical mobility and interpersonal communication. The geographical mobility correlations allow for the effects of the correlation between mobility and media exposure and mobility and interpersonal communication, and so on.

The outstanding feature of Table 37 is that the correlations between the attitudinal-behavioral indices and both geographical mobility and interpersonal communication tumble virtually to zero when mass media exposure is partialled out. In short, most of the association between these two indices and the attitudinal-behavioral indices seems to have been due to their association with mass media exposure. On the other hand, though slightly reduced, most of the mass media exposure correlations remain relatively prominent. Taken as it stands, this table would suggest that mass media exposure is an appreciably more potent developmental tool in its attitudinal-behavioral effects than either geographical mobility (enhanced by transportational

Table 37

Partial Correlations of Mass Media Exposure, Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication Indices with Selected Other Indices (Total Sample)[a]

Indices	Mass Media Expos.	Geog. Mobility	Inter-Person. Commun.
Subjective Poverty	-.177	-.050	.024
Village Development	.184	.096	-.034
Communal Responsibility	.186	-.008	-.002
Communal Cooperativeness	.134	.069	.100
Communal Efficacy	.129	-.038	.028
Personal Political Efficacy	.176	.064	.016
Community Don't Knows	-.207	-.098	-.092
Personal Don't Knows	-.156	-.032	.061
Political Empathy	.223	.055	.081
Tolerance of Deviance	.063	-.003	-.050
Parochialism	-.308	-.132	-.068
External Mistrust	-.142	-.029	-.003
Propensity to Innovate	.155	.011	.033
Cognitive Flexibility	.288	.059	.043
General Knowledge	.380	.091	.111
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	.208	.047	-.077
Gov'tal. Services Wanted	.127	.013	.033
Favorable Urban Image	.055	-.055	.024
Optimism	.166	.036	.040
Perceived Village Initiative	.203	.001	.019
Perc'd Concentration of ...	.073	-.003	-.015
Headman Orientation	.030	.017	-.064
Use of Agricultural Services	.089	.073	-.032
Use of Social Services	.439	.216	.184
Religious Knowledge	.109	.032	.083
Religious Saliency	.076	.056	.045
Religious Ritualism	.049	.032	.009
Religious Strictness	.045	.093	.032
Desire for Political Participation	.088	.032	-.015
Voting Participation	.034	.102	.015
Political Party Knowledge	.427	.130	.124

[a]In each of the three columns, the influence of the other two factors has been partialled out. The correlations with the Mass Media Exposure Index thus partial out the influence of Geographical and Interpersonal Communication. The correlations with the Geographical Mobility Index partial out the influence of Mass Media Exposure and Interpersonal Communication. And, the correlations with Interpersonal Communication partial out Mass Media Exposure and Geographical Mobility.

investments) or interpersonal communication. Of course, our indices are crude and additional controls seem obviously required. But the relative magnitude of the differences between the media exposure correlations and the others is striking.

One of the more obvious sets of controls which should be introduced is that for the ubiquitously important factors of sex and literacy. Since we have shown that the males and the literates tend to be much more media exposed than other peasants, and since the males and the literates are also more likely to evince comparatively modern attitudinal-behavioral characteristics, the association between media exposure and these characteristics so far demonstrated may be entirely due to sex and literacy variations.

To investigate this possibility we have prepared Table 38. It furnishes the correlations between media exposure and the attitudinal-behavioral indices for the four sex-literacy groups as well as for the total sample as previously given. The crux of Table 38 is that although sex and literacy are apparently significantly related to the attitudinal-behavioral indices, and although controlling for sex and literacy does plainly reduce the media correlations, nevertheless, important media influences seem to remain.

Careful inspection of the table will suggest a number of fascinating insights, which we do not have space to discuss here. Merely a few selective comments seem appropriate First of all, it is intriguing to note that the mass media seem to have a greater effect on the male illiterates than on the male literates. In twenty two of twenty seven comparisons (excluding ties), the illiterates' correlation coefficient is larger than that for the literates.[37] The same relationship does not hold among the females,

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[37] Using the sign test, $p < .005$.

Table 38

Correlation of Mass Media Exposure Index with Selected Indices, for Total Sample and Sex and Literacy Groups

Indices	Total Sample	Males Lits.	Males Illits.	Females Lits.	Females Illits.
Geographical Mobility	.478	.336	.258	.328	.332
Interpersonal Communication	.442	.154	.240	.041	.067
Subjective Poverty	-.227	-.169	-.133	-.203	-.111
Village Development	.252	.287	.325	.121	.219
Communal Responsibility	.218	.143	.211	.130	.130
Communal Cooperativeness	.242	.053	.126	.069	.123
Communal Efficacy	.148	.134	.134	-.016	.125
Personal Political Efficacy	.251	.156	.124	.080	.135
Community Don't Knows	-.332	-.166	-.227	-.210	-.190
Personal Don't Knows	-.175	-.161	-.215	-.164	-.161
Political Empathy	.327	.158	.255	.129	.121
Tolerance of Deviance	.049	.112	.115	.107	.009
Parochialism	-.442	-.230	-.260	-.288	-.262
External Mistrust	.187	.093	.168	-.122	.129
Propensity to Innovate	.208	.117	.113	.090	.127
Cognitive Flexibility	.384	.241	.343	.276	.218
General Knowledge	.516	.330	.375	.390	.261
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	.237	.144	.207	.192	.216
Gov'tal Services Wanted	.176	.076	.143	.002	.125
Favorable Urban Image	.049	.028	.007	.067	.032
Optimism	.178	.119	.126	.039	.078
Perceived Village Initiative	.256	.174	.206	.110	.230
Perc'd Concentration of ...	.079	.092	.095	.112	.098
Headman Orientation	-.059	-.034	-.084	.043	.003
Use of Agricultural Services	.131	.076	.176	n.a.	n.a.
Use of Social Services	.669	.399	.422	.443	.323
Religious Knowledge	.187	.003	-.003	.037	.084
Religious Saliency	-.039	-.164	-.131	-.015	-.062
Religious Ritualism	-.037	-.119	-.031	.027	.041
Religious Strictness	.012	-.114	-.059	-.046	-.011
Desire for Political Participation	.116	.098	.144	.018	.026
Voting Participation	.026	.016	.153	.013	.106
Political Party Knowledge	.564	.333	.350	.432	.267

however. A similar comparison in terms of sex discloses that the mass media seem to be more influential among the male illiterates than among the female illiterates. Twenty of twenty eight comparisons show the male illiterate correlation coefficient larger.[38] No such relationship holds when the male and female literates are compared, however.

There are a few interesting areas in which controlling for sex and literacy acts to increase the correlation between mass media exposure and an attitudinal-behavioral index. In other words, these are instances in which either sex or literacy or both, on one hand, and media exposure, on the other hand, seem to work in opposite directions. For example, when the sex-literacy controls are introduced, the correlation between tolerance of deviance and media exposure rises for all but the female illiterates. The male role seems generally to be associated with reduced tolerance of deviance compared to the female role. Maleness, however, is also associated with heightened media exposure, and media exposure tends to increase tolerance of deviance. These relationships tended in the total sample, to counteract each other. When sex is controlled, we see that media exposure is increasingly associated with tolerance of deviance.

In the same vein, we see from Table 38 that the association between media exposure and perceived concentration of power and wealth rises slightly when sex and literacy are controlled. More significantly, we observe that media exposure has a weak tendency to reduce the headman orientation of males, especially illiterates, while it has either no relationship or an opposite relationship for females.

Probably the most visible changes in the relationship between media

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[38] Using the sign test, $p<.05$.

exposure and attitudinal-behavioral variables after sex and literacy are controlled occur in the general area of religious orientations. For the total sample, media exposure had mixed and very weak relationship to the four religious indices. Again, this seems to have been a part due to the fact that males tend both to be more religiously oriented and more media exposed, and media exposure is associated with reduced religiosity. When sex is controlled, we discover the more patently negative relationship between mass media exposure and the religious indices, especially for male literates.

Finally, on the other side of the ledger, we discern from Table 38 that the largest proportionate reductions in media associations after sex and literacy are controlled appear to occur with regard to communal cooperativeness, parochialism, general knowledge, governmental services wanted, use of social services, religious knowledge, and political party knowledge. Perusal of the table as a whole strongly suggests the similarity in impact of literacy and mass media exposure, just as it suggests that each of these two factors has in its own right a potent and partially inimitable contribution to make to the development of more modern attitudes and behaviors among the rural population.

A last refinement of our data along the present line of inquiry is offered in Table 39. This table controls for sex and literacy, as did Table 38, but it also presents partial correlations of mass media exposure with the attitudinal-behavioral indices, allowing for the association of geographical mobility and interpersonal communication with media exposure. Once more, we witness a mild reduction in the strength of many correlations, but the overall impression is that the bulk of the associations remains despite extensive controls. The apparently greater relative influence of

Table 39

Partial Correlations of Mass Media Exposure Index with Selected Indices (allowing for Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication), by Total Sample and Sex and Literacy Groups

Indices	Total Sample	Males Lits.	Males Illits.	Females Lits.	Females Illits.
Subjective Poverty	-.177	-.154	-.133	-.178	-.086
Village Development	.184	.225	.273	.050	.156
Communal Responsibility	.186	.127	.200	.125	.123
Communal Cooperativeness	.134	.044	.103	.054	.100
Communal Efficacy	.129	.119	.115	.023	.127
Personal Political Efficacy	.176	.130	.123	.084	.109
Community Don't Knows	-.207	-.155	-.183	-.179	-.151
Personal Don't Knows	-.156	-.157	-.182	-.146	-.127
Political Empathy	.223	.159	.229	.219	.093
Tolerance of Deviance	.063	.124	.116	.080	-.015
Parochialism	-.308	-.207	-.224	-.279	-.214
External Mistrust	-.142	-.083	-.154	-.139	-.106
Propensity to Innovate	.155	.111	.185	.104	.106
Cogcitive Flexibility	.288	.235	.298	.265	.178
General Knowledge	.380	.301	.335	.377	.213
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	.208	.131	.192	.182	.186
Govtal Services Wanted	.127	.096	.142	.016	.094
Favorable Urban Image	.055	.012	.036	.056	.032
Optimism	.116	.101	.099	.028	.059
Perceived Village Initiative	.207	.169	.167	.138	.205
Perc'd Concentration of ...	.073	.090	.061	.110	.078
Headman Orientation	-.030	-.028	-.061	.013	-.010
Use of Agricultural Services	.089	.046	.135	n.a.	n.a.
Use of Social Services	.439	.340	.368	.373	.242
Religious Knowledge	.109	-.007	-.010	.047	.078
Religious Saliency	-.076	-.152	-.129	-.006	-.068
Religious Ritualism	-.049	-.136	-.042	.016	.030
Religious Strictness	-.045	-.125	-.070	-.052	-.032
Desire for Political Participation	.088	.093	.134	.037	.005
Voting Participation	-.034	-.040	.132	-.071	.067
Political Party Knowledge	.427	.305	.316	.392	.227

media exposure on male illiterates as opposed to male literates and on male illiterates as opposed to female illiterates plainly persists. The mass media may happily have their greatest impact on the group that is most critical for rural development -- the male illiterates.

Any attempt to summarize the specific influences of mass media exposure on particular indices must have a high degree of arbitrariness. What degree of correlation do we choose to consider meaningful? Many technical, interpretive and policy considerations must be weighed. These considerations are probably best elucidated in detailed oral discussions between planners and social scientists familiar with the data herein reported. If, for the moment, we arbitrarily designate as minimally meaningful any relationship in which, after sex and literacy are controlled and after geographical mobility and interpersonal communications are partialled out, a correlation of +.100 or better remains for three out of four sex-literacy groups, then we can produce the following sort of summary.

1. Mass Media Exposure among the Turkish peasantry is strongly and positively correlated (three of four groups +.300 or better) with General Knowledge, Use of Social Services (mainly communication services), and Political Party Knowledge.

2. Mass Media Exposure among the Turkish peasantry is rather strongly and positively correlated (three of four groups .200 or better) with Cognitive Flexibility and negatively with Parochialism.

3. Mass Media Exposure is moderately correlated (three of four groups +.100 or better) positively with Communal Responsibility, Communal Efficacy, Personal Political Efficacy, Political Empathy, Propensity to Innovate,

Educational and Occupational Aspiration, and Perceived Village Initiative, and it is negatively correlated at this level with Community Don't Knows, Personal Don't Knows, and External Mistrust.

4. Mass Media Exposure does not seem to be meaningfully correlated across four sex-literacy groups with: Communal Cooperativeness, Tolerance of Deviance, Governmental Improvements Wanted, Favorable Urban Image, Optimism, Perceived Concentration of Village Power and Wealth, Headman Orientation, Religious Knowledge, Religious Saliency, Religious Ritualism, Religious Strictness, Desire for Political Participation, and Voting Participation.[39] However, when males only are considered, Media Exposure does seem to be positively related (.100 or better) with Tolerance of Deviance and negatively related with Religious Saliency.

These data cast glaring doubt on the accuracy of some of the claims for supposedly undesirable effects of mass media use among the peasantry. It does not seem that media exposure stimulates markedly more favorable peasant views of the rural migrant's lot in the city -- views that would enlarge the stream of urban squatters. It does not appear that exaggerated governmental services wanted, demands for political participation, and an intoxicated, subsequently disillusioning optimism regarding the future are likely products of increased media exposure, insofar as our data can be relied upon. In short, many of the most dreary or explosive side effects of media exposure which, it has frequently been said, would negate any gains

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[39]Since it may be argued that village rather than individual characteristics lie behind these findings, despite the relative weakness of the gross correlations between the composite Village Development Index and the attitudinal-behavioral indices, we include in the Appendix a comparable table of correlations between mass media exposure and other indices, with sex and literacy controlled and with village mass media access partialled out. The reductions in the media exposure correlations thus produced are quite moderate.

from media use in developing societies, find no confirmation in our data; but most of the positive claims for media use do find support in the information obtained.

Judging from these data and the manifold impressions emanating from all of our analyses, we should say that the mass media in general seem to be one of the prime instruments for social change in Turkey. They offer the planner for rural Turkey the possibility of creating that crucial attitudinal and social "climate for development" so often discussed but so arduously realized.

The Impact of Specific Media: Newspaper, Radio and Cinema

Unfortunately, the planner cannot invest in "the mass media" in general; he must always invest in specific mass media - radio, newspapers, television, the cinema, and so on. Whether he likes it or not, the allocation of investments to each of the specific media in his nation implies a set of assumptions about the relative effectiveness of each medium for achieving the planner's goals. If he spreads his media investments roughly equally among the major mass media he seems to be assuming that they are about equally cost-effective -- that a lira or dollar spent on one medium is approximately as productive for the planner's purposes as one spent on another medium. If he invests much more strongly in radio than in television or the cinema, he seems to assume a greater marginal payoff from that investment strategy. Naturally, the better the planner's understanding of the effects of specific media -- the more accurate his assumptions -- the more rational, influential and economical his media investment policies can be.

In this portion of our report we intend to examine the specific impacts of the newspaper, the radio and the cinema on the Turkish peasantry. Do these media tend to work in the same direction or are there marked differences in their effects? To what extent do they seem to be interchangeable? If there are differences, what is their nature and significance? Although we cannot provide definitive answers to these questions, we can supply the policy maker with more information than has heretofore been available.

Our prime analytic tool will be the mass media exposure typology previously introduced. It will be recalled that we dichotomized our respondents in terms of their relative exposure to each of Turkey's three major media. Thus, we designated a group of comparatively well exposed (+) and comparatively poorly exposed (-) villagers separately for the newspaper, for the radio and for the cinema. Taking the two exposure groups, plus and minus, for each of the three media and generating all possible exposure combinations produces a typology like that illustrated below. The plus and minus cutting points for each medium were picked so as to divide the total sample as nearly as possible into halves.

	Cinema	Radio	Newspaper
1.	+	+	+
2.	+	+	-
3.	+	-	+
4.	+	-	-
5.	-	+	+
6.	-	+	-
7.	-	-	+
8.	-	-	-

Since we have already shown that there is a pronounced "clustering" effect in peasant mass media exposure, simple uncontrolled inspection of

associations between a single medium and other variables is likely to be highly uncertain in its results. Effects attributed to one medium may actually be due to another. The purpose of the present procedure is to permit us crudely to hold exposure to any two of the three media constant and then to study the apparent effects of the third medium. In this fashion, if we compare types number 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7 and 8 -- four paired paired comparisons -- we shall have controlled for exposure to the radio and the cinema and isolated respondents who differ solely in terms of their relative exposure to the newspaper. Taking types 1 and 3, 2 and 4, 5 and 7, and 6 and 8 accomplishes the same objective for exposure to the radio, while comparison of types 1 and 5, 2 and 6, 3 and 7, and 4 and 8 suffices for the cinema.

The conclusions hereafter reported are the results of this sort of analytic process, except that sex and literacy have also been controlled in addition to the two types of mass media exposure. The end result of these controls is the production of thirty two sub-groups from our sample, that is, eight media exposure type groups for each of the four sex-literacy types (male literates, male illiterates, female literates, and female illiterates). The basic question which we shall be asking in different forms is whether, when respondents who are matched in terms of sex, literacy, and exposure to two mass media are compared, those more exposed to a third medium regularly differ from those less exposed to that medium. For each medium and each question or index we shall thus be making sixteen comparisons between more exposed and less exposed peasants, and we shall employ the sign test and the Wilcoxon signed ranks test to ascertain if the results of such comparisons are statistically significant or if they could rather easily occur by chance.

We can inspect the results of this procedure most broadly by looking at the associations between exposure to each of the three media and the indices we have been discussing. Figure 7 displays these associations according to the level of probability with which we can reject the null hypothesis of there being no association in the peasant population between any given kind of media exposure and any given index. In general, the darker the shading in the box, the greater the probability of the indicated association in the peasant population. Note that the shadings do not refer to the degree of correlation between exposure and the indices, but simply to the confidence we can have in their interdependence at some unknown level of correlation.

What fundamental patterns emerge from this figure? First of all, if we exclude the mobility, communication, economic and environmental indices, and restrict ourselves to those we have arbitrarily labelled "attitudinal-behavioral," we have data on twenty seven indices. In eight cases, all three media are significantly associated with the index, in seven cases two media are so associated, in seven cases only one medium is associated, and in five cases no mass medium seems to be significantly associated with the index.[40] Moreover, although media exposure is sometimes negatively related to the index (indicated by a minus sign in parentheses), and sometimes positively related (all others), in every instance the media that are

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[40] To interpret this distribution it is necessary to know what sort of distribution could be expected if chance factors alone were operative. However, establishing a fully appropriate chance model is not simple. We have used the total number of significant relations actually found (45), divided by the total possible number of significant relations (81), as our best estimate of the probability that any given relationship is significant (that is, 45/81 = 5/9 = .56). The problem, then, becomes one of determining the likelihood, given this probability of any cell's being significant, that all three media cells related to an index would be significant, that only two cells would be significant, only one, or that none of the three would be significant. We use the binomial expansion $(p+q)^3$, where p = 5/9 and q = 4/9 to obtain these probabilities. The flaw in this model is that it assumes replacement, and that is not a valid assumption. A more realistic assumption involve extensive mathematical labor and we believe the results would not be markedly different. Employing this model, we obtained an unexpected chance distribution that was as follows: three significant relations for an index -- 4.6 cases, two significant relations -- 11.1 cases, one significant relation -- 8.9 cases, and no significant relations -- 2.4 cases. Clearly, in the actual distribution, there are more cases of three and zero significant relations and fewer cases of two and one significant relations than would be expected by chance. Chi-square equals 7.25 wit 3df, $p<.10$

Index Groups	Indices	News.	Radio	Cinema
Community Orientation:	Communal Responsibility			
	Communal Cooperativeness			
	Communal Efficacy			
	Personal Political Efficacy			
Cognitive Dimensions:	Community Don't Knows (-)			
	Personal Don't Knows (-)			
	Political Empathy			
	Tolerance of Deviance			
	External Mistrust (-)			
	Propensity to Innovate			
	Cognitive Flexibility			
Aspirations and Expectations:	Educ. & Occup. Aspiration			
	Govt. Services Wanted			
	Favorable Urban Image			
	Optimism			
Village Perspectives:	Perc'd Village Initiative			
	Conc. of Power and Wealth			
	Headman Orientation (-)			
Use of Economic and Social Services:	Use of Agric. Services			
	Use of Social Services			
Religious Outlook:	Religious Knowledge			
	Religious Saliency			
	Religious Ritualism			
	Religious Strictness			
Political Posture:	Desire for Pol. Participation			
	Voting Participation			
	Pol. Party Knowledge			
Mobility and Interpersonal Communication:	Geographical Mobility			
	Interpersonal Communication			
Economic and Environmental Factors:	Subjective Poverty			
	Economic Status[a]			
	Village Development			
	Village Centrality			
	Village Establishments			
	Village Govt. Contact			
	Village Social Services			
	Village Mass Media Access			

Figure 7. Significance of Newspaper, Radio and Cinema Exposure by Indices, Sex and Literacy Controlled

[a] An indirect measure of the respondent's economic status obtained from his land tenure position and ownership of various farm implements.

effective have their associations in the same direction.

From these two observations, we should judge that there may be a tendency for an attitude or behavior to be affected by all media if it is affected by any medium. In other words, if any of the media "work" (seem to influence the peasant), there is a heightened probability that they all work. A second conclusion is that, at least for the Turkish peasantry in its present stage of development, there seems to be a generally high degree of media substitutability that is possible. The media almost invariably seem to be associated with these broader indices in similar ways. At this level, no cases of contradictory media influences have been found, and the instances of merely one medium's being associated with a given variable are significantly fewer than one would expect. The policy maker's task in selecting an appropriate media mix (combination of media) for most developmental purposes would seem to be greatly eased if this finding is supported. The differences in impact between media are much less than chance-based predictions would have led us to anticipate.

Figure 7 re-emphasizes a point already made during our discussion of the impact of mass media exposure in general. We grouped the indices displayed on the figure into several still broader categories such as Community Orientation, Cognitive Dimensions, etc. A rough glance at the shading in these seven attitudinal behavioral index groups reveals that the three media as a whole have their greatest proportion of associations in the cognitive realm and their least apparent effect in the area of religious outlook. The cinema seems crudely to be most influential in the cognitive realm, the newspaper next, and the radio least, although such inferences have no statistical support and must be regarded as mere "leads"

or "suggestions." One obvious problem that is to some extent uncovered or permitted by the more extensive coverage of this survey, is that of sampling from some psychological or behavioral universe. In other words, we do not know if our indices constitute a good sample of all the presumably meaningful cognitive dimensions of a peasant's psyche. If not, then gross inferences to something labelled "the cognitive realm" are dubious at best. In most surveys, the researcher is considering so few psychological-behavioral dimensions that either this type of inference is not attempted or else, if attempted, uncertainties of this sort are not discussed. We are assuming, arbitrarily, that such inferences are warranted and simply alert the reader to this problem. In most cases, the media data within each of our index groups seem impressionistically to "hang together" in such a way as to encourage this assumption. The "cognitive" indices appear to be related to the media similarly, so do the 'religious' indices, etc.

Despite the fact that inter-media impact differences are less than might have been anticipated, such differences do exist, and the planner can probably increase his effectiveness in employing the media quite markedly if he knows about them. In general, the cinema is associated with more attitudinal-behavioral indices (18 of 27, than either the radio (14) or the newspaper (13). The indices that are significantly associated <u>only</u> with relatively high cinema exposure are Communal Cooperativeness, Personal Political Efficacy, Tolerance of Deviance, Government Services Wanted, and (lack of) Headman Orientation. Only Optimism is significantly associated with newspaper exposure alone.

There are many other interesting but particular observations emerging from Figure 7 that we shall not attempt to discuss here. We shall conclude

our inspection of that figure simply by noting the two groups of indices at the bottom of the page: mobility and interpersonal communication indices and economic and environmental indices. These data again demonstrate observations previously made regarding the factors apparently influencing exposure, though the determination of which factors primarily affect exposure and which are effects of exposure is, as has been fully stated, rather intuitive and arbitrary. Nevertheless, we see that the association between cinema exposure and geographical mobility is more probable than that of the other two media, and we also note the interesting fact that whereas both cinema and newspaper exposure are associated with an enhanced interpersonal communication position, radio exposure is not. Finally, we would also call attention to the clearly greater connection between radio exposure and economic and environmental factors than between cinema or newspaper exposure and such factors. Although radio is the mass medium to which Turkish peasants are most exposed, it is also the medium for which economic and environmental factors most impinge on exposure.

Selected Items and Specific Media Impacts

The interview schedules used in the Rural Development Research Project contained many items that were not included in indices. Since it might be that the findings just described were in some way an artifact of the particular indices formed or the manner of their construction, we decided to pursue the problem of the impact of specific media at a level one notch closer to the raw data. We picked, from all sections of the instruments, 102 individual attitudinal-behavioral (non-background, non-demographic) items that seemed to have particular theoretical or policy interest and to discriminate well, whether they had been included in indices or not. We

performed the same kind of analysis as that employed with the indices (that is, using the eight-fold exposure typology) on these 102 items, this time using the somewhat more sensitive Wilcoxon signed-ranks test instead of the sign test.

On the whole, the findings from this effort substantiate the findings obtained when the indices were used. Again, the cinema is significantly associated with more items (53) than either the radio (37) or the newspaper (33).[41] Once again, the extent of media impact was considerable even after controls for sex, literacy and two of the three media were introduced. For only thirty two of the one hundred two instrument items (or 31%) was there no association between any medium and the item involved. In 15% of the cases, all three media were significantly related to the item, in 25% of the cases two media were so related, and in 28% of the cases only one medium was related. This distribution is even slightly more flattened from chance-based expectations than was true for the index data. It contains significantly more cases of all media or no media affecting items than one would anticipate.[42] The notion is again supported that at least for these peasants, both media exposure and media impact tend to be all or nothing types of phenomena. The peasant tends to be exposed to all media or to none, and any given peasant characteristic tends to be influenced by all media or none.

Of the forty one cases in which two or three media were related to an item, the media worked in the same direction in all but five instances,

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[41] The level of significance accepted in all these two-tailed signed-rank tests was $p < .10$. Considering the null hypothesis that the significant relationships would be equally distributed across the three media and applying the chi-square test to the observed distribution of significant items given above yields $p < .10$ with a chi-square of 5.88 and 2df.

[42] Using the model previously described, $p < .001$; chi-square is 20.36 with 3df.

that is, eighty eight percent of the time. An important degree of media substitutibility still seems highly probable.

The five cases of contradictory media impact were as follows. Those well exposed to the cinema were significantly ($p<.05$) more likely than those poorly exposed to say that their friends tended to be "not very pious," while those well exposed to the newspaper were significantly ($p<.005$) less likely than those poorly exposed to make the same statement. One would surmise that cinema exposure might be negatively related to piety among a Muslim peasantry, for reasons already given, but we find no ready reason for the opposite relationship with newspaper exposure. It may be that this is one of the few "unexpected" chance findings that one might "expect" to discover lurking among so many comparisons.

Heightened cinema exposure was associated ($p<.01$) with greater willingness to adopt a new practive if it were recommended by a government specialist while heightened radio exposure was associated ($p<.10$) with a reduced profession of such willingness. Villagers who were relatively well exposed to the cinema were more likely ($p<.01$) than those poorly exposed to stress ethical and moral matters as the most important things to be taught children, while villagers relatively well exposed to the radio were less likely ($p<.10$) than those poorly exposed to emphasize ethical concerns. Peasants relatively well exposed to the cinema and to the newspaper were more likely ($p<.01$) than peasants poorly exposed to each of these two media to mention water and irrigation improvements when queried about their greatest personal wish, while persons relatively well exposed to the radio were less likely ($p<.01$) to mention such improvements. Lastly, respondents who were relatively well exposed to the newspaper were more likely ($p<.10$) than those poorly exposed to find their

problems unbearable, while respondents well exposed to the radio were less likely ($p<.001$) than those poorly exposed to give the same rather despondent answer. Perhaps the newspaper provides less of an escape outlet than the radio -- more news and less entertainment; although one then confronts the question of why the cinema was not significantly associated with this item since the films seem to contain the most escape content of all. Perhaps cinema exposure is too infrequent for this type of reaction to occur as yet.

It is probably unwise to try to make much of these five instances of contradictory media associations. However, the only general pattern that they seem to suggest, with the possible exception of the last item, is that the radio may turn out to be somehow less "modernizing" in part of its impact than the cinema and, perhaps, than the newspaper; but this is sheer speculation mentioned only to note a potential line of inquiry.

In one sense, we have up to now been understating the apparent extent of mass media impact among the Turkish villagers. We have only been considering those cases in which exposure to a given medium was significantly related to an index or to an item in a series of sixteen comparisons across all four sex-literacy groups of our sample. However, there were numerous instances in which exposure to a medium had a significant attitudinal-behavioral association only among the eight comparisons for males, for females, for literates or for illiterates. Some description of these less extensive but still clearly significant relationships is necessary for a complete picture of specific mass media influences on the peasantry, and several of the relationships are quite revealing in their own right.

We earlier examined twenty seven attitudinal-behavioral indices. Each index was run against each of the three mass media, producing eighty one

instances of possibly significant relationships. Forty five of those relationships, or fifty six per cent, turned out actually to be significant when comparisons were made across all four sex-literacy groups. If we expand our view to include those cases in which exposure to a given medium was significantly related to an index for at least one of the stated sex or literacy sub-divisions of the total sample, but not for the comparisons across all four such groups, then we must add eleven more significant cases to the previous total of forty five, making fifty six in all, and we now find sixty nine per cent of all possible medium-index relations to be significant.

It is interesting to observe that there were nine cases of such limited effects for the newspaper and four cases for the radio, but none for the cinema.[43] The introduction of these limited effect instances diminishes somewhat the relative superiority of cinematic impact previously noted. But, from one plausible perspective, it perhaps reinforces one's impression of the relative potency of films, since they seem more likely to hit all sub-groups with impact whenever they have any apparent influence, while the other two media, particularly the newspaper, occasionally affect part of their audience but not all of it.

Also interesting is the fact that males, females and illiterates were roughly equally likely to be affected when other groups were not, but the literates as a group were <u>never</u> affected whem other groups were not. There are various conceivable interpretations of this finding. We take it to be another indication of the fact that, in one sense, mass media exposure means less to a literate person than to other peasants; he already has one very powerful factor pushing him toward modernity, namely, his

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[43]This total (13) is more than the number of relationships affected (11) because in two cases a medium affected two groups (e.g., males and illiterates) but was not significantly related across all four groups.

literacy, with all the experiential and status influences that conveys, even when unreinforced by mass media exposure. However, we must confess that the same argument should apply to "maleness" (to coin an ugly but useful term), but that argument is not supported by our data. We can "explain away" this lack of support so as to save our hypothesis, of course, but that explanation is a little "precious" and is shortly destroyed by a similar analysis of items rather than indices.

When we considered the collection of 102 items from the survey, we found that 126 (41%) of the total of 306 possible relationships with the three mass media were significant across the four sex-literacy groups. When we add the relationships that were significant for only some of the four sex-literacy groups, this total increases to 167, or fifty five per cent. Once again, the newspaper has the greatest number of such partially effective relationships, twenty, whereas the radio has fourteen. However, this time the cinema does display limited effects like the other two media, having thirteen such relationships. The absense of partial relationships for literates, however, is again strikingly repeated. Of the total of forty seven partial relationships, twenty six (55%) involve the sub-group of males, ten (21%) involve the sub-group of females, eleven (23%) involve the illiterates, but not one involves the sub-group of all literates.[44] We have, at present, no compelling explanation as to why males should be more involved in such limited relationships, although we continue to harbor the previously enunciated hypothesis as to why literates are less involved in them. Perhaps certain postures and behaviors are potentially open only to males and are disproportionately tapped by our questions.

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[44] The total differs from the number of relationships affected for the reasons stated in footnote 43.

We divided the 102 instrument items into three categories: behavioral, cognitive and motivational, thinking that there might be differential media effects in these basic realms. There were fourteen behavioral items, fifty two cognitive items, and thirty six items classed as motivational, though such classifications are at times procrustean. The 126 significant relationships between the three media and these items were distributed into 16.7% with behavioral items, 52.4% with cognitive items, and 30.9% with motivational items -- a distribution roughly proportional to the frequency of each type of item. We probed a little more deeply by ascertaining whether whatever significant relationships were found for each medium were distributed in a non-random way across the three item categories -- behavioral, cognitive and motivational, because at first glance it seemed that the newspaper had slightly more behavioral influence, the radio slightly more cognitive influence, and the cinema slightly more motivational influence than one might expect from the marginal distributions. These differences, however, were not large enough to prove statistically significant using the chi-square test. We must conclude that no medium seems to be visibly more effective than the other two media in any of these three basic analytic realms.

Before leaving this topic we also wish to point out the considerable number of associations between newspaper exposure and indices or items for the rural <u>illiterates</u>. It is not the case that newspapers seem to affect only the literates; on the contrary, we found no cases, either for the indices or the items, in which newspaper exposure was seemingly solely influential for literates. The reader will recall that our question about newspaper exposure included listening to a newspaper being read as well as personally reading one, and that some of the data cited from other studies in rural Turkey

indicated that public or semi-public group reading of newspapers was quite common. The present data appear to suggest that such newspaper readings have an appreciable effect on illiterate audiences. Press influences are not all confined to literates.

As with the indices, the media that were related to items for only some of the sex-literacy divisions were related to them in a way that reinforced other media and other associations. There were very few cases of contradictory media influences among these more limited relations just as there were few cases among the relations that held across all four sex-literacy groups of the total sample. Married peasant women who were highly exposed to the cinema felt that their husbands wanted fewer children than peasant women poorly exposed to the cinema, while the relationship was reversed in the case of radio exposure. Males relatively well exposed to the cinema were more likely than those poorly exposed to feel that their fellow villagers generally got along well with each other, while males relatively well exposed to the radio were less likely than those poorly exposed to voice that feeling. Females highly exposed to the cinema were more likely than others to prefer a consultative village headman over a decisive one, while females highly exposed to the newspaper were less likely to prefer a consultative headman than others. Males relatively well exposed to the cinema were more likely than others to stress individual achievement as something critical to be taught children, while males well exposed to the newspaper were less likely than those poorly exposed to stress such achievement. Finally, peasants relatively well exposed to the cinema were less likely to see themselves as bothered by gossip than were other peasants, whereas male villagers relatively well exposed to the radio were more likely than those poorly exposed to see

themselves bothered by gossip. Attending the cinema is itself somewhat more daring than radio listening, of course. The other three items on which contradictions occurred were components of indices that have been covered.

These few discrepant patterns in an overall picture of great consistency of media influences may suggest, along with other more decisive data that we have reported, that the cinema is apparently the most uniformly "modern" medium in its rural impact while the radio and newspaper may be slightly more ambivalent or negative on occasion. However, as reference back to the mass media index correlations and as inspection of Figure 7 for specific medium and index associations will show, the overpowering impact of the mass media, taken separately or as a whole, is consistently in a direction that we should unhesitatingly label "modern" or "developed."

Selected Questions of Particular Interest

Even in a fairly full report of this nature, we cannot display the particular flavor of many items of keen interest from the survey. Using indices and an analysis of a general array of items, we have attempted to lay out a basic panorama of associations between various kinds of mass media exposure and a range of peasant characteristics and behaviors. Nevertheless, a few individual questions of possibly sharp interest are indiscernible on such a big landscape, and so we shall spend a moment to scrutinize the impact of media exposure on a few especially revealing items.

In Turkey, as in most other developing societies, there is a severe problem of population control -- of bringing the rate of population expansion down to a level more commensurate with economic growth. The government has committed itself to a strenuous attempt at introducing birth control. One of the grave concerns encountered in this effort has to do with the peasant's responsiveness

to the idea of birth control and to different means for promoting that idea.[45] In recognition of this need for information, the Turkish Ministry of Health together with the Population Council of New York sponsored an extensive survey on precisely these matters in 1963. That survey is, of course, the prime source of information regarding probable peasant responses to birth control campaigns. However, the Rural Development Research Project, though more broadly focussed, also contained a few items relating to birth control. These items do not purport to furnish detailed and sophisticated coverage of the problem contained in the 1963 study. But the utility of comparison between the two studies and some of the special features of the 1962 study (e.g., the larger rural sample) prompt us to think that a brief examination of the associations between mass media exposure and the few attitudes investigated that were related to birth control would be fruitful.

The 1963 Population Study, as reported recently by J. Mayone Stycos, produced several early findings that are particularly linked to our data. Among many items of the 1963 survey, respondents were asked questions regarding their interest in birth control, their approval of birth control, and their willingness to take a pill to prevent conception. They were also queried on how many children they regarded as an ideal number and how many their spouse regarded as ideal. And they were asked serially whether the recommendation of the village headman, village priest, a doctor, and the government over the radio would influence their feelings about birth control a great deal, somewhat, or would not influence them at all.

The 1962 Rural Development Research Project contained a question asking

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[45] "The problem is especially critical in the villages, where information and attitudes are in such contrast to those in the rest of the nation that separate programs are probably indicated." (And where fertility is highest.) Cf. Stycos, loc.cit., p.123. The data that follow come from the same source, passim.

whether the respondent would be interested in receiving a free drug that would help him or her to keep from having too many children (though the question unfortunately did not specify who was to take the drug). It also asked about the ideal number of children desired by the respondent and how many children the respondent perceived his or her spouse as desiring. Hence, some fairly detailed comparison is possible and the two studies may serve to clarify each other and illuminate common topics better than either could do alone.

The Population Study showed that 56% of the sample of village women between the ages of twenty and forty five were willing to take a birth control pill while but 33% of their husbands were willing to take it. The Rural Development Research Project showed that 49% of all married village females of child-producing age stated they were definitely interested in a birth control drug while merely 31% of a matched group of males said they were definitely interested. The overall similarity of results is quite plain.

When asked, in the Population Study, about the relative importance to them of birth control recommendations by the headman, priest, doctor, and the government over the radio, 37% of the male villagers said that the government radio would influence them "a great deal," 35% said that a doctor's recommendation would do the same 22% said that the priest's endorsement would have a great deal of influence on them, and merely 8% said the headman would influence them to that degree. However, one does not know to what extent the government's recommendation was declared influential because it would be the government speaking or because the radio would be the medium used.

Cognizant of this problem, Stycos separated daily radio listeners

among his sample from those who listen less than daily. He then found that the males who were highly exposed to the radio were almost across-the-board more approving of birth control than those less exposed, though he does not give precise figures on percentage differences for those males willing to take a contraceptive pill and those unwilling. (Twenty six per cent of the male daily listeners were willing to have their wives take the pill as opposed to but 14% of those males who listened less than daily.)

This, alas, is one area where the two studies yielded divergent results. When we controlled for sex, literacy, and exposure to any two of Turkey's three major mass media and examined our question on interest in a contraceptive pill, a very interesting and rather anomalous finding emerged. No significant differences between peasants in terms of mass media exposure were found. Neither the radio nor the cinema nor the press seemed to have any significant impact on this particular attitude. Moreover, even literacy was not significantly associated with the attitude. Yet the total sample was far from uniform in its answers. Striking differences between peasants did exist. However, they were all in terms of sex; the women were much more responsive to this birth control technique than men ($p<.001$). Sex role seemed to be of over-riding importance. The data are given in the table below. Which results are more nearly accurate and why such a discrepancy should exist among surveys that are otherwise so supportive, we do not know. We display these data primarily to disclose one rather critical policy area where the mass media at least as presently operating, do not seem to have much impact.

Although mass media exposure may not as yet be associated with the peasant's attitude toward oral contraceptives, such exposure may very well relate to the size of family that he ideally desires. We performed the same

Table 40

Media Exposure Types, Sex and Literacy by Interest in Oral Contraceptives[a]

Media Exposure Types			Males		Females	
Cinema	Radio	Newsp.	Literates	Illiterates	Literates	Illiterates
+	+	+	34% (706)	33% (254)	59% (49)	59% (80)
+	+	-	38 (80)	36 (118)	54 (34)	58 (93)
+	-	+	30 (128)	35 (83)	50 (16)	57 (39)
+	-	-	31 (88)	27 (141)	77 (17)	62 (117)
-	+	+	24 (62)	29 (76)	68 (28)	59 (96)
-	+	-	6 (16)	29 (62)	39 (13)	65 (303)
-	-	+	48 (23)	26 (54)	60 (20)	55 (77)
-	-	-	41 (34)	31 (177)	60 (47)	53 (958)

[a]Percentages are of those married respondents of child-producing age who said "Yes" or "Perhaps" to the question asking if they would be interested in a free drug to help them keep from having too many children.

type of analysis for the replies to our questions concerning how many children the respondent thought ideal and how many he perceived his spouse as desiring. Radio and newspaper exposure appeared to have no significant association with the number of offspring the respondent wanted, but those peasants who had been to the cinema were significantly more inclined to want families of four or less children than were those who had never been to the cinema. In this instance, literacy was also associated with a desire for fewer children, after media exposure was controlled. But, as always in this area, far and away the greatest differences were those in terms of sex, with males wanting more children and females less.

Heightened cinema exposure was also associated across all groups, especially females, with a tendency to perceive the spouse as desiring fewer children, although radio exposure among females was associated with exactly the opposite tendency. Again in this instance, literacy and sex

were also associated with the attitude -- the males and the illiterates perceiving their spouses as wanting more children. All in all, our data seem to suggest that direct media influence on attitudes toward birth control through oral contraception is slim at best and that only cinema exposure seems to be significantly related to a conception of the smaller family as ideal. When we look at how many living children our respondents of various types actually had, we find virtually no differences according to mass media exposure, although there were differences that emerged in terms of literacy (literates had smaller families) and sex (males of matched literacy and media exposure had larger families than similar females).

Another interesting area where there is a rather flagrant lack of mass media impact is that of political efficacy. Two questions were asked here: what would the respondent do if the headman and Council of Elders of his village were considering doing something harmful or unjust, and what would he do if the national government were considering a similar action? The answers to the two questions were positively associated at a fairly weak level, but the incidence of locally efficacious feelings (answers giving some line of recourse and not saying that nothing could be done) far outstripped the incidence of nationally efficacious feelings. Local efficacy was high (approximately two-thirds of the sample) while national efficacy was disastrously low (approximately one quarter of the sample). This is a more egregious discrepancy than exists in most other countries studied, though truly comparable data are hard to locate. We shall comment more on this matter in a subsequent report.

Both cinema exposure and radio exposure, but not newspaper exposure, for some reason, were associated with a sense of local political efficacy. However,

none of the mass media were associated with a sense of national efficacy. Although the media are supposed to be a main institution linking the localities with the nation, they have not yet apparently been able to begin overcoming the tremendous sense of powerlessness that the peasant feels vis à vis the national community and national institutions. Literacy also seems not to make any dent in this feeling, and maleness, which is strongly associated with a heightened sense of local efficacy, ever works in a reverse direction with regard to feelings of national efficacy. Males feel less potent than females.

Against this finding that the media do not seem to overcome the pervasive sense of peasant powerlessness versus the outside world, we must juxtapose another finding. It is that villagers who are relatively well exposed to the radio and those who have attended the cinema, but not those well exposed to the newspaper, are more prone to think national loyalty important to teach children than are their more poorly exposed compatriots. An exactly similar set of relationships holds with regard to the peasant's tendency to name Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as one of the two people in all the world, living or dead, whom he most admires. Thus, taking these and other pieces of evidence, we should conclude that national allegiance and identification and political party sophistication among the Turkish peasantry are markedly enhanced by exposure to the cinema and the radio, but that the ubiquitous sense of powerlessness which the peasant seems to have vis à vis national and other extra-local institutions is not yet significantly affected by mass media exposure of any kind. It may come in time, since recent American studies of political socialization have strongly suggested that matters related to political participation are the last learned and most

difficult aspects of political socialization.[46]

The villagers were asked which of the following considerations was most important in picking a job: the pay, the prestige, the easiness of the work, the interest of the work, or the power over others than went along with the job. Less than one in five (18%) selected pay as the paramount criterion, whereas the modal response was the easiness of the work (36%) and prestige ranked second (29%). However, our present purpose is to note that no type of mass media exposure seemed to make any difference to this attitude, nor did literacy. Only sex was significantly related to it, and that relationship was that the males were significantly more likely to emphasize the easiness of the work.

On the other hand, our respondents were also asked what they would do with a windfall of 1,000 Turkish Lira (about $100.). Their answers were coded mainly according to whether the use seemed to constitute saving, investment or consumption, although ten per cent indicated they would use the money for charitable or religious purposes. Very few strictly saving responses were obtained (less than 5%), and the bulk of the replies were nearly equally divided between investment and consumption. In this case, each of the three types of mass media exposure was significantly associated with a heightened propensity to invest.

Lastly, to give a little more of the flavor of the answers to specific questions of interest, those respondents who perceived some innovational conflict in their village were questioned as to the group with which they

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[46] See, e.g., Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years, Part I (Chicago: The University of Chicago, Cooperative Research Project No. 1078, 1965).

usually sided -- old fashioned, modern, both about equally, or neither. Neither the radio nor the newspaper seemed to make any significant difference to the responses, but cinema exposure was very strongly related to a predilection for the modern side of the conflict. Similarly, the villagers were asked if they would want to attend a vocational course if one were opened in the village. All three media were associated with a higher probability of an affirmative answer, but the association between cinema exposure and desire to attend the course was notably stronger than the others.

As we have already indicated several times exposure to the cinema seems to have the greatest relative impact of the three major media as well as the most consistently "modern" impact. But it is also true that the ready leap from association to cause which we have been explicitly but rather arbitrarily making throughout this section of our report may be slightly more problematic in the case of the cinema than for the other two media. We have pointed out that visiting the cinema would seem in some villages to be a not inconsiderable violation of traditional Muslim norms as interpreted by some of the more pietistic peasants. Hence, in some communities it might require appreciable initiative and bidding modernity simply to attend the cinema, rather than having cinema exposure unidirectionally produce such qualities. These probably reciprocal relationships cannot be neatly disentangled with the data at hand. Our strong conviction is that while these elements almost assuredly reinforce each other in the sense that the impulse toward modernity increases media exposure and media exposure increases the impulse to modernity, media exposure is a truly dynamic or change-leading factor and the cinema is probably the most influential of the three major media.

Influences on Peasant Orientations to the Mass Media

One of the basic concerns of the Rural Development Research Project was with what is generally called the "socialization" of the peasant -- that is, with the processes by which he is taught characteristic attitudes and behaviors by the society and groups of which he is a member. As part of this overall concern, we attempted to fathom the peasant's personal evaluation of the influence on young people wielded by some of the main socializing agencies of Turkey: schools, the peers of the young person, the village coffeehouse, the military, cities, and the three major mass media. Respondents rated each of these agencies as generally a good influence, a bad influence, or unimportant. The results for the total sample are displayed below.

Table 41

Peasant Evaluations of Selected Socializing Agencies[a]

Socializing Agency	Perceived Influence on Young			
	Good	Bad	Unimp.	DK & Ref.
Schools	96%	1%	1%	1%
Coffeehouse	46	41	3	9
Other Young People	81	8	5	4
Living in Cities	87	5	2	5
Military Service	96	1	-	1
Newspaper	89	1	1	7
Radio	85	4	2	8
Cinema	53	20	3	22
(N = 6,436)				

[a] Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

The most conspicuous aspect of this table is that all these agencies tend to be extremely favorably perceived, with two exceptions -- the coffeehouse and the cinema. In the case of the coffeehouse there is an apparently strong and established negative evaluation that is nearly as extensive as the

positive evaluation. In the case of the cinema, the incidence of favorable evaluations is not much larger than that obtained for the coffeehouse, but the incidence of negative evaluations is about half that obtained for the coffeehouse, the difference being made up by a much higher percentage of don't knows. Such findings suggest that we should control for exposure to each agent, and examine these evaluations. We do learn from Table 41 that the cinema seems to be at least initially more beset by the problem of a negative public reaction than are the newspaper or the radio. The last two are older and better established mass media in rural Turkey and less threatened by religious resistances.

When we control, as before, for sex, literacy and mass media exposure, some interesting variations appear. As predictable from the consistency theories of social psychology, exposure would increase the favorableness of media evaluation, or from motivational theories, favorableness of media evaluation would increase exposure, there was a very pronounced general tendency for those relatively well exposed to the mass media to have a more positive view of media impact on the young than those poorly exposed. Exposure to each of the three media was significantly associated with a more favorable view of the newspaper and the radio, and both cinema and radio exposure were associated with a more favorable view of the influence of the cinema, but newspaper exposure had no significant association either way with the evaluation of the cinema. Heightened exposure to the media in general and especially to the specific medium involved go hand in hand with a more favorable evaluation of the impact of the media on the whole and that specific medium in particular. It would seem that the spread of the mass media in rural Turkey would be an important factor reducing whatever resistance there is to the spread of the

mass media in rural Turkey. We should also report that, after media exposure and sex were controlled, literacy maintained a significant association with a more favorable view of the influence of each mass medium, but that, after corresponding controls for media exposure and literacy, no association between sex and those attitudes remained.

When we examine our other case of extensive negative evaluations, the coffee-house, we first uncover a similar picture. Exposure to the coffee-house is associated with a relatively more favorable evaluation of that institution. Three quarters of the male literates who never visited the coffee-house thought that its influence on the young was bad in contrast to merely half the male literates who visited the coffee-house every day during the winter. The same tendency was visible among the male illiterates, although the difference between the two extreme groups was only ten per cent. For some reason, exposure to the coffee-house seemed to affect the literates' evaluations more than those of the illiterates.

Returning to our mass media concern, and to our simultaneous controls for sex, literacy and any two of the three media, we find that for males both newspaper and radio exposure are positively associated with a higher frequency of visiting the coffee-house, whereas cinema exposure and literacy have no such association. This is another bit of evidence probably reflecting the greater tendency for newspaper and radio exposure to occur in within-village public settings, while cinema exposure is almost entirely extra-village and in a public, but qualitatively different setting.

Despite the fact that those peasant males relatively well exposed to the radio and the newspaper are more likely than others to visit the coffee-house, and despite the fact that exposure to the coffee-house is associated

with a more favorable view of the impact of the coffee-house on the young, those peasant males who were relatively well exposed to the radio (or to the cinema) had a significantly greater tendency than others to perceive the influence of the coffee house as bad. Hence, in the necessary absence of further controls not permitted by the size of many cells, one might infer that at least radio exposure is substantially associated with a more negative evaluation of the coffee-house as a socializing agency for the young.

One of the major variables related to the impact of the mass media that we have neglected is that of the content of the media. The nature of the messages actually transmitted by the media may be a critical factor determining media impact. We have neglected the examination of media content for several reasons. A definitive examination would involve techniques other than those of survey research, on which we have chosen to concentrate our limited resources. It also seemed to us probable that the content of the Turkish mass media was highly similar for almost all portions of the peasantry, so that the major variations in impact would revolve around differences in frequency of exposure and in exposure setting. Lastly, to do even an adequate general job of securing those data relevant to perceived mass media content that a survey could obtain would demand a larger segment of our precious time with each respondent than we felt was warranted by the probable yield of such information. Hence, media content remains an essentially uncontrolled and unexamined factor in our investigation of the mass media and rural development in Turkey.

There is, however, one small but interesting exception to this statement. In the case of radio, we did ask our exposed respondents what sort of program they most preferred. The answers were coded into the following

categories and each category received the following percentages of the replies: Turkish music (38%), western music (--%), news (39%), Religious programs (12%), plays, drama, "soap opera" (1%), the government's "Village Hour" (2%), don't like anything (2%), other (4%), don't know (2%).

On the whole, age has not turned out to be a factor strongly associated with media behavior and attitudes after sex and literacy were controlled. In this instance, however, age relationships are critical to an understanding of radio program preferences, in addition to sex and literacy. Table 42 portrays the most salient of these data.

Table 42

Sex, Literacy and Age by Preferred Type of Radio Program

Sample Groups	Type of Radio Program Preferred						
	Turkish Music	Western Music	News	Religion	Plays	Village Hour	"N"
Male Literates: 16-19 yrs.	47%	1%	44%	4%	1%	2%	211
Male Literates: 20-29 yrs.	39	-	51	5	-	2	405
Male Literates: 30-49 yrs.	25	-	62	6	1	3	545
Male Literates: 50 + yrs.	16	1	65	7	1	4	151
Male Illiterates: 16-19 yrs.	53%	-%	33%	8%	-%	3%	57
Male Illiterates: 20-29 yrs.	49	-	37	7	-	2	133
Male Illiterates: 30-49 yrs.	31	-	52	7	1	3	451
Male Illiterates: 50 + yrs.	18	-	54	12	-	5	505
Female Literates: 16-19 yrs.	72%	1%	6%	3%	3%	1%	86
Female Literates: 20-29 yrs.	56	-	25	5	2	1	121
Female Literates: 30-49 yrs.	51	-	29	7	3	2	76
Female Literates: 50 + yrs.	11	-	33	33	11	-	9
Female Illiterates: 16-19 yrs.	66%	-%	9%	11%	1%	1%	181
Female Illiterates: 20-29 yrs.	57	-	13	11	2	1	592
Female Illiterates: 30-49 yrs.	49	-	14	18	1	1	901
Female Illiterates: 50 + yrs.	34	-	19	31	-	-	629

The patterns of this table are definite and consistent. There is a continuous step decline in preference for Turkish music as age increases, and a corresponding rise in preference for news. One can also spot a slight tendency for the preference for religious programs to rise with age, especially among females, although one of the cells is quite unreliable. On balance, older villagers, literates, and males are more interested than others in obtaining news over the radio. These same characteristics designate the types of villagers who are most influential in village decision-making, and there would seem to be marked correspondence between their role needs and their listening preferences.

As we have said, exposure to none of the three major media is associated with age, sex and literacy controlled. In other words, after allowing for sex, literacy and exposure to any two of the three media, no age differences remain that correspond with exposure to the third medium. Therefore, we have been able to ignore age and use our standard eightfold typology of media exposure, plus the sex and literacy controls, in analyzing the relations between exposure to specific media and radio program preference. We find that those peasants relatively highly exposed to the cinema are more likely than others to prefer Turkish music, while those peasants relatively highly exposed to the newspaper are less likely to prefer Turkish music, and more likely to prefer news. This finding corresponds with several others indicating that there seems to be more of an escape aspect to film attendance and more of an information seeking aspect to newspaper exposure. However, one must not assume that the latter behavior necessarily involves more modernizing impact than the former. Our data have also consistently indicated that cinema exposure is more likely to be associated with modern attitudes

than exposure to the other two media. While "escaping," the peasant may also be powerfully influenced toward modernity and development. In fact, current media use in many developing societies has been criticized by experts as having too little entertainment value as coating for its developmental messages. The cinema may possible be slightly more effective as a developmental tool precisely because of its seemingly greater escape content.[47]

Finally, these same data also show that both heightened cinema exposure and heightened radio exposure are significantly associated with reduced amounts of interest in religious programs, whereas there is no association either way with newspaper exposure.

Listening Locale and the Impact of the Radio

Does it make a difference where the peasant listens to the radio? Is the impact of listening likely to be different if the usual listening locale is his own home, the house of another villager, a public place such as the coffee-house, elsewhere in the village, or even outside the village? Earlier in this report we presented evidence showing that the customary setting for radio exposure changed as the number of radios in the village increased. More listening was done in public places and in the listener's own home as the number of radio receivers in the village mounted, and less listening was done in the home of another villager. Actually, these relationships can be brought from the community level down to the individual level by a cross-tabulation of the frequency of radio listening of our respondents and the usual place of their radio listening. This cross-tabulation is

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[47] Two French writers with deep and successful experience of rural tele-clubs have wisely written,"...once television ceases to entertain it will cease to interest the [peasant] viewers, and so to educate them." Roger Louis and Joseph Rovan, Television and Tele-Clubs in Rural Communities (Paris: Unesco, 1955), p.12.

presented below.

Table 43

Frequency and Usual Place of Radio Listening, by Sex[a]

Usual Place of Listening	Frequency of Listening: Daily	Every Few Days	Weekly	Every Few Weeks	Monthly or Less
A. Males:					
Own House	48%	7%	4%	1%	2%
Another House in Village	15	35	34	42	35
Public Place in Village	36	53	46	41	32
Elsewhere in Village	1	2	4	3	5
Outside Village	1	3	12	13	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"N"	754	528	458	199	481
B. Females	Daily	Every Few Days	Weekly	Every Few Weeks	Monthly or Less
Own House	77%	15%	5%	7%	5%
Another House in Village	18	78	83	83	76
Public Place in Village	2	5	6	5	3
Elsewhere in Village	2	2	4	2	6
Outside Village	-	-	2	4	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"N"	451	320	223	115	464

[a]Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Several facets of Table 43 are noteworthy. We discover that there is a rather strong relationship between the frequency of peasant listening and the usual place of peasant listening. Daily listening and listening in one's own home are visibly associated, for both sexes. The strategic breaking points here would seem to be daily versus less frequent listening within-one's-own-home versus outside-one's-own home settings.[48] We also see that

[48]This may possibly be a factor accounting for the previously mentioned discrepancy between our results and those of the 1963 Population Study. We

there is a glaring difference between the usual listening locales of males and females. In essence, this difference is that listening in a public place is apparently not open to females according to village norms. The coffee-house, where most such listening is done, is largely a male preserve. The dominant setting for the radio listening of peasant women is the home -- either their own or someone else's. Within this framework, we find for females as well as for males the same tendency for daily listening and listening in one's own home to be associated. Finally, we learn from the table that, for males, higher listening frequencies are also associated with public place listening and lower frequencies with listening in another villager's home. And for both sexes, lower exposure frequencies are associated with listening outside the village. Obviously, place of listening is a partial measure of access, and access is usually related to exposure.

Literacy also affects these relationships in the sense that literates are more likely than others to listen in their own homes. We have excluded the literacy factor from the table for simplicity's sake and because within each of the sex-literacy groups the relations are the same as those depicted on the table.

Since frequency of radio exposure and usual listening locale are strongly associated, we shall have to control for frequency of exposure if we are to isolate any characteristic effects of particular locales. Otherwise, we might attribute to locale an association that was entirely due to the frequency of exposure that was disproportionately associated with that locale. For this reason, we divided our respondents into those of relatively high, medium and

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dichotomized radio exposure at the weekly listening point and they broke it at the daily listening point. For reasons that are apparent from this text, but which we do not have space to elaborate, we do not feel that the difference in cutting point (or in sampling) accounts for the discrepancy.

low radio exposure frequencies. Within each basic exposure category, we controlled for sex and literacy and cross-tabulated usual place of radio listening against an extensive selection of items from our survey instruments and against all indices. Naturally, some of the cells produced by such a process are improbable and so small that they have been dropped from further calculations -- for example, the poorly exposed who listen mainly in their own homes, or the female literates who listen mainly in a public place. But, this is the nature of the analysis we performed.

We shall enumerate the most significant findings of this procedure and, because of the range of the survey, a number of results will be very briefly cited. However, since that process may be misleading, we wish to state at the outset of this sub-section of our report that our paramount conclusion is that, among the Turkish peasantry in their present stage of development and for the topics we investigated, the typical listening setting seems to make very little difference to the attitudes and behaviors of rural Turks. In contradistinction to our findings on the apparent impact of radio exposure, we uncovered relatively few instances in which peasant attitudes and behaviors were regularly and appreciably different according to the usual place of peasant radio listening. We had anticipated, for reasons presented in our earlier discussion, that listening locale would sometimes decisively alter the nature of the radio's influence on the peasant. But we find very little support for such a contention in our data. The remainder of this sub-section will be devoted to adumbrating these few areas where the listening setting did seem to make a difference.

Incidentally, we should report that we found little association between frequency of radio <u>exposure</u> and the type of radio program most

preferred. The most salient regularity was that the preference for religious programs declined as exposure frequency increased. The more constant listeners were less interested in religious fare. We also noted a tendency for daily listeners to be highest among all the exposure groups in their preference for Turkish music. In accordance with data from other studies, it would seem that, after a threshold which is fairly quickly reached, increased radio exposure is associated with a quest for entertainment rather than for information.

After exposure is controlled, we still find a tendency for those respondents who usually listen in their own homes to prefer Turkish music, and this preference declines with reasonable regularity as the place of customary listening gets further away and increasingly public.

One interesting, though perhaps minor, question regarding radio listening locale is whether the radio seems to draw people to the coffee-houses -- that is, people without radios in their own homes. One might argue that it is a drawback of this medium that it attracts people into the coffee-house environment where they are then prone to waste productive hours. There is some doubt as to whether the time spent in the coffee-house is really unproductive or productive; but, passing that, our data generally indicate that males who usually listen to the radio in a public place (normally the coffee-house) visit the coffee-house only very slightly more frequently than those males who usually listen to the radio elsewhere. We should consequently view this particualr attack on the radio with some suspicion.

One of the problems in interpreting even data with as many controls over critical factors as we have tried to introduce is that there are often a few other key related factors that clearly may impinge upon the results. Peasants who usually listen to the radio in their own homes are more likely

to own all the land they farm, to have more than three rooms in their houses, to have more people in their households, to be plainly higher on our index of Economic Status and lower on our index of Subjective Poverty, and to live in villages that have more governmental contact, more social services, more establishments, more mass media access, a higher percentage of literates, and greater overall development. In short, both in terms of personal affluence and village development the peasants who listen in their own homes are advantaged. In fact, along these lines of economic status and village development one perceives a basically consistent ranking of the types of radio listening settings. In descending order of affluence and development one finds: the peasant who listens in his own home, in a public place, in someone else's home in the village, elsewhere in the village, and outside the village. This is not at all surprising and is even reassuring as far as the accuracy of our data is concerned, but we mention it here because it poses an obvious analytic problem. Whatever differences between respondents that we do find may be due to economic and community development factors almost as readily as to listening locale, since the three are so manifestly related. Nevertheless, we cannot introduce further controls and we mention the problem now simply to alert the reader to it. If one looks at the overall group of items and indices apparently related to listening locale, one is led to essentially the same ranking of locales in terms of their association with more modern attitudes and behaviors. The cells for at least three of the five locales (own home, another home, public place) are large enough to permit a number of comparisons for each. Those who listen in their own homes rather regularly emerge as the most modern of the three followed by those who listen in a public place, with those who listen in the homes of

other villagers being least modern. This ranking fundamentally prevails for consulting with an agricultural agent, living in a family with relatively great decisional participation by all adult members, being guilt- rather than shame-oriented, being unlikely to view one's problems as unbearable, being less fatalistic, tending to invest rather than to consume a windfall of 1,000 T.L., having lower religious strictness, having more sense of communal responsibility, desiring more political participation, and manifesting more communal cooperativeness. Sometimes two of these three groups would be virtually tied at the same level; but in all these instances the identical rank ordering was preserved, even though the percentage differences were usually not very large and there were many more items and indices for which no regular differences of any sort appeared. It is for these latter reasons and because of the probability of alternative explanations based on economic or community development factors that we regard the relative impact of listening locale as rather unexpectedly modest.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this final chapter we shall summarize what we regard as the most salient findings and observations of this report. Thus, at the risk of accepting our interpretations and considerable simplification, the reader can perceive the thrust of the work more easily. The specialists and the incredulous can then refer to the details presented in the first three chapters when necessary. After this summary we shall make a few more interpretive comments and then conclude with a set of specific policy suggestions, emanating from this research and from other studies in the field, that we believe are relevant to the use of the mass media as a developmental instrument in rural Turkey.

Summary of Findings and Observations

I. Introduction: The Mass Media and Rural Development

A. Modernization or development, in its deepest meaning, implies a change in the people of a society and in the way they interact. This is especially true in the rural sector where 1) decision-making is highly decentralized onto thousands of villages and millions of farm families; 2) many and repeated modifications of behavior are needed and single, one-shot changes are relatively very ineffectual and 3) resistances to change seem ordinarily to be greater than in other sectors. For development to be durable the task is literally to get people to "change their minds."

B. Problems for the policy maker, focussed by these basic observations, are no fewer, but hopefully clearer. He must decide 1) what attitudes and behaviors constitute or are essential to the rural development goals that have been established; 2) what circumstances form and change these attitudes and behaviors -- how they can be affected; and 3) what are the relative

merits and drawbacks of the various strategies open to him for working the changes he desires.

C. The mass media, along with the educational system, credit and market mechanisms, direct governmental representatives such as extension agents, the transportation system, the police and courts of law, the military, various organizations such as cooperatives, etc., are among the arsenal of weapons open to the policy-maker for affecting rural attitudes and behaviors. The policy maker needs to decide how, if at all, he is going to employ each of these weapons, when and where. He must know the advantages and disadvantages of each for his purposes.

The characteristic advantages of the mass media would seem to be 1) extensiveness -- they reach a greater portion of the rural population than most other instruments; 2) rapidity -- they reach that portion of the population more rapidly than other means; 3) controllability -- they are more easily controlled and are superficially more uniform than other means of communication; and 4) effectiveness -- they are in some ways presumably more effective in influencing the population than other instruments. These qualities of the mass media are at one and the same time advantages and disadvantages. For example, controllability may permit the most efficient use of the best communicators in the nation with accurate reproduction of their messages. But it may also permit inappropriate elite domination of communications to the rural and mass sectors of the society and inhibit feedback from audiences to communicator. The problem is to determine the most effective and economical uses of the media. Care must be taken to avoid slipping into the easy tendency to cast the mass media into a hero's or a villain's role in the developmental drama. Along these lines, one of

the most critical problems facing the policy-maker desirous of making appropriate use of the mass media is to decide which of the media to use (press, radio, cinema, television?), when and with whom. The Rural Development Research Project was not designed to provide definitive answers to all or any of these questions. But it was designed to take a significant first step in that direction -- to furnish more information, and sometimes the first quantitative information, on a selected number of related and important topics.

II. The Mass Media in Turkey.

A. The mass media, especially the press, have been shown to have played a crucial role in the largely already accomplished elite modernization of Turkey. It has also been demonstrated that this role was at times positive, in the sense that the media seemed to further development, and at times negative, in that they were used to frustrate development. However, on balance, the impact of the mass media on elite modernization seems to have been predominantly positive. The key question from this perspective becomes, "Can the media play an equally important and positive role, though probably in a different fashion, in the modernization of the mass, rural sector of the society?" A precedent certainly exists.

B. There has been a phenomenal growth of the mass media in Turkey in the two decades since the end of World War II. Between 1946 and 1960 the total number of newspapers quadrupled and the number of daily newspapers more than quintupled. The number of other periodicals doubled. Furthermore, although the urban areas still dominate the circulation and publication outlet statistics, an extensive provincial press has been created. In 1960, 63 of

the nation's 67 provinces had daily newspapers published in the province.

The growth of the radio in the years since World War II is, if anything, more abrupt and spectacular than the growth of the press. The total number of receivers increased more than sevenfold between 1946 and 1960. Moreover, a sharp rise in rural radio receivers, beginning later (about 1950), has clearly set in, even though the distribution of sets is very heavily weighted to the urban end of the spectrum. With the introduction of the transistorized, battery-powered, portable receiver, it would seem that the growth of rural listening would proceed even more rapidly.

Data on the availability of cinema facilities are harder to find. It would seem that the growth has been less than for other media and that films are primarily available only in an urban or town setting. Nevertheless, rapid growth in this area and its increasing extension to the rural sector are to be expected.

In short, Turkey is apparently in the early throes of a veritable communications revolution. It is urgent to note that this is not basically a government instigated revolution. Hence, it would seem that it will continue unless the government, for some reason, decides to discourage it. Whether the government decides to use the media as a developmental instrument or not, if the media have significant developmental effects (for better or worse) and if they are expanding so rapidly, it would seem to be vital that the government fully comprehend the role that they play in rural development or decay.

C. Even though Turkey is experiencing rapid growth in her major mass media, she still has a long way to go to reach (should she desire or permit it), the media access and exposure levels of developed societies. She is still in

the early stages of her communications revolution. In 1960, Turkey had approximately 5.4 radio sets, 4.5 copies of daily newspapers, 1.0 cinema seats, and no television receivers per 100 people. Minimal "immediate targets" for underdeveloped nations bravely established by Unesco and said by it to be "low," envision five radio receivers, ten copies of daily newspapers, two cinema seats and two television receivers for every 100 persons. In general, as far as media development is concerned, Turkey seems to rank either rather high among underdeveloped nations or else rather low among a group of intermediate nations. She is not in the category of developed nations along any media dimension. There is clearly much more that can and probably will occur, though the tempo of media improvement is something that the government can strongly affect.

III. Peasant Access and Exposure to the Mass Media.

A. By the term "access" we refer to the physical availability of the mass media. Access determines the potential media audience with existing facilities.

1. The gross peasant access to the three major mass media of Turkey is as follows.

a. Newspaper. Over half the villagers reside in a community to which a newspaper comes at least weekly, but one third live in a village to which a newspaper comes only monthly or less and one fifth live in a village to which a newspaper "never" comes. Newspapers are commonly read in a public setting, so that the relative circulation of a single copy may be appreciably larger in rural areas than elsewhere. A sizeable portion of the Turkish peasantry has fairly good access to the press, but a larger portion is without frequent access.

b. Radio. Over half of the peasants reside in villages with five or more radios, while a tenth live in villages without a single radio. Access to the radio is probably the greatest of the three major mass media. A majority of the peasantry resides in villages with fewer than ten radios, so that there would seem to be good opportunity for extensive "gatekeeping" (control by one or a few people over the access of others to a medium or its channels). This factor is probably counterbalanced to some extent by the lack of alternative stations and programs which the gatekeeper can inflict on the audienc · he controls.

c. Cinema. There were no villages in our sample which had a cinema in the village. Cinemas are an urban and town phenomenon. But over one third of the peasants live in a village that is within 15 km. of a cinema. However, distance to the nearest cinema is sufficiently great in most cases so that all the factors affecting geographical mobility must be added to the factors affecting cinema exposure, if they are not already there. The major factor is sex role. Women are customarily much less mobile outside the village than men, and this is an additional consideration affecting their cinema attendance. Not ordinarily involving extra-village travel, radio and newspaper access are less affected by these factors.

2. Several ecological factors seem basically to affect the distribution of media access among the Turkish peasantry. Not all peasants have equal access to the media.

a. Village size is clearly and moderately related to access to the press and radio. The larger the village, the better its access to these two media, save that the very smallest villages (1-199 inhabitants) have relatively better radio access than anticipated. The largest villages (over 1,000

population) are especially advantaged, and there seems to be a breaking point in this respect at about size 1,000. There is no strong relationship at all between village size and access to the cinema.

b. There are very sharp variations in mass media access in accordance with the nine basic agricultural regions of Turkey. The rank ordering of the regions remains essentially the same across all three mass media. In descending order of access, that ranking is: Aegean, Marmara, South Central, Mediterranean, North Central, Black Sea, Northeastern, East Central and Southeastern. The greater access of the western and coastal regions over the eastern and interior regions is glaring.

c. There is no strong linear relationship between the proximity of the village to the nearest city of over 50,000 population and the village's mass media access. If anything, for newspaper and radio access, it seems that the villages intermediate in distance rank first, then come the closest villages, with the most distant villages having the poorest access. But the differences are far from overpowering.

3. There are pronounced positive correlations between access to one mass medium and access to the other two media. In other words, there is marked access "clustering;" villages tend to have relatively good or relatively poor access to all the media, rather than having good access to one and poor access to another.

4. In view of this access clustering, a Village Mass Media Access Index was created, with equal weighting for access to each major medium. This Village Mass Media Access Index was strongly and positively correlated with various other indices of village affluence and development. It was also found that literate peasants tend to live in villages with notably better

mass media access than illiterate peasants. One must note, however, that village media access is not simply an environmental "given" to the peasants. If motivated to do so, they usually can and do take steps to improve the access of their village.

B. By the term "exposure" we refer to the activities of reading a newspaper or listening or one being read, listening to the radio, and attending the cinema. Exposure determines the actual audience of the mass media during a designated period of time. These are the people that a medium in some sense "reached" and may or may not have influenced. Access is clearly necessary but not sufficient for exposure.

1. There is in rural Turkey a profound access-exposure gap. There are many peasants who apparently do not make use of the opportunities for mass media exposure which they possess. And different types of peasants use their access in different degrees. For example, over half of the peasantry lived (in 1962) in villages to which a newspaper came at least weekly, but only one fifth were exposed weekly. This gap seems too big to be explained by within-village limitations on access (and specific cross-tabulations corroborate this interpretation). Only 12% of the peasants live in a village where there is no radio, but three times that percentage "never" listen. The Village Mass Media Access Index and an index of individual Mass Media Exposure correlate positively, but only at the level of .273. Many personal factors intervene between access and exposure.

2. In terms of gross frequency of exposure to the three media, the radio obtains the highest degree of exposure and the cinema the lowest. Over two fifths of the peasants listened to the radio at least weekly (one fifth daily), and one third "never" listened. Only one fifth of the villagers

read or listened to a newspaper at least weekly, while more than half were "never" exposed to one. Just over one fourth of our sample had attended the cinema in the past year, while over half had never been to the cinema in their entire lives. Nevertheless, despite the fact that more peasants are being missed than reached by the mass media, the media still contact large numbers of Turkish peasants -- probably more peasants more regularly and frequently than any other institution. In absolute terms, roughly 1 3/4 million rural Turks listen to the radio every day; nearly one million are exposed to a newspaper every few days; and over a million attend the cinema every few months. If even a relatively small portion of these exposed villagers could be meaningfully influenced through that exposure to adopt a certain important outlook or behavior, at least some aspects of rural development might be greatly enhanced.

3. When we compare the mass media exposure of Turks resident in villages, towns, cities, and metropolitan areas (Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir), we find a continuous steplike increase. The peasants are patently much more poorly exposed than other Turks. The village and the metropolis seem to be the major watersheds in this distribution. Community size and urbanization make more difference for newspaper exposure than they do for radio exposure. (Data were not available on the cinema.) Males at each community level were more exposed to the mass media than females, but the male-female discrepancies were notably more egregious at the village level than at the metropolitan level.

4. We also looked into the comparative mass media exposure of Turkish peasants and selected other peasants in an attempt to grasp the typicality of the Turkish situation. In general, the gross relationships found in Turkey

did seem to prevail among the peasants of the other nations examined. The Latin American campesino and the Egyptian fellah seem to be somewhat more media exposed than the Turkish villager, particularly as regards radio, but the Jordanian and Laotian peasants and the Kenyan tribal farmers appeared less well exposed. Seemingly everywhere in the world, peasants are less media exposed than their urban compatriots. Isolation, poverty, illiteracy and repugnant norms seem to account for most of these differences. Almost everywhere in the world for which data are available, radio seems to be the most pervasive medium, both in terms of geography and in terms of penetrating different social strata.

5. There are important variations in mass media exposure within the Turkish peasantry. The peasantry is no monolith, uniformly exposed, nor is it the case that only environmental factors account for most of these variations in media exposure. Personal factors seem to be even more influential than environmental or ecological factors, though both play an important role in determining exposure.

a. Agricultural region of residence, village size, and village urban proximity are all related to individual mass media exposure as they were to village mass media access. However, the range of variation in terms of these factors is less for exposure than for access. Of the three, region is most strongly related to exposure, then village size, and then urban proximity. Again we found that peasants resident in villages intermediate in distance from the nearest city were slightly more exposed to the radio and the cinema than were peasants whose villages were closer or farther away. The agricultural regions, in descending general order of exposure to the three media, were: Marmara, Aegean, South Central, North Central,

Black Sea, Mediterranean, Northeastern, East Central, and Southeastern. These regional differences were acute, with the percentage of well exposed villagers in the most developed regions running two or three times the percentage in the least developed regions. Turkey has very prominent "pockets" of mass media isolation.

b. The environmental and ecological aspects of Turkey's villages, such as Village Mass Media Access, Village Centrality-Isolation, Village Establishments, Village Social Services, Village Governmental Contact, and Village Development, correlate relatively strongly with one another and seem to hang together as a unified factor. Individual Mass Media Exposure does not correlate very strongly with most of these environmental and ecological indices, however. Its highest such correlation is merely .273 with Village Mass Media Access. Mass Media Exposure correlates more strongly with three personal indices: Geographical Mobility, Interpersonal Communication, and Cognitive Flexibility. These last three personal measures are not themselves strongly correlated with the environmental-ecological indices, nor are they so strongly correlated with each other as to appear to constitute a factor.

6. Simultaneous controls were used to investigate the relationship of sex, literacy, age and environmental-ecological factors with mass media exposure. Sex and literacy were found to be basic, independently significant factors pervading all our data. Regardless of what type of control was introduced in any facet of our analysis, these two personal characteristics continued to influence the results. Essentially, the males and the literates tended to be more media exposed than the females and the illiterates. These sex-literacy differences were least conspicuous for radio exposure and most

conspicuous for cinema exposure. Sex seemed to be the more important of the two factors for cinema exposure, while literacy seemed more determinative of newspaper and radio exposure.

a. Age was only moderately related to media exposure, and then largely in the sense that the 16-19 year old males had not yet apparently assumed full adult status or media exposure propensities and that cinema exposure was greatest among the 20-29 year old males and declined among the older village males, particularly among those aged fifty or over. The same tendencies were not very evident among females.

b. Sex and literacy influences on peasant mass media exposure appear to be greater than environmental-ecological influences, though both types of influence are important. When both types are controlled, there is greater variation in terms of the sex-literacy categories than in terms of the environmental-ecological categories. However, such influences are frequently cumulative, in the sense, for example, that the literates are more likely to live in more developed and central villages. The two kinds of influences generally reinforce each other and produce truly extreme exposure variations within the peasantry. For instance, the cinema exposure (ever attended) ranged from 90% of the male literates in the Aegean Region to a minuscule 3% of the female illiterates in the Southeastern Region. At least weekly exposure to the newspaper ranged from 64% of the male literates from villages with high media access to but 3% of female illiterates from villages with low access. Radio exposure ranged from 80% of the male literates in villages of high centrality (low isolation) to 22% of the female illiterates in villages of low centrality (high isolation).

7. To determine whether the observed relationship between literacy and mass media exposure was due to the literates' greater exposure to the formal educational system or to the psychic fact of literacy itself, as well as to determine if formal education had any impact on media exposure over and above literacy, we investigated the connection between years of schooling and media exposure, with sex and literacy held constant. Slightly more than one quarter of the peasants were literate, and the same percentage, but not always the same persons, had received formal schooling.

a. School is the main channel for peasant literacy. Nearly two thirds of all village literates were taught to read and write in school, and this percentage was appreciably higher for women and the young.

b. There is a mild but regular tendency for formal education, after literacy and sex are controlled, to be associated with increased exposure to all three mass media. However, much of this association can probably be accounted for by parallel variations in village mass media access and development. The village with a school, especially a few decades ago, is likely to be a village where media are more available. Thus, literacy seems to be the main connection between formal education and peasant mass media exposure, but it is a very powerful connection indeed. It is interesting to note that distinct differences in mass media exposure associated with literacy persist even when amount of formal education is roughly controlled.

8. Poverty, mass media exposure and the usual place of radio listening all seem to be strongly related to one another, after sex and literacy are controlled. Subjective poverty, as measured by an index of perceived familial deprivation (in terms of food, fuel, and clothing), was demonstrably

related to all three types of media use. However, only with this economic variable (poverty) did we find that radio exposure was more affected than the other two media. Ordinarily, radio exposure is less affected by environmental, social and personal differences than is exposure to the newspaper or the cinema. Economic factors loom larger in determining radio exposure than other forms of exposure.

a. Most peasant radio listening usually occurs in a group context. Less than one fourth of the villagers usually listen to the radio in their own homes. Two fifths ordinarily listen in another villager's home, and one fourth in a public place such as the coffee-house. Finally, about one peasant in thirty usually listens elsewhere in the village and two in thirty listen outside the village.

b. The usual place of radio listening changes with the number of radios in the village. Listening in one's own home and in a public place both increase as the number of radios goes up, while listening in another villager's home decreases as the number of radios in the village goes up. Thus, with the expansion of radio facilities and receivers in Turkey, one can expect a gradual change in the typical listening setting, with whatever changes in radio impact that might bring.

c. Within each of the four sex-literacy groups, there was a clear positive relationship between poverty and listening in another villager's home. There was also a counterpart negative relationship between poverty and listening in one's own home or in a public place. At all levels of literacy and poverty, women's radio listening was almost entirely confined to homes, either their own or someone else's home. They were conspicuously absent from the coffee-house listeners, whereas men most typically listen in the coffee-house or other public place.

9. The mass media exposure of the normally authoritative elite in the village is of particular concern to the planner. We investigated the media behavior of village headmen, priests, and their wives. The village headmen were considerably more media exposed than the village priests, especially to the newspaper and the cinema. However, both elite males were much more exposed to the media than their wives. Striking intra-familial differences in exposure were found.

a. The headmen were about equally exposed to the radio and the cinema as a comparison group consisting of male literates aged 30-49. But the headmen were significantly better exposed to the newspaper than the comparison group of more ordinary villagers of similar literacy and age. One would surmise that meeting role-demands plays an important part in shaping exposure to the mass media. Thus, 74% of the headmen preferred news most of all radio programs, in contrast to but 62% of the comparison group of ordinary villagers. Similarly, 38% of the priests preferred religious programs most of all against merely 6% of the male literates aged 30-49 and but 4% of the headmen who had the same preference.

b. The priests were less exposed to the mass media than the group of all male literates, especially to the cinema.

c. Despite the within-family differences in media exposure between the male elite figures and their wives, and despite the fact that their wives were not appreciably more literate than the general group of village women, these wives did turn out to be somewhat more media exposed than the rest of the village women. This suggests the possibility that there may be a familial stance versus the media which affects each family member's behavior, although sheer differences in media access may also explain these

differences in exposure. Since their husbands are more media exposed than other village males (ignoring literacy in the case of the priests), the family may be more likely to have a radio or newspaper about the house or to visit a town where there is a cinema. Still, the elite wives' actual exposure is greater than that of other village females, whatever the reason.

10. There is pronounced media exposure "clustering" among the Turkish peasantry. Peasants who are exposed to any one mass medium are disproportionately likely to be exposed to the other two media. The negative formulation of this phenomenon is probably more important: peasants who are not directly reached by one mass medium are relatively unlikely to be directly reached by any other medium. Multiple media exposure probably increases the effectiveness of the media, since messages are frequently appropriately reinforced by a different source. But the exposure clustering phenomenon as a whole may cause developmental problems. It may accentuate the cultural bifurcation of the society by increasing the pace of modernization of the media-exposed peasants while leaving pockets of media "unreachables" to whom none of the mass media directly extend. Of course, we refer only to the direct effects of the media, and these tendencies may be compensated for or counteracted by the indirect effects of the media that are relayed from the exposed to the unexposed.

a. This pronounced exposure clustering effect strongly persists even when sex and literacy are controlled. Thus, a majority of the female illiterates, who are in turn a large majority of all peasant women, is hardly ever exposed to any mass medium, while a large majority of male literates is rather regularly exposed to all media. Developmental campaigns using

the mass media will directly reach the latter with high probability, but they have only a very low probability of directly reaching the former group.

b. When we inspect peasant exposure to all three major mass media of rural Turkey we find a set of relationships that approaches unidimensionality. The peasant's exposure to any one medium can be rather well predicted from his exposure to any other medium. In short, the notion originally put forth by Paul Deutschmann that it is useful to think of a generalized peasant mass media audience, as well as particular radio, cinema, and press audiences, seems to be supported. There are several factors that appear to lie behind these relationships, but we should suggest that one such factor is the existence of a general appetite or taste for the mass media and the experiences they convey, regardless of the particular medium involved. Moreover, we believe that it is worthwhile to consider the corollary argument that the exposure of a largely media-inexperienced peasantry to any one mass medium tends to whet their appetites for further exposure to that medium or to other mass media. Hence, once introduced to such a rural sector, a medium can not only be expected to spread relatively rapidly, but also to increase consumption of other media. Media growth should tend to follow the rather explosive early patterns we have already witnessed.

III. The Impact of the Mass Media on the Turkish Peasantry.

A. Access to the mass media does not necessarily mean exposure; and exposure to the mass media does not necessarily mean impact. Most of all, the planner needs to know what kinds of people are affected by their

exposure to the media and precisely how they are affected. He needs to know the responsive media audience.

1. The survey of the Rural Development Research Project provides information regarding the association between various kinds of mass media exposure, on the one hand, and selected attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of peasants, on the other hand. These associations may be causal or accidental. If causal, they may be unidirectional, with media exposure as cause or effect, or they may be more complex, mutually reinforcing, types of relationships for which it is difficult to speak of a primary causal direction. Though strong presumptions are often created, our survey data are rarely sufficient to permit clear establishment of the exact causal character of the relationship. We have generally written our results so as to suggest that media exposure was cause and the associated attitudinal or behavioral characteristic was consequent. However, we alert the reader to the more uncertain and complex nature of the situation. In a sense, this section of the report could be more accurately entitled the associations of media exposure. However, the planner cannot wait until causal connections are quite clear. He usually has to act on the basis of presumptions of causality, and that is what we have provided.

2. The discussion of the impact of the mass media on the Turkish peasant is, of course, limited to the impact on those matters investigated in the survey. Though the coverage was broad, there were many important areas of possible impact that were not included.

B. Our first presentation was of the apparent impact of mass media exposure in general -- not distinguishing particular media. This was

accomplished through a discussion of the correlations between the Mass Media Exposure Index and other indices.

1. The other indices employed in the investigation were: Geographical Mobility,* Interpersonal Communication,* Subjective Poverty,* Village Development,* Communal Responsibility, Communal Cooperativeness, Communal Efficacy, Personal Political Efficacy, Community Don't Knows, Personal Don't Knows, Political Empathy, Tolerance of Deviance, Parochialism, External Mistrust, Propensity to Innovate, Cognitive Flexibility, General Knowledge, Educational and Occupational Aspiration, Government Services Wanted, Favorable Urban Image, Optimism, Perceived Village Initiative, Perceived Concentration of Power and Wealth in Village, Headman Orientation, Use of Agricultural Services, Use of Social Services, Religious Knowledge, Religious Saliency, Religious Ritualism, Religious Strictness, Desire for Political Participation, Voting Participation, and Political Party Knowledge.

2. Mass Media Exposure is notable more strongly correlated with the various attitudinal and behavioral indices from this list than are the other four "dynamic" (presumably causal and manipulable) indices investigated -- viz., Geographical Mobility, Interpersonal Communication, Subjective Poverty, and Village Development.

3. Mass Media Exposure generally operates in a "modern" direction. Moreover, it does <u>not</u>, as is often charged, seem to be strongly associated with such unwanted changes as a more facorable view of the city than already exists among the peasantry, increased demands on the government, augmented demands for political participation, excessive optimism, and a jaundiced view of village social structure.

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*So-called "dynamic" indices. The rest are labelled "attitudinal-behavioral" indices.

4. From this general perspective, the greatest impact of Mass Media Exposure seems to be in the cognitive realm -- how the person perceives the world about him - rather than in the motivational or behavioral realms. But there are many important correlations between media exposure and these other areas as well.

C. Partial correlational techniques were used to attempt to isolate the distinctive impacts of Mass Media Exposure, Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication to learn what "trade-offs" might be possible between them. These three indices were strongly correlated with each other.

1. When such second order partial correlations, discounting the influence of two of the three factors and isolating the third, were made, the coefficients for Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication tumbled virtually to zero, while the Mass Media Exposure correlations with the attitudinal and behavioral indices remained relatively strong. Thus, one can perhaps infer that most of the seeming influence of travel and interpersonal communication on these attitudes and behaviors comes from their association with mass media exposure and is not independently significant.

D. Important Mass Media Exposure correlations with the other indices remain after the critical variables sex and literacy are controlled. This analysis suggested that mass media exposure was more influential among illiterate than literate males, but the corresponding difference among females was not apparent. Similar comparisons show the mass media to be more influential among male than among female illiterates, but this tendency did not hold up among literates. Altogether, among the four sex-literacy groups, the greatest mass media impact seems to prevail among the male

illiterates -- an obviously critical group for developmental change in rural Turkey.

e. These sex-literacy controls also suggest that maleness works against tolerance of deviant behavior and for religiosity, while mass media exposure seems to work for tolerance of deviance and against religiosity.

f. When we controlled for sex and literacy plus employing second order partial correlations for Mass Media Exposure, Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication, we still found that the mobility and interpersonal correlations with the attitudinal-behavioral indices hovered about zero while most of the mass media correlations retained their significance.

3. In general, after sex-literacy controls and partialling out the association between Mass Media Exposure and Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication, Mass Media Exposure was strongly (roughly .300 or better) and positively correlated with General Knowledge, Use of Social Services (mainly communication facilities), and Political Party knowledge. Mass Media Exposure was fairly strongly (.200 or better) correlated with Cognitive Flexibility (positive correlation) and with Parochialism (negative correlation). It was moderately (.100 or better) correlated with Communal Responsibility, Communal Efficacy, Personal Political Efficacy, Political Empathy, Propensity to Innovate, Educational and Occupational Aspiration, and Perceived Village Initiative (positive correlations) and with Community Don't Knows, Personal Don't Knows, and External Mistrust (negative correlations). Mass Media Exposure was not importantly correlated with the remainder of the attitudinal-behavioral indices. However, for males only, it was moderately (.100 or better) and positively related with Tolerance of Deviance and negatively related with Religious Saliency.

B. The planner cannot invest in the mass media in general; he must always invest in specific media, and he therefore needs information about the comparative impacts of these specific media. Through cross-tabulations we were able to hold exposure to any two of the three media constant (as well as sex and literacy) while examining the association between the third medium and selected attitudes and behaviors.

1. One device for assessing specific media impacts is to look at how each medium was related to our selected indices. In general, we found a significant relationship between the three media (taken separately) and the indices in more than half of the possible cases. By this standard, the overall impact of the three media again seems to be quite impressive.

a. There is a significant tendency for all three media to affect an attitude or behavior or else for none of the media to affect that attitude or behavior. In other words, we found significantly more cases than one would expect by chance where all media or no media were associated with other indices.

b. The newspaper, radio and cinema generally work in the same direction -- i.e., almost always affect attitudes and behaviors in the same way, if they jointly affect them at all. This suggests that there may be excellent media substitutibility opportunities between media.

c. The analysis of the indices suggested that the media were most effective in the cognitive realm and least effective with regard to religious orientations.

d. Of the three major mass media, the cinema seemed to be the most influential and the radio and the newspaper somewhat less influential and about equal in their impact. The indices that were associated only with

cinema exposure were: Communal Cooperativeness, Personal Political Efficacy, Tolerance of Deviance, Government Services Wanted and (lack of) Headman Orientation. Only Optimism was associated solely with radio exposure and only Religious Knowledge was associated solely with newspaper exposure.[49] However, the causal direction seems slightly more uncertain in the case of the cinema than for the radio or newspaper. In some communities, attending the cinema against established village norms may itself be a manifestation of considerable budding modernity, as well as a stimulus to that modernity.

f. The relationship between cinema exposure and Geographical Mobility (travel) is, not surprisingly but importantly, keener than the connection of radio and newspaper exposure with mobility. Both cinema and newspaper exposure are associated with Interpersonal Communication, but radio exposure is not. Finally, although radio is the mass medium to which Turkish peasants are most exposed, it is also the medium for which economic and some environmental factors most impinge on exposure, at the present time.

2. Specific mass media impacts were also investigated through examination of 102 selected attitudinal and behavioral items from the survey. Specific media were significantly related to these items, across all four sex-literacy groups, in more than 40% of the possible cases.

a. We found an even stronger tendency than with the indices for all or no media to be significantly associated with an item. More than one might expect, by chance, both mass media exposure and mass media impact tend to be "clustered" phenomena.

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[49] All associations are positive unless otherwise stated.

b. Again, we discovered a strong tendency for the mass media to have their specific impacts in the same direction. This was true in about 90% of all possible cases.

c. When the few cases of contradictory media influences were examined, there was a suggestion of a pattern whereby the cinema was most consistently "modern" in its impact while the newspaper and radio were occasionally influential in a non-"modern" direction.

d. There were a number of cases in which a medium was not significantly influential across all four sex-literacy groups, but was significantly influential among two or three of those groups. The newspaper was most involved in such partially effective relationships and the cinema least involved.

e. Illiterates, who listen to a newspaper being read rather than reading it themselves, were affected by that newspaper exposure certainly no less than literates, although such exposure to the newspaper was, of course, much rarer for the illiterates. The press does have a significant influence on illiterate peasants who manage to get exposed to it.

f. For some inexplicable reason, the literates were never a partially affected group; but the other three groups (males, females and illiterates) were all at times those affected by a medium that did not affect all groups. The sub-group of males was most likely to be the group partially affected.

C. Some particular selected questions from the survey are interesting in their own right.

1. There was no apparent relationship between any of the three types of mass media exposure and interest in taking a birth control pill, nor was

literacy related to such interest. The marked variation in peasant responses to this question that was found was entirely linked to sex differences. The females were much more interested in birth control than the males.

2. Radio and newspaper exposure appeared to have no significant relationship with the number of offspring the respondent ideally wanted, but those peasants who had been to the cinema were significantly more inclined to want families that were smaller than those desired by persons who had never been to the cinema (sex and literacy controlled, as throughout). Literacy was also associated with a desire for fewer children, as was female sex; but, again, the clearest of these associations were those in terms of sex. There were no differences in the number of children that respondents with varying media exposure patterns actually had, but literacy and sex, on the other hand, were associated with such differences.

3. Cinema and radio exposure, but not newspaper, were associated with a greater tendency to feel efficacious about one's ability to affect local government. When a sense of efficacy vis à vis the national government was examined, however, no mass medium, nor literacy, had any apparent effect, and the males, who felt locally more efficacious than females, now felt less efficacious than did the females. On the other hand, both cinema and radio exposure -- but not newspaper -- were associated with a heightened tendency to stress national loyalty as something very important to teach children and a greater propensity to name Atatürk as one of the two persons most admired.

Thus, taking these and other pieces of evidence, we should conclude that national allegiance and identification, and also political party sophistication, among the Turkish peasantry are markedly enhanced by exposure to the cinema and to the radio (but not the newspaper); yet the pervasive

sense of powerlessness which the peasant seems to have versus national and other extra-local institutions is not so far significantly mitigated by mass media exposure of any kind.

4. There were no mass media differences in the types of criteria the peasant said he would use in selecting a job (easiness of the work being the modal response). But all three media were independently associated with an increased inclination to invest rather than to consume a windfall of 1,000 T.L.

5. When those villagers who perceived some innovational conflict in their villages were asked with which group they, themselves, usually sided, neither radio nor newspaper exposure made any apparent difference to the replies, but cinema exposure was associated with a predilection for the side of "new ways" rather than "old ways."

D. Mass media exposure would seem to affect the peasant's evaluation of the mass media themselves and of other socializing agencies (i.e., agencies that are important in teaching attitudes and behaviors to people).

1. Most socializing agencies seem to be very positively evaluated by rural Turks. Of the eight agencies about which inquiries were made (schools, coffeehouses, young people's friends their own age, cities, military service, newspaper, radio and cinema), only two displayed some conspicuous degree of negative response -- the coffeehouse and the cinema.

2. Those persons who were actually exposed to an agency were more likely to view it favorably than those not exposed. Thus, heightened exposure to the media in general and especially to the specific medium involved go hand in hand with a more favorable evaluation of the media on the whole and that specific medium in particular.

3. Exposure to the coffeehouse is associated with a relatively more favorable view of that institution. However, despite the fact that those peasant males who were well exposed to the radio and the newspaper were slightly more likely than others to visit the coffeehouse, and despite the fact that visiting the coffeehouse is associated with a more favorable view of the impact of the coffeehouse on the young, those peasant males who were relatively well exposed to the radio (or to the cinema) had a significantly greater tendency than others to regard the influence of the coffeehouse as bad.

4. Virtually no attempt was made in the survey to investigate matters related to the content of the mass media, for various reasons. The one exception to this policy was that radio program preferences were probed.

a. Nearly two fifths of the peasants preferred Turkish music programs most of all and another two fifths preferred news. Obviously, most of the villagers fell into one or the other of these categories. About one peasant in eight liked religious programs best, and no other specific program category was favored by more than 2% of the respondents, including the government's "Village Hour."

b. After sex and literacy were controlled, age, which is not importantly related to most media behavior, was revealed to be critically related to radio program preferences. The preference for Turkish music goes progressively down as age increases, while the preference for news goes up. In general, older villagers, literates, and males were more interested in news than other villagers. These same characteristics designate the types of villagers who are most influential in village decision-making, and there would seem to be marked correspondence between their role needs and their listening preferences.

c. The cinema-exposed peasants were more likely than others to prefer Turkish music, and those well exposed to the newspaper were more likely to prefer news. This finding corresponds with several others indicating that there seems to be more of an escape or entertainment aspect to film attendance and more of an information seeking aspect to newspaper exposure. However, while "escaping" the peasant may be powerfully influenced in a modern direction. In fact, current media use in many developing societies has been criticized by some experts as having too little entertainment value as coating for its developmental messages. As two French experts have said of television, ". . . once television ceases to entertain it will cease to interest the (peasant) viewers, and so to educate them."

d. Both cinema and radio exposure were significantly associated with reduced amounts of interest in religious programs.

e. An investigation was made of the influence on attitudes and behaviors of the place where the peasant usually listened to the radio. The frequency of radio listening, as well as our old favorites sex and literacy, was controlled in this investigation.

1. Frequency of exposure was strongly associated with variations in the usual place of listening. Those who listened daily were also those who usually listened in their own homes. And, we again found that women rarely listened in a public place like the coffeehouse; most female listening occurred in their own homes or in another villager's home. There was scant association between frequency of radio exposure and type of program preferred.

2. On the whole, and to our mild surprise, we found that the radio listening locale of our respondents seemed to have few associations with

peasant attitudes and behaviors. Listening setting seemed to make little difference to media impact.

3. One interesting question is whether radio listening seems to draw village males to the coffeehouse (where, some persons argue, too much unproductive time is spent). Our data generally indicate that males who usually listen to the radio in a public place (normally the coffeehouse) visit the coffeehouse only very slightly more often than those males who usually listen to the radio elsewhere.

4. There are some few signs that those peasants who usually listen to the radio in their own homes are more "modern" in attitude and behavior than those who ordinarily listen in a public place, and that those who listen in another villager's home. However, these listening locales also run parallel to obvious differences in economic status, so that we must remain uncertain as to whether differences in locale or differences in affluence are more responsible for this tendency.

A Few Additional Conclusions

We have inserted into the main body of this report a number of interpretations and conclusions prompted by the survey data. In this space we merely wish to add a few general observations not so conveniently hinged to the specific research findings. We probably do not have to point out that this document does not purport to be a full and general discussion of the role of the mass media in national development. Rather, it is a report of the findings, from a specific research project, that relate to the mass media and rural development in Turkey. We should suggest that, despite our occasional quite general or theoretical comments, this report can be read with profit in conjunction with more comprehensive treatments such

as Wilbur Schramm's Mass Media and National Development.

Our data seem to show that the mass media in Turkey have a broad and important impact on many attitudes and behaviors of the nation's peasantry. Although exactly comparable data are unavailable, even in the much-researched United States, it would seem that the impact of the mass media in rural Turkey might be greater than their impact in many developed societies. We should suggest, as a few others have already done, that such a finding, if true, is entirely plausible according to existing communication theory. We should expect the media to be more influential in developing societies than in developed societies. In some ways, the planner in a developing society can expect to get more mileage from the mass media as a developmental instrument than can the planner in a developed society.

It is a generally accepted proposition, buttressed by much empirical evidence, that producing attitudinal change via the mass media is quite difficult. Established values and perceptions are hard to budge, and this is true whether the lever used is that of the mass media, interpersonal communication, the educational system, or any other agency. The mass media would, in fact, by their nature seem to be relatively disadvantaged in working attitudinal change, since subtle adjustments for particular audiences signalled by communication feedback are particularly difficult for a mass medium, yet such adjustments seem critical for persuasive success versus resistance.

At the same time, it is no less generally known that the media can be much more effective in initially forming attitudes than changing them once they are set. We should argue that attitude formation looms particularly large among the changing peasantry of a developing society. Through the

media, travel, loss of community isolation, and other exposures to change, the peasant is encountering, typically for the first time, a world he never really knew. He is called upon to react to situations and stimuli never before encountered, to form attitudes regarding phenomena outside his previous experience and for which his village culture provides far fewer guidelines than usual. Attitude formation constitutes a much larger portion of his personality dynamic than is the case with many other people. And the mass media seem to play an especially ample role in such processes of attitude formation. To judge their impact solely in terms of their capacity to alter existing attitudes is to underestimate their force.

We should also like to urge that we actually know very little about what would seem to be some of the most significant aspects of mass media impact. The low opinion that some writers appear to have of the media as a developmental tool has spawned in a very shallow pool of evidence, based as it is largely on studies of short run political campaigns, a few cases of participation drives, and some small group experiments. The long range impact of the mass media and the indirect impact of the mass media have hardly been studied. Yet one would predict that these would be the very areas where the media would be most effective because resistances would be least.

More specifically, diffusion research (study of the process of innovation) is sometimes thought to support a low evaluation of mass media effectiveness at developmental tasks. We should argue, first of all, that diffusion research is relatively new and still has a long way to go. The main technique employed up to now is to locate a case in which an innovation diffused, ascertain who adopted it and who did not, note the comparative times it took for various types of people to adopt the innovation, and attempt to find out

why people adopted it by direct questioning or analysis of their backgrounds and communication contacts. The obvious difficulty is that people may be very poor analysts of why they adopted an innovation. They probably are biased toward the more proximate and specific stimuli and slight the temporally more remote or more general stimuli. The mass media would probably fall into the latter class.

Secondly, diffusion research has naturally so far concentrated largely on a few highly specific, easily identifiable innovations, such as pesticides, fertilizers, new crop varieties, boiling water, medical use of certain drugs, etc. It is still very much a moot point whether more complex bundles of behavior diffuse in the same fashion as these basically technological, rather specific innovations. Moreover, diffusion research has shown that even for innovations of this type, the mass media do seem to play a vital role in what is called the "awareness stage" of the adoption process. It seems rather foolish to single out merely a later stage of a total process and attach over-riding importance to it, as some people seem to do when arguing for the greater significance of interpersonal communication compared to the mass media. If contemporary research is agreed upon anything, it is on the fact that both the mass media <u>and</u> interpersonal communication are integral parts of the diffusion process, one no less essential than the other.

This last comment is perhaps better put another way. When Mehmet says that he began to use fertilizer because Ahmet recommended it, he is at best merely furnishing the ultimate entry in a long causal record. One can inquire as to why he accepted Ahmet's recommendation when others did not. Pretty soon one is led to consider the notion of a relative readiness for innovation or propensity to innovate, and the concept of a favorable climate

for innovation or development. It is in this somewhat more remote but no less important area that the mass media would seem to have their greatest influence. We say "no less important" because, while that remoteness from the effect one wishes to predict makes these attitudinal factors less accurate predictors of specific innovative behavior, that very remoteness is an advantage in the sense that it permits earlier and more general predictions. Part of the problem for developmental research is to discover, for various concerns, how far back in the chain of causality it is optimal to go to accomplish the goals at hand -- how much time we are willing to trade for accuracy.

Lastly, we should like to stress the point that the relationship between the mass media and development of various sorts may not be constant throughout the development process. We are thinking particularly of the "escape" problem -- that is, that the media may be used by a relatively fatalistic and impoverished peasant not as a source of inspiration and information which help him to solve his problems, but as a means of avoiding his problems by a retreat from reality. We seem to see this phenomenon among American teenagers, housewives and others; one detects signs of it among the more media-exposed peasants of Latin America; it would not be at all strange for it to appear in Turkey, though it does not seem to have struck there yet in any force.

In sport, what we are saying is that, in graphic terms, if we think of two axes, along one of which we measure something we might label "development mindedness" or "propensity to innovate" or "enterprise" and along the other of which we measure daily exposure to the mass media, we might expect to find a U-shaped curve relating these two dimensions. This could be interpreted as signifying that increased media exposure is positively associated with an increasingly development-oriented outlook up to a certain

exposure-per-time point, after which increased exposure reduces development orientation. Perhaps this point is so distant that Turkey never need worry about it. But one cannot help but think that some slum dwellers in large cities all over the world have passed that point, and we mention it simply because we think the hypothesis warrants further investigation.

A Few Policy Recommendations

We make any policy recommendations only with diffidence and reluctance. The reason for this is not the timidity of the scholar, but our awareness of the fact that information of the type presented in this report is but one element, albeit an important and hitherto lacking one, in the overall policy formula. Both knowledge of broad social and knowledge of other facts about the social system than those covered in our survey are necessary. The latter is particularly vital. For example, we should recommend that a Rural Communications Office be set up in the Agricultural Extension Service or in the Community Development Program. The function of this Rural Communications Office would be to conduct continuing investigations of improved ways to communicate developmental messages to village Turkey. Its personnel would try to ascertain, for example, if the most effective strategy for informing peasants about a new crop was different from the most effective strategy for informing them about a vocational course or about overcrowded conditions in cities that would deter urban migration. Of course, this office should have the closest possible connection with field workers -- hence its official location.

Now, if we make such a recommendation, without having made a separate study of the Turkish governmental and private apparatus for rural communication (which we have not done), we might easily be informed that such an office was

established three years ago, or is not needed because two other offices jointly perform that task. Hence, our preference is to arm the planner with the type of information herein provided, try to make sure that it is clear, and let him draw out its specific consequences for planning. Certainly, any recommendations could more profitably be formulated through direct discussion after the appropriate planners have read and reacted to this report. However, bowing to felt pressure, we shall compromise by presenting a few basic recommendations and urging their tentative nature.

1. Our basic point has already been made in the most general terms by Wilbur Schramm. "Throughout the developing world,... the mass media are underfinanced and underdeveloped and therefore are not contributing what they might contribute if fully and adequately used."[50] It is our contention that the Turkish public sector is conspicuously under investing in the mass media. All the data from our research suggest that the mass media are one of the most potent tools in the planner's arsenal for altering the static climate of rural Turkey. Yet the 1963 Annual Programme allocated less than two tenths of one per cent of public investment outlays for that year to the mass media, as far as we can tell, and that outlay was entirely for the radio, seemingly for new transmitters.[51] Although there is some discussion of the films and the printed media in recent plans, no said investment programs are observable. One forms the distinct impression that, despite a few wholesome statements, the idea of a strong mass media approach to development, especially rural development, has either never been considered or has been rejected. We urge

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[50] Schramm, op.cit., p.208.

[51] Note the close similarity of this investment pattern to that in India described and criticized by Pool, loc.cit., p.235.

strongly its consideration now. A draft of the details of what a major rural mass media investment program should look like would, of course, have to be adumbrated prior to such consideration. We urge this course even at the expense of other programs, for we feel it enhances the probability of success of virtually all other efforts, from cooperatives to canning.

2. The 1965 Annual Programme states that until the target of nation-wide reception of at least one national radio station is achieved and until radio programs reach a higher standard (in what sense?), "... the introduction and operation of television, which is expensive, will not be considered." We should recommend a thorough re-discussion of that decision in light of current experience with television in other societies.* Television is indeed expensive, and if it is employed as an elite toy, sacrifice of scarce resources for it is unthinkable. But the promise of television is so great, properly employed, that Turkey may not be able to afford not to use it.

We refer to rural television used by day as a massive adjunct to the strained supply of competent rural teachers and by night as a form (non-didactic) of adult education. In the Harvey White Physics Film Experiment, Turkey already has some concrete evidence for the effectiveness of films as a teaching aid. In the data from the Rural Development Research Project we have provided much evidence of the impact of largely commercial, entertainment-oriented films. Television would seem to have all the advantages of the cinema. A carefully planned program of television instruction, augmented by the formation of village "tele-clubs," seems to hold the promise of working fundamental changes in rural Turkey. We recommend that a task force be set up to examine the experience of France, Japan, India and other countries that have tested rural television, and to examine all other evidence relevant

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*"The willingness of [developing] countries to exclude TV entirely for fiscal reasons, attests to the fact that few non-Communist countries have assigned to the development of the mass media the same significance they have to steel mills, roads, railroads, and dams." Pool, loc.cit., p.235.

to a renewed decision on the potentiality of television for rural Turkey. Should the decision on the use of television again be negative, we recommend that the committee also investigate the possibility of forming rural film clubs and an associated production group to create appropriate films for rural purposes. Some device for employing this powerful audio-visual medium more extensively among the peasantry must be found.

3. A careful search must be made for additional ways to link the rural mass media with interpersonal communication structures. Whether television is started or not, an organization of Rural Radio Forums should be created. This involves, among other things, using community development workers, village school teachers, or similar people, to arrange and conduct organized group listening to certain radio programs. Peasants are much more likely to respond to a well presented message if advised in advance regarding things to look for in the program and if they participate in a discussion of the program afterward. Such an organization also serves to provide the government with a regular source of information about audience reactions to programs. It is a way of adjusting the often too generalized mass media message to the characteristics of a particular small audience. It permits the peasant listener to change his behavior without going against the group --- if the group as a whole decides to change. Moreover, all these extensions of the mass media serve to increase the morale and effectiveness of the village level official, teacher or agent by alleviating some of the terrible sense of isolation and cultural deprivation that such a person feels when "exiled" to a village, and by keeping him informed of new happenings outside his particular area. Linked to these Rural Radio Forums is a small, mimeographed newspaper to keep the group leader informed about forthcoming programs and

their points of interest and importance.[52]

4. As presently constituted, the Turkish mass media seem basically to cater to an elite audience. We recommend that attention be given to developing at least some additional radio programs more suitable for peasant consumption. We particularly urge more peasant participation programs in which villagers are interviewed, have their villages described, can request music, etc. Roving rural radio reporters would seem to be a wise and not exorbitantly expensive innovation. In all such efforts, a strong attempt should be made to get ordinary rural people actively involved in the program, not as a rotating sample of that population, but to remove at least some of the elite cast that much broadcasting seems presently to have.

5. Several times in the course of this report we have had occasion to lament the lack of important statistics on the mass media in Turkey. We recommend that a competent group from those agencies of the Turkish Government most directly concerned plus a representation of outside experts in the field of communications scrutinize the types of data currently being collected and make recommendations for essential improvements.

6. The government will be able to assess the role of the mass media in Turkish urban and rural development only if it provides itself with a continuous supply of pertinent information. This information must be of various types, ranging from narrowly focussed experiments for testing limited but important hypotheses to broadly based national surveys like the Rural Development Research Project. In this connection, we hope that it is not invidious to recommend that the original plan to use the 1962 data collection

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[52] These farm radio forums and tele-clubs are described in detail in a series of works published by Unesco: Press, Film and Radio in the World of Today Series and Reports and Papers on Mass Communication Series.

as the first half of a combined trend and panel study of social change in Turkey be continued. This plan called for a repeat of the data-gathering around 1968 or 1969, after the original data had been fully analyzed and digested and after an appreciable time period had passed. In the second research phase, half of the original sample (i.e., the same respondents) would be re-interviewed, and the other half of the same total number of interviews would be used to draw a new and more up-to-date sample, still large enough for detailed analysis. We should now recommend that the coverage be extended to include a national sample of all Turks, not just rural Turks. The resulting increase in costs would not be great, and the increase in significant information would be telling.

* *

We shall call an arbitrary halt to these policy recommendations at this point. Further recommendations would get progressively more detailed and become progressively more uncertain in the absence of precise knowledge of the current structure of Turkey's mass media effort. Furthermore, as previously indicated, we feel that policy recommendations, if they are truly desired, can best be constructed after we obtain reactions to this report. Finally, the substantive portions of the report seem to us to contain many obvious policy implications that need no further elaboration.

Appendix

Table 1

Partial Correlations of Mass Media Exposure Index with Selected Indices (after allowing for Mass Media Access), by Total Sample, and Sex and Literacy Groups

Indices	Total Sample	Males Lits.	Males Illits.	Females Lits.	Females Illits.
Geographical Mobility	.456	.318	.230	.297	.297
Interpersonal Communication	.435	.107	.215	.038	.070
Subjective Poverty	-.182	-.121	-.092	-.134	-.070
Village Development	.031	.049	.099	-.156	.031
Communal Responsibility	.177	.119	.152	.116	.091
Communal Cooperativeness	.236	.034	.107	.060	.119
Communal Efficacy	.126	.116	.116	-.027	.105
Personal Political Efficacy	.265	.174	.147	.106	.147
Community Don't Knows	-.328	-.152	-.222	-.204	-.188
Personal Don't Knows	-.142	-.140	-.192	-.141	-.129
Political Empathy	.329	.161	.266	.264	.119
Tolerance of Deviance	.011	.062	.078	.085	-.020
Parochialism	-.430	-.214	-.247	-.302	-.246
External Mistrust	-.173	-.091	-.157	-.127	-.115
Propensity to Innovate	.191	.114	.190	.102	.111
Cognitive Flexibility	.371	.233	.337	.286	.202
General Knowledge	.494	.269	.363	.371	.240
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	.223	.148	.207	.195	.198
Social Wants	.163	.064	.114	-.007	.120
Favorable Urban Image	.041	-.019	.011	.025	.016
Optimism	.163	.104	.098	.032	.071
Perceived Village Initiative	.227	.160	.178	.083	.202
Perceived Concentration of ...	.032	.043	.033	.099	.061
Headman Orientation	-.063	-.027	-.088	.033	-.002
Use of Agricultural Services	.121	.072	.161	n.a.	n.a.
Use of Social Services	.595	.384	.398	.447	.289
Religious Knowledge	.196	.018	.031	.038	.085
Religious Saliency	-.003	-.136	-.082	.004	-.036
Religious Ritualism	-.025	-.076	-.002	.024	.038
Religious Strictness	.032	-.091	-.030	-.054	.004
Desire for Political Participation	.097	.071	.133	-.005	.010
Voting Participation	.021	.012	.133	.001	.100
Political Party Knowledge	.549	.303	.342	.413	.246

Appendix A

Brief Description of the Data-Gathering Methods of the Rural Development Research Project

The basic population of interest for the Rural Development Research Project was the Turkish peasantry -- the inhabitants of the more than 35,000 villages of Turkey who comprise nearly three fourths of the nation's population. Adopting the Turkish legal definition of a "village," the survey sought a sample of all Turks, sixteen years of age or over, resident in communities under 2,000 in population and governed according to the Turkish Village Law. Itinerants, the institutionalized, those in military service, and those mentally or physically incapable of responding to an interview were excluded from the defined population.

The fundamental sampling unit was the individual villager, not the family or the household head. Even so, the study was constructed so that there would be three separate samples rather than merely one sample of the peasantry. Five-person interviewing teams (each containing three men and two women) traveled to 458 different villages, completing in each case a separate schedule of information about the village as a whole, thus producing, after some statistical adjustments, information about a sample of Turkish villages. In each village visited, a random sample of approximately 15-16 individual peasants was interviewed, providing information from a national sample of Turkish villagers. Finally, in addition to these interviews with a "regular" sample of villagers in each village, our teams were also instructed to obtain a series of elite interviews in every sampled village. These additional elite interviews were four: 1) with the village headman (muhtar), 2) with the village religious leader (hoca or imam),

3) with the wife (if any) of the headman, and 4) with the wife (if any) of the religious leader. Thus, the investigation was constructed to yield a regular sample of Turkish peasants nationally representative of all Turkish villagers, an elite sample of certain formal village leaders and their spouses, and a sample of village communities as discrete social units.

The sampling design was a two-stage cluster sample, with the first stage unit being villages and the second stage unit being villagers. The village information forms from the then-just-completed 1960 Turkish population census were secured from the Turkish General Directorate of Statistics. These provided a sampling frame listing all 35,000 villages in the nation along with the location and population of every listed community. Three bases of stratification were simultaneously applied to these villages: regional location, proximity to an urban center, and population size. The first two stratification criteria produced fourteen strata when combined. Then, village size was taken into account in the fullest way possible by giving each village a probability of entering the sample proportionate to its size. In addition to accuracy, a cogent reason for using a proportionate sampling scheme was that, for analytic and administrative reasons, we wanted to have an approximately constant number of respondents in each village.

The desired sample size was deliberately set quite large -- approximately 6,500 in the regular sample and another 1,500 in the elite sample. Altogether, 458 villages scattered over every one of Turkey's sixty seven provinces were visited. These villages were selected randomly, within the criteria described above. A full list of the appropriate potential respondents for each village was created, and the 15-16 respondents to be interviewed were drawn from this list by systematic sampling from a randomly

selected starting point. The respondents were then assigned to the interviewers of each team randomly, so that we used what is technically called an "interpenetrated" sampling design, with the main exception that female respondents were interviewed only by female interviewers and male respondents only by male interviewers. The total sample of regular and elite respondents was also randomly divided into two independent sub-samples, one obtained during the first month of field operations and the other obtained during the second month. This device permits an additional check on certain types of possible error in the survey.

Overall, 94.8% of the designed sample was interviewed. The refusal rate was less than one per cent. This high rate of return was maintained with relatively little variation in all regions of the country and over both independent sub-samples. The data were collected by approximately sixteen five-person interviewer teams in July and August of 1962 and coded in Turkey. The data analysis reported herein has been done at the Computation Center, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Further information regarding the methods of research can be obtained from Report No. 1 of this series, or from Frederick W. Frey, "Surveying Peasant Attitudes in Turkey," Public Opinion Quarterly (Fall, 1963).